

FIDELITAS AND ENGAN: SAINTE FOY OF CONQUES AND THE ART OF POLITICS IN THE “CULTURE OF FIDELITY”

FIDELITAS Y ENGAN: SANCTA FIDES DE CONQUES Y LAS POLÍTICAS DE LA “CULTURA DE LA FIDELIDAD”

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this paper is on the concept of *fidelitas* (trust, loyalty), which historians have defined as a marker of the feudalization process. I argue that *fidelitas* carries a deeper visual and conceptual significance for the monastery of Sainte Foy at Conques, whose patron saint carries the name *Fides*, the root of *fidelitas*. This analysis traces how *fidelitas* is expressed in the art at Conques and in the performed texts such as the *Liber miraculorum Sanctae Fidis* (hereafter LM) and the *Canso de Sancta Fides*. In addition, Conques also preserves the history of a specific relationship involving a former monk and the mother house, which speaks to the dynamic of *fidelitas* vs *engan* (deception). This is the story of Pierre d'Andouque. He grew up at the monastery of Sainte-Foy, was then sent to Saint-Pons-de-Thomières, and from there he was hand-picked to become the bishop of Pamplona (in office 1083-1115). He became a trusted advisor to the kings of Navarra and Aragon and a member of the influential network of papal legates (*fideles*). Through these contacts, he expanded his own powers and possessions. In turn, he favored the interests of Conques, his alma mater, and gifted lavish donations to this institution. Yet, at the end of his life, he lost his trust in Conques because the monastery embezzled his money. Consequently, Conques's *engan* was punished; the monastery fell out of favor with the papal network of *fideles* and lost its possibility to grow through lucrative benefits. This analysis reveals how *Fides-fidelitas* as a concept is developed in the art at Conques (in relief sculpture and texts such as the *Canso de Sancta Fides*) and implemented at sites like Santiago de Compostela on the recommendation of *fideles* such as Pierre d'Andouque. Conques packages and exports this soft power through its own monks who are members of the powerful circle of *fideles*, who in turn head the conquest and reform of Iberia.

KEYWORDS: *Fides*, *fidelitas*, Canso de Santa Fides, papal legates, Pierre d'Andouque, Conques.

RESUMEN

Este artículo se centra en el concepto de *fidelitas* (confianza, lealtad), que los historiadores han definido como un marcador del proceso de feudalización. Yo sostengo que la *fidelitas* tiene un significado visual y conceptual más profundo para el monasterio de Sainte Foy de Conques, cuya patrona lleva el nombre de *Fides*, raíz de *fidelitas*. Este análisis rastrea cómo se expresa la *fidelitas* en el arte de Conques y en los textos interpretados, como el *Liber miraculorum Sanctae Fidis* (en adelante LM) y el *Canso de Sancta Fides*. Además, Conques también conserva la historia de una relación específica entre un antiguo monje y la casa madre, que habla de la dinámica de *fidelitas* frente a *engan* (engaño). Esta es la historia de Pierre d'Andouque. Creció en el monasterio de Sainte-Foy, luego fue enviado a Saint-Pons-de-Thomières, y desde allí fue elegido a dedo para convertirse en obispo de Pamplona (en el cargo 1083-1115). Se convirtió en consejero de confianza de los reyes de Navarra y Aragón y en miembro de la influyente red de legados papales (*fideles*). A través de estos contactos, amplió sus propios poderes y posesiones. A su vez, favoreció los intereses de Conques, su alma mater, e hizo cuantiosas donaciones a esta institución. Sin embargo, al final de su vida, perdió su confianza en Conques porque el monasterio malversó su dinero. En consecuencia, el *engan* de Conques fue castigado; el monasterio cayó en desgracia con la red papal de fideles y perdió su posibilidad de crecer mediante beneficios lucrativos. Este análisis revela cómo la *Fides-fidelitas* como concepto se desarrolla en el arte de Conques (en la escultura en relieve y en textos como el *Canso de Sancta Fides*) y se implementa en lugares como Santiago de Compostela por recomendación de fideles como Pierre d'Andouque. Conques empaqueta y exporta este poder blando a través de sus propios monjes, miembros del poderoso círculo de los fideles, que a su vez encabezan la conquista y la reforma de Iberia.

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Fides*, *fidelitas*, Canso de Santa Fides, legados papales, Pierre d'Andouque, Conques.

INTRODUCTION

In the course of the eleventh century, Conques becomes a monastery of great political, economic, and spiritual power. It consolidates its land possessions; benefits from the network of papal legates; begins to attract patronage from the nobility; and produces masterful music, art, and poetry.¹ Conques uses its virtuoso craftsmanship and creativity to develop and perform stunning and memorable repertoire of songs and *miracula* texts by means of which, it channels the charisma of its patron saint: Sainte Foy. The performance of these texts also confirms

¹ J. BOUSQUET, *Le Rouergue au premier Moyen âge (vers 800–vers 1250). Les pouvoirs, leurs rapports et leurs domaines*, 2 vols., Rodez, 1994, I, 273–345. Royal and comital patronage is even more pronounced at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; see K. ASHLEY, *The Cults of Sainte Foy and the Cultural Work of Saints*, Abingdon/New York, 2021, pp. 6–27 and 95–149.

and re-imprints the structure of the society from which these forms emerged. We have only begun to explore the complex synergies between different media engaged in the performance of the Office of Sainte Foy.² Yet, it is this art developed, performed, and perfected at Conques that becomes the soft power the monastery uses to expand its influence on a world stage in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

This article focuses on the concept of *fidelitas* (loyalty, trust, and infeudation) and explores how it is employed at Conques and how it taps into the very identity of the patron saint: Holy Faith, whose Latin name *Fides* shares root with *fidelitas*. This research traces the visual manifestation of trust versus deceit (*fidelitas* vs. *engan*) in the tympanum of the West façade, the LM, and the *Canso de Sancta Fides*. Then it engages with a particular history of *fidelitas*: how this concept marks feudalism. *Fidelitas* also defines the network of papal legates in the last quarter of the eleventh century. They become the channels through which papal policy in reformation is enacted and papal interests in the conquest of Spain expressed. The papal legates work in close collaboration with heads of state. The success of the conquest brings great resources, which are employed for the building of some of the most impressive Romanesque sanctuaries. It is this network of *fideles* rather than pilgrimage that brings about the means to construct on such a large scale and to ensure the relative consistency of the Romanesque visual vocabulary. We can also situate a more narrowly focused story of *fidelitas* vs. *engan* within this network of papal *fideles* involving a monk raised at Conques, Pierre d'Andouque, who becomes bishop of Pamplona (1083-1115) and who, motivated by *fidelitas/amor* brings substantial benefits to his mother institution, Conques, only to be cheated by it.

THE FACADE: *FIDELITAS SINE ENGAN*

The relief of the Last Judgment (1105–1115) on the tympanum of the West façade at Conques has been the subject of extensive studies.³ My analysis adds a new element: a focus on *fidelitas* (loyalty, love, trust) and how this concept testifies to a larger social, economic, and political transformation that establishes “the culture of fidelity” by the second half of the eleventh century.⁴

A disruption of the registers occurs in the left corner of the façade (Fig. 1). A wedge is created in the otherwise smooth horizontal registers; it causes a step to emerge in the second row. The wedge-space offers a view of the interior of the church at Conques. We see here an

² B. PENTCHEVA, *AudioVision in the Middle Ages: Sainte Foy at Conques*, Sancta Cruz, 2023, distributed by Stanford University Press; and <http://enchanctedimages.stanford.edu/> accessed October 16, 2023.

³ J. BOUSQUET, *La sculpture a Conques aux XI^e et XII^e siècles. Essai de chronologie compare*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1971; J.-C. BONNE, *L'art roman, de face et de profil. Le tympan de Conques*, Paris, 1984, pp. 75–84; M. CASTINEIRAS, “Didacut Gelmirius, Patron of the Arts. Compostela's Long Journey: from the Periphery to the Center of Romanesque Art,” in Id. (ed.), *Compostela and Europe: The Story of Diego Gelmiriez*, Milan, 2010, pp. 32–97, esp. 70–79; L. HUANG, “Le Maître du tympan de l'abbatiale Sainte-Foy de Conques: état de la question et perspectives” (*Études Aveyronnaises*, 2014), Rodez, 2015, pp. 87–100; T. LE DESCHAULT DE MONDREDON, “Les modèles transpyréniens de la sculpture du premier chantier de Compostelle: imitation, présence réelle et usage de l'imaginaire,” *Ad lumina*, 6 (2015), pp. 33–65.

⁴ On feudal transformation as culture of fidelity, see F. L. CHEYETTE, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours*, Ithaca, 2001, pp. 187–250.



Fig. 1. West Façade, Abbey Church of Sainte-Foy, Conques, France, 1105-1115.
Photo: Boris Missirkov for “EnChanted Images”

altar, a chalice, and hanging broken chains of freed prisoners. At the tip of this wedge, Sainte Foy fills up the narrow space; she is portrayed in *proskynesis* interceding for her faithful.⁵ Her prayer has great efficacy as the LM frequently attests: “I [Sainte Foy] raised immense outcry on account of the injury inflicted on you and with it I swayed the goodness of the heavenly Judge to mercy. I importuned God for your health with the diligent presence of my prayer so long, until he returned a favorable and sympathetic outcome of my pleas.”⁶ In the words of Bernard of Angers, who wrote the first two books of the LM (1013-1020s), Sainte Foy is an insistent intercessor, she perseveres until she has obtained what she has requested. Her prayer is prodigious (*ingenti clamore*); it accomplishes what it has set forth to do (*impetrate optionis*); and she procures an exorable and smooth outcome (*effectus facilem exorabilemque*). *Exorabilis* captures the essence of her activity: divine blessing that comes from her effective prayer. The blessing hand of God is the visual marker attesting to the power of Sainte Foy to sway the Heavenly Judge and to obtain what she pleads for.

⁵ BONNE, *L’art Roman de Face et de Profil*, pp. 243–251.

⁶ *Siquidem pro illata tibi iniuria celestis iudicis pietatem ingenti clamore ad misericordiam promovi Deumque pro salute tua sedule precis instantia tandiu fatigavi quandiu ipse impetrate optionis effectus facilem exorabilemque redderet*, from *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, edited by L. ROBERTINI, Spoleto 1994, p. 82, bk. I, ch. 1, hereafter LM I.1.

Divine *virtus*/power flows out of this exchange between the praying Fides and God. On the tympanum, this energy is what causes the dead to rise from their tombs. Those who have been faithful to Sainte Foy, like the tiny figure, centered right at the vertical bar separating paradise from Hell. This lucky *fidelis* is led by the hand by an angel and is pulled towards the coveted open gate of paradise. I have argued elsewhere how the prayer of Sainte Foy engenders a spiral that wends its way through the opening of the tombs, the bosom of Abraham, and then it climbs up towards the cortege of the blessed, led by Virgin and Saint Peter towards the Majesty of Christ.⁷

Sainte-Foy's prayer can be seen as an icon of loyalty and love/*amor*. Her *proskynesis* marks her pledge of *fidelitas* towards God. She is both *fidelis* and *exorabilis*: she has the capacity to sustain her love for the divine without deception. As a result, her prayer is the most efficacious. Not surprising, the word *amici* marks the epigram on the register right below the blessing hand of God. *Amici*, "friends" is a technical, political term, it operates in the same sphere as *fidelis* and *vassus*. It marks a trusted servant, who has pledged loyalty and in exchange for that, they can receive honor/land possession from their lord (*senior*).⁸ Sancta Fides is a model of *fidelitas* that is a political and social virtue. The tympanum offers a mirror in which these societal norms reveal their spiritual dimension. The celestial and terrestrial world interpenetrate and reveal *amici* as those who swear *fidelitas* to the *Senior*/Lord, and in exchange, they gain *honor*.

Both *fidelitas* and *amor* feature in the infeudation oaths (*sacramenta*) and agreements (*convenientiae*) starting in the eleventh century and gaining prominence in the twelfth century. The vassals promise to be loyal (*fideles*) and to protect the interests of the lord without deceit (*sine enganno*).⁹ The so-called *Conventum*, written before 1030, is a rich early source. It records the difficulties between a vassal, Hugh of Lusignan, and his lord, Count William the V of Aquitaine (b. 969-1030). The genre of this text is still a subject of debate: a genuine

⁷ PENTCHEVA, "The Virgin and Sainte-Foy: Chant and the Original Design of the West Façade at Conques." *Religions*, 13/12 (1992), <https://mdpi.com/2077-1444/13/12/1299> (accessed January 3, 2023).

⁸ See for instance the *Conventum* (=convenientia) of Hugh of Lusignan to his lord, William V of Aquitaine in 1030; for the text, G. BEECH, Y. CHAUVIN, and G. PON, *Le Conventum (vers 1030). Un précurseur aquitain des premières épopées*, Geneva, 1995, ll. 16, 18, 22, 32, 35, 42, 43, 45, 48, 71, 77, 145, 210, 240, 241, 254, 255, 308, 326, 328. See also, G. DUBY, "The Nobility of in Eleventh and Twelfth-Century Maconnais," in F. CHEYETTE (ed.), *Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe*, New York, 1968, pp. 137–155, esp. 145–149; P. BONNASSIE, "Feudal Convention in Eleventh-Century Catalonia," rpt. in BONNASSIE, *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*, New York, 1991, pp. 170–194, esp. 171, 174–178; REYNOLDS, *Fiefs and Vassals*, p. 127; F. CHEYETTE, "Women, Poets, and Politics in Occitania," in TH. EVERGATES (ed.), *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, Philadelphia, 1999, pp. 159–177, esp. 175–176; KOSTO, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia*, p. 33; H. DÉBAX, *La Féodalité languedocienne x^e-xii^e siècle: serments, hommages et fiefs dans la Languedoc des Trencavels*, Toulouse, 2003, pp. 190–197.

⁹ BEECH, *Le Conventum (vers 1030)*; J. MARTINDALE, "Conventum inter Willelmum Comitem et Hugonem Chiliarchum," *The English Historical Review*, 84/332 (1969), pp. 528–548; E. MAGNOU-NORTIER, "Fidélité et féodalité méridionales d'après les serments de fidélité (x^e-début xii^e siècle)," *Annales du Midi* 80/89, 1968, pp. 457–484. The *Conventum* is associated with the letter of Fulbert to the same Count William V of Aquitaine; see *Letter 51* in *Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, L. BEHREND (trans.), Oxford, 2022. Fulbert's letter gives more rights to the lord to expect service and loyalty from his *fidelis* and very little checks to ensure that lord offers something in return. By contrast, the *Conventum* is a document that records the position of the vassal. Hugh of Lusignan holds

historical document recording the pledge of allegiance and its aftermath or a piece of literature, an epic thus a precursor of the *chanson de geste*.¹⁰ I am not a historian or a scholar of vernacular literature and would not weigh in this debate. But what is important is that the *Conventum* outlines with clarity the relationship between a *fidelis* and his *senior*. The *fidelis* is an *amicus*; he has to offer *amorem fidelitatemque* to his *senior* and to defend his lord's political and economic interests.¹¹ In exchange for *fidelitas*, this trusted *amicus* can hope to receive from his lord *honorem et beneficia* (land, castles, other property rights, including a spouse).¹² The *senior* pledges in return to respect the contract and to help his vassal when he is in need. The lord is expected to pay the vassal for his trust/love by *reddere*, "giving back" properties (*honorem et beneficia*).¹³ Similarly, if the lord asks for some of these *beneficia* to be returned to him, the vassal has to conform and to give it back, *reddere*. The properties are frequently non-hereditary, and this becomes the chief source of tension in the *Conventum*.

The same text also records the expression *dextras apprehendere* (to hold right hands) for an agreement reached among several parties for mutual trust and non-invasion. This evidence allows me to layer an additional meaning on the representation of the extended right hand of God in the tympanum: not just as a blessing gesture, but also as a visualization of the *sacramentum* between the Fides as the *fidelis* and Christ, her *Senior*. The two enter in a *convenientia* and it is sealed with the oath (*sacramentum*).¹⁴ The reliefs on the façade thus

his lord, Count William of Aquitaine, guilty of not holding his end, of failing to support the interest of the *fidelis*, and being unable to ensure the security of the granted benefices. When these securities were not met, Hugh saw this as a reason to break the oath and take his fealty elsewhere. On the oaths of fidelity as markers of feudalization in Occitania and Catalonia in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see DÉBAX, *La Féodalité languedocienne*, pp. 98–142; A. KOSTO, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word*, New York, 2001; S. D. WHITE, "Stratégie rhétorique dans la *Conventio* de Hugues de Lusignan," "The Politics of Fidelity in Early Eleventh-century France: Fulbert of Chartres, William of Aquitaine, and Hugh of Lusignan," and "A Crisis of Fidelity in c. 1000," all rpt. in S. D. WHITE, *Re-Thinking Kinship and Feudalism in Early Medieval Europe*, Aldershot, 2005. See also CHEYETTE, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours*, pp. 233–250; BONNASSIE, "Feudal Convention in Eleventh-Century Catalonia," pp. 170–94. For a collection of such oaths (*sacramenta*) and agreements (*convenientiae*) from Languedoc, see C. DE VIC and J. VAISSETTE (eds.), *Histoire Generale de Languedoc* (hereafter *HGL*), Toulouse, 1875, V, nos. 273, 288, 305, 377, 390, 425, 428, 429, 471. These oaths of fidelity become prevalent in the twelfth century; see *HGL*, VIII, whose material is discussed by CHEYETTE, "Women, Poets, and Politics in Occitania," pp. 159–177. On the ritual of vassalage, see J. LE GOFF, "Les gestes symboliques dans la vie sociale. Les gestes de la vassalité," in *Simboli e simbologia nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto, II, 1976, pp. 678–788, esp. 682, 691–692, 706, 708, 732, 765, 768–770. The eleventh-century *sacramenta* differ in their expectations from the Carolingian oaths of fidelity, on the latter, see J. NELSON, "Kingship and Royal Government," in R. McKITTERICK (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Cambridge, 1995–2005, II, pp. 383–430.

¹⁰ MAGNOU-NORTIER, "Fidélité et féodalité méridionales," pp. 457–484; J. MARTINDALE, "*Conventum inter Willelmum Comitem et Hugonem Chiliarum*," *The English Historical Review*, 84/332 (1969), pp. 528–548; WHITE, *Re-Thinking Kinship and Feudalism in Early Medieval Europe*, chs. 7, 8, 13 ("Stratégie rhétorique dans la *Conventio* de Hugues de Lusignan," "The Politics of Fidelity in Early Eleventh-century France: Fulbert of Chartres, William of Aquitaine, and Hugh of Lusignan," "A Crisis of Fidelity in c. 1000"). For the argument that this *Conventum* is a piece of fiction, see BEECH, *Le Conventum (vers 1030)*, pp. 14–78, 91–111.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, ll. 16, 18, 22, 32, 35, 42, 43, 45, 48, 71, 77, 145, 210, 240, 241, 254, 255, 308, 326, 328.

¹² *Ibidem*, ll. 20, 26, 31, 291, 357.

¹³ *Ibidem*, ll. 54, 76, 111, 289, 291, 294, 329, 331, 334.

