

SILVANÈS: A STUDY OF THE ECONOMIC INNOVATIONS OF A
CISTERCIAN MONASTERY IN SOUTHERN FRANCE

by

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Chapter I: Introduction: the documents.

The twelfth century in western Europe was an age of both religious and economic reawakening. The Benedictine monasteries, with economies based on manorial properties and the largesse of rich patrons, were being replaced in importance by the Cistercians and other reform groups. Among the Cistercians, an effort was made to return to the teachings of poverty that had been incorporated in the original rule of St. Benedict. Self-support by manual labour, as opposed to dependence on rents from lay tenants was the key element in the economic aspects of the reform. The harshness of manual labour along with a new severity in building style, in liturgy, and in way of life were prescribed as a way of returning to the ideal of monastic poverty.

In their response to the economic reawakening of the twelfth century, the Cistercians were instrumental in the opening of new lands, and the clearance and drainage of the frontiers of western Europe. These frontiers were not only the lands to the east of the Elbe and south of the Pyrenees, but also included many marshes, forests and mountainous areas within Europe which had been undesirable to the settlers of the early middle ages. To meet the challenge of these difficult areas, the Cistercians found that the labours of those educated and wealthy enough to become

monks were not sufficient. As a result, a system of lay brothers developed.¹ These lay brothers, known as conversi, provided the early Cistercian monasteries with enough labour to operate their developing economic organization. Because of the conversi, the Cistercians could practice agriculture without being dependent on a system of tenant farmers. However, not all the areas where Cistercian monasteries were established were newly cleared; the white monks might also settle in relatively isolated, but not deserted areas, where they made major agricultural innovations. They managed, by a system of careful purchase of all land rights on their properties, to rid themselves completely of the demands made by "traditional rights." Once the land was free of the necessities that were created by the dues "in kind" which had often dictated what the land could produce, it was possible to produce things which were better suited to the land. And, unlike a single peasant, a Cistercian monastery might more safely depend on trade to supply many of its needs. This made it possible to maximize the potential of the environment of a region. By untying land from the manorial system, the Cistercians contributed to the

1. It is difficult to tell exactly what the status of the lay brothers was. They were tied by strict vows, but these vows were less isolating from the lay world than those of the Cistercian monk. They generally lived in separate quarters from the monks, were not educated, and did not participate in all liturgical services; see Lewis J. Lekal, The White Monks: A History of the Cistercian Order (Okauchee, Wisconsin, 1953) pp. 229-232.

growth of new land uses. By using land for more commercial purposes they contributed to the growth of trade in the high middle ages. To see this happening, in one Cistercian monastery in southern France, we shall examine the economic history of Silvanès.

Silvanès² was founded in 1136 in a valley in the mountains called the Cevennes that are between the southern Massif Centrale and the Plain of Languedoc. Although small and never particularly important in the political and intellectual history of its lifetime, Silvanès does provide us with two important documents of its early economic history. These documents contribute to our knowledge of the economic revolution in which the Cistercians played a major part. Both of them, a chronicle and a cartulary, date from the mid-twelfth century. The chronicle portrays some of the religious excitement that was aroused by the establishment of a foundation in the inaccessible little town of Camarès. The cartulary provides more economic information and an intensive look at the founding of a new agricultural economy

2. See Map I in the Appendix. The church of St. Mary of Silvanès (or Salvanes as it was often called from salvare and nos to denote its relationship to their salvation) is still standing. It is now the parish church of Pont-de-Camarès. The monastic buildings that remain are now used by local shepherds. Henry Enjalbert, Rouergue Quercy (Paris, 1971), p. 63. The monastery was closed just before the French Revolution when its population had shrunk to four members. The hotel attached to the local hot springs was taken over by the commune during the Revolution, along with the rest of the buildings and properties. It was at that time that the chronicle and cartulary were removed to the public archives. See P.A. Verlaquet, Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Silvanès (Rodez, 1910) p. lxx, lxxi and no. 524.

significantly different from the traditional manor.

The founding of a monastery required funds. Some came from private individuals and some from local clergy. Some also came from various Popes in the form of exemptions for the Cistercians from the tithe. (Of course, the holder of the tithe, often a layman, must be persuaded to give it up.)³ The larger causes that increased ready money and allowed the establishment of new monasteries such as Silvanès are not made any more clear by this particular cartulary. They may be related to the increased size of the cities, and particularly those of the Plain of Languedoc who made increasing demands on the inland areas for meat and other animal products,⁴ and the cartulary clearly records these demands and the response that Silvanès makes to them.⁵ Whatever the source of funding, the effect was a quickly growing economic entity which could take advantage of the resources of its area. It is the use of its resources in its early economy, along with a survey of the society into which Silvanès came, which will be discussed in the following pages.

cited as Silvanès, hereafter.

3. Tithes are discussed in Chapter II.

4. George Duby, Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West, trans. Cynthia Postan (Columbia, S.C., 1968), p. 86.

5. Trade is discussed in Chapter VII.

The cartulary of Silvanès is a very reliable document for surveying those early years. It was redacted soon after the monastery's foundation; internal evidence suggests it is the work of one or two men in the time between 1150 and 1170.⁶ While not covering a long period of time (1132-1169) its 463 charters present quite a complete picture of the monastic economy.⁷

The manuscript⁸ has charters arranged by granges. Because of the extreme geographical diversity between granges, it is possible to compare the economic organization of the monastery, (and the previous lay economy) as it varied from grange to grange. This allows a close look at the monastic adaptation to various environments, as well as the adaptation of previous settlements; both depended on topography, elevation and the resulting climate. Along with a lengthy description of each piece of land given to the monastery, many other details of the original transaction are preserved (date, donors and family, witnesses, and arbitrars are always included.) These can provide answers to some questions about the society into which Silvanès came.

6. Verlaguet dates it in this quarter of the century by its writing style. Silvanès, Introduction, p. xvii.

7. Only a few of the documents are without dates. Internal consistency suggests that they are all authentic. Silvanès, Introduction, pp. xvii-xx.

8. The original manuscript is in the possession of

A transcription of the cartulary and chronicle along with other documents of a later date (gleaned from local notarial records, etc.) was published in 1910 by P.A. Verlaguet under the auspices of the Commission des Archives Historiques du Rouergue.⁹ Previous publications had never included more than a few sample charters along with a translation of the chronicle.¹⁰ Verlaguet's edition, while not completely critical, made certain kinds of economic information accessible for the first time, as shall be demonstrated, the economic evidence in the cartulary does not always agree with the traditional picture provided

the departmental archives of Aveyron. It consists of 38 volumes with a total of 275 pages. (Each page measures 15 X 21½ cm.) Only one page, the first and presumably the title page, is missing. Comparison with the 1667 compilation in the Doat Collection (Vol. 150, 151, located in Bibliothèque Nationale) which included documents from the cartulary as well as loose charters held by the monastery, revealed only two charters for the years 1130-1169 which had not been included in the cartulary. See Silvanès, Introduction pp. xvii, xix, and nos. 471, 472.

9. P.A. Verlaguet, Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Silvanès (Rodez, 1910).

10. See for example: Devic and Vaisette, Histoire Générale de Languedoc, 15 vols. (Toulouse, 1872) III, 704-706 and V. 1094-1096, 1179-1180.

by the chronicle of Silvanès.¹¹

11. Verlaguet does not attempt to make spellings consistent in the Latin text, or even in the index; as a result the index is almost useless. Nor does he clear up obvious errors which have occurred either in the redaction or in his original transcription which resulted in the substitution of letters, for example, making vaxeria from paxeria (weir) etc. No real attempt is made to track down the local usage of the ordinary feudal terminology, such as mansus, or to define the meanings of otherwise undefined words by using other local documents, nor are such unusual words even consistently indexed. For definitions the reader is referred to DuCange, Silvanès, Introduction, p. lxviii.

The editor placed much trust in the chronicle, using it as factual basis on which inferences about the monastery may be made. He questions the veracity of the author on only one point: was this a settled area, as the cartulary indicates, or had the first monks come to a wilderness to live there with the wild beasts, as the chronicle implies? Verlaguet decides that it was a settled area. Silvanès, Introduction p. xxviii.

Chapter II: The founding of the monastery and its relationship to other ecclesiastical institutions.

For too long the history of the founding of Silvanès has been based unquestioningly on the testimony of the chronicle of the conversion of Pons de Léras. This was written by Hugh, a scribe at Silvanès, under the direction of his abbot, Pontius, between 1161 and 1171. Despite its early date, it should be considered primarily as literary propaganda, and only incidentally as historical evidence. Much of it is pure fantasy. Biblical and literary allusions are evident throughout. In the preface, for example, the growth of the monastery of Silvanès is compared to that of a tree in the care of the Heavenly Garden.¹ Throughout the narrative there are numerous incidents that become elaborate parallels to the life and passion of Christ,² or to the life of the great Christian saints, (especially St. Bernard),³

1. Silvanès, Chronicle, pp. 371-372.

2. The parallel is clear between the Passion of Christ and Pons de Léras's conversion during Holy Week, including the events associated with his conversion: selling all possessions, giving to the poor, being hailed by the crowd in Lodève on Palm Sunday, washing the feet of beggars at a dinner, encountering a storm on Good Friday while struggling up a rocky hill with his friends. Silvanès, Chronicle, pp. 373-379.

3. The parallels to the life of St. Bernard, the most important of all Cistercian saints, are especially evident in the descriptions of the hardships and famine that were encountered during the first year, including the journey by

or to examples of the conventional ascetic hermit or pilgrim.⁴

This chronicle has been widely used as the sole source for the history of the monastery of Silvanès, yet in many cases the evidence of the cartulary of Silvanès clearly differs from that of the chronicle. The place described in the chronicle where "they stayed, building their little cottages with their own hands, living in the society of beasts, insisting on a daily quota of labour, cutting down brush with their scythes, breaking land with their hoes, and making an uninhabitable place into a habitable one,"⁵ is the site of the ideal Cistercian monastery. It does not coincide with the valley of Silvanès as described by the cartulary, where people have lived, inherited land, and passed it on to their children for at least several generations. The donors to the monastery have also been idealized. Although most of the local donors mentioned are included in the charters, certain famous and powerful men

Pons de Léras, similar to one made by Bernard, to beg for enough food for his little group to survive. Silvanès, Chronicle, pp. 384-385.

4. The list of places visited by Pons de Léras and his followers as pilgrims before they came to Silvanès is a veritable catalog of famous pilgrim spots in the French world of the twelfth century. St. William of the Desert, near Lodève; St. James of Compostela, Mont-Saint-Michel, Tours, Limoges, and Rodez. Silvanès, Chronicle pp. 379-381.

5. "In quo casulas propriis manibus fabricantes manserunt, bestiis sociati, quotidiano tamen labori insistentes, dumeta falcibus resecantes, terram lignonibus proscindentes, locum habitabilem ex inhabitabili reddiderunt." Silvanès, Chronicle p. 382.

seem to be included only because their own glory adds to the glory of Silvanès;⁶ there are no charters in the cartulary that confirm any contact with these men. These examples of idealization suggest quite conclusively that the chronicle is not a strict historical account, but an elaboration of the facts used to attract possible donors, as well as to promote the elevation of Pons de Léras to sainthood.⁷ A reconstruction of the bare outlines of the abbey's establishment must be carried out with as much confirmation from the cartulary as possible.

The chronicle says that sometime in 1132, Pons de Léras, a knight from Lodève, set out with friends on a pilgrimage, after having sold his goods, and placed his wife and children in religious houses so that he could pursue a religious life.⁸ He eventually arrived in Rodez, where he

6. The emperor of Constantinople, Count Roger of Sicily, and Thibaut of Champagne. Silvanès, Chronicle p. 386.

7. Pons de Léras was never designated "Sanctus" but the Order of Cîteaux did elevate him to the lesser ranking of "Benedictus." Verlaguet says that the ancient diocese of Lodève celebrated the feast of Pons de Léras on September 18. Silvanès, Introduction, p. xvii.

8. Pons de Léras's existence is confirmed in the cartulary, see below. The references to his family are only in the chronicle and may be fictitious: no names of wife or children are included in the account. Silvanès, Chronicle, p. 374.

secured the permission of Adémarus, the bishop of Rodez, to settle somewhere in his bishopric. Ademarus became interested enough in their venture to help them secure a number of early donations.⁹ When Pons de Léras and his followers arrived at Camarès, they found a patron, Arnaldus de Ponte, a knight holding numerous lands around his castle at Ponte on the River Dourdou. Arnaldus de Ponte, invited them to settle somewhere on his holdings and pursue a religious life.¹⁰ The monastery of Silvanès would receive continued support from Arnaldus de Ponte, as well as from his heirs after he entered the monastery as monk in 1153.¹¹

In 1135, Pons de Léras and his followers decided that they would become affiliated with some established religious order. They made arrangements to enter the nearest Cistercian house, Mazan, and after a year of study there, returned to Silvanès, in 1136, to rededicate their monastery under the Cistercian rule.¹² Pons de Léras did not take regular

9. The Chronicle mentions this permission. Silvanès, Chronicle, p. 381. The cartulary has a number of references to Ademarus, as instigator or chief witness to a document. See Silvanès, nos. 9, 19, 26, 37, 38, 155, 162.

10. Silvanès, Chronicle, p. 381. The expanse of his holdings can be inferred from the numerous pieces of land given to the monastery.

11. All this is evident in the charters as well as the Chronicle. For entrance into the monastery see Silvanès, no. 177.

12. Silvanès, Chronicle, pp. 385-386.

monastic vows but became a conversus and directed much of the early business of the monastery.¹³ He is seen as a witness or as agent for the monastery in a number of early charters.¹⁴ The chronicle does not record the year of his death; the last charter in which he is mentioned is dated 1146.¹⁵

The chronicle discusses the first four abbots of Silvanès. The first, Ademar, died eight months after the monastery was founded. The second, Desiderius was abbot until 1143. He was followed by Guiraldus who was abbot for seventeen years, increased the holdings of the monastery, founded a Cistercian nunnery called Noneque in a nearby valley, and started building the permanent monastic church and other buildings. Hugh recounts Guiraldus's death in 1161 and the elevation of the prior, Pontius to the abbacy.¹⁶

13. Silvanès, Chronicle, p. 387. (Pons de Léras probably held the position of cellarer.)

14. Silvanès, nos., 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 19, 20, 26, 27, 28, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 45, 154, 155, 156, 162, 163, 164, 213, 250, 251, 386, 387, 388, 405.

