

# Medieval Urban Planning



# Medieval Urban Planning:

*The Monastery and Beyond*

Edited by

Mickey Abel

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Medieval Urban Planning: The Monastery and Beyond

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## INTRODUCTION

# MEDIEVAL URBAN PLANNING: THE MONASTERY AND BEYOND

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“Can We Call it Medieval Urban Planning?” was the title of a session presented at the 2014 meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, which posited the notion of medieval urban planning against the modern job description of an Urban Planner. Distilling modern definitions of these concepts, the session adopted the foundational stance that urban planning is therefore half design and half social engineering. It is a process that evolves over time and considers not only the aesthetic and visual product, but also the economic, political, and social implications, as well as the underlying or over-arching environmental impact of any given plan. In other words, it is multifaceted, dynamic, and quite resistant to static codification. And thus the challenge of the session became the detection of something with the potential to be quite nebulous in an historical era known for its similarly multifaceted, dynamic, and codification-resistant characteristics.

While archaeologists point to evidence of “urban planning” that corresponds to the modern descriptions as early as the Mesopotamians, it is more widely accepted that the Romans set the standard for well-planned urban environments.<sup>1</sup> By comparison, it is generally thought that the all-encompassing process defined above as “urban planning” did not take place in the Middle Ages until at least the thirteenth century. It can be argued, however, that this is primarily a case of lack of tangible evidence or the documentation associated with traditional historical research—the maps, the drawings, the legal codes, or the commercial reports—that would illustrate a concerted process being carried out by an identifiable

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<sup>1</sup> Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1961).

entity. Recent scholarship employing the methodological lens of Cultural Geography suggests otherwise, purposing new ways to “view” cultural or sociological developments.<sup>2</sup> Scholars such as David Nichols, in his 1997, *Growth of the Medieval City*, have challenged the static nature of the Roman model, opening the possibilities for innovative insight into the ways in which a planning process can be discerned.<sup>3</sup> This type of work amplifies and expands on that of monastic historians, archaeologists, and art historians who have long demonstrated, on the basis of the well-known plan of St. Gall, that monasteries,<sup>4</sup> particularly those of the Cistercian order, were very much concerned with “planning,” albeit in the rural sense.<sup>5</sup> From the intricacies of the water infrastructure, to the ordered logic of the space, to the esoteric qualities of metaphysical light, to the seasonal inter-dependence of pigs and pollarded oak trees, there is ample evidence to support a claim that the various components of a “community plan” were understood within the monastic realm during the Middle Ages.

But what of the integration of these various parts and their impact on the non-monastic realm? Or the foresight into a particular plan’s future potential, incorporating growth and new social institutions? The 2014 Architectural Historians session sought to explore and expand not only the breadth of the evidence available for the comprehension of a planning process, but also the depth of the thought guiding any particular plan or

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<sup>2</sup> Denis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984); Keith Lilley, *Urban Life in the Middle Ages, 1000-1450* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002); John Blair, ed., *Waterways and Canal-Building in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Stephen Rippon, *Beyond the Medieval Village: The Diversification of Landscape Character in Southern Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> David Nichols, *The Growth of the Medieval City from Late Antiquity to the Early Fourteenth Century: A History of Urban Society in Europe* (New York: Longman, 1997); and David Nichols, *Urban Europe, 1100-1700* (New York: Palgrave, 2003).

<sup>4</sup> Walter Horn and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture and Economy of, and Life in, a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, 3 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); Clark Maines, “Saint-Jean-des-Vignes in Context: The Urban Water Management Systems of Soissons,” in *Wasser: Lebensquelle und Bedeutungsträger: Wasserversorgung in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, eds. Helmut Paulus, Herman Reidel, and Paul Winkler (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 1999), 15-36; Wolfgang Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe: The Architecture of the Orders* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972); and Mick Ashton, *Monasteries in the Landscape* (Stroud: Tempus, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> Terryl Kinder, *Cistercian Europe: Architecture of Contemplation* (Cambridge: Erdmann Publishing, 2002); and Jean-Francois Leroux-Dhuys, *Cistercian Abbeys: History and Architecture* (London: Konemann, 2006).



planning process. Looking both within and beyond the monastic realm, we questioned how those in roles of authority saw the big picture—or had insight into the *longue durée* of a particular plan of action. Expanding on the basic question of whether we can discern a plan or a planning process, we began by challenging previous analysis of architectural complexes, looking to the political and economic interactions between secular and sacred entities for signs of collaborative, mutually-beneficial thinking. We explored decorative programs that might illustrate the planned confluence between visual or aural stimulation, meant to enhance both physical, real-world well-being and heavenly, metaphysical alliances, both inside and out of the sacred space. In the broader context of the secular built environment, where historians frequently demonstrate the economic and political interaction between monastic leadership and local or regional authorities, we sought to detect a specific replication or modeling of the integrated concern with natural materials, metaphysical aesthetics, and interpretive reading seen within the monastic complex. Similarly, where scholars of philosophy and religion highlight the mirrored nature of heaven and earth in medieval texts, we sought evidence of this theoretical “ordering” as being planned or integrated into the secular world.<sup>6</sup> From each of these various points of entry, we asked what could be learned by bringing together the discipline specific views of the architect, the archaeologist, or the geographer with those of scholars of literature, imagery, and liturgy.

