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A Popular Uprising in Twelfth Century France the Capuciati of the Auvergne

Lila Beth Burke
Western Michigan University

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A POPULAR UPRISING
IN TWELFTH CENTURY FRANCE
THE CAPUCIATI OF THE AUVERGNE

by

Lila Beth Burke

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of the School of Graduate
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of the
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	AN INTRODUCTION TO THE <u>CAPUCIATI</u>	1
II	THE SOURCES	13
	Secondary Literature	13
	The Chroniclers	22
III	AN ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTS	32
	Origin	32
	Membership	45
	Leadership	50
	Emblem and Dress	51
	The Oath	55
	Tactics	56
	Finances	58
	Fighting the Highwaymen	59
	Radical Phase	68
	Demise	75
	Scope	77
	A Movement	80
IV	THE <u>CAPUCIATI</u> AND THE TWELFTH CENTURY	82
	APPENDIX	86
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	105

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CHAPTER I

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CAPUCIATI

In late 1182 or 1183 an intriguing phenomenon, an association dedicated to effecting and maintaining peace, burst upon the provinces of central France. Men, even some women, from diverse social classes united within this association which the chroniclers denote by various names, the Paciferi, juratos Arverniae, or the Capuciati.¹ The sparseness and brevity of the primary sources, eight chroniclers² and one poet,³ which treat the Capuciati perhaps explain the uncertainty and mystery which shroud much of the movement's history. The purpose of this paper shall be to set forth the association's

¹For the sake of clarity the name Capuciati will be used in this paper.

²The Anonymous of Laon, the Chronicler of Saint Denis, Gervase of Canterbury, Geoffrey Prior of Vigeois, the Historian of the Bishops of Auxerre, Rigord, Robert of Auxerre, and Robert of Monte.

³Guyot of Provins' poem relating to the Capuciati is found in Fabliaux et contes des poètes français des XI^e, XII^e, XIII^e, XIV^e, et XV^e siècles, edited by Dominique Martin Meon, (Paris: Chassereau, 1808), p. 369. Being unable to locate this work I have not included the information given by Guyot. The relevant sections from the Historian of the Bishops of Auxerre are also found in Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus, C. Duplessis D'Argentré, (Paris: np, 1728), I, pp. 123-25.

history through a detailed analysis of the accounts given by the eight chroniclers. In addition to examining the various aspects and developments of the association, achievement of this purpose will necessitate reviewing recent secondary accounts, evaluating the chroniclers, raising questions which must remain unanswered, and establishing the relationship of the movement to its historical context, the late twelfth century.

Undoubtedly the social condition most responsible for the development of the Capuciati was the widespread brigandage of the highwaymen who plagued France throughout the twelfth century.⁴ With an increase in the numbers of marauders and an expansion of their operations, the general lawlessness and disorder of the period were augmented during the second half of the century. Both Louis VI and Louis VII expended considerable time and effort combatting these brigands, but the departure of Louis VII and the great lords for the Second Crusade in 1146 enabled the bandits to ravage the countryside unabated. Afflicted with this menace the people of Limousin, Berry, Poitou, and Gascony appealed to Abbot Suger for assistance. After 1150 the ranks of the highwaymen were fed by men returning from the

⁴On the highwaymen see H. Geraud, "Les routiers au douzieme siècle", Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, III (1842), pp. 125-47; Herbert Grundmann, "Rotten und Brabanzonen Söldner-heere im 12. Jahrhundert", Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters, VI (1942), pp. 418-92; A. Mens, "De 'Brabanciones' of bloeddorstige en plunderzieke avonturiers (XII^e-XIII^e eeuw)", Miscellanea historica in honorem Alberti de Meyer Universitatis Catholicae in oppido Lovaniensi jam annos XXV professoris, (Bruxelles: Editions Universitaires, 1946), pp. 558-70.

crusade, now without resources and forced to live by plunder. In addition, a constant need for mercenary soldiers was created by the quarrels of the great lords, such as the war between the kings of Aragon and Navarre and the dispute over the succession in the county of Lorraine. As mercenaries, the brigands theoretically received pay, but pillage and booty served as their major resource, especially during a truce or after the settlement of a dispute.⁵

The highwaymen attacked and destroyed property belonging to all segments of society. However, the Church, whose wealth and treasures offered the possibility of rich booty which was only weakly defended, provided a particularly vulnerable target.⁶ Many of the mercenaries came from areas, such as the south of France and the Brabant, where the Church, breached by heresy, was already partially discredited. Therefore, these men exhibited no scruples in the presence of monastic riches.⁷ Also, a personal element influenced the highwaymen's assaults upon the wealth of the Church and the clergy. As an institution which attempted to maintain law and order, the basic Church doctrines of peace and discipline as well as specific programs, such as the Peace and Truce of God, touched directly, in a very personal manner, men whose livelihood was based

⁵Geraud, op. cit., pp. 125-26.

⁶Ibid., p. 127.

⁷Paul Alphandéry, Les idées morales chez les hétérodoxes latins au début du XIII^e siècle, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1903), p. 15.

on disorder and violence.⁸

The threat posed by these brigands can be illustrated by the efforts of the local clergy, the French monarch, and a general Church council to eliminate this menace. For example, Henry, Archbishop of Rheims and brother of Louis VII, issued in 1162 an anathema against the highwaymen in his archdiocese.⁹ A convention between Louis VII of France and Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, dated 1164 or 1165, expelling the highwaymen from their territories demonstrated the French monarch's concern. Furthermore, Louis attempted to uphold this agreement as shown by his attacks upon nobles who continued to use the highwaymen.¹⁰ The Third Lateran Council, meeting in 1179, issued a decree against the highwaymen, that is the "Brabanters, Aragonese, Navarrese, Basques, Coterelli, and Triaverdins,"¹¹ as well as those who used, protected, or incited these brigands. By this decree the bishops received the right to excommunicate all who refused to take arms against the highwaymen and to grant indulgences and protection of personal property to those who did combat them. The Archbishop of Narbonne is known to have implemented the decree and presumably the same was true for other ecclesiastics.¹²

⁸Geraud, op. cit., p. 127.

⁹Ibid., pp. 127-28.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 128-31.

¹¹G. D. Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum, XXII, (Graz: Akademische Druck- u Verlagsanstalt, 1961), col. 232-33.

¹²Geraud, op. cit., pp. 133-34.

In spite of these efforts, mercenaries continued to comprise the armies of kings and lords in the wars throughout France. Following his ascension in September 1180, Philip Augustus embarked upon a war, lasting five years, but interrupted by a number of truces. In this war he faced a coalition of the Counts of Flanders, Hainaut, Champagne, Blois and Chartres, Sancerre, and Nevers, the Archbishop of Rheims, and the Duke of Bourgoigne. This coalition attacked the royal domain from the north and the south, including the provinces of Berry and Orleans.¹³ In southern and western France the intermittent war between Henry II of England and his sons increased the number of mercenaries. Employed by the king, his sons, and the great lords, these mercenaries continuously pillaged the area and left devastation in their wake.¹⁴ The death of Henry the Younger in June 1183 released a large contingent of men who rapidly infested the provinces of central France.¹⁵

A vivid description of the exploits of these brigands in the province of Berry, narrated by the chronicler Rigord, illustrates the type of deeds which created the highwaymen's notoriety. First asserting their basic attraction to the province, the promise of booty, Rigord then offers an example of the behavior which offended established moral codes, "they evilly took the men they had captured

¹³Ernest Lavisse, ed., Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution, III, 1 (Paris: Hachette et C., 1911), pp. 86-87.

¹⁴Geraud, op. cit., pp. 131-32, 135-36.

¹⁵Grundmann, op. cit., pp. 468-69.

along with them and slept with their wives while their husbands looked on."¹⁶ Worse still was the burning of churches and victimization of clerics, the latter described in detail:

Taking priests and monks captive, they called them 'cantores' in derision and tormented their captives with mocking gestures as they said 'Sing to us, cantores, sing.' Next the Cotarelli boxed their ears and beat them disgracefully with large rods. Thus beaten some of the blessed spirits returned to their Lord; others half dying and long imprisoned in chains were returned when money had been paid for their ransom.¹⁷

The nadir was reached with the desecration of the churches and holy items kept there:

At the same time the invading Cotarelli plundered the churches themselves. The body of our Lord, which was being preserved just as it ought, in vessels of gold and silver for the urgent need of the sick, with a rash deed, planned by the devil, was defiled with hands polluted by human blood. The Host which they removed from the vessels (Oh Sorrow!) and threw cheaply on the ground was trampled under foot. Their concubines arranged as robes on their heads that holy linen cloth which is called the corporale. They drank from the gold and silver vessels which they irreverently took with them and destroyed

¹⁶Rigord, Gesta Philippi Augusti Francorum Regis, RHGF, XVII (Paris: Victor Palme, 1879), p. 11. "Eodem anno, in provincia Bituricensi, interfecta sunt septem millia Cotarellorum, et eo amplius, ab incolis illius terrae in unum contra Dei inimicos confoederatis. Isti terram Regis vastando praedas ducebant, homines captos secum villissime trahebant, et cum uxoribus captorum (proh nefas!), ipsis videntibus, domiebant, . . . "

¹⁷Ibid., ". . . et, quod deterius est, ecclesias Deo consecratas incendebant; sacerdotes et viros religiosos captos secum ducentes, et irrisorie cantores ipsos vocantes, in ipsis tormentis subsannando dicebant: Cantate nobis, cantores, cantate; et confestim dabant eis alapas, vel cum grossis virgis turpiter caedebant. Quidam sic flagellati beatas animas Domino reddiderunt; alii, longa carceris custodia mancipati semimortui, data pecunia pro redemptione, ad propria redierunt."

the vessels breaking them with hammers and stones.¹⁸

With less detail Geoffrey, Prior of Vigeois, corroborates Rigord's description by stating that the robbers took from the churches, which they had profaned, gold and silver cups and crosses beyond estimate. The harlots who accompanied them acquired "an inestimable treasure of ornaments."¹⁹ Other chroniclers with more general statements attest to the devastation brought by the highwaymen.²⁰ Gervase of Canterbury includes in his description the assertion that the ranks of the highwaymen were enlarged by

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 11-12. "Eodem igitur tempore, . . . jam dicti Cotarelli invadentes ecclesias, ipsas exspoliabant, et corpus Domini nostri, quod pro instanti necessitate aegrotantium in vasis aureis vel argenteis, prout decet, ibidem reservabatur, suggerente diabolo, ausu temerario, manibus humano sanguine pollutis de ipsis extrahentes vasis, (proh dolor!) in terram viliter projicientes, pedibus conculcabant, et de illo sancto linteamine quod corporale dicitur, concubinae eorum pepla capitibus suis componebant, et vasa aurea vel argentea in quibus servabatur vel conficiebatur, secum irreverenter portabant, et malleis confringentes vel lapidibus distrahebant."

¹⁹Geoffrey, Prior of Vigeois, Chronici Lemovicensis, RHGF, XVIII (Paris: Victor Palme, 1879), p. 219. "Hi habebant calices aureos et argenteos, cruces ecclesiarum absque aestimatione. Pro his violaverat Rex aurum thalami tui splendidi, ô maxime pastor Martialis! In his meretrices mille quingentae circiter erant, quarum ornamenta inaestimabili thesauro comparata sunt."

²⁰Robert of Auxerre, Chronologia, RHGF, XVIII (Paris: Victor Palme, 1879), p. 251. ". . . sicque regionem illam, diù jam à latronibus circumquaque corrosam, . . ." ". . . nefandam illam Brebentionum cohortem, jam per multos annos, multis in locis, sed in Arvernia maximè, rapinis et caedibus inhiantem, . . ." Chronicon anonymi Laudunensis canonici, RHGF, XVIII (Paris: Victor Palme, 1879), p. 705. "Eâ tempestate regnabat per Aquitaniam importuna lues Ruthariorum, Arragonensium, Basclorum, Brabantionum et aliorum conductitiorum, quae quasi tempesta valida regiones illas arcescendo vastaverat, . . ."

"banished and infamous monks, canons and nuns as well as those who had taken off their habits and were fleeing orders."²¹ In the Auvergne this challenge of the highwaymen elicited the response of a mutual assistance group, the Capuciati.

Originating from events surrounding a vision of a humble carpenter of Le Puy, the Capuciati in an effort to restore peace and order assumed the task of combatting the highwaymen. Binding themselves to this goal and to each other by an oath, they adopted a white hood and an emblem depicting Mary holding her Son and inscribed, "Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world, give us peace" as a visible testimony of their aim.²² Both general statements and enumeration of specific encounters between the Capuciati and the highwaymen testify to the success of the group in achieving its aim.²³ Following a major triumph in mid-July 1183, in which according to Rigord and the Chronicler of St. Denis the

²¹Gervase of Canterbury, Chronico de rebus Angliae, RHGF, XVII (Paris: Victor Palme, 1879), p. 663. "Dum enim Brabacenorum in pacis amatores secta saeviret, et universa sibi resistentia sine delectu conditionis, ordinis vel aetatis, absque misericordia vastarent, sed nec ecclesiis parcerent, confugerunt ad eos exules quique et infames, monachi, canonici, moniales, sed et cujusque ordinis fugitivi, habituque mutato, nefandis lenociniis incumbere non cessabant. Cum igitur ferè in infinitum hoc modo crescerent, quaecumque oculis videre poterant, sua esse dicebant."

²²Rigord, Gesta, RHGF, XVII, p. 12.

²³Geoffrey, Chronici, RHGF, XVIII, p. 219; Gervase, Chronico, RHGF, XVII, p. 663; Rigord, Gesta, RHGF, XVII, p. 12; Robert of Auxerre, Chron., RHGF, XVIII, p. 251; Les gestes de Philippi-Auguste, Extraits des grandes chroniques de France dites de Saint Denis, RHGF, XVII (Paris: Victor Palme, 1879), p. 355.

Capuciati received assistance from the armies of Philip Augustus,²⁴ the Bishop of Le Puy publicly endorsed the group.²⁵ From the immediate area of Le Puy the movement expanded throughout the provinces of central and southern France, Aquitaine, Gascony, Provence, Berry,²⁶ and by 1184 had penetrated north of the Loire River, at least into the environs of Auxerre.²⁷ However, all of the explicit battles between the association of peace and highwaymen recounted by the chroniclers occurred south of the Loire.

In addition to opposing the highwaymen, other distinctive features characterized the Capuciati. For example, the various prohibitions and regulations implemented by the association indicate a rigorous concern for aspects of a member's life, his moral behavior, which was in no way related to eliminating the highwaymen. Members were forbidden to dress ostentatiously, to carry knives, to enter taverns, or to make false or dishonorable oaths. Moreover, anyone who played dice or other games of chance was prohibited from

²⁴Rigord, Gesta, RHGF, XVII, p. 12. Chron. de St. Denis, RHGF, XVIII, p. 355.

²⁵Geoffrey, Chronici, RHGF, XVIII, p. 219.

²⁶Anonymous of Laon, Chronicon, RHGF, XVIII, p. 705 and Ex historia episcoporum Autissiodorensium, RHGF, XVIII (Paris: Victor Palme, 1879), p. 729.

²⁷Robert of Auxerre, Chron., RHGF, XVIII, p. 251.

joining the association.²⁸

Another distinctive feature of the group was the over-riding nature of the bond between members. According to Rigord and the Chronicler of St. Denis a Capuciati's relationship to fellow members had precedence over all other bonds, even those of family:

All the people wearing the white hood with the emblem of Mary had such confidence in one another that if one member of the confederation by some reason had killed the brother of another member and the surviving brother had seen the murderer running away, but wearing the sign of the group, he immediately received the murderer with weeping and tears, giving him the kiss of peace forgiving him for the death of his brother. He then led the murderer into his own home and ministered the necessary food to him.²⁹

While such behavior implies that blood feuds were not pursued within

²⁸Anonymous of Laon, Chronicon, RHGF, XVIII, p. 705.

"Praeterea nullus aleator vel qui aliquo ludo deciorum luserit, hanc pacis fraternitatem intrare poterit; vestimenta togata non habebit, nec cultellum cum cuspede quis portabit, nec tabernam intrabit. Qui de pace Sanctae Mariae esse voluerit, juramentum fallax non faciet, neque juramentum aliquod inhonestum (ab umbilico inferius nullum membrum in Deo vel in ejus pia Matre, sive in aliquo Sanctorum vel Sanctarum ejus, nominari prohibuit Sancta Dei Mater) fieri omninò."

²⁹Rigord, Gesta, RHGF, XVII, p. 12. ". . . et quod mirabilius est, omnes hujusmodi caputium cum signo portantes in tantum securi erant, quòd, si aliquis fratrem alterius aliquo casu interfecisset, et frater superstes fratricidam cum signo jam dicto accurrentem vidisset, statem, morte fratris oblivioni datâ, in osculo pacis cum fletu et lacrymis illum recipiebat, et in propriam domum adducens victui necessaria ministrabat." Chron. de St. Denis, RHGF, XVII, p. 355. ". . . et plus grant merveille que tuit cil qui ces segniaus portoient, estoient si seur que, se il avenist par aventure que aucuns eust un home occis et il encontrast le frere de celui qui fust morz, et seust encores bien la mort de son frere, il meist tot en obli pour lui festier, et le receust entre ses braz en baizier de pais et d'amor o plors et o lermes, et li donast à mangier et à boire en sa maison et toutes ses necessitez;. . ."

the association,³⁰ communal vengeance was sought against non-members who brought injury to a member of the Capuciati:

In the beginning they swore that they would do no crime or bear no violence. On the other hand they would avenge injuries done to them or their brothers in the confederation with common union to the extent of death.³¹

At some undetermined time the Capuciati, whose early history appeared so auspicious, distinguished itself by manifesting an enigmatic radicalism, which resulted in an attack upon the group and their elimination, at least in some areas, by their former cohorts, the landlords and aristocracy. While the exact components of the Capuciati's radicalism remain concealed from view, the group apparently attempted to obtain a reduction of dues owed to the landlords and to reject their subservience to the lords.³² According to the Historian of the Bishops of Auxerre, their demands had a theoretical basis involving the initial equality and liberty of man which they were endeavoring to regain for themselves. Stimulated by these bizarre theories as well as by the unknown specific demands, the Bishop of Auxerre, Hugh, acted swiftly against "this formidable pestilence." He inflicted an overwhelming defeat at Gy on the

³⁰Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, translated by L. A. Manyon, II, Phoenix Books (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 416.

³¹Gervase, Chronico, RHGF, XVII, p. 663. ". . . juraverunt in primis quòd nulli fraudem facerent vel violentiam inferrent, illatas autem injurias sibi vel suis fratribus usque ad mortem communi concursu vindicarent; . . ."

³²Robert of Auxerre, Chron., RHGF, XVIII, p. 251; Anonymous of Laon, Chronicon, RHGF, XVIII, p. 706; Historia epis. Aut., RHGF, XVIII, p. 729.

Capuciati, followed by the imposition both of a pecuniary and a public punishment. Through the imitation of Bishop Hugh's action the group shortly thereafter was "extirpated" in the surrounding area.³³

Elsewhere, their original opponents, the highwaymen contributed to the demise of the Capuciati. Under the leadership of the infamous mercenary Lupatius, the brigands won a great victory near a place called Portas Bertae. After this defeat the group altogether disappeared from the area.³⁴ Since Lupatius and his successor, Marcadez, are known to have been active during these years in the central and southern provinces,³⁵ presumably Portas Bertae was located in that area, certainly south of the Loire. Thus confronted with opposition from the aristocracy and the highwaymen the extermination of the Capuciati was equal in rapidity to its earlier expansion; the peace association which had exploded upon the social scene in 1183 disappeared sometime during 1184, leaving no lasting effect of its efforts against either the highwaymen or the landlords.

³³Historia epis. Aut., RHGF, XVIII, p. 730.

³⁴Anonymous of Laon, Chronicon, RHGF, XVIII, p. 710.

³⁵By early 1184 the highwaymen were again active throughout the provinces of central France. Geraud, op. cit., p. 147.

