

Religious Responses to Social Violence in Eleventh-Century Aquitaine

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The late tenth and early eleventh centuries were a time of political anarchy and social disorder in southern France. The progressive partition of Charlemagne's empire and the impact of the Viking and Muslim invasions had destroyed Carolingian political authority and administrative institutions. As the invasions subsided in the latter half of the tenth century, a state of near anarchy prevailed as scions of the old ruling families and local strongmen struggled to dominate one another and extend their lordship over new lands and peoples. The hundreds of new castles they built enabled them to seize political and economic control over the countryside. As the public justice system disintegrated, private warfare became endemic among the warrior nobility, spreading destruction throughout society. Unable to defend themselves and lacking effective protectors, the unarmed clergy and peasantry suffered coercion, extortion, and rapine at the hands of the knights.¹

The lawlessness of this era is graphically depicted in the *Chronicle* of Adémar of Chabannes (c. 988-1034), the chief source for the history of Aquitaine in the early eleventh century.² As a monk of St. Cybard (Eparchius) in Angoulême, Adémar regarded the spoliation of the clergy and of monasteries in particular as the chief social ill of his day.³ His narrative is not uniformly pessimistic, however, for the

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1. The disintegration of Carolingian institutions in southern France is described in Archibald Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718-1050* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965).

2. Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, ed. Jules Chavanon (Paris: Picard, 1897).

3. Adémar entered St. Cybard as an oblate and spent much of his life there, but he was raised in the monastery of St. Martial in Limoges, where two of his uncles held important positions. Throughout his life Adémar remained a vigorous proponent of

Chronicle also describes the emergence of a vigorous movement of religious revival and reform that swept southern France during his lifetime. In response to the violence of the times, this movement developed new institutions and ideas intended to reduce attacks on noncombatants by providing spiritual sanctions against evildoers and supernatural remedies for victims. Two particular facets of this response are examined here: the Peace of God and the cult of St. Leonard of Noblat, the patron saint of captives and prisoners. I argue that although the solutions they offered to the problem of violence differed, both manifestations were characteristic products of the religious and social forces that dominated eleventh-century Aquitaine.

The story of the Peace of God is well known.⁴ In its spiritual aspect it represented an attempt to establish the kingdom of God on earth by creating the conditions of peace and order necessary to human salvation.⁵ As a temporal movement it united the clergy of southern France in an effort to defend themselves and other noncombatants against the depredations of the nobility. The essential concern of the Peace was to condemn attacks on clerics, the expropriation of church property, the despoiling of merchants, and the capture of peasants for ransom. Violators were threatened with excommunication and anathematization. Knights were expected to take an oath, usually on the relics of a saint, to support the peace

the cult of St. Martial. On returning to Angoulême, he entered the priesthood and spent his life writing and copying books. He died on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1034.

4. Roger Bonnaud-Delamare, "Fondement des Institutions de Paix au XI^e siècle," in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1951), pp. 19-26; idem, "Les Institutions de Paix en Aquitaine au XI^e siècle," in *La Paix*, published in *Recueils de la société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des Institutions* 14 (1961):415-487; Daniel Callahan, "Adémar de Chabannes et la Paix de Dieu," *Annales du Midi* 89 (1977):21-43; H.E.J. Cowdrey, "The Peace and the Truce of God in the Eleventh Century," *Past and Present* 46 (1970):42-67; Georges Duby, "Les Laïcs et la Paix de Dieu," in *I Laici nella "Societas Christiana" dei secoli XI e XII* (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali, 5; Milan: Società editrice vita e Pensiero, 1968), pp. 448-469; Hartmut Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei* (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica [hereafter MGH], 20; Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1964); Ludwig Huberti, *Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte der Gottesfrieden und Landfrieden* (Ansbach: Brügel, 1892); Loren C. MacKinney, "The People and Public Opinion in the Eleventh-Century Peace Movement," *Speculum* 5 (1930):181-206; Bernhard Töpfer, *Volk und Kirche zur Zeit der beginnenden Gottesfriedensbewegung in Frankreich* (Berlin: Rütten und Loening, 1957); idem, "Reliquienkult und Pilgerbewegung zur Zeit der Klosterreform im burgundisch-aquitainischen Gebiet," in *Vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, ed. H. Kretzschmar (Berlin, 1956), pp. 420-439.

5. Bonnaud-Delamare, "Fondement des Institutions de Paix," pp. 19-26.

and promote justice. The use of holy relics to corroborate the vow solemnized the event and enlisted the aid of the supernatural patron in the punishment of violators.

The movement came to life in the last quarter of the tenth century in southern France, where the breakdown of social order was especially acute. It first appeared in Aquitaine, whence it spread to the rest of the south and north of France. Already in 975 Bishop Guy of Le Puy called an assembly of knights and rustics in his diocese to discuss how peace might be restored. In particular he demanded that the nobles swear a peace oath binding them to respect the goods of the church and the peasants and to make restitution of what they had already stolen. When they refused, he fought fire with fire, using the armies of his nephews, the counts of Brioude and Gévaudan, to bring the nobility to submission. By 990-993 he was able to call a council attended by clerics from throughout southern France and numerous knights which condemned the expropriation of property, attacks on unarmed clerics, the spoliation of merchants and seizure of peasants for ransom, and the theft both of church revenues and of laymen's livestock and possessions. Whoever violated these strictures was to be excommunicated and anathematized and, if he died without being reconciled, denied burial in sacred ground.⁶

The heartland of the early peace movement, however, was not eastern but western Aquitaine. About 989 Archbishop Gumbald of Bordeaux convened a council at the monastery of Charroux attended by the bishops of Poitiers, Limoges, Périgueux, Saintes, and Angoulême, the regular clergy, and a crowd of laymen of both sexes.⁷ The enthusiastic participation of laymen was to become a characteristic feature of later peace councils. The clerics brought with them saints' relics from all over Poitou and the Limousin. A contemporary account describes the transportation of the remains of St. Junien to the council.⁸ Although the canons issued by the bishops do not explicitly refer to the establishment of a *pax Dei*, they nevertheless enunciate the basic program of the peace movement: they pronounce an anathema on anyone who attacks a church or steals from one, or who steals the livestock of a farmer or other *pauper*, or who strikes an unarmed cleric at home or on a journey.⁹

6. The relevant texts are printed in Huberti, *Studien*, pp. 123-125; cf. Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, pp. 16-18 for the dating of the events.