15. Silvanès, no. 405.

16. Silvanès, Chronicle, p. 389. Evidence in the cartulary confirms these names and dates for the first four abbots.

The chronicle of Silvanès provides no further evidence on the internal organization or the population of the monastery. In the cartulary there are only two sources from which any information can be learned. One of these is a list of witnesses for a charter dated 1153. It seems to include all the monks at Silvanès, but mentions no specific list of conversi although "many conversi are witnesses."¹⁷ There are a total of seventeen monks together with the prior and presbyter listed as witnesses; these alone with the abbot Guiraldus and the scribe Deodatus, (both listed elsewhere in the charter) indicate a total of twenty-one religious members in 1153.¹⁸ Although the lay-brothers are not listed here, it is possible to estimate their population from a second source, a series of charters all of which allow a donor, or donor's son to enter the monastery. (See Appendix: Table II.) Many of these charters clearly designate whether someone will enter per monachum or per conversionem. From the charters listed in Table II it is possible to determine that there were seventeen men who might enter as monks, twenty-nine who might enter as conversi and twelve about whom there

17. "conversi vero quamplures hujus rei sunt testes." Silvanès, no. 70.

18. "Pontius, prior Salvaniensis, Ugo presbyter et monachus, Guillelmus de Roda monachus, Guillelmus de Sancto Felicio monachus, Ermengaudus monachus, Martinus monachus, Pontius monachus, Bernard de Villa monachus, Ugo, Guillermus,

is no clear indication of status. This gives a proportion of five conversi for every three monks, or in 1153 with 21 monks, 35 conversi.¹⁹

The number of monks and conversi entering Silvanès is a realistic gauge of the interest and support of the community. Life was probably quite hard in the early years at Silvanès, and there are some indications that there may have been a problem with conversi and monks running away,²⁰ but in general the lay community seemed quite willing to deal with the monastery and sometimes even to invest their property (or lives) in the new establishment. (although few donations were given without some expectation of earthly as well as heavenly rewards.)²¹ Not only is this confidence

Raimundus, Petrus, Berengerius, Petrus, Radulphus, Kristianus, Petrus, Bertrandus, et Arnaldus de Petra, omnes isti monachi;" Silvanès, no. 70.

19. Obviously the twelve whose position is uncertain increase the possibility of error, especially in regard to the question of exact proportions. The estimate of population of between fifty and sixty, will not vary unless these are very badly distributed.

20. A letter to the bishops of Rodez, Albi, Lodève, and Béziers, advised them not to allow to enter their churches those professi or conversi who had left Silvanès without letters from their abbot; the fugitives had apparently been discouraged by the harshness of life there in the early years. "Ut nullus eorum qui in predicto monasterio professi vel conversi fuerint, in vestris de cetero ecclesiis sine dimittibus abbatis sui litteris recipi debeat vel aliquatenus retineri," Silvanès, no. 5 (1162).

21. Most donors received in return at least a token gift to seal the bargain which was described as "given out of Christian love" (de caritas). Many other "donations" were

in the institution revealed in the charters in which land is granted in return for the right to enter the monastery, but also in those in which land is granted in return for a fixed yearly annuity.²²

The relationship between Silvanès and the parish clergy, in the area, seemed good. There are a number of donations of tithes from parish churches in the area.²³ These are generally for the lands that the monastery held, and in giving such land the parish church was complying with

simply sales to the monastery, masked as pious gifts, for which the monastery gave large sums of money called gifts de caritas. For example, see Silvanès, nos. 14, 17, 21, 54, etc.

22. Granting land in order to enter the monastery is much more common than is giving it in return for an annuity. There are only five annuities included in the cartulary; these have a variety of uses. One is to support dependents after their provider has entered the monastery. In this case a man gives twenty sheep and ten cows to cover the yearly payments to his mother and brother; "et debetis ei reddere in unoquoque anno tantummodo XXX vellera de lana, et IIII caseos, et matri nostri debetis dare annuatim VIII eminas de frumento et VIII de siligine et III caseos, et carne et de vestimento secundum quod vobis visum fuerit;" Silvanès, no. 81. Another supports a son whose place in the monastery has been purchased but who is too young to enter: "Et vos debetis nobis dare per X annos in adiutorio nutrimenti ejus in unoquoque anno VIII eminas de frumento et V solidos." Silvanès, no. 107. (Also see no. 292.) Finally, several are given in favor of the donor himself, who thus cedes land without losing all of its benefits. Silvanès, nos. 124, 230, 258.

23. Silvanès, nos. 76, 122, 167, 271, 317, 390, 490.

papal decree²⁴ which exempted Silvanès from tithes on the lands that its monks worked. (See below.) The bishops of Rodez continued to support the monastery. Ademarus donated the church of Gissac, and his successor, Petrus, confirmed this donation and gave two more churches, in Serrucio and in Cenomes.²⁵ Relations with the military orders however were quite strained. Specific clauses in the charters given by heirs of Arnaldus de Ponte promised not to allow any military order to settle in the parish of Gissac of Serrucio.²⁶ This suspicion of the military orders in particular was caused by a dispute between Silvanès and the Hospitallers who held the parish church of Prugnes, concerning certain lands in that parish which were included in Silvanès's grange of Galliac. Silvanès claimed that by its papal exemption, it should not pay tithes to the Hospitallers; the Hospitallers insisted that they should pay the tithe, or make some compensation for not paying it. The settlement reached required Silvanès to give to the

24. One charter mentions that this is in accordance with the decrees of Innocent, Eugenius, Anastasius, and Petrus, bishop of Rodez. Silvanès, no. 317.

25. Silvanès, no. 231. (dated 1164)

26. "ut nec in ecclesia de Genciaco neque in aliquo loco ejusdem parrochie introducamus vel introducere faciamus, nec aliqua persona per nos vel per nostrum assensum, consultum vel adjutorium introducat vel introducere Ospitalarios vel Templarios vel aliquam omnino religionis personam habitandi causa." Silvanès, no. 239. (Also see no. 241.)

Hospitallers one-tenth of the land which it held in the parish, and the Hospitallers to give up their claim to the tithe on the other nine-tenths of the land.²⁷

Monasteries were also donors; from the local monastery of Vabrez, Silvanès received a number of donations of either land or tithes.²⁸ With the Cistercian monastery of Vallismagne, Silvanès was made an arbitrator over the management of a house in Montpellier which had been established in 1161 for the use of Cistercians who must travel to the city on business.²⁹ There were also a number of other monasteries who made minor donations to Silvanès.³⁰

Papal exemptions from tithes, while not actually conferring any property or rights, were important aids in obtaining donations of tithes from both lay and ecclesiastical

27. "dixerunt ut omnis terra, de qua discordia inter eos erat, divideretur in decem partes, et fratres Salvanienses, haberent et possiderent jure perpetuo novem partes integras et liberas ab omni conditione et omni decima; fratres vero Hospitalis acciperent deciman partem absque contrarietate fratrum Salvaniensium, videlicet non inter alias partes set separatim in uno loco, tamen non minimam aliarum partium set equalem quantitate et valentia, et ita remanerent in pace." Silvanès, no. 170. (Also see 171, 174)

28. Silvanès, nos. 133, 260, 312, 405.

29. Silvanès, nos. 462, 463. See section on commerce.

30. Bellacumba: Silvanès, no. 60., Nantes: Silvanès, no. 384., St. Guillermus: Silvanès, nos. 250, 269, 383., and Juncellensis: Silvanès, no. 55.

holders. The twelfth century papal attitude towards monastic tithes is summed up in four documents that are included in the cartulary. The first, a letter originally sent by Pope Pascal to the monastery and clergy of Tournai, probably circulated widely, and eventually found its way into the cartulary of Silvanès, probably because it is a clear papal statement in favour of monastic holding of tithes. It cites authorities who argue that a monastery does not require the services of baptism, communion and confession provided by the parish priest, and should therefore should not be taxed for his support.³¹ Three letters

31. "Beatus enim Gregorius Augustino, Anglorum episcopo, scribens, communi, ait, vita viventibus jam de facientibus porcionibus vel exhibenda hospitalitate et adimplenda misericordia nobis quid erit loquendum cum omne quod superest in causis piis ac religiosis erogandum est. Quartus autem Leo sinodica constitutione decernit ut decime et primicie seu quecumque oblationes vivorum et mortuorum ecclesiis Dei fideliter reddantur a laicis, ubi notandum quod non a monachis set a laicis reddi decime jubeantur; monachi namque cum eorum plerique aut levite aut sacerdotes sint aut ecclesiasticis ordinibus perfruantur cumque assidue per Dei gratiam divinis inserviant misteriiis, immunes profecto ab hujusmodi exactionibus sunt habendi. Idem etiam Leo, episcopis Britannie scribens, illis tantum ecclesisis, que plebes vocantur, deberi decimas indicat, ubi sacrosancta dantur baptismata, in quibus videlicet verbis evidenter apparet causa Baptismatis, Eucharistie, Penitentie seu ceterorum officiorum que a clericis populo exhibentur decimas populo esse reddendas, in quibus omnibus nullum per clericos servicium monachorum conventibus exhibetur." Silvanès, no. 7.

from twelfth century popes take Silvanès under the protection of the Holy See, admonish the community to follow the rule of Benedict, according to Cistercian interpretations, and grant them exemption from the tithe on their own labour, and on the food of their animals.³²

The importance of such exemptions should not be underestimated. Economically they amounted to waivers of a universal tax, which promoted the foundation of new monastic institutions, allowing the extra funds needed for agricultural innovation. For the Cistercians, they helped fulfill an interest in acquiring absolute ownership of their lands, for the exemptions, (although not backed by any sanctions except ecclesiastical ones,) provided a powerful argument for the transfer of lay-held tithes

32. Silvanès, no. 3 (1145-1153), no. 2 (1154), and no. 1 (1162). The earliest of these, from Eugenius III is incomplete, but the fragment included is very similar to that made by Anastasius. The second one (from Anastasius, in 1154) lists the granges held by Silvanès at that time (Galliac, Grausone, Margnès, Silvaplana, Fontfroide, Soliis, and Rouzet) and outlines the exemption: "Sane laborum vestrorum, quos propriis manibus aut sumptibus colitis, sive de nutrimentis vestrorum animalium nullus omnino a vobis decimas exigere presumat." Silvanès, no. 2. That of Alexander III in 1162 adds the granges of Promillac and Pardinaguas to the list, as well as specifying that this exemption of tithes must be granted even by allodial holders: "Statuimus etiam ut de laboribus, quos propriis manibus aut sumptibus colitis, sive de nutrimentis vestrorum animalium nullus omni clericus sive laicus decimas aut primicias seu proprio alodio terraticum a vobis exigere audeat." Silvanès, no. 1.

back to the ecclesiastical realm.³³ Once a monastery like Silvanès had acquired absolute ownership of the lands it needed, it could (theoretically) exist in a religious solitude completely apart from all intercourse with either laity, or the non-monastic clergy,³⁴ and operate as a financially independent unit. Just as the end of the growth of the new religious foundations can be linked to the revocation of exemptions from "all tithes" in 1219 by the Fourth Lateran Council, and the limitation to exemptions for the Cistercians to those lands already held, and to noval lands (those where no tithe had ever before been collected),³⁵ the rapid growth of Cistercian foundations is linked to such exemptions.

33. This argument did not always succeed without the additional argument of a large price. There are many examples of sums of money paid by the monastery to lay persons renouncing their claims to the tithe. For example see Silvanès, no. 411.

34. The effort by monastic groups (especially the Cistercians) in the twelfth century to avoid paying tithes on the land that they owned was linked to an effort to avoid collecting tithes on lands that they did not hold. Their unwillingness to receive tithes was related to their wish to avoid being burdened with the duties that had traditionally been exercised by the parish priest, ie. cura animarum. Giles Constable, Monastic Tithes (Cambridge, 1964) p. 151. In view of this effort it is difficult to understand just how Silvanès justified holding the parish churches that had been granted to them by the bishops of Rodez. This may be linked to a gradual change in position on holding "manorial properties" that can be seen with regard to the bannum as well. (See Chapter IV.)

35. The importance of this change probably explains the inclusion (in the cartulary) of letters from Honorius III in 1219, dealing specifically with the change of papal policy with regard to tithes. See Silvanès, nos. 464-469.

Chapter III: geographical, political and social environment

When Pons de Léras and his followers arrived at Camarès and decided that this was where they should stay, they came to an environment, whose particular geographical, and, to a lesser extent political and social atmosphere, would have a tremendous effect on whether or not they could succeed in establishing a monastic community there. The geography dictated agricultural practices and routes of trade and communication as well. The power structure of the community determined what rights to land and other benefits might be procured, as well as whether adequate military protection would be available. The social dimensions would affect the number of people wishing to enter religious institutions, and the number of claims made on land by family members.

The monastery and its granges were located in the southern extremity of the French Massif Centrale in those mountains which separate the Massif from the Languedoc Plain. (See Appendix: Map I.) This area was formed by tremendous volcanic upheavals that formed mountains along the eastern and southern edges of the Massif; extinct volcanic peaks and a scattering of sulphur and hot springs recall that activity. Northwest of these mountains stretch a series of rugged limestone plateaux known as causses.

These causses are dry and sparsely vegetated, suitable only as pastureland. Between the causses, rivers have carved out huge canyons in the limestone; smaller streams and erosion have formed pleasant valleys with more gentle hills sloping up toward the causses.

Silvanès and its granges are located in some of these valleys, on the northern side of the ridge that divides the streams flowing south to Languedoc from those flowing west into Aquitaine. The rivers within the Massif provide access to Rodez, Millau, Toulouse, and Albi. The climate is influenced by both cold, wet Atlantic breezes and hot Mediterranean winds whose mixing results in a mild climate all year, and Silvanès is unaffected by the extremes of unpredictable rainfall and blizzards that can often paralyze parts of the Massif farther to the north. On the hillsides the vegetation varies with the exposure: northern slopes support continental forests of beech, oak, and chestnut, while southern slopes are sunny enough for fruit-trees, vines, and lush gardens. The most southern of the causses, the Causse of Larzac is not far to the northeast of the monastery; there and on the higher slopes of the mountains, conditions are drier and more extreme.

The region is well-suited to animal husbandry. During the Middle Ages, when transport was too slow to ship milk and butter to markets in Languedoc, these were converted

to a less perishable dairy product: cheese. (Caves on the Causse of Larzac are still used for curing the famous Roquefort cheese.) Meat could be driven on the hoof to the markets in Languedoc; raw wool and hides could either be shipped as raw materials or could be processed in the Massif and then transported to the major cities of Montpellier, Béziers, and Narbonne. In most of the area, transhumance is unnecessary: winters are mild enough so that sheep and cattle may stay outdoors and summers are not so hot that either animals or pasture suffer from excessive heat. Sheep must be moved from pasture to pasture to allow the grass to recover, but it is not necessary to move them far, or to a different climate.