CHAPTER II

THE SOURCES

Secondary Literature

Possibly because of the absence of enduring results or because of the meager source material few recent historians have studied this inconspicuous association of peace, the Capuciati, per se. The most lengthy studies have been made by A. Geraud in the mid-nineteenth century and Achille Luchaire and Paul Alphandéry in the early twentieth century.

In an article entitled "Les routiers au douzieme siècle", published in 1842, A. Geraud described the Capuciati as one incident, short-lived, but perhaps the most successful, in the continuing efforts instituted during the second half of the twelfth century to end the pillage and brigandage of the highwaymen.¹ Against a background of increasing devastation Geraud characterized the founder, Durandus, as an early Joan of Arc.² Emphasizing the influence of the Church in all aspects of the Capuciati, Geraud maintained that

¹Geraud, op. cit., pp. 125-47.

²Ibid., p. 139. "La charpentier Durand fut comme un precurseur de Jeanne d'Arc."

its regulations, accenting order and moral behavior, reflected the aims of the Church.³ After achieving success against the highwaymen, thus ending their brigandage, the Capuciati then turned their efforts of peace toward the lawlessness of the seigneurs. Geraud implied that these efforts formed part of the overall program of the Capuciati from its inception, but he did not elaborate. Subsequent to the attack upon the landlords, both the aristocracy and the Church abandoned the Capuciati and shortly offered a counterattack. As the success of the Capuciati had been marked by the Church's support, conversely without the Church's support and/or leadership the group crumbled.⁴ The Capuciati were portrayed by Geraud as an association under the auspices of the Church, directed to restoring peace and order in general, but primarily as a response to the highwaymen.

Achille Luchaire in an article devoted exclusively to the Capuciati and in general works on twelfth century France offered an enlarged view of the movement.⁵ According to Luchaire, the association resulted as a response to the "excess of calamity and despair" which plagued France in the twelfth century. In addition

³Ibid., pp. 139-40.

⁴Ibid., pp. 144-47.

⁵Achille Luchaire, "Un essai de révolution sociale sous Philippe Auguste," La grande revue, III (1900), pp. 317-26; Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution, III, 1 (Paris: Hachette et C., 1911); La société française au temps de Philippe Auguste, (Paris: Hachette et C., 1909); Social France at the Time of Philip Augustus, translated by Edward Benjamin Krehbiel, Harper Torchbook edition (New York: Harper and Row, 1967).

to endemic natural disasters of earthquake, cyclone, flood, epidemic, famine, and fire, armed bands of mercenaries plundered and terrified the people. Specifically the Capuciati, composed of all elements of society, first aimed to end the brigandage of the highwaymen.⁶ Having obtained success in that goal, the movement, which had spread throughout the provinces of central France, next turned against "the habitual brigandage of feudalism." Under domination of the "bourgeois element" the association of peace sought to reform society. In Luchaire's words, "A revolution, a truly formidable menace to the privileged classes, was hatching."⁷ However, faced with this threat, both the Church and nobility acted rapidly to repress and ultimately to erase the association.⁸ Luchaire interpreted the Capuciati as a "popular movement", attracting support from all levels of society in the early stages when it was aimed against the highwaymen. After changing into an incipient revolution, the movement was destroyed by the established powers. Luchaire did not emphasize the influence of the Church on the association, but rather conveyed an impression of spontaneity of the people.

In Les idées morales chez les hétérodoxes latins au début du XIII^e siècle Paul Alphandéry depicted the Capuciati from a

⁶Luchaire, Social France, p. 12.

⁷Ibid., p. 16.

⁸Ibid., pp. 16-18.

different perspective. His primary purpose in this work was to treat the heretical sects existing between 1179 and 1215 which, in his opinion, represented a widespread desire and need of the people for moral reform.⁹ The Capuciati are presented as one manifestation of this desire and need. As a Church directed group, formed under the impetus of the clergy, the basic purpose of the Capuciati was to combat the expanding numbers of mercenaries south of the Loire.¹⁰ Concluding that the confraternity of peace was neither an orthodox order nor a heretical sect, Alphandéry believed that the group had tendencies toward both. The founder of the group, Durandus, was discounted as a leader either of an order or a sect because of his submissiveness to the clergy. Although the association had a religious, "nearly monastic," character the discipline imposed by the clergy consisted only of rules of external piety and did not fulfill the moral needs of the day.¹¹ Fulfillment of this need would have included new moral ideals and utilization of religious energy without ritualism.¹² Alphandéry maintained that the strength of the Capuciati, "a defensive militia," lay in the religious oath which united them and "their grandeur" resulted from "their fierce solidarity." Without attempting to explain in detail Alphandéry

⁹Alphandéry, op. cit., pp. x-xiii.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 13.

¹¹Ibid., p. 18.

¹²Ibid., pp. xv-xxvii.

succinctly stated that the Capuciati achieved "prompt social results" when the seigneurs ceased or diminished their exactions. According to Alphandéry, the Capuciati achieved the apex of their fortune with the mid-July 1183 defeat of the highwaymen and the following triumphal pilgrimage to Le Puy.¹³

Alphandéry's account concludes with a cast of ambiguity. He maintained that the group became heretical when they attempted, a few years after 1183, to free themselves from the tutelage of the Church and to assert the rights with which they had gained their earlier successes. The entire text from the Historian of the Bishops of Auxerre was then presented as evidence that the group held heretical opinions.¹⁴ Alphandéry did not delineate the rights responsible for their successes nor what he considered heretical in their ideas. Overall Alphandéry, in his discussion of the Capuciati, combined the emphases of Geraud and Luchoire. He emphasized the influence of the Church on the movement, as Geraud did, and also stressed the factor of spontaneity, as did Luchoire.

Less extensive treatment of the Capuciati may be found in historical studies on the peace movement and on the highwaymen. Ernest Semichon, basing his account on one chronicler, Robert of Monte, gave a brief resume of the peace association in his work

¹³Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 19-20.

La paix et la trêve de Dieu.¹⁵ The formation of the "Confrerie of Agnus Dei" was to Semichon one incident in the peace movement of the twelfth century and developed because of the people's desire for peace.¹⁶ Semichon discussed the association without commenting on its success or its eventual outcome. He erroneously named the Bishop of Liege¹⁷ rather than the Bishop of Le Puy as the clergyman whom the visionary approached with the story of his vision. Although Semichon's work is included in bibliographies on the Capuciati, his discussion offers no interpretation and little enlightenment on the group.

More recently, Marc Bloch in Feudal Society presented the Capuciati as the "last spontaneous effort" of a two century old peace movement and maintained that the group's destruction was symptomatic of a "general setback" to the peace movement. Bloch related no new information on the group, but by placing the group in a historical continuum he did provide insight into why such a group would originate in Le Puy. The peace movement itself originated in Aquitaine at the Council of Charraux, 989, near Poitiers. While lawlessness coupled with a powerless monarchy characterized all of France, "the monarchy was perhaps less powerful in the anarchic regions of the South and Centre." Consequently

¹⁵Ernest Semichon, La paix et la trêve de Dieu, I (Paris: Joseph Albanel, 1869), pp. 244-45.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 244. ". . . le desir de la paix donna lieu a la confrerie des Agnus Dei. . ."

¹⁷"le eveque de Liege"

necessity demanded "self-help" in order to exist. In 990 the Bishop of Le Puy forced both knights and villeins within his diocese to take an oath pledging to maintain peace, not to oppress the churches or the poor, and to return whatever they had previously taken from them. According to Bloch, this first oath taking was repeated at almost all following assemblies. In Languedoc a similar sworn association set up "a genuine militia" to pursue the brigands. Farther north the archbishop of Bourges in 1083 required everyone in his diocese over fifteen years of age to join in taking an oath. His armies thereafter destroyed more than one castle, but were eventually massacred by the Lord of Deols.¹⁸ Although the incidents given by Bloch occurred more than a hundred years prior to the Capuciati they do illustrate that south-central France had a history of similar groups organized under the guidance of the bishop.

In addition, the setting supplied by Bloch enlightens other factors. His account suggested that the participation of the nobles in the peace association was not an egalitarian aberration, but a necessity to accomplish the desired aims. In many instances the nobility was not only responsible for the lawlessness, but also the one group with sufficient power and force to end the lawlessness. With this view a conglomerated membership becomes very practical rather than idealistic. An awareness of these factors helps explain why Rigord and the Chronicler of St. Denis prefaced their exposition

¹⁸Bloch, op. cit., pp. 413-17.

of the origins of the peace association with a statement concerning the war between the Count of Toulouse and the King of Aragon as well as why the Chronicler of St. Denis included these two leaders in the peace association.¹⁹ The interrelation, in at least two contemporary minds, between the activities and attitudes of the leaders of a region and the disruption or achievement of peace are illustrated by these statements.

Within the context of an article on the highwaymen Herbert Grundmann discussed briefly the Capuciati.²⁰ However, he did not significantly amplify knowledge of the group nor did he introduce new sources. By noting that Philip Augustus is known to have sent forces against the highwaymen at other times Grundmann offered substantiation for Rigord's claim that the King's troops assisted the Capuciati in the July victory. Also Grundmann emphasized the qualified success of the Capuciati when he called attention to the one recorded defeat

¹⁹Rigord, Gesta, RHGF, XVII, p. 12. "Orta autem fuerat dissensio magna à longis retrò evolutis temporibus inter Regem Arragonensium et Comitem Sancti-Egidii Raimundum, quae, suggerente diabolo humani generis inimico, nullâ ratione poterat pacificari." Chron. de St. Denis, RHGF, XVII, p. 355. "Guerre et dissensions qui lone tens avant estoit comenciée, fu renouvelée entre le Conte Raimon de Saint Gile et le Roi d'Arragon, tele que nus ne pooit metre en iaus ne concorde, si que les povres genz du pais estoient forment grevé par leur guerres; . . . et li dui Prince, qui devant estoient en si grant guerre que nus n'i pooit mettre pais, jurerent sur les textes des Evangiles de bon cuer et de bone volenté, et le promistrent fermement à Nostre Seigneur, que il seroient tozjors mais en amor et en concorde li uns vers l'autre, . . ."

²⁰Grundmann, op. cit., pp. 468-71.

of the group and quoted Geoffrey of Vigeois' statement "that after Assumption a leader of the robbers killed a great many of them near Chateauneuf-sur-Cher."²¹

Most recently Norman Cohn in The Pursuit of the Millennium made a fleeting reference to the Capuciati as an illustration of the "militant egalitarianism" which infrequently replaced the passive antagonism and resentment of the medieval poor toward the rich. While Cohn acknowledged that the association was founded under the encouragement of the Church and with the original purpose of ending the pillage of the mercenaries, he stressed their ultimate radicalism, "a revolutionary movement of poor folk," which claimed equality and liberty for all men.²²

Having surveyed the principal secondary sources on the Capuciati several recurrent themes and problems can be established. All of the historians agree that the original raison d'etre of the Capuciati was to combat the mercenaries who were wreaking havoc throughout the countryside. In this effort the Capuciati may legitimately be considered an incident in the peace movement which had begun in the tenth century, but by the late twelfth century was producing few positive results. The lack of agreement among the secondary sources regarding the exact part played by the Church within the movement reveals one of the basic problems. Also problematic is the radical phase of the movement, the nature of the

²¹Ibid., p. 470.

²²Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium, Harper Torchbook edition (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), pp. 89-90.

radicalism and whether the group may justifiably be denoted heretical. Taken as a group, perhaps the principal trait of the secondary sources is the many questions about the Capuciati which remain unanswered. As will be demonstrated, this, at least in part, is a result of the primary sources which fail to provide the answers for many questions one may ask.

The Chroniclers

The eight chroniclers who treat the Capuciati wrote at widely dispersed locations and at various times. Their accounts present a spectrum of reaction ranging from uncritical acceptance to blatant hostility. Each chronicler has certain noteworthy and distinguishing characteristics which should serve as a background for analyzing the texts.

Geoffrey, Prior of Vigeois, may be distinguished as the chronicler who wrote nearest to the site of origin, Le Puy, since Vigeois is located in the Limousin, approximately 125 miles west of Le Puy. Geoffrey died in April 1184,²³ so his account is possibly nearest in time to the beginning of the movement. Similarities between Geoffrey's chronicle and three others, those of Robert of Auxerre, Rigord, and the Chronicler of St. Denis, suggest that Geoffrey's account served as a source for later writers. Geoffrey

²³Auguste Molinier, Les sources de l'histoire de France des origines aux guerres d'Italie (1494), II (New York: Burt Franklin, nd, /1901-06/), p. 187.

does not use the name Capuciati. Instead he calls the peace association by various names, the Paciferi, "those who had sworn to make peace," "the sworn of Auvergne," and "a league initiating peace."²⁴ Treating all aspects of the group except its conclusion, in a total of forty-one lines, Geoffrey is certainly one of the basic sources. The absence of a description of the radicalism and final outcome of the association might be explained by Geoffrey's dying or his having ceased writing before these aspects developed. Another possible reason for his excluding the group's radicalism might be that the group centered in Le Puy did not have the radical traits associated with the group near Auxerre and that Geoffrey was unaware of the northern group's radicalism. The Capuciati's defeat at Chateauneuf-sur-Cher and the occurrence of miracles upon the graves of members killed in this battle are recorded only by Geoffrey.²⁵ Although the supernatural element is not eliminated by Geoffrey (God has chosen the carpenter founder for a necessary task), human beings are given a prominent part in organizing the association (Durandus not Mary established the customs). A balanced attitude

²⁴Geoffrey, Chronici, RHGF, XVIII, p. 219, p. 221. "Paciferi appellantur eo quod pacem facere juravissent."; "juratos Arverniae"; "inita pacis foedera juraverunt."

²⁵Ibid., p. 219. "Castrum-novum obsederunt, quidam eorumdem, quorum plures pro prodicione occidit princeps latronum quidam infra octavas Assumptionis, super corpora quorum is qui sine testimonio bonitatis suae nullum tempus relinquit, quaedam signa ob honorem suae Genitricis ostendere dignatus est."

toward the association is illustrated by Geoffrey's failure to heap profuse praise upon the group, although he relates their successes and generally reacts favorably to their activities.

Also dispassionate in his account is Robert of Auxerre, Prior of Our Lady la d'Hors who was buried in the Premonstratensian church at Saint Marien around 1198.²⁶ In two entries, one under 1183, the second under 1184, totalling fifteen lines, Robert appears desirous of presenting the facts and allowing them to be evaluated on their own merit. Only use of the adjective insolenter to describe the people's disobedience implies his disapproval of the radical phase. Two factors suggest that the radicalism referred to by Robert is the same as that recounted by the Historian of the Bishops of Auxerre. First, Robert lived and wrote near Auxerre. Secondly, he prefaces his statement on the radicalism by noting that the movement spread into Francia, a word generally used to denote the area north of the Loire. Robert employs the name Capuciati in his second entry²⁷ but not in the first. By coordinating Robert's failure to use the name Capuciati in his first entry with the total absence of the word in Geoffrey's account it is possible to speculate that the name Capuciati developed sometime after the group became widespread and was used by contemporaries to denote a radical sect.

²⁶Molinier, op. cit., III, p. 86.

²⁷Robert of Auxerre, Chron., RHGF, XVIII., p. 251. "Secta eorum quos Capuciatos vocant."

Robert of Monte's silence adds support to this theory. In his treatment of the peace association, Robert neither uses the word Capuciati, nor reports radical characteristics. Since he died in 1186, the Abbot of Mont St. Michel²⁸ must have written near in time to the actual events, and possibly his is the second oldest account. The sect, sectam, described briefly in eleven lines by Robert of Monte, is identified as the Capuciati through his references to Le Puy and the costume of the group. Even in so short an entry, one can perceive that the religious aspect of the association most interested Robert. While he states their purpose of maintaining peace against enemies, he offers no background on the enemies nor any acknowledgement of their success. Individually this chronicler is the least enlightening on the nature of the association and is perhaps only valuable in conjunction with others.

Known to have been in the Midi from 1183-1186, Rigord, theoretically, was well located to acquire information on the origins of the Capuciati. By 1189 he was at St. Denis and in 1196 the first edition of the Gesta appeared, followed by revised and enlarged editions until his death in 1209.²⁹ One noteworthy quality of Rigord's account, sixty-two lines, is his graphic descriptions of the highwaymen's activities, the emblem and dress of the peace association, and the mid-July assembly in Le Puy. However, these descriptions

²⁸Molinier, op. cit., II, p. 317.

²⁹Ibid., III, p.3.

supply little information which is not found in other chronicles. Only Rigord's Gesta and the Chronicle of St. Denis accord the troops of Philip Augustus a prime role in the mid-July victory and relate the attitude of a confederation member toward a fellow confederation member who murdered a blood brother. Similar to Robert of Monte's account, a religious mentality permeates Rigord's chronicle. For example, Rigord elevates the founder to a savior sent from God; he wholeheartedly accepts the vision; and he sees the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy, Is. 11:6f, in the group's behavior patterns.³⁰ Finally, similar to Robert of Monte and Geoffrey of Vigeois, Rigord does not use the name Capuciati nor discuss the group's radicalism. These similarities suggest that Rigord might have drawn upon both of these early sources in constructing his account.

The Chronicle of St. Denis, which devotes sixty-three lines to the peace association, is a French translation of Rigord's chronicle and varies only slightly from the Gesta. The St. Denis Chronicler, in contrast to Rigord, includes the two princes, Count Raymond of Toulouse and the King of Aragon, as members and leaders of the peace association. A possible explanation of this difference is that the Chronicler of St. Denis may have used as his source an early manuscript of Rigord's chronicle in which this information was

³⁰Rigord, Gesta, RHGF, XVII, p. 12. "Nonne in hoc loco prophetia Isaiae quodammodo iterum potest dici fuisse impleta? Habitabit lupus cum agno, et pardus cum haedo accubabit; vitulus et leo, ovis et ursus, pascentur simul, et puer parvulus minabit eos."

related. Also, the St. Denis chronicler exhibits an even greater tendency than Rigord to emphasize the role of Philip Augustus for he opens his account by announcing the King's assistance to the men of peace.³¹

The remaining three chroniclers each offer novel information on the peace association and each has an individual quality. With a praiseworthy tone, the Canterbury monk, Gervase furnishes details not found in any continental account. Consistently throughout thirty-seven lines Gervase approaches the group, which he labels the secta Caputiorum, as a lay order: thirteen men proceeding to preach peace, the wearing of a habit by the sect or order (sectae vel ordinis habitum), a prohibition against members abandoning the habit or order (habitum or ordinem), and allowing members "to contract marriage proper to the laity, or, if they wished, to remain purely celibate."³² Twice he uses the word *avenge* to describe the communal character of the group.³³ In his discussion Gervase names Le Puy and the adjacent region, "tota civitate Podii

³¹Chron. de St. Denis, RHGF, XVII, p. 354. "En cele annee furent occis VII mille Coteriau et plus en la contree la Boorges, si les occistrent cil dou pais par le secors que li Rois leur fist pour les tres-horribles desloiautez que il fesoient par tot le pais: . . ."

³²Gervase, Chronico, RHGF, XVII, p. 663. ". . . legitimum matrimonium laici contraherent, vel, si continere mallent, pure caelibatum tenerent."

³³Ibid. ". . . illatas autem injurias sibi vel suis fratribus usque ad mortem communi concursu vindicarent;. . ." and ". . . ad quamlibet ulciscendam vel propellendam injuriam. . ."

cum adjacente regione," as the area affected by the peace association.

Authorities agree that Gervase probably began writing his chronicle around 1188,³⁴ but this does not preclude the possibility of his learning about the association when it existed or his making notes on the events at that time. The fact that Gervase had any knowledge of the group indicates, to some extent, the spread of the movement's fame. One can interpret the lack of corroboration on the details he gives in several ways. He might have used a source which is now lost. Or, since the cathedral monastery at Canterbury was the center of all ecclesiastical news in England, he might have gained his information by word of mouth.³⁵ Finally, he might have made up these details or at least greatly embellished the facts.³⁶

The Historian of the Bishops of Auxerre on the other hand, writing about affairs in his own area, perhaps had first hand knowledge of the group whose activities he so vehemently denounces in forty lines of his chronicle.³⁷ Using the name Capuciati once,

³⁴Molinier, op. cit., III, p. 14. The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury, edited by Bishop William Stubbs, I, Rolls Series, /73/, p. xv.