While several of the articles presented in this volume evolved out of that 2014 Architectural Historian’s session (Barret, Lopez Salas, Gustafson, and Gruber), all the contributing authors began by wrestling with the common question: “What can legitimately be defined as a city in the Middle Ages, where it is only a ‘city’ that can be said to represent and encompass the criteria for an ‘urban’ environment?” As David Nichols suggests, in many cases the difference between a “town” and a “city” boils down to a linguistic problem—that is, it is really only English that highlights the difference, and that this should not be seen as a line in the sand discouraging innovative research questions.<sup>7</sup> Yet even as we agree that the question is for the most part an anachronistic “non-starter,” there remains the long shadow cast over the discussion by the landmark theories of Henri Pirenne, a point made by Michael McCormick in his introduction

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<sup>6</sup> This line of thought generally references Saint Augustine, *The City of God (De civitate Dei)*, trans. William Babcock (Hyde Park, N.Y.: New City Press, 2012).

<sup>7</sup> Nichols, *The Growth of the Medieval City*, “Preface,” xiv, xv.

to the latest reprint of Pirenne's 1925 *Medieval Cities*.<sup>8</sup> Expanded upon in 1939, with his *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, and championed in the 1970s by German scholar Edith Ennen, Pirenne's rather rigid criteria for the definition of a city or "the urban" in the post-Roman world are now being challenged within various disciplinary circles.<sup>9</sup> First to chip away at the Pirenne theory, archaeologists and cultural geographers such as Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse,<sup>10</sup> and more recently Cosgrove, Lilley, Blair, and Rippon, to mention a few,<sup>11</sup> join cultural historians, such as McCormack (mentioned above), Chris Wickham, Henri Lefebvre, and Bryan Ward-Perkins, in calling for new avenues of exploration and new theoretical models.<sup>12</sup> Questioning the role of social institutions such as feudalism,<sup>13</sup> or the limiting factors of legal documents, such as the writing of charters,<sup>14</sup> broader ideas on the process of planning have been brought

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<sup>8</sup> Michael McCormick, "Introduction," in Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), first published in 1925 and reprinted in 1952.

<sup>9</sup> Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1939); and Edith Ennen, *Die Europäische Stadt des Mittelalters*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoech & Ruprecht, 1972). See also, Pierre Lavedan, *Histoire de l'Urbanisme* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1952); and Howard Simms and Anngret Simms, eds., *The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe, Ireland, Wales, Denmark, Germany, Poland, and Russia from Ninth to the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

<sup>10</sup> Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne & the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirenne Thesis* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

<sup>11</sup> See footnote # 4.

<sup>12</sup> Michael McCormick, *Charlemagne's Survey of the Holy Land: Wealth, Personnel, and Buildings of a Mediterranean Church between Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Henri Lefebvre, *La révolution urbaine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1970); Bryan Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); and more generally, the earlier work of Fernand Braudel, *The Identity of France* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986).

<sup>13</sup> Rodney Hilton, *English and French Towns in Feudal Society: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); and Thomas Bisson, "The Feudal Revolution," *Past and Present*, 142 (1994): 6-42.

<sup>14</sup> Chris Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (New York: Viking, 2009); Ronald Zupko and Robert Laurs, *Straws in the Wind: Medieval Urban Environmental Law* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996); and

into the discussion. Deepening the theoretical underpinnings, this new, more theoretical work is frequently informed by the philosophical and sociological ideas of Walter Benjamin, Michel Foucault, Jacques Le Goff, and Pierre Bourdieu, as well as Max Weber and Karl Marx.<sup>15</sup>

Similarly influential in revealing new insights into how a “plan” might have been perceived is the work of spatial theorists and ritual anthropologists. The framing concepts of Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau or Victor Turner, Emile Durkheim, and Arnold van Gennep,<sup>16</sup> are well represented in the various articles edited by Hanawalt and Kobialka, under the title *Medieval Practices of Space*, or special issue of *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, entitled “Fertile Space,” where Peter Arnade, Martha Howell, and Walter Simons explore “The Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe.”<sup>17</sup> The “urban” question continues to have resonance for many disciplines of Medieval Studies as evidenced by recent titles to appear: for instance, Robert Maxwell’s case study of Parthenay, Albrecht Classen’s edited volume, *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era*; Caroline Goodson, Anne Lester, and Carol Symes’ volume, *Cities, Texts and Social Networks 400-1500: Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space*; or Annegret Simms and Howard

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Martin Biddle, “Towns,” in *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. David Wilson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979): 99-150.

<sup>15</sup>Walter Benjamin, *Das passagen-Werk* (Frankfurt-am-Main : Suhrkamp, 1983); Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage, 1970); Jacques le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Pierre Bourdieu, *Le sens pratique* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1980); Karl Marx, *The Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels* (New York: International Publishers, 1975); and Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York: The Free Press, 1947/2012).