Topographically the area falls into three major categories: the mountain heights and causses, excellent for pasture but impossible for growing cereals; the lower slopes and valleys with dry, easily worked land; the river bottoms with thick, rich, heavy soil, but inadequate natural drainage. These topographical distinctions influenced the settlement patterns. The twelfth century descriptions of the manorial organization and the earliest settlements were almost always concentrated in the middle areas, where climate and soil were most favorable. The river bottom areas showed more recent occupation and a greater variety of descriptions. In the twelfth century the mountain and

cause areas had been just settled, and some mountain areas were still entirely wilderness.¹

The monastic church of Silvanès and the surrounding buildings were located in the valley of Silvanès,² along a stream called the Cabot, which enters the Dourdou River above the town of Camarès. The valley is quite small, containing only the area adjacent to the monastery and the contiguous granges of Cabriaz, Landes, and Galliac. Where the Cabot enters the Dourdou River is a grange of Promillac, which includes topography of the old manorial regions as well as a terraced and varied riverbank for vines and gardens. The granges of Grausone, Rouzet, and Pardineguas are all located in valleys similar to the valley of Silvanès. (See Appendix: Map II.) Much farther to the west are the granges of Margnès and Lassouts, located in rough, mountainous terrain, most useful for their pastures. To the east, the granges of Soliis and Fontfroide are also both in areas of higher elevation: Soliis on the edge of the Causse of Larzac, and Fontfroide in cool mountain

1. For more extensive geographical background see descriptions in: Louis Chaigne, Le Rouergue -- Province Vivante (Paris, 1969) and Enjalbert, Rouergue Quercy, as well as the information on the Massif Centrale in Georges Chabot, Geographie Regionale de La France (Paris, 1969) and Philippe Pinchemel, France, a Geographical Survey (London, 1969). Two travel books by Freda White also provide an excellent picture of the area: Three Rivers of France, (London, 1952) and West of the Rhone (London, 1964)

2. In the parish of Ponte-de-Camarès.

mountain forests. The grange of Silvaplana south near the Languedoc plain, has a warmer, more Mediterranean climate, but still with pasture lands. The variety of land that was incorporated into its various granges added to their value for Silvanès as resources; for this variety allowed the monastery to concentrate the various aspects of its economy in the regions which were most appropriate for each. Cereal land did not need to be wasted as pasture; land appropriate for vines need not be used for crops that were more efficiently produced in larger areas. The necessity of producing certain crops did not have to overrule considerations of what crop would be most efficiently produced on a particular piece of land.

At the time it was founded, Silvanès was located in the independent county of Toulouse, but the evidence from the cartulary indicates that the more important political unit at the time was that associated with the castle: the castellany. There are donations from the Count of Rodez, and from the viscounts of Béziers and Narbonne and others, but these are certainly not as important to the monastery as the many gifts that Silvanès received from the local lord of the castle, Arnaldus de Ponte, and other lords of castles in the areas of the various granges.³

3. Silvanès, Introduction, p. xlvii.

The castle seems to dominate a unit of territory roughly corresponding to the old Carolingian judicial unit of the vicaria, but its power was based primarily on land-holding and military force and the right of bannum rather than on a right to hold court derived from some central authority. The castle is a center for the lord and his family as well as for a number of dependent knights, who name themselves knight(miles) in the charters.⁴ There is a member of the clergy, the capellanus, who presides at the castle's chapel where the lord and his family and dependents worship (thus effectively setting themselves off from the peasants, who attend mass and pay tithes to the parish church.) The cartulary of Silvanès shows the presence of a military power (centered on the castle) in the area, in a particular charter in which Arnaldus de Ponte's heirs promise that henceforth they will honor their duty to protect the vines and vineyards of the monastery of Silvanès, and make amends for the damage that had been caused by apparent marauders.⁵

There were many people in the community who were neither knights nor clergy and yet seem to have specific occupations

4. Silvanès, nos. 252, 18, show examples of knights.

5. "Et ideo debemus eam custodire et defendere ab incisione et exterminatione." Silvanès, no. 243.

within the society. These were the peasants who earned extra money and a reputation as skilled individuals of some kind. Indications of these trades or specialties are seen in the second-names or agnomens of people mentioned in the charters.⁶ These agnomens indicate that there were a number of skilled people in Camarès, such as a weaver (textor), furriers (pellicerii), and a miller (moliner).

There are other scattered indications of how the social workings of the society such as the position of women operated. Except in the case of Ermengardis, viscountess of Narbonne,⁷ women did not have legal status in their own right. They were perpetually treated in the charters in the same category as children, needing the consent of men to enact any legal or property transaction. Their second husbands gain control over what they may have obtained by their first marriage,⁸ and if they do not remarry, the brothers of the deceased husband handle their property and that of their children.⁹ Women sometimes give donations but never without the consent of some collateral male or of

6. "Agnomen" is a more general term than surname, and doesn't imply "family" name. See Appendix: Table II for list of these.

7. Silvanès, no. 396

8. Silvanès, nos, 135, 148, 193, 241.

9. Silvanès, nos, 147, 376.

her adult sons.¹⁰

In inheritance laws there is no evidence of primogeniture. All sons seem to have equal claims to the inheritance,¹¹ although property is often divided among them, certain political rights, such as lordship may not be. (Thus, the sons of Arnaldus de Ponte are called the "lords of Ponte", apparently holding the honor jointly.)¹² If property held by heirs is rented out or held in fief by someone else, brothers and sisters often seem to continue holding the lordship over that fief in common.

There does not seem to be overcrowding in this area; even so, fathers make arrangements for certain sons to become monks years before those sons are ready to enter the monastery.¹³ Some of the men entering the monastery as conversi appear to do so because they have been displaced by the monastic purchase of their lands; they enter the monastery rather than take their payment money and go elsewhere to start a homestead all over again.¹⁴ This seems to

10. Silvanès, no. 376

11. Silvanès, nos. 175, 195.

12. Silvanès, nos. 70, 116, 134, 145, 146, 147, etc. show the five sons of Arnaldus de Ponte held the lordship together.

13. Silvanès, nos. 107, 292.

14. See Appendix: Table I.

be a reflection of the fact that very often lords gave to the monastery land on which peasants lived, and in order for the Cistercians to use it as grange, (with only their lay brothers and hired labourers as farmers, and with no tenants,) they must convince the peasants who were already there to move. The evidence is incomplete and it is not possible to estimate whether many people were having to leave areas where granges were being established.

Although children of donors are sometimes listed in the charters, they are not consistently listed, and the evidence is not complete enough in sufficient cases to allow comment on population size, family size, or birth rate. Little is revealed about children; it is only certain that sons entered the monastery as fifteen,¹⁵ and that they were considered to have come of age at twenty-five after some sort of rite of passage, perhaps simply acting as a witness to a legal proceeding, or being knighted.¹⁶

15. Silvanès, no. 107.

16. Silvanès, nos. 304, 320.

Chapter IV: Description of the land

A survey of the history of the land in the various granges which Silvanès held, noting previous settlement patterns and the former use of the land (to the extent that this is indicated in the charters) will show how much the Cistercian innovations changed the twelfth century view of the land. In the time before the monks had come there, these lands had been described by many different rights, held by a hierarchy of individuals who each made his claim to the produce of the land. The Cistercians at Silvanès reintroduced the concept of absolute ownership which had been lost sometime in late Roman times.¹ They envisioned the land and its cultivators as closely interrelated, with no outside authorities intervening to claim part of the harvest or determine the crops by demanding specific produce as dues.

In the Silvanès charters, we find the terminology associated with manorialism used more frequently in relation to lands of light soil and easy drainage, than with the river valleys or the highlands, both of which would only

1. In this context, the term "absolute ownership" would apply, if the owner exercises all rights, control, and income, and is able to buy or sell.

be effectively utilized with the new technology of the high middle ages. The presence of descriptions typical of manorial lands would appear to be one clue to the antiquity of settlement on a piece of land. The presence of extensive fragmentation of the holding itself or rights attached to it also seems to indicate older settlements where enough generations had gone by to have caused the erosion of the original dividing of the land into units for single families.

The political taxes on an area might seem likely to tell something of its history as well. Among Silvanès's granges, the further the distance of a piece of land from Camarès, the less often are political rights mentioned in the cartulary. While this might imply that political taxes decreased with distance from a castle it is more likely that this is only an illusion created by the incomplete state of the cartulary; the compilation of charters stopped in 1169, but this was probably not because Silvanès had purchased its last piece of land, or right to pasture. (It is more likely that the cartulary stopped because of some outside forces; perhaps the scribe died, or decided it was too much trouble to keep recording all the charters, or no one thought it was any longer worthwhile.)² Thus, one

2. Scattered charters do exist, dated later than 1169, although there seem to be no indications of a second cartulary. Some of these have been incorporated in the Supplement.

cannot generalize that political or other rights did not exist in an area simply because they do not appear in the cartulary of Silvanès. Even when political or tenure rights are mentioned in the charters, one cannot always safely generalize, for the scribe sometimes seems to have tried to indicate absolute ownership by describing it as the concurrent holding of allod, benefice, and fief -- the terms he knew best. It is thus difficult to tell exactly what the actual conceptions of land ownership in the area of Silvanès were. Clearly, the descriptive terms used in the charters were not always used in accordance with the meaning usually ascribed to them for western Europe as a whole. Nor can consistent definitions even be made for all the charters in the cartulary of Silvanès. Within certain granges, the definitions seem consistent, but these definitions cannot be applied over large areas, or be made to imply information about areas like cities, where monasteries normally had minimal interests. They only describe the situation existing in a certain type of holding, in a specific time and place.

The variety of land rights and land divisions in any medieval documents seem particularly confusing because of the lack of any concept of absolute ownership, and the lack of clear divisions between ownership and political jurisdiction. (Primary control of the land, lordship, and cultivation of the land, usufruct, were never included within

one single concept.) Nor was land always measured in fixed spatial units. Most often its measurements reflected the amount of time needed to work it, or the number of people it could support.

Designations of land measurement, quite naturally, varied with the terrain.³ In river valley areas, where there was no room for extensive fields, there are numerous small parcels, most of which reflect their particular uses. In the cartulary of Silvanès, these small parcels are usually associated with the land in the grange of Promillac, along the Dourdou River. There the land was best suited for small terraced gardens called parrae or orti, and for vineyards (vineali). The vines seem to have been planted in strips of land called faiscae; when such a strip was already planted with vines, it was usually referred to simply as vineae (or some variation of that term).⁴ Vineyards also are found in enclosed areas known

3. See Appendix: Table III for a general view of the distribution of and measurements among the various granges.

4. In only one case do we find faisca used as a land-unit-term unrelated to vines. This is the description of "parran in faisca," which was apparently unusual enough to be mentioned. Both vinea and faisca are generally described by using the names of holders on either side. (These are the only land-unit-terms in the cartulary whose specific locations are designated by mentioning the contiguous owners.) There is evidence that Silvanès is attempting to consolidate some of the vines that it holds, there are several faiscae or vineae that fit together to make a larger unit. Silvanès, nos. 449-456.

as clausi.⁵ The evidence of strips of vines each held by a different person may indicate that these lands were planted under a sharecropping arrangement known as complant, in which a lord gave a piece of land suitable to viticulture to a peasant, who planted and cared for the vines until they started to produce, whereupon he returned half of them to the lord, and kept the rest in his own absolute ownership.⁶

Many other small holdings are described by various words in the charters: ripa, or riparia (riverbank), versana (hillside), cuneus (lit. wedge), archa (?), or just terra (land) with no designation of its size or use.

The granges located in the higher elevations lack any precise land-unit designations. Property is said simply to be in territorium or in honorem. The boundaries described in the charters for these areas make it quite clear that this is a frontier region, for few landmarks other than natural ones are used in the descriptions. There is no mention of roads or towns or churches, but simply rivers, mountains, and gorges.

The middle lands, those with a medium elevation, were

5. Clausus means enclosed place, and is related to the modern French clos, a vineyard.

6. See Silvanès, no. 385, as well as note 15 below. A good discussion of complant (and its equivalent mēplant) is included in DUBY, Rural Economy p. 139.

probably the earliest lands to be settled, for they are described by the typically manorial descriptions: mansus, caputmansus, and appendaria. The criteria for calling a piece of land a mansus are not completely clear; traditionally mansus has been understood as the family farm, or peasant homestead.⁷ There are descriptive formulae in the Silvanès charters that are associated not only with mansus, but with caputmansus and appendaria as well, and these clarify the meaning of all three terms, as well as implying a close similarity between them as units of land measurement. The typical formula incorporates fields, woods, pasture, and water:

"terras cultus et incultus, nemora, pascuas, aquas et recursus aquarum, introitibus et exitibus et quicquid in manso est et ad mansus pertinet."⁸

No building of any sort is included in the formulaic description,⁹ but simply the land rights which a peasant

7. Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, (Chicago, 1966) p. 243, and Duby, Rural Economy p. 28.

8. Silvanès, nos. 244, 277, 296, 323, etc. The only problem with such a formulaic description is the question of how much it actually describes the present extent of the mansus rather than its ideal or ancient extent.

9. Buildings of any sort are rarely mentioned at all in the cartulary, and generally do not seem to be thought important enough to mention unless they were actually involved in the issue at hand, such as in the case of the house at Montpellier, or the house for shepherds at Rouzet. (See chapters V and VI.)

utilized for his support. The caputmansus is at Silvanès a similar unit, but originally associated not with a peasant holding, but with the desmesne of the lord.¹⁰ In the Silvanès charters, the appendaria, like the mansus and caputmansus, is more than a simple unit of land; it too contains rights to woods, water and pasture. In these charters, the principal difference between appendaria and mansus and caputmansus, is that the appendaria seems to be a later addition to the manor, an assart, or cleared waste, which has taken its place within the manor and enjoys all the associated rights that either mansus or caputmansus encompasses.¹¹

10. Whether the caputmansus is equal to the desmesne, or is one of several mansi made from the desmesne is unclear. In the cartulary of Silvanès, the possession of a caputmansus is no longer confined to a lord, nor is the possession of a mansus strictly confined to a peasant. The status of the holding was no longer definitely associated with that of its holder. Perhaps some distinction in size or location continued to exist in the twelfth century which caused a distinction to be made between caputmansus and mansus, but it could as easily be that the distinction had merely been retained along with the name of the particular mansus or caputmansus, as time-honored usage. The contention by Higounet that the caputmansus may be associated with the house and surrounding buildings associated with a peasant's mansus, can not apply in the case of the cartulary of Silvanès since caputmansus is clearly a parallel type of holding to mansus, not something within the mansus itself. See: Ch. Higounet, "Observations sur la Seigneurie Rurale et l'Habitat en Rouergue de IXe au XIVe Siècle," Annales du Midi, LXII (1950), 127, 128. For examples of the parallelism between these 3 at Silvanès see, Silvanès, no. 89.