³⁵Stubbs, op. cit., p. ix.

³⁶Ibid., p. xlix. This judgment in part is based on Stubbs' comment that Gervase was not a first rank historical witness.

³⁷Although the author is unknown, according to the preface of XVIII, RHGF, p. xxvij, the work was written by a contemporary.

the Historian links his subject to the group at Le Puy by referring to the confederation of the Blessed Mary of Le Puy and to the costume of a hood with a seal. Words and phrases sprinkled throughout the narrative illustrate his attitude toward the group: "an excessively horrible and dangerous effrontery," "a rebellion against their superiors and destruction of the rulers," "a confederation of a spider's web," "a devilish and pernicious invention," "those pests", "a formidable pestilence," and "an insanity of such presumption."³⁸ Furthermore he recognizes no value in the movement, mentions no relationship between the association and the highwaymen, and accuses them of being responsible for the growth of heresy. As a source on the radical phase of the movement, the Historian's account, with that of the Anonymous of Laon, ranks first. Unfortunately his discussion of the radicalism is more provocative than informative and all consideration of his work should be tempered by realizing his fierce antagonism to the group.

In discounting the supernatural and offering a rationalized explanation of the Capuciati, the Anonymous of Laon stands alone. His emphasis upon the economic factors in the background and origins of the movement is also unique among the chroniclers. In addition,

³⁸ Historia epis. Aut., RHGF, XVIII, pp. 729-30.
 "horrenda nimis et periculosa praesumptio," "superiorum rebellionem et exterminium potestatum," "confoederationis consortes telarum," "diabolicum profecto et perniciosum inventum," "pestis ista," "hanc formidabilem pestilentiam," and "tantae praesumptionis . . . vesaniam."

by devoting seventy-two lines to the movement the Anonymous contributes the longest account. This unknown Premonstratensian announces his reaction to the group in his opening sentence when he refers to them as "the insane madness of the Capuciati."³⁹ He closes with the identical attitude, "their insane madness" and "those foolish and undisciplined people."⁴⁰ Although he uses three terms for those engaged in fighting the highwaymen, Capuciati or "those of the hood with the inscribed seal," "the sworn of Auvergne," and "the Capuciati without hoods,"⁴¹ apparently all are included under "that insane madness." A greatly detailed, rationalized account of a movement not directly affecting the author's own locale is impossible to explain. Since his chronicle extends to 1219, the possibility that the Anonymous wrote long after the events compounds the mystery of interest in the movement and of his source of information. According to Molinier, some early portions of his chronicle were borrowed from Sigebert of Gembloux⁴² of which Robert of Monte's chronicle is a continuation.⁴³ Therefore, the Anonymous could conceivably have acquired some knowledge of the group from Robert of Monte. Yet,

³⁹Anonymous of Laon, Chronicon, RHGF, XVIII, p. 705. "insana rabies Capuciatorum."

⁴⁰Ibid., "eorum vesane dementia" and "stultus ille populus et indisciplinatus."

⁴¹Ibid., "capucium eorum cum signo inscriptionis," "juratos de Arvernia," and "capuciati sine caperun."

⁴²Molinier, op. cit., II, p. 318.

⁴³Ibid., p. 317.

CHAPTER III

AN ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTS

Origin

Although all accounts of the origin of the Capuciati revolve around a lowly man of Le Puy, described as a carpenter by several chroniclers and named Durandus by a few, there are numerous discrepancies among the accounts. Two of the chroniclers, Robert of Auxerre and Geoffrey of Vigeois, offer similar descriptions of the founding of this peace association.

Geoffrey of Vigeois, Chronici, RHGF, XVIII, p. 219:

Genitricis Dei Assumptione serenitas praedicandae pacis populis claruit Occidentis; tempestivo imbre remoto, sed non statim remotâ umbrarum caligine. Qui enim infirma mundi eligit, ut confundat fortia, suscitavit spiritum vilissimi hominis Anicio commanentis. Is habebat uxorem et filium, arte carpentarius vultu adjectus, sed simplex et timoratus. Hic Petrum adiit episcopum circa Sancti Andreae festum, eumque de pace admonuit reformanda. Praesul hominis vilitatem admiratus est, plesque ejusdem verba contempsit. Verumtamen cum eo centum quatuor vel quinque primùm post Natale Domini inita pacis foedera juraverunt, proinde circa D millia. Post Pascha factus est numerus innumerus.

Robert of Auxerre, Chron., RHGF, XVIII, p. 251:

Anno MCLXXXIII, quaedam pacis novitas apud Anicium urbem exorta est per quemdam rebus ad genere satis humilim, qui dicebat se divinitus admonitum ut populum hortaretur ad pacem. Primò itaque paucis sibi aggregatis, matris Domini signaculum in signum pacis gerentibus, factus est eorum in brevi numerus infinitus, . . . Ipso anno, Arverniae proceres in mutua pacis foedera conjurarunt, et nefandam illam Brebentionum cohortem, jam per multos annos, multis in locis, sed in Arvernia maxime, rapinis et caedibus inhiantem, aggressi sunt, . . .

First, neither of these chroniclers calls the founder by name, Robert referring to him as a "humble man," Geoffrey giving a more elaborate description: "This man, a carpenter by profession had a wife and son. He was a simple and God fearing man with a common countenance."¹ Secondly, their narratives claim spiritual overtones and a divine inspiration for the carpenter even though neither reports a vision. According to Robert, the humble man announced that he had been divinely warned to arouse the people to maintain peace. Again, Geoffrey's account is more detailed:

He chose the weak of this world to confound the powerful. Without ceasing He aroused the spirit of a very lowly man of Le Puy . . . This carpenter went to Bishop Peter sometime around the feast of Saint Andrew /November 30/ and warned him to reform concerning the peace.

While Geoffrey himself clearly views the actions of the carpenter as being divinely inspired, he, in contrast to Robert does not state that the carpenter claimed to be divinely inspired.

Thirdly, neither of these two chroniclers maintain that the Church leaders immediately supported the peace association or assisted in organizing the group. By relating Geoffrey's statement, "The bishop marveled at such a lowly man and the people viewed his words with contempt" to a later statement that the bishop did support the group,² one may deduce that the bishop did not actively foster

¹Throughout Chapter III the translation and commentary refer to the preceding texts presented in the body of the paper. When an exception to this form is made, the text will be in a footnote.

²Geoffrey, *Chronici*, RHGF, XVIII, p. 219. "In Assumptione, ut praelibavimus, res universis innotuit, P. episcopo praedicante."

the group originally. Robert of Auxerre makes no reference to the attitude of Church leaders toward the group.

Finally, both testify to the immense and rapid growth of the group. Robert writes that in the beginning "only a few people joined this humble man in bearing a likeness of the Mother of God as a sign of peace, but in a brief time their numbers were infinite." In Geoffrey's words, "After Christmas four or five hundred people swore with him [the carpenter] to form a league initiating peace. Then there were around five thousand and after Easter their numbers were countless." Although Geoffrey's account is consistently more detailed, the same basic information is found in these two chronicles. Interesting to note, Robert distinguishes between the peace group which developed around the "humble man" and the mutual peace agreement sworn in the same year by the princes, proceres, of the Auvergne. Unfortunately he does not comment on the relationship, cooperation, or perhaps merger of the two groups.

The second group of chroniclers which treat the origin of the Capuciati, Rigord and the Chronicler of Saint Denis, agree that the peace established by the Capuciati came from God and in their chronicles supernatural, religious factors are prominent.

Rigord, Gesta, RHGF, XVII, p. 12:

Orta autem fuerat dissensio magna a longis retro evolutis temporibus inter Regem Arragonensium et Comitem Sancti-Egidii Raimundum, quae, suggerente diabolo humani generis inimico, nulla ratione poterat pacificare. Sed Dominus, pauperes suos in tanta oppressione et afflictione diutina clamantes exaudiens, misit eis salvatorem, non Imperatorem, non Regem, non principem aliquem ecclesiasticum, sed pauperem quemdam nomine Durandum, cui Dominus dicitur apparuisse in civitate Aniciense, quae vulgo nunc Podium

dicitur, et etiam illi tradidisse schedulam in qua erat imago beatae virginis Mariae sedentis in throno, tenens in manibus Domini nostri Jesu Christi pueri habens similitudinem, et in circuitu impressam hujusmodi circumscriptionem: Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem. Audientes autem principes majores et minores cum universis populis haec quae Domino cooperante facta fuerant, in Assumptione beatae Mariae, sicut singulis annis solet fieri, apud Anicium convenerunt. Tunc episcopus illius civitatis cum clero et populo et universa multitudine ad diem festum congregata, illum Durandum pauperem et humilem carpentarium in medio populi in edito ponentes, aure intentissimâ audierunt. Qui mandatum Domini de pace inter eos reformanda audacissimè referens, et schedulam cum imagine beatae virginis Mariae pro signo omnibus ostendens, elevantes vocem cum fletu, admirantes Dei pietatem et misericordiam, tactis sacrosanctis Evangeliiis, mente promptissimâ se observaturos pacem omnibus modis quibus possent firmissimè jurantes, Domino promiserunt; . . .

Chron. de St. Denis, RHGF, XVII, p. 355:

Guerre et dissensions qui lone tens avant estoit comenciée, fu renouvelée entre le Conte Raimon de Saint Gile et le Roi d'Arragon, tele que nus ne pooit metre en iaus ne pais ne concorde, si que les povres genz du pais estoient forment grevé par leur guerres; main Nostre Sires, qui oi la clamor et la complainte de ses povres, leur envoya salvaor, non mie Empereor, ne Roi, ne Prince, ne prelat, mais un povre home, qui avoit non Durant, à cui Nostre Sires s'aparut en la cité dou Pui Nostre Dame, et li bailla une scedule en quoi l'ymage Sainte Marie estoit escrete et seoit en un throne, et tenoit la forme son chier fil en semblance d'enfant. En la circuité de ce seel estoient lettres escriptes qui disoient: Agniaux de Dieu, qui ostes les pechiez dou monde, done nous pais. Quant li grant Prince et li menor et toz li poples oirent ceste chose, il vindrent tuit au Pui Nostre Dame à la feste de l'Assumption ausi com il soloient venir chascun an par costume. Quant touz li poples fu assemblez à la sollempnité de la feste, li evesques de la cité prist celui Durant, qui estoit un povres charpentiers, et l'establi enmi la congregation pour dire le commandement Nostre Seigneur. Quant il vit que tuit cil qui là estoient orent les oreilles ententives à sa bouche, il commença à dire son message, et leur commanda hardiement de par Nostre Seigneur que il feissent pais entre eus; et en tesmoing de verité, il leur mostra la scedule que Nostre Sires li ot baillie o tote l'ymage de Nostre Dame qui dedenz estoit empreinte. Lors commencerent tuit à crier o soupirs et o lermes et à loer la pitié et la misericorde

Nostre Seigneur; et li dui Prince, qui devant estoient en si grant guerre que nus n'i pooit mettre pais, jurerent sur les textes des Evangiles de bon cuer et de bone volenté, et le promistrent fermement à Nostre Seigneur, que il seroient tozjors mais en amor et en concorde li uns ver l'autre, . . .

These passages, identical with one exception, appear to describe the birth, during mid-August, of the peace association in Le Puy. However, in both chronicles the immediately preceding passage relates a victory, which occurred in mid-July, "by those who had united against the enemies of God" over the Cotarelli.³ Therefore, the August incident may not be the birth of the movement, but instead be an occasion on which the association gained many members as well as the endorsement of the Bishop of Le Puy. Geoffrey of Vigeois also reports the mid-July victory before he introduces "the simple and God fearing carpenter" and relates this carpenter's speech to the Bishop and people of Le Puy. The public entreaty for peace, according to Geoffrey, occurred near the feast of St. Andrew, November 30. Later in his narrative Geoffrey states that the Bishop of Le Puy endorsed the group at the time of Assumption, August 15 (see below page 64 for an explanation of Geoffrey's account). To explain Rigord's discussion, in which the carpenter's speech and the bishop's endorsement both occurred in August, one may speculate that

³Rigord, Gesta, RHGF, XVII, p. 11. "Eodem anno, in provincia Bituricensi, interfecta sunt septem millia Cotarellorum, et eo amplius, ab incolis illius terrae in unum contra Dei inimicos confoederatis." Chron. de St. Denis, RHGF, XVII, p. 354. "En cele année furent occis VII mille Coteriau et plus en la contrée de Boorges, si les occistrent cil dou pais par le secors que li Rois leur fist pour les tres-horribles desloiautez que il fesoient par tot le pais: . . ."

Rigord used Geoffrey's account as a source, but reported two separate events, the November incident and the August incident, as one event. If Rigord had personal knowledge of these events, but wrote long after they occurred, he could have forgotten the actual time sequence. It is also possible that peace associations, created to fight the highwaymen, were already in existence in south-central France prior to the time Durandus instigated the group in Le Puy.

Rigord and the Chronicler of St. Denis present Durandus, calling him by name, as a savior sent by God to rescue the poor from the oppression of the highwaymen. The Lord, according to these chroniclers, not only appeared to Durandus, but gave him an emblem which had on it a portrait of Mary, sitting on a throne and holding in her arms a small boy. Encircling this picture was the inscription, "Oh Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world, give us peace." Without relating when this vision of the Lord occurred the chroniclers then proceed to describe Durandus announcing his vision to the people at the feast of the Assumption. This he did apparently with the backing of the Bishop of Le Puy:

Then the bishop of that city with the clergy, people and whole multitude which had congregated for the feast day heard, listening most earnestly, that poor and humble carpenter Durandus, who was raised on a high place in the middle of the people. Durandus reported most boldly the command of the Lord concerning the reform of the peace and showed before all as a sign the emblem with the portrait of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Following Durandus' speech, Rigord declares that the people, in an outburst of emotion and admiration for God, promised, by swearing, to maintain the peace. Although the Chronicler of St. Denis concurs, he

writes that the two princes, Count Raymond of Toulouse and the King of Aragon, swore to make peace with each other and to keep the peace in general.

A third group of chroniclers, Robert of Monte, Gervase of Canterbury, and the Anonymous of Laon, report that a vision of Mary, not the Lord, instigated the founding of the Capuciati. Nevertheless, these chroniclers differ greatly in their descriptions of that vision and the subsequent events.

Robert of Monte, Anonymi continuatio appendicis Roberti De Monte ad Sigebertum, RHGF, XVIII (Paris: Victor Palme, 1879), p. 336:

Anno superiori, apparuit Domina nostra Mater misericordiae, Sancta Maria, cuidam fabro lignario opus facienti in quadam silva, et obtulit ei sigillum iconis suae et filii sui Salvatoris nostri, cujus sic conscriptio erat, Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem; et jussit ei ut ferret illus ad episcopum Podiensem, ut praedicaret in provincia sua et in aliis circumquaque, ut omnes qui vellent pacem tenere sanctae ecclesiae et filiis suis, facerent hujusmodi sigilla et portarent in signum pacis, et facerent alba parva capucia ad ostentationem pacis et innocentiae, et dato sacramento pacem tenerent, inimicos pacis destruerent: quod et factum est; nam et multi episcopi et consules et viri consulares et mediocres et pauperes, hanc sectam tenentes, pacem tenent, et inimicos pacis persequuntur.

Gervase of Canterbury, Chronico, RHGF, XVII, p. 663:

Sumpsit initium hoc anno secta Caputiorum . . . Erat interea vir quidam in Alvernia fidelis et justus, arte faber lignarius et beatae Virgini valdè devotus. Huic in visione noctis apparuit beata virgo Maria, dicens ei: 'Surge, vade, pacem praedica.' Cui cùm excusationem praetenderet, quòd non esset habiturus auditores, denuò suggestit praecipiens ut pacem praedicaret. Surgens homo episcopum adiit, et quae audierat, tremulus enodavit. Agens autem solerter episcopus, duodecim cives, viros probatae fidei ejusdem civitatis, Podii scilicet, secretiùs convocavit; eisque praedictam visionem recitans, an paci consentire vellent, quaesivit. At ipsi, de facili transeuntes in sententiam, unà cum episcopo suo, qui tertiusdecimus fuit, de pace tenenda et praedicanda foedus inierunt, sacramentoque juramenti arctiùs obligati, plurimos in suum propositum converterunt. In brevi itaque totâ civitate Podii cum adjacente regione conversâ, in infinitum tandem multiplicati, non solùm Brabacenis, sed et omnibus injuriam sibi facientibus, viriliter restiterunt.

The Anonymous of Laon, *Chronicon*, RHGF, XVIII, p. 705:

Sequenti verò aestate ejusdem anni, orta est apud Podium urbem Aquitaniae insana rabies Capuciatorum, quae tale cognoscitur habuisse exordium. Antiquitatis consuetudo urbem Aniciensem vel Podiensem annuâ congregatione principum circumadjacentium provinciarum reddiderat famosam et illustrem, qui ob aliam causam ibi semel in anno, mediante mense augusto, non convenerunt nisi ob honorem et magnificentiae suae ostentationem; ut qui profusiùs res obligurierit et majori prodigalitate consumpserit, munificentior haberetur. Aequabat verò turbam principum multitudo mercatorum, ditabantur cives frequentiaâ convenientium, ditabatur ecclesia donis et oblationibus populorum. Eâ tempestate regnabat per Aquitaniam importuna lues Ruthariorum, Arragonensium, Basclorum, Brabantionum et aliorum conductitorum, quae quasi tempestas valida regiones illas arcescendo vastaverat, cujus contagione festiva sua tempora amisisse deflebant Podienses. Nempe, cùm extra munitionem nullus comparere auderet, canonicus quidam Podiensis, consulto quodam juvene quem fama tunc temporis loquebatur ingeniosum, cuidam viro simplici Durando nomine imposuit quòd et beata Virgo et Dei genitrix Maria horâ antediali in ipsa ecclesia apparuerit, et quaedam publicanda ei praeceperit, quorum unum qui transgredi non metuerit, ipso anno mortem probrosam vel subitanam subibit. Fuit verò ipse Durandus vir valdè simplex, arte lignifaber quod carpentarium vulgò vocamus, vir secundùm possibilitatem laicam multùm Deo devotus, cui artificiosè in habitu muliebri praefulgido juvenis quidam coronâ redimitus cum lucentibus gemmis apparuit, qui se beatam Virginem fuisse dixit. Mane re per civitatem divulgatâ, accelerant hianter ad ecclesiam singuli, mandata Dei Matris audire cupientes. Tunc canonicus praenominatus, cujus dolo et malitiâ vir bonus et simplex fuerat deceptus, prolocutor ejus factus, thema quod ordinaverat populo exposuit tenendum. Dicebat piam Matrem misericordiae ab omnipotente Filio suo pacem mortalibus impetrasse, et qui vel ipsam pacem impediret, vel eam suscipere noluerit, sub subitâ morte peribit . . . Addidit ad haec quòd beata virgo Maria praecepit omnes amicos suos conjurare contra hostes, Rutharios scilicet et principes pacem non servantem. Factum est post modicum temporis, famâ rem divulgante, convenerunt omnes ex omni Aquitania, Wasconia, Provincia, omnes diversae conditionis et ordinis, episcopi itiam et omnes inferiorum ordinum, quasi unâ inspiratione animati, suscipere pacem quam de coelo allatam credebant, . . .

In the most brief of these three accounts, Robert of Monte emphasizes the role of Mary, beginning with her appearance to a carpenter and her gift to him of a picture of herself and her Son

inscribed, "Oh Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, give us peace." In Robert's version of the vision, the insignia (a similar picture of Mary and her Son), the costume of a white hood, the destruction of the enemies of peace, and the maintenance of peace were direct commands from Mary, thus leaving none of the group's organization to human invention. The Bishop of Le Puy served as a herald of these commands which Robert states were fulfilled, although he does not inform his readers of the specific number of people who joined the association.