<sup>16</sup> For spatial praxis, see Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (London: Blackwell, 1991); and Michel de Certeau, *Actes de faire* (Paris, Gallimard, 1980). For ritual practice, see Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (London: Transaction Publishers, 1969); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretations of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973); Emile Durkheim, *Les formes élémentaire de la vie religieuses* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1912); and Arnold van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (Paris, Emile Nourry, 1909).

<sup>17</sup>Barbara Hanawalt and Michael Kobialka, eds., *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000); Peter Arnade, Martha C. Howell, and Walter Simons, “Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32, no. 4 (2002): 549-69; and Meredith Cohen and Fanny Madeline, eds., *Space in the Medieval West: Places, Territories, and Imagined Geographies* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

Clarke's volume, *Lords and Towns in Medieval Europe: The European Historic Towns Atlas Project*.<sup>18</sup>

Picking up some of these same lines of inquiry, while taking up the challenge outlined for the Architectural Historians' session, the essays in the current volume cover a time period that extends from nascent developments in the tenth century with Abel's article on monastic infrastructure, to the late medieval cities represented in the articles by Gustafson, Roff, and Gruber. Geographically, the articles range from the new towns of southern France (Barret), to centuries-old sites of Barcelona and Valencia (Roff), from the island marshlands of western France (Abel) and Somerset, England (Shivers); to the rural expanse of northern Spain (Lopez-Salas), and the hill country of Italy (Gruber). Examining the "urban" question from both the view within the monastic point of view (Abel, Lopez-Salas, Shivers, and Gustafson) and from the secular realm (Snyder, Barrett, Roff, and Gruber), these same articles are theoretically quite diverse. From the sacred side of the equation, Abel, "Water as the Philosophical and Organizational Basis for an 'Urban' Community Plan: The Case of Maillezais Abbey," argues that the extant features of the hydraulic system built by the monastic brothers created a uniting infrastructure that allowed the broad monastic domain to "function" like an urban complex; while Shivers, "Riparian Geography and Hegemonic Power in the Severn Valley: Glastonbury Abbey's Canals and Rivers as Definitions of Urban Space" approached a similar wetland topography—this time in the lowlands of post-Norman England—from the visual or metaphoric impressions recorded in the literary rhetoric of William of Malmesbury. Challenging the long-held notion that the mendicants of Tuscany were uniformly attached to urban developments, Gustafson, "How Urban was Urban for the Mendicants in Medieval Tuscany?," employs a statistical analysis that depicts a very different picture, and Lopez Salas, "Decoding the Planning Rules of the Monastic Urban and Rural Form around Samos Abbey," shows that a "jurisdictional reserve" can be defined by mapping the scale and density of monastic owned property in relation to tenancy agreements and books of demarcation. On

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<sup>18</sup> Robert Maxwell, *The Art of Medieval Urbanism: Parthenay in Romanesque Aquitaine* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007); Albrecht Classen, ed., *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009); Caroline Goodson, Anne Lester, and Carol Symes, eds., *Cities, Texts And Social Networks 400-1500: Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); and Annngret Simms and Howard Clarke, eds., *Lords and Towns in Medieval Europe: The European Historic Towns Atlas Project* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

the secular side of the coin, Snyder, “‘Any Place I Hang My Hat Is Home:’ The Contributions of Peripatetic *Ymagiers* to the Emergence of Urbs,” tracks the movement of stone and mason-*ymagiers*, crediting this movement with the economic stimulus for town growth, while Barrett, “Founders’ Concepts of Space in the First Bastides,” reads charters and zoning patterns as an indicator of a politically motivated planning mentality. Roff, “A Fourteenth-Century View on Urbanism: Francesch Eiximenis and Urban Planning in the Crown of Aragon,” takes this line of thinking further in her exploration of the correlation between Augustine’s celestial, well-ordered city as illustrated in the Beatus manuscripts and the configuration of an ideal Christian city seeking to overcome its Muslim past; while Gruber, “Incremental Urbanism in Medieval Italy: The Example of Todi,” sums up many of the ideas explored with his examination of the late medieval planning process, noting that by the end of the Middle Ages city planning had become consistent in both vision and process. Our hope is that the articles presented here continue the momentum of our predecessors by presenting new case studies that expand our definition of the “urban” in the Middle Ages, and by suggesting new approaches to the problem that might inspire the next generation of scholars.

## CHAPTER ONE

# WATER AS THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL BASIS FOR AN “URBAN” COMMUNITY PLAN: THE CASE OF MAILLEZAIS ABBEY

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As outlined in the “Introduction” of this volume, multiple scholars have called into question Henri Pirenne’s definition of a city after the collapse of the Roman system—or, more specifically, Pirenne’s criteria for what could or could not be considered as the revealing marks of a developing urban center in the post-Roman world.<sup>1</sup> With an emphasis on the necessity for a market or evidence of long-distance commercial trade, an exportable craft production, and at least some indication of a burgeoning middle/merchant class, Pirenne’s economically-based, evidential criteria have proved far too restrictive to account for many of the more subtle developments of the earlier middle ages.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the perception continues that there were very few fully-functional urban centers until the thirteenth century, outside of the Roman regional *civitas* that had become medieval diocesan seats in the Carolingian era.<sup>3</sup> This is even as

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<sup>1</sup> Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1925/1952/2014), 35.