¹⁴ On the right hand in ritual of *fidelitas* oaths, see DÉBAX, *La Féodalité languedocienne*, pp. 135–137.

become an exemplum for the ideal *fidelitas* between vassal and lord at the very place—the West façade—where donations, the signing of charters, and disputes about properties were done, binding clients of Sancta Fides to her charismatic and effective patronage.¹⁵ Some charters specifically draw a parallel between infeudation and becoming faithful to Sainte Foy: “To retire to the willing feudal duty to Saint Foy, whose service the [monks] perform on her altar.”¹⁶ Statements like this in the cartulary reveal how much the economy of salvation mirrors the social and political structure of society. The visitor sees on the façade Sainte Foy in prayer, in her own moment of infeudation to the Lord. But then, passing through the gates and progressing toward the sanctuary, the visitor will encounter Sainte Foy again as a lord herself, now enthroned in her golden statue (Fig. 2). Her *imago* is recognized as embodying the intimidating presence of a ruler: *herilis forma*.¹⁷ Her *amor* and *fidelitas* to Christ has paid off and she is presently *seniora/donna*, capable of producing her own *fideles*.¹⁸

The iconography of the façade at Conques is structured on a sharp visual and epigraphic contrasts. The opposition to *fidelitas* is *malum ingenium/engan* (deceit).¹⁹ It is shown on the right side of the tympanum. Deceit (*engan, dolo*) lurks behind the mouth of Hell (Fig. 1). The very first figure that emerges behind the jaws is a *miles*: a mounted knight in mail armor.²⁰ He is pulled by two devils from his saddle and plunges headfirst to the ground. Lack of loyalty leads to his fall. The culpable is thrown down. His violent end exemplifies what awaits the *miles* who has sworn *fidelitas* but practices *engan*. The epigram right above him has the words characterizing such people as *mendaces [et] falsi* (liars and hypocrites). In the past, this *miles* has been viewed as an example of punishment for pride.²¹ But there is another, legal aspect that is invested in his figure: the broken contract of fidelity. The formula *fidelitas sine engan* is a mainstay in the oaths and *convenientiae* of infeudation: *iuret alicui fidelitatem sine enganno*.²² If the gesture of infeudation is the placing of the vassal's hands in the hands of the lord, this position is evoked in the interceding figure of Sainte Foy on the left side of the tympanum. By contrast, the deceitful knight (*mendax et falsus miles*) embodies the anti-example; he has not respected the oath of fidelity (*sacramentum fidelitatis*) and as a result, he plunges to his death.

¹⁵ Some of the charters specify that the deliberations took place before the façade of the church (*ante ecclesiam sancti Salvatoris Conchas monasterio*); see G. DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques en Rouergue*, Paris, 1879, no. 193, dated to 964.

¹⁶ *exire a fidelitate sancta Fide et de suis habitatoribus quae a sancta Fide obsequium super altare suum faciunt*, DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, no. 426.

¹⁷ LM I.2.

¹⁸ There are numerous examples in the LM where the faithful fall in proskynesis before her statue, LM I.1, I.3, I.13, I.22, I.26, I.28, I.29, II.1, II.10, III.6, III.7, III.8, III.14, III.15, III.18, , III.20, III.22, IV.8, IV.10, IV.12, IV.14.

¹⁹ The medieval meaning of *ingenium*, qualified with *malum* changes to ‘deceit;’ see for instance BEECH, *Le Convenientum*, II. 304, 315, 336.

²⁰ BOUSQUET, *La sculpture a Conques aux ^x^e et ^{xii}^e siècles*, I, p. 148 and BONNE, *L'art Roman de Face et de Profil*, pp. 205, 289, both identifying the image with the punishment of pride.

²¹ BONNE, *L'art Roman de Face et de Profil*, pp. 9–27, 203–222, 257–274, 284–286, 306–307.

²² BONNASSIE, “Feudal Conventions in Eleventh-Century Catalonia,” pp. 177, 189–194. *Sacramenta* are a separate document, usually drawn after the writing of the *convenientiae*; see A. KOSTO, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word*, New York, 2001, pp. 64–74 and DÉBAX, *La Féodalité languedocienne*, pp. 111–115, 240.

FIDES AND FIDELITAS

Fidelitas sine engan defines the act of infeudation and it carries a deep significance for Occitania. Currently, the debate on feudalism is still open among historians trying to determine the chronology, geography, and modality of its manifestation. The tendency is to push away from a definition of feudalism as a juridical system based on vassalage and fief.²³ Dominique Barthélemy exemplifies this trend. He sees no abrupt change in the eleventh century and argues for a continuity of social structures with the Carolingian era. His analysis tends to flatten differences between the North and the Hispano-Occitan world.²⁴ He seeks support in the earlier work of George Duby, who by contrast argues for change. Duby recognizes that no strict following of vassal obligations can be detected for the period 971–1000. His evidence in the Mâconnais (Burgundy) region points to loose alliances; oaths of fidelity for limited expectation of service not presupposing the granting a fief in return; a knight class (its members identified with *miles*, *nobilis*, *fidelis* rather than *vassus* or *vassalus*) stemming from the nobility; and the expansion of the group of *milites* to include freeman of non-noble birth.²⁵

Yet, these loose connections consolidate to precipitate a change by the middle of the eleventh century; this shift it is manifested specifically in Hispano-Occitania. The written sources show that these areas develop much faster than the North in the direction of *senior-fideles* contracts. Pierre Bonnassie sees a more drastic change already present in Languedoc in the early eleventh century (a telling example is the 1013 dispute over the salt mines in Pallas between Conques and the comital families of Carcassonne and Toulouse-Rouergue), and from the 1020s in Catalonia. This feudal transformation leads to more clearly defined expectations of fidelity secured by the granting of fiefs (*fief de reprise*) and responsibilities for defense, host, escort, and cavalcade. This change is attested by the increased number of signed agreements *convenientiae* and oaths of fidelity in the region.²⁶ Bonnassie's and more recently Adam Kostó's and Hélène Débax's evidence for the Hispano-Occitan societies is very convincing, despite the critique of Barthélemy. It gives a better lens through which to view Conques. The spread of these *fidelis-senior* contracts in Occitania is confirmed by the *Conventum* written before

²³ As an example of this traditional model, see F.-L. GANSHOF, *Qu'est-ce que la féodalité*, Brussels, 1944.

²⁴ D. BARTHÉLEMY, *La mutation de l'an mil: a-t-elle eu lieu. Servage et chevaleries dans la France des x^e et x^e siècle*, Paris, 1997; Id., *Chevaliers et miracles. La violence et le sacré dans la société féodale*, Paris, 2004; Id., *The Serf, the Knight, and the Historian*, Ithaca and London, 2009, esp. chs. 7, 8, 9 ("Knighthood and Nobility around the Year 1000," "The Peace of God in the Days of the Millennium," "New Perspectives on France around the Year 1000"), pp. 176–314; see also, S. FRAY, "Le testament de Géraud dit d'Aurillac. Édition et commentaire," *Le Moyen Age*, 122/2 (2016), pp. 261–274.

²⁵ G. DUBY, "The Nobility in Eleventh-Century Mâconnais," rpt. in F. CHEYETTE (ed.), *Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe. Selected Readings*, New York, 1968, pp. 137–156; DUBY, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, A. GOLDHAMMER (trans.), Chicago, 1980 (original French 1978). This loose framework of the relationships between lords and *milites* echoes through S. REYNOLDS, *Fiefs and Vassals. The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted*, New York, 1994.

²⁶ BONNASSIE, "From Rhône to Galicia," pp. 108–110; Id., "The Formation of Catalan Feudalism and Its Early Expansion (to c. 1150)," also rpt. in *From Slavery to Feudalism* (as in n. 8 supra), pp. 149–69, esp. 164–69; Id., "Feudal Convention in Eleventh-Century Catalonia," pp. 184–189. See also KOSTO, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia*, pp. 11–16, 26–33, 64–77. This vision is shared for Rouergue by F. DE GOURNAY, *Le Rouergue au tournant de l'An Mil. De l'ordre carolingien à l'ordre feudal (ix^e-xii^e siècle)*, Toulouse, 2004, and for Languedoc, by DÉBAX, *La Féodalité languedocienne*, pp. 59–85.

1030, discussed at the beginning of the article, records the struggles of the *fidelis*, Hugh of Lusignan, to get his *senior*, Count William of Aquitaine, to give him a hereditary estate and recognize this *beneficium*.²⁷

What emerges from the critical work on feudalism is the importance of the oaths (*sacramenta*) of fidelity and written agreements (*convenientiae*) that loosely bind lord and *fidelis*. The historian Stephen White proposes to sidestep the difficulties of the term feudalism by using the term “culture of fidelity” coined by another historian of the period, Fredric Cheyette.²⁸ “Culture of fidelity” as a concept speaks to the *milites* who are also interchangeably identified as *nobiles* and *fideles*.²⁹ “Culture of fidelity” also gives prominence to the oath which loosely regulates the relationships between lords and *fideles*. Finally, the term leads us back to Conques and its patron saint Fides. The tympanum on the West façade confronts the visitor with the stark contrast between *fidelitas* and *engan*: the *fidelis* Fides vs. the *mendax miles* (Fig. 1).

Conques provides further confirmation that feudalization is in progress there in the eleventh century. Monasteries like Conques see a threat to their land possessions and seek *convenientiae* with *milites*.³⁰ The abbot builds his own entourage of *milites* already in the early eleventh century.³¹ The LM attests to written agreements (*convenientiae*) and sworn oaths of fidelity (*sacramenta*); *milites* of noble origins from whom lords try with limited success to exact *fidelitas* and military service; to the appearance of a new class of *milites castri* or *castellani* of non-noble origins, who are bound to defend a castle without having hereditary rights over it (*fiéf de reprise*) and to offer host, escort and cavalcade to their lord.³² Further developments include the rearing of war-horses and the cultivation of oats to feed them.³³

LM AS A TESTAMENT TO THE FEUDAL TRANSFORMATION EXPERIENCED AT CONQUES

The Culture of Fidelity in Hispano-Occitania emerges out of a century of turmoil and violence. The *Conventum* attests to that, but traces of this chaotic process are also left in the

²⁷ BEECH, *Le Conventum*.

²⁸ CHEYETTE, “Women, Poets, and Politics in Occitania,” 138–179; CHEYETTE, *Ermengarde of Narbonne*, 187–250. See also, WHITE, *Re-Thinking Kinship and Feudalism*, chs. 7, 8, 13 (“Stratégie rhétorique des la Conventio de Hugues de Lusignan,” “The Politics of Fidelity in Early Eleventh-century France: Fulbert of Chartres, William of Aquitaine, and Hugh of Lusignan,” “A Crisis of Fidelity in c. 1000”).

²⁹ REYNOLDS, *Fiefs and Vassals*, p. 127. On the terms *miles*, *fidelis*, *senior*, see DE GOURNAY, *Le Rouergue au tournant de l’An Mil*, pp. 151–154, 169–200, 243–267; DÉBAX, *La Féodalité languedocienne*, pp. 190–197.

³⁰ See for instance, the *sacramentum* and *convenientia* of 1078 Conques concludes with Petrus Bernardus for Pallas/ Palácio in Gothia, DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Conques*, nos. 19–20, or no. 523.

³¹ LM I.12 and discussed in BONNASSIE, “From Rhône to Galicia,” pp. 118–22.

³² In the Addenda to LM, C4 (C is a MS kept at Conques)=Robertini LM IV.22 gives an example of *miles* hired by the monastery to protect the Abbey’s properties, see also LM I.2, I.4, I. 26, IV.8, BONNASSIE, “From Rhône to Galicia,” pp. 104–31.

³³ On the rearing of war-horses, a *miles* rears some in the lands belonging to Conques, Addenda to LM, C5=Robertini, LM IV. 26 (Conques MS), see also BONNASSIE, “Formation of Catalan Feudalism,” p. 155. On the importance of oats for Conques, see the list of charters of the eleventh century in DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Conques*, nos. 32, 38, 80, 87, 131, 135, 190, 213, 215, 233, 237, 254, 276, 282, 307, 309, 327, 334, 360, 372, 375, 386, 399, 400, 401, 428, 442, 457, 572. There are only four charters from the twelfth century, nos. 525, 529, 533, 546.

LM.³⁴ The monastery of Sainte Foy puts a lot of effort in trying to negotiate its position both with the *seniores* and the *milites*. In some cases, it outright condemns some of these war-lords who are recalcitrant and continue to plunder monastic lands and possessions. In other cases, the Abbey mitigates the tension by using its spiritual and artistic capital—the relics, images, and liturgy—to impress the opposition and to perform healings and other miracles with which to win the love/*fidelitas* of the *seniores* and *milites*. It is important to recognize that the monastery of Sainte Foy self-consciously uses its artistic production as soft power to secure its place and authority in the otherwise volatile world of the culture of Fidelity.

The LM is an excellent example of this implementation of art as soft power. The monastery invites Bernard of Angers, a cathedral teacher trained in Chartres and practicing in Angers, to collect and write a book of miracles in 1013. Bernard visits to the monastery on three occasions in 1013, between 1015-1018, and finally in 1020. He ends writing the first two books of LM. Then anonymous monks from Conques compose books Three and Four, dated to 1020-1040.³⁵ Many of the stories in the LM capture events that take place in the early eleventh century at a time when the feudal mutation is in process.

The LM describes how the abbey has its own *fideles milites* who offer protection (*caterva*) to the abbot and individual monks and defend the lands against plunder.³⁶ These knights are vassals of Sainte Foy, they are called *beneficiarios milites*, which means that in exchange for protecting the lands of Sainte Foy, they receive alienable property.³⁷ LM does not specify what their *beneficia* are, but it is likely these *milites* get castles.³⁸ Sainte Foy attracts other *milites* and kindles their *amor*. Sometimes these knights become devoted monks, changing their vocation. Gerbert, a *miles* with a great *amor* for Sainte Foy offers a compelling example. He is savagely blinded.³⁹ Fides restores his eye-sight. Afterwards, he tries to go back to his life as a *miles*, but eventually comes back and settles as monk in the monastery. In another similar case, Gimon starts as a knight-*miles*, and eventually becomes a devout monk at Conques. But unlike Gerbert, he keeps his armor above the foot of his bed and a military horse (*bellatorem equum*) and uses both to defend the monastery. Gimon leads a group of a heavy-iron-clad band

³⁴ Although Barthélemy engages with the text of LM, his analysis seeks to prove that there is no major social transformation in Hispano-Occitania. He also interprets Sainte Foy as a protector of *milites*, see BARTHÉLEMY, *Chevaliers et miracles*, 72–113. The evidence is much more complex: there is both a feudal transformation in the region and a much more ambiguous relationship between the patron saint and the *milites*. My position is supported by the analysis of DE GOURNAY, “Aperçu sur le donnes du cartulaire de Conques,” *Revue du Rouergue* (1990), pp. 7–25 and DE GOURNAY, *Le Rouergue au tournant de l’An Mil*, pp. 169–200, 243–67, 303–29.

³⁵ SHEINGORN, *Book of Sainte Foy*, pp. 22–25; DE GOURNAY, *Le Rouergue au tournant de l’An Mil*, pp. 25–26; ROBERTINI, *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, pp. 60–61, 65, 374.

³⁶ LM I.12; LM I.5; C3(=ROBERTINI, IV. 26 from Conques, Library of the Abbey, MS Lat. 1); C4 (=ROBERTINI IV.26, from Conques, Library of the Abbey, MS Lat. 1). On the *caterva*, military escort of the abbot, see LM I.12 (salt-fields at Pallas). A *caterva* serving the monastery can also escort monks who have been threatened by *milites*, see LM I.5

³⁷ LM I.12.

³⁸ LM I.12; C4= ROBERTINI, IV. 26 (Conques, Library of the Abbey, MS Lat. 1); C2= ROBERTINI, IV. 22 (Conques, Library of the Abbey, MS Lat. 1

³⁹ LM I.2 and II. 1. In the same category of *miles* with *amor* towards Sainte Foy, LM I.3 (Bonfils who is *solidus=fidelis* of Sainte Foy). See also LM I.4.

⁴⁰ LM I.27.

of knights (*ferrata acies*) at Conques. Gimón is always on call, ready to defend the monastic possessions. Gimón is called *cultus*, a synonym to *fidelis*/faithful to Sainte Foy. He loves her and Fides fully reciprocates; she loves him back (*diligit*).⁴⁰ Fredol is a third example of a *fidelis miles* of Sainte Foy; he calls her *Patronam suam*; is granted the *vexillum* (flag) of the monastery with which he manages to protect his family and possessions. The *vexillum* of Sainte Foy in this context shows how Fides acts like a good *comes* (count) and *dominus*, protecting the interests of her *miles*.⁴¹

According to the evidence in LM *vassal-senior* relationships define life in the early eleventh century in Occitania. *Milites* enter contractual *conventa-convenientiae* relationships with local *domini/seniores*. The knights expect to receive *beneficia* for loyal services. The miracle of the falcon exemplifies this well; a *miles* borrows a falcon from his *senior*. The latter is sly and makes him sign an agreement. If the *miles* loses the falcon, he forfeits his *beneficium*. With the help of Sainte Foy, the knight is spared this deprivation.⁴² In another case, a *miles* is badly wounded in battle and becomes paralyzed. His *senior* is loyal, and he tries to help his knight by bringing him to Sainte Foy to pray for cure. We learn here that young knights will do an internship (*tirocinium*) before they acquire their belt (*cingulum*) of knighthood.⁴³

In the LM, Fides embodies both sides of the feudal relationship; she is both a vassal and a lord: *miles et comes* (count). She is Christ's *miles* and a noble athlete, who can be soft to her enemies or can utterly terrify them.⁴⁴ Fides is also named a *comes* (count).⁴⁵ As Christ's loyal vassal, he raises her to become the lord who rules over all other *seniores*. Her supremacy is revealed in the nouns with which she is addressed: *patrona* (Lord) and *propugnatrix* (Defender Who Fights at the First Line).⁴⁶ LM shows how Fides's *fidelitas* to Christ is repaid with her elevation to the status of a *patrona* and a *comes*.

On a number of occasions, we hear the authorial voice of LM, venting against the lawlessness of the times. Bands of *milites* steal, pillage, kidnap, and commit murders.⁴⁷ They have become so recalcitrant that they do not fear the Last Judgment. The Monastery of Sainte Foy sees its responsibility to intervene and to restrain. The best way the monks could do that is by using their spiritual capital: the *virtus* of Sainte Foy flowing from her golden *imago* and also drifting through the upper air.⁴⁸ They carry her statue in processions to reclaim land and assert their rights.⁴⁹ They also work tirelessly to rekindle fear of the Last Judgement in the faithful.

⁴¹ LM III.18.

⁴² LM I.23.

⁴³ LM IV.10.

⁴⁴ *Christi miles et athleta nobilis in hostes mitis, quamve nonnumquam terribilis*, LM IV.16 (=Robertini, LM IV.17)

⁴⁵ LM IV.15 *comes insignis super ethera virginis alme, cum Domino regnas secla per innumera*.

⁴⁶ LM I.34.

⁴⁷ LM I.27; I.30; II.9; IV.3; IV.4; IV.5; IV.7; IV.8; IV.9.

⁴⁸ Processions with the statue to claim Ste. Foy's property rights, LM I.11; I.12 (Pallas, the procession in mentioned in LM II.4); II.4 (Molompize); II.14 (Reinfroi seized lands of Sainte Foy); III.14 (Reinfroi again); III.17 (*miles* Siger, dies without offspring, all his possessions gone). On Sainte Foy's energy moving through the upper air, LM IV.1.

⁴⁹ LM I.11; I.12; II.4; II.14; III.14; L3 (=London, BL, Arundel, MS Lat. 91).