Gervase of Canterbury vastly alters the vision of Mary as the leaders or original members of the group acquire a striking resemblance to Jesus, or perhaps Paul, and the twelve disciples. As in other chronicles, the man to whom Mary appeared is described as "a faithful and just man of the Auvergne with the skill of a carpenter and greatly devoted to the Blessed Virgin." This carpenter instructed by Mary to "Arise, go, preach peace" at first refused, but after receiving a second command he went to the Bishop and told what had transpired. At this point the Bishop assumed an active and primary role in organizing the confederation:

Acting in a skillful manner the Bishop secretly called together twelve citizens of Le Puy, men of approved faithfulness. He told them of the vision and asked if they wished to resolve to keep the peace. Being one in spirit with their bishop, they, thirteen in all easily agreed to his proposal. First they began a confederation to keep and preach peace.

Therefore, according to Gervase, the Church leaders were actively involved in the Capuciati from its beginning. The inclusion of an admonition from Mary to preach, as well as to effect and maintain

peace, and the acceptance of this command is found only in Gervase's chronicle. Regarding the rapid growth of the confederation, Gervase concurs with Robert of Auxerre and Geoffrey. "In a brief time the entire city of Le Puy as well as the surrounding area joined the Capuciati and at length their members had multiplied to infinity."

The Anonymous of Laon, writing in northern France, an area not reportedly influenced by the rise of the Capuciati, offers a radically different version of the vision which precipitated the group's founding. While other chroniclers, notably Rigord, state that it was customary for the leaders and people to gather annually in Le Puy near the time of the Assumption,⁴ the Anonymous of Laon, as background for the vision, provides additional information concerning an annual gathering of merchants in Le Puy. According to the Anonymous, because of the large number of merchants who assembled in Le Puy, the city had become the leader of the surrounding area, the citizens had been enriched by the merchants' spending, and the Church had been enriched by their gifts and oblations. Because the devastation of the highwaymen now threatened this merchant gathering, the people of Le Puy desired to rid their area of the highwaymen before time for the annual meeting. To achieve this aim, the Anonymous maintains, a canon of Le Puy with the assistance of a clever young man contrived a vision of Mary in which the visionary, a simple carpenter named Durandus who was greatly devoted to God, received instructions to

⁴Rigord, Gesta, RHGF, XVII, p. 12. "Audientes autem principes majores et minores cum universis populis haec quae Domino cooperante facta fuerant, in Assumptione beatae Mariae, sicut singulis annis solet fieri, apud Anicium convenerunt."

report his vision to all. Furthermore, Durandus was instructed that anyone who refused to accept his proposals would die disgracefully and suddenly within a year. The Anonymous asserts that the person who appeared to Durandus under the guise of Mary was actually the young man skillfully dressed in women's clothes and wearing a crown of glittering jewels. When news of the vision spread, throughout the city, the people hurried to the church where the deceitful canon, "the canon by whose fraud and evil a good and simple man had been deceived," announced Mary's commands to them: "Mary had answered the entreaty of the people for peace through the omnipotence of her Son and that anyone who impeded the peace and did not undertake to maintain the peace would perish" and secondly, "The Blessed Virgin instructed all her friends to swear an oath against the enemies of peace, namely the Rutharii and the leaders not serving the peace."

The Anonymous' account is intriguing and provocative because he rationally explains an event other chroniclers interpret in varying degrees as resulting from the supernatural. The Anonymous also differs from the other writers by furnishing background reasons to explicate why, not just how, the Capuciati originated. While the validity of the Anonymous' explanation regarding the relation of the origin to the annual assembling of merchants in Le Puy can not be established indubitably, it is certain that Le Puy was situated on major trade routes, such as the route from the south, Nimes, to the

north, Bourges, and then to Sens,⁵ and the route leading to the shrine of St. James Compostella in Spain.⁶ Combining these facts with the knowledge that the highwaymen impeded the travel of merchants and pilgrims, the Anonymous' exposition increases in credibility. The extent of the Anonymous' interest in the movement, another curious factor, is illustrated by the many specific details he includes, for example, the name of the carpenter and a character description of all three individuals, Durandus, the canon, and his accomplice. Also noteworthy is the Anonymous' inclusion of the "leaders not serving the peace" as well as the Rutharii as original objects of attack by the Capuciati. This implication of a constancy in the group's aims is not found in some of the other chronicles which instead suggest a change of objectives. His writings do support the other chroniclers in attesting to the success and expansion of the Capuciati:

After a short time, the fame of this organization having spread, people from all of Aquitaine, Gascony, and Provence, and from all conditions and orders of life, including bishops and inferior orders, had come together as if animated by one spirit to maintain the peace which they believed had come from God.

The eighth chronicler, who treats the Capuciati, the Historian of the Bishops of Auxerre, provides no specific information on the group's founding. Rather he states that the group originated under

⁵Arthur Tilley, editor, Medieval France, (New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1964), map opposite p. 202.

⁶Jacques Boussard, Atlas historique et culturel de la France, (Paris: Elsevier, 1957), second map opposite p. 58.

"the pretext of good, the angel of the Devil having transformed himself into an angel of light" and adds, "under the pretext of mutual charity, they allied themselves by making oaths."

Historia epis. Aut., RHGF, XVIII, p. 729:

. . . quae quamquam à bono habens originem, angelo Sathanae sese in lucis angelum transformante, cùm exitialia suggereret, simulatam boni speciem praetendebat. Nam, sub obtentu mutuae caritatis, praestitis juramentis confoederabantur ad invicem, . . .

These brief statements do however bear a resemblance to the version given by the Anonymous of Laon. Although the Anonymous gives a full account, both involve deception as the basis of origin. Basically the Historian is not concerned with the origin of the group, but his phrase, "angelo Sathanae sese in lucis angelum transformante" might be a fleeting reference to the more elaborate description of disguise and fraud given by the Anonymous. Also, both employ the word light in describing the deception: the Anonymous, "cui artificiosè in habitu muliebri praefulgido juvenis quidam corona redimitus cum lucentibus gemmis" and the Historian, "in lucis angelum."

Due to the divergent descriptions given by the chroniclers, only an outline of the Capuciati's origin can be reconstructed with exactitude. All of the chroniclers agree that the movement began in Le Puy. Excluding the Historian of the Bishops of Auxerre, who does not deny it, all report that a humble carpenter played some role, either on the basis of a divine warning, a vision of the Lord, or a vision of Mary, real or contrived. A close survey of the sources discloses that the approval and espousal of the group in Le Puy by the local Church leaders during the first months of its existence is not certain. In spite of the Anonymous of Laon's contention that the

group resulted from the handiwork of a local canon, one may deduce on the basis of Geoffrey's account that the group first expanded without the clergy's encouragement. Possibly the Bishop of Le Puy waited until the movement had achieved some victories before endorsing them. Alphandéry noted that late twelfth century chroniclers report an increasing number of visions and that the carpenter's alleged vision was not spectacular or particularly unusual.⁷ Therefore Durandus' vision might not have warranted the immediate support of the Bishop. However, an abundance of evidence testifies to the support of the clergy once the group acquired renown. Also fully revealed by the sources is the initial success of the movement in gaining members as well as its swift spread throughout central France.

In view of the reported rapid growth, the question of membership in the peace association immediately arises. Who were the members? From what social classes and occupations were they drawn? Concomitant with membership is the question of leadership. Were there recognized leaders? If so, who were they?

Membership

The class and occupation of the visionary Durandus is stated in the most specific terms. Therefore his poor and humble origins as well as his craft as a carpenter can not be doubted.

Geoffrey of Vigeois, Chronici, RHGF, XVIII, p. 219:
 Is habebat uxorem et filium, arte carpentarius, vultu abjectus,
 sed simplex et timoratus. . . . Praesul hominis vilitatem
 admiratus est, . . .

⁷Alphandéry, op. cit., p. 17.

Robert of Auxerre, Chron., RHGF, XVIII, p. 251:
ad genere satis humilem

Rigord, Gesta, RHGF, XVII, p. 12:
illum Durandum pauperem et humilem carpentarium

Chron. de St. Denis, RHGF, XVII, p. 355:
Durant, qui estoit uns povres charpentiers

Robert of Monte, Chronica, RHGF, XVIII, p. 336:
cuidam fabro lignario

Gervase of Canterbury, Chronico, RHGF, XVII, p. 663:
Erat interea vir quidam in Alvernia fidelis et justus, arte
faber lignarius et beatæ Virgini valdè devotus.

The Anonymous of Laon, Chronicon, RHGF, XVIII, p. 705:
Durandus vir valdè simplex, arte lignifaber quod carpentarium
vulgò vocamus,...

In these phrases another connection between Geoffrey and Rigord can be detected. Both of these chroniclers use forms of carpentarius to describe Durandus' trade. Robert of Monte and Gervase prefer faber lignarius, while the Anonymous of Laon utilizes both terms, arte lignifaber and carpentarium.

A wide variety of words, much less specific, are used by the chroniclers to describe the membership of the Capuciati which was apparently composed of people from various social classes and conditions.

Geoffrey of Vigeois, Chronici, RHGF, XVIII, p. 219:
Canonici regulares vel monachi, si juraverint pacem, quia ordini astricti tenentur, non ibunt contra hostes, sed orationi instabunt, quod benè licet eis. In Assumptione, ut praelibavimus, res universis innotuit, P. episcopo praedicante. Extunc non solùm milites, verùm etiam principes, episcopi, abbates, monachi, clerici, vel mulieres viros non habentes, signum istud libentissimè susceperunt.

Robert of Auxerre, Chron., RHGF, XVIII, p. 251:
Primò itaque paucis sibi aggregatis, . . . Ipso anno, Arveniae proceres in mutua pacis foedera conjurarunt, . . .

Rigord, Gesta, RHGF, XVII, p. 12:

Tunc episcopus illius civitatis cum clero et populo et
universa multitudine ad diem festum congregata, illum
Durandum pauperem et humilem carpentarium in medio populi
in edito ponentes . . .

Chron. de St. Denis, RHGF, XVII, p. 355:

Quant touz li poples fu assemblez à la sollempnité de la
feste, li evesques de la cité prist celui Durant, qui estoit
uns povres charpentiers, et l'establi enmi la congregacion
pour dire le commandement Nostre Seigneur.

Robert of Monte, Continuatio, RHGF, XVIII, p. 336:

. . . multi episcopi et consules et viri consulares et
mediocres et pauperes, hanc sectam tenentes, . . .

Gervase of Canterbury, Chronico, RHGF, XVII, p. 663:

. . . episcopus, duodecim cives . . . convocavit . . .
In brevi itaque totâ civitate Podii cum adjacente regione
conversâ . . . Episcopi, abbates et monachi, sed et
omnis ordinis et fortunae viri, eorum societatem quarentes, . . .

The Anonymous of Laon, Chronicon, RHGF, XVIII, p. 705:

. . . omnes diversae conditionis et ordinis, episcopi etiam
et omnes inferiorum ordinum, . . . stultus ille populus et
indisciplinatus.

Historia epis. Aut., RHGF, XVIII, p. 729:

. . . quae plebeios trahere coepat universos in superiorum
rebellionem et exterminium potestatum: . . . quod minoris
majorisve nulla esset distinctio, . . . discerentque servi
non insolescere contra dominos . . .

Specifically testifying to the conglomerated character of
the membership are Gervase and the Anonymous. In Gervase's words,
"Bishops, abbots, monks, and men of all states and fortunes sought
their confederation." While according to the Anonymous, "After a
short time these affairs having spread by fame, people from all
areas of Aquitaine, Gascony, Provence and from all conditions and
orders of life, including bishops and inferior orders, had come
together as if animated by one spirit to maintain the peace which
they believed had come from heaven." The inclusion of clerics,

bishops, abbots, canons regular, priests, and monks is supported by Robert of Monte and Geoffrey. Secular leaders are listed by Robert of Auxerre (proceres), Robert of Monte (consules and viri consulares), and Geoffrey (principes) as participating in the association of peace. Two chroniclers specifically enumerate the middle and lower classes, "middle men and poor men," according to Robert of Monte and "knights", according to Geoffrey. The membership of women, "women not having men," is found only in Geoffrey's chronicle.

Even though the association eventually embraced all segments of society, on the basis of Geoffrey's account one may theorize that the upper classes only joined the movement after its early successes. Geoffrey lists examples from the upper class after stating that "these affairs became known to the world during Assumption by the before mentioned Bishop Peter." Robert of Auxerre's presentation of two confederations to maintain peace, one involving the people, the second composed of leaders, also suggests that the leaders did not immediately join their efforts with those of the people.

The diversity of the evidence makes it impossible to categorize the Capuciati as either a solely rural or a solely urban association. Gervase's phrase, "the whole city of Le Puy with the adjacent area," implies that the association was composed both of city and rural people. Due to its originating in a town, Le Puy, one may conclude that the first members were town dwellers. The *Historian of the Bishops of Auxerre* offers contradictory evidence. First, the phrase "quod minoris majorisve nulla esset distinctio"

suggests an urban movement. According to Fr. Funck-Brentano in the twelfth century the towns were divided into two classes, the town "patricians" and the working classes. These classes were described in Latin texts as "majores" and "minores", respectively.⁸ Secondly, the punishment described by the Historian was appropriate only for agricultural workers and was meted out to serfs, servi.⁹ The Anonymous of Laon's use of redditus debitos, a phrase frequently used to denote agricultural dues,¹⁰ in stating the fears of the leaders and their consequent refusal to levy additional dues beyond those already received would also suggest a rural membership.¹¹

Lacking more specific data one may propose that various elements dominated the movement at different times and in different places. The difficulty of determining the nature of the membership

⁸Fr. Funck-Brentano, The Middle Ages, translated by Elizabeth O'Neill, (New York: Ams Press, 1967), p. 342.

⁹Historia epis. Aut., RHGF, XVIII, p. 730. ". . . et, poenâ mulctans eos pecuniariâ, insuper eis praecidit capucia; et ut tantae praesumptionis vindicta palâm esset, discerentque servi non insolescere contra dominos, praecepit ut per annum integrum absque capuciis, nudis omninò capitibus et aeri expositis, aestus et frigora variasque experirentur aeris passiones. Videres miserandos homines aestivo tempore per rura, capitibus expositis absque omni velamine solis ardoribus, aestuare; brumali verò, nimio algore rigere; . . ."

¹⁰Charles DuFresne DuCange, Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitates, VII (Paris: Librairie des Sciences et des Arts, 1938), pp. 67-68.

¹¹The Anonymous of Laon, Chronicon, RHGF, XVIII, p. 706. "Tremebant principes in circuitu, nihil praeter justum hominibus suis inferre audentes, nec ab eis exactiones aliquas vel precarias praeter redditus debitos exigere praesumebant."

forecasts another problem to be discussed later: Was the movement unified or were there many groups which have been lumped together by later historians and called the Capuciati, a name not used by all or the earliest sources? Already at least two groups have been shown to have existed in the Auvergne in 1183. If one concludes that there were many different groups, the problem of membership may be solved by designating some as basically rural and others as urban, hence the confusion reflected in the chronicles.

Leadership

Regarding leadership of the Capuciati, the chroniclers are virtually silent. Nevertheless, because of certain known customs it may be assumed that the association required some leadership, even if fluid and transitory. A fundamental question surrounds the means and methods of establishing the customs and practices, beyond fighting the enemies of peace. Three chroniclers appear to imply that the source of origin and of organization were one and the same. This source was the canon in the Anonymous' account, the Bishop in Gervase's, and Mary in Robert of Monte's. However, Geoffrey of Vigeois names "Durandus of Orta" as the establisher of the practices of the peace.¹² Because Geoffrey does not use a surname when referring to the founder, his reference to Durandus of Orta as an organizer provokes several questions. Were there

¹²Geoffrey, Chronici, RHGF, XVIII, p. 219. "Instituit Durandus de Orta pacis instituta, . . ."

two Durandus, one a founder, one an organizer? As news of the Capuciati spread did some chroniclers apply the name of the organizer to the founder whose name was unknown to them? Is Geoffrey, by naming Durandus, referring to the founder, thus making both the same? On the basis of the sources these questions can not be answered. Possibly the failure to name the leaders means that the association was guided by men whom the chroniclers did not deem sufficiently important to mention by name. Or, an opposite explanation might be that the group's leadership came from the established class of leaders, either the nobility or the clergy, in particularly the Bishop of Le Puy, and since it had no extraordinary quality the chroniclers did not discuss it.

Emblem and Dress

Regardless of who was responsible for their origin, the emblem and dress of the Capuciati are fully discussed by the chroniclers.

Geoffrey of Vigeois, Chronici, RHGF, XVIII, p. 219:

Instituit Durandus de Orta pacis instituta, signumque de panno lineo vel laneo albo, caputium scilicet langulamque antè et retrò pendentem, instar pallii lanei quod ponunt super casulam metropolitani. In anteriori parte, hoc est super pectus, pendet imago Virginis quasi filium portantis; in circuitu scriptum est, Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem.

Robert of Auxerre, Chron., RHGF, XVIII, p. 251:

Primò itaque paucis sibi aggregatis, matris Domini signaculum in signum pacis gerentibus, . . .

Rigord, Gesta, RHGF, XVII, p. 12:

. . . etiam illi tradidisse schedulam in qua erat imago beatae virginis Mariae sedentis in throno, tenens in manibus Domini nostri Jesu Christi pueri habens similitudinem, et in circuitu impressam hujusmodi circumscriptionem: Agnus Dei, qui tollis

peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem. . . . et in signum servandae pacis, sigillum beatae Virginis praedictum, in stanno impressum et pectori superpositum cum caputiis lineis albis, ad modum scapulare monacherum alborum factis, in signum foederis initi semper secum portaverunt; . . .

Chron. de St. Denis, RHGF, XVII, p. 355:

. . . et li bailla une scedule en quoi l'ymage Sainte Marie estoit escrite et seoit en un throne, et tenoit la forme son chier fil en semblance d'enfant. En la circuité de ce seel estoient lettres escrites qui disoient: Agniaux de Dieu, qui ostes les pechiez dou monde, done nous pais. . . et en signe et en tesmoignage de cele reconciliation que il avoient faite, il firent enpriendre en estaim le seel de cele scedule o tot l'ymage de Nostre Dame, et le portoient avec eus cousu seur chaperons blans, qui estoient taillé a la maniere de chapulaire que cil convers de ces abbaies blanches portent; . . .

Robert of Monte, Continuatio, RHGF, XVIII, p. 336:

. . . /Mary/ obtulit ei sigillum iconis suae et filii sui Salvatoris nostri, cujus sic conscriptio erat, Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem; . . . ut omnes qui vellent pacem tenere sanctae ecclesiae et filiis suis, facerent hujusmodi sigilla et portarent in signum pacis, et facerent alba parva capucia ad ostentationem pacis et innocentiae . . .

Gervase of Canterbury, Chronico, RHGF, XVII, p. 663:

In signum verò sectae vel ordinis habitum, lineum habebant caputium, in quo beatae Virginis imaginem parvulam plumbo impressam vel stanno in pectore gestabant; . . .

The Anonymous of Laon, Chronicon, RHGF, XVIII, p. 705:

. . . haec autem sunt hujus pacis insignia: capucium lineum album gestabant omnes beatae Mariae pacis sectatores cum signo stanneo, cum hac inscriptione: Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem.

Historia epis. Aut., RHGF, XVIII, p. 729:

. . . cujus confoederationis consortes telarum caputia cum signaculis plumbeis quae beatae Mariae de Podio dicebantur, assumpserant in characterem et in signum, quae eos à caeteris distinguebant.

All eight chroniclers at least mention the insignia and seven note that the members of the peace association wore a hood. As described with the greatest detail by Rigord and the Chronicler of St. Denis the emblem, which was worn over the breast, consisted of a

metal image of Mary, sitting on a throne, holding her Son, and was encircled by the words, "Oh Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, give us peace." Geoffrey of Vigeois, Robert of Monte, and the Anonymous concur with this description. The remaining chroniclers refer to the emblem either as "a likeness of the Mother of the Lord," "a very small likeness of the Blessed Virgin made of alloy or lead," or "a small lead seal." Although a wide variety of Latin phrases, with some recurrence of words, are used to denote the emblem ("imago Virginis," "matris Domini signaculum," "sigillum iconis," "hujusmodi sigilla," "beatae Virginis imagenem parvulam plumbo impressam vel stanno," "signo stanno," "signaculis plumbeis," "sigillum beatae Virginis praedictum in stanno impressam") no obvious relationships between the use of terms are apparent. This is also true for the differences and agreements on the metal used to make the emblem. The Anonymous and Rigord maintain that the emblem was made from an alloy of silver and lead (stanneo), the Historian of the Bishops of Auxerre states that it was lead (plumbo), and Gervase reports that it was either alloy or lead.