<sup>2</sup> Michael McCormick, “Introduction,” in *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, by Henri Pirenne (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1925/1952/2014), ix-xxxiv, especially xv.

<sup>3</sup> Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*, 8, 25, and 41-43, notes that these episcopal cities become “clusters of immunity” that contribute to their control over the markets within them and the tolls generated in relation to the markets. For the role of the Carolingian court, see Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (New York:

archaeologists such as Hodges and Whitehouse have identified roman-modeled *emporía* meeting the Pirennean criteria along Europe’s northern and western coastlines that date to the early medieval period,<sup>4</sup> and even as cultural or architectural historians, such as Robert Maxwell, have demonstrated that much of the communal patterns of growth that developed around the *castra* of the tenth and eleventh centuries can be shown to fit the Pirennean model if seen through a lens that is adjusted to be more contextually sensitive.<sup>5</sup>

This latter “castra” model applies to much of western France, where defining the historical context entails an explicit acknowledgment of the power vacuum that came with the fracturing of royal territory into competing counties ruled by men with no hereditary lineage.<sup>6</sup> This insight provides a regionally-specific framework that facilitates our comprehension of a particular nexus of economic, political, and cultural developments as a concerted creation of a unique communal identity. For Maxwell, this identity manifested itself most clearly in the construction and ornamentation of monumental architecture. The cumulative result was a visibly recognizable program, with overt clues to an authorial intent.<sup>7</sup> It was a program that had resonance for not only those in power, who were most likely responsible for the program’s design and implementation, but importantly for the community’s inhabitants, as well as visitor’s coming from the outside—the community’s neighbors, combatants, and trading partners. In adding

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Meridian Books, 1957); and Howard Saalman, *Planning and Cities: Medieval Cities* (New York: George Braziller, 1968).

<sup>4</sup> Richard Hodges and David Whitehorn, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirenne Thesis* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1983). Keith D. Lilley, *Urban Life in the Middle Ages 1000-1450* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 6, defines an *emporía* as a coastal trading center likely to host fairs or market centers. Edith Ennen, “The Variety of Urban Development,” in *Town Origins: The Evidence from Medieval England*, ed. J. Benton (Boston: Heath, 1968), 11-18, sees in these types of communities a “post-Roman continuity,” where topography is more important factor to the lasting vitality of the settlement than its particular economic function.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Maxwell, *The Art of Medieval Urbanism: Parthenay in Romanesque Aquitaine* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007).

<sup>6</sup> In general, see Thomas N. Bisson, ed., *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and process in Twelfth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).

<sup>7</sup> Maxwell, “Constructing an Urban identity,” in *The Art of Medieval Urbanism*, 125-183.

“identity” to Pirenne’s criteria, Maxwell joins the ranks of scholars to open the “urban” discussion to the diversity of development.<sup>8</sup>

Taking this line of reasoning yet one step further, I would like to make the case for the inclusion of another category of community that remains marginalized outside of the Pirennean “urban”—that is those *villi*, *burgs*, and *castelnau* that grew out of their association with and/or dependence on large rural monasteries.<sup>9</sup> With the explicit acknowledgment that neither the monastery itself nor the individual villages meet the basic Pirennean criteria, I want to suggest that if we accept these “satellite” communities as inseparable in their dependency on their monastic parent, can we not then consider the network of dependents linked to the monastery—the monastery’s domain—as an “urban complex,” where all the components work to support the linked enterprise?”<sup>10</sup> Loosening the parameters of our analytical lens in order to accommodate yet another set of the contextual specifics, I propose to examine the whole of the monastic domain as an interdependent “corporate” entity, and thus explore the results of a nexus of parts combining to act “urban.”

My case study for examining the “urban” qualities of a complex monastic domain is Maillezais Abbey, which today sits 70 km inland from the French Atlantic coast at the eastern edge of the low-lying marshlands of Poitou, midway between Brittany and Bordeaux (Fig. 1-1). Maillezais’s particular “context” is its unique geographic topography. More specifically, it is the abbey’s location in the middle of a region known to have been dominated by pervasive marshland, which I argue served to define the nature and configuration of its monastic domain, and which would come to dictate the domain’s “urban” characteristics. In the Middle Ages much of the Bas-Poitou was inundated, a fact that highlights the significance of these documents that signal Maillezais’s elevated location, surrounded with water to form an “island” (Fig. 1-2). Picture a location similar to Mont St. Michael at high tide. However, while it is this

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<sup>8</sup> Ennen, “Variety,” 12; and Lilley, *Urban Life*, 1-16, make similar calls for an exploration of the diversity of urban development.

<sup>9</sup> Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*, 45.

<sup>10</sup> Lilley, *Urban Life*, 3, gets to this notion of a “complex” by asking “what constitutes urban life,” suggesting that rather than single identifying characteristics, we look for “bundles of urban criteria” that will indicate the type of settlement: trading center, stronghold, cult based, or market centered. Ronald Zupko and Robert Laures, *Straws in the Wind: Medieval Urban Environmental Law* (Westview Press: Boulder, 1996), 89, suggest that we think about the variety of enterprises that contribute to the wealth of the system—agriculture, commerce, real estate, manufacturing, service industries, and transportation.



particular topography and the ubiquitous nature of the area’s marshy water that makes Maillezais’s physical context unique, it is the combination of these contextual factors with an analysis of the building program both within the abbey walls and in the surrounding villages that provides a scenario ripe for examining the urban qualities of a monastery acting as the head of a “corporate complex.”