The monks compel *milites* and *seniores* to give properties in exchange for a heritage (*honor, beneficium*) in heaven:⁵⁰

[This Miracle LM I.11] should intensify dedication to divine worship in men of the Church, but it should violently frighten those who violently steal goods from God's Holy Church, or those who appropriate, as if it were legally their own property that the saints have inherited, and unjustly claim the rents and the services due its owners. For at this time there are great many people who deserve to be called Antichrists. Blinded by their greed, they dare to seize what rightfully belongs to the Church; in so doing not only do they show no respect for officials of the sacred ministry, but they sometimes even assault them with insolent [verbal] abuse and beatings.⁵¹

Bernard of Angers paints a grim picture of his times: there is violence and illegality everywhere. The miracle he is about to narrate serves to encourage the devoted servants of the Church to restore order and to deter sinners from committing more crimes through fear. These robbers and disruptors appropriate and abuse the possessions of the saints (monastic and other church properties). For this reason, the culprits are disclaimed and labeled "antichrists," and are thus excised from the Christian community.⁵² The Monastery at Conques fights with all means: both by hiring *milites* as *fideles*, but also through power of the written word, publicly performed. Performed texts such as the LM and the art created at Conques become potent weapons with which the monastery wages its war against the unruly *seniores* and their *milites*. An example of how Conques wields its soft power is offered in a miracle (C1) excised from the canonical collection; it can be found in the so-called addenda. Here a repentant kidnapper and killer exhorts his audience:

"Miserable people, what are you doing? Why are we taken in by the hollow seductions of this world? What we can see amounts to nothing, but what we cannot see is Truth. Behold, passionate desires for transitory things are disguised snares for your feet! Behold, our pride prepares our future ruin, for nothing but our deeds accompanies us on that journey! Blind greed runs unbridled toward every kind of downfall." ... "Love justice, flee avarice, speak the truth, keep the peace, and work no evil on your neighbor. If you do these things, you will be blessed."⁵³

Conques speaks through the mouth of this sinner to the larger community, asking them to refrain from desiring possessions, from plundering, and from kidnapping and killing. Greed and pride are the main culprits. These vices entice the bands of *milites* to plunder.

⁵⁰ LM I.11. The motif of the lawless times appears in the addenda miracles, see C1=Robertini, IV.12.

⁵¹ *Quod ecclesiasticis viris et in domo Dei devote deservientibus fiat divini cultus incitamentum, illos vero qui sancte Dei ecclesie bona violeter diripiunt vel sanctorum hereditates quasi ius suum reposcentes iniuste ablatas possident perterrefaciat. Namque hoc tempore permulti sunt, quos merito antichristos nominare possimus, qui tam ceca ambitione iura ecclesiastica invadere audent, ut sacri ministerii officiales non modo non revereantur, sed etiam modo contumeliis et verberibus appetant, modo morte afficiant.* LM I.11. Same message in LM I.26.

⁵² The same message is repeated LM I.26, the lawless are called antichrists.

⁵³ *Quid infelices agimus? Quid huius mundi miseris blandimentis palparamus? Que videntur, nihil est; que autem non videntur, veritas est. Ecce rerum transitoriarum appetitus laqueos nostris abscondit pedibus, ecce gloria nostra detrimentum nobis parat, nihil aliud quam opera iter nostrum comitatur! Ceca cupiditas que per rerum omnium precipitia currit effrena, ... Diligite iustitiam, fugite avaritiam, loquimini veritatem, habete pacem et nullus contra proximum suum peretur malum. Si hec feceritis, beatis eritis.* C1=Robertini, LM IV.12.

Conques invites its audience to consider instead leading an upright life. The last sentence “Love justice” reads like a one-line summary of the visual program of the façade at Conques (Fig. 1). The reliefs on the tympanum depict and group on the right side (viewer’s right) all the sins mentioned in the C1 miracle: stealing, greed, desire to dominate, unfaithfulness, hypocrisy, heresy. These human failings are contrasted to the glorious procession of the *fideles*, who having renounced earthly possessions, now find and claim their inheritance in heaven.⁵⁴ Conques teaches giving and *fidelitas*. It entices the faithful to offer pious donations of their earthly riches, which the divine economy will transform into heavenly estates.

The enormity of the social upheaval started by the feudal transformation can be sensed in the warnings encoded in the LM. The narrative reveals many hostile *milites* and their *seniores* who attack and plunder the possessions of Sainte Foy.⁵⁵ Sometimes, the monastery prevails and manages to bind them with a *conventum/foedus*.⁵⁶ Fides scares them, brings about deformity to their bodies. When they repent and receive healing, Sainte Foy draws on their nascent *amor* towards her to make them sign *conventa*.⁵⁷ In the best-case scenarios, the monastery receives some of the hereditary possessions of these repentant *milites*.⁵⁸ The abbey also sends processions with its gold statue and relics of Sainte Foy in order to perform land claims. Yet, these ceremonies do not always achieve the desired result. Sometimes, it takes an extra show of strength and divine vengeance to deter the culprits (arrogant *milites* and their *seniores*).⁵⁹

Along with the punishments, Sainte Foy also pursues positive reinforcement. She helps *milites* and *seniores* recuperate their possessions.⁶⁰ She rescues many knights from captivity.⁶¹ Their shackles, *bodias*, are proudly displayed at Conques.⁶² Sainte Foy also cures the wounded and diseased *milites*.⁶³ Conques also helps both *milites* and their settlements in Catalonia defending them against Saracen incursions.⁶⁴

⁵⁴ Bonne, *Art roman de face et de profil*, 203–313.

⁵⁵ LM I.5; I.6; I.11; I.12 (Pallas); II.4; II.5; III.13; III.14; III.21 (Pallas); IV.16 (the *miles* Hector who disrupts the service in the church and engages in inappropriate activities during the liturgy, disturbing the order).

⁵⁶ LM III.10.

⁵⁷ LM III.10.

⁵⁸ LM III. 14.

⁵⁹ LM I.11; I.12; II.4; II.14; III.14; L3 (=London, BL, Arundel, MS Lat. 91)

⁶⁰ LM I.3 (Bonfils and his mule); I.4 (Gerald *miles*); I.10; II.2 (Raymond who has an Odyssean fate); III. 18; III.23IV.18 (mule of a *miles* from Poitou); L5 (*miles* from Rheims).

⁶¹ LM I.30; I.31; I.33; III.4; IV.7; IV.8; IV.9; L2; L4 (the last two both in London, BL, Arundel, MS Lat. 91).

⁶² LM I.31; I.33; II.6; III.5; III.15; IV.7; L4 (=London, BL, Arundel, MS Lat. 91)

⁶³ LM II.7; III.3; III.7; IV.10; IV.16; IV.23; L5 (deformed *miles* from Rheims); L6 (wounded *miles* from castle Agremont, in London, BL, Arundel, MS Lat. 91; V3 (=Vatican City, BAV, MS Reg. Lat. 467). Fides also heals the war-horses of the *milites*, LM III.11; III.12.

⁶⁴ LM IV.6. Calonga (Catalonia, this miracle further proves the 1030-1040 date of LM IV. At this period Conques still sees its future interests connected to Catalonia. This changes in the third quarter of the eleventh century, when Conques aligns with the kingdom of Navarra and Aragon and with Gascony. Another miracle situated in Catalonia is about Cardona A3 (Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1036 (H.1.51); then Girona L1 (=London, BL, Arundel, MS Lat. 91).

LM tries to be balanced in its account, carefully calculating the monastery's response to good and bad behavior. By contrast, the so-called addendum, comprising of a collection of miracles not integrated in the *Panaretos* (the *libellus* produced at Conques, including a compilation of the LM, the *Passio*, *Translatio*, Office, and *Canso*) recounts a sterner response to the misdeeds. In some cases, the *milites'* perfidy impels Sainte Foy to kill them outright, condemning them to eternal tortures in Hell.⁶⁵ In others, she keeps them alive long enough for them to repent and then give substantial donations to Conques. This is the story recorded C1 (the Conques manuscript with addendum of miracles). A *miles* kidnaps a person, exacts a ransom, receives the money, and still kills the captive. He is punished by divine vengeance and goes to Hell. Here St. Peter and the Archangel Michael come to his rescue. Sainte Foy is angry and if it depends on her, she will let the culprit suffer eternally. He is given a reprieve from death long enough to settle with the victim's family and to give lands to Conques (*partem hereditatis sue in eternum fundum*).⁶⁶ The fact that these additional miracles are recorded and collected attests to the monastery's ability to produce its weapons of soft power. Yet, the fact that these miracles are excluded from the LM, shows caution on the side of the Abbey. It seeks to pursue a measured approach, mixing some punishment, with a possibility for repentance, and positive reinforcement. The ultimate goal for the monastery is a reconciliation with the new social order, exacting the *seniores'* and *milites'* acknowledgement of Sainte Foy's authority, a guarantee of all her possessions, and a promise for more donations.

The LM marks the messy early stages of feudal transformation in Occitania. It is not until the late 1060s-1070s, as attested by the other important written document (the cartulary of Conques) that we see the stabilization of the 'Culture of Fidelity.' At this point, the *seniores* become major patrons of the monastery pledging rich donations. This period starts around 1065 and peaks during the tenure of Abbot Begon III (1087–1108).⁶⁷ At this point, the monastery re-aligns with the new forces of power; many of its monks come from this new elite.⁶⁸ With the normalization of the relationships, the Abbey finds no reason to include the addenda miracles in the LM. Instead, it produces a new text, the *Canso de Sancta Fides*, which valorizes the new social elite: the *seniores* and their *milites*.

THE "CULTURE OF FIDELITY" IN THE *CANSO DE SANCTA FIDES*

The *Canso de Sancta Fides* articulates an ideal vision how the new social order ('Culture of Fidelity') and centers it on their patron Sainte-Foy.⁶⁹ The obvious connection Conques likely made between Sainte Foy's name *fides* and the concept of *fidelitas*—faith and loyalty—has never been recognized as a source of soft power. Is it just a mere coincidence or did Conques consciously mobilize this local spiritual capital—a patron saint named after the very political concept of *fides* and *fidelitas* that holds eleventh-century Occitan society together? The culture

⁶⁵ C2= ROBERTINI, IV. 22.

⁶⁶ C1= ROBERTINI, IV.12.

⁶⁷ DE GOURNAY, "Aperçu sur les données du cartulaire de Conques," pp. 10, 15, 20, 22 and DE GOURNAY, *Le Rouergue au tournant de l'An Mil*, pp. 243–267, 303–329.

⁶⁸ DE GOURNAY, *Le Rouergue au tournant de l'An Mil*, pp. 129–133.

⁶⁹ DE GOURNAY, *Le Rouergue au tournant de l'An Mil*, pp. 253–265.

of *fidelitas* matches perfectly both the expansionist goals of Conques and channels the virtue of its patron saint: *fides* (as faith, trust, and loyalty). While there is no written source that directly addresses this coincidence between *fides*, her monastery at Conques, and the rise of the culture of *fidelitas* in the second half of the eleventh century, one text indirectly weaves these connections between infeudation and Sainte Foy. This is the *Canso de Sancta Fides*, the earliest extant vernacular poem, dated to the late 1060s or 1070s.⁷⁰ It marks the reconciliation of the monastery with the powerful *seniores* and *milites* starting around 1065.⁷¹ The *Canso* pairs the *senior* (Christ) and his *fidelis* (Fides); the *fidelitas/amor* between them is unbreakable. The saint remains truthful to the end, sacrificing her life. Fides's unwavering devotion is rewarded with infinite powers. After her glorification, she can create her own circle of *fideles* and further channel divine energy to heal and to restore life.

The *Canso's* place of origins is still a subject of debate, but the most-accepted theory is that it is composed at Conques and intended for another church of Sainte Foy at Morlaàs in Béarn (Gascony) (Morlaàs is not part of Conques monastic possessions).⁷² I accept the provenance of Conques, but not the Morlaàs suggestion because the *Canso* was part of a larger MS that contained the entire repertoire of Conques and there is no indication that it was designed with a destination to Morlaàs.⁷³ The poem narrates the Passion of Sainte Foy; it is inspired by the original Latin *Passio* and *Translatio Sanctae Fidis*, the *Liber miraculorum*, and Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*.⁷⁴ The *Canso* self-consciously establishes this link with the earlier Latin *Passio* and *Translatio* in order to claim authenticity (*Canso*, laisse 3, ll. 27-28). It is written in an Occitan *koiné*.⁷⁵

In this poem, Sainte Foy's relationship with Christ mirrors that between a vassal and a *senior*.⁷⁶ Sancta Fides appears as a noble woman: she is the daughter of the ruler (*seiner*) of

⁷⁰ Preserved in the Monastery of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, the section of the manuscript that contains the *Canso* was separated and, in 1689, ended up in Leiden. It was then forgotten until Leite de Vasconcellos discovered it by serendipity; see L. DE VASCONCELLOS, "Canção de sancta Fides de Agen," *Romania*, 31 (1902), pp. 177–200; A. THOMAS, *La chanson de Sainte Foy d'Agen. Poème provençal du XI siècle. Édité d'après le manuscrit de Leide avec fac-similé, traduction, notes et glossaire*, Paris, 1925; E. HOFFNER and P. ALFARIC, *La Chanson de Sainte Foy*, Paris, 1926; J. W. ZAAL, "A lei Francesca:" *Sainte Foy*, v. 20. *Étude sur les chansons de saints gallo-romanes du XI^e siècle*, Leiden, 1962; E. P. WORK, "The Eleventh-Century Song of Saint Fides: An Experiment in Vernacular Eloquence" *Romance Philology*, 1 (1983), pp. 366–385; R. LAFONT, *La Chanson de Sainte Foi*, Geneve, 1998; ASHLEY, *The Cults of Sainte Foy*, pp. 59–62. A project directed by Gisèle Clement and at Université de Montpellier and Brice Duisit (musician and singer) has reconstructed the music and performed the *Canso* (May 26, 2018 at Saint-Gilhem-le-Désert), <http://cimmducielauxmarges.org/2018/02/19/la-canso-de-sancta-fides/>, and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OVmCnrVYUwg> (accessed September 28, 2023).

⁷¹ F. DE GOURNAY, "Aperçu sur le donnes du cartulaire de Conques," *Revue du Rouergue*, (1990), pp. 7–25, esp. p. 22.

⁷² F. DE GOURNAY, "Relire la chanson de Sainte Foy," *Annales du Midi*, 107/ 212 (1995), pp. 385–399, esp. 393–397. Other hypothesis include Cerdagne, Béziers, Narbonne, on Cerdagne; see HOFFNER and ALFARIC, *La Chanson de Sainte Foy*, pp. 197–210.

⁷³ B. PENTCHEVA, "Imaging the Sacred in Virtuoso Chant and Dance: The Music of Ste. Foy and the Dancer/Singer of Almiphona (Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 1118)," *Codex Aquilarensis*, 37 (2021), pp. 335–356.

⁷⁴ C. SEGRE, "Il 'Boeci,' i poemetti agiografici e le origini della forma epica," *Atti della academia delle scienze di Torino*, 89 (1954–1955), pp. 242–92; LAFONT, *La Chanson de Sainte Foi*, 19–42; ASHLEY, *The Cults of Sainte Foy*, pp. 59–62.

⁷⁵ Occitan *koiné* spoken on the roads to Roncevaux; see WORK, "The Eleventh-Century Song of Saint Fides," and LAFONT, *La Chanson de Sainte Foi*, 18.

⁷⁶ DE GOURNAY, "Relire la chanson de Sainte Foy," 391–93.

the city of Agen and in possession of vast territories (*honors ab ampledad, Canso*, laisse 7, ll. 65-66).⁷⁷ Sancta Fides parts with these earthly possessions (*honors*) for the sake of her love/service to Christ:

The honor of her earthly possessions
was not worth more for her than mud.
She placed her heart in the Lord of Heaven,
pleased to be his loyal servant.
She will not stop, so I believe,
until she pays God with her death,
which threw the devil in dismay.⁷⁸

The poem continues to enumerate the great riches through which her noble status shines: country estates (*villas*), strong castles (*fortz castèlz*), luxury furs (*pèlz salvadgas*) and buttons (*noèlz*), rings (*anèlz*) for her fingers, gold and silver vessels (*d'aur e d'argent ben faitz vaisèlz*), and tunics with bordered sleeves (*blidall ab braczalèira*) (*Canso*, laisse 10-11, ll. 92-109). Sainte Foy renounces all these earthly possessions in order to help the poor and take care of lepers and in this way, to keep close to Christ. Yet, through her martyrial death and glorification, she will regain all these riches and more. Sainte Foy is born in a noble class that she casts aside only to be reborn into an even greater splendor of nobility in heaven. This ultimate glorification is materially attested at her monastery and her golden statue at Conques. The abbey with its vast land properties restitutes her *villas* and *castèlz*, while her golden *imago* set in the sanctuary proudly displays precious metals, gems, and cameos (Fig. 2). The exquisite gold filigreed borders in the sleeves and the rim of her *imago* at Conques delight in a panoply of precious luxury *noèlz* (Figs. 3, 4).

Sancta Fides's love and desire for Christ, her willingness to be his loyal servant (*fidèls camarèira* (*Canso*, laisse 11, l. 107) and *drudz* (*Canso*, laisse 32, l. 321) ensure this successful exchange of earthly for heavenly inheritance. This process of substitution of terrestrial for the celestial also marks the parallel between the spiritual and socio-political systems in the "Culture of fidelity:" both are structured on the oath of trust (*fidelitas, amor, drudarium*) between vassal and lord. Sainte Foy overcomes obstacles and temptations that are thrown in her way in order to prove her loyalty/*amor*. The pagan lord, Dacianus, fears her noble status and influence and wants to subdue her. He is goaded by his entourage who convince him that if

⁷⁷ The Sainte Foy's status as "daughter of a King" echoes the phrase King's daughter of Ps 44(45) and thus makes an implicit connection with Mary. I thank Andrei Dumitrescu for this insight.

⁷⁸ Honor qe d'aest sègle ag
atretant non prezèd det(z) brac.
En Dèu de Cèl lo quòr li jag
e'l seus servizis molt li plag.
Non pausarà ja, czò m'adag,
entrò eiss Dèu de ssa mòrt li pag.

Czò'ss mes diables en esmag,

from LAFONT, *La chanson de Sainte Foi*, laisse 9, ll. 85-91. English translation by Robert Clarke with my edits, "Song of Sainte Foy," in P. SHEINGORN (ed. and trans.), *The Book of Sainte Foy*, Philadelphia, 2010, p. 276.



Fig. 2, 3 y 4. Gold-reveted statue of Sainte Foy, late ninth-century with additions in the course of the 10th-16th centuries. Photo: Miguel Novelo for "EnChanted Images".

he does not confront her and eradicate her Christian faith, he, Dacianus, will lose his authority in this land and city (*Canso*, laisse 16, ll. 156–57). Sainte Foy also threatens him because she is born in household of a higher-nobility; her *parentad* is being the daughter of the knight-lord, *cavaller* and *seiner* of Agen (*Canso*, laisse 7, l. 65 and laisse 33, l. 343). When Dacianus meets her, he promises her a golden crown, a purple tunic, and an entourage of a hundred high-born damsels and a thousand knights if she renounces her Lord (*Canso*, laisse, 25, ll. 237-45). However, Sancta Fides cannot be swayed, she remains loyal to Christ (*Canso*, laisse 25, ll. 245–47). The Lord is her source of happiness and good. He (*Deus*, *Donz*) is whom she wants as her spouse; he is powerful (*poderós*), beautiful (*bèlz*) and full of love (*amorós*) (*Canso*, laisse 31, ll. 302, 311-14).

The love between Sainte Foy and Christ is a mirror of the relationship between a vassal and a lord. She is further linked to vassalage by the way she is described as daughter of a knight/*miles* (*filla de cavaller*) (*Canso*, laisse 33, l. 343). She carries infinite love for Christ; she will never abandon him; she wants to be his servant, and to take pleasure at his side. While it is tempting to see this as a romantic love relationship, this poem reveals love as a political tool: an *amor/fidelitas* that structures feudal relationships between *drudz/druda* (*fidelis*) and the *seiner/donz* (*senior*).⁷⁹ Sancta Fides publicly announces her loyalty with the words:

⁷⁹ On the equivalence between *drudarium* and *fidelitas*, see CHEYETTE, "Women, Poets, and Politics in Occitania," pp. 175–176 and the same political system of love permeates the eleventh-century Islamic Taifa courts in Iberia, see C. ROBINSON, "In Praise of Song: the Making of Courtly Culture in Al-Andalus and Provence," in M. AURELL (ed.), *Culture politique des Plantagenêt (1154-1224)*, Poitiers, 2003, pp. 89–123; ROBINSON, "Seeing Paradise: Metaphor and Vision in Taifa Palace Architecture," *Gesta*, 36/2 (1997), pp. 145–155; EAD., *In Praise of Song: The Making of Courtly Culture in al-Andalus and Provence, 1005–1134 A.D.*, Leiden, 2002.