While there is general agreement that the members wore a hood, frequently depicted as made from white linen or wool, various examples are used by the chroniclers to give their readers a fuller image. An interesting variation occurs on this point between Rigord and the Chronicler of St. Denis. The former compares the hood of association members to the hood and scapulare of the white monks,

but the latter compares the hood to the hood and scapulare of the lay brothers of the white monks. Geoffrey claims that the hood resembled the bishop's chasuble:

Durandus of Orta instituted the practices of the peace and the sign of a white linen or woolen garment, namely a hood with a cape hanging over the shoulders resembling the woolen cloak of the bishop's chasuble.

Using the word habit, habitus, Gervase also maintains that members were required to wear the hood in an uniform way, "not indiscriminately," and that a member was not permitted to abandon the "habit" once he had begun to wear it.¹³ On the basis of Gervase's remarks one might assume that members wore their hoods at all times. Additional support for such an assumption is found in the Bishop of Auxerre's prohibiting the wearing of the hoods as a portion of the punishment he gave the Capuciati. However, the Anonymous of Laon offers evidence for a different interpretation when he states that the Capuciati had the custom of "coming together on Sunday and other solemn days to hear mass and after that, putting on their hoods to have a procession."¹⁴ Two conclusions are possible

¹³Gervase, Chronico, RHGF, XVII, p. 663. ". . . nec hoc passim, sed solummodo in exercitu in signum religionis et societatis suae portabant. Nullum conversorum ordinem suum derelinquere permittebant vel habitum; . . ."

¹⁴The Anonymous of Laon, Chronicon, RHGF, XVIII, p. 706. "Statuerunt post haec ut omnes capuciati, singulis dominicis diebus et aliis diebus solemnibus, ad parochias suas, missas cum horis diurnis audituri conveniant et processiones induti capuciis sequantur."

from this remark. First, the members simply took off their hoods during mass, or secondly, they did not always wear the hoods, but only on special occasions.

Many other questions can be raised concerning the hood. Recalling Gervase's statement that the hoods must be worn in a uniform manner, one wonders if they were required to be exactly alike. If so, who made them? Was each member responsible for making his own hood or were the hoods made by the group and sold to the members? The same questions can be applied to the emblem, but in neither case can they be answered.

The Oath

As the wearing of a hood and an emblem was the outward and visible testimony of their aim to effect and preserve peace, the Capuciati were also bound to this aim and to each other by taking an oath. The prime place of the oath is reflected in each chronicler recording this facet of the association.

Geoffrey of Vigeois, Chronici, RHGF, XVIII, p. 219:

Verumtamen cum eo centum quatuor vel quinque primùm post Natale Domini inita pacis foedera juraverunt, proinde circa D millia. . . . Qui pacem jurat confitetur peccata priùs, juratque legitimè. . . . Canonici regulares vel monachi, si juraverint pacem; . . .

Robert of Auxerre, Chron., RHGF, XVIII, p. 251:

Arverniae proceres in mutua pacis foedera conjurarunt, . . .

Rigord, Gesta, RHGF, XVII, p. 12:

. . . tactis sacrosanctis Evangeliiis, mente promptissimâ se observaturos pacem omnibus modis quibus possent firmissimè jurantes, Domino promiserunt; . . .

Chron. de St. Denis, RHGF, XVII, p. 355:

. . . jurerent sur les textes des Evangiles de bon cuer et

de bone volenté, et le promistrent fermement à Nostre Seigneur que il seroient tozjors mais en amor et en concorde li uns ver l'autre, . . .

Robert of Monte, Continuatio, RHGF, XVIII, p. 336:
 . . . et dato sacramento pacem tenerent, . . .

Gervase of Canterbury, Chronico, RHGF, XVII, p. 663:
 At ipsi, de facili transeuntes in sententiam, unà cum episcopo suo, qui tertius-decimus fuit, de pace tenenda et praedicanda foedus inierunt, sacramentoque juramenti arctiùs obligati, . . .

The Anonymous of Laon, Chronicon, RHGF, XVIII, p. 705:
 Addidit ad haec quòd beata virgo Maria praecepit omnes amicos suos conjurare contra hostes pacis, . . . A.D. MCLXXXV, in Arvenia, videntes indigenae terram suam per Rutharios destrui, contra eos conjuraverunt.

Historia epis. Aut., RHGF, XVIII, p. 729:
 Nam, sub obtentu mutuae caritatis, praestitis juramentis confoederabantur ad invicem, quòd sibi in necessitatibus suis mutuuum ferrent consilium et auxilium contra omnes: . . .

Strangely, in spite of all including the oath there is a lack of similarity in the use of words and phrases. Perhaps these variations illustrate the twelfth century familiarity with the oath and the spontaneity with which a chronicler could write about the oath.

Tactics

After proper swearing and acquisition of the hood and emblem, the members of the association of peace were prepared to carry out their principal activity, fighting the enemies of peace. That the association operated as a citizen militia may be deduced from statements made by Geoffrey and Gervase.

Geoffrey of Vigeois, Chronicí, RHGF, XVIII, p. 219:
 . . . in hoste cum confratribus, cum jussus fuerit, perget; . . .

Gervase of Canterbury, Chronico, RHGF, XVII, p. 663:
 . . . sed ut pacem ubique servarent, et ad quamlibet ulciscendam vel propellendam injuriam, undecumque convocati, sine dilatione convenirent.

These statements present the Capuciati as being more analogous to a vigilante group than to a revolutionary sect.¹⁵ According to Geoffrey, "when ordered a member goes with the confederation against the enemy." Supporting this remark, Gervase states, "serving the peace everywhere, avenging and driving away injury, the members came without delay when they were called together." Geoffrey's statement without a doubt applies to the first stages of the group centered in Le Puy. Gervase, also, is referring to a group in Le Puy and while time elements can not be determined in his account, his failure to describe the radical phases allows one to assume that he is treating the early stages of the association. These statements also raise again the question of leadership. Who decided when and where a battle against the highwaymen would be undertaken? Who issued the order to fight, "cum jussus"? Who made the decision to call forth the members, "undecumque convocati"? The chroniclers reveal no answers to these questions.

¹⁵Overall the vigilante aspects of the Capuciati appear as significant as the radicalism. Therefore, Norman Cohn's attempt to have the best of all possible revolutionary worlds by presenting the Capuciati as precursors both of the 1789 French Revolution and the 1917 Russian Revolution is in fact a limited view of the Capuciati. By presenting only certain aspects of the association one could just as easily maintain that the Capuciati were medieval forerunners of the 1920 American Ku Klux Klan. The communal nature of the association, the wearing of distinctive dress, the efforts to rid society of elements considered undesirable and a threat to themselves, and a concern for the moral behavior of their members are characteristics shared by the Capuciati and the Ku Klux Klan.

Finances

Two chroniclers, Geoffrey and the Anonymous of Laon, touch upon another aspect of the association's customs which would necessitate leadership, monetary matters.

Geoffrey of Vigeois, Chronici, RHGF, XVIII, p. 219:
 Postea omni anno in Pentecosten sex denarios in confratria dabit; . . . semel in vita sua dabit in imagine stannea unum poyes.

The Anonymous of Laon, Chronicon, RHGF, XVIII, p. 706:
 Quicumque verò capucia cum signo sumpserunt, introitum societatis eorum denariis duodecim Podiensium redimebant. Fuit autem summa thesauri infra duos menses collecti quadragies centena millia librarum.

Geoffrey's first statement clearly maintains that every member gave six denarii each year at the time of Pentecost. The second is less clear and two interpretations appear possible. It could be interpreted to mean that once in his life a member gave a specific amount of money (one pound, unum poyes) made of silver and lead alloy (stannea). Secondly, it could mean that at one time a member gave a specific amount of metal, stannea, from which the emblem was made. The second interpretation rests upon Geoffrey's word imagine which he uses in a different case several lines above, imago, when referring to the emblem, and upon other chroniclers, Rigord, the Anonymous, and Gervase, who report that the emblem was made of stannum.¹⁶ Only Geoffrey, Rigord, and Gervase use forms of imago combined with a form of virgin to depict the picture of Mary, and with the addition of the Anonymous only these use stanneo.

¹⁶See pages 51-52 for texts on the emblem.

By choosing the interpretation that members gave a piece of metal, one can theorize that from these donations, members who had the necessary skill constructed identical emblems for the group. Also, this would indicate that artisans comprised a portion of the membership.

Because the Anonymous employs recognized monetary units, his remarks do not allow such speculation, "they purchased entrance into the society for twelve denarii." Nevertheless, one may surmise that he has exaggerated the amount accumulated in the treasury, "forty times one hundred thousand pounds within two months." One would like to know how this money was spent and who controlled the purse. An appointed person or group of people would appear to have been required to receive and dispense this income. Again, the chronicles offer only silence.

Fighting the Highwaymen

Although neither the structure of the organization nor the method of operating may be ascertained, the success of the Capuciati in their original purpose, to end the brigandage of the highwaymen, is substantiated both by general statements and by descriptions of specific incidents. Among the chroniclers only Robert of Monte and the Historian of the Bishops of Auxerre do not testify to the association's success.

Four chroniclers make general statements attesting to the peace which resulted from the activities of the Capuciati.

Robert of Auxerre, Chron., RHGF, XVIII, p. 251:

Anno MCLXXXIII, quaedam pacis novitas apud Anicium urbem exorta est per quemdam rebus ad genere satis humilem, qui dicebat se divinitus admonitum ut populum hortaretur ad pacem. . . . ita ut è vicinis quoque castris et urbibus plerique principes se eis adjungerent, adversantium sibi dejicerent castra, impiosque delerent, sicque regionem illam, diù jam à latronibus circumquaque corrosam, tutam efficerent et quietam.

Rigord, Gesta, RHGF, XVII, p. 12:

Haec pacis reconciliatio, per virum Dei facta, per totam Gothiam firmissimè per aliquod tempus fuit observata.

Chron. de St. Denis, RHGF, XVII, p. 355:

. . . et cele pais qui fu faite ou pais par ce preudome, dura moult longuement.

Gervase of Canterbury, Chronico, RHGF, XVII, p. 663:

Hi igitur, ut praedictum est, in immensum multiplicati, speciales pacis adversarios, Brabacenos scilicet, post aliquot annos ferè ad nihilum redegerunt.

Robert of Auxerre is the most precise in that he gives the specific area affected, "near the city of Le Puy," and the date, 1183. In his words, "so as to increase their numbers the leaders rushed upon the camps of their adversaries destroying the impious and bringing safety and quiet to that region which had been surrounded and gnawed at by robbers for a long time." This statement definitely asserts that the group had leaders, principes. On the basis of the verb sibi dejicerent one may suppose that the group operated as guerrilla bands, using the tactics of surprise and speed.

Declaring that "they /the Capuciati/ reduced to almost nothing those special adversaries of peace," Gervase qualifies his statement with the phrase "after some years." Both of these chroniclers relate the success against the highwaymen to the growth

of the organization, although in opposite ways. Robert maintains that the group increased its membership by attacking the highwaymen, while Gervase states that success followed the immense increase in members. Most general are the statements of Rigord and the Chronicler of St. Denis, who note that the peace was observed for a long time.

Specific encounters between the highwaymen and the men allied to bring peace are recorded by Robert of Auxerre, Rigord, the Chronicler of St. Denis, Geoffrey, and the Anonymous of Laon. Robert of Auxerre describes an outstanding triumph over the highwaymen.

Robert of Auxerre, Chron., RHGF, XVIII, p. 251:

Ipsa anno, Arverniae proceres in mutua pacis foedera conjurarunt, et nefandam illam Brebentionum cohortem, jam per multos annos, multis in locis, sed in Arvernia maximè, rapinis et caedibus inhiantem, agressi sunt, et ex eis tria circiter millia trucidarunt; nullum tamen ex suis, ut, dicitur, prostratum vel saucium reppererunt.

This victory, in which "around 3,000 of the Brabacons were slaughtered," but "none of the men of the Auvergne were discovered killed or wounded," is attributed to the peace confederation of the leaders of the Auvergne, not the association formed by a humble man of Le Puy.

In spite of the various names used to denote the men of peace, as well as other discrepancies, there appears to be some duplication of the incidents narrated by the other chroniclers. Before describing the origin of the peace fraternity in Le Puy, Geoffrey, Rigord, and the Chronicler of St. Denis relate a victory of the men of peace over the highwaymen in the territory of Berry.

Geoffrey of Vigeois, Chronici, RHGF, XVIII, p. 219:

Haec postquam gesta sunt, vastatores terrarum qui Palearii appellabantur in Bituricensem pagum arctati sunt à militibus qui Paciferi appellantur, eo quòd pacem facere juravissent. Quid replicem cuncta? Congregati undique populi apud Castellum-dunum, deleverunt illos in momento XIII kal. augusti, inclinata jam die. Alterâ die, quod est festum Sancti Victoris, crematis corporibus ipsorum, palea gehennae tradita est. Primam invasionem nostri Lemovicenses fecere, deinde Paciferi: nec defuit nobilis Ebo de Charanto cum Gaucherio de Salis qui fuit filius Geraldii de Mania cum nuru sua, quae fuit uxor Archambaldi de Borbon et soror Ducis Burgundiae. Aestimatus est numerus occisorum decem millia, quingenti viginti-quinque. Hi habebant calices aureos et argenteos, cruces ecclesiarum absque aetimatione. Pro his violaverat Rex surum thalami tui splendidi, ô maxime pastor Martialis! In his meretrices mille quingentae circiter erant, quarum ornamenta inaestimabili thesauro comparata sunt.

Rigord, Gesta, RHGF, XVII, p. 11:

Eodem anno in provincia Bituricensi, interfecta sunt septem millia Cotarellorum, et eo ampliùs, ab incolis illius terrae in unum contra Dei inimicos confoederatis. . . Quod videntes incolae illius provinciae, per literas suas omnia ista mala significaverunt domino suo Philippo christianissimo Francorum Regi. Qui, audito verbo, zelo Dei accensus, misit exercitum suum eis in adiutorium. Recepto autem Regis exercitu, insultum unanimiter in hostes fecerunt, et interfecerunt omnes à minimo usque ad maximum, et ditati sunt multi de praeda illorum.

Chron. de St. Denis, RHGF, XVII, p. 354:

En cele année furent occis VII mille Coteriau et plus en la contrée de Boorges, si les occistrent cil dou pais par le secors que li Rois leur fist pour les tres-horribles desloiautez que il fesoient par tot le pais: . . . Les genz du pais, qui virent les enormitez et tres-granz desloiautez que il fesoient, il le firent savoir au Roi Phelippe. Mout fu li Rois esmeuz quant il oi ceste chose pour le despit de sainte eglise, et en compassion des griés que cil dou pais souffroient, grant plenté de bone gent et de bien apareillie leur envoya en secors. Quant cil dou pais orent la force et l'aide le Roi, il se ferirent d'un cuer et d'une volenté entre les desloiaus, et les occistrent touz du plus petit jusques aus plus grant, leur despoilles pristrent, dont il furent enrichi. En tel manière prist Diex venjance des desloiaux qui tiex cruautez et tiex desloiautez fesoient ou pais, et retornerent arrieres en graciant et en loant Nostre Seigneur.

According to Geoffrey, this resounding victory near Dun-le-Roi resulted from the combined efforts of the Paciferi, a group which had sworn to make peace, and the inhabitants of Limoges, nostrum Lemovicenses. Not only were an estimated 10,525 Palearii killed, but many treasures which they had stolen were regained. The date of these marvelous events is set by Geoffrey as July 20, 1183. The accounts of Rigord and the St. Denis Chronicler differ slightly from Geoffrey's. First, they maintain that only seven thousand Cotarelli (Coteriau) were killed by the men of peace. Secondly, neither uses a collective name in reference to the victors. Finally, and most notable, is the contention that the people were assisted in gaining this victory by the troops Philip Augustus sent in response to the people's appeal. This assertion of the part played by Philip Augustus can not be disproved, but Rigord's tendency to eulogize the King must be borne in mind.

Geoffrey continues his account by enumerating two additional episodes.

Geoffrey of Vigeois, Chronici, RHGF, XVIII, p. 219:
Infra dies viginti Curbaranus, à la Romegeyra de la Mellian, cum quingentis de suis laqueo suspensus, opprobrium captavit sempiternum. Raymundus quoque Brunus apud Castrum-novum, quintâ die ante Assumptionem Sanctae Mariae, impiam vitam gladio finivit.

In the first episode Curbaranus, a well-known mercenary, and fifty of his men are reported to have been "hung from a noose" near Millau twenty days after the victory near Dun-le-Roi. The second incident establishes the exact date, August 10, and the place, near Chateauneuf, of the death of Raymundus Brunus.

Immediately following these events Geoffrey describes the origin and expansion of the peace association of Le Puy. Assuming the summer victories to be achievements of the Capuciati, one may conclude that Geoffrey has used the literary device of a flash back. Mid-way in the account Geoffrey states that the events became known to the world through the Bishop of Le Puy.¹⁷ The similar order of narration followed by Rigord is a major factor in the argument that Rigord used Geoffrey as a source.

The two victories over the highwaymen, one by the "sworn of Auvergne" and one by the "capuciati sine caperun", which the Anonymous of Laon relates have certain resemblances to the episodes recorded by Geoffrey and Rigord. However, there are also glaring differences.

The Anonymous of Laon, Chronicon, RHGF, XVIII, p. 706:

A.D. MCLXXXV, in Arvenia, videntes indigenae terram suam per Rutharios destrui, contra eos conjuraverunt. Unde factum est quòd Rutharii, ab Aquitania versùs Burgundiam tendentes, à castellano quodam nomine Habo de Carence obtinuerunt ut in castro suo se recrearent: quae res juratos de Arvernibus non latuit. Mandaverunt oppidano qui eos infra oppidum suum receperat, ut eos ab oppido suo expelleret, aut eos velut hostes suos contra eum venientes exspectaret: qui excogitatâ subtilitate callidè eos a castro eduxit, dicens se velle eos et eorum arma extra septa castris videre, ut in hostes suos per eos posset ulcisci. 'Et ego,' inquit, 'cum hominibus meis et amicis eis ero à tergo, ut fugientes meo gladio feriantur.' Exeuntes Rutharii campum petunt armati, atque, illis in armis lascivientibus, clauditur janua; sed, propter pactum quod cum eis pepigit, uxores muro pellicentes eorum, cum pueris et alia familia et rebus aliis, eis extra castra remisit. Rutharii verò, undique ab hostibus suis circumsepti, tamquam ferae hactenùs indomitae sub manu hostili mitescentes, omnem animi sui feritatem deposuerunt,

¹⁷Geoffrey, Chronici, RHGF, XVIII, p. 219. "In Assumptione, ut praelibavimus, res universis innotuit, P. episcopo praedicante."

et impetiti ab hostibus armis non responderunt, sed sicut oves occisionis se jugulari permiserunt: fuit autem numerus occisorum XVII millia. At capuciati sine caperun haec audientes, gloriam Arvernorum invidentes, Curberam quemdam nobilem Rutharium cum suis interfecerunt usque ad novem millia; caput verò Curberandi ad gloriam suam secum ad Podium detulerunt.

The Anonymous locates the events in the Auvergne rather than in Berry and gives 1185 as the date rather than 1183. The place discrepancy may be explained by conjecturing that the Anonymous as a man from north of the Loire had no first hand knowledge of geographical locations in the south and was simply confused about exact places in the adjacent areas of Berry and the Auvergne. Perhaps because the peace association was known as "the sworn of Auvergne" he assumed that all of their activities took place in the Auvergne. Also, the Anonymous refers to the highwaymen as the Rutharii in contrast to Geoffrey who uses Palearii and Rigord who uses Cotarelli. From his statement that these men were passing through the Auvergne from Aquitaine to Burgundy one might theorize that they were the mercenaries released at the time of Henry the Younger's death.