11. The appendariae in this cartulary are land units with formulaic descriptions applied to them that are just the same as those applied to the mansus or caputmansus.

Occasionally the mansus itself is fragmented and several different half-mansi (medietatem mansi) may be spoken of;¹² more often the usufruct of the mansi is split and several different people holding benefice or fief may cultivate it.¹³ This is one of the effects of the equal division of inheritance among heirs. Generally, however, in Camarès the mansus or caputmansus or appendaria is cultivated by one person; the area in which Silvanès is located does not appear to be excessively crowded. (Great amounts of fragmentation would have indicated crowding.) There are certainly sufficient waste areas in the vicinity to absorb population growth and there are several indications that there is indeed a flow of population into those new areas.¹⁴

Most of them appear to be located on the fringes of the middle elevations, such as in the grange of Galliac, (in the hills above Silvanès.) They should not be confused with appendicia, the word which Duby associates with the fields of a mansus in the mâçonnaise and elsewhere. See: Duby, Rural Economy, p. 28.

12. For example, Silvanès, nos. 256, 257, 269, 286, 291.

13. For examples of fragmented benefice, see Silvanès, nos. 110, 113, 114, 115, 120, 121; for examples of fragmented fief see Silvanès, nos. 117, 118, 119, 124.

14. Two charters particularly make this clear. The first, concerning the grange of Margnès, appears at first to be a donation of pasture in the area called Laurat; in fact the donor admonishes the monastery to allow their sheep only in the poorest areas of the parish (We can interpret that as the poorest soils.) and that they must respect the claims of peasants in the mansi in the area. Silvanès, no. 429. The second charter is the sale of pasture in Soliis to Silvanès. In that, specific details are included of how Silvanès's pasture land will be diminished

There are three terms used in the charters to describe land ownership: allod (alodium) benefice (beneficium) and fief (feudum). Allod at Silvanès as in the rest of Europe means the primary ownership of the land (or dominium, lordship)¹⁵ with or without the usufruct (the right to cultivate) of that land as well. Fief and benefice both can be used to mean usufruct, but their meanings vary with the context, and sometimes there even appears to be an intermediate ownership somewhere between lordship and usufruct. Often only one of these three rights seems to exist on a certain piece of land, sometimes all three exist. All three may be held by one owner, or there could be three owners, one for the lordship and two for the fief (by the process of subenfeudation.) The meaning of these various permutations of ownership rights can be illustrated by examples from the cartulary.¹⁶

When the terms allod, benefice and fief are all used

if there is too great an increase in the number of hearths in the area. Silvanès, no. 381. (See chapter V for further details and quotations from these two charters.)

15. dominium is a very unusual word in the charters. It only occurs once in connection with allod; at the grange of Silvapiana when the monastery received the allod and domenga domengaduran of that land, Silvanès, no. 388. Another use is in that discussion of vines which suggests complant: "vineam que vocatur de La Porta, que est apud Dursonem, cujus medietatem Petrus Bernardi excolit et quartum inde reddit, altera plus quam medietas est in somino," Silvanès, no. 385

16. See Appendix: Table IV for a general view of the varied distribution of these rights from grange to grange.

together in the Silvanès charters, it seems to imply that one person holds in effect, absolute ownership of the land in question. There are examples of this absolute ownership category in certain manorial areas as well as in areas where the typical manorial terms for land description do not occur. For example, in the grange of Promillac, there are vineyards held in apparent absolute ownership.¹⁷ There are also more traditional holdings held in absolute ownership, such as the woods of La Codeta,¹⁸ or a caputmansus in Promillac.¹⁹ All these are designated as allod, benefice, and fief combined presumably because the scribe knew no term for absolute ownership as such.

Absolute ownership also seems to be implied when the terms allod and fief are used together with no reference at all to benefice, as in the case of a mansus called Calvinz at Soliis, held as allod and fief; the donor mentions that he had purchased the fief from its holder, and implies that he now has absolute ownership.²⁰ This is however,

17. "unum vinaletum in Promillac, videlicet alodium, fevum, benefitium (sic)," Silvanès, no. 205.

18. "totius nemoris quod vocatur de La Codeta, scilicet alodium, fevum, benefitium (sic)," Silvanès, no. 218.

19. "totum caputmansus quod habemus in Promillac, videlicet alodium, fevum, beneficium," Silvanès, no. 245.

20. "videlicet mansum qui dicitur Calvinz, alodium, fevum, vicairiam (sic) et medietatem decime, et hoc fevum emimus CC solidos de Deodato Moscalone." Silvanès, no. 375. (The political rights of vicaria and the tithe are discussed elsewhere.)

an unusual case which may be misleading. For the case of allod and benefice held by one owner which might be considered absolute ownership, there are no examples.

Absolute ownership never seems to be implied by allod alone. There is only one case in the cartulary in which a piece of land is designated as an allod without further charters dealing with the benefice or fief to that piece of land: this is a grange where tenure rights are so rarely mentioned that it cannot be inferred that benefice and fief did not exist here.²¹ It is more probable that the purchases in this area were just not complete at the time that the cartulary ends than that in this case allod suddenly means absolute ownership rather than simply lordship.

In the Silvanès cartulary, the ownership relationship between a lord and tenant (lordship and usufruct) are either designated by allod and fief, or by allod and benefice. The relationship of allod and fief, as the only tenure rights to a piece of land, is shown by two charters from Fontfroide. The mansus called Felgairetas at Fontfroide is held as an allod by Ugo of Cornus and as a fief by Guillelemus Facieiveteris; there are no other holders of the land mentioned or implied, and it seems that benefice

21. Silvanès, no. 379.

does not exist with regard to this particular piece of land.²² This example seems to imply that allod and fief is the typical two-fold distinction rather than allod and benefice.

There are other possible permutations of the lordship-usufruct relationship. Benefice and fief are never used together in these charters to indicate lordship and usufruct respectively nor do we find the allod and benefice held by one person while the fief is held by another. However, there are instances when someone holds the allod to a piece of land and another person holds the combined rights of benefice and fief. An example is the donation of the allod of the mansus of Alzaramenc in the honor of Tapiis, by Raymundus of Sancto Mauricio, and the donation of the benefice and fief of that same mansus by Rigaldus Alzarrams.²³

22. "mansum Felgairetas vocatum, qui est ad Fontemfrigidum per alodium cum omnibus sibi pertinentibus," Silvanès, no. 357. "totum hoc quod habebam in manso Felgairetas qui est ad Fontemfrigidum, hoc est fevi medietatem," Silvanès, no. 358. (Apparently someone else holds the other half of the fief; it is not clear who does.)

23. "totum quod habeo et habere debeo in manso de Tapiis, qui vocatur Alzaramenc, videlicet alodium tocus (sic) illius mansi et quicquid ibi aliqua persona de me vel per me habet." Silvanès, no. 368. "totum fevum et totum beneficium illius mansi de Fontorb Alzaramenc, qui est in terminio de Tapiis," Silvanès, no. 366.

There are also situations where allod and benefice are held together but fief is held by a different person. The mansus of Calmeta, near Pardineguas is held as allod and benefice by Bernardus Escafredi, and as fief by Frotardus of Rocosel.²⁴ An especially interesting thing about this holding is that whereas allod and benefice are held as a single lordship, the holder of the fief describes it as that land that Bernardus Begonis of Prohencos holds from him; in fact there are three holders to this piece of land: the holder of allod and benefice combined and two holders of fief.

There do not seem to be any cases where three distinct persons hold allod, benefice and fief as three distinct types of ownership. This makes the meaning of fief quite clear: the right of usufruct. The meaning of benefice however, remains obscure. Sometimes it is associated with the allod, as if recalling a time when the present holder was not lord over this land. At other times benefice is associated with the fief, as if to strengthen the meaning of that word. In the charters, if not in actuality, the meaning of benefice does stay constant with regard to a

24. "mansum qui vocatur Calmeta, qui est juxta Pardinegas, videlicet alodium et benefitium, terras cultas et incultas, prata, nemora, pascua et si qua sunt alia ad ipsum mansum pertinentia et quicquid ibi aliqua persona per nos vel de nobis habet." Silvanès, no. 325. "totum quod habemus in manso qui vocatur Calmeta, videlicet fevum quem tenet ibi de nobis Bernardus Begonis de Prohencos." Silvanès, no. 326.

single piece of land, and we never saw the terms allod and benefice used concurrently for lordship, when benefice is being used with fief (as well) to mean usufruct.

There are several other terms that seem to be as tightly tied to land descriptions as allod, benefice, and fief, but they are descriptions of political jurisdiction rather than ownership. These are vicaria and sirventatgue. Vicaria is a term associated with the right granted by the Carolingians to hold a court, usually originally associated with a viscount. However, in the cartulary of Silvanès it seems to have gained a new meaning, perhaps only as another level in land ownership, or perhaps now a tax paid to a holder of the judicial right associated, not with the viscount, but with the castellan. Sirventatgue must be related to sergeantry, but its meaning in the context of the cartulary of Silvanès is unclear. Perhaps it is associated with the policing powers of the castle, or perhaps it is the payment to the local person who must represent the community in a term of castle-guard each year. Several documents show that sirventatgue is levied not only on land units such as the mansi, but on the tithe (decima) as well.²⁵ This would suggest that it is a levy for military protection either by a local person doing castle guard or by someone in the castle itself who gets his support from this tax over a certain area including

25. Silvanès, nos. 92, 197.

the parish church. Although the documents may not be complete, it seems clear from the existing evidence that sirventatgue consistently did not occur in the granges outside of Camarès.²⁶ In the case of both vicaria and sirventatgue, as well as in the case of the tithe, there is a good possibility that the tax is no longer held by the agency for whom it was originally intended. Just as there are many lay holders of tithes, there may be many holders of vicaria who do not hold court, and many holders of sirventatgue who do not provide military protection.

By the twelfth century many of the political concepts such as the right to hold court, or the obligation to provide military protection, had probably passed into the realm of the bannum. Unfortunately, there is not much information in the charters about the lord's bannal rights. Only in the charters concerning mills does there seem to be any conflict between the monastery and the bannal right of the lords in the areas where Silvanès held land; although he allowed Silvanès to build mills at Promillac, Arnaldus de Ponte refused to allow them the bannal rights of moltura

26. Does this mean that the power of the castellanies does not extend everywhere or that there is no sirventatgue levied on animal husbandry?

and paratura (the dues collected for use of the mills); this conflict was resolved when his sons gave those rights to Silvanès several years later,²⁷ along with the confirmation of other rights.

All these examples help to illustrate not just the meaning of the terms, but also the intentions of the monks of Silvanès. They were not only attempting to gain rights of absolute ownership (control of allod and benefice and fief) but they were also attempting to gain rights to political control (holding of vicaria and sirventatgue) and to gain complete exemptions from the tithe. Again and again, in every grange, there seems to be a concerted effort to gain every possible land right.²⁸ In their search for a life isolated from the laity, they sought to escape control by lord, by castellan, and by parish priest, in fact to become a separate "principality" only answering to bishop and pope. Their intentions are the reasons that would have necessitated such a document as the cartulary for systematizing just what rights were given with each piece of land, who had held it, who had witnessed the transaction, who would make sure that the property should remain in the

27. Silvanès, nos. 210, 145. Also see chapter VI, and Appendix Table VI.

28. See Appendix: Table IV, for information on the number of times different rights are obtained in the respective areas.

monastic property.

Thus, it can be seen that the men who had lived before in the valley of Silvanès had a hierarchical view of how land should be divided, and their land had many layers of claims. The men who founded Silvanès had a much different idea of property rights, an idea much closer to absolute ownership, their aim was to owe nothing to other men, and for other men to owe nothing to them. In a few instances, they did not completely comply with this vision, they did accept gifts of churches, they did accept bannal rights to mills, but in general, the cartulary shows them patiently purchasing those rights which are not donated, and making settlements with those who did not generously comply with the papal exemptions. Eventually they gained quite clear control of all the rights to the pieces of land that made up their various granges.

Chapter V: Pasture

The most important resource in Silvanès's economy was its extensive rights to pasture. These were in a variety of areas, although the most important pasture rights were associated with the outlying granges of Margnès, Lassouts, Soliis, and Silvaplane, which all seem to have been devoted almost exclusively to large numbers of sheep, cattle and horses. These animals became primary economic assets for the monastery. Horses were mentioned in numerous charters where they were given as gifts in lieu of money.¹ Sheep and cows were important for the cheeses made from their milk as well as for meat, skins or hides. The sheep, in addition provided a yearly growth of wool, which the monastery could either process into cloth or could sell in the market towns in Languedoc. Pigs were also important for meat, although there is no indication of great numbers of pigs raised by Silvanès.²

1. The horse was obviously valuable as a means of transport and as a machine of war. Occasionally a mule is mentioned and seemed to have been about equal in value to a young horse. See Appendix: Table V, for lists of references to various animals and animal products in the cartulary.

2. There is also reference of a very mysterious animal called "collector," mentioned in the context of pigs: "pascuas

Many of the pasture rights that Silvanès received cannot be clearly measured, for the right to pasture must frequently have been included in the donations of other rights. With almost every mansus that the monastery received, pasture rights were probably included; many of the formulaic descriptions of the mansus include pasture as one of the principal parts of the gift,³ but how can the extent of this pasture be estimated? Many other donations of pasture rights are equally vague and their extent may vary tremendously; when a donation includes pasture "in all the honors" of the donor, we cannot tell whether that donor holds one mansus, or twenty. The result is that the extent of the pasture rights which Silvanès acquired can only be estimated from those charters where pasture in a specified area is given, or when pasture for a specific number of animals is given. Despite these problems, we can say that the number of charters including references specifically to pasture is very high, and the cartulary makes it quite clear that pasture is an important

in vestris nemoribus duroum porcorum et unius collectoris,"
Silvanès, no. 282.

3. Some description of pasture is almost always included when the typical formulaic description of a mansus is given: "Videlicet, terram, cultus et incultus, aquam et cursus et recursus aquarum, nemoris, pratum et pascuas et omnem pertinent ad mansus." Silvanès, no. 277

acquisition for Silvanès.