Fig. 1-1. Maillezais Abbey. *Source: Author.*

My entry into this examination is the role of Mailezais’ infrastructure. I want to suggest that it was the “uniting” nature of the hydraulic system developed initially by the first monks at Maillezais that was perhaps conceived of, but most certainly functioned as, the foundation for a broad-ranging urban development. With the abbey at its heart, this network of canals, levies, bridges, locks, and aqueducts was the circulatory system that linked the interdependent components and supported the corporate body’s well-being. The hydraulic system can thus be said to facilitate most of Pirenne’s criteria for the identification of an urban development.

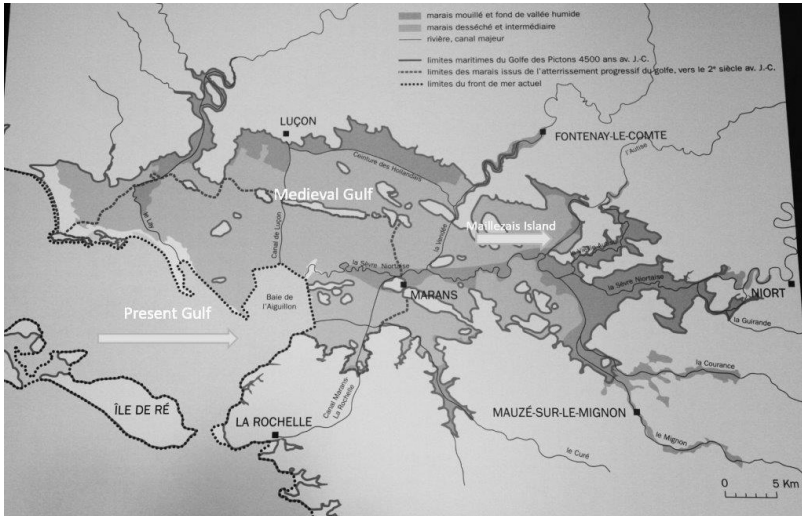


Fig. 1-2. Ancient Gulf of Picton. After public map, Musée de Château Niort, Niort, France. *Source: Author.*

Beginning as early as mid-tenth century, the monks at Maillezais Abbey employed this hydraulic infrastructure as a means to both control and exploit their marshland setting.<sup>11</sup> In doing so, they initiated a communal system of water management that facilitated the conduits for long-distance commercial trade, and at the same time supplied the energy and the raw materials for localized industry and craft production. As such, Maillezais's innovative foresight in the area of infrastructure served other aspects of communal living both within and beyond the monastery walls. Even in its nascent form, the hydraulic system the monks created addressed the mythical and spiritual beliefs of the inhabitants, while

<sup>11</sup> Many scholars agree that the year 1000 marked a shift in political and economic thinking. Zupko and Laures, *Straws in the Wind*, 3, call the resurgence in urban life at this time a "commercial revolution." Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*, 50, suggests that the Truce of God and church reforms at beginning of 1000 were a sign of new era that supported town building. For the history of the Peace of God/Truce of God movements, see Thomas F. Head and Richard A. Landes, *The Peace of God: Social Violence and religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); and Jane Martindale, *Status, Authority and Regional Power: Aquitaine and France, 9<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997).

simultaneously serving to protect the inhabitants of the marshlands from both flooding and invading forces. This system held the potential to generate substantial revenue, while exhibiting progressive concerns for environmental conservation and addressing the more mundane issues of health and sanitation. With the comprehensive nature of the hydraulic system in mind, I contend that even a modern-day urban planner would recognize in the effective management of these complex, interlinking concerns the thinking and planning that goes into the foundation of a vibrant, dynamic urban project.

Although French scholars have yet to embrace a strictly-speaking “land-based” examination of early urban developments,<sup>12</sup> a particularly appropriate model can be found in the work of British archaeologist, Stephen Rippon.<sup>13</sup> His analysis of the Somerset region of southwestern England surrounding the abbey of Glastonbury traces the development of a monastic “urban center” from what he terms its “antecedent landscape.”<sup>14</sup> For Rippon, this type of study begins with an analysis of not just the geology and topography to define the specifics of a “natural region,” but also a consideration of that region’s social and economic characteristics—importantly, giving equal weight to both environmental factors and human agency.<sup>15</sup> Through this more integrative type of analysis, he sees “the

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<sup>12</sup> For earlier studies see, Pierre Lavedan, *Histoire de l’Urbanism* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1952); Charles Petit-Dutallis, *The French Communes in the Middle Ages* (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing, 1978); Marcel Grandjean, “Villes Neuves et Bourgs Médiévaux: Fondement de l’Urbanisme Regional,” in *L’Homme Dans la Ville* (Lausanne: Cours general de l’UNIL, 1984); and Ghislaine Fabre, *Morphagenèse de Village Médiévale (IXe-XIIe siècle): Actes de la Table Round de Montpellier, (22-23 février 1993)* (Montpellier: Association pour Connaissance du Patrimoine de Languedoc-Roussillon, 1996).