7. MacKinney, "The People and Public Opinion," p. 184.

8. Letald of Micy, *Delatio corporis S. Juniani in synodum Karrofensem*, in J.P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus...series Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-1864; hereafter PL), 137:823-826.

Soon afterward, in 994, a far more significant peace convocation took place in Limoges. Besides the archbishops of Bordeaux and Bourges and the secular and regular clergy, the council was attended by Duke William the Great, the counts of Aquitaine and the "dukes" of Toulouse and Bordeaux, and their followers. According to Adémar, the impetus for the calling of the council was a "plague of fire" (*pestilentia ignis*) that was raging in the Limousin, bringing suffering and death to innumerable people. As a result, he says, Abbot Geoffrey of St. Martial and Bishop Alduin of Limoges, after consulting with Duke William, convened the assembly to seek an end to this manifestation of God's wrath. They immediately proclaimed a three-day fast. As at Charroux, the relics of numerous saints arrived with the clerical contingents. Crowds of laymen of both sexes thronged to the town. An atmosphere of intense religious excitement prevailed.¹⁰

The chief event of the convocation was the elevation of the body of St. Martial, the first bishop of Limoges and patron saint of the powerful monastery there. The remains were carried from the tomb to a hill outside the town called Mont Jovis (*Mons gaudii*) and immediately became the focus of fervent popular veneration. Soon miraculous cures began to be reported, and then the plague itself ceased through the intercession of Martial and the other saints. His fame as a thaumaturge established, St. Martial now became the object of a vigorous popular cult that spread throughout Aquitaine and retained its vitality well into the eleventh century.¹¹

The end of the plague was not, however, the only miraculous outcome of the council. Adémar reports that "all sickness ceased everywhere, and a pact of peace and justice was sworn by the duke and the princes in turn."¹² For Adémar communal expiation and

9. G.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* 31 vols. (Florence-Venice, 1759-1798), 19:89-90.

10. Adémar, *Chronique*, 3:35, p. 158, idem, *Commemoratio Abbatum Lemovicensium*, PL 141:82-83. Cowdrey, "The Peace and the Truce of God," p. 48 notes that the plague of fire "is now known to have been a gangrenous form of ergotism, the result of eating bread made from tainted rye flour." For Duke William's support of the peace movement, see Daniel Callahan, "William the Great and the Monasteries of Aquitaine," *Studia Monastica* 19 (1977):321-342.

11. Adémar, *Chronique*, 3:35, p. 158; *Translatio beati Martialis de Monte Gaudio* in Ernst Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, 2 vols. (Halle: Niemeyer, 1892-1894), 1:392-396. See also Daniel Callahan, "Adémar de Chabannes et la Paix de Dieu," pp. 27-28 and 40-41; and idem "The Sermons of Adémar of Chabannes and the Cult of St. Martial of Limoges," *Revue bénédictine* 86 (1976):251-295.

12. Adémar, *Chronique*, 3:35, p. 158.

saintly intervention helped restore not only the physical well-being of the people but also the peaceful order of human society. In the environment of religious excitement generated by the elevation of the body of St. Martial, the council achieved a result that would have seemed impossible just a few years earlier: the participation of the highest nobility in a peace pact. As their special contribution to resolving the crisis, Duke William and other powerful representatives of the warrior estate swore to restore public order by promoting peace and justice. Although political motives may also have induced them to support the peace initiative, the nobles did so in the context of the religious atmosphere of the council; and the intimate connection established there between spiritual power and secular responsibility set the pattern for all later peace assemblies.

From Limoges the practice of holding peace councils spread to other cities in Aquitaine. About 1010 Duke William the Great convened a council at Poitiers at which the decrees of the council of Charroux were renewed, and he and the other princes present "vowed the restoration of peace and justice."¹³ After a lull of a decade or more in the peace movement, William presided at a second convocation at Charroux between 1018 and 1029 attended by many of the higher nobility and a crowd of common people, but boycotted by the lesser nobility. Adémar reports that it was called to extinguish the heresies that were being disseminated among the people by the "Manichees." He adds that "all the princes of Aquitaine were there, and William commanded them to confirm the peace and worship the catholic church of God."¹⁴

Other religious occasions also provided opportunities to promote the peace. Adémar relates that at the dedication of the new church of the Holy Savior at the monastery of St. Martial in Limoges in November 1028 the peace was proclaimed, injustice condemned, and peace breakers excommunicated. As in 994, the body of St. Martial was once again elevated and enshrined on a hill outside the town. The relics of numerous other saints, including the bodies of Sts. Valeria of Chambon and Gerald of Aurillac, were imported for the dedication. Crowds of people flocked to venerate them and numerous miracles were reported. The anniversary of this dedication became an occasion for the yearly renewal of the peace, for which Adémar composed at least nine sermons.¹⁵

13. Huberti, *Studien*, pp. 136-137; Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum* 19:265-268; Callahan, "William the Great," pp. 329-330.

14. Adémar, *Chronique*, 3:69, p. 194; Callahan, "William the Great," p. 330.

15. Sackur, *Cluniacenser*, 2:479-487, esp. 482-483; Léopold Delisle, "Notice sur les manuscrits originaux d'Adémar de Chabannes," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la*

On 18 November 1031, the third anniversary of the church's consecration, another momentous council convened in Limoges attended by the archbishop of Bourges and nine other bishops, including Jordan of Limoges, the convocation's host and effective leader. A detailed account of the council's deliberations survives, written by Adémar himself.¹⁶ At the beginning of the first session Jordan presented a denunciation of the knights of the diocese who disturbed the peace, robbing churches and oppressing the peasantry. That evening at the public celebration of the anniversary of the church's dedication, which was attended by numerous nobles and a large crowd of common people, he delivered a sermon calling for an immediate end to predatory violence. Then he and the other bishops pronounced the following ritual excommunication and anathematization of violators of the peace:¹⁷

"We the bishops gathered here on this special occasion in the name of God [ten names] excommunicate those knights of the diocese of Limoges who will not swear to keep the peace and promote justice. Let them and their henchmen be cursed; let their weapons and horses be cursed. Let them be thrown alive into hell with the fratricide Cain and the traitor Judas. And just as these lights are extinguished, let their happiness be extinguished in sight of all the saints and angels, unless they come to the court of their bishop before they die to make amends and pay the penalty that is due." Then all the bishops and priests, who were holding lighted candles in their hands, threw them to the ground and snuffed them out. And the people became very agitated at these words and shouted "May God extinguish the happiness of them in the same way who will not keep the peace and follow justice."