I would like to abandon myself to our Lord,
 and, in that which I know how to choose,
 there is nothing [more] that I admire.
 If I do not have [Him], I cannot be healed.
 There is nothing I love [more], I will not lie.
 but to laugh and be happy with Him [the Lord]!⁸⁰

Sainte Foy explains that her choice is made. The two options are to love loyally or to deceive. This is communicated with a play of words *amir* or *mentir*. *Amir* is from *amirar* (“to admire”); it sounds similar to *amar* (“to love”). This phonetic mimicry—*amir-amar*—has the capacity to elicit *amor-fidelitas* and pitch it against deceit. She cannot live without the fidelity/*amor* of Christ. She can only find Salvation/healing (*guerir*) and happiness by being by his side.

Later on, Sainte Foy explains how Christ reciprocates the love and the loyalty of the *drudz/drut* (servant). He gives *honor*: understood here as estates—lands and houses. These ideas are invested in *laisse* 31–32:

In truth, He is so powerful
 that all that He has commanded has not failed
 and to those who serve him with a true heart,
 He does not withhold his recompense.
 He sought humility and good,
 and to his loyal servants (*drudz*), He gave honor.
 And he who has done well for His cause
 He [the Lord] has given him his part [inheritance] in heaven.
 And when they die, He places their souls there [in heaven]
 and I think He will do the same for me,
 for I have always loved Him from the moment I heard His name.⁸¹

⁸⁰ De nòstre Dòn me vòill aizir
 et en czò q'èu sèi meilz causir
 res mais non es q'èu tant amir.
 Si llui non èi, non pòiss guerir.
 Ren tant non am, non voill mentir.

Ab lui vòil ridre e gaudir,
 from LAFONT, *La chanson de Sainte Foi*, *laisse* 24, ll. 231–36. English translation by R. CLARKE with my edits, “Song of Sainte Foy,” in SHEINGORN (ed. and trans.), *The Book of Sainte Foy*, p. 279. On the feudal connection in these lines, see GOURNAY, “Relire la chanson de Sainte Foy,” 392.

⁸¹ Poderós es per ver aissí
 de quant mandèd res non'n fallí
 e qí per bon còr li serví,
 non teg lo guardon ab sí.
 Humilitad e ben quesí,
 et a sos drudz honor aizí,
 E qí vas lui ben se causí
 sa part el Cèl li divedí

Sainte Foy asserts how powerful Christ is: her lover and Lord (*Donz*). His commands have all been fulfilled. His loyal followers have all received recompense. When they die, their souls enter heaven and receive eternal inheritance. Sainte Foy is certain that when her turn comes to prove her love, she will also receive her place in heaven, for she has always loved him from her first breath.

Sainte Foy's life and martyrdom and glorification attest to the validity of this promise. In exchange for her loyalty (*amor*), Christ gives her *honor* (land). She now has a house (*aitz*, her monastery) and has become a *donna/sovereign* in her own domain; this enables her to create her own loyal servants (*drudarium*):

This place is well favored,
 where God has endowed such a powerful saint.
 Through her, He pours grace,
 that brings happiness to the people and [works] intricate miracles.
 Girald, an evil tonsured priest,
 ripped off the eyes of Guibert, who was his servant (*druz*).
 Yet, after he had lost [his eyes],
 working through her [Sainte Foy], God granted them back to Guibert.
 If a blind person or a mute one, or one
 suffering some other affliction, come to her,
 or if someone is kept in prison
 or victims of war,
 if they throw themselves at her feet,
 be they young and old,
 and if they have repented for their sins,
 she will always bring them joy and cure.
 I pray now, Mistress (*Donna*), that you will help me!⁸²

e quan mòr l'anma'l pausa achí.

Aisi'm consider o facza a mi

qu'ancsen l'amèi pos mot n'audí,

from LAFONT, *La chanson de Sainte Foi*, laisse 32, ll. 316-21. English translation by Robert Clarke with my edits, "Song of Sainte Foy," in SHEINGORN (ed. and trans.), *The Book of Sainte Foy*, 280.

⁸² Ben es achell aitz ereubuz

o Dèus tan rica sainta aduz,

q'el fa per ella granz vertuz

e plaiz molt gentz e jògs menuz;

Giralz, uns prèire mal tunduz,

los òilz traiss Guidbert q'es sos druz.

Pòis, pos los ag un an perduz,

Dèus li reddèd per lèiz la luz.

S'ad ella ven hòm cègs o muz

o passions molt lo traüz

o s'em preison es reteguz,

o per guèrra decadeguz,

Laisse 43 presents the monastery of Sainte Foy as a powerful house (*aitz*). Here divine grace (*vertuz*) descends and works intricate miracles (*jogs menuz*). Then the story of the blind Guibert is narrated: how he lost his eyesight and then regained it through divine grace poured through Sainte Foy. The poet/singer then explains how all who seek her help—blind, mute, afflicted by other illnesses, prisoners, and victims of war—if they come to her to pray and repent, they can expect to receive from Sainte Foy health and freedom. So now, the poet follows their example, he falls to his knees, and asks for her support. He declares himself as her *drudz*, calling her *Donna*/Sovereign. In this, the poet mirrors Saint Caprasius, who witnesses Sainte Foy's martyrdom and becoming her *drudz* by willingly sacrificing himself (*Canso*, *laisse 36*, l. 371). The poet/narrator becomes Fides's *drudz* is the second example of this act of infeudation and it happens at the moment when for the first time in the *Canso*, Sancta Fides is addressed as *donna* (*Canso*, *laisse 43*, l. 453). She has transformed before us from the *druda* of Christ to an omnipotent *donna*, capable of making her own servants (*drudarium*).⁸³ We have already encountered the visual manifestation of the same transformation in the transition from the image of Sainte Foy as a *druda* swearing her *fidelitas* before her Lord on the West facade and then her majesty concretized in the golden statue in the interior of the church where she now reigns as the *Donz/Donna* in her *herile forma* (Figs. 1, 2).

Sainte Foy is the model *drudz/druda* who serves her *Donz* truthfully, she would not lie to him (*non voill mentir*, *Canso*, *laisse 24*, l. 235; *laisse 26*, l. 258); that will be a pure betrayal (*traciuns plana*, *Canso*, *laisse 28*, l. 277). She embodies faith. Perhaps, not by chance her name *FIDES*, written in all capital letters, is the only word (with the exception of the first line) in the entire *Canso* that is brought to the visual attention by means of this formatting choice (*Canso*, *laisse 7*, l. 72) (Fig. 6). The name *FIDES* is also underlined with yellow paint, making this concept stand out on the folio and be the gravitational center of the narrative: unflinching loyalty. By contrast, Dacianus is a false lord and he himself personifies deceit; he is called a 'fraudulent traitor' (*traitor fraudulent*, *Canso*, *laisse 26*, l. 248) and a 'stinking liar' (*mendix pudolenz* (*Canso*, *laisse 29*, l. 283). So, the *Canso* underscores the opposition between *fidelitas* and *engan* just like the written *sacramenta* and *convenientia* in Occitania and the West tympanum at Conques (Fig. 1).

The *Canso* is the first vernacular poem to develop the importance of loyalty (*fidelitas*) and vassalage as love (*amor*); this idea is then picked up and elaborated by many subsequent Occitan poems. The Countess of Die (1150–1200) in her song *A chanter m'er de so qu'ieu*

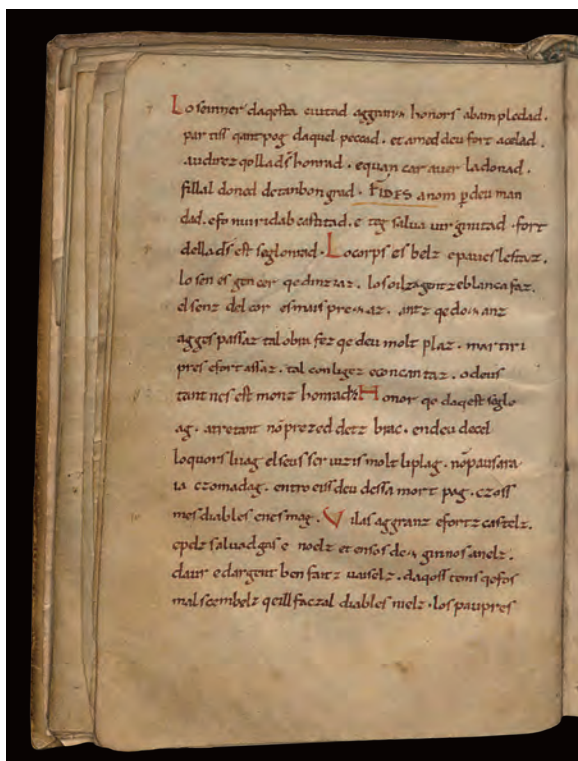
pos denant ella n'ér tenduz
o sia jovens o canuz,
si de peccaz es peneduz,
sempre'l venrà gaujz e saluz.

Ara't prèg, Donna, qe m'azjuz!

From LAFONT, *La chanson de Sainte Foi*, *laisse 43*, ll. 437–453. English translation by R. CLARKE with my edits, "Song of Sainte Foy," in SHEINGORN (ed. and trans.), *The Book of Miracles*, p. 282.

⁸³ Elizabeth Work has recognized how Sainte Foy transforms from *druda* to *donna*, but has interpreted it in terms of *caritas*, lyric love, rather than recognizing the political idea invested in *amor* identifying the feudal system/culture of Fidelity, WORK, "The Eleventh-Century Song of Saint-Fides," pp. 366–85.

Fig. 6. Beginning of the Canso of Sancta Fides, Leiden, University Library, Voss. Ms. Lat. O.60, fols.14–29, fol. 15v. The name FIDES stands out, written in majuscule and underlined in yellow
Photo: Leiden, University Library



non volria exemplifies this political expectation of trust when she encounters betrayal instead. Each lai here follows the same melodic structure ABABCDB (Fig. 5). It is in line D where the concept of deceit is introduced in lai 1 and it is marked by a melodic apex on phrase *sui engand'* (his betrayal); here the melody reaches c, which identifies the upper limit of mode 2 (centered on the pitch *D* in which this song is composed). So, it is this rise to the highest pitch that communicates the Contessa's surprise, anxiety, and disappointment because she is being betrayed in her love/political loyalty pledged to her by her *drudz/fidelis*. As each lai of this poem will be sung to the same melodic structure ABABCDB, a series of concept would appear in the apex in the melodic phrase D. All these words define *fidelitas* that is now broken: *orguoill* (pride) l. 14; *amor*, l. 21; *devetz* (ought to), l. 28; *m'etz* (to me), l. 35. The Contessa outlines how her *fidelis/drudz* has ditched his love for pride and as a result he does not give to her, his *donz/donna*, what he ought to: *fidelitas/amor*. Pride is what breaks the *amor* and leads to *engan*. In turn, *engan* eventually brings a fall as the dying knight visualizes on the façade at Conques (Fig. 1).

So far, my analysis has traced through a variety of media—the *Conventum* and other written agreements, the LM, the *Canso of Sancta Fides*, the song of Countess of Die, and the material images at Conques—the articulation of the political dynamic of medieval *fidelitas/*

Music and words of the Countess of Die

A 1. A chan- tar m'er de so qu'ieu non vol- ri- a,
B 2. Tant me ran- cer de lui cui sui a- ni- a,
A 3. Car ieu l'am nais que m'illa ren que si- a;
B 4. Vas loi no.n val mer- ces ni cor- le- si- a
C 5. Ni na bel- tatz ni nos pretz ni nos seos,
D 6. C'a- tres- si.n sui en- ga- nad' e tra- hi- a
B 7. Com degre- es- sor, s'ieu fos de- sa- vi- ens.

A A chanter m'er de so qu'ieu non volria,
 Tant me ran- cer de lui cui sui a- ni- a.
C Ni na bel- tatz ni nos pretz ni nos seos,
D C'a- tres- si.n sui en- ga- nad' e tra- hi- a
B Com degre- es- sor, s'ieu fos de- sa- vi- ens.

A I must sing of what I'd rather not,
 I'm so angry about him whose friend I am,
 for I love him more than anything.
C Mercy and courtesy don't help me
 with him, nor does my beauty or my rank, or my
 mind.
D I am every bit as betrayed and wronged
 as I deserve to be if I were an unicorn.

A It comforts me that I have done no wrong
 to you, my friend, through any action;
 indeed, I love you more than Seguin loved Valetun;
 it pleases me to conquer you with love,
 friend, for you are the more valiant.
 Yet you offer precious words and looks to me,
 but are gracious to every other person.

A It amazes me how faithful your heart is
 toward me, friend, for which I'm right to grieve;
 it isn't fair that another love take you away
 because of any word or welcome she might give
 you.
 And remember how it was at the beginning
 of our love when the Lord God was above
 our parting to be any fault of mine.

A The great value that dwells in your person,
 and the high rank you have, these trouble me,
 for I don't have a woman, far or near,
 who, if she wished to love, would not turn to you;
 but you, friend, are so knowing.
D You surely ought to know the secret ones,
 and remember what our agreement was.

A My rank and lineage should be of help
 to me, and my beauty and, still more, my true heart.
 This song, let it be my messenger.
 Therefore, I send it to you, as your dwelling,
 and I would like to know, my time, fair friend,
 why you are so distant and cold to me.
 I can't tell if it's from pride or malice.

A I especially want you, messenger, to tell him
 that too much pride brings harm to many persons.

Fig. 5. Music and poetry of the Countess of Die *A chanter m'er de so qu'ieu non volria*, after F. L. CHEYETTE, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours*, Ithaca, 2001, pp. 242–43. The identity of the melodic phrases are marked in red in Latin capital letters, while the blue-highlight identifies the melodic phrase D.

amor that produces a pair of vassal and lord and ensures order in the social fabric. It makes faith-*fides* the guarantor of the stability of political ties in a volatile age. The power vested in *fidelitas* and *amor*, identified as a political virtue rather than lyric love, persists, defining the feudal order as the “Culture of Fidelity.” Historians have observed a shift in meaning of *fides* from ‘piety’ towards “trust” accomplished by the eleventh century.⁸⁴ The *Canso of Sancta Fides* lends further evidence that *fides* and *amor* shape the social and political character of feudalism.

Unlike the sparse sources of the eleventh century, a great number of *sacramenta*, *convenientiae* and troubadour poetry in the twelfth century attests to the “Culture of fidelity.”⁸⁵ In this period, the Cistercian Baldwin of Forde, archbishop of Canterbury (in office 1185–1190), succinctly summarizes the instrumental role of *fides* and *fidelitas* in his treatise *De commendatione fidei*:

All treatises in human society and all links of friendship, in order to preserve their stability, they need to be signed with trust (*fidel*) and sincerity, and in order for what is signed to be fulfilled.

⁸⁴ J. WIRTH, *Sainte Anne est un sorcière et autres essais*, Genève, 2003, pp. 113–176, esp. 120–123; D. IOGNA-PRAT, “Socialiser la foi. Une esquisse de parcours ecclésial,” in Ph. HOFFMANN and L. LAVAUD (eds.), *Genèses antiques et médiévales de la foi*, Paris, 2020, pp. 269–293, esp. 272–273.

⁸⁵ BONNASSIE, “Feudal convention in eleventh-century Catalonia” and “From Rhône to Galicia,” pp. 104–131, 170–194; WHITE, “A Crisis of Fidelity,” pp. 1–24; CHEYETTE, “Women, Poets and Politics in Occitania,” pp. 138–177, and *Ermengard of Narbonne*, pp. 187–250. Kosto shows how for Catalonia this culture of fidelity manifests in the few *convenientiae* of the 1020s, their number grows by the 1050s; KOSTO, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia*, pp. 158–217.

All human beings want to receive the service of loyalty, but do not want to offer their loyal service to others. The friend exacts *fidem* from a friend, the partner from the other partner, the lord from the slave, the emperor from the soldier, the husband from his wife. Those who live, from those they live with. Without *fides*, it is impossible to administer and govern, nor to dispense offices and services, or to unite [in marriage] those who love [each other]. Neither kingdoms, nor cities, nor single families, nor any group of old and young people living together could sustain that life and be in a state of well-being. If you take *fides* from the core, the chain of love will be broken and the peace treaty will dissolve, and the friendship network would disintegrate. There would be none who could love each other, or have peace with each other, or trust each other.⁸⁶

Fides is understood as the glue holding society together. It governs the power relationship among all members and ensures the well-being of each one of them. Faith/trust becomes the foundation for governing and administration. It allows for the handing down of offices and the reciprocation of good service performed in return. *Fides* secures the bonds of love (*dilectio*) and through these channels, it allows the governing of an ordered society. *Fides* brings loyalty and trust, on which the state administration can rest and grow.

FIDELES AND CONQUES IN THE CONQUEST AND RELIGIOUS REFORM OF IBERIA

Baldwin of Forde's words recognize how the energy of *fides* permeates all corners of society. If this energy is there, it will bond and protect the social fabric. While the first part of this article deals with the *fidelitas* as a term better describing the process of feudalization and its precocious appearance in the Hispano-Occitan region, this second part explores how *fidelitas* in the second half of the eleventh century begins to structure royal and papal interests in the conquest and liturgical reform in Iberia and how Conques participates in this process. The Kingdom of Aragon becomes a papal vassal in 1068 in order to gain control over the flow of *francos* (Trans-Pyrenean adventurer-mercenaries). The king seeks to make them take oaths of fidelity to him. As loyal servants of the crown of Aragon (and from 1076 of Navarra's kingdom as well), these *francos* could then hope to retain some of their conquered possessions as *honor*. The oath of Centulle V, Count of Béarn, in 1082 sworn to king Sancho Ramírez indicates this turning point when the king Navarra and Aragon takes control of the conquest, building his network of *fideles francos*.⁸⁷ This shift of royal interests in cultivating the vassalage of Béarn

⁸⁶ *Omnia federa societatis humane et amicitie leges, ut sua stabilitate constare possint, fidei sinceritate firmantur, et firmataservantur. Omnes homines fidem sibi servari volunt, etiam hii qui eam servare nolunt. Fidem exquirat amicus ab amico, socius a socio, dominus a servo, imperator a milite, maritus ab uxore: omnis qui vivit ab eo cum quo vivit. Sine fide nec gubernaculum rerum ministrari, nec hominum official vel ministeria dispensari, nec amantium paria valent combinari. Non regna, non civitates, non singularum domicilia familiarum, nec quicumque cetus maiores vel minores hominum socialiter viventium, sine fide possunt constare, et in statu sue felicitatis permanere. Si fidem de medio tollas, vinculum dilectionis rumpetur, et omne fedus pacis dissolvetur. Non erunt qui se invicem diligant, qui inter se pacem habeant, nisi sint qui sibi invicem credant*, BALDWIN OF FORDE, *De commendatione fidei*, 1. 1–2, in D. N. BELL (ed.), *Balduini de Forda Opera*, Turnhout, 1991, pp. 344–45. English translation in J. P. FREELAND AND D. N. BELL (trans.), *Baldwin of Forde: Commendation of Faith*, Kalamazoo, MI, 2000.

⁸⁷ A. GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, Toulouse, 2017, pp. 149–179, esp. 150–151, 165–168; M. BULL, *Knightly Piety and Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousine and Gascony c. 970-c. 1130*, Oxford, 1993, pp. 70–114.

and Bigorre is auspicious for Conques. The next year 1083 is when one of its monks—Pierre d'Andouque—becomes the bishop of Pamplona, and as a result, the monastery of Sainte Foy finds itself ideally positioned to enter and profit from the conquest and reform of Iberia.