<sup>13</sup> Stephen Rippon, *Beyond the Medieval Landscape: The Diversification of Landscape Character in Southern Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

<sup>14</sup> Rippon, *Beyond the Medieval*, 17. See also, Matthew Johnson, *Ideas of Landscape* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007).

<sup>15</sup> Rippon, *Beyond the Medieval*, 11, provides the details of the debate between those who favors the environmental factors and those who see human agency as the key factor in settlement patterns. He cites Johnson, *Ideas of Landscape*; Richard Tipping, “Climatic Variability and ‘Marginal’ Settlement in Upland British Landscapes: A Re-evaluation,” *Landscapes*, 3/2 (2002), 10-29; Tom Williamson, *Shaping Medieval Landscapes* (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2003); Williamson, “The Distribution of Champion Landscapes,” in *Medieval Landscapes*, eds. Mark Gardiner and Stephen Rippon (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2007), 89-104; and Anthony Brown and Glenn Foard, “The Saxon Landscape: A Regional Perspective,” in *The Archaeology of Landscape*, eds. Paul

urban” as a phenomenon that develops over time, growing incrementally out of such “causal factors” as native ethnicity, Roman migration, local settlement patterns, soil types, and land distribution, all in “symbiotic” relation with state and ecclesiastic powers that held the power to determine economic advantage.<sup>16</sup> In this type of multi-faceted analysis, historical “events,” such as Maillezais abbey’s documented relocation and simultaneous building of a water management system, can be viewed as beginning “naturally,” with an astute sensitivity to environmental conditions, but then to develop in ways that come to be controlled and manipulated by regional powers. Ultimately, he sees this pattern of development being copied and transmitted at the middle and lower levels of the social strata in a process of “social emulation.” Following Rippon’s model, I think we can see a very similar pattern of development at Maillezais and its dependent domain, particularly when we highlight the interlinking function of the hydraulic system.



Fig. 1-3. Maillezais Abbey. *Source: Author.*

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Everson and Tom Williamson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 67-94.

<sup>16</sup> Rippon, *Beyond the Medieval*, 13-22.

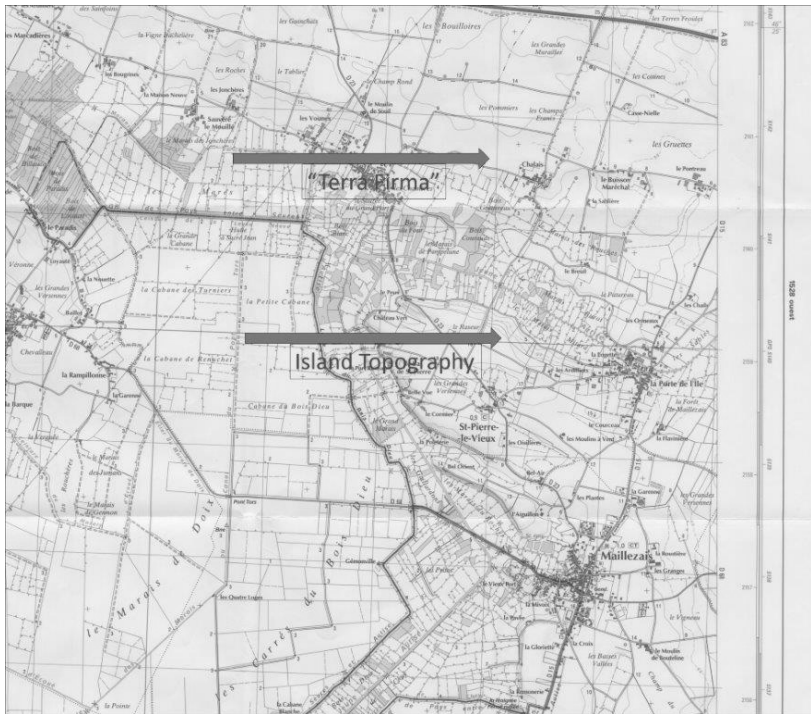


Fig. 1-4. Topographic map, Maillezais Island. IGN# 1528 Ouest. *Source: Author.*

Beginning, therefore, with Maillezais’s environmental context, one would hardly suspect in the modern view of the vast expanse of farm and pasture, which stretches as far as can be seen to the north, west, and south of Maillezais Abbey, that this land was once a completely inundated marsh (Fig. 1-3). The medieval characteristics of this landscape remain discernable in a detailed topographic map (Fig. 1-4). The elevation levels recorded on this type of map confirm not only the ancient boundaries of the coastline of the ancient Golfe des Pictons, as well as the “terra firma” of the mainland 70km to the east of the present-day Baie d’Aguillon. Similarly visible are the outlines of raised limestone outcroppings—or islands—extending a mere 10 to 12 meters above the low-lying alluvial basin. Moreover, if we step back from the recording of sectioned-off, individual fields or pasture-sized units, identified by the intricate pattern of small ditches and larger canals, we see that the basin of the ancient gulf encompassed the confluence—or “interfluvial



Fig. 1-5. Gulf of Picton (L'Éguillon) with six rivers. After Claude Masse, c. 1700.

watershed”<sup>17</sup> of six rivers—the Sèvre, the Autise, the Vendée, the Lay, the Mignon, and the Curé—flowing from the north, east, and south and ultimately draining into the Atlantic (Fig. 1-5).