At the second session the following day the bishops discussed a plan to lay the whole diocese under interdict unless the nobles swore to observe the peace.

Other councils followed: two at Poitiers in 1031-1032 and 1036, one at Le Puy in 1036, and another at Bourges in 1038.¹⁸ In these

Bibliothèque nationale et des autres bibliothèques 35 (1896):282-283, 291-296.

16. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum* 19:507-548; cf. excerpts in Huberti, *Studien*, pp. 212-215; Sackur, *Cluniacenser* 2:479-487; Delisle, "Notice sur...Adémar de Chabannes," pp. 260-265 and 284. A detailed description of the council's deliberations is given by Callahan, "Adémar de Chabannes et la Paix de Dieu," pp. 29-34.

17. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum* 19:530.

18. Poitiers (1031-1032): Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum* 19:495-498; Töpfer, *Volk und Kirche*, pp. 72-73; Huberti, *Studien*, pp. 181-183. Poitiers (1036): Mansi, *Sacrorum*

convocations of the 1030s the peace movement reached its fully developed form and emotional climax. Clergy, nobles, and people cooperated in the repudiation of social violence. Motivated by a common desire for peace, members of all three orders joined forces to intimidate unruly knights into swearing to respect the security of noncombatants by threatening them with excommunication, anathematization, and exclusion from civilized society. Although the machinery of social control created by the councils proved inadequate on the whole to suppress lawlessness, the formation of a vocal public opinion in opposition to violence was in itself a significant achievement.¹⁹

Because of its mass appeal and fervent piety the Peace of God has been called the first popular religious movement of the Middle Ages.²⁰ Yet the peace movement was just one product of the widespread and powerful religious revival that swept southern France in the early eleventh century. The chief expression of this revival was a ground swell of enthusiasm for relic veneration and saints' cults that began in the last two decades of the tenth century. The centers of this new wave of piety were monasteries possessing the remains of reputed saints, which quickly became the foci of major pilgrimages. The most famous of these monastic pilgrimages were to St. Foy in Conques, St. Sernin in Toulouse, St. Mary Magdalene in Vézelay, St. Vivian in Figeac, St. Gerald in Aurillac, St. Martial in Limoges, and St. John the Baptist in St-Jean-d'Angély, but numerous vigorous local cults existed as well.²¹ Farther south over the Pyrenees the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela was undergoing a similar expansion. By the early decades of the eleventh century popular devotion to saints and their relics was already potent enough to stimulate both renewed dedication to old cults and intense excitement over new eruptions of supernatural activity.²²

One of the most famous manifestations of this enthusiasm was the reputed rediscovery of the head of St. John the Baptist at the

conciliorum 19:579-580; Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, p. 34; Huberti, *Studien*, pp. 210-211. Le Puy: Töpfer, *Volk und Kirche*, p. 74; Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, p. 41. Bourges (1038): Huberti, *Studien*, pp. 217-218; Töpfer, *Volk und Kirche*, p. 78.

19. MacKinney, "The People and Public Opinion," pp. 183-184, 191, 204-205. From the 1040s on the Truce of God became the leading edge of the peace movement. For the practical effects of these movements, see Cowdrey, "The Peace and the Truce of God," pp. 53-67.

20. Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, p. 29 and Töpfer, *Volk und Kirche*, p. 5, citing Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Stuttgart, 1935), pp. 66-67.

21. Töpfer, "Reliquienkult," p. 429; idem, *Volk und Kirche*, pp. 40-51.

22. Bonnaud-Delamare, "Fondement des Institutions de Paix," p. 21 connects this excitement with the anxiety over the advent of the millennium of Christ's life.

monastery of St-Jean-d'Angély. Adémar reports that in the year 1010 Abbot Alduin discovered in the church there a stone case containing a head believed to be that of the Baptist. When Duke William returned home from celebrating Easter in Rome, he ordered the head to be shown to the populace. Once the news of the discovery and public display got abroad, Adémar continues, all Aquitaine, Gaul, Italy, and Spain eagerly hastened to visit the site. Among the most famous visitors were King Robert of France, King Sancho the Great of Navarre, and Duke Sancho William of Gascony, as well as a host of counts and princes, bishops and abbots, and other secular dignitaries. All brought expensive gifts as offerings to the saint and his church.²³

For the general populace the religious excitement of the discovery was heightened by the arrival of other saints' relics brought to honor the Baptist. "Adding to all the joy and glory," Adémar says, "a crowd of canons and monks from all over, bearing relics of the saints and singing psalms, hurried to remember the Holy Precursor."²⁴ Among these relics were those of St. Martial of Limoges, accompanied by the relics of St. Stephen, the patron saint of the cathedral church. The appearance of these saintly remains generated considerable enthusiasm along the route to St-Jean-d'Angély, and their progress was attended by reports of miracles. As the procession approached Charroux, the monks and the entire populace received it a mile outside the town and conducted it with great ceremony into the church of the Holy Savior. At St-Jean-d'Angély, Bishop Gerald of Limoges celebrated mass and blessed the people with the head of the Baptist. Afterward, "rejoicing greatly over the miracles of St. Martial that had happened along the way," the bishop, abbot, monks, and canons returned home.²⁵

Other events confirm that St. Martial's relics continued to be the focus of fervent veneration by both nobles and commoners in the early eleventh century. Between 1010 and 1014 "many miracles began to occur at the tomb of St. Martial which brought great happiness to the monks and all Aquitaine. For the most noble princes of the Aquitainians, Franks, and Italians celebrated Easter gloriously that year in Limoges with the multitude [*frequentia*] of St. Martial."²⁶ In 1012 or 1013 Bishop Alduin ordered the rebuilding of the cathedral originally dedicated by St. Martial. A few years later

23. Adémar, *Chronique*, 3:56, pp. 179-180.

24. *Ibid.*, 3:56, p. 180.

25. *Ibid.*, 3:56, pp. 180-181.