The façade at Conques (1105–1115) visualizes in hindsight a royal vassalage: a king as *fidelis sancti Petri*. A procession dominates the central, largest, and most imposing register of the tympanum (Fig. 1). Led by Mary, the blessed progress towards their *Deus et Donz*, Christ. Saint Peter walks right behind the Virgin (Fig. 7). He wears papal vestments (alb, stola, dalmatic, chasuble, palium) and holds a crosier and a key. His tonsured head attests to his monkish upbringing.⁸⁸ His figure recalls the progressive model of popes like Gregory VII (in office 1073–1085), Urban II (in office 1088–1099) and Paschal II (in office 1099–1118) who were reared in reformed monasteries (Cluny) and when they took the helm of the church, they eagerly promoted reform in universal terms. The third figure in the procession could be Dado, the hermit-founder of Conques.⁸⁹ A bishop-abbot with tonsured head follows behind; he holds a crosier with one hand and pulls a king by the hand. The latter is a New Charlemagne, guided by the Church.⁹⁰ His infeudation by the church is suggested by his humble, slightly hunched-over figure. The king has a crown and holds a sprouting *globus cruciger*. The lush leaves indicate how secular power can flourish as long as it is guided by the ecclesiastical authority. While the precise identity of these two figures of the king and the papal official alludes us, their pairing negotiates the position favored by the reformed papacy: reclaiming leadership over secular heads of state. This papal vision of supremacy is instilled in terms like *fidelitas*. The ideal king is the *fidelis Sancti Petri*. The king of Aragon exemplifies this model; he becomes en-feudated to the papacy in 1068.⁹¹ Conques's eventual alliance with this monarchy in 1083 brings many benefits to the abbey.

The politics of fidelity carry specific valence for the Spanish marches. The Umayyad Caliphate in Iberia, embroiled in a civil war, ultimately disintegrates as a political entity in 1030. The smaller Taifa kingdoms rising from the ashes of the empire have lively economies but are caught in constant struggle with each other and with their Christian neighbors to the north. In order to defend their territories, they resort to mercenaries and to paying tribute. The Christian kingdoms profit from these *paria* (tribute) and begin to recognize the potential of mobilizing greater forces by drawing mercenaries from across the Pyrenees (*francos*).⁹² Conquest becomes a lucrative venture. At this point, the papacy expresses interest. Pope Alexander II (in office 1062–1073) promotes an expedition against Barbastro in 1063–1064, promising the lifting of

⁸⁸ BONNE, *L'Art Roman de Face et de Profil*, pp. 231–233.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 233.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 233–235.

⁹¹ P. KEHR, "Wie und wann wurde das Reich Aragon ein Lehen der römischen Kirche", *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 18 (1928), pp. 196–223; the same study in Spanish, KEHR, "Cómo y cuándo se hizo Aragón feudatario de la Santa Sede. Estudio diplomático", *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragon* 1 (1945), pp. 285–326, esp. 308–309; GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Ebre*, pp. 150–151, 158–179, 221–223.

⁹² On the conquest, see H. KENNEDY, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of Al-Andalus*, London, 1996, pp. 130–189; J. F. O'CALLAGHAN, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, Philadelphia, 2003; GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Ebre*.



Fig. 7. West Façade, Abbey Church of Sainte-Foy, Conques, France, 1105-1115, detail of the procession of the elect. Photo: Boris Missirkov for "EnChanted Images"

penance and remission of sins to all participants in this campaign.⁹³ The expedition, led by the Catalan count Ermengol III of Urgell, starts with success in 1064, but the city is then recaptured in 1065 by Al-Muqtadir, the ruler of the Taifa of Zaragoza.

The experiment at Barbastro, however short-lived, alerts the papacy to the new possibilities of expanding its influence in Iberia. Pope Gregory VII (in office 1073–1085) states this in his letter of 1073, announcing the plans for an expedition run by the Norman Count Ebles II of Roucy. Should the count conquer Saracen land, he would hold it as a vassal of the papacy:

We believe that it is not unknown to you that the kingdom of Spain belonged from ancient times to Saint Peter in full sovereignty (*proprii iuris*) and though occupied for a long time by the pagans [Arabs], it belonged even now—since the law of justice has not been set aside—to no mortal, but solely to the Apostolic See.⁹⁴

Pope Gregory VII asserts the legal right of the papacy over all Iberian territories. The *Cathedra Petri* had owned these lands in the past, before the Muslims conquered them. So, if they are recovered, they would need to be restored back to the see of Saint Peter. The papacy argues for the supremacy of the *sacerdotum* over the *imperium*.

⁹³ O'CALLAGHAN, *Reconquest and Crusade*, pp. 23–49; GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 158–165; pp. BULL, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response*, 72–81.

⁹⁴ *Non latere vos credimus regnum Hispaniae ab antiquo proprii juris Sancti Petri fuisse, et adhuc (licet diu a paganis sit occupatum), lege tamen iustitiae non evacuata, nulli mortalium, sed soli apostolicae sedi, ex aequo pertinere.* POPE GREGORY VII, *Epistola VII ad principes Hispaniae*, anno 1073, MIGNE (ed.), PL 148, 289–290; for English translation, see O'CALLAGHAN, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 27.

While the first two expeditions of Count Ermengol of Urgell and Count Ebles II of Roucy do not have any royal buy-in, the crown of Aragon quickly recognizes the benefits of aligning itself with the papacy in order to establish subsequently royal control over the mobilization of *francos* (Trans-Pyrenean forces). Sancho I Ramírez, king of Aragón (r. 1068–1094) and later king of Navarra (r. 1076–1094) chooses the infeudation of his kingdom to the papacy.⁹⁵ In 1068, he becomes *fidelis Sancti Petri*.⁹⁶ A document from 1071 succinctly states that “Sancho I Ramírez, the king of Hispania converted the glory of his excellence to the true faith, and first [among the rulers of Iberia] turned himself and submitted to the apostolic authority [of the pope in Rome].”⁹⁷ His sons, Pedro I (r. 1094–1104) and Alfonso I the Battler (r. 1104–1134) continue in their father’s steps, swearing vassalage to Rome.⁹⁸ Both dramatically increase the kingdom at the expense of the Muslim Taifa.⁹⁹

Once a *fidelis Sancti Petri*, the Sancho I Ramírez goes on to establish royal grip on the *francos* interested in entering the conquest enterprise. Unlike Barbastro and the expedition of 1073 of Count Ebles of Roucy, the king of Aragon now spearheads the movement and asks *francos* to swear *fidelitas* oaths directly to the crown. In this way, what is conquered enters the hands of the king. Then he has the right to distribute some of this wealth back to the participating *fideles milites francos* as *honor* for their loyal service. The oath between king Sancho Ramírez and Centulle V, viscount of Béarn in 1082 is an example: the king calls Centulle V “my man,” (*meus hominus*) and swears fidelity (*fidelitas*) and the right of the eldest son of Centulle to inherit his father’s *honor*.¹⁰⁰ The reciprocal oath of Centulle to Sancho has not survived, it would have outlined his vassalage. The son of Centulle V, Gaston IV of Béarn, and his half-brother, Centulle of Bigorre, end up playing important roles in the Reconquista, drawing the *francos* of Gascony into the royal expeditions of Sancho Ramírez, Pedro, and Alfonso I the Battler.¹⁰¹ The main objective in this period is the conquest of Zaragoza, the richest Taifa in the area. When the city is captured in 1118, Alfonso I gives it as honor to Gaston IV of Béarn.¹⁰²

⁹⁵ GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 150–151, 158–162, 168–179.

⁹⁶ O'CALLAGHAN, *Reconquest and Crusade*, p. 27; GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 150–151, 162–179, 221–223; KEHR, “Wie und wann wurde das Reich Aragon, 196–223; idem, “Cómo et cuándo se hizo Aragón feudatorio de la Sancta Fede?” 308–309; GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 150–151, 158–162, 168–179.

⁹⁷ *Sancius rex Ispanie ad veram perfectamque fidem nobilitatis sue gloriam convertit et protinus semetipsum apostolice dignitati commisit ac subdidit*, 10/1071 from M. REYO (ed.), *La documentacion Pontificia hasta Innocencio III (965-1216)*, Rome, 1955, no. 4, apud GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, p. 22, n. 19.

⁹⁸ Pedro I in 1095, GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 226–227; D. SMITH, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon. The Limits of Papal Authority*, New York, 2004, ch. 8.

⁹⁹ On the conquest, see GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 170–179; KENNEDY, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, pp. 130–189.

¹⁰⁰ *Hoc est sacramentum quod ego, Sanctius, Aragonensium rex facio tibi Centullo, Bigorritano comiti meo homini, uidelicet, ut sim tibi fidelis ita ut nec ego nec aliquis, me consentiente, corpori tuo uel uite tue aliquod faciat detrimentum [...] de honore uero quem hodie tenes uel quam post hunc meo consilio adquisiturus es uel quem sine meo consilio adquies, per quod ego honorem non perdam, fidelitatem tibi tenebo*, A. C. LÓPEZ (ed.), *Colección diplomática de Sancho Ramírez*, Zaragoza, 1993, pp. 153–154, no. 153 quoted and discussed in GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 166–167.

¹⁰¹ GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 168–179.

¹⁰² GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, p. 174.

This golden period for *francos*, *fideles* to the crown of Navarra and Aragon, continues until the Christian defeat at Fraga in 1134 and the death of Alfonso I.¹⁰³

The placement of Pierre d'Andouque as the bishop of Pamplona in 1083, inserts Conques in this political map exactly at the moment when the stream of *francos* entering *fidelitas* with Aragon intensifies from the areas of Béarn, Bigorre, and Roncevaux. As the trusted advisor to the Aragon kings, Pierre in turn extracts many favors for Conques. The image on the façade at Sainte Foy of a bishop, leading a humble king captures the ideal scenario for the monastery and by extension for the papacy: the Church guiding a new Charlemagne by the hand in the conquest of "pagan" Iberia (Fig. 7).¹⁰⁴ Pierre offers the embodiment of this ideal ecclesiastical vision; he uses his access to a network of heads of state and papal legates (*fideles Sancti Petri*) in Hispano-Occitania to promote the interests of the Church in general and Conques in particular.

PAPAL LEGATES AS *FIDELES SANCTI PETRI*

Successes on the battlefield in Iberia offer the papacy an opportunity to promulgate the Gregorian liturgy and suppress the local Mozarabic rite. It is here where the services of the reformed Benedictine monasteries become needed; they can send well trained monks and artists, all *francos*, to disseminate the Gregorian liturgy and to colonize new lands, and to settle monasteries.¹⁰⁵ *Reformatio* and *restoratio* are bound together as reciprocal and simultaneous forces. To achieve this program, the papacy relies on a network of associates or *fideles Sancti Petri* in this period (fourth quarter of the eleventh century) who are sent to different corners of the world to implement reform. These are both ecclesiastics and lay persons, but chief among them are the special papal legates who operate in both France and Spain.¹⁰⁶ In the hands of pope Gregory VII, this office of the papal legate becomes a key administrative and legal instrument.¹⁰⁷

It is hard to define exactly the prerogatives of the Gregorian legatine office in the 1070s; it is an *ad hoc* creation and appears to have been in a state of formation, mixing characteristics of what in the thirteenth century would become several different offices.¹⁰⁸ This fusion is best exemplified by the powers vested in Hugh, bishop of Die (in office 1073–1086), elected as papal legate in 1075.¹⁰⁹ Hugh is given special privileges that combine what in the later period would be two distinct offices: *legatus natus* or native legate (a person selected from the targeted area) and *legatus a latere* (legate from the side [of the pope]), i.e., a special envoy sent with

¹⁰³ GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 149–306.

¹⁰⁴ BONNE, *L'Art Roman de Face et de Profil*, pp. 234–235.

¹⁰⁵ GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 219–306.

¹⁰⁶ I. ROBINSON, *The Papacy: Continuity and Innovation*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 146–178; K. RENNIE, "Uproot and Destroy, Build and Plant': Legatine Authority under Pope Gregory VII," *Journal of Medieval History*, 33/2 (2007), pp. 166–180.

¹⁰⁷ RENNIE, "Extending Gregory VII's 'Friendship Network': Social Contacts in Late-Eleventh-Century France," *History* 93/4 (2008), pp. 475–496. After the death of Gregory VII, Hugh of Die lost his legatine powers, but was again promoted to that office 1094–1099 by pope Urban II.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 475–477.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 478.

plenipotentiary powers from Rome to a particular distant area.¹¹⁰ Before he becomes a papal legate, Hugh is in residence in the Lateran palace (December 1073 until spring of 1074) and there he shows his loyalty to the reform cause.¹¹¹ This is the reason pope Gregory VII entrusts him with plenipotentiary legatine powers in Gaul (northern France and Burgundy). He is later elevated to bishop of Lyons (in office 1086–1106), expanding his jurisdiction further to Sens and Tours. He operates through the convocation of synods, at which he uses his authority to depose simoniac bishops and promulgate change. As part of his office, after each synod, he has the obligation of going back to report in Rome.¹¹² Thus Hugh establishes a secure channel of communication between the papacy and the regions in France where he operates. Hugh is immersed in a network of religious and lay leaders, who support the papacy and help the reconquest of Spain.

Amatus, bishop of Oloron (in office 1073–1089), then of Bordeaux (1089–1101) and papal legate of Gascony, Narbonne, and Spain is another member of this network of *fideles Sancti Petri*. His powers are less extensive compared to those of Hugh of Die. Amatus and Hugh form the two main poles around which the Gregorian reform movement grows in France. Their authority is supported by important members of the secular elite. Theobald of Blois (1035–1089) and later on his son, Stephen Henry of Blois, promote the reforms of Hugh of Die.¹¹³ William VIII (1025–1086) and William IX (1086–1127), counts of Aquitaine do the same for Amatus of Oloron.¹¹⁴ Count Guilhem IV of Toulouse also aligns himself with the Gregorian reform cause from 1083 onwards.

The Occitan branch of the friendship network is tightly entwined with the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian North. *Francos* as papal legates are sent to Iberia. For instance, Bernard and Richard, sons of Richard, the viscount of Millau function as papal legates in the court of Alfonso VI, king of Castile and Leon (r. 1072–1109). Bernard is abbot of Saint-Victor in Marseilles (in office 1065–1079) and papal legate to Spain. His brother, Richard, is cardinal and also abbot of St Victor in Marseille (in office 1079–1106) and archbishop of Narbonne (in office 1106–1121); he embodies a living example of what the facade at Conques idealizes in the figure of the abbot-bishop leading a humble king by the hand (Fig. 7).¹¹⁵ Richard of Saint-Victor plays an important role at the council of Burgos in 1080, where king Alfonso VI commits to implement the Gregorian liturgy and to suppress the native Mozarabic rite.¹¹⁶ Richard operates in Hispano-Occitania, shuttling between the institutions which provide *francos* for the colonization of Iberia as for instance, Saint-Sernin in Toulouse. Richard travels as a papal legate with a focused responsibilities to resolve the conflict between the Augustinian

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 480; *Id.*, “Uproot and Destroy, Build and Plant”, pp. 168–72, 174–80.

¹¹¹ RENNIE, “Extending Gregory VII’s ‘Friendship Network’”, pp. 480–481; *Id.*, “Imbutus divinis dogmatibus: Some Remarks on the Legal Training of Gregorian Legates,” *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 85/2, (2007), pp. 301–313.

¹¹² RENNIE, “Uproot and Destroy, Build and Plant”, pp. 172–173.

¹¹³ RENNIE, “Extending Gregory VII’s ‘Friendship Network’”, pp. 490–491.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 484–487.

¹¹⁵ On Richard of St. Victor at Marseilles, see BOUSQUET, *Le Rouergue au premier Moyen âge*, pp. 575–590.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 580.

monastery in Toulouse, the bishop and the monks of Moissac in 1082-1083 and again to Spain in 1088 as legate of pope Urban II, and in 1100 as a legate of pope Paschal II.¹¹⁷

Bernard of Sédirac (also identified with his birthplace at la Sauvetat de Blanquefort, near Agen) (1050–1125) is another influential *franco*, who enthusiastically promotes the Gregorian reform in Spain. He is a Cluniac monk and is sent to León to implement the Roman rite. In 1080 he is elected abbot of the royal monastery of SS. Facundus and Primitivus at Sahagún in Leon. He changes the liturgy there to follow the Cluniac practice.¹¹⁸ After the conquest of Toledo in 1085, Bernard is made a bishop and then archbishop of Toledo (in office 1086–1124). In 1096, pope Urban II proclaims Bernard a permanent papal legate to Spain, a position resembling that of Hugh of Die/Lyon under pope Gregory VII.¹¹⁹

Diego Gelmírez (ca. 1068–1139) is native of Galicia and thus an exception to the otherwise *francos*-dominated group of papal legates in this period in Spain. He attends the council of 1088 that deposes Diego Peláez, the bishop and founder of the Romanesque cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. In 1101, Gelmírez becomes bishop of Compostela. In 1120 pope Calixtus II makes him a papal legate to Spain. The pope also elevates the status of Santiago de Compostela to archbishopric on par with Toledo and he extends Gelmírez's authority to include the bishoprics of Braga and Mérida.¹²⁰

Frotard is a *franco* and another important member of the papal reform network. As the abbot of the monastery of Saint-Pons de Thomières (in office 1061–1099), he demonstrates success in promoting reform and the Roman liturgy in Catalonia alongside Bernard and Richard of Saint-Victor. For this reason, he is elected a papal legate to León and Aragón in 1077.¹²¹ His mission in Navarra and Aragon only begins in 1080.¹²² In the two decades, the 1080s–1090s, Frotard actively promotes the Roman liturgy in the region. Up until 1076, Navarra is opposed to the Roman rite. When its king, Sancho IV Garcés (r. 1054–1076) dies, Sancho I Ramírez takes over and places his brother, García (already the bishop of Jaca) as bishop of Pamplona. This choice is not approved by the papacy. Frotard intervenes. Bishop García is ousted in 1080. Frotard promotes his protégé, Pierre d'Andouque, to this position in 1083.¹²³ Pierre in

¹¹⁷ On Richard of St. Victor at Marseilles, see *Ibidem*, p. 580.

¹¹⁸ C. REGLERO DE LA FUENTE, "La primera reforma clunicense de Sahagún, el Concilio de Burgos y la crisis de 1080: revision cronológica y desarrollo," in J. M. FERNÁNDEZ CATÓN (ed.), *Monarquía y Sociedad en el reino de León. De Alfonso III a Alfonso VII*, León, 2007, II, pp. 689–732; REGLERO DE LA FUENTE, *Cluny en España. Los prioratos de la provincial y sus redes sociales*, León, 2008; J. L. SENRA, "May the angels lead you into Paradise: staging the Cluniac liturgy in medieval Hispanic priories," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 9/2 (2017), pp. 149–183, esp. 154–155.

¹¹⁹ ROBINSON, *The Papacy: Continuity and Innovation*, pp. 155–157.

¹²⁰ GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 224–225; ROBINSON, *The Papacy 1073-1198*, p. 157; BOUSQUET, *Le Rouergue au premier Moyen âge*, pp. 569–573; ABBOT BENE, *Recherches historiques sur Frotard. Dixième Abbé de Saint-Pons de Thomières, Légat de S. Gregoire VII*, Montpellier, 1875.

¹²¹ WALKER, *Art in Spain and Portugal*, p. 309. For pope Gregory VII's mission of papal legates in Hispano-Occitania, see H. COWDREY, *The Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory II*, Oxford, 1972, *Letter 21* (to bishop Amatus of Oloron) and *Letter 65* (to king Sancho Ramírez).

¹²² BOUSQUET, *Le Rouergue au premier Moyen âge*, p. 569; GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 225, 229, 233, 249–250.