Reiterating the geologic picture of this “antecedent landscape” as a predominantly inundated marshland, the description of the land’s wild and untamed nature recorded in the abbey’s 1067 chronicle provides a particularly vivid depiction that forms the basis of the abbey’s origin story.<sup>18</sup> The monastic author describes those rivers and the island’s topography, noting in particular the Sèvre to the south and the two branches of the Autise River—the Vieille Autise and the Jeune Autise—which serve to define the eastern and western boundaries of Maillezais Island (Fig. 1-6).<sup>19</sup> While no doubt imaginatively enhanced to elevate the story’s mystical appeal, this narrative highlights a landscape dense with vegetation, rich in wild animals, ornamented with abandoned sacred sites, and replete with an abundance of marshy water inhabited by an indigenous people referred to as the “*colliberti*” or Pictons.<sup>20</sup> Importantly, it is these

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<sup>17</sup> Rippon, *Beyond the Medieval*, 14.

<sup>18</sup> Peter of Maillezais (Petrus Malleacensis), *De Antiquitate et Commutation in Melius Mallaecensis Insulae et Translatione Corporis Sancti Rigomeri*, 1.2 ed. Migne, *PL*, 146, 1247-72. See also, Peter of Maillezais, Livre I [fol. 246a]-[fol. 247 b], in Georges Pon and Yves Chauvin, eds. and trans., *La Fondation de l'Abbaye de Maillezais: Récit de Moine Pierre* (La Roche-sur-Yon: Centre Vendéen de Recherches Historiques, 2001), 90-101; as well as, the translations by Charles Arnauld, *Histoire de Maillezais* (Niort : Robin et Cie, 1840); and Joseph Louis Lacurie, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Maillezais depuis sa Fondation jusqu'à Nos Jours* (Fontenay-le-Comte ; Edmond Fillon, 1852). For an interpretation of the origin legend, see Édina Bozóky, “La Légende de Fondation de Maillezais,” in *L'Abbaye de Maillezais: Des Moines de Marais aux Soldats Huguenots*, eds. Cecile Treffort and Matthias Tranchant (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2005), 17-29.

<sup>19</sup> Peter of Maillezais, Livre I [fol. 246 b] ; and Pon and Chauvin, *La Fondation*, 93. See also, Nicolas Faucherre, “Topographie Médiévale de l’île de Maillezais, La Capture de l’Autize,” in *L'Abbaye de Maillezais*, 179-200.

<sup>20</sup> Peter of Maillezais, Livre I [fol. 246 v<sup>o</sup> a]. See Pon and Chauvin, *La Fondation*, p. 94, “*Etenim collibertus a cultu imbrum descendere putatur ab aliquibus. Progenies autem istorum collibertorum, hinc forte istud ore vulgi, multa interdum ex usibus rerum vera dicentis, contraxit vocabulum, quoniam ubi inundantia pliviarum Separis excrescere fecisset fluvium, relictis quibus incolebant locis, -- hinc enim procul habitabant nonnulli—properabant illo, cause piscium.*” For a discussion on the disputed nature of these fishing people, see Lucien-Jean Bord, *Maillezais Histoire d'une Abbaye et d'un Evêché* (Paris : Geuthner, 2007), 10-12; and Marc Bloch, “Les ‘Colliberti’: Étude de la Formation de la Classe Servile,” *Revue Historique*, CLVII (1928), 1-48 and 225-263. The use of “Picton” refers

native fishing people who are credited as having shared their inherent knowledge of the region's environmental factors and basic water management with the monks at Maillezais.

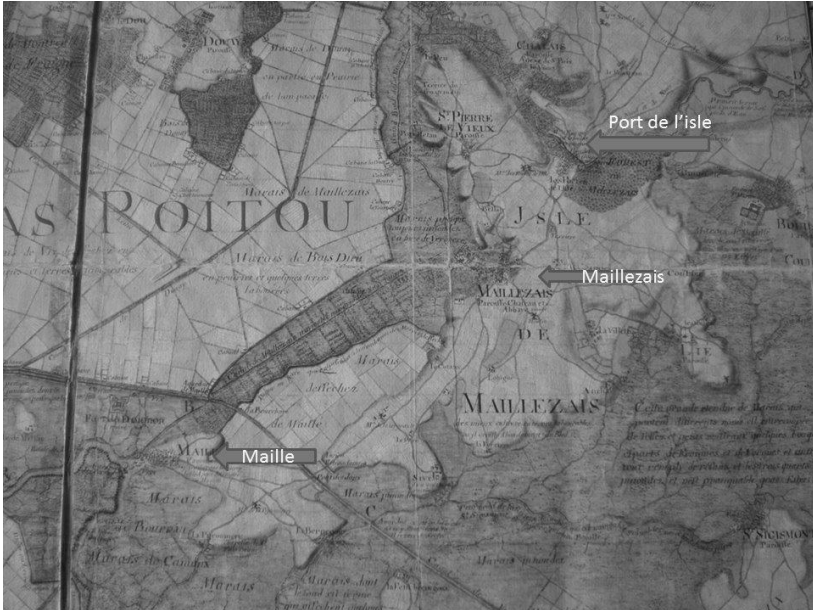


Fig. 1-6. Maillezais Island. After Claude Masse, c. 1700.