26. *Ibid.*, 3:49, pp. 171-172.

the veneration of the saint's relics became so popular that the crowds of pilgrims presented a threat to life and limb. In 1017 or 1018 Abbot Geoffrey initiated a renovation of the monastic church, and at a nocturnal vigil in the middle of Lent a crowd of people trying to push their way into the tomb of St. Martial trampled more than fifty men and women to death.²⁷

Like the remains of St. Martial, the relics of St. Cybard, the patron saint of Adémar's house, also worked miracles while *en route* to St-Jean-d'Angély. According to Adémar, the relics of St. Cybard had been an active source of supernatural occurrences since about 1003, when the tomb of his monastery's patron "began to shine more than usual with innumerable miracles."²⁸ As the saint's remains and pastoral staff were being brought to St-Jean-d'Angély, the image of a burning staff was seen in the sky every night until they arrived. Once there the saint performed miraculous cures, and on the return trip the canons carrying the relics passed through a river without getting wet.²⁹

Saints' cults such as these represented the primary vehicle of popular religious revival in the eleventh century, and the key factor that stimulated and maintained public devotion to a cult was the saint's reputation for performing miracles. Indeed the belief in the supernatural intervention of saints on behalf of the faithful constituted one of the strongest bonds between the laity and the clergy. As guardians and promoters of their patron saints, the regular clergy sought to enhance their patron's fame and attract the prayers and offerings of the populace by publicizing the saint's miraculous powers. Consequently the wave of popular piety that began in the late tenth century produced a sharp increase in the number of miracle books composed to record and advertise the wondrous powers of the holy remains.³⁰

From this perspective the alliance of clerical and lay noncombatants in the Peace of God was one expression of a broader association based on their joint commitment to the veneration of saints and their relics. The peace movement harnessed the wave of popular piety that arose shortly before the year 1000 and focused it on the critical problem of predatory violence. The aid of saints from throughout Aquitaine was enlisted through the importation of their

27. Ibid., 3:49, p. 173. In the *Commemoratio Abbatum Lemovicensium*, PL 141:83, he specifies the number killed as 52.

28. Ibid., 3:40, p. 162.

29. Ibid., 3:56, pp. 181-182.

30. Töpfer, "Reliquienkult," pp. 422-423 and 433-435; idem, *Volk und Kirche*, pp. 52-56.

remains to the peace councils and the requirement that the nobles swear on them to respect the peace. Already at the council of Charroux in 989 the relics of numerous saints were present and apparently worked miracles. Likewise relics from all over the duchy were brought to the famous council of 994 in Limoges and the body of St. Martial was elevated from its tomb. The practice was also followed at councils in Narbonne (990), the Auvergne (994), Rodez (early eleventh century), Héry (1024), Anse (1025), Limoges (1028 and 1031), and Le Puy (1036).³¹ The usage soon spread to the north of France where it appeared at Chalon-sur-Saône in 1016 and at Audenarde in 1030.³² It was, moreover, normal practice to strengthen the force of the oaths by having the knights swear them on the remains of the saints present.³³ At the end of the century, Ivo of Chartres admonished the faithful in an episcopal letter to "keep without fail the holy peace...and to swear its observance with your hand on holy relics."³⁴

Although justifiably famous, the Peace of God was not the only religious response to social violence in eleventh-century Aquitaine. The religious revival that animated it also produced another initiative which opposed the supernatural power of a celestial patron to the corrupt power of earthly princes. In the second decade of the eleventh century, a new cult suddenly emerged to honor St. Leonard of Noblat, the protector of captives and prisoners, whose fame rested primarily on his reputed ability to free people miraculously from captivity. According to his legend, St. Leonard was a pious monk and disciple of St. Remigius of Reims who lived in the first half of the sixth century and retired as a hermit to a forest near Limoges, where he built a church dedicated to the Virgin. When he died, he was buried there, and the village of Noblat grew up around the shrine. By the tenth century the village, located twenty-two kilometers to the east of Limoges, belonged to the bishop, who had a strong castle there.³⁵

Despite the supposed antiquity of the shrine, the earliest evidence for the cult's existence comes from the second or third decade of the

31. Töpfer, *Volk und Kirche*, pp. 94-102.

32. On Chalon see MacKinney, "The People and Public Opinion," p. 188 and n. 2. On Audenarde see Töpfer, *Volk und Kirche*, pp. 102-103.

33. Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, pp. 18-19 and n. 34.

34. Huberti, *Studien*, p. 420.

35. R. Limouzin-Lamothe, *Le diocèse de Limoges des origines à la fin du moyen âge* (Strasbourg, Paris: Editions F.-X. Le Roux, 1951), p. 76.

eleventh century. The first mention of it is found in Adémar's *Chronicle* following his account of the discovery of the head of the Baptist at St-Jean-d'Angély. Immediately after describing the return of St. Martial's relics to Limoges, Adémar says, "At that time Saint Leonard the Confessor and Saint Antoninus the Martyr were shining with miracles in the Limousin and Quercy, and from everywhere people flocked to them."³⁶ Judging from the context, this passage refers to the years 1010-1020, but the events may have occurred as late as 1028-1029.³⁷ Adémar thus adds these two saints to the ranks of holy men such as the Baptist at St-Jean-d'Angély, St. Martial, and St. Cybard who had recently gained widespread fame for their miraculous activity. As in the other cases, the remains of St. Leonard and St. Antoninus the Martyr became the object of popular pilgrimages, and crowds of people came from far and wide to venerate them.

There is, moreover, no reason to suppose that the legend that places Leonard in the sixth century itself existed before the eleventh century. The earliest *vita* was apparently only written in the third or fourth decade of the eleventh century.³⁸ About 1023, Jordan of Laron, the provost (*praepositus*) of the church of St. Leonard in Noblat, was elected bishop of Limoges.³⁹ Sometime before 1028 he had Hildegard of Chartres, who was then a *scholasticus* at Poitiers, write to his old teacher, Bishop Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1028), to ask if Fulbert could find and send him a copy of Leonard's *vita*.⁴⁰ Fulbert's reply has not survived, but Jordan's letter implies that at this time no *vita* was extant either in the episcopal library at Limoges or in the church of St. Leonard itself. This interpretation led both

36. Adémar, *Chronique*, 3:56, p. 181: "Ea tempestate sanctus Leonardus confessor in Lemovicino, et sanctus Antoninus martyr in Cadurcino miraculis coruscabant, et undique populi eo confluebant."