¹²³ GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 224–25, 228, 233, 235, 249–250, 255.

his turn, elevates Pons as bishop of Roda in 1094. Pons is then designated bishop of Barbastro and takes on this position in 1101 after the city is captured in 1100.¹²⁴ As a result, Pierre and Pons control between the two of them two thirds of the kingdom's diocesan domains (the only other bishopric is that of Jaca). Both Pierre and Pons are reared at Conques and both remain loyal to this monastic house throughout their lives. Pons also works in the chancellery of Pierre d'Andouque in Pamplona before he is promoted to bishop of Roda.¹²⁵ But no one does more for Conques than Pierre d'Andouque himself, who uses his authority and ingenuity to bring great wealth to Conques and to spread the art created at his mother institution all the way to Santiago de Compostela.¹²⁶

AMOR AND CONVENTUM: PIERRE D'ANDOUQUE'S PATRONAGE OF CONQUES

Pierre d'Andouque or Pierre of Rodez (Pedro de Rodez) (1042–1115) is born in Rodez and offered as a child to the monastery of Sainte-Foy at Conques, where he accepts the monastic vows.¹²⁷ At the age of thirty-five in 1077, Pierre moves to Saint-Pons-de-Thomières (in the viscounty of Béziers, France).¹²⁸ It is possible he is purposefully sent there to prepare the support Conques needs in a land dispute nearby. The trial starts in 1078; Abbot Stephen II (1065–1087) comes to defend the rights of Conques for the possessions at Pallas/Pallatio/Palaiz in southern France.¹²⁹ With the help of Frotard, the monastery wins the case and makes

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 253, 269, 279, 280, 285, 296.

¹²⁵ A. MÜSIGBROD, "Die Beziehungen des Bischofs Petrus von Pamplona zum Französischen Mönchtum," *Revue bénédictine*, 104/2 (1994), pp. 346–378, esp. 364.

¹²⁶ Rose Walker sees Richard of St. Victor as the broker of this artistic exchanges, Walker *Art in Spain and Portugal from the Romans to the Early Middle Ages*, Kalamazoo, 2016, pp. 315–316, 320, but the evidence shows that we should also consider Pierre d'Andouque in this prominent role.

¹²⁷ J. GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona*, 3 vols., Pamplona, 1979, I, pp. 255–316. Information about the oblation of Pierre d'Andouque to Conques as a child is preserved in DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, no. 482. This charter, written in 1110, records the gift of a church at Fornis by Raymond, son of Vidianus. Raymond lives on the Planca estate, which the Andouque family gave to Conques when they had sent their child, Pierre, to the monastery. We can further extrapolate the birth of Pierre from a dedication poem that was later adapted for his epitaph; it states that he was fifty-two in 1092, which gives the year of his birth as 1042. For the manuscript recording the epigram, see Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Coll. Doat*, MS 143, ff. 177v–179, accessible online, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b541006074/f390.item.r=143doat%20143%20doat> (accessed October 16, 2023).

¹²⁸ GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, p. 278.

¹²⁹ DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, nos. 19–20; MÜSIGBROD, "Die Beziehungen des Bischofs Petrus," pp. 350–352. Palaiz has important salt deposits. It comes into the sphere of Conques when the count of Rouergue, Raymond II (961–1008) gives a villa (agrarian unit) sometime before 1008; see DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, nos. 17, 18 and LM I.12 and analysis in Barthélemy, *Chevaliers et miracles*, 79 and Bonnassie, "From Rhône to Galicia," 118–119, 125–126. Then his daughter, Ermentrude of Rouergue, marries Guillaume II, viscount of Béziers (945–after 21 July 1007), and some parts of the adjoining properties seem to pass on to her two daughters: Garsinde (975–after 1043) (marries for the second time Bernard Pelet (le Sauve) or Agathensis, marquise d'Anduze) and Senegonde (980–1013) (marries Richard I, viscount of Millau). The siblings quarrel and each claims right over Palaiz. Their dispute is brought to court in 1013. Garsinde prevails and retains the property, while paying a compensation to Senegonde, DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, no. 18. Garsinde then builds a church at Palaiz. Conques enters in a dispute with Garsinde over this property in

the culprit swear an oath of vassalage to the abbot of Conques (*accipio sum homo illius et juro illi fidelitatem*).¹³⁰ It is possible to credit Pierre d'Andouque, who as a transfer from Conques to Pons-de-Thomières in 1077 might have paved the way, winning Frotard for Sainte Foy's cause. The same year Pierre enters this institution, its abbot Frotard is made papal legate in 1077 and tasked with the promotion of the Gregorian liturgy in Catalonia, Navarra, and Aragon.¹³¹ As mentioned earlier, in 1083 Frotard selects Pierre to become the next bishop of Pamplona.¹³² Since reform and conquest in Iberia are conducted at the highest level—that of the king and his (Trans-Pyrenean) bishops—, once elected at Pamplona, Pierre enters into this circle of power.¹³³ He participates in many of the military expeditions against the Arabs in lands south of Pamplona at the border with Tudela (the city only falls to the Christians in 1119).¹³⁴ In the period 1084–1110, he expands his episcopal see by conquering Milagro, Cadreita, Valtierra, Arguedas, Caparros, Sanctacara, Murillo el Fruto.¹³⁵ In 1091, he takes part in the siege of Zaragoza. Although the city does not fall on this occasion (it is only captured in 1118), Pierre is compensated by the king with a chapel at Castellar (a fortress built to help with the expeditions against Zaragoza). He also partakes in the sieges and capture of Huesca in 1094–1096 and the capture of Barbastro in 1101.¹³⁶

On two occasions in 1086 and 1092, Pierre d'Andouque makes donations of lands in Navarra to Sainte-Foy at Conques. In 1086 (the charter however specifies two years after the capture of Toledo, 1085 by king Alfonso VI, which would suggest that the donation is done in 1087), he makes his first land gift to Conques: the churches at Garitoain (the name of this location has different spellings including Garitoang, Galiton, and Garituain; the settlement is close to present-day Montreal on the Etorz river, southeast of Pamplona) and their tithes (*decimum*) and royal taxes (*primicium*).¹³⁷ Pierre also grants to Sainte-Foy a fourth of what these churches

1014–1020 and eventually manages to win, DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, nos. 19–20. But tensions continue with a certain Bermundus, a relative of Garsinde's second husband Bernard Pelet, who claims rights over the church at Palaiz. Count Raymond of Saint-Gilles punishes him by destroying his possessions. Bermundus's son, Petrus, seeks some compensation. This is when in 1078, Abbot Stephen II of Conques goes to Béziers in Gothia for the trial. Petrus, the son of the culprit Bernardus, gives the possessions back to Conques for which he receives 500 solidi compensation and becomes a vassal of Sainte-Foy, DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, no. 20.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*, no. 20.

¹³¹ BOUSQUET, *Le Rouergue au premier moyen âge*, 569–73; WALKER, *Art in Spain and Portugal*, p. 309; ROBINSON, *The Papacy: Continuity and Innovation*, pp. 155, 315, 330–31.

¹³² GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona*, I, pp. 255–316.

¹³³ GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 219–306, esp. 225, 233–34, 250–54, 271–282, 286–296.

¹³⁴ On Tudela, see GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 174, 186–193.

¹³⁵ GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona* I, p. 256.

¹³⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 256, 266, 293–295.

¹³⁷ On the different spelling of the same location, Garitoang, Gariton, Garitoain, Galiton, Garituain, see J. ALTADILL Y TORRONTERA DE SANCHO SAN ROMÁN, *Geografía histórica de Navarra: Los despoblados* (1917–1925), I, pp. 161–62, idem, *Castillos medievales de Nabarra*, Donostia: Beñat Idaztiak, 1934–1936, pp. 161–62; J. ITURRALDE Y SUIT, *Ruinas monásticas de Navarra*, Pamplona, 1916, pp. 262–63. On its location near Montreal on the Etorz river, see http://www.enciclopedianavarra.com/?page_id=8109 (accessed October 16, 2023)

On Garitoain, see also, GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona*, I, pp. 298–299.

paid annually in taxes to the bishop. In addition, he releases one fourth of the episcopal portion of the income gained from the salt mines nearby.¹³⁸

Then Pierre d'Andouque confirms and expands his donations to Conques in 1092, adding to Galiton (Garitoain), churches at Barciagua (Baraceaga/Baratiaga, also near Montreal and thus close to Garitoain) and then further south in Caparros and Murillo el Cuende.¹³⁹ He accompanies these real-estate gifts with a book, the *Moralia of Job*, in the same year, 1092. The dedicatory poem states how the properties given to Conques are meant to secure brotherly love (*amor*) and pact (*conventum*) between the monks of Sainte-Foy and the cathedral canons of Pamplona.¹⁴⁰ Here the terms *convenientia* and *fidelitas*, which this article traces as markers of infeudation in eleventh-century Hispano-Occitania, are employed to secure bonds between two reformed religious institutions: the canons of Pamplona and the monks of Conques.

The poem survives in a transcription from the archives of Conques done in 1667 (Paris, BnF, Doat 143, fols. 177v-179). This manuscript shows how the dedicatory poem of Pierre d'Andouque is integrated in the eulogy written by a monk at Conques to commemorate Pierre's sudden passing away in 1115.¹⁴¹ Claude de Vic and Joseph Vaissete published in their *Histoire du Languedoc* (here marked in **bold**) a section of this poem claiming that it served as the epitaph on the sarcophagus of Pierre.¹⁴² Yet, this is unlikely because the published extract in *Histoire du Languedoc* finishes with the date 1092, and thus fails to announce the death in the year 1115. It is more likely that only the first nineteen lines constitute the genuine epitaph, finishing with the phrase *dextra Dei meritum*.

Pierre d'Andouques's dedicatory poem appears in the second half of the transcribed document in the MS Doat 143. It starts with the line *Hic liber egregiae*. Pierre's poem offers an insight into his motivation for giving *beneficia* to Conques. It shows his dedication to his mother institution and a genuine desire to weld together in a *conventum* the community at Conques with his chapter of canons in Pamplona by means of land donations. He envisions how church reform in Hispania could only be accomplished by the participation of the monks and spiritual leaders of Occitania. And as a man of letters, he uses the book, in this case the

¹³⁸ DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, no. 72; GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, p. 294.

¹³⁹ DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, no. 577; GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 278–279, 293–294; R. CHURCH, *Crossing the Pyrenees: Paths of Cultural Interaction and Transmission in the Central Middle Ages*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 2013, pp. 211–214. The same estates are mentioned in a variation of the charter published by Desjardin (no. 577) in a 1667 transcription of some of the archive of Conques; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Coll. Doat*, MS 143, ff. 177–177v.

¹⁴⁰ GOÑI GAZTAMBE, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona*, I, 299. The original text is preserved in a copy of the archive of Conques made in 1667, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Coll. Doat*, MS 143, ff. 177v–179v, accessible online, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b541006074/f390.item.r=143doat%20143%20doat> (accessed October 16, 2023).

¹⁴¹ In more recent scholarship, there is some confusion with the year of Pierre d'Andouque's death; it is 1115 in GOÑI GAZTAMBE, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona*, I, 313 and MÜSIGBROD, "Die Beziehungen des Bischofs Petrus", pp. 346–378; but 1114 without giving an explanation why in M. SORIA, "Tolosae moritur, Pamplonae sepelitur: Pierre d'Andouque, un évêque malmené," in M. AURELL and A. GARCIA DE LA BORBOLLA (eds.), *La imagen del obispo hispano en la Edad Media*, Pamplona, 2004, pp. 167–183; the same erroneous date, 1114, is repeated in GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, p. 278.

¹⁴² HGL, IV, 218.

Moralia of Job, to be the messenger and keeper, vouchsafing the inviolability of *conventum* of the land donations to Conques.

The following text recorded in MS Doat 143 reflects the hybrid poem a monk composed at Conques in 1115, combining his own verses with the exiting epitaph and with Pierre's own poem reflecting his gift to Conques in 1092:

1b. Epitaph

**This man of piety is blessed Petrus, sprung from [noble] stock,
who was made bishop of Pamplona with endless praises,**

a worthy and kind man while living,

he stood out, renowned for the distinct merits he performed.

He bears the diadem of the bishops with a gem of power.

Between being crowned and being everywhere exalted,

he tamed the barbarity of the people with many teachings.

The clever man performs what he utters with his resounding mouth;

the teaching of so great a patron grants much wealth.

When God hears here his servant's proclamations of praise,

He grants him [Petrus] now the joys of eternal rest,

in the sky where the joyful angelic host lives.

Glory of pastors, way of life, rule of customs,

When [...]

While he would have earnestly restrained the battle of Toulouse,

he fell because of his desire for peace; his death was costly.

He died in Toulouse; he was buried in Pamplona.

Indeed, like his model, David, who washed away his sins in the font,

**the death-bringing stone gives you, o pastor, a temple of virtues and a gate of salvation,
and the reward [of being] at the right hand of God.**

2a. Pact

[The dedicatory poem that follows is written by Pierre d'Andouque in 1092 in the no-longer-extant MS of the *Moralia of Job*, given as gift to Conques]

This book, preserving examples of outstanding wisdom,

is composed of the words of Job, called the *Moralia of Job*.

Noble is the gift that this singular noble man has given,

Peter of Conques, who is bishop of Pamplona,

raised from the flock of nourishing Fides, and a skillful man,

as was proper, he gives this advantageous token of friendship.

He decided to visit the men of Conques with this good gift,

so that those who are present [i.e. the monks at Conques] may get to know those coming [i.e. the canons at Pamplona, coming to Conques],

joined by brotherly allegiance and heavenly love:

here the men of Conques, there the men of Pamplona.

Now because of this, may both convents—each joined to the other—

renewing these matters with thanks, protect their mindful love.

Since the time when Christ was mixed with flesh,

after a distance of one thousand ninety-two years.

the completed agreement of that gift is recognized.

**Since he had been elevated to the episcopal honor,
Peter was flourishing for ten years.**

The abbot of Conques who was alive and managing matters [at the time was] a well-mannered, honest man called Begon.

May the harmony from [these] vows remain among such great men,

Therefore, o fathers and brothers whom Christ has given to me,
men of Conques, pour out prayers to God with your entire spirits,
so that God may become my helper and protector in all things.

I am from your flock, for I am your alumnus,

who offers you other gifts in good spirit,

what I have given, I noted with the present charter:

lest it seem a hollow thing to the Spanish people,

I made it in consultation with the kings who administered governance of the laws
and controlled all Spanish matters.

King Sancho was one and Alfonso the other—

Sancho king of Pamplona, and Alfonso king of Toledo—

the kings affirmed this, which they had advised,

and which results in an agreement between Conques and Pamplona,

all the canons joined in Conques by this pledge.

That [city] is the mistress of these lands, which we hand over:

One territory is Garitenium [Garitoain] and another is Caparrosum [Caparroso],

another is the public path of the Roscida [Roncevaux] valley,

which territory is also called a mountain, and another

[...][missing are Murillo y Cuende and

Barciagua].

In order that this, and all that has been given, may persist inviolate,
we honestly recognize it as agreed-upon and completed.

You who read the words in this codex of divine law,

remember the one who offered it, and may God be merciful to me at the [final] hour.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ **Felix stirpe satus Petrus est hic vir pietatis,
laudibus immensis qui praesul Pampilonensis**
efficitur dignus cum vivendo benignus
extitit in gestis meritis clarus manifestis
pontificum gemma virtutis fert diadema
unde coronatur quo passim magnificatur
barbariem gentis multis domuit documentis
ore quod affatur complendo sagax operatur
confert plura boni tanti doctrina patroni.
Dum Deus hac audit famuli praeconia laudis
gaudia confert ei nunc perpetuae requiei.
Ang[e]licus coetus quo vivit in aethere laetus.
gloria pastorum via vitae regula morum
**pugnam Tolosae dum reprimeret studiosae
pacis amore ruit, mors preciosa fuit.
Tolosae moritur, Pampilonae sepelitur.
Quam viciis lavit fonte parente David,
templum virtutis tibi pastor porta salutis
dat lapis interitum; dextra Dei meritum.**

Hic liber egregiae retinens documenta sophiae
verbis Job fictus est Job moralia dictus.
Nobile quod munus dedit hic vir nobilis unus,
Petrus Conchensis qui praesul Pampilonensis,
de grege nutritus Fidis almae virque peritus
sicut erat dignus dat amoris hoc utile pignus.
Destinat hoc que bono Conchenses visere dono
sunt qui praesentes ut discant et venientes
foedere fraterno iunctos et amore superno
hinc his Conchenses, illinc his Pampilonenses.
Nunc sibi propter quae conventus nexus uterque
haec recolens memorem grati vice servet amorem.
**Carni commixtus fuerat quo tempore Christus,
mille sub annorum spacio nonaginta duorum,
istius pactum doni cognoscitur actum
qui sublimatus ad honore pontificatus,
Petrus pollebat annos bis quinque gerebat.**
Abbas vivebat Conchensis resque gerebat,
Vir bene moratus probus idem Bego vocatus.

The epitaph praises Pierre d'Andouque as an accomplished man of great stature and piety. He subdues the enemies and controls them with treatises. He has achieved the highest honor: the episcopal crown. The anonymous writer prays to God that Pierre be allowed to join the celestial courts. Then a short summary is given of the deceased's last days: the fight in Toulouse and the fatal wound by a stone. These lines play on the multiplicity of meaning of *lapis-petra*: the hurled rock, the name of Petrus-Pierre, the rock on which the Apostolic Church is founded, and the stele on which this funerary inscription is written. This self-referential gesture, to the stone and the word inscribed on it, draws attention to the durability of the *petra*/stone as metaphor for the incorruptible temple of Salvation that the rock, Pierre d'Andouque following the apostolic precursor, has built by means of his pious deeds.

The dedicatory poem of 1092 starts with *hic liber*, "this book," referring to the codex, a luxury copy of the *Moralia of Job*, in which it was originally inscribed. Pierre's choice is very meaningful, for the content of this book (*Moralia of Job*) is widely read in monastic communities in the eleventh century.¹⁴⁴ In the dedicatory poem, the bishop of Pamplona proudly calls himself an "alumnus" of Conques and uses the toponymic Conchensis to attach to his name: both signs mark his *fidelitas* to the monastery of Sainte-Foy. He speaks of his love (*amor*) for Conques and recognizes his debt to the mother institution that gave him education, nurtured his faith, and ultimately propelled him to the episcopal throne of Pamplona. He uses *conventus*, *fraternus foedus*, *pactum*, and *concordia* to define the agreement he is establishing between Pamplona and Conques. It consists of land donations—Garitoain, Caparroso, [Murillo el Cuende and Barciagua]—that should promote loyalty (*amor*) between the two institutions. His gifts are further legitimized by the signatures of both Sancho I Ramírez, king of Navarra and Aragon, and Alfonso VI, king of Leon and Castille, allowing Sainte Foy to administer these estates in peace. How exactly is Pierre envisioning Conques's reciprocation of *fidelitas/ amor*? I would venture a reply: *francos*-monks sent to promote the Gregorian liturgy in these Mozarabic lands and *francos*-artists (who might have been also monks) to carry out and implement Conques's themes and visual vocabulary in the artistic programs in the conquered territories. None of this information is specified in the dedicatory poem, but from other sites in which

Talibus in notis maneat concordia votis,
Ergo quos patres Christus dedit et mihi fratres
mente Deo tota Conchenses fundite vota,
ut Deus adiutor mihi fit que per omnia tutor,
de grege vestro sum quia vester alumnus ego sum,
vobis mente bona qui caetera confero dona,
quae cum donavi carta presente notavi,
gentibus Yspanis res ne videatur inanis,
consilio regum, feci moderamina legum
qui disponebant hispanaque cuncta tenebant,
Sancio Rex alter erat Andefulsus et alter
Sancio Pampilonensis Anfulsus Rex Toletanis
Hoc firmaverunt quod Reges consuluerunt
Quod fert Conchensis conventus Pampilonensis
canonici cuncti Conchis hoc pignore juncti.

Domina sunt horum quae tradimus ista locorum.
est Garitenium locus alter et est Caparrosum
publicus est callis alter Roscida vallis,
praeterea locus est montanus dictus et alter
istud et omne datum persistat ut inviolatum
ingenue pactum cognoscimus atque peractum
Hac qui verbal legis divinae codice legis
Qui dedit hunc memora Deus et mihi sit pius hora,

In **bold** are the lines that appear in *HGL*, IV, 218 and are identified as the verses on the tombstone of Pedro de Roda. This selection seems faulty as it extracts more lines from the 1092 dedication, rather than the beginning of the text that carries the markers of being an epitaph and written in 1115.