The earliest donations of pasture were in the areas closest to the monastery. Among these were several cattle pens or animal enclosures known as parragines or las devesas. These areas seem to have been set apart within the common waste or on land on the fringes of the settlement, by someone wanting to prohibit other men's animals from grazing there.⁴ Four of these are in the area of Silvanès: one of the two parragines that Arnaldus de Ponte held in Landes,⁵ one parrago in Galliac, as an allod,⁶ one parrago in the mansus of Fanges, along with a woods,⁷ and pasture for five pigs in the parrago and woods of

4. The donors of these "enclosures" seem to be powerful people in the community. Parrago is a variant spelling of parricus, which means cattle park, or enclosed field in the southern French references, see J.H. Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus, Vol. 1, p. 766. Devesas is a spelling of defensus, or prohibited area, in Languedoc. Their association with woods or wastelands, and pasture in both cases (see quotes below notes 5-19) leads to the conclusion that devesas and parrago must be rather similar enclosures that keep out other people's animals. (The association with woods and waste is made more clear when it is noted that Landes means wasteland, that Galliac is located in a more marginal area than most near the monastery, and that em batut when associated with pasture for pigs is certainly in boscum.)

5. "unum de duabus parraginibus quas habemus ad Las Landes," Silvanès, no. 9.

6. "unum parraginem ad Galac, ad proprium alodium," Silvanès, no. 155.

7. "unam parraginem et boscum, quem habemus in manso de Fangis," Silvanès, no. 38.

Naus.⁸ Another is in Fontfroide: along with the woods of Malablacheira, a parrago that is near the woods.⁹ The monastery gets other rights to pasture in the wooded areas near Silvanès. In 1133 they receive pasture in the woods of Silvanesc (sic) for all the monastery's pigs with perpetual exemption from payment,¹⁰ and in 1135 the monastery purchases the Wood of Landes for 30 solidi.¹¹ In 1160, they get the woods called Rendondel,¹² and also receive a meadow near the monastery called Celers.¹³

There are also a number of general pasture rights in the valley of Silvanès. In 1163, three brothers give pasture in all their lands.¹⁴ Also in 1163, a couple give all the pasture in their empty lands (heremis terrae).¹⁵

8. "pascuas a V procos in las devesas et em batut de Naus," Silvanès, no. 82.

9. "nemus de Malablacheira cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et cum deveso qui juxta nemus est." Silvanès, no. 375.

10. "et in bosco de Silvanesco pascuam in perpetuum habendam sine ullo lucro averi omnibus procis domus vestre," Silvanès, no. 9.

11. "Bosco Landes," Silvanès, no. 28.

12. "et boscum, qui vocatur Rendondel," Silvanès, no. 141.

13. "unum pratum, ad Celers," Silvanès, no. 37 (1133).

14. "et damus vobis similiter pascuas in omni terra nostra ad alenda et nutrienda animalia vestra cujuscumque maneriei sint." Silvanès, no. 173.

15. Silvanès, no. 88.

In a similar donation another couple give all the grass that they own in Camarès, except in the old mansi where some peasants have a claim to it.¹⁶ The most important donation of general pasture rights is one made in 1164 by the heirs of Arnaldus de Ponte. This included all the pasture in all the holdings of the lords of Ponte, and access rights except for the acorns in the woods of Trebezagues, without any taxes for any time the animals were there.¹⁷ Finally, among the donations for the valley of Silvanès, is the donation of a mountain called Tenez, which Arnaldus de Ponte gives, along with all its hills and whatever pertains to it.¹⁸ The use for such a mountain is not clear, but we might assume that on its slopes Silvanès would have extensive pasture.

16. "Donamus etiam vobis et vestris voluntarie omnes herbas, quas habemus et habere debemus in toto Camares, ad alenda et nutrienda animali vestra cujuscumque maneriei sint, exceptis his que ab aliquo pagense de manso vestito clamate vobis fuerint," Silvanès, no. 89 (1163)(confirmed in no. 108 (1167)).

17. "preter glandes de bosco Trebezagues, omnes pascujs in omni terra nostra et in omnibus pasucis nostris, ubicumque sint, cum ingressibus et exitibus suis, ad pascenda et nutrienda omnia animalia vestra semper cujuscumque maneriei sint absque ullo omnino censu et usatico," Silvanès, no. 145. (Confirmations in nos. 146, 147, 148, 164, 165, 168)

18. "totum montem, qui vocatur Mons Tenez, quicquid in eo habemus et possidemus, et Collem Frigidum et omnes colles ad ipsum montem pertinentes, et quidquid ibi aliqua persona de nobis habet," Silvanès, no. 10.

The rights granted by the lords of Ponte, of pasture in all their lands, would have included pasture in the granges of Promillac and Grausone as well as in the valley of Silvanès.¹⁹ Other rights to pasture and food for the monastery's animals in Promillac include full rights to half of a forest called La Codeta,²⁰ a meadow in Sarrus,²¹ and pasture in the mansus of Fabricus.²² Permission from Arnaldus de Ponte to keep one flock of sheep in the parish of Sarrus, includes the most definite information about the size of Silvanès's flocks, for Arnaldus de Ponte limits the size of Silvanès's flock in that parish to a thousand sheep.²³ Obviously the sheep in this flock alone

19. See note 18 above. The lordship of Arnaldus de Ponte and his sons seems to have included the areas, of Grausone, Promillac, Galliac, Landes, Cabriaz, and Silvanès, (and perhaps Pardineguas.)

20. "et medietatem totius nemoris quod vocatur de La Codeta, scilicet alodium, fevum, benefitium et vicarium et quicquid ibi habemus vel habere debemus, vel aliqua persona per nos vel de nobis habet," Silvanès, no. 218.

21. The monastery received half of the meadow ("medietatem prati de Serrus") from Gibertus of Castluz when he entered the monastery in 1139. The other half was given in 1143 by his nephew, Pons Talamateung for 30 solidi: "quicquid habeo et habere debeo in prato de Serrutios (sic), quod avunculus meus, Guitbertus, veniens ad conversionem eidem monasterio dederat." Silvanès, nos. 175, 195.

22. "in manso de Fabricus paschua (sic) herbarum ad alenda peccorum vestra." Silvanès, no. 176.

23. "ut omni tempore teneant unum tropellum de ovibus in tota parrochia de Serrus, quod tropellum non debet excedere numerum mille." Silvanès, nos. 177 and 70.

would provide for the internal needs of a much larger monastery than Silvanès, and there are indications of other flocks as well, so Silvanès is producing sheep for more than its own uses.

In other nearby granges, Silvanès received rights of grass for its flocks²⁴ and glandage for pigs in Grausone,²⁵ as well as pasture in the honor or manor of Minerba near the grange of Pardineguas. But this pasture at Pardineguas only included whatever was not claimed by the peasants in the mansi there, whose rights were to be respected.²⁶ Neither Grausone, nor Pardineguas, nor Promillac, any more than the holdings in the valley of Silvanès itself, was devoted exclusively to pastureland. Neither was the more

24. "Herbam peccoribus vestris in manso qui vocatur de Seiro," Silvanès, no. 261, and "ut omnia animalia vestra cujuscumque maneriei sint libere semper pascatis in omnibus pascuis nostris ubicumque sint." Silvanès, no. 292.

25. "pascua in vestris nemoribus duorum porcorum et unius collectoris," Silvanès, no. 282, and "Pasqueria (sic) X porcorum que habemus in Campo Auri," Silvanès, no. 284. (Glandage is the right to let pigs wander in a forest, eating acorns and other nuts.)

26. "omnes pascuas tocius honoris de Menerba ad alenda et nutrienda semper omnia animalia vestra cujuscumque manerie sint absque ullo servitio et absque ulla nostra nostrorumque querimonia, preter in mansis vestitis, in quibus non debetis pascere animalia vestra sine consensu rusticorum ibi permanentium." Silvanès, nos. 349, 350. This honor is obviously a manor since there are peasants (rustici) who live in mansi there having claim to certain pasture rights just as the donors had. In effect what is given in this donation and probably in many others of pasture in all honors, is the lord's claim to pasture in a certain manor.

distant grange of Fontfroide, where pasture rights were centered in rights to a beech forest called Fajaobscura,²⁷ along with the enclosure for animals similar to those near Silvanès.²⁸

Many of the donations of pasture in the grange of Rouzet to the west of Silvanès are those specifying, "pasture in all my honors."²⁹ Most of these seem to be donations of a lord's portions of pasture in a common waste, but those donations by Bernardus Begonis of Prohencos seem to indicate that he is giving the pasture connected with seven individual mansi and three appendariae in old and new Rouzet, while he retains the mansi and appendariae himself until his death.³⁰ Does this mean that he is a peasant, holding this

27. Silvanès, nos. 357, 361, 362.

28. See note 10, above.

29. Silvanès, nos., 310, 313, 314, 321, are all donations with wording similar to that of no. 292. (see note 25, above.) Only occasionally are the exact rights spelled out, as in no. 218: "pascuas que habeo in parrochia de Cums, scilicet medietatem de rivis Costacumbus usque quo dividitur cum Sancto Privato."

30. "sed ut prescriptum honorem etiam in vita mea in aliquo possidere incipiatis, ego prenomatus Bernardus dono vobis predictis Salvaniensibus projure possessionis a presenti die et deinceps in prescripto territoria pascua ad alenda animalia vestra." Silvanès, nos. 323, 324. The four mansi and three appendariae in no. 323 are given in fief and vicaria, the three mansi in 324 are given as allod, benefice, fief, and vicaria. Despite the fact that Bernardus Begonis himself holds the fief, it is possible that he has contracted to rent out these mansi on a very limited basis or that he himself will work this land with hired, or serf labour. The cartulary does not make clear, what sort of rental, or labour arrangements may be current for these units known as mansi, or exactly what relationship the rustici or pagani have to the lords or to the land.

large amount of land and giving away the pasture connected with it, or does this mean that he is a lord who rents out these lands to tenants who have been deprived of the traditional rights to pasture that are associated with the land? Whatever the case, these documents indicate that the monastery had acquired much more consolidated rights of pasture in Rouzet than in other areas since it is gaining rights to pasture connected with mansi and appendariae whereas the right to pasture in "all my honors" was often limited to the lord's portion of that pasture. Another strong indication of the consolidation of pasture in the area of Rouzet is the concession, also given by Bernardus Begonis of Prohencos, to allow the monastery to build a house in Rouzet where Silvanès's shepherds can live and keep their tools, when they are working in the grange of Rouzet.³¹ Although there are indications of a continuation of other pursuits besides sheep raising in Rouzet,³² the primary emphasis in the area seems to be shifting, with the acquisition and consolidation of pasture rights by Silvanès

31. "ut ibi laboretis et domum ibi construatis in qua pastores vestri habitare resque suas tenere possint." Silvanès, no. 324.

32. There are donations of various rights to a number of mansi in the area, although how many of these coincide with those included in the donation by Bernardus Begonis of Prohencos is quite unclear. There is also a donation of glandage for fifteen pigs, at Rouzet: "pascua XV porcorum que habebamus in Rooreto (sic), quando ibi glandes erant." Silvanès, no. 297.

towards the exclusive economic pursuit of sheep-raising.³³

The two western areas of Margnès and Lassouts,³⁴ although not completely confined to pasture, seem to have a high enough concentration of animals there to cause the neighboring lords some worry. The area of Margnès was given to Silvanès by Roger, the viscount of Béziers, and in his charter he included pasture not only in the territory of Margnès itself but in the surrounding areas as well.³⁵ While one local lord grants pasture in all his lands,³⁶ another attempts to limit the use of Silvanès's pasture rights in the parish known as Laurat by telling the monks that they may only keep their sheep in those areas where the land is the poorest, and that if they are guilty of

33. Land held in absolute ownership by many of the donors from Rouzet, may indicate that this is a newly settled marginal area which is not suited for any thing but animal husbandry. The geographical descriptions of the area are particularly fuzzy. See Silvanès, p. liii.

34. Generalizations about Lassouts, which seemed to have been a dependency of Margnès, are difficult to make because of the limited number of charters for Lassouts. Silvanès, Introduction, p. lv. There is only one donation of pasture rights that is granted specifically to Lassouts: another typical donation of all the pasture in someone's honors. Silvanès, no. 448. There is also considerable confusion because of the obvious similarity between two sets of charters which would suggest that the series without dates cannot be considered complete and authentic, especially since they do not use the correct formulaic descriptions of the donation. Silvanès, nos. 443, 444, 445, 446.

35. "pascua in circuitu et confinio ejusdem territorii sunt," Silvanès, no. 406.

36. Silvanès, no. 424.

causing any harm to planted crops or meadows, they will have to pay damages to the peasants who live there.³⁷

Pasture in the area of Soliis is purchased by Silvanès in 1147. This pasture area is important because it is on the Causse of Larzac, in a somewhat different setting than most of the other pasturelands that Silvanès holds, and an area well known for its good pasture.³⁸ The document of the sale of the pasture in an area called Calmels is particularly interesting in itself because of the light shed on animal husbandry and on society as well, by its various limitations and prohibitions.

The purchase includes rights to keep one flock of sheep (its size not given); four pair of oxen; and thirty horses and twelve cows with their young at Calmels; horses may be substituted for cows or vice versa.³⁹ Sheep cannot be there

37. "pascuam jumentis, armentis, gregibus, pecoribus (sic), cujuscumque generis sint monasterii Salvaniensis in omni eo loco in quo habent aliquid juris et districtionis in territorio de Laurat, quod est in parrochia de Solegres, ut de cetero nullam districtionem facient in pascendis gregibus nisi, pauperiem, id est talam, fecerint vel dampnum dederint in pratis et satis si qua futura sunt," Silvanès, no. 429 (1169). This may indicate that after Silvanès has been using pasture in this area for twenty years, local lords are becoming aware of the damage that sheep can cause.

38. The cause of Larzac provides the pastureland for Roquefort, and its caves are used for curing the famous Roquefort cheeses.

39. "Animalia vero que in predicto territorio alere et tenere debetis sunt hec: grex ovium unus, boum (sic) quatuor paria, eque XXX, vacce XII, ita quod pulli et vituli earum ibidem morantes cum matribus infra unum annum in

during the time of glandage: from Michaelmas to Martinmas (September 29 through November 11).⁴⁰ The area of pasture is defined with the condition that if the number of hearths increases in the area, the two monasteries with rights there (Silvanès and St. Salvatore of Lodève) will have their pasture areas proportionally diminished and confined to an area outlined in the sale.⁴¹ This seems to indicate that this part of the Causse of Larzac is attracting a number of new settlers and is expected to attract more. The prohibitions included make it clear that there are peasant's fields here, that those peasants have rights to pasture, and that the lord is being careful to preserve the general resource: others should not be prevented from keeping their animals in this area, nor should those wishing to practice agriculture be prevented, the young oak, and beech trees

prescripto numero non computabuntur. Sciendum vero est ut quocienscumque de numero predictorum animalium, vaccarum videlicet sive boum quicquam minus fuerit, ex equabus semper supplebitur. Similiter et si de numero equarum quicquam minus fuerit, ex vaccis sive bubus complebitur." Silvanès, no. 381.