37. Chavanon dates the events described in the succeeding paragraph to the year 1020. The events immediately following the mention of St. Leonard in the same paragraph are dated c. 1012 and c. 1013. Adémar's chronology, however, is often very imprecise. The phrase "Ea tempestate" is not to be taken literally but as a convenient transitional device. Since the chronicle was composed sometime soon after 1028-1029, this date must be regarded as the best *terminus ad quem*. The first miracle book appended to the saint's *vita* asserts that Leonard's remains were taken to St-Jean-d'Angély in 1010 and worked miracles there. But since the miracle book was only composed in 1030-1031 to glorify the saint and publicize his cult, the statement cannot be accepted uncritically.

38. BHL 4862. It edited in the *Acta Sanctorum* (hereafter AASS), vol. III November (Brussels: Bollandists, 1910), pp. 149-155 with an introduction by Albert Poncelet, pp. 139-149.

39. Adémar, *Chronique*, 3:57, p. 182.

40. PL 141:273.

Poncelet and Krusch to conclude that a *vita* did not exist then at all and that Jordan had one composed.⁴¹

Other, circumstantial evidence supports this view. None of the many manuscripts containing the *vita* dates before the eleventh century, and only a few come from the earlier part of this century. Leonard's name does not appear in any church calendar before the eleventh century and is only recorded widely from the twelfth century on. The oldest remains of the church in Noblat belong to the eleventh century, as do both a piece of the marble sarcophagus in which the saint was interred and the oldest inscription mentioning him: "Hic requiescit cinerem [!] sancti Leonardi confessor [!] domini."⁴² It thus appears that once he became bishop of Limoges, Jordan tried to enhance the reputation of the existing cult by finding a *vita* of its patron. When he was unsuccessful, he presumably saw to it that a suitable one was written.

Internal evidence suggests that the *vita* was in existence by 1031 since the author refers to St. Martial with the title *pontifex* rather than that of *apostolus*. Sometime between 1019 and 1025, the monks of St. Martial began to argue that their patron was present at the events of Christ's life, including the Last Supper and the Ascension, and was afterward sent by St. Peter to convert Aquitaine, and that he therefore deserved the title *apostolus*.⁴³ Adémar of Chabannes was the leading advocate of this claim.⁴⁴ Bishop Jordan opposed it vehemently partly because as an apostle Martial would have greater spiritual prestige than the cathedral's patron, St. Stephen proto-martyr.⁴⁵ To support his position Adémar even resorted to forgery, inventing among other things a letter supposedly written by Pope John XIX in 1031 that declared St. Martial an apostle.⁴⁶ The dispute provoked heated discussions at the councils of Bourges and Limoges in 1031 and continued to be ventilated for some years

41. Poncelet, AASS, III November, p. 139; B. Krusch, MGH SS rer. Merov., vol. 3 (Hanover: Hahn, 1896), p. 394. The arguments of François Arbellot, *Vie de Saint Léonard* (Paris: Jacques Lecoivre, 1863) to the contrary are wholly unconvincing.

42. Poncelet, AASS, III November, p. 140; Limouzin-Lamothe, *Diocèse de Limoges*, p. 187.

43. Callahan, "The Sermons of Adémar of Chabannes and the Cult of St. Martial of Limoges," pp. 255-256.

44. Ibid., pp. 256-295; see especially Adémar's *Epistola de apostolatu Martialis*, PL 141:89-112.

45. Cf. Jordan's letter to Pope Benedict VIII urging him to deny Martial recognition as an apostle, PL 141:1158-1160.

46. PL 141:1149-1150; Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum* 19:417-418; Cowdrey, "The Peace and the Truce of God," p. 56, n. 42. For the forgeries, see Callahan, "The Sermons of Adémar of Chabannes," pp. 257-258.

thereafter.⁴⁷ In the diocese of Limoges, however, Martial's apostleship seems to have found general acceptance by 1031. Thus it appears that St. Leonard's *vita* was written before 1031, since otherwise it would presumably refer to St. Martial with his new title of *apostolus*. This argument is not conclusive, however, because Bishop Jordan was strongly averse to the apostleship of St. Martial, and if the *vita* was indeed written at his request the title may have been omitted intentionally for propagandistic purposes.

Other internal evidence points to a date of composition after 1030. Chapter six of the first book of miracles appended to the *vita* was clearly written after the death of Duke William the Great of Aquitaine (30 January 1030), who is treated as deceased.⁴⁸ Based on stylistic similarities between the two works, Poncelet argues that the whole book of miracles was written by one author and that this author wrote the *vita* as well.⁴⁹ But it is not necessary to assume, as Poncelet does, that the *vita*, too, was written after 1030, since the first miracle book could easily have been added some years after the *vita* by the same author. Nevertheless, taken as a whole the internal evidence strongly implies that the *vita* first took shape in the years 1030-1031.⁵⁰

The clerics of St. Leonard's in Noblat were apparently sensitive to the criticism that their patron's *vita* was of recent origin, since they invented a legend to explain why no ancient copies of it existed. When Bishop Walram of Naumburg (1091-1111) visited the shrine, the brothers told him that in St. Leonard's day heresy was still flourishing and Christians were still being persecuted, so that during his lifetime the saint's miraculous works were either denied or attributed to the devil. After his death, moreover, these enemies sought to eradicate his memory from the earth by burning his *vita* wherever it was found. As a result, no ancient monuments recording his early miracles survived.⁵¹ The need to create such a legend adds further credence to the conclusion that the *vita* simply did not exist before the eleventh century.

Thus there is no reason to believe that St. Leonard actually lived in the sixth century and that his tomb remained unnoticed by the

47. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum* 19:501-508, and note 16 above.

48. "Liber Prior Miraculorum," chap. 6, AASS, III November, p. 158.

49. Poncelet, AASS, III November, p. 140.

50. Adémar was apparently already familiar with the legend in 1032 since he mentions that Leonard lived at the time of King Clovis in a sermon discussed by Delisle, "Notice sur...Adémar de Chabannes," p. 257.

51. "Epistula Waleramni episcopi de vita sancti Leonardi confessoris," AASS, III November, p. 173.

rest of the world for almost five hundred years until he began to work miracles in the eleventh century. It makes much more sense instead to see the cult as a characteristic creation of the eleventh-century revival, a popular pilgrimage observed *in statu nascendi*. Who Leonard was and why he came to be worshipped in the village of Noblat remains a mystery. Perhaps he was a hermit who acquired a local reputation for sanctity; or perhaps Leonard was only a name given to some forgotten relics discovered in the church at Noblat; in any case the result was the same. During the second or third decade of the century, miracles began to be attributed to this putative saint and thereafter the cult grew rapidly.