In the first event a castellan of the Auvergne, Habo de Carence, has a central role. Geoffrey refers to a noble Ebo de Charanto who participated in the July 20 victory. However, the Anonymous presents a greatly embellished account in comparison with the event described by Geoffrey. As narrated by the Anonymous, the Rutharii who devastated the countryside as they moved toward Burgundy acquired permission from Habo to rest and refresh themselves

in his village. When the townspeople learned that Habo had given this permission, they ordered him to expel the Rutharii from the village. Habo, fearing a combined attack by the townspeople and "the sworn of Auvergne" if he did not comply with their order, devised a subtle plan to entrap the mercenaries. He lured the Rutharii outside the town by telling them he wanted their assistance in a battle against the men of the Auvergne. According to the fake plan, the Rutharii stationed before the town walls were to await the arrival of "the sworn", while Habo with his men approached from behind. Thus encircled the peace association would be destroyed. In reality, a plan of encirclement directed against the Rutharii was Habo's aim, an aim which succeeded gloriously:

Indeed the Rutharii, surrounded by their enemies on all sides put away all wildness of spirit, just as an untamed wild animal becomes tame under the hand of the enemy. When attacked by their enemies, the Rutharii did not respond, but allowed themselves to be butchered as sheep of the slaughter. Moreover, there were seventeen thousand killed.

The Anonymous does not expound upon the looted treasures regained from the highwaymen as Geoffrey does, but proceeds to another encounter. This incident during which Curbaranus was killed is definitely reported by Geoffrey, although the Anonymous enlarges the number of mercenaries destroyed from fifty to nine thousand. He also adds that the head of Curbaranus was carried by the victors to Le Puy to increase their glory. The inclusion of the Curbaranus episode and its position in the narrative, subsequent

to another outstanding triumph, allows one to speculate that the first event described by the Anonymous, albeit with a different interpretation, is the July 20 victory narrated by Geoffrey. If it is not the same event, one may conclude that the Capuciati enjoyed a particularly active and successful summer in 1183.

Geoffrey's chronicle supplies evidence, two additional conflicts, that the Capuciati continued to function during the remaining months of 1183.

Geoffrey of Vigeois, Chronici, RHGF, XVIII, pp. 219 & 221:
 Castrum-novum obsederunt quidam eorumdem, quorum plures pro prodicione occidit princeps latronum quidam infra octavas Assumptionis, super corpora quorum is qui sine testimonio bonitatis suae nullum tempus relinquit, quaedam signa ob honorem suae Genitricis ostendere dignatus est. . . . Dominicâ manè recesserunt, timentes juratos Arverniae, qui venire disponebant, nisi Guillelmus de Chameleyra, miles, rem tunc differri consilio faceret pravo: quod factum in tantum eos poenituit, ut Ademarum Lemovicensem sacramenti sui efficerent participem, sicut avunculum illius Archambaldum fecerant pridem.

The first incident is the only recorded defeat of the men of peace by the mercenaries. "Certain of them beseiged Chateauneuf and by means of betrayal a leader of the robbers killed many of them later than the eighth of Assumption."

The second quotation is Geoffrey's final reference to the peace association and follows a lengthy exposition of the havoc and destruction created by the highwaymen in October 1183. In spite of the summer victories the brigands destroyed property and seized hostages, "sparing neither the old nor the feeble, without

mercy to the poor."¹⁸ Finally, Geoffrey states that the highwaymen withdrew because they learned "the sworn of Auvergne," whom they feared, planned to attack them. Geoffrey concludes with the observation that the peace association was deterred in their attack through "a wicked plan of a knight, Guillelmus de Chameleyra." When the association discovered that they had been tricked they forced one of the nobles, Ademarum of Limoges, to take the oath of their group, just as they had earlier made his uncle take the oath. This incident reveals the strength of the Capuciati vis-à-vis both the highwaymen, who retreated to avoid an encounter with them, and the nobility, who could be coerced into joining their association.

Radical Phase

Coercion of the nobility, or at least attempts of coercion, indicates another facet of the peace association's history. Undoubtedly the Capuciati in some areas experienced a phase of radicalism directed toward the landlords. But, efforts to determine the precise nature and course of the attacks by the Capuciati upon the aristocracy reveal a wealth of lacunae and raise

¹⁸Geoffrey, Chronici, RHGF, XVIII, p. 221. "Aliâ die nonâ, hostes moti de Plassac, crastino sabbato castrum de Pompedour obsident ex improviso, per circuitum universa vastantes, homines, animalia, diversaque supellectilia capiunt et vinciunt, senibusque ac debilibus non parcitur, parvis non miseretur. De redemptione earum rerum quae in monasterii claustro erant, habuere Marchadaeus, Constantinus de Born, et Radulphus de Castelnau, solidos sexcentos quinquaginta. . . . Totam terram quae appellabatur Lou Vendoues vastaverunt, ecclesias de Loberissac, Baissac, los Clauseus, de Corson, multasque alias ad redemptionem coëgerunt."

many questions. Were the seigneurs included in the original goal to repress the disrupters of peace? If they were, how may the multi-class composition of the association be explained? Did the Capuciati devote their first efforts to the most pressing problem, the highwaymen, and only after becoming intoxicated with their victories over the highwaymen attack the aristocracy?

Robert of Monte, Rigord, and the Chronicler of St. Denis offer no specific information on the Capuciati's attitude toward or the relationship with the nobility, other than to note the association's multi-class membership. Geoffrey of Vigeois' chronicle contains no reference to a radical phase and his only mention of conflict is the above statement regarding forced membership. An implication that the Capuciati included the seigneurs as possible victims of their attacks is made by Gervase and the Anonymous. Gervase states that the Capuciati swore against "not only the Brabacons, but all who injured them"¹⁹ and the Anonymous that they swore against "the enemies of peace, namely the Rutharii and the leaders who were not serving peace."²⁰ Rather than indicating a revolutionary group these two phrases perhaps demonstrate the thin line between brigandage by the highwaymen and brigandage by the

¹⁹Gervase, Chronico, RHGF, XVII, p. 663. ". . . non solum Brabacenis, sed et omnibus injuriam sibi facientibus, viriliter restiterunt."

²⁰The Anonymous of Laon, Chronicon, RHGF, XVIII, p. 705. ". . . conjurare contra hostes pacis, Rutharios scilicet et principes pacem non servantis."

nobility. Not only did the lower classes have to contend with ravages of the highwaymen, but also with the local castellan who pillaged, stole, and oppressed.²¹ The inclusion of such men in the original target does not necessarily imply a general attack on the aristocracy or a social revolution.

Robert of Auxerre apparently recognized a change in the association's nature for he gives a praiseworthy account of the Capuciati in 1183, followed by an abrupt mention of their radicalism in 1184.

The radicalism of the Capuciati is reported by three chroniclers, Robert of Auxerre, the Anonymous of Laon, and the Historian of the Bishops of Auxerre.

Robert of Auxerre, Chron., RHGF, XVIII, p. 251:

Anno MCLXXXIV, secta eorum quos Capuciatos vocant, quae apud Anicium anno coeperat praecedenti, coepit et in Francia propagari; sed, illis subjectionem insolenter negantibus, principum contradictione deleta est.

The Anonymous of Laon, Chronicon, RHGF, XVIII, pp. 705 & 706:

Sequenti verò aestate ejusdem anni, orta est apud Podium urbem Aquitaniae insana rabies Capuciatorum, . . . Tremebant principes in circuitu, nihil praeter justum hominibus suis inferre audentes, nec ab eis exactiones aliquas vel precarias praeter redditus debitos exigere praesumebant. . . . Quo facto, ita eos extulit eorum vesana dementia, quò Comitibus et vicecomitibus, aliis etiam Principibus, mandaret stultus ille populus et indisciplinatus, ut erga subditos suos solito mitiores se exhiberent, alioquin eorum indignationem sentirent.

²¹Luchaire, Social France, pp. 249-53.

Historia epis. Aut., RHGF, XVIII, p. 729:

In diebus illis, circa promotionis suae exordia, orta est in Gallias horrenda nimis et periculosa praesumptio, et quae plebeios trahere coeperat universos in superiorum rebellionem et exterminium potestatum: quae quamquam à bono habens originem, angelo Sathanae sese in lucis angelum transformante, cum exitialia suggereret, simulatam boni speciem praetendebat. Nam, sub obtentu mutuae caritatis, praestitis juramentis confoederabantur ad invicem, quòd sibi in necessitatibus suis mutuam ferrent consilium et auxilium contra omnes: cujus confoederationis consortes telarum cputia cum signaculis plumbeis quae beatae Mariae de Podio dicebantur, assumpserant in characterem et in signum, quae eos à caeteris distinguebant. Diabolicum profectò et perniciosum inventum! Nam de hoc sequebatur, quòd nullus timor, nulla reverentia, superioribus potestatibus haberetur: sed in eam libertatem sese omnes asserere conabantur, quam ab initio conditae creaturae à primis parentibus se contraxisse dicebant, ignorantes peccati fuisse meritum servitutem. Hinc etiam sequebatur, quòd minoris majorisve nulla esset distinctio, sed potiùs confusio, quae rerum summam, quae nunc superiorum moderamine ac ministerio auctore Domino regitur, brevi tempore traheret in ruinam. Consequenter etiam omnis sive politica sive catholica, in pacis humanae et salutis animarum dispendium daretur in exterminium disciplina, et quae sola carnalia astruunt haereses pullularent, vigore ecclesiastico succumbente. Pestis ista licèt plerosque Galliae fines, tractum tamem Autissiodorensem et Bituricum, finesque Burgundiae latiùs coeperat pervagari, et jam in tantam proruperat insaniam, ut collatis viribus prompti essent assertore gladio libertatem sibi degenerem vindicare.

From Robert of Auxerre one gains only the knowledge that the members of the Capuciati "insolently refused to obey their leaders" and thus the leaders destroyed the group. The form of their disobedience and the details of their destruction remain undisclosed.

Only slightly more illuminating is the Anonymous of Laon. First, the Anonymous writes, "The leaders in the neighborhood trembled, daring to impose nothing that was unjust on their men [their tenants], nor did they presume to demand from them any other exactions or dues, other than the rents owed." The term redditus debitos, a phrase used in medieval texts to refer to agricultural dues, permits the

conclusion that this radicalism was predominately rural. Assuming that the seigneurs acted in response to demands, the Capuciati perhaps sought a reduction of dues owed to the landlords, or at least protested the imposition of new non-traditional dues. Secondly, the Anonymous states that following the victory over Curbaranus, "they became so puffed up by their insane madness that those foolish and undisciplined people sent word to the Count, viscounts, and other leaders that they should show more gentleness than usual toward their subjects, otherwise they would feel their indignation." Unfortunately the Anonymous' account of the Capuciati ends with this sentence so that the reaction of the landlords to the threat and the subsequent action of the Capuciati is unknown. Specifically the Anonymous establishes the self-assertion of the group and their intimidation of the lords.

The greatest exposition of the Capuciati's radicalism is given by the Historian of the Bishops of Auxerre, who vehemently attacks the group. The Historian opens his account with the claim that the Capuciati was a movement involving "rebellion against superiors and destruction of the rulers." The group is described as "having no fear or reverence for the more powerful" and as "making no distinction between the great and the small." The goal of the group, according to the Historian, was their freedom or liberty, libertatem, which they maintained belonged to them by virtue of the initial condition of man. This lost freedom or liberty they were prepared to regain by use of the sword. While not describing specifically their actions, the Historian also asserts that the

movement brought a "reign of confusion" in which the "greatest affairs," rerum summam, were "in a brief time drawn down into ruins." Futhermore, "the order of all things, whether political or religious, was given over to destruction. Human peace and salvation of souls was lost. In addition to confusion in earthly matters, heresies sprang up as the vigor of the Church gave way."

From these impassioned charges it appears the Capuciati succeeded in greatly disturbing both the political and religious order, at least in the area of Auxerre. Yet, the Historian provides no information on the changes the Capuciati hoped to effect or on the type of system they planned to construct to replace the institutions, political and religious, they had destroyed. The Historian's accusation of heresy is not substantiated by his chronicle as none of the specific religious doctrines of the group are presented. The phrase "not knowing that servitude was the merit of sin," used following the statement that the group sought their liberty, implies that this group was composed primarily of serfs or at least the lowest class of workers. By using the word libertatem twice, the Historian emphasizes liberty as a general goal without suppling any details.

Whatever, if any specific proposals the Capuciati offered, the forces marshalled by the Bishop of Auxerre, a nobleman, Hugh of Noyers, rapidly crushed the group in the diocese.

Historia epis. Aut., RHGF, XVIII, p. 730:

Contra hanc formidabilem
 pestilentiam, quae non blandis
 exhortationibus, sed immensis
 erat conatibus compescenda
 episcopus tantò animosiùs se
 accinxit, quantò uberiùs in sua
 dioecesi et in villis ejus
 propriis maximè palmites suos
 extendebat; veniensque, prout
 negotii deposcebat necessitas,
 in multitudine armatorum apud
 Giacum villam suam, quam ferè
 totam illa occupaverat impeti-
 go, quotquot ibi capuciatos
 reperit, omnes cepit; et,
 poenâ mulctans eos pecuniariâ,
 insuper eis praecidit capucia;
 et ut tantae praesumptionis
 vindicta palàm esset,
 discerentque servi non
 inolescere contra dominos,
 praecepit ut per annum
 integrum absque capuciis, nudis
 omninò capitibus et aëri
 expositis, aestus et frigora
 variasque experirentur aëris
 passiones. Videres miserandos
 homines aestivo tempore per
 rura, capitibus expositis
 absque omni velamine solis
 ardoribus, aestuare; brumali
 verò, nimio algore rigere; . . .

The Bishop, with so much spirit,
 armed himself against this
 formidable pestilence, not
 tempted to use exhortation, but by
 huge efforts to repress it as much
 as it was greatly extending its
 branches into his diocese and his
 own city. According as the task
 by necessity demanded, he came
 with a multitude of armed men,
 near the village Gy which that
 scum had almost totally occupied.
 He seized all the Capuciatu whom
 he discovered there. He cut off
 their hoods from them, besides
 roughly inflicting a pecuniary
 punishment on them. And in order
 that so great a presumption be
 punished openly and that serfs be
 taught not to be insolent to their
 masters he instructed that for a
 whole year they air their passion
 by going without hoods, the whole
 head bare and exposed to the
 elements in summer and winter.
 Throughout the countryside you
 could see these miserable men,
 their heads exposed without a
 covering to the heat in summer and
 so excessively cold in the winter
 that their hair stood on end.

In this passage, as stated previously, the word servi
 as well as the punishment suggest that the movement was basically
 rural in nature and consisted of an uprising against landlords.

A distinguishing characteristic of the Historian's account
 is his failure to relate the movement he describes to the
 highwaymen. Even so, one may venture the guess, on the basis of
 his phrase "although originating in good" and his linking the
 movement with the "Blessed Mary of Le Puy," that the group

originated in Auxerre to combat the highwaymen. The highwaymen were apparently active in the diocese of Auxerre for the Gallia Christina includes their defeat as one of the accomplishments of Bishop Hugh:

In the beginning of his pontificate, certainly 1184, he enclosed and overcame the sect of the Cucullatorum or Cotorellorem having proceeded against them throughout the whole diocese.²²

Perhaps in Auxerre, as in the Auvergne, the Capuciati originally were allied with the religious powers against the brigands, but with the development of new aims opposed the Church either on a socio-economic basis and/or a doctrinal basis.

Demise

The chroniclers treat very sparingly and imprecisely the demise of the Capuciati. Nevertheless it is clear that the movement was destroyed through the efforts of the clergy and nobility in some areas and by the highwaymen elsewhere. Both Robert of Auxerre and the Historian of the Bishops of Auxerre present the group's destruction as a direct result of their radicalism. Robert states laconically, "that they were destroyed" because of their arrogant disobedience to the leaders (see page 70). The Historian of the Bishops of Auxerre maintains that by his actions Bishop Hugh not only "exterminated an insanity of such

²²Leon Paul Piolin, ed., Gallia Christina, XII, col. 297. "Pontificatus initio, nempe 1184, Cucullatorum feu Cotorellorum sectam per totam dioecesem grassantem aut profligavit aut coercuit."

presumption" in his town and territories, but also that he served as an example for others.

With his example the firmly rooted rashness of that kind was also extirpated in a brief time through other towns, dioceses, and provinces with God's approval.²³

The Anonymous of Laon supplies evidence that their original opponents, the highwaymen, under the leadership of the "most powerful leader, Lupatius," triumphed over the Capuciati.

This Lupatius killed and destroyed near Portas Bertae all the Capuciati, of whom we have often made mention, so that thereafter none dared to appear.²⁴

Possibly the lack of references discussing the movement's disappearance indicates that in some areas, particularly south of the Loire, the movement simply disintegrated slowly, mainly by sustaining defeats from the highwaymen which are not recorded. The continued brigandage of the highwaymen after the 1183 successes of the Capuciati appears beyond question.

Attempts to establish when the group was eliminated can produce only a vague estimate. Robert of Auxerre states 1184. The Historian of the Bishops of Auxerre writes that the movement

²³Historia epis. Aut., RHGF, XVIII, p. 730. "Sic igitur in brevi et in villis suis et finibus tantae praesumptionis exterminavit vesaniam: cujus exemplo per alias quoque villas, dioeceses et provincias, brevi tempore hujusmodi temeritas, favente Domino, fuit radicitus extirpata."

²⁴The Anonymous of Laon, Chronicon, RHGF, XVIII, p. 710. "Hic Lupatius omnes Capuciatos quorum saepius fecimus mentionem, ita apud Portas Bertae cecidet et delevit, quod postea nunquam ausi fuerunt comparere." According to the editor of RHGF XVIII, p. 809, Portas Bertae is located in "the area of the Auvergne and Limoges."

arose around the beginning of Hugh's preferment, which was in 1184. The overall impression given by the Historian is that Hugh suppressed the group with great speed after becoming bishop, so that one may conclude sometime during 1184 the Capuciati disappeared from the area of Auxerre. The reference made by the Anonymous is placed under 1198, but from the context of the passage,²⁵ it is obvious that he is writing about an earlier date. Using this slim evidence and the absence of additional references, the best supposition appears to be that the movement existed from the close of 1182 until 1184, two years at the most.

Scope

However, even though existing for a short time span, a sizeable portion of central and southern France witnessed the activities of the Capuciati during these two years. The affected areas listed by the chroniclers include the Auvergne, Berry, Aquitaine, Gascony, Provence, and Gothiam, south of the Loire and Auxerre, Burgundy, Galliae, and Francia, north of the Loire.