¹⁴⁴ M. SCHAPIRO, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," *The Art Bulletin*, 21/4 (1939), pp. 313–374, esp. 338, n. 71.

Pierre was involved, such as Santiago de Compostela, it becomes clear that Conques is in fact exporting excellent craftsmen.¹⁴⁵ The *amor/fidelitas* and *concordia* between Pamplona and Conques attests to a Trans-Pyrenean collaboration in the liturgical and cultural colonization of Iberia. Pierre relies on his network of *fideles* monks *francos*, reared at Conques.¹⁴⁶

The cartulary at Conques records two more charters concerning Garítoain that reveal Pierre's great attention to detail, which allows him to ensure the legally inviolate status of the gifted land donations. An earlier royal charter from 1032 written in the name of king Sancho III of Navarra (r. 1000–1035) records an agrarian estate, a *villa*, in this area Garítoain (Garitoang); the king gives the owner, Gasseu Cideritz, exemptions from specific pasture and military service (*anuduba*) obligations.¹⁴⁷ In 1093, Pierre d'Andouque exerts his influence over king Sancho I Ramírez, making him bestow his *palatium* also at Garítoain (Galiton) to Conques.¹⁴⁸ It is likely that this estate is the same as the one mentioned in the earlier royal charter. The new document then states that the king's decision to donate to Conques has been influenced "above all by the trustworthy advice and authority of lord Peter, the venerable bishop of Pamplona."¹⁴⁹ King Sancho I Ramírez mandates that the parochial church there be renovated with the income coming from the tithe and *primicia* (royal taxes), and hereafter that funding be reserved for the monks of Conques to settle and to administer the property and to pray on behalf of the king in the renovated church of Sainte Foy.¹⁵⁰

Pierre d'Andouque is also successful in convincing nobles to give to Conques. In the period 1100–1104, the count of Erro helps the consolidation of Sainte Foy's estate in Murillo, and more importantly, he gives a church, an oven, an almshouse, and his villa (agrarian estate) at Roncevaux.¹⁵¹ The collegiate church built there becomes united in 1203 with a foundation at Garínoain.¹⁵² It is clear through the list of Navarrese donations to Conques that Pierre

¹⁴⁵ The same sculptor who carved tympanum of the West façade at Conques in 1105–1115 carved the historiated capital of the miser, as well as several scenes from the Southern portal of Santiago's cathedral (the Temptation and the Flagellation of Christ), see J. WILLIAMS, "Framing Santiago," in *Romanesque. Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century. Essays in Honor of Walter Cahn*, University Park, PA, 2008, pp. 219–238, esp. 235–238. See also CASTIÑEIRAS, "Didacus Gelmirus," pp. 35–47; DE MONDREDON, "Les modèles transpyrénaïens," pp. 33–65; and WALKER, *Art in Spain and Portugal*, pp. 305–345, esp. 314–316.

¹⁴⁶ GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 276–300. Pons, bishop of Roda and Barbastro, is the most prominent example, but there are others like the canon of the cathedral of Pamplona, Hugh of Conques, who is likely reared in Conques before he joins the community at Saint-Sever; see *ibid.*, pp. 233–234, 253, 260–264, 295–296. Several other monks from Conques appear in the obituary lists of the cathedral of Pamplona from the time of the tenure of Pierre d'Andouque; see MÜSIBROD, "Die Beziehungen des Bischofs Petrus", p. 373.

¹⁴⁷ DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, no. 578, wrongly dated to 1076–1082. The charter specifies the date as "milesimo septuagesimo," in the Spanish calendar which translates as 1032. For the re-dating of this charter to 1032, see R. CHURCH, *Crossing the Pyrenees*, pp. 211–212.

¹⁴⁸ DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, no. 576.

¹⁴⁹ *Insuper etiam freti consilio et autoritate domini Petri venerabilis Pamplonensis episcopi*, from *ibid.*, no. 576.

¹⁵⁰ J. ITURRALDE Y SUIT, *Las Grandes Ruinas Monásticas de Navarra*, Pamplona, 1916, p. 263. Iturralde confuses the donation of 1086 of Pierre d'Andouque with the one of 1093 made by king Sancho I Ramírez.

¹⁵¹ DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, no. 472; GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona*, I, p. 299.

¹⁵² King Sancho el Fuerte makes the monastery at Garínoain a subsidiary of the colegiata at Roncevaux; see F. PÉREZ OLLO, *Ermidas de Navarra*, Logroño, 1983, pp. 105–106.

d'Andouque is the initiator of these benefactions. He helps establish Conques's foothold in Garitoain in 1086, and in Barciagua, Murillo el Cuende and Caparros in 1092. Then leveraging royal support in 1093, he ensures that a church is built at Garitoain in the king's *palatium*. These estates are on the routes used by the network of *fideles* (papal legates and heads of state) to draw in *francos* as *milites*, monks, craftsmen, and settlers, who pour from Occitania into Iberia for conquest, resettlement, and liturgical reform.

Written documents record how Pierre d'Andouque, well-connected in the network of papal legates and kings, privileges *francos* in his actions. He pushes out the local population and settles these conquered areas with emigrants coming from across the Pyrenees. He also places knights, *milites*, that are most loyal *fidelissimos* to him and the king of Aragon. In one particular example of a fortress of Saint Stephen, Pierre installs his nephew as archdeacon over the population to hold the castle in the honor of the Blessed Virgin and in fidelity to the crown of Aragon.¹⁵³

Pierre d'Andouque expands Conques's possessions and influence further east in the province of Huesca, after the city is captured in 1096 by king Pedro I and son of Sancho I Ramírez. The trust (*fides*) between the new king and the bishop of Pamplona is strong. In 1100 Pedro I pledges the second largest mosque at Barbastro if he should capture the city, and in 1101 he delivers on his promise.¹⁵⁴ Pierre d'Andouque, who participates in the siege, also succeeds in consolidating his and Conques's influence in Barbastro further by promoting Pons, already the bishop of Roda since 1094, to the new episcopal see of Barbastro in 1101 mentioned earlier.¹⁵⁵ Pons like Pierre, is a fellow *franco* and a former monk of Conques. With this appointment, Pierre and Pons control two of the three dioceses (Navarra, Jaca, Roda/Barbastro) of the kingdom of Navarra and Aragon. This monopoly definitely benefits Conques' proteges and Conques itself.

Pierre d'Andouque must have recognized Conques expertise in music, poetry, and art. We do not have exact written documents that attest as to how he helped export some of this artistic talent to Iberia, but we have the traces of the Conques master working at Santiago de Compostela. The early 1100s is most likely the moment when the Conques's so-called "Auvergne" artist comes to work on the capitals and South portal of the new cathedral. Moreover, between 1100-1104 is when Conques receives the donation of properties at Roncevaux, thus claiming presence at the main mountain passage on the road to Compostela.¹⁵⁶ The artistic exchange follows the politics. In 1100 Pierre is at the council, which elevates Gelmírez to bishop of Santiago.¹⁵⁷ In 1101, Pierre's friend and compatriot, Pons, bishop of Roda and

¹⁵³ Pierre d'Andouque to Alfonso the Battler: *Sciatis Domine quod castrum Sancti Stephani stabilivi sicut vos dixisti mihi; omnes navarros expulsi, in eorum loco introduxi francos, et super eos tres milites qui numquam exeant de castro, quod nobis fidelissimos scimus; atque super omnes archidiaconum nepotem meum qui teneat castrum ad honorem Beatae Mariae et nostrum ad fidelitatem vestram*; from M. DEFOURNEAUX, *Les francais en Espagne*, Paris, 1949, pp. 38–39.

¹⁵⁴ DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, no. 466.

¹⁵⁵ GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, 252–253.

¹⁵⁶ DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, no. 472; GONÍ GAZTAMBIDE, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona*, I, 299; GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, p. 279.

¹⁵⁷ For a brief overview of these events, see GONÍ GAZTAMBIDE, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona*, pp. 272, 276, 282; GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 277–80; WALKER, *Art in Spain and Portugal*, p. 335.

Barbastro, gifts a portable altar with relics of the True Cross to abbot Begon in Conques.¹⁵⁸ Then in 1105 Pierre d'Andouque inaugurates an altar dedicated to Sancta Fides in Santiago.¹⁵⁹ These facts attest to the close contacts among Pierre, Gelmírez, Pons, and Begon. It is in the period 1100–1105 when the “Auvergne” artist comes from Conques to work in Santiago. While construction of the transepts of the new cathedral continues on till 1112 in Santiago, the Conques master appears to have returned to Conques by 1105, thus before abbot Begon's death in 1108. At Conques, he finishes the West tympanum no later than 1115 (Fig. 1). His imagery at the tympanum at Conques is more complex and developed, suggesting that he works on that program only after his return from Compostela.¹⁶⁰

Pierre d'Andouque seems to have enabled this flow of artists across the Pyrenees. He himself is continuously on the road, which allows him to function as a go-between Occitania and Iberia. He is at Clermont-Ferrand in 1095 and at the consecration of the altar at Saint-Sernin in 1096;¹⁶¹ he inaugurates a chapel of the Archangel Gabriel at Cluny in 1109 and deposits in the altar there the relics of Saints Lawrence and Maximus.¹⁶² He is at Conques at 1110 as a witness to a donation of a church of Fornils to Sainte Foy. The gift is in the area of Planças, which Dido d'Andouque, the father of Pierre gave to Conques when he made his son an oblate there.¹⁶³ Among the witnesses are Pierre's cousins, Amblard and Willelm, and his nephew, Guido d'Andouque.¹⁶⁴ In that same year, 1110, Pierre deposits his savings for safe-keeping at Conques, before he goes on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁸ E. GARLAND, “L'autel portatif de l'Abbé Bégon à Conques et ses relations avec l'art somptuaire occidental,” *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 37 (2006), pp. 221–237. The niello work on the portable altar suggests a Northern European craftsman; it bears similarities to the style and appearance of the figures on the Hildesheim altar and the Navarra book cover. It is possible that the commission for Begon's altar was done through the help and contacts of pope Paschal II, whom Pons visited in Rome in 1100, two months before he reported with his gift to Conques. See also, E. GARLAND, “L'art des orfèvres à Conques,” *Mémoires de la Société archéologique du Midi de la France*, 60 (2000), pp. 83–114, esp. 99–100; GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, p. 296.

¹⁵⁹ *Crónica compostelana in España sagrada. Teatro geographico-historico de la Iglesia de España*, Madrid, 1765, XX, 53; GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona*, I, p. 282.

¹⁶⁰ WILLIAMS, “Framing Santiago,” p. 237; CASTIÑEIRAS, “Didacus Gelmirus,” pp. 35–47; DE MONDREDON, “Les modèles transpyrénéens,” pp. 33–65.

¹⁶¹ GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona*, I, p. 272.

¹⁶² R. FAVREAU, J. MICHAUD et al. (eds.), *Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale* (henceforth CIFM), Poitiers/Paris, 1975, XX, pp. 87–8, no. 29.

¹⁶³ DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, no. 482; GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona*, I, 311. Another charter in the same collection, no. 57 records a donation in Planças 1060–1065 of a church, dedicated to the Virgin Mary at Bello Monte. The donor was Deusdet, a priest of Albi, who had land originally purchased from Dido d'Andouque (the father of Pedro de Roda). A third donation in Planças, more specifically in the same area of Bello Monte, is recorded in the period 1061–1108. These are two houses: one at Casellas, which is in the parish of Anglaris and the other in villa Vernia which is in the parish of Campolivado. The houses were given by Huga and her sons Hugo, Willelm, Peter, Rotland, and Raymond, see DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, no. 430.

¹⁶⁴ In the earlier charter of 1060s, *Ibidem*, no. 57, they are listed as nephews of Dido d'Andouque: de Didone de Andoca et de nepotibus ejus, videlicet Petro et Amblardo et Willelmo Ramundetanus et fratribus ejus. In charter no. 482 from 1110 we learn that Amblardus, the cousin of Pierre d'Andouque, has become a monk at Conques, and also listed there is the nephew Guido.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, no. 453; GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona*, I, 311.

WITNESSING *AMOR*: MODELING SAINTE FOY AT SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

We can only guess the intentions behind the establishment of the chapel of Sainte Foy of Conques at Santiago de Compostela in 1105.¹⁶⁶ It is likely that the idea originated with Pierre d'Andouque, and as such, it again manifests his *fidelitas* to his mother monastery, continuously seeking ways to expand Conques influence through the powerful network of *fideles*. The anonymous artist, who carved the three historiated capitals of the Passio of Sainte Foy at Santiago, moves through this network. He is the so-called 'Saint-Sernin master,' because his work shares in the style and visual vocabulary of the sculptures at Saint-Sernin in Toulouse (another institution that benefited from Pierre d'Andouque patronage), Jaca, and Frómista among other places.¹⁶⁷ Two of the three capitals frame the entrance to Fides's chapel in the north side of the ambulatory and a third one is in the southeast corner of the south transept (Fig. 8, capital nos. 146, 154, 192).¹⁶⁸ The scenes have been dated to 1094–1101, but I consider a date closer to 1100–1101 more likely, because Gelmírez becomes the bishop of Santiago in 1100 and his friendship with Pierre d'Andouque and Pons of Roda-Barbastro (bishop of Barbastro since 1101) must have brought him to the influence of the monastery of Sainte Foy at Conques and its current abbot Begon III. My analysis focuses on the iconography of the two capitals flanking the entry to the chapel of Sainte Foy at Santiago because they visualize a process traced in this essay: how Fides inspires *fidelitas* and produces loyal servants.

On the left capital (facing the entrance to the chapel), a man addresses in speech two followers.¹⁶⁹ In turn this group of three is flanked by two additional figures on the two short sides of the capital: the one on the left points towards the trio, while the one on the right has lifted his hands in prayer. Saint Caprasius is likely the central figure of the trio; he is shown speaking. His narration likely recounts his witnessing of Sainte Foy's passion (Fig. 9). Fides's

¹⁶⁶ *Historia compostelana*, I.19.

¹⁶⁷ S. MORALEJO, "La sculpture romane de la cathédrale de Jaca," *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 10 (1979), pp. 79–106, esp. 82; M. CASTIÑEIRAS, "Verso Santiago? La scultura romanica da Jaca a Compostella," in A. QUINTAVALLE (ed.), *Medioevo: l'Europa delle Cattedrali, Atti del IX Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Parma, 19-23 settembre 2006*, Milan, 2007, pp. 385–394, esp. 389; CASTIÑEIRAS, "Didacus Gelmirus," pp. 43–46. Already in 1893, Bouillet recognized the close architectural relationship between Conques, Toulouse and Santiago; see "Sainte-Foy de Conques, Saint-Sernin de Toulouse, Saint-Jacques de Compostela," *Mémoires de la société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 3 (1893), pp. 117–128.

Pierre d'Andouque is connected with a third craftsman, an architect, by the name of Stephen who he brought from Santiago to Pamplona, to build the new cathedral there, starting in 1101. Stephen received gifts of properties from Pierre d'Andouque, see Giunta, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, pp. 460–463.

¹⁶⁸ G. GAILLARD, *Les début de la sculpture romane espagnole. Leon – Jaca – Compostella*, Paris, 1938, pp. 177–179; M. DURLIAT, *La sculpture romane de la route de Saint-Jacques: De Conques à Compostelle*, Mont-de-Marsan, 1990, p. 315; CASTIÑEIRAS, "Didacus Gelmirus," p. 46.

¹⁶⁹ I disagree with the existing identification of the central figure as Sainte Foy; this is because the central figure is not a woman; the head is not covered; and the haircut and style replicates those of the surrounding male figure; M. CASTIÑEIRAS, "La meta del camino: La cathedral de Santiago de Compostela en tiempos de Diego Gelmírez," in M. DEL CARMEN LACARRA DUCAY (ed.), *Los caminos de Santiago: Arte, Historia y Literatura*, Zaragoza, 2005, pp. 213–252, esp. 221–225; CASTIÑEIRAS, "Didacus Gelmirus," pp. 43–46; and A. GARCÍA OMEDES, <http://www.arquivoltas.com/21-LaCoruna/01-Santiago-17.htm> (accessed October 5, 2023). I would like to thank Antonio García Omedes for allowing me to reproduce his excellent images.

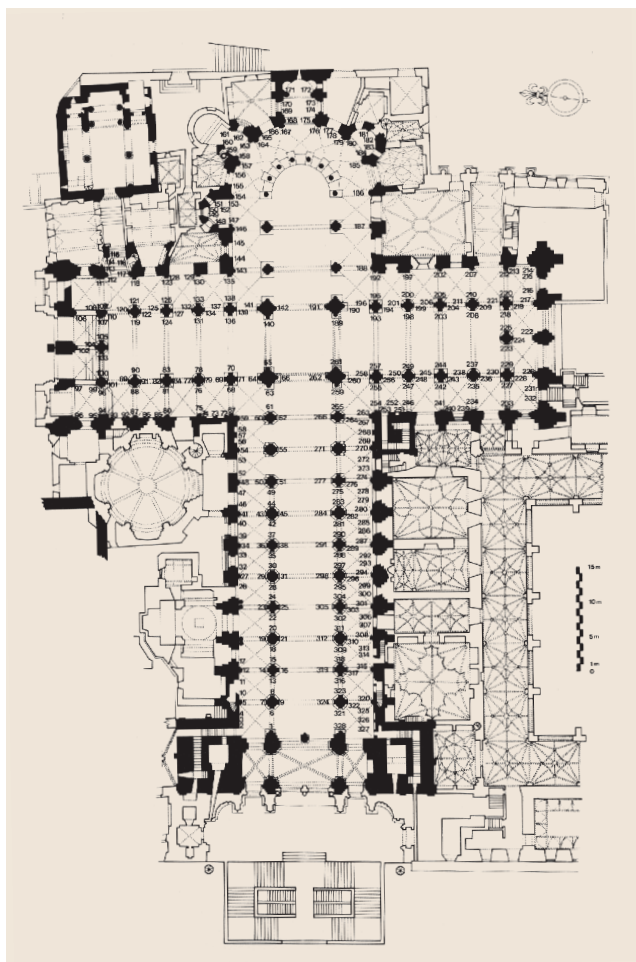


Fig. 8. Plan of Santiago de Compostela, historiated capitals nos. 146, 154 and 192 narrate the Passio of Sainte Foy, after DURLIAT, *La sculpture romane de la route de Saint-Jacques: De Conques à Compostelle*, Mont-de-Marsan, 1990, fig. 173

arrest is depicted across the physical space on the right capital (Fig. 10).¹⁷⁰ A guard grasps both her hands and pulls her towards a third figure, an executioner on the right, who holds a raised sword. Turning the corner, we see a speaking male figure who might be the evil ruler Dacianus as he sentences Sainte Foy to death. By contrast, the figure behind Sainte Foy, depicted on the right short side, appears to bless the saint. Could this be another representation of Saint Caprasius (Fig. 11)? The iconography is inconclusive. Yet what emerges in the composition of these two columns is the nesting of the passion in the act of witnessing/seeing. Caprasius from the left column witnesses the martyrdom of Sainte Foy. His own followers look up to him and

¹⁷⁰ CASTIÑEIRAS, "La meta del camino," 221–25; Id., "Didacus Gelmirius," 43–46; and GARCÍA OMEDES, <http://www.arquivoltas.com/21-LaCoruna/01-Santiago-17.htm> (accessed October 5, 2023).