As we have seen, sometime around 1030 Bishop Jordan of Limoges, having apparently sought in vain to find a copy of Leonard's *vita*, evidently had one composed. That Jordan was actively promoting the cult in the later 1020s cannot be doubted. In one of his sermons, Adémar of Chabannes relates that after the relics of St. Leonard were omitted from the ceremonies attending the consecration of the new abbey church of St. Martial in 1028, four months of bad weather followed. Subsequently a vision appeared repeatedly to several people outside of Limoges, instructing them to tell the bishop that this calamity was punishment for the slighting of St. Leonard and would continue until the saint's body was properly honored by the clergy and people. In response to this warning, Jordan organized a large convocation that included not only the nobility but crowds of common people as well, at which Leonard's remains were carried from the cathedral of St. Stephen to the monastic church of the Holy Savior and then to the tomb of St. Martial. Immediately afterward, in April, 1029 the weather improved dramatically. Jordan also used the occasion to have everyone vow once again to respect peace and justice. As a result of this initiative, by 1029 St. Leonard had gained widespread popular recognition as a powerful intercessor on behalf of the faithful.⁵²

Despite these efforts at promotion, however, the cult would not have thrived as it did unless it evoked a fundamental emotional response from the people of Aquitaine. The nature of this emotional appeal can be inferred from the ideological content of the *vita* that was composed to popularize the saint's veneration. The *vita* depicts Leonard as a pious hermit and monk who lived an exemplary Christian life. But this alone was not enough to make him a popular saint. In the lay imagination a saint was above all someone who

52. Sackur, *Cluniacenser* 2:483-484. Some passages Sackur omits are given by Delisle, "Notice sur...Adémar de Chabannes," p. 291, n. 5.

performed miracles. The miracles in Leonard's *vita* fall into three classes, the first being miraculous cures. Thaumaturgic healing was the chief function of every popular saint. Medieval medicine was completely lacking in effective remedies for most illnesses, and people therefore habitually sought supernatural cures for every kind of affliction. Reports of miraculous healing brought crowds of pilgrims to the shrine of the wonder-working saint. In Leonard's *vita* there are five separate accounts of him performing such miracles, four of which show him curing all comers of every kind of disease.⁵³

In the fifth case, Leonard saves a Frankish queen who is dying in childbirth.⁵⁴ This miracle is one of the main episodes of the *vita*, occupying four of its fourteen chapters, and it is a classic example of the genre. Once, while passing through a royal forest near Limoges where the Frankish king had a hunting lodge, Leonard learned that the queen, who was there with her husband, was having difficulty giving birth. The king's doctors were helpless; human medicine had failed. Leonard went to the king and offered his help. Asked if he was a doctor, the saint replied that he was ignorant of medicinal herbs, "but I drive out various diseases from the sick by invoking the name of our Lord, Jesus Christ."⁵⁵ As soon as Leonard completed his prayer on her behalf, the queen gave birth and recovered her health.

The second class contains one miracle in which Leonard fills a well in defiance of gravity and natural law. After his wife gave birth, the grateful king of the Franks offered Leonard gold and precious gifts, but the saint refused them all, asking only for a small part of the forest where he could retire and live as a hermit. The king granted his request, and Leonard took only as much land as he could ride around on his donkey in a single night. Here he constructed an oratory dedicated to the Virgin, and eventually two monks came to live with him. Because the church was a mile from the river and situated on a hill, the monks had difficulty getting enough water. Leonard ordered them to dig a dry hole, and immediately after he finished praying, the needed water appeared.⁵⁶

The final class of miracles comprises miraculous liberations from captivity. According to the *vita*, Leonard's relatives were noble followers (*conlaterales*) of the Frankish King Clovis (481-511) and served in the palace guard. Upon reaching adolescence, Leonard

53. *Vita*, chap. 3, 4, 11, and 14: AASS, III November, pp. 151-152 and 154-155.

54. *Ibid.*, chap. 5-8, pp. 152-153.

55. *Ibid.*, chap. 6, p. 152.

56. *Ibid.*, chap. 10, pp. 153-154.

decided not to follow his family's military calling, but rather to become a disciple of St. Remigius of Reims. The *vita*'s author asserts that at Remigius' request, Clovis had decreed that whenever he visited Reims, all the prisoners in chains or in dungeons would be set free. The author also claims that this custom was still being followed in his own day,⁵⁷ but no other source, including Hincmar's *vita* of Remigius, corroborates these statements.⁵⁸ It is probable that the author simply invented this story to account for Leonard's reputed ability to free prisoners. For he continues by relating that, like his mentor, Leonard requested the king to grant him the power to release any prisoner whom he personally visited. The king agreed, and the saint proceeded to free captives wherever he found them. As yet, however, he did not have the power to effect *miraculous* liberations. The *vita* makes it clear that his power still derived at this point from secular authority, that is, from the king.

Later in the *vita*, after Leonard has saved the Frankish queen, built his church, and miraculously filled the well, and when his fame as a thaumaturge has spread far and wide, the author says that God finally exalted his saint so much that anyone in prison who invoked his name had his chains broken and went free without hindrance. Soon people from distant regions began to arrive at the shrine, telling of their miraculous escapes and bringing their former shackles with them as votive offerings. In time the church became filled with chains, swords, lances, shackles, manacles, and other instruments of captivity and warfare left there by people who had been freed through the saint's intercession. By the time of his death on 6 November of an unspecified year, Leonard was famous for his wonderful ability to liberate those invoking his aid.⁵⁹

All three classes of miracles ascribed to Leonard in the *vita* were attributed to other saints as well. Miracle working was the *sine qua non* of popular sanctity, and cures were the most basic of all miracles. The only cure that attains any prominence in the *vita* is the rescue of the Frankish queen from the dangers of a difficult childbirth, to which four chapters are devoted. But although Leonard's early fame may have rested on reports of obstetrical miracles, there is no indication that the later expansion of the cult throughout Europe was fueled by his reputation as a patron of women in labor. Other saints, most notably St. Margaret, were preeminent in this role. The miraculous filling of the well is likewise unexceptional; wonders of this

57. *Ibid.*, chap. 2, p. 150.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 150, n. 5.