The fact that all of the chroniclers make a reference to Le Puy and that the group was sometimes called "the sworn of Auvergne" indicates the significance of Le Puy and the Auvergne. When directing their energy toward the highwaymen, Berry appears to rank first as the scene of action. The specific places, Dun-le-Roi, Chateauneuf-sur-Cher, and Charenton-sur-Cher, recorded as sites of confrontation

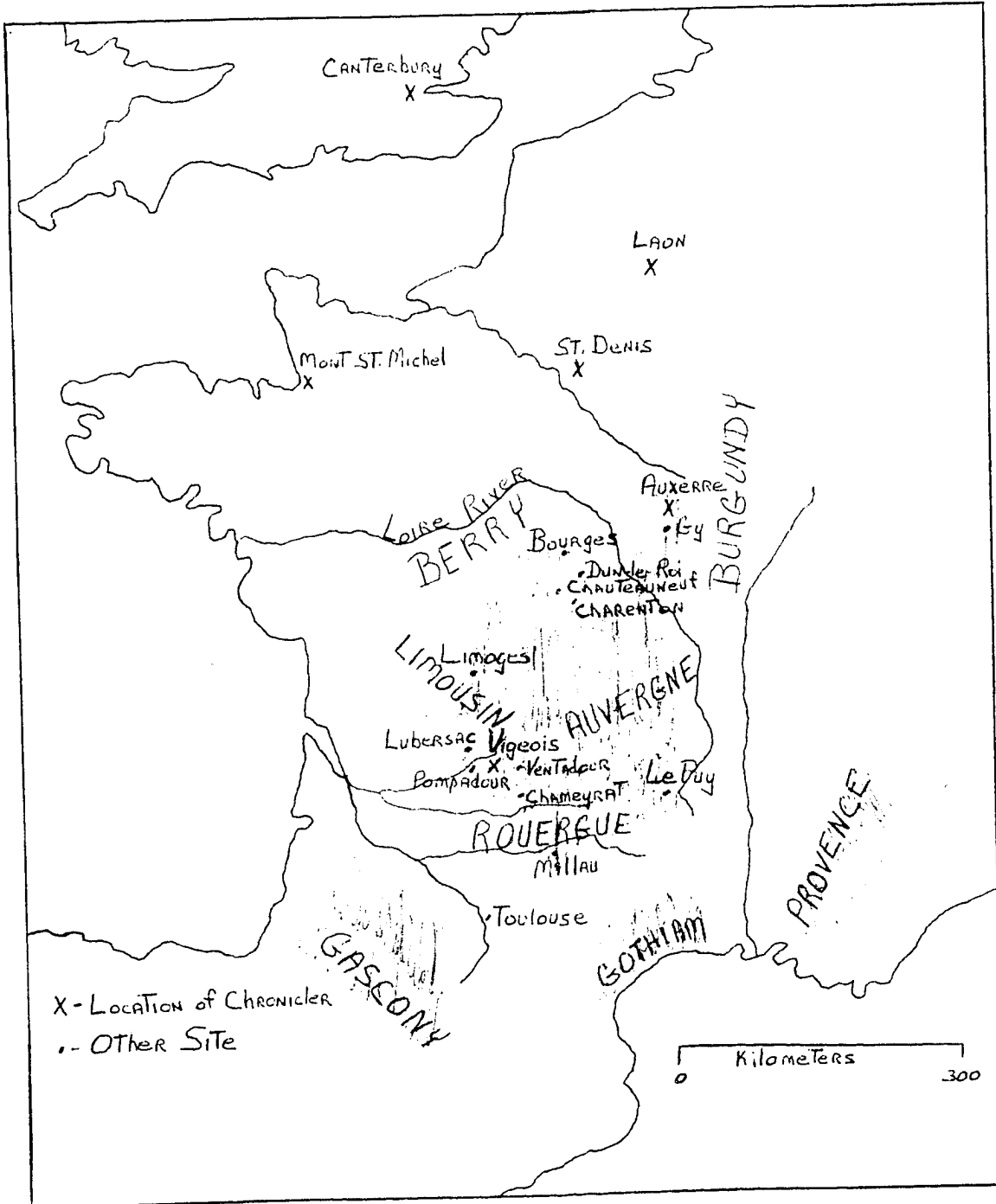
²⁵The passage treats Marcadez, the mercenary leader who succeeded Laputius and Richard as King of England.

are situated in Berry. Geoffrey gives a la Romegeyra de la Mellian as the scene of one victory by the men of peace. If this is Millau in Rouergue, then the association was also active farther south. Although the Limousin is not specifically listed, the association was undoubtedly active there. Geoffrey states that the men of Limoges participated in the battles in Berry and records the highwaymen's devastation of many places in the Limousin.

From the information provided by Geoffrey and Robert of Auxerre, one may speculate that the movement was situated south of the Loire originally in 1183. All of the events recorded by Geoffrey occurred in 1183 and Robert of Auxerre enters the activities in the Auvergne under 1183. Furthermore, Robert states that the group spread into Francia in 1184. The theory that the movement expanded northward in 1184 would appear to be supported by the Historian of the Bishops of Auxerre's statement that the group arose in Galliae around the beginning of Bishop Hugh's preferment, 1184.

The movement apparently reached the limits of its expansion in 1184, although there is no way of determining if the groups south of the Loire were still in operation. The site of the last mentioned encounter with the highwaymen, Portas Bertae, is presumed to be south of the Loire, but its location can not be established.

The accompanying map illustrates the areas affected by the movement and the specific places which can be determined. In addition, the locations of the chroniclers reveal the areas into which knowledge of the Capuciati reached.



A Movement

Having established the extent of the area affected by the Capuciati, it appears more accurate to speak of a movement, rather than a group, an amorphous movement which exhibited different traits in various areas. The most distinguishing difference is the social revolutionary character manifest by the group around Auxerre in contrast with the groups fighting the highwaymen below the Loire. The three chroniclers who record the radical manifestations of the movement were all situated in the north, Auxerre and Laon. However, the implication made by the Anonymous is that the groups around Le Puy were radical, so the radicalism may have been in the south as well as the north. Geoffrey's failure to record a radical phase of the movement might be due to the absence of radicalism in the groups of the Limousin and the Auvergne.

Even within the context of southern groups, the chroniclers delineate several groups. Robert of Auxerre specifically refers to two groups in the Auvergne and the Anonymous of Laon writes of "the sworn of Auvergne" and "capuciati sine caperun." The existence of many groups, some of whom did not wear white hoods and emblems of Mary, may explain the numerous names used by the chroniclers. Even if several groups took a hood and an emblem as symbols of their aim to establish peace, the possibility of coordination and established relations between groups is difficult to envision. Practical problems, such as communication, as well as an apparent lack of centralized and continuing leadership suggests

that the groups were local in nature. Combatting a common problem the local groups might have cooperated with each other when feasible, but lacked the unity which they have been given by later historians.

As a movement without unity, consisting of local groups with various aims, the Capuciati could be easily destroyed by eliminating individual groups over a period of time. The effects of the peace association groups were obviously ended as soon as the men of peace were defeated and/or disbanded. In actuality their defeat by the highwaymen reveals the fleeting nature of their 1183 triumphs. The radical Capuciati effected neither recorded changes in society during their existence, nor left a legacy for the future. The movement as a whole, after a brief span of fame and infamy, disappeared without leaving lasting results.

CHAPTER IV

THE CAPUCIATI AND THE TWELFTH CENTURY

In spite of the failure of the Capuciati to leave a legacy for the future, the movement does exemplify, and perhaps provide additional evidence for, several historical trends of the twelfth century.

The central position of the oath in the Capuciati immediately raises the question of the relation between the Capuciati and the commune movement. According to Charles Petit-Dutaillis, in the twelfth century the distinctive mark of the commune was the oath of mutual aid.¹ Among the prime objectives of the communal oath were the providing of public order and security and the ending of violence, brutality, and pillage.² The Capuciati, who at least originally and in some areas had these objectives and who allied themselves with an oath, would appear to have some affinity with the commune movement. However, rather than a direct relationship, it might be that both the Capuciati and the commune movement were drawing upon a common stock of traditions, the oath, and responding to common problems,

¹Charles Petit-Dutaillis, Les communes françaises caractères et évolution des origines au XVIII^e siècle, (Paris: Albin Michel, 1947), pp. 37-8, 81.

²Ibid., pp. 83, 99.

violence and pillage. Marc Bloch discussing the communal oath noted that in uniting equals the communal oath distinguished itself from the oath of feudalism which united an "inferior and a superior, which made one the subject of the other."³ The Capuciati as a multi-class movement did not unite equals per se, but involved an element of equality in combatting a common problem. Possibly the Capuciati's use of the oath represents a transitional phase of the oath, uniting unequals, but no longer in a feudal relationship, introducing an element of equality, but not solely among equals as in the communal oath.

In some of its radical facets the Capuciati also bears a resemblance to the commune movement. Petit-Dutaillis maintained that the principal object of the communal charters was to guard against arbitrary impositions.⁴ In his discussion of the Capuciati the Anonymous of Laon implies that the Capuciati protested new and untraditional dues. These protests might have been due to the expansion of the seigneurie banale. Although south of Burgundy and the Loire the labor services required of peasants were always light and by the mid-twelfth century appear to be dwindling away, Georges Duby has speculated that even the light labour services were innovations and extensions of the rights of the ban.⁵ While impossible

³Bloch, op. cit., p. 355.

⁴Petit-Dutaillis, op. cit., p. 52.

⁵Georges Duby, Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West, trans. by Cynthia Postan, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968), pp. 204-6.

to confirm, the radicalism of the Capuciati may be one example of opposition to the seigneurie banale and thus offer support to the theory that dues and services required of peasants were increasing during the latter portion of the twelfth century.

Failure of attempts to determine whether the radicalism of the Capuciati was primarily rural or urban might be explained by the fact that lines separating rural from urban society were not distinct in the late twelfth century. Giving as examples Soissons, Senlis, Saint-Quint, and Dijon, Petit-Dutaillis has insisted that many towns remained rural in traditions after becoming communes. In addition, for a sizeable number of the bourgeois their occupations continued to be at least half-agricultural.⁶ A society in which urban and rural life overlapped and mingled makes various elements of the Capuciati more comprehensible. The movement at times appears to be centered in towns; Durandus was a craftsman, Le Puy was its site of origin, the peace men returned to Le Puy for their triumph, and the revolutionaries around Auxerre occupied Gy. On the other hand, the protests appear rural, redditus debitos, and a punishment for agricultural workers. These factors suggest that one should not attempt to compartmentalize rural and urban life in the twelfth century. Therefore, the Capuciati was probably neither a rural nor an urban movement, but reflecting society was a movement in which rural and urban factors intermingled.

⁶Petit-Dutaillis, op. cit., p. 46.

The lack of adequate sources dooms the Capuciati to a place of obscurity in twelfth century French history. Nevertheless the movement should be viewed as a multi-facted movement which affected in various ways large areas of central and southern France and which provides some illumination on the twelfth century.

APPENDIX

The following passages are the intact Latin texts relevant to the Capuciati.

Geoffrey of Vigois, Chronici, RHGF, XVIII, pp. 219 & 221:

XXI. Haec postquam gesta sunt, vastatores terrarum qui Palearii appellabantur in Bituricensem pagum arctati sunt à militibus qui Paciferi appellantur, eo quòd pacem facere juravissent. Quid replicem cuncta? Congregati undique populi apud Castellum-dunum, deleverunt illos in momento XIII kal. augusti, inclinâtâ jam die. Alterâ die, quod est festum Sancti Victori, crematis corporibus ipsorum, palea gehennae tradita est. Primam invasionem nostri Lemovicenses fecere, deinde Paciferi: nec defuit nobilis Ebo de Charanto cum Gaucherio de Salis qui fuit filius Geraldi de Mania cum nuru sua, quae fuit uxor Archambaldi de Borbon et soror Ducis Burgundiae. Aestimatus est numerus occisorum decem millia, quingenti viginti-quinque. Hi habebant calices aureos et argenteos, cruces ecclesiarum absque aestimatione. Pro his violaverat Rex aurum thalami tui splendidi, ô maxime pastor Martialis! In his meretrices mille quingentae circiter erant, quarum ornamenta inaestimabili thesauro comparata sunt. Infra dies viginti Curbaranus, à la Romegeyra de la Mellian, cum quingentis de suis laqueo suspensus, opprobrium captavit sempiternum. Raymundus quoque Brunus apud Castrum-

novum, quintâ die ante Assumptionem Sanctae Mariae, impiam vitam gladio finivit.

XXII Genitricis Dei Assumptione serenitas praedicandae pacis populis claruit Occidentis; tempestivo imbre remoto, sed non statim remotâ umbrarum caligine. Qui enim infirma mundi eligit, ut confundat fortia, suscitavit spiritum vilissimi hominis Anicio commanentis. Is habebat uxorem et filium, arte carpentarius, vultu abjectus, sed simplex et timoratus. Hic Petrum adiit episcopum circa Sancti Andreae festum, eumque de pace admonuit reformanda. Praesul hominis vilitatem admiratus est, plebsque ejusdem verba contempsit. Verumtamen cum eo centum quatuor vel quinque primùm post Natale Domini inita pacis foedera juraverunt, proinde circa D millia. Post Pascha factus est numerus innumerus. Instituit Durandus de Orto pacis instituta, signumque de panno lineo vel laneo albo, caputium scilicet lingulamque antè et retrò pendentem, instar pallii lanei quod ponunt super casulam metropolitani. In anteriori parte, hoc est super pectus, pendet imago Virginis quasi filium portantis; in circuitu scriptum est, Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem. Qui pacem jurat, confitetur peccata priùs, juratque legitimè. Postea omni anno in Pentecosten sex denarios in confratria dabit; in hoste cum confratribus, cùm jussus fuerit, perget; semel in vita sua dabit in imagine stannea unum poyes. Canonici regulares vel monachi, si juraverint pacem, quia ordini astricti tenentur, non ibunt contra hostes, sed orationi instabunt, quod benè licet eis. In Assumptione, ut praelibavimus, res universis innotuit, P. episcopo praedicante. Extunc non solùm milites, verùm etiam principes,

episcopi, abbates, monachi, clerici, vel mulieres viros non habentes, signum istud libentissimè suscepere. Castrum-novum obsederunt quidam eorumdem, quorum plures pro proditione occidit princeps latronum quidam infra octavas Assumptionis, super corpora quorum is qui sine testimonio bonitatis suae nullum tempus relinquit, quaedam signa ob honorem suae Genitricis ostendere dignatus est.

Crastino, feriâ quintâ, octavus dies Sancti Pardulphi celebratur. Aliâ die nonâ, hostes moti de Plassac, crastino sabbato castrum de Pompedour obsident ex improvise, per circuitum universa vastantes, homines, animalia, diversaque supellectilia capiunt et vinciunt, senibusque ac debilibus non parcitur, parvis non miseretur. De redemptione earum rerum quae in monasterii claustro erant, habuere Marchadaeus, Constantinus de Born, et Radulphus de Castelnaud, solidos sexcentos quinquaginta. Ex hominibus almi Pardulphi qui capti fuerant, de unoquoque capite sex solidos exegerunt, et Radulphus praepositus, per ordinem suum ab eis adjuratus, spondit crastino se non manducaturum, donec persolveret pretium redemptionis captivorum. Recesserat ab ipsis: ea est causa, impediende ejusdem rei negotio, quare ei reddere non licuit de sabbato usque ad feriam tertiam, festo Sancti Lucae. Postquam pretium reddidit, tum comedit. Totam terram quae appellabatur Lou Vendoues vastaverunt, ecclesias de Loberissac, Baissac, los Clauseus, de Corson, multasque alias ad redemptionem coëgerunt. Unus illorum in castro crematur igne; alter adolescens Boso de Poipmene, quem nobilem asserebant, à rusticis perimitur et inter biothanatos projicitur; cùm penè nullum de parochia

occisum amisimus. Dominicâ mane recesserunt, timentes juratos Arverniae, qui venire disponebant, nisi Guillelmus de Chameleyra, miles, rem tunc differri consilio faceret pravo: quod factum in tantum eos poenituit, ut Ademarum Lemovicensem sacramenti sui efficerent participem, sicut avunculum illius Archambaldum fecerant pridem.

Robert of Auxerre, Chron., RHGF, XVIII, p. 251:

Anno MCLXXXIII, quaedam pacis novitas apud Anicium urbem exorta est per quemdam rebus ad genere satis humilem, qui dicebat se divinitus admonitum ut populum hortaretur ad pacem. Primò itaque paucis sibi aggregatis, matris Domini signaculum in signum pacis gerentibus, factus est eorum in brevi numerus infinitus, ita ut è vicinis quoque castris et urbibus plerique principes se eis adjungerent, adversantium sibi dejicerent castra, impiosque delerent, sicque regionem illam, diù jam à latronibus circumquaque corrosam, tutam efficerent et quietam.

Ipsò anno, Arverniae procères in mutua pacis foedera conjurarunt, et nefandam illam Brebentionum cohortem, jam per multos annos, multis in locis, sed in Arvernia maximè, rapinis et caedibus inhiantem, aggressi sunt, et ex eis tria circiter millia trucidarunt; nullum tamen ex suis, ut dicitur, prostratum vel saucium repperunt.

Anno MCLXXXIV, secta eorum quos Capuciatos vocant, quae apud Anicium anno coeperat praecedenti, coepit et in Francia propagari; sed, illis subjectionem insolenter negantibus, principum contradic-

tione deleta est.

Rigord, Gesta, RHGF, XVII, pp. 11-12:

Eodem anno, in provincia Bituricensi, interfecta sunt septem millia Cotarellorum, et eo ampliùs, ab incolis illius terrae in unum contra Dei inimicos confoederatis. Isti terram Regis vastando praedas ducebant, homines captos secum vilissimè trahebant, et cum uxoribus captorum (proh nefas!), ipsis videntibus, domiebant, et, quod deterius est, ecclesias Deo consecratas incendebant; sacerdotes et viros religiosos captos secum ducentes, et irrisoriè cantores ipsos vocantes, in ipsis tormentis subsannando dicebant: Cantate nobis, cantores, cantate; et confestim dabant eis alapas, vel cum grossis virgis turpiter caedebant. Quidam sic flagellati beatas animas Domino reddiderunt; alii, longâ carceris custodiâ mancipati semimortui, datâ pecuniâ pro redemptione, ad propria redierunt. Sed quomodo quod sequitur sine lacrymis et suspiriis referre poterimus?

Eodem igitur tempore, peccatis nostris exigentibus, jam dicti Cotarelli invadentes ecclesias, ipsas exspoliabant, et corpus Domini nostri, quod pro instanti necessitate aegrotantium in vasis aureis vel argenteis, prout decet, ibidem reservabatur, suggerente diabolo, ausu temerario, manibus humano sanguine pollutis de ipsis extrahentes vasis, (Proh dolor!) in terram viliter projicientes, pedibus conculcabant, et de illo sancta lintamine quod corporale dicitur, concubinae eorum pepla capitibus suis componebant, et vasa

aurea vel argentea in quibus servabatur vel conficiebatur, secum irreverenter portabant, et malleis confringentes vel lapidibus distrahebant. Quod videntes incolae illius provinciae, per literas suas omnia ista mala significaverunt domino suo Philippo christianissimo Francorum Regi. Qui, audito verbo, zelo Dei accensus, misit exercitum suum eis in adiutorium. Recepto autem Regis exercitu, insultum unanimiter in hostes fecerunt, et interfecerunt omnes à minimo usque ad maximum, et ditati sunt multi de praeda illorum. Videntes autem populi ea quae facta fuerant, reversi sunt glorificantes et laudantes Deum de his omnibus quae audierant et viderant.

Orta autem fuerat dissensio magna à longis retrò evolutis temporibus inter Regem Arragonensium et Comitem Sancti-Egidii Raimundum, quae, suggerente diabolo humani generis inimico, nullâ ratione poterat pacificari. Sed Dominus, pauperes suos in tanta oppressionem et afflictione diutina clamantes exaudiens, misit eis salvatorem, non Imperatorem, non Regem non principem aliquem ecclesiasticum, sed pauperem quemdam nomine Durandum, cui Dominus dicitur apparuisse in civitate Aniciensi, quae vulgò nunc Podium dicitur, et etiam illi tradidisse schedulam in qua erat imago beatae virginis Mariae sedentis in throno, tenens in manibus Domini nostri Jesu Christi pueri habens similitudinem, et in circuitu impressam hujusmodi circumscriptionem: Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem. Audientes autem principes majores et minores cum universis populis haec quae Domino cooperante facta

fuerant, in Assumptione beatae Mariae, sicut singulis annis solet fieri, apud Anicium convenerunt. Tunc episcopus illius civitatis cum clero et populo et universa multitudine ad diem festum congregata, illum Durandum pauperem et humilem carpentarium in medio populi in edito ponentes, aure intentissimâ audierunt. Qui mandatum Domini de pace inter eos reformanda audacissimè referens, et schedulam cum imagine beatae virginis Mariae pro signo omnibus ostendens, elevantes vocem cum fletu, admirantes Dei pietatem et misericordiam, tactis sacrosanctis Evangeliiis, mente promptissimâ se observaturos pacem omnibus modis quibus possent firmissimè jurantes, Domino promiserunt; et in signum servandae pacis, sigillum beatae Virginis praedictum, in stanno impressum et pectori superpositum cum caputiis lineis albis, ad modum scapulare monacherum alborum factis, in signum foederis initi semper secum portaverunt; et quod mirabilius est, omnes hujusmodi caputium cum signo portantes in tantum securi erant, quòd, si aliquis fratrem alterius aliquo casu interfecisset, et frater superstes fratricidam cum signo jam dicto accurrentem vidisset, statim, morte fratris oblivioni data, in osculo pacis cum fletu et lacrymis illum recipiebat, et in propriam domum adducens victui necessaria ministrabat. Nonne in hoc loco prophetia Isaiae quodammodo iterum potest dici fuisse impleta? Habitabit lupo cum agno, et pardus cum haedo accubabit; vitulus et leo, ovis et ursus, pascentur simul, et puer parvulus minabit eos. Sanè per bestias illas quae rapinâ et carne vivunt, impios homines, scilicet homicidas et raptores,

intelligimus; per reliquas verò pecudes, mansuetos et simplices. Et de illis prophetia dixit, quòd Christus eos simul habitare ac pacem habere praeciperet. Et quare hoc? quia repleta est terra scientiá Domini. Haec pacis reconciliatio, per virum Dei facta, per totam Gothiam firmissimè per aliquod tempus fuit observata.