40. "In anno vero quo in jam dicto territorio porci in pascuam glandium sine contrarietate mittentur, oves vestre ibi non erunt a festiuitate Sancti Michaelis usque ad festiuitatem Sancti Martini;" Silvanès, no. 381.

41. "Item notum sit ut si forte quandoque in prefato territorio hominum habitationem fieri contigerit, et ipsa habitatio ultra tres focos excreuerit, non sicut ante sic postea animalia vestra passim et ubique per territorium pascentur, sed erunt pascua eorum usque ad terminos quos talibus exprimimus vocabulis, scilicet..." Silvanès, no. 381.

should not be burned, and if someone's crops are harmed by the monastery's animals they must pay damages.⁴²

The only pasture at Silvaplana, Silvanès's grange located on the plain of Languedoc, is that listed in the original donation of the land, "pascua peccoribus supradictum fratrum Salvaniensium."⁴³ The importance of the pasture at Silvaplana is not as pasture for the normal feeding and nourishment of the flocks of Silvanès, but rather as a pasture where they could be kept overnight when they were driven from Silvanès's other granges to the markets on the plain of Languedoc. For most of the year, Silvaplana would probably have been too hot for sheep, but its location is very convenient as a stopping place from almost any of Silvanès's granges.

All of the granges that Silvanès held had pasture lands, but in some granges such as Soliis and Margnès and Ròuzet animal raising seems to have been the exclusive endeavor of the conversi who stayed there. The evidence of animal husbandry found in the charters dealing with pasture can be supplemented by evidence of the frequent use

42. "Nichilominus autem hoc attendendum est quod predictum territorium seu pascuam ad animalibus aliorum hominum defendere non habetis, et agriculturam ibi exercere volentes prohibere non debetis, arbores quoque virides, quercus vel fagos, ibi incedere non habetis, et si animalia vestra sata hominum ibi laborantium depaverint, legalium hominum consilio emendare debetis, Silvanès, no. 381.

43. Silvanès, no. 386

of animals and animal products as gifts in lieu of money.⁴⁴ This does not mean to imply that these products replaced money as the most frequent means of exchange, but simply that the charters in which animal products are given as gifts can serve as an indication of what the monastery is producing. The list of animals used as gifts underlines the evidence of sheep raising and cattle raising found in the charters for pasture. It also makes it clear that horses were probably raised not just for the monastery's use, but as a valuable commercial commodity in an age in which they were the fastest means of transport and also extremely valuable for use in the fields. The indications of wool products and sheep as well as the presence of weavers in the community and a plan for a fulling mill at Promillac substantiate the conclusion that Silvanès was processing some of its own wool.⁴⁵ In addition, raw wool, and many of the animals, presumably were sold in the markets of the nearby cities.⁴⁶ The practice of animal husbandry, as seen in this survey of the woods, meadows, enclosures, and other pasture rights which the monastery of Silvanès had acquired, was part of the totally new monastic economy

44. See Appendix: Table V for a list of various products and animals.

45. Evidence of weavers in Table II of Appendix, of fulling mills, in Chapter VI and Table VI as well.

46. Commerce is discussed in Chapter VI.

which Silvanès was developing in the mid-twelfth century, in which animals were produced not just as a dietary supplement to a subsistence economy, but as a major marketable product that would provide cash for the monastery's needs.

Chapter VI: Water, Wood, and Trade.

Water has always been an important resource, but it became even more important when man learned to harness its power through the use of the water wheel. The use of the water mill for grinding grain spread during the early middle ages until every lord had his mill. In the eleventh and twelfth century, the mill's rotary motion was applied to grinding and crushing many more products: olives, seeds nuts for oil, barks for tanning, woad for dyeing, and malt and bran for producing beer. Other uses of this power were made possible by the invention of the trip-hammer which allowed the continuous rotary motion of the water wheel to be converted into intermittent vertical motion; the vertical motion made repeated pounding possible. This pounding was used in manufacturing rope or fulling cloth; the hemp for making rope was softened by being pounded and newly woven cloth was felted by the chemical action caused when fuller's earth was pounded into it. The cloth manufacturing process became much less expensive when cloth could be fullled by a mill, rather than by being put into a trough and stamped on.¹

1. Anne-Marie Bautier, "Les Plus Anciennes Mentions de Moulins Hydrauliques Industriels et de Moulins a vent," Bulletin Philologique et Historique (Jusqu'a 1610) du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, I (1960), 568.

Although the fulling mill soon became quite common in northern Europe and particularly in Flanders, it is considered rather unusual to find a fulling mill in southern France during the twelfth century.² The plans for a fulling mill which was probably built by Silvanès in 1170 were quite innovative, and this innovation is one that fits well with the economic changes that Silvanès was making: raising sheep as a marketable commodity and even processing some of its own wool. The total use of water resources played a major part in the commercial and agricultural efforts at Silvanès. The building and reconstruction of a number of dams, the stocking of the water behind the dams as fishponds, turning grinding stones and fulling cloth with water power, and even the use of irrigation to grow lush meadows of grass for feed, show how carefully integrated the uses of water and stream had become.

There are three major centers where Silvanès was gaining rights connected with water or water-power: near the monastery itself, in the valley of Silvanès, in the grange of Grausone, along the Grauxou River, and in the grange of Promillac, along the Dourdou River.³ At Grausone, Silvanès

2. Bautier, "Moulins," 583.

3. The transactions concerning mills have been summarized in Table VI in the appendix. Many of the questions of how many mills are where, and the finer points of interpretation, are included there, along with the relevant Latin.

received several pre-existing mills. It is not clear exactly how many, at least two, perhaps as many as four. In the valley of Silvanès, there was a more complex system based on two sites of old paxeriae (dams). The first was a paxeria along the stream called le Cabot, where the monastery received permission to use the water rights for running a mill, which it built there sometime before 1159. The second is a paxeria above the monastery, perhaps on the Cabot, or on one of the smaller streams that flow into the Cabot near the monastery. The donations include rights not only for Silvanès to rebuild the old dam, but "to divert the water for a mill, to a meadow or to wherever the monks wished,"⁴ There are indications that a mill with a piscatoria (fishpond) behind it was built, but nothing more is mentioned in the charters about diverting water into meadows at this site.

Does this mean that Silvanès had intentions of irrigation that it simply did not carry through or that the cartulary does not mention in any greater detail, but that irrigation was being practiced? Or that this is simply some sort of mistake that the scribe had made in the charter, perhaps misinterpreting an old formula? There is another reference to using a paxeria for "making a meadow" at Promillac.⁵ The

4. Silvanès, no. 59.

5. Silvanès, no. 210.

two references: "paxeriam...ad ducendum ad molendinum vel ad pratum,"⁶ and "paxeriam ad prata facienda,"⁷ do not seem to be the misuse of an old formula, but an attempt to describe an agricultural practice like "pratum irrigare," without having the necessary Latin vocabulary to do so in a clear way. There were many influences on Silvanès from Spain⁸ and it does not seem unlikely that the concept of irrigation was introduced to the area of Silvanès from somewhere to the south.⁹

The most complex system of mills and dams was at Promillac, where there were three different sites where water power might be used. The first is an old paxeria near Jatgairença given in 1149, but there is no indication of how the monastery used this dam, if it was used at all. The second site already had a mill at the time of the

6. Silvanès, no. 59.

7. Silvanès, no. 210.

8. There are numerous instances of words in the cartulary that are closer to Castilian and Catalan than to any other Romance languages. Such words as las devesas, medalla, las lauserias, las peirerias, Seniorelli, etc. certainly reflect that influence.

9. Thomas F. Glick, Irrigation and Society in Medieval Valencia (Cambridge, Mass.: 1970) p. 13, refers to twelfth century documents related to irrigation in Valencia. There were probably many other areas closer to Silvanès where irrigation was being practiced by the twelfth century. This is a subject which medieval economic historians are only now beginning to explore.

donation and the monastery received all rights to use the mill and the water there. The third area was the area about which there was discussion of using a paxeria for "making a meadow." This seems to have been quite near the entrance of the Cabot into the Dourdou River, an easy distance from the monastery itself. There were two dams there, one for "making a meadow" and the other used to generate two mills in one millhouse (under one roof): one for grinding (ad molendum) and the other for fulling (ad parandum). At the head of each of the dams was to be a fishpond, an important resource for a monastic institution, since so many meals must be of fish rather than meat. This whole complex must have been a great economic asset for the monastery, especially with the bannal rights for the mills which were donated in 1164.¹⁰ The fulling mill, fitting into Silvanès's emphasis on animal husbandry was a valuable innovation and mills of both kinds, along with the new fishponds, must have played an important role in the new economy

10. The monastery changes its policy on the holding of bannal rights toward the end of the period included in the cartulary. It seems that originally bannal rights were considered under the category of living from the rents of other men. They were not given along with the rights to build mills in the original donation in 1159. See quotes from no. 210 in Table VI. In 1164, however, the monastic position had changed enough to allow them to hold bannal rights to the mill, as well as to accept its first gifts of parish churches. This seems to mark a definite change in policy. See: Table VI, no. 145 and Silvanès, no. 231.

at Silvanès.

There were other resources that can be seen in the cartulary. There were fruit trees (arbores fructiferae) in the grange of Promillac¹¹ and fruit and olive groves (oliveta) in the grange of Silvaplana.¹² There was also salt at Silvaplana.¹³ There were wood rights in a number of places: in Silvaplana and Margnès for various uses,¹⁴ wood in the lands of the lords of Ponte for all the necessities of the monastery,¹⁵ and wood to repair vineyards, from the riparia of Jatgairença.¹⁶ Hunting rights were given in Camarès,¹⁷ and so were rights to mines and quarries, with the stipulation that the monastery must pay for any damage done by carts going to these mines.¹⁸ The traditional

11. Silvanès, nos. 213, 214, 389.

12. Silvanès, no. 390. Silvaplana was the only grange where it would have been possible to grow olives.

13. "et dono vobis in unoquoque anno unam saumadam de sale in vita mea tantum. Post mortem vero meam reliquo vobis, unum montem salis;" Silvanès, no. 403.

14. "ligna in terra mea que necessaria in diversos usus." Silvanès, nos. 386, 406.

15. "ad omnes usus vestros necessaria," Silvanès, no. 70. Also see no. 106 for wood near Silvanès.

16. Silvanès, no. 243.

17. Silvanès, nos. 89, 108, 149.

18. "Damus quoque vobis et concedimus las peirerias et las lauserias et las quarrals in omni terra nostra; set si per fruges alicujus via carri transierit, debetis vos placitare cum illo secundum hoc quod duo recti viri juste

resources of the soil were also exploited by means of the cultivation of cereals which continued in certain granges much as it had before, but on the large scale of an entire grange, with conversi labour rather than in the individual mansi with tenant farmers. From the lists of tithes that had once been paid on lands, or the lists of grains to be paid for annuities, it is possible to see the crops had been grown there before Silvanès came, which were probably the crops that the monks continued to cultivate:

"de frumento, de ordeo, de siligine, de civada, de spelta, de milio et de leguminibus et nichil omnino aliud,"¹⁹

had been traditionally paid as tithe on a piece of land that Silvanès received in 1155. Along with animal raising, Silvanès probably continued to grow many of these same crops, even though such tithe payments "in kind" were no longer necessary.

Along with all the donations of physical resources, of permission to build mills, or use pastures, there were also

judicaverint." Silvanès, no. 210. Also see 145, 147, 227.

19. Silvanès, no. 317. (See also nos. 280, 397.) frumento = wheat, ordeo = barley, siligo = winter wheat, civada = oats (avena is also used for oats in the cartulary) spelta = another type of wheat, milio = millet, legumines = peas or beans, the meaning of palmola is unclear in this context. (Palmula would mean dates, and yet this seems inconceivable. Palmes would mean vine shoots or branches.)

certain privileges that were granted to Silvanès, such as the papal exemptions from tithes and a number of "liberties" from various counts and viscounts of the area. As mentioned earlier, the papal exemptions from tithes lessened the economic pressures on Silvanès during the early years before the monastic economy was functioning smoothly and the monastery was self-supporting. The "liberties" made it possible for Silvanès to participate in commerce under very favorable conditions; most of these were exemptions from the market tolls (ledda) levied in particular cities or villas, or exemptions from the passage tolls (péage) levied on particular roads.

Liberties were granted by the lords of the largest cities in the area. The viscountess of Narbonne, Ermengardis, granted a safe passage and an exemption from the ledda in the region in 1152.²⁰ This was followed in 1159 by an exemption for the ledda in Narbonne itself given by the archbishop of that city.²¹ Raymond, Count of Montpellier and Millau, granted Silvanès an exemption from the ledda in Millau, in-

20. "apud Narbonam vendiderint vel emerint ibi aliquid, nulli persone inde leddam tribuant nec accepti precii passi diminutionem ab aliquo in nullo molestentur," Silvanès, no. 396.

21. "ut de vestris propriis causis domus vestre nullam leddam nec ullum usaticum nec ullam omnino consuetudinem in Narbona donetis nec a vobis ullomodo ab aliquo accipiatur." Silvanès, no. 400.

cluding exemption from tolls on its bridges.²² Ugo, Count of Rodez granted Silvanès an exemption from all péage, throughout his lands.²³ The viscounts of Béziers granted an exemption from the ledda in Béziers, and in the lands of the viscounts of Béziers²⁴ and the monastery of Villismagne, near Montpellier granted Silvanès an exemption from the ledda on all its lands.²⁵ In addition a certain citizen of Montpellier, Atbrandus, and his wife, gave a house in that city for the use of Cistercian monks traveling there; this home was administered by Villismagne and Silvanès.²⁶

Among the charters for the grange of Margnès, there are several dealing with a donation of the ledda in the market (forum) of the nearby town of Laucune.²⁷ Among those for Silvaplana, there is an exemption from ledda

22. "nullam leddam, nullum usaticum, nullam consuetudinem detis de vestris propriis causis vestre domus nec a vobis ab aliquo exigatur tam in villa Amiliavi quam in ipso ponte vel in aliis locis," Silvanès, no. 457.

23. "quo isso ni qu'adenant isserau, que ja lors avers nom do negu ustgue quan passara per ma terra," Silvanès, no. 458.

24. "ut de vestris propriis causis vestre domus cujuscumque maneriei sint nullam omnino leddam nec ullam usaticum nec ullam consuetudinem detis in Beders," Silvanès, no. 459. "ut non donetis leddam nec ullo modo a vobis accipiatur nec ullum omnino usaticum de vestris propriis causis in omni terra mea ubicumque sit." Silvanès, no. 460.