59. *Ibid.*, chap. 11, p. 154; and "Liber prior miraculorum," p. 156.

sort occur frequently in hagiographical writings.⁶⁰

Miraculous liberations from captivity also appear in other hagiographical sources both from the eleventh century and earlier. František Graus has shown that Merovingian saints' lives abound in wonders of this sort, and he even goes so far as to characterize miraculous liberation as the "favorite" miracle of that epoch.⁶¹ Other works from the eleventh century such as the miracles of St. Foy also contain reports of people freed from captivity through the intercession of the saint.⁶² In Leonard's case, however, miraculous liberation became the saint's distinctive trait: it defined his identity and propelled the expansion of his cult throughout Europe. This theme is carefully developed in the *vita*, first in the story of Clovis's fictional grant of power to free prisoners and then in the accounts of pilgrims flocking to the saint's shrine to report their liberation and deposit the instruments of their imprisonment. Decorated with these votive offerings, the church in Noblat testified to the saint's distinctive mission. As his fame spread beyond the borders of Aquitaine, Leonard gradually superseded other protectors of the defenseless until he became for the high Middle Ages the patron saint *par excellence* of captives.

This specialization of supernatural function is clearly reflected in the two books of posthumous miracles appended to Leonard's *vita*.⁶³ The first book, written by the author of the *vita* sometime after 1030, contains nine chapters, seven of which concern miraculous liberations from captivity. The other two chapters describe the miraculous revelation of where to build the saint's new church and three cures supposedly performed by the saint's relics while at St-Jean-d'Angély. The beneficiaries of the liberations include one knight (*eques*), three servants or followers of the saint, a pilgrim to his shrine, a rustic, and one unidentified man.⁶⁴ Where given, the reasons for their captivity mirror the disorder and coercive violence of the age. Of the knight we learn only that he was held in jail in Nantes, bound by the neck and arm with an iron chain and with

60. C. Grant Loomis, *White Magic: An Introduction to the Folklore of Christian Legend* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1948), p. 12.

61. František Graus, "Die Gewalt bei den Anfängen des Feudalismus und die 'Gefangenenerbefreiungen' der merowingischen Hagiographie," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1961, Part 1, pp. 61-156, esp. p. 99; idem, *Volks, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merovinger* (Prague, 1965), p. 119.

62. Bernardus Scholasticus Andegavensis, *Liber de miraculis sanctae Fidis*, PL 141:145-146, 151, and 157-160.

63. AASS, III November, pp. 155-173.

64. The three servants or followers include a *servus sancti Leonardi*, a *vir sancti Leonardi*, and a *servo suo*.

shackles on his feet. One of the servants of St. Leonard, although innocent of any wrong, was seized by the viscount of Limoges and chained to the outside wall of his fortress in the city. Another of the saint's servants was held in an underground cavern. During a war between some knights of the diocese of Limoges, a *vir sancti Leonardi* from Noblat was seized by an evil tyrant (*iniquissimo tyranno*). While on the way home from the saint's shrine, a pilgrim was captured in Auvergne and held for ransom. The same fate befell a rustic from the diocese of Poitiers who was seized by some treacherous soldiers, "sons of the devil" who lurked in the forest and lived from robbery and rapine. They tied their victim to a tree to extort money from him. The unidentified man, finally, was held in a castle on the Rhône river.

Regardless of whether one accepts these liberations as miraculous, the content of the reports provides clear insight into the ideological appeal of the cult. Not only do most of the miracles concern captivity, but all but one of the victims are common people. Moreover, where the motive for their captivity can be ascertained it frequently involved coercion or extortion at the hands of brigands or petty robber barons. These facts suggest that in the early stages of its development the cult appealed particularly to the lower orders of society who lacked both defenders and the power to defend themselves. For them St. Leonard's miraculous ability to free prisoners offered a supernatural remedy to the very real problem of violent seizure and detention. Unable to rely on secular authority, they instead sought the protection of divine intercessors.

The second book of posthumous miracles dates from the twelfth century, but unlike the first book it is not the work of a single author.⁶⁵ The first three chapters may have been written by Bishop Walram of Naumburg (d. 1111); the other four seem to have been added separately in the course of the twelfth century by various authors, probably clerics at St. Leonard's shrine. As in the first book liberations from captivity predominate. Only one of the seven chapters concerns another kind of miracle, the miraculous cure of a leper (chap. 7). In contrast to the first book, however, all the captives are nobles: four knights and two princes, Bohemund of Antioch and Count Richard of Salerno.⁶⁶ Correspondingly, in almost every case the reason for captivity is capture by an enemy, usually during

65. "Liber alter miraculorum," AASS, III November, pp. 159-173. Poncelet discusses its date and characteristics on pp. 141-142. The book's chapters comprise BHL 4873-4879.

66. For Bohemund, see Albert Poncelet, "Boémond et S. Léonard," *Analecta Bollandiana* 31 (1912):24-44.

battle.⁶⁷ Instead of unarmed peasants seized by brigands and petty princes, we find nobles imprisoned by their social equals or by infidels. Crusading warfare and struggles among the warrior nobility replace the extortion of the weak by the strong. Furthermore, since the man cured of leprosy is a rich burgher (*quidam burgensis praepolens opibus, nomine Rampnaldus*), only the upper strata of society are represented in these miracles. The image of the cult that emerges from the second book is thus decidedly aristocratic. This change demonstrates that by the twelfth century the cult was attracting the participation of the social class best able to promote the cult's expansion from a local to an international phenomenon.