Fig. 9. St. Caprasius Witnessing and Narrating the Passio of Sainte Foy, Chapel of Sainte Foy, Santiago de Compostela, 1101.
<http://www.arquivoltas.com/21-lacoruna/01-Santiago-17.htm>. Photo: A. García Omedes



Fig. 10. The Arrest of Sainte Foy, Chapel of Sainte Foy, Santiago de Compostela, 1101.
<http://www.arquivoltas.com/21-lacoruna/01-Santiago-17.htm>. Photo: A. García Omedes

experience Fides's sacrifice in the vividness of Caprasius's eloquent speech. In turn, this male trio of *martyres* is nestled in another pair of witnesses: the two figures, emerging from the flanks of the same capital. Similarly, the main action—the Passion of Sainte Foy—carved on the second capital is also watched by a pair of witnesses: Dacianus who sentences Fides (Fig. 10) and Caprasius(?) who blesses her (Fig. 11). This enclosing of the story in a series of witnesses constructs martyrdom as magnetic and reproductive. Martyrdom is both an action and a spectacle. It attracts witnesses, who can become *martyres* and thus in turn engender more followers willing to die for the Lord. This spiritual cycle can have important socio-political implications in lands invested in conquest, conversion, and reform.

Sainte Foy acts; Caprasius sees; and by looking at the drama, he himself becomes ready to emulate her sacrifice. The prologue to the tenth-century *Passio* introduces this reproductive power of martyrdom, where actions speak louder than words:

For it is easier to know the merits of the glorified martyrs Saint Caprasius and the Holy virgin Fides in their virtues [miraculous deeds], than to communicate them keenly in praises, because I distinguish myself in eloquence of a rather limited and drier scope. The devotion of the mind excuses us, at least the depth of the heart would inspire us towards the enticement of imitation of the sacred [model] and the demonstration of the example [of the saints]. Indeed, we concede to toiling for the Office less through the praises of the saints in terms of language [eloquence], and more towards serving [our] devotion to faith in terms of [our] willing eagerness.¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ *Nam merita beatis Martyris Caprasii et Sanctae Virginis Fidei Martyris facilius possunt virtutibus agnosci, quam sagaciter laudibus elicit. Sed quia aridioris ingenii minime facundia praececellimus [percellimur] excusse nos mentis devotio saltem cordis intima animet ad imitationis sacrae incitamentum, exemplique ostensionem, hoc enim si a laudibus Sanctorum linguae officio minime famulante, cessimus, voluntate tamen fidei devotionem servemus*, AASS, 56, October 20, p. 823 and with variations in BOUILLET, *Sainte Foy, Vierge et Martyre*, pp. 643–655.

The writer laments his limited eloquence but recognizes that the example of the saints is so charismatic that even when his words fail, the saints' actions can move the spectators towards loving devotion (*devotionem fidei*). This attraction to imitate and emulate operates outside language. The two capitals at Santiago visually articulate this conversion through spectatorship. The main action is nestled and seen through a series of viewers who establish a chain of *martyres*. This enfolding of viewership reveals the capacity of Fides's actions to produce faith, loyalty, and following. Witnessing is the means through which to cultivate, embody, and emulate this *fidelitas*.

The set of capitals at Santiago replicates a similar pair in the church of Conques (Fig. 13). There the capitals have been viewed as iterative of the same scene: the arrest of Sainte Foy.¹⁷² But rather than repetition, only the capital at the ground level represents the arrest of Sancta Fides (Fig. 13, no. 30 on the plan). The capital on the higher level reveals a person brought to an assembly (Fig. 14, no. 232 on the plan). Several features identify this figure as male: the absence of head scarf to cover the hair, the presence of a turban-like headgear, the cropped hair, and the cope. This man is glorified because an angel in the cornice above suspends a crown over him. I propose that this scene should be identified with the martyrdom and beatification of St. Caprasius. He is inspired to follow the example of Sainte Foy shown across the space on the ground level (Fig. 13).

The two capitals at Conques transform martyrdom into a theatre, the mere witnessing of the passion causes the observers to convert and to willingly become martyrs in their own turn. Sainte Foy displays a model *fidelitas* channeled through the process of witnessing (Fig. 13). The



Fig. 11. The Arrest of Sainte Foy, Chapel of Sainte Foy, Santiago de Compostela, 1101, view from the left side: Dacianus giving the death sentence
<http://www.arquivoltas.com/21-lacoruna/01-Santiago-17.htm>. Photo: A. García Omedes



Fig. 12 The Arrest of Sainte Foy, Chapel of Sainte Foy, Santiago de Compostela, 1101, view from the left side: St. Caprasius at the Martyrdom of Ste. Foy
<http://www.arquivoltas.com/21-lacoruna/01-Santiago-17.htm>. Photo: A. García Omedes

¹⁷² DURLIAT, *La sculpture romane de la route de Saint-Jacques*, pp. 77–78; BOUSQUET, *La sculpture à Conques*, I, pp. 124–126, 348; BOUSQUET, “Conques et l’art du premier moyen âge. Trois mises au point,” pp. 563–572; BERNOULLI, *Die Skulpturen der Abtei Conques-en-Rouergue*, Basel, 1956, pp. 53–54; VERGNOLLE, PRADAIER and POUSTHOMIS-DALLE, “L’abbatiale Romane de Conques,” p. 131.

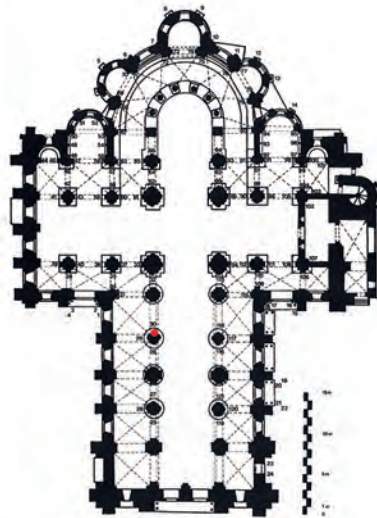


Fig. 13. The Arrest of Sainte Foy, Conques, 1090s-1105.

Capital no. 30 on the plan of the church.

Photo: Courtesy of Mapping Gothic Project, Media Center for Art History, Columbia University

Plan from DURLIAT, *La sculpture romane de la route de Saint-Jacques*, fig. 5



transplant of the iconography of her martyrdom to the passion of Saint Caprasius only confirms the main concept: that martyrdom is contagious, it generates new recruits through sight (Fig. 14). When this story appears in Santiago, it amplifies the message of recruiting (Figs. 9, 10). The visitors looking at the two capitals are enticed to follow the example and join in, transforming devotion to Fides into a political tool of conquest, colonization, and reform that serves the interests of the network of *fideles* (heads of state and papal legates) in Hispano-Occitania. It is perhaps this political exigency of the cult of Sainte Foy that explains the dedication of the prominent new chapel to Fides at Santiago. In a climate of conquest and the establishment of new networks of power in Iberia, Pierre d'Andouque likely advocated for the chapel of Sainte Foy's at Santiago and his argument might have well been the equation of Fides with *fidelitas*, which produces in turn a loyal *drudarium*. What Pierre exports and normalizes is Conques's soft power.

At Conques, Sainte Foy's defiance of Dacianus's order to convert is articulated visually (Fig. 13). Fides stands upright; her hand is on her heart, a gesture that bespeaks of her truthfulness in all her actions and speech. She remains loyal to her Christ to the end. The *Passio* expresses this *fidelitas* as: "Indeed for the name of my God, Jesus Christ, I am not only ready to suffer diverse tortures, but I desire to undergo death in confession of Him."¹⁷³ Her loyalty to the Lord echoes again in the Office composed at Conques and likely celebrated on the feast of the saint on October 6 at her altar in Santiago. It is clear that the *Passio* inspires the poetry for the Office. Both texts are meant to be performed at her feast, thus they shape the perception of Sainte Foy and modify the way the architectural spaces and images are seen.¹⁷⁴ In the

¹⁷³ *Ego enim pro nomine Dei mei Jesu Christi non solum pati diversa sum parata tormenta, sed et mortem in ejus confessione subire desidero*, AASS, 56, October 20, p. 823; Sélestat, MS 22, fol. 6r.

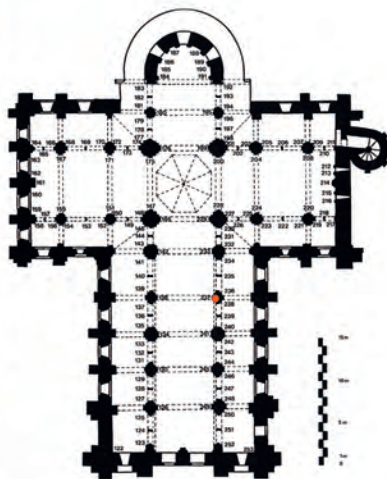
¹⁷⁴ On the eleventh-century office of Sainte Foy, see B. PENTCHEVA, "The Choros of the Stars: Image, Chant, and Imagination at Ste. Foy at Conques," E. SCIROCCO and S. DE BLAAUW (eds.), *From Words to Space: Textual Sources for*



Fig. 14. The Martyrdom of St. Caprasius, Conques, 1090s-1105. Capital no. 237 on plan of the church.

Photo: Miguel Novelo for "EnChanted Images"

Plan from DURLIAT, *La sculpture romane de la route de Saint-Jacques*, fig. 28



fourth antiphon of the second nocturn Sainte Foy states: "Then, hearing the threats thrown her way, the virgin undaunted erupted saying: 'I am ready joyfully to suffer not only different tortures for my Lord, Jesus Christ, but also to subject [myself] gladly to death in his name.'" ¹⁷⁵ Her willing acceptance of sacrifice and death makes Sancta Fides a perfect *imitator Christi* and a model for *fidelitas* and *amor*. The historiated capital of the arrest at Conques visualizes this tight bond between the *druda* and her *senior*. A male figure stands behind Fides; he carries a Cross and has a halo (Fig. 16). He places his hand on the shoulder of Sainte Foy. This tender gesture bespeaks of the *amor* that would sustain the saint through her trials. It is tempting to identify the nimbed and cross-carrying figure with Christ. What supports this hypothesis further is the fact that his presence builds a neat opposition with the devil standing on the other end of the arrest scene (Fig. 15). Evil lurks in the shadows behind the seated Dacianus and also places a supportive hand on the back of the duplicitous ruler. With these key figures: Christ and the devil in place, the arrest of Sainte Foy as depicted in Conques emerges as a clash between good and evil.

The *amor* we see visualized at this historiated capital in Conques amplifies ideas already present in the *Canso de Sancta Fides*. Fides has capacity to be a *fidèls camarèira* (*Canso*, laisse 11, l. 107), loyal *drudz* (*Canso*, laisse 32, l. 321) and a lover who cannot lie, or endure

Reconstructing and Understanding Medieval Sacred Spaces (Quaderni della Bibliotheca Hertziana), Rome, 2023, pp. 97–129; PENTCHEVA, *AudioVision in the Middle Ages: Sainte-Foy at Conques*, pp. 11–124; and EAD., "Imaging the Sacred in Virtuoso Chant and Dance," pp. 335–356.

¹⁷⁵ *Intrepida igitur virgo beata prolata[s] sibi audiens minas in hac voce prorupit: ego enim pro Domino Ihesu Christo non solum pati diversa, sed et mortem pro nomine ejus gaudens sum parata subire*, Latin text in BOUILLET, *Sainte Foy, Vierge et Martyre*, p. 645.

a separation from her lord (*Canso*, laisse 24, ll. 231–36). Both the *Canso* and the historiated capital show Sancta Fides as a model for *fidelitas*. Her artistic image produced at Conques, is carefully calibrated to match the political exigencies of this historical moment (second half of the eleventh century and early twelfth). She is a model *druda* that inspires following-*drudarium*—that can be harnessed to advance the politics of Christian conquest of Iberia. The witnesses carved on the two capitals in the chapel of Sancta Fides in Santiago amplify this message (Figs. 9–12). Fides ‘en-feudalizes’ by *amor-fidelitas*. This emotion is stirred by sight. The chapel and historiated capitals dedicated to Sainte Foy at Santiago show how the artistic project (*Canso*, LM, Office, and visual programs) on *fidelitas-amor* developed at Conques grows its followers among the powerful elite in medieval Iberia through the advocacy of *fideles* like Pierre d’Andouque.



Fig. 15. Christ Supporting Sainte Foy in her Passio, 1090s–1105. From C. BERNOULLI, *Die Skulpturen der Abtei Conques-en-Rouergue*, Basel, 1956, fig. 10

ENGAN AND CONQUES’S FALL FROM GRACE

Conques artistic program on Fides constitutes a soft power that the monastery wields and implements in its transregional politics through the network of *fideles* at the turn of the eleventh to the twelfth centuries. The saint models the very virtue—*fidelitas*—that sustains the correct functioning of lord-vassal relationships as well as the network of powerful heads of state and papal legates. Pierre d’Andouque is one of the most avid disseminators of Sancta Fides’s cult. He is eager to promote Conques’s economic interests. He also installs the monks trained at Sainte Foy in leadership positions in Iberia. But he ultimately gets burned by Conques’s unwitting *engan*. In 1110 just before his pilgrimage to Holy Land, he leaves 300 *mançosos* to Conques for safekeeping. This is a substantial sum of gold for its time. Boniface, the abbot of Conques (in office 1108–1119), assigns the safeguarding of the money to the monk Raymond of Monte Jurato. Raymond embezzles a portion of the funds, which he uses to buy off his brother from captivity. Upon his return from Jerusalem in 1114, Pierre d’Andouque requests the return of his money.¹⁷⁶ When Conques fails to produce the sum, the bishop of Pamplona exacts from pope Paschal II the excommunication of Raymond de Monte Jurato and his brother. Raymond leaves the monastic community and could only recuperate 12 *uncii* of the gold. Eventually, Pierre pardons him, but then he himself dies suddenly in 1115. Tensions with

¹⁷⁶ GONÍ GAZTAMBIDE, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona*, I, p. 282.

Conques remain unresolved. In a council of Toulouse in 1118, the abbot of Conques is questioned about the affair and found not culpable. He is again questioned and exonerated in 1120 and 1127, when he travels to Pamplona to attend the ceremony for the consecration of the completed cathedral.¹⁷⁷ The safekeeping fiasco damages the reputation of Conques and cuts this institution off from the lucrative booty coming from the conquest of Iberia. After 1114, Conques loses its major patron in the figure of Pierre d'Andouque, and this reduces irreparably its capacity to connect and to expand. The reconciliation and pardon of 1127 does nothing to reverse the tide. Conques is thrown out of the network of *fideles* surrounding the papacy and the crown of Navarra and Aragon.

CONCLUSION

The political significance of *fidelitas* invites us to reconsider what forces contributed to the construction of the Romanesque art and architecture. While not posing the question in terms of *fidelitas*, Joaquín Yarza, Serafín Moralejo and, later, John Williams have cautioned against seeing pilgrimage as the impetus behind the emergence of Romanesque art.¹⁷⁸ Rose Walker has fully developed this idea revealing how the network of papal legates and heads of states were the agents of Romanesque.¹⁷⁹ This essay has sharpened the focus further, showing how *fidelitas* is at the core of both feudalism and transregional movements such as the conquest and reform in Spain.

Conques recognizes the relevance of its patron saint, Fides, for the eleventh-century society of Hispano-Occitania. It packages the political concept of *fidelitas* in the artistic expression of poetry, image, and music to persuade large audiences and influential constellations of heads of state that its patron saint, Fides, is very effective; she can obtain what is requested from her because God loves her so much and she in turn is such a loyal servant. Fides embodies the very virtue through which the eleventh-century political system functions. Sainte Foy's infeudation to Christ on the West façade (Fig. 1) and her unflinching *amor* depicted on the historiated capital at Conques (Figs. 13, 14) model loyalty that ensures the smooth running of lord-vassal relations. *Fidelitas* paves the way for *francos*-monks to come and spread liturgical reform in Iberia. *Amor* binds in *convenientiae* religious communities in Navarra-Aragon with Occitania and entices mercenaries (in large part *francos*) to cross the Pyrenees pledging *fidelitas* in exchange for *honor*-land. Pons, the bishop of Roda and Barbastro, articulates this striking omnipotence of Fides in his own gift of a portable altar to Conques. It shows a Deesis with Fides mirroring the Virgin. Sainte Foy is visually compared to Mary as the most effective intercessor (Fig. 17).¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ GIUNTA, *Les Francos dans la Vallée de l'Èbre*, p. 295 and DESJARDINS (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, no. 453. The construction of the Romanesque cathedral of Pamplona begins in 1100; the building is completed and inaugurated in 1127, see J. GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, "La fecha de construcción y consagración de la Catedral románica de Pamplona, 1100-1127," *Príncipe de Viana*, 10 (1949), pp. 385–389.

¹⁷⁸ J. YARZA LUACES, "La peregrinación a Santiago y la pintura y miniatura románicas", *Compostellanum*, 30 (1985), pp. 369-394; S. MORALEJO, "Arte del Camino de Santiago y arte de peregrinación", in S. MORALEJO ÁLVAREZ (coord.), *El Camino de Santiago*, Santiago de Compostela, 1987, pp. 5-28; WILLIAMS, "Framing Santiago," p. 238.

¹⁷⁹ WALKER, *Art in Spain and Portugal*, pp. 305–345.

¹⁸⁰ GARLAND, "L'autel portatif de l'Abbé Bégon à Conques," p. 228.

The West tympanum and capitals at Conques, the reliefs at Santiago, the spreading of her *Passio*, Office, *Canso* and LM attest to three things: a high level of the artistic production at Conques, the timeliness of its message, and its transregional political appeal in around 1110. The monastery of Sainte Foy in Rouergue prepares the instruments through which to channel *fidelitas* on a large scale in the course of the eleventh century. While we do not have written evidence recording how Conques organizes this process, the traces left by Pierre d'Andouque's diplomacy help us understand that the politics of *amor* exemplified by Sainte Foy were politically charged.

I end with a hypothesis that ties further art and politics. Earlier scholarship suggested the possibility that Pierre d'Andouque composed Pseudo-Turpin. This is book IV of *Liber Sancti Iacobi* known as the Codex Calixtinus. The story purports to describe eighth-century events of how St. James appeared before Charlemagne and



Fig. 16. The Devil Inciting Dacianus to Mete Out the death Sentence to Sainte Foy. From BERNOLLI, *Die Skulpturen der Abtei Conques-en-Rouergue*, fig. 9



Fig. 17. Portable Altar given by Pons, Bishop of Roda and Barbastro in 1101 to Abbot Begin III of Conques. Deesis with Christ flanked by the Virgin Mary and Sainte Foy. Photo: Miguel Novelo for "EnChanted Images"

encouraged him to engage in war against the Muslims in Spain. Charlemagne begins a successful campaign; he frees Compostela, but his rear-guard led by Roland is martyred at Roncevaux.¹⁸¹ Pseudo-Turpin has a clear resonance with the politics of Reconquista emerging in full swing in the late eleventh century. While the hypothesis of Pierre d'Andouque's authorship of this text has since been rejected, the spark of seeing a creative side in Pierre is intriguing. Afterall, as the bishop of Pamplona, he was in control of Roncevaux and the influx of *francos* to whom the legend of Roland would sound as a war call. Pierre d'Andouque clearly knew and manipulated soft power. This is clear in his contribution for the art at Santiago de Compostela. Could he have exercised also other artistic abilities, like being the poet of *Canso de Sancta Fides* in his youth? The date of this work ca 1065 coincides with Pierre's 20s. Just like the poet in the *Canso* is converts and becomes a faithful *drudz* of his *donna*, so too throughout his life Pierre shows a total dedication to Sainte Foy and an impressive capacity to expand her *drudarium*.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ A. DE MANDACH, *Naissance et développement de la chanson de geste en Europe*, Geneva, 1961, I, 71. This theory has been criticized by R. WALPOLE, *The Modern Language Review* 60/4 (1965), pp. 613–618; R. LAFONT, *Prémices de l'Europe*, Arles, 2007, pp. 92–93, 110–111.

¹⁸² *Devotissimus gloriosae virgini et martiri sanctae Fidis*, MÜSIGBROD, "Die Beziehungen des Bischofs Petrus", p. 374.

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