Chron. de St. Denis, RHGF, XVII, pp. 354-55:

En cele année furent occis VII mille Coteriau et plus en la contrée de Boorges, si les occistrent cil dou pais par le secors que li Rois leur fist pour les tres-horribles desloiautez que il fesoient par tot le pais: car il entrerent en la terre le Roi à force, et prenoient les proies et les paisans dou pais, si les metoient en loiens, et les trainoient apres eus ausi come esclaves, et dormoient avec les fames de ceus que il enmenoient ensi, voiant eus-mesmes. Plus granz douleurs fesoient encor; car il ardoient les mostiers et les eglises, et trainoient apres eux en loiens les prestres et les genz de religion, et les apeloient cantadors par derision: quant il les batoient et tormentoient, lors disoient-il, cantador, cantez, cantador; et puis leur donoient granz bufes parmi les joues, et les batoient moult asprement de grosses verges, dont il avint que aucun rendirent les ames à Dieu en tels tormenz, et li auquant qui ja estoient ausi come demi mort et afamé de la longue prison, se raemoient par some de deniers pour eschaper de leur mainz. Mais coment porroit nus raconter sanz grant douleur de cuer et sanz lermes ce qui après s'ensuit? Car il roboient les eglises, l'Eucaristie prenoient à leur mains taouillies et ensanglantées dou

sanc humain, que l'on met en ces eglises en vaisselles d'or et d'argent pour la necessité des malades; fors des philatieres la sachoient, à terre la getoient, puis la defoloient entre leur piez; leur garces et leur meschines fesoient vaus etcourechies des corporaus seur quoi l'on trete le precieus cors Nostre Seigneur ou sacrement de l'autel; les philatieres et les kalices depeçoient à maus et à pierres. Les genz du pais, qui virent les enormitez et tres-granz desloiautez que il fesoient, il le firent savoir au Roi Phelippe. Mout fu li Rois esmeuz quant il oi ceste chose pour le despit de sainte eglise, et en compassion des griés que cil dou pais souffroient, grant plenté de bone gent et de bien apareillie leur envoya en secors. Quant cil dou pais orent la force et l'aide le Roi, il se ferirent d'un cuer et d'une volenté entre les desloiaus, et les occistrent touz du plus petit jusques aus plus grant, leur despoilles pristrent, dont il furent enrichi. En tel maniere prist Diex vengeance des desloiaux qui tiex cruautez et tiex desloiautez fesoient ou pais, et retournerent arrieres en graciant et en loant Nostre Seigneur.

X. Guerre et dissensions qui tone tens avant estoit comenciée, fu renouvelée entre le Conte Raimon de Saint Gile et le Roi d'Arragon, tele que nus ne pooit metre en iaus ne pais ne concorde, si que les povres genz du pais estoient forment grevé par leur guerres; mais Nostre Sires, qui oi la clamor et la complainte de ses povres, leur envoya salvaor, non mie Empereor, ne Prince, ne prelat, mais un povre home qui avoit non Durant, à cui Nostre Sires s'aparut en la cité dou Pui Nostre Dame, et li bailla

une scedule en quoi l'ymage Sainte Marie estoit escrete et seoit en un throne, et tenoit la forme son chier fil en semblance d'enfant. En la circuité de ce seel estoient lettres escribes qui disoient: Agniaux de Dieu, qui ostes les pechiez dou monde, done nous pais. Quant li grant Prince et li menor et toz li poples oirent ceste chose, il vindrent tuit au Pui Nostre Dame à la feste de l'Assumption ausi com il soloient venir chascun an par costume. Quant touz li poples fu assemblez à la sollempnité de la feste, li evesques de la cité prist celui Durant, qui estoit uns povres charpentiers, et l'establi enmi la congregation pour dire le commandement Nostre Seigneur. Quant il vit que tuit cil qui là estoient orent les oreilles ententives à sa bouche, il commença à dire son message, et leur commanda hardiement de par Nostre Seigneur que il feissent pais entre eus; et en tesmoing de verité, il leur mostra la scedule que Nostre Sires li ot baillie o tote l'ymage de Nostre Dame qui dedenz estoit empreinte. Lors commencerent tuit à crier o soupirs et o lermes et à loer la pitié et la misericorde Nostre Seigneur; et li dui Prince, qui devant estoient en si grant guerre que nus n'i pooit mettre pais, jurerent sur les textes des Evangiles de bon cuer et de bone volenté, et le promistrent fermement à Nostre Seigneur, que il seroient tozjors mais en amor et en concorde li uns vers l'autre, et en signe et en tesmoignage de cele reconciliation que il avoient faite, il firent enpreindre en estaim le seel de cele scedule o tot l'ymage de Nostre Dame, et le portoient avec eus cousu seur chaperons blans, qui estoient taillé à la maniere de chapulaire que cil convers de ces

abbaies blanches portent; et plus grant mereille que tuit cil qui ces segniaus portoient, estoient si seur que, se il avenist par aventure que aucuns eust un home occis et il encontrast le frere de celui qui fust morz, et seust encores bien la mort de son frere, il meist tot en obli pour lui festier, et le receust entre ses braz en baizier de pais et d'amor o plors et lermes, et li donast à mangier et à boire en sa maison et toutes ses necessitez; et cele pais qui fu faite ou pais par ce preudome, dura moult longuement.

Robert of Monte, Continuatio, RHGF, XVIII, p. 336:

Anno superiori, apparuit Domina nostra, Mater misericordiae, Sancta Maria, cuidam fabro lignario opus facienti in quadam silva, et obtulit ei sigillum iconis suae et filii sui Salvatoris nostri, cujus sic conscriptio erat, Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem; et jussit ei ut ferret illud ad episcopum Podiensem, ut praedicaret in provincia sua et in aliis circumquaque, ut omnes qui vellent pacem tenere sanctae ecclesiae et filiis suis, facerent hujusmodi sigilla et portarent in signum pacis, et facerent alba parva capucia ad ostentationem pacis et innocentiae, et dato sacramento pacem tenerent, inimicos pacis destruerent: quod et factum est; nam et multi episcopi et consules et viri consulares et mediocres et pauperes, hanc sectam tenentes, pacem tenent, et inimicos pacis persequuntur.

Gervase of Canterbury, Chronico, RHGF, XVII, p. 663:

Sumpsit initium hoc anno secta Caputiorum. Dum enim Brabacenorum in pacis amatores secta saeviret, et universa sibi resistentia sine delectu conditionis, ordinis vel aetatis, absque misericordia vastarent, sed nec ecclesiis parcerent, confugerunt ad eos exules quique et infames, monachi, canonici, moniales, sed et cujusque ordinis fugitivi, habituque mutato, nefandis lenociniis incumbere non cessabant. Cum igitur fere in infinitum hoc modo crescerent, quaecumque oculis videre poterant, sua esse dicebant. Dolebant ergò hac pressi malignitate viri quorum Deus tetigerat corda; et dum in eos mutire non auderent, eum qui conterit bella gemitibus et lacrymis contra tantam pestem exorabant. Erat interea vir quidam in Alvernia fidelis et justus, arte faber lignarius et beatæ Virgini valdè devotus. Huic in visione noctis apparuit beata virgo Maria, dicens ei: "Surge, vade, pacem prædica." Cui cùm excusationem prætenderet, quòd non esset habiturus auditores, denuò suggestit præcipientes ut pacem prædicaret. Surgens homo episcopum adiit, et quæ audierat, tremulus enodavit. Agens autem solerter episcopus, duodecim cives, viros probatæ fidei ejusdem civitatis, Podii scilicet, secretiùs convocavit; eisque prædictam visionem recitans, an paci consentire vellent, quaesivit. At ipsi, de facili transeuntes in sententiam, unà cum episcopo suo, qui tertius-decimus fuit, de pace tenènda et prædicanda foedus inierunt, sacramentoque juramenti arctiùs obligati, plurimos in suum propositum converterunt. In brevi itaque totâ civitate Podii cum adjacente regione conversâ, in infinitum tandem multiplicati, non

solùm Brabacenis, sed et omnibus injuriam sibi facientibus, viriliter restiterunt. Episcopi, abbates et monachi, sed et omnis ordinis et fortunae viri, eorum societatem quaerentes, juraverunt in primis quòd nulli fraudem facerent vel violentiam inferrent, illatas autem injurias sibi vel suis fratribus usque ad mortem communi concursu vindicarent; legitimum matrimonium laici contraherent, vel, si continere mallent, purè caelibatum tenerent. In signum verò sectae vel ordinis habitum, lineum habebant caputium, in quo beatae Virginis imaginem parvulam plumbo impressam vel stanno in pectore gestabant; nec hoc passim, sed solummodo in exercitu in signum religionis et societatis suae portabant. Nullum conversorum ordinem suum derelinquere permittebant vel habitum; sed ut pacem ubique servarent, et ad quamlibet ulciscendam vel propellendam injuriam, undecumque convocati, sine dilatione convenirent. Hi igitur, ut praedictum est, in immensum multiplicati, speciales pacis adversarios, Brabacenos scilicet, post aliquot annos ferè ad nihilum redegerunt. Hanc autem Brabacenorum destructionem hoc in loco, non suo, scripsimus, ne processu temporis idem replicare cogeremur. Haec tamen pauca sufficiant, licet utriusque sectae mores meminisse vel scripto non oporteat commendare.

The Anonymous of Laon, Chronicon, RHGF, XVIII, pp. 705-06, 710:
 Sequenti verò aestate ejusdem anni, orta est apud Podium urbem Aquitaniae insana rabies Capuciatorum, quae tale cognoscitur habuisse exordium. Antiquitatis consuetudo urbem Aniciensem vel Podiensem annuâ congregatione principum circumadjacentium provinciarum reddiderat famosam et illustrem, qui ob aliam causam ibi semel in anno, mediante mense augusto, non convenerunt nisi ob honorem et magnificentiae suae ostentationem; ut qui profusiùs res obligurierit et majori prodigalitate consumpserit, munificentior haberetur. Aequabat verò turbam principum multitudo mercatorum, ditabantur cives frequentia convenientium, ditabatur ecclesia donis et oblationibus populorum. Eâ tempestate regnabat per Aquitaniam importuna lues Ruthariorum, Arragonensium, Basclorum, Brabantionum et aliorum conductitiorum, quae quasi tempestas valida regiones illas arcescendo vastaverat, cujus contagione festiva sua tempora amisisse deflebant Podienses. Nempe, cum extra munitionem nullus comparere auderet, canonicus quidam Podiensis, consulto quodam juvene quem fama tunc temporis loquebatur ingeniosum, cuidam viro simplicí Durando nomine imposuit quòd et beata Virgo et Dei genitrix Maria horâ antediali in ipsa ecclesia apparuerit, et quaedam publicanda ei praeceperit, quorum qui transgredi non metuerit, ipso anno mortem probrosam vel subitanam subibit. Fuit verò ipse Durandus vir valdè simplex, arte lignifaber quod carpentarium vulgò vocamus, vir secundum possibilitatem laicam multum Deo devotus, cui artificiosè in habitu muliebri praefulgido juvenis quidam coronâ redimitus cum lucentibus gemmis apparuit, qui se beatam Virginem

fuisse dixit. Mane re per civitatem divulgatâ, accelerant hianter ad ecclesiam singuli, mandata Dei Matris audire cupientes.

Tunc canonicus praenominatus, cujus dolo et malitiâ vir bonus et simplex fuerat deceptus, prolocutor ejus factus, thema quod ordinaverat populo exposuit tenedum. Dicebat piam Matrem misericordiae ab omnipotente Filio suo pacem mortalibus impetrasse, et qui vel ipsam pacem impediret, vel eam suscipere noluerit, subitâ morte peribit. Haec autem sunt hujus pacis insignia: capucium lineum album gestabunt omnes beatæ Mariae pacis sectatores cum signo stanneo, cum hac inscriptione: Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem. Praeterea nullus aleator vel qui aliquo ludo deciorum luserit, hanc pacis fraternitatem intrare poterit; vestimenta togata non habebit, nec cultellum cum cuspidem quis portabit, nec tabernam intrabit. Qui de pace Sanctæ Mariae esse voluerit, juramentum fallax non faciet, neque juramentum aliquod inhonestum (ab umbilico inferius nullum membrum in Deo vel in ejus pia Matre, sive in aliquo Sanctorum vel Sanctarum ejus, nominari prohibuit Sancta Dei Mater) fieri omninò. Addidit ad haec quòd beata virgo Maria praecepit omnes amicos suos conjurare contra hostes pacis, Rutharios scilicet et principes pacem non servantes. Factum est post modicum temporis, famâ rem divulgante, convenerunt omnes ex omni Aquitania, Wasconia, Provincia, omnes diversae conditionis et ordinis, episcopi etiam et omnes inferiorum ordinum, quasi unâ inspiratione animati, suscipere pacem quam de coelo allatam credebant, nolentes verò capucium eorum cum signo inscriptionis recipere, hostiliter quasi hostem pacis insequabantur.

Quicumque verò capucia cum signo sumpserunt, introitum societatis eorum denariis duodecim Podiensium redimebant. Fuit autem summa thesauri infra duos menses collecti quadragies centena millia librarum. Tremebant principes in circuitu, nihil praeter justum hominibus suis inferre audentes, nec ab eis exactiones aliquas vel precarias praeter redditus debitos exigere praesumebant. Statuerunt post haec ut omnes capuciati, singulis dominicis diebus et aliis diebus solemnibus, ad parochias suas, missas cum horis dirunis audituri conveniant et processiones induti capuciis sequantur.

A.D. MCLXXXV, in Arvenia, videntes indigenae terram suam per Rutharios destrui, contra eos conjuraverunt. Unde factum est quòd Rutharii, ab Aquitania versùs Burgundiam tendentes, à castelano quodam nomine Habo de Carence obtinuerunt ut in castro suo se recrearent: quae res juratos de Arvernibus non latuit. Mandaverunt oppidano qui eos infra oppidum suum receperat, ut eos ab oppido suo expelleret, aut eos velut hostes suos contra eum venientes exspectaret: qui excogitatâ subtilitate callidè eos à castro eduxit, dicens se velle eos et eorum arma extra septa castris videre, ut in hostes suos per eos posset ulcisci. "Et ego," inquit, "cum hominibus meis et amicis eis ero à tergo, ut fugientes meo gladio feriantur." Exeuntes Rutharii campum petunt armati, atque, illis in armis lascivientibus, clauditur janua; sed, propter pactum quod cum eis pepigit, uxores muro pellicentes eorum, cum pueris et alia familia et rebus aliis, eis extra castra remisit. Rutharii verò, undique ab hostibus suis circumsepti, tamquam ferae hactenùs indomitae sub manu hostili mitescentes, omnem animi sui feritatem deposuerunt, et

impetiti ab hostibus armis non responderunt, sed sicut oves occisionis se jugulari permiserunt: fuit autem numerus occisorum XVII millia. At capuciati sine caperun haec audientes, gloriam Arvernorum invidentes, Curberam quemdam nobilem Rutharium cum suis interfecerunt usque ad novem millia; caput verò Curberandi ad gloriam suam secum ad Podium detulerunt. Quo facto, ita eos extulit eorum vesana dementia, quòd Comitibus et vicecomitibus, aliis etiam Principibus, mandaret stultus ille populus et indisciplinatus, ut erga subditos suos solito mitiores se exhiberent, alioquin eorum indignationem sentirent.

Illis diebus fuit Ruthariorum princeps Marcadez nominatus. His successit Lupatio potentissimo Ruthariorum principi. His Lupatius omnes Capuciatos quorum saepius fecimus mentionem, ita apud Portas Bertae cecidet et delevit, quod postea nunquam ausi fuerunt comparere.

Historia epis. Aut., RHGF, XVIII, pp. 729-30:

In diebus illis, circa promotionis suae exordia, orta est in Galliis horrenda nimis et periculosa praesumptio, et quae plebeios trahere coeperat universos in superiorum rebellionem et exterminium potestatum: quae quamquam à bono habens originem, angelo Sathanae sese in lucis angelum transformante, exitialia suggereret, simulatam boni speciem praetendebat. Nam, sub obtentu mutuae caritatis, praestitis juramentis confoederabantur ad invicem, quòd sibi in necessitatibus suis mutuum ferrent consilium et auxilium contra omnes:

cujus confoederationis consortes telarum caputia cum signaculis plumbeis quae beatae Mariae de Podio dicebantur, assumpserant in characterem et in signum, quae eos à caeteris distinguebant. Diabolicum profectò et perniciosum inventum! Nam de hoc sequebatur, quòd nullus timor, nulla reverentia, superioribus potestatibus haberetur; sed in eam libertatem sese omnes asserere conabantur, quam ab initio conditae creaturae à primis parentibus se contraxisse dicebant, ignorantes peccati fuisse meritum servitutem. Hinc etiam sequebatur, quòd minoris majorisve nulla esset distinctio, sed potiùs confusio, quae rerum summam, quae nunc superiorum moderamine ac ministerio auctore Domino regitur, brevi tempore traheret in ruinam. Consequenter etiam omnis sive politica sive catholica, in pacis humanae et salutis animarum dispendium, daretur in exterminium disciplina, et quae sola carnalia astruunt haereses pullularent, vigore ecclesiastico succumbente. Pestis ista licèt plerosque Galliae fines, tractum tamem Autissiodorensem et Bituricum, finesque Burgundiae latiùs coeperat pervagari, et jam in tantam proruperat insaniam, ut collatis viribus prompti essent assertore gladio libertatem sibi degenerem vindicare. Contra hanc formidabilem pestilentiam, quae non blandis exhortationibus, sed immensis erat conatibus compescenda, episcopus tantò animosiùs se accinxit, quantò uberiùs in sua dioecesi et in villis ejus propriis maximè palmites suos extendebat; veniensque, prout negotiì deposcebat neccessitas, in multitudine armatorum apud Giacum villam suam, quam ferè totam illa occupaverat impetigo, quotquot ibi capuciatos reperit, omnes cepit: et, poenâ mulctans eos pecuniariâ, insuper eis praecidit

capucia; et ut tantae praesumptionis vindicta palàm esset, discerent-
que servi non insolescere contra dominos, praecepit ut per annum
integrum absque capuciis, nudis omninò capitibus et aëri expositis,
aestus et frigora variasque experirentur aëris passiones. Videres
miserandos homines aestivo tempore per rura, capitibus expositis
absque omni velamine solis ardoribus, aestuare; brumali verò,
nimio algore rigere; annumque integrum sub ista exegissent censura,
nisi Senonensis archiepiscopus Guido, avunculus episcopi, illac
fortè praeteriens, humanitatis commotus visceribus super illos, et
episcopum tantae arguens inclementiae, eam remissione temporis quod
ad annum complendum supererat, decurtasset. Sic igitur in brevi et
in villis suis et finibus tantae praesumptionis exterminavit vesa-
nam: cujus exemplo per alias quoque villas, dioeceses et provincias,
brevi tempore hujusmodi temeritas, favente Domino, fuit radicitùs
extirpata.

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