Stripped of their supernatural elements, the stories of imprisonment and captivity in the posthumous miracles are essentially identical to those found in Adémar's chronicle or in other sources of the period. For instance, invasions by Vikings and Muslims were still a threat to security in Aquitaine at the beginning of the eleventh century. About the year 1000 Viscountess Emma of Limoges, who was visiting the monastery of St-Michel-en-l'Herm on the Atlantic coast north of La Rochelle, was taken captive by a band of Vikings and held in exile for three years.⁶⁸ Almost two decades later, in 1018, a large Viking army invaded Aquitaine, landing again at St-Michel-en-l'Herm. Duke William the Great raised a large army and attacked the invaders' encampment. Outnumbered, the Vikings spent the night before the battle digging trenches and covering them to make booby traps. In the morning when the duke's men charged, their horses fell into the trenches and many riders were killed or captured. The duke "sent infinite pounds of silver for the captives," many of whom were members of the high nobility, and ransomed every one of them.⁶⁹

Numerous cases of captivity, moreover, resulted from the interne-cine warfare waged by the nobility for control of castles, towns, monasteries, land, and people. Just before the turn of the century, Bishop Alduin of Limoges, aided by Duke William, built the castle of Beaujeu next to the monastery of St. Junien as protection against Prince Jordan of Chabannes, Adémar's uncle.⁷⁰ Once William departed, Jordan collected an army and defeated the bishop in battle, taking many prisoners. As Jordan was returning home, however, he was murdered by an unknown soldier who stabbed him

67. The reason for captivity is not specified in chap. 5.

68. Adémar, *Chronique*, 3:44, pp. 166-167.

69. *Ibid.*, 3:53, p. 176.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 166, n. 1.

in the back. In revenge, his followers massacred all the captives. Later Jordan's illegitimate half brother, likewise named Jordan, captured the bishop's brother Aimeric and held him captive in chains until the castle was dismantled.⁷¹ A few decades later Count Fulk of Anjou invited an unconquerable rival, the count of Le Mans, to a parley on the pretext of handing over to him the town of Saintes. After seizing his enemy, Fulk did not dare to kill him outright but held him in strict captivity for two years.⁷²

Not only knights, but clerics and other noncombatants were imprisoned by secular lords wishing to extort money or goods from them. While Count Boson II of the Basse-Marche (c. 993-1006) was on a trip to Rome sometime around 999, Viscount Guy I of Limoges took advantage of the situation to build a new castle threatening the monastery of Brantôme. As soon as Boson returned, he declared war on Guy and defeated him, destroying the castle. But Guy did not give up. A few years later he took Bishop Grimoald of Angoulême captive and imprisoned him in a tower in Limoges, demanding the monastery in return for his release. Grimoald agreed in order to win his freedom but set out immediately for Rome to plead his case before Pope Sylvester II. The papal court convicted Guy and sentenced him to death, but he escaped punishment by making peace with Grimoald.⁷³

The only difference between these stories and the accounts of captivity in the miracle books is how they are resolved. Instead of gaining their freedom by force or persuasion or by paying a ransom, the captives are freed by the saint himself or through his intervention. The reports of miraculous liberation reflect in the same way as the chronicles the violence of the times. Both knights and common people fell into the hands of their enemies, and if all other remedies failed, they turned to St. Leonard for deliverance.

Thus, by successfully combining the most potent religious and social currents of the age, the cult of St. Leonard emerged as a significant popular response to the problem of social violence in eleventh-century France. Born of the enthusiasm for relics and miracles that swept southern France after 980, the cult suddenly appeared in the second or third decade of the eleventh century, mirroring the rapid rise to prominence of the cult of St. Martial after 994 and the excitement generated by the discovery of the head of St. John the Baptist in 1010. Like the Peace of God, the cult

71. *Ibid.*, 3:42, pp. 165-166.

72. *Ibid.*, 3:64, p. 189.

73. *Ibid.*, 3:36, pp. 159-160.

harnessed the wave of religious revival and reform to the purpose of combatting social disorder. Although the two movements offered different solutions to the problem of violence, both drew their vitality from the same sources. The peace movement, on the one hand, sought to reduce the overall incidence of violence by combining the elements of Christian peace, episcopal excommunication, conciliar legislation, relic veneration, and popular piety into a tool of intimidation and social control. The institutional expression of this movement was the peace council. The cult of St. Leonard, on the other hand, sought to reassure victims of one prevalent expression of violence—physical captivity—that there existed a spiritual patron who would provide supernatural assistance to everyone petitioning him with faith and humility. The chief manifestation of the cult's popularity was the pilgrimage to the saint's shrine in Noblat, where the shackles, chains, and bonds that former captives brought as votive offerings provided visible testimony to his power. Although they differed in the specific remedies they offered, both movements succeeded by adapting the religious ideology of the age to the needs of lay society.

One result of the pervasive influence of legal and institutional history is that the importance of the Peace of God and its later offshoot, the Truce of God, has long been recognized. Although neither initiative was especially successful in reducing violence, together they constituted the crucial first step in the revival of public justice that took place during the high Middle Ages. When, in the later eleventh century, the vigor and effectiveness of the peace movement began to decline, its ideals and objectives were adopted by reform minded popes and secular rulers who had the power and authority to implement them.⁷⁴

By contrast the significance of other contemporaneous religious movements such as the cult of St. Leonard is often overlooked. Yet the effect of this particular cult on the religious mentality of medieval peasants and princes was substantial and enduring. His reputation for performing miraculous liberations made Leonard the patron saint *par excellence* of captives, and from the late eleventh century his cult spread rapidly throughout most of Europe. His shrine in Noblat was on one of the chief pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela, and returning pilgrims carried his legend back to their

74. Cowdrey, "The Peace and the Truce of God," pp. 53-67. See also Thomas Bisson, "The Organized Peace in Southern France and Catalonia, ca. 1140 - ca. 1233," *American Historical Review* 82 (1977):290-311; and Thomas Renna, "The Idea of Peace in the West, 500-1150," *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980):143-167.

home towns and villages.⁷⁵ His feast day, 6 November, was incorporated into the Roman Breviary, and his legend was included in popular collections such as the *Legenda Aurea*.⁷⁶ From Normandy the cult was spread to England, southern Italy, and Sicily. In the twelfth century it penetrated into northern Italy and into Germany, where in the late Middle Ages Leonard became one of Bavaria's most popular saints.⁷⁷ From its obscure beginnings in southern France, the cult developed into a fixture of medieval religious life. Wherever social violence threatened people with imprisonment or captivity, as it had in eleventh-century Aquitaine, they turned to St. Leonard in hope of obtaining supernatural assistance and consolation when all other remedies failed.

75. Jeanne Vieliard, *Le guide du pèlerin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle* (Mâcon: Protat, 1938), pp. 2 and 53-56; Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), pp. 178-179.

76. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. Th. Graesse (Dresden, Leipzig: Arnold, 1846), cap. CLV (150), pp. 687-691.

77. Steven D. Sargent, "Religion and Society in Late Medieval Bavaria: The Cult of St. Leonard, 1258-1500" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1982).