25. Silvanès, no. 461.

26. Silvanès, nos. 462, 463.

27. Silvanès, nos. 406, 407, 408, 409.

and péage in the villa of Felgueriis,²⁸ and an exemption from péage for the road in front of Casols.²⁹

All these liberties from the usual payment of a marketing or passage tax made it much easier for Silvanès to engage in trade; The cities and towns for which these liberties were granted are significant, for they tell us just where the markets must have been for the animal products and animals that Silvanès raised. There is a great emphasis on the cities of the Languedoc plain, or Narbonne, and Béziers and its surroundings, and on the markets just outside of Montpellier, (if not in the city itself.)³⁰ The exemptions for passage in the county of Rodez, and ledda at Millau, are also significant, for these are located in areas where the cultivation of cereal would be primary and they would also, like the Mediterranean cities, be excellent markets for animal products. The exemptions for the smaller town of Laucune, and those at Silvaplana, area probably not as significant to the monastic economy as a whole, but they

28. Silvanès, no. 393. "quas per villam Felgueriarum transieritis et quas ad usus vestros necessarias in eadem villa emeritis sive vendideritis, ut ab hodierno die et deinceps tam presentes quam subsequaces predictam leudam jure perpetuo habeatis et teneatis."

29. "ut transeatis et redeatis cum quibus rebus vobis placuerit per stratam que est ante Casols, absque ledda quam non donetis nec a vobis ullo modo accipiatur." Silvanès, no. 398.

30. Silvanès, nos, 396, 400, 460, 461, 462.

indicate local, as well as regional trade. These exemptions provide clear evidence that Silvanès is not producing products only for its own use, is not just engaged in a system of trade with the local peasants, but has developed ties with the large cities within the region and is producing the products for which they have the highest demand.

Chapter VII: Conclusions

The economic regime of the monastery of Silvanès in the twelfth century was one which attempted to take advantage of the natural, geographical resources of its holdings. Papal exemptions from tithes provided an extra economic resource that helped the monastery in the years before it had really become self-sufficient. Numerous donations both of land and money provided the rest, (even though many of the "donations" in the cartulary were actually purchased with large "gifts";) The procedure of careful consolidation of their lands, which often led Silvanès to buy up the remaining rights on lands it did not hold absolutely, was probably a primary reason for these "donations" which were actually purchases. Yet these extensive purchases paid off once Silvanès came to hold complete rights to all lands in a grange and was thus able to ignore traditional agricultural practice and to use new methods of cultivation, and produce new products as well. The conversi system provided the labour for this grange system, but that system could not have been successful without the numerous entrances into the monastery per Conversionem by members of the community, whether for reasons of economic security or religious fervor.

Once rid of the traditional demands on the land, it was possible for Silvanès to utilize its holdings in the most efficient way. It could for example, raise animals in areas best suited to pasture, rather than continue to try to grow grain there. It could utilize the water resources in the area, taking advantage of the technological advances of mills, trip-hammers, and perhaps even of irrigation. It could sell animals, animal products, and other produce to the growing cities of the Languedoc plain as well as to local cities and towns, and we see Silvanès acquiring "liberties" for engaging in this trade. Finally, it could integrate all these into a system far different from the traditional manorial economy.

The Cistercian monastery of Silvanès can be seen as an agent of economic expansion and development in the twelfth century, as well as a force towards regional specialization of production and the increases of productivity that regional specialization tends to lead to. Through its consolidation of lands Silvanès escaped traditional manorialism and caused what one might almost call an economic revolution in the area where it had been founded, expanding and changing to meet the needs of the more commercially-oriented twelfth century.

Appendix

Table I

DONATIONS MENTIONING RIGHTS TO ENTER THE MONASTERY

Document number and date	Name	Status
No. 25 (1140)	Robert of Cornus's son	Monk
No. 42 (1142)	Bernardus of Raddus	Conversus
No. 176 (1149)	Ricardus of Fabricus	Conversus
No. 262 (1149)	Arnaldus of Petra	Monk
No. 263 (1149)	Raimundus Arnaldi	Monk
No. 263 (1149)	Guillelmus Bremundi	Conversus
No. 49 (1150)	Deodatus Porcelli's son	Monk
No. 53 (1151)	Petrus Celatz of Sallelis	Monk
No. 53 (1151)	Petrus Celatz's son	Monk
No. 296 (1153)	Bernardus Begonis	Monk
No. 333 (1155)	Guillermus Ademari	Conversus
No. 339 (1156)	Rainaldus of Burgo	Conversus
No. 277 (1156)	Alamanda's son	Monk
No. 278 (1158)	Austorgia's son	?
No. 179 (1158)	Ugo's son	Conversus
No. 183 (1158)	Girbert of Vendeloves	?
No. 202 (1158)	Petrus Rainaldi	Conversus
No. 202 (1158)	Petrus Rainaldi's son	Monk
No. 279 (1158)	Stephanus Rainelini	?
No. 75 (1159)	Deodatus Raimundi	Monk
No. 77 (1159)	Bernadus of Verzols	Monk
No. 138 (1159)	Rainaldus of Landis	Conversus
No. 138 (1159)	Ugo	Conversus
No. 139 (1159)	Deodatus of Salellis	Conversus
No. 139 (1159)	Pontius of Salellis	Conversus
No. 140 (1159)	Bernardus of Landis	Conversus
No. 140 (1159)	Deodatus	Conversus
No. 140 (1159)	Rainaldus	Conversus
No. 119 (1159)	Raimundus of Jaciaco	Conversus
No. 81 (1160)	Stephanus of Rocosel	Conversus
No. 81 (1160)	Stephaus's brother	Conversus
No. 218 (1161)	Bernardus Guiraldi	?
No. 401 (1161)	Deodatus Guillermus	Monk
No. 127 (1161)	Bernadus of Maimil	?
No. 98 (1162)	Poncius of Compolongo's son	Conversus
No. 98 (1162)	Poncius's other son	Conversus
No. 220 (1162)	Deodatus of Promilac	Conversus
No. 220 (1162)	Ugo	Conversus
No. 311 (1162)	Raimunda's husband	Conversus
No. 126 (1162)	Petrus Cazchaire	Conversus

Table I (continued)

Document number and date	Name	Status
No. 224 (1163)	Ugo of Serrutio's son	Conversus
No. 173 (1163)	Petrus Raimundi of ML	Conversus
No. 453 (1164)	Ricardis's son	Monk
No. 229 (1164)	Rigaldus of Cabrespina	?
No. 103 (1165)	Guifredus	Conversus
No. 104 (1165)	Guillelmus Rebuf	Conversus
No. 316 (1165)	Johannes Begonis	?
No. 107 (1167)	Raimundus Andreas's son	Monk
No. 319 (1167)	Deodatus of Rouret	Conversus
No. 319 (1167)	Bernardus	Conversus
No. 292 (1168)	Ema's son	Monk
No. 427 (1168)	Guillermus Petri's brother	?
No. 375 (1169)	Petrus Mannalas	Monk
No. 245 (1169)	Guillermus of Lauro's son	Monk

Total with Monk Status = 17

Total with Conversi Status = 29

Total of undesignated status = 12

Table II

AGNOMENS INDICATING RANGE OF OCCUPATIONS

- Boverius, Boverarius -- cowherd or oxdriver (nos. 124, 370, 441)
- Clergue -- cleric (no. 498)
- Faber -- metalworker, woodworker, or stoneworker (nos. 110
118, 126, 127, 198, 221, 244, 277)
- Fornarius, fornerius -- baker (nos. 179, 180)
- Gramaticus -- grammarian or teacher (no. 185)
- Letericius -- literate man or scholar (no. 459)
- Medicus -- doctor (no. 221)
- Mercerius -- merchant or peddler (no. 451)
- Miles -- knight (no. 34)
- Molinarius, moliner -- miller (no. 99)
- Oliverarius -- olive grower or olive merchant (nos. 111, 115,
144)
- Ostellarius -- hosteller or innkeeper (no. 329)
- Paratboves -- butcher ? (no. 131)
- Parator -- fuller (nos. 490, 495)
- Pellicerius, pelliterius -- furrier (nos. 29, 37, 172, 178,
219, 226, 237, 242, 474)
- Pelliparius -- tanner (nos. 167, 507)
- Saumaderius -- plowshare maker (nos. 185, 318)
- Scolarius -- scholar (no. 58)
- Scriptor -- scribe (nos. 185, 383)
- Sutorus -- shoemaker (nos. 369, 498)
- Textor -- weaver (nos. 100, 119, 122, 123, 129, 206, 212, 268)
- Verrier -- glazier or glass merchant (no. 498)

Table III

LAND MEASUREMENT DESIGNATIONS IN VARIOUS TOPOGRAPHIES
(Frequency that the terms are used.)

	Middle Lands*	River Lands**	Mountain Lands***	Coastal Plain****
Total donations:	293	74	54	19
<u>Mansus</u> :	175	34	11	0
<u>Caputmansus</u> :	15	6	0	0
<u>Appendaria</u>	11	7	0	0
<u>Mansus, Caput-</u> <u>mansus, & Append.</u> :	201	47	11	0
Percent of total donations:	69%	64%	20%	00%
Woods & Meadows:	6	3	0	0
Other small land parcels:	27	29	1	2
Woods, Meadows, & other:	33	32	1	2
Percent of total donations:	11%	43%	2%	11%

* Typically manorial lands, these include the granges of Cabriaz, Landes, Galliac, Grausone, Rouzet, Pardineguas, and Fontfroide, as well as Silvanès itself.

** The grange of Promillac.

*** The granges of Soliis, Margnès, and Lassouts.

**** The grange of Silvapiana on the Languedoc plain.

Table IV

PERMUTATIONS OF LAND TENURE DESIGNATIONS IN GRANGES

	Silvanès	Cabriaz	Landes
Allod	14	1	0
Benefice	2	8	2
Fief	11	4	6
Vicaria	6	0	0
Sirventatgue	8	0	0
Allod and Benefice	1	1	1
Allod and Fief	1	0	0
Benefice and Fief	3	1	0
Benefice and Sirv.	0	0	0
Fief and Vicaria	0	0	0
Vicaria and Sirv.	8	0	0
Allod, Benefice, Fief	7	1	1
Allod, Benefice, Vic.	0	0	0
Allod, Fief, Vicaria	0	0	0
Benefice, Fief, Vic.	0	1	0
Benefice, Vic., Sirv.	0	0	0
Allod, Benef., Fief, Vic.	0	1	0
Allod, Ben., Fief, Vic., Sir.	0	0	0
Total Allod	23	3	2
Total Benefice	13	11	4
Total Fief	22	6	7
Total Vicaria & Sir.	30	2	0

Table IV

(continued)

	Galliac	Promillac	Grausone
Allod	2	4	3
Benefice	0	3	1
Fief	2	3	11
Vicaria	0	3	0
Sirventatgue	1	2	0
Allod and Benefice	0	4	1
Allod and Fief	1	2	1
Benefice and Fief	0	1	3
Benefice and Sirv.	0	1	0
Fief and Vicaria	0	0	1
Vicaria and Sirv.	0	1	0
Allod, Benefice, Fief	3	26	4
Allod, Benefice, Vic.	0	0	1
Allod, Fief, Vicaria	0	0	1
Benefice, Fief, Vic.	0	0	1
Benefice, Vic. Sirv.	0	0	1
Allod, Ben, Fief, Vic.	3	3	1
Allod, Ben, Fief, Vic., Sir.	0	0	1
Total Allod	6	36	9
Total Benefice	3	34	10
Total Fief	6	32	19
Total Vicaria and Sir.	4	12	9

Table IV

(continued)

	Rouzet	Pardineguas	Fontfroide
Allod	2	0	1
Benefice	0	20	0
Fief	16	7	4
Vicaria	3	1	1
Sirventatgue	0	1	0
Allod and Benefice	6	2	0
Allod and Fief	0	0	1
Benefice and Fief	0	0	1
Benefice and Sirv.	0	1	0
Fief and Vicaria	14	0	0
Vicaria and Sirv.	6	0	0
Allod, Benefice, Fief	11	3	0
Allod, Benefice, Vic.	1	0	0
Allod, Fief, Vic.	0	0	1
Benefice, Fief, Vic.	0	0	0
Allod, Fief, Vic., Benefice	9	1	0
Allod, Ben, Fief, Vic, Sir.	0	0	0
Total Allod	19	5	2
Total Benefice	17	25	1
Total Fief	27	10	6
Total Vic. and Sirv.	27	4	2

Table IV

(continued)

	Soliis	Silva aplana	Magnēs
Allod	0	1	1
Benefice	0	0	0
Fief	1	0	0
Vicaria	1	0	6
Sirventatgue	0	0	0
Allod and Benefice	0	0	0
Allod and Fief	0	0	0
Benefice and Fief	0	0	0
Benefice and Sirv.	0	0	0
Fief and Vicaria	0	0	0
Vicaria and Sirv.	0	0	0
Allod, Benefice, Fief	0	0	6
Allod, Benefice, Vic.	0	0	0
Allod, Fief, Vicaria	0	0	0
Benefice, Fief, Vic.	0	0	0
Benefice, Vic., Sirv.	0	0	0
Allod, Benefice, Fief, Vic.	0	0	2
Allod, Ben, Fief, Vic, Sirv.	0	0	0
Total Allod	0	1	7
Total Benefice	0	0	6
Total Fief	1	0	6
Total Vic. and Sirv.	1	0	8

Table IV

(continued)

	Lassouts		<u>Total</u>
Allod	8	--	37
Benefice	3	--	37
Fief	1	--	50
Vicaria	2	--	23
Sirventatgue	0	--	12
Allod and Benefice	0	--	14
Allod and Fief	0	--	3
Benefice and Fief	0	--	7
Benefice and Sirv.	0	--	2
Fief and Vicaria	1	--	16
Vicaria and Sirv.	0	--	9
Allod, Benefice, Fief	0	--	41
Allod Benefice, Vicaria	0	--	2
Allod, Fief, Vicaria	0	--	3
Benefice, Fief, Vicaria	0	--	2
Benefice, Vic. Sirv.	0	--	1
Allod, Ben., Fief, Vic.,	0	--	20
Allod, Ben, Fief, Vic, Sirv.	0	--	1
Total Allod	8	--	121
Total Benefice	3	--	127
Total Fief	1	--	143
Total Vicaria and Sirv.	3	--	102

Table V

ANIMALS AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS MENTIONED*

Sheep --

- 12 with their lambs (no. 104)
- 20 sheep (no. 81)
- 60 sheep (no. 81)
- 1 sheep with its lamb (no. 190)
- 1 lamb (no. 122)
- 1 lamb (no. 146)

Pigs --

- 1 worth twelve denarii (no. 346)

Cattle --

- 2 bulls (no. 292)
- 1 cow (no. 311)
- 10 cows (no. 81)
- 20 cows (no. 81)
- 50 cows (no. 224)

Horses --

- 1 roncinum (no. 199)
- 1 roncinum with saddle and bridle (no. 47)
- 1 young horse (no. 326)
- 1 young horse (no. 244)
- 1 young horse (no. 245)
- 1 caballum worth 70 solidi (no. 276)

Sheepskins or fleeces --

- 51 vellera ovium (total in various charters)
- 32 vellera lana (total in various charters)

Wool and cloth---

- 1 quartairon worth 23 solidi
- 6 other quartairon (no. 442)
- 4 pesas of wool
- 1 felted cloth (no. 225)
- 1 vestimentum sacerdotal (no. 292)
- 1 vestimentum (no. 81)

Cheeses --

- 13 cheeses (total in various charters)

* There are also many animals mentioned in the context of charters for pasture. See chapter V.

Table VIEXTENT OF THE ACQUISITION AND UTILIZATION OF WATER RIGHTS
BY SILVANÈS IN THREE MAJOR AREASIn the grange of Grausone:

Site I: Pre-existing mill (molnare).

No. 253 (1143): "unum molnare," granted by Petrus Berengerii of Fragos.

No. 282 (1161): Petrus Berengerii's heirs declare: "dimittimus vobis omnem querimonium molendini," to cede all claims to the mill.

Site II: At least one other pre-existing mill.

No. 267 (1151): Berengerius Gontardi of St. Affrique grants in Grausone, "molnare quod ibi est." (The cartulary reveals no connection between these two donors, therefore we must assume that this is a second and distinct mill from the first. This is verified by no. 145.)

No. 145 (1164): Arnaldus de Ponte's heirs confirm Silvanès's right to have mills (pl.) in Grausone: "Recognoscimus etiam vobis esse vestris juris molinaria que sunt in toto honore vestro de Grausone."

In the land that adjoins the monastery:

Site I: Mill built to utilize pre-existing dam (paxeria)

No. 9 (1133): Arnaldus de Ponte and his family give water rights behind the dam on the Cabot, near the future site of Silvanès: "totam aquam a paxeria de Las Landes usque Campum Revellum."

No. 69 (1153): Arnaldus de Ponte confirms that the water behind that same dam may be put to whatever uses the monastery desires: "aquam a Campo Revello usque ad pauxeriam (sic) veteram de Landis ad molendina facienda et omnem voluntatem vestram faciendam." This includes building a mill there.

Table VI

(continued)

No. 43 (1159): Bernardus Guillelmi de Ponte's heirs renounce all rights to a riverbed (alveolus) and to the dam(paxeria) associated with it, and to the water in the section of stream flowing to the mill that is there: "dimittibus vobis illam querimoniam quam de paxeria vestra et ejus alveolo quo aqua ad molendinum defluit." This seems to be the same dam that was given in nos. 9 and 69; the wording of this donation would indicate that a dam had been built in this spot by 1159.

Site II: Another dam for which Silvanès built a mill and fishponds (piscatoriae). Rights were also given for conducting water into meadows.

No. 59 (1152) : Bernardus Rotgerii and his family give rights to a second dam near Silvanès, which the monastery may rebuilt for supplying water to a mill, for irrigation, or for whatever the monks are able to do: "illam paxeriam qui fuit Petrus Celati qui est super mansum de Salellis ad omnem voluntatem faciendam videlicet ad reedificandum et ad ducendum ad molendinum vel ad pratum vel ubicumque eam ducere per terram nostram volueritis liberam potestatem habeatis." The right to divert water from the stream either for supplying a mill or for watering a meadow (prata) is clearly given here.

No. 94 (1155) : Gaufredus of Tornamira's family confirm no. 59 with him, in the same words.

No. 89 (1162): Gaufreda of Tornamira's heirs confirm all of his donations concerning water rights: "Omnes aquas et omnes piscatoria et construcciones molendinorum et paxeriarum quantum honor vester continet."

No. 108 (1168) More heirs of Gaufredus repeat this confirmation, (in no. 89, above) which seems to indicate that the rights granted by Gaufredus of Tornamira are being used for constructing mills, fishponds, and dams at this site. There is no further mention of irrigation at this spot.

Table VI

(continued)

In the grange of Promillac:Site I: Pre-existing dam.

No. 176 (1149): Ricardus of Fabricus gave a dam near Jatgairencas along with land that he gave there: "juxta Dordonem Fluvium in riparia que dicitur Jatgairencas, ... et vaxeriam (sic) que ibi est juxta desuper." This must be a dam (vaxeria = paxeria) on the Dordou River. No mills are mentioned at the site, and there does not seem to be any other charter associated with this place.

Site II: Pre-existing dam on Dourdou River.

No. 184 (1160) Rainus de Brusca and his brother Petrus give a mill: "totam quod habemus et habere habemus in molnare, quod est in flumine Dordonis, apud Promelac, cum omnibus pertinentes que ad molendinum pertinent." This seems to be distinct from that site at Jatgairenca, as well as from the following site.

Site III: Permission to build fulling and grinding mills and fishponds and to irrigate given with two pre-existing dams in Promillac.

No. 210: Arnaldus de Ponte's heirs give one dam for making a meadow at Promillac (irrigating?) and another to supply two mills, one for grinding and one for fulling, and permission to build fishponds at the heads of these dams. There is also a discussion of bannal rights. (See chapter on mills for discussion of the question of irrigation.) "Paxeriam ad prata facienda in Promilac, et aliam paxeriam ad molendina facienda unum ad molendum et alterum, si vobis placuerit ad parandum, et duo piscatoria in capitibus paxerie (sic), set in molendinus nemo alius debet molere vel parare preter vos, et si commutaveritis vel dederitis alicui predicat molendina vel si aliquis extraneus ibi molerit vel paraverit preter vos, nos habebimus molturam et paraturas;"

Table VI

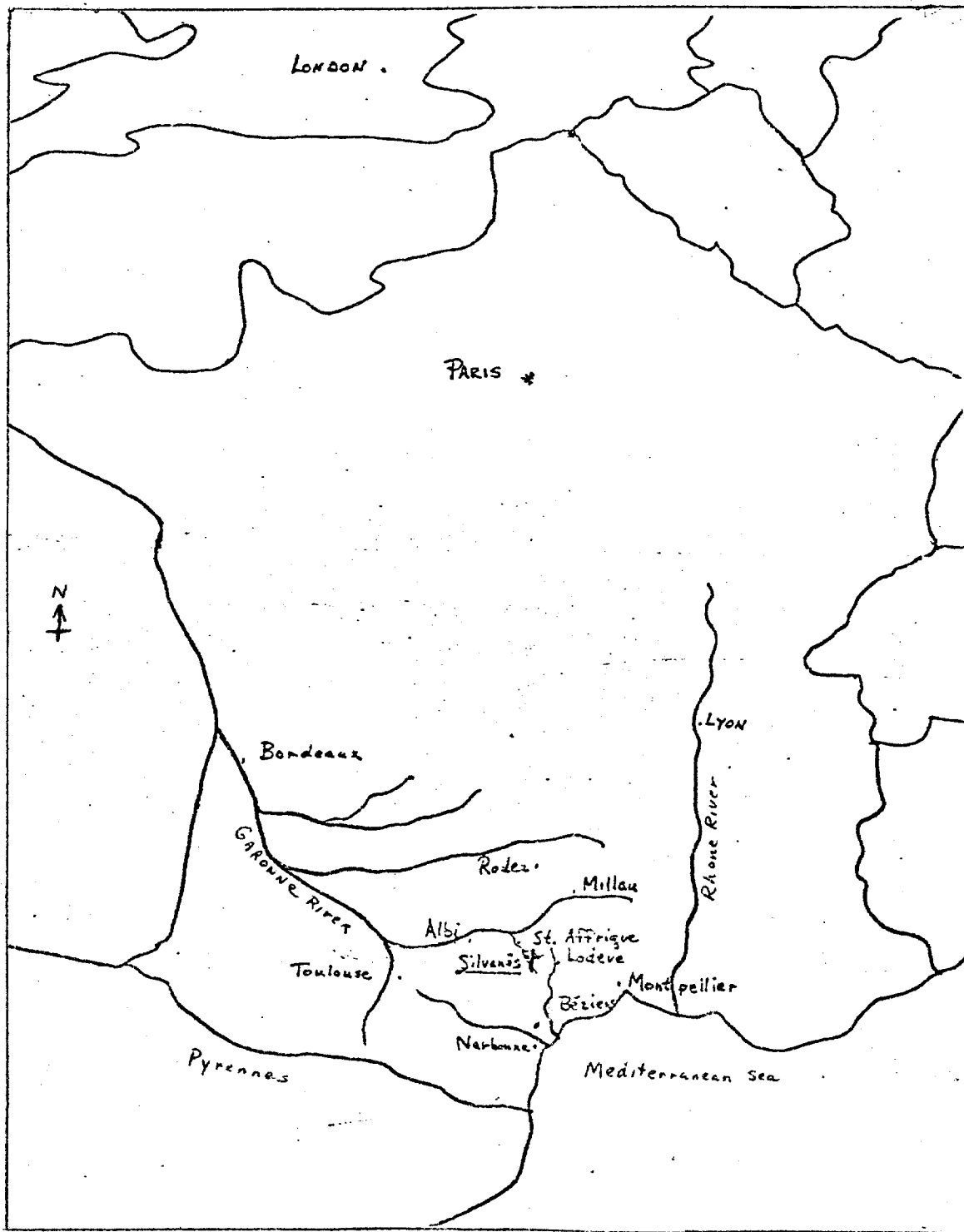
(continued)

No. 192 (1162): Bernardus de Vite and his family confirm that donation: "Quidquid habemus et habere debemus in molendino de Promillac ad omnem voluntatem vestram ibi faciendam, videlicet ut faciatis ibi si volueritis duo molendina sub uno tecto et domum, sicut vobis placuerit, et paxeriam longam ~~vel~~ brevem vel altam vel insursum vel in jusum et omnia placitum ad vestram." It is not clear whether the mill had yet been built.

No. 227 (1164): Raimundus of Mauzac confirms these rights to build mills and fishponds behind two dams, in words similar to no. 210.

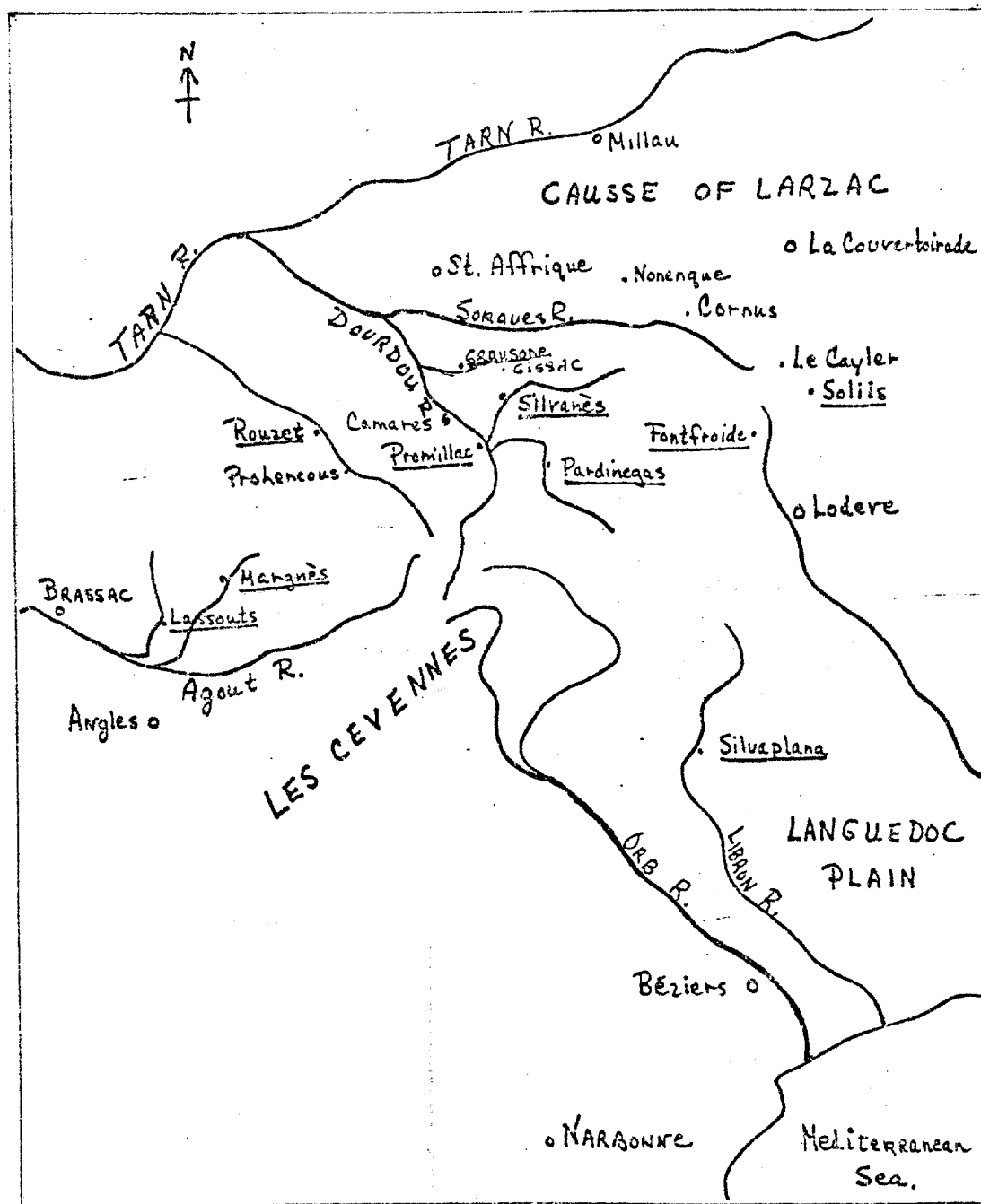
No. 145 (1164): Arnaldus de Ponte's heirs confirm Silvanès's rights to have mills at Promillac and grants them all the bannl rights to those mills: "ut molendinum vel molendina de Promillac libere semper possideatis et in eis et de eis quicquid vobis placuerit faciatis, solvimus vobis convenienciam quam retinuimus, scilicet de moltura et paratura aliorum hominum."

Map I



France—showing location of Silvanès

Map II



Vicinity of the monastery of Silvanès (Granges are underlined)

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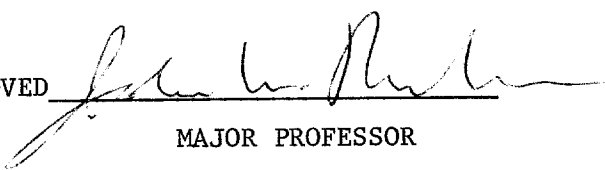
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