In addition to these native inhabitants, Maillezais's “antecedent landscape” also had its Roman phase, evidenced in the Roman roads linking the ancient cities of *Lucionum* (Luçon), *Fontneiacum* (Fontenay), and *Novioritum* (Niort) located around the ancient gulf's coastal circumference (Fig. 1-7).<sup>21</sup> This pattern of siting signals a couple of key factors in the

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more generally to these people's status as native to the gulf region. They lived in the area around the port village of Marans until they were expelled in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. See Lucien Richmond, “Cartulaire de l'abbaye de las Grâce-Notre-Dame ou de Charon en Aunis,” *Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, (Saintes, 1883), 25-26.

<sup>21</sup> Nicolas Delahaye, *Histoire de la Vendée des Origins à Nos Jours*, (Cholet: Éditions Pays & Terroirs, 2003), 19. Louis Brochet, *Histoire de Maillezais*, (Paris: Res Universis, 1989), 6-8, notes that many of the early town sites in the gulf were Roman in origin.



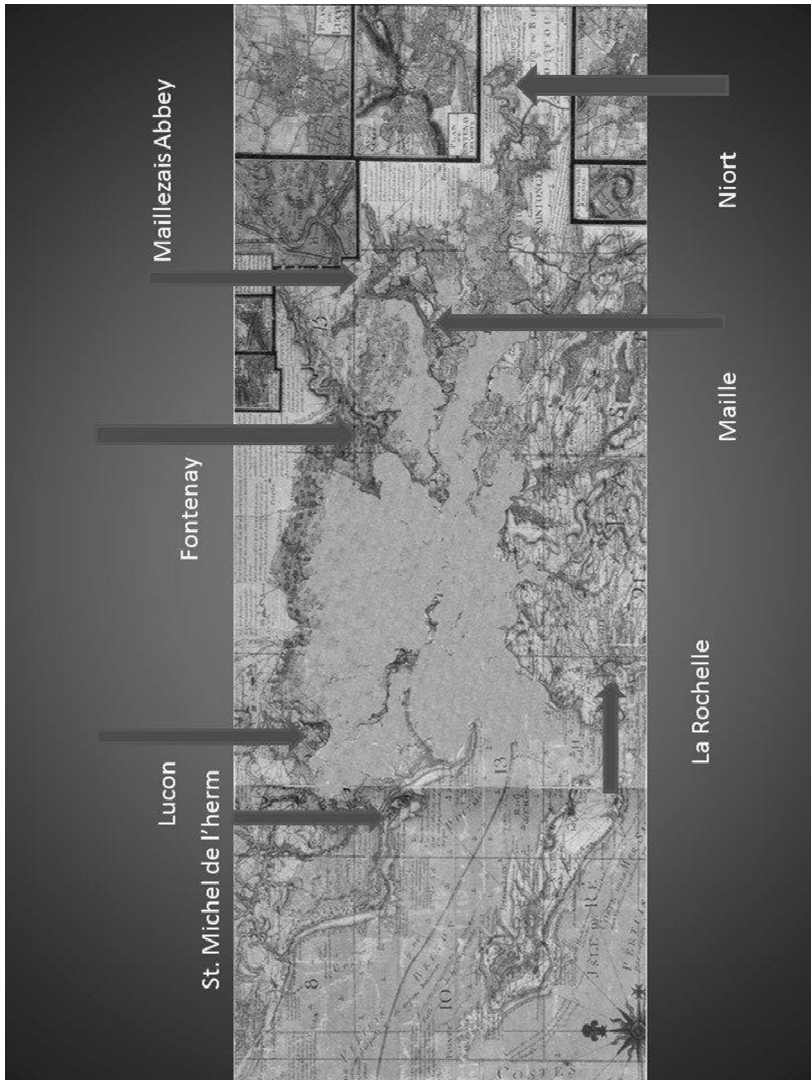


Fig. 1-7. Gulf of Picton. After Claude Masse, c. 1700.

understanding of the medieval hydraulic development and its foundational role in uniting Maillezais’s domain into an urban complex. While all three of these Roman *civitas* were situated at the “delta” end of one of the rivers emptying into the gulf, and probably served as “*pagi*” or nodal points in

the administration of the Roman district, we know that their coastal location also suggests that they functioned strategically as defensive sites.<sup>22</sup> Later sources, however, tell us that with the retreat of the Roman military, this proximity to the river outlet made the medieval inheritors of these Roman settlements extremely vulnerable to the maritime incursions that continued well into the eleventh century.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, the three towns' spatial relation to each other and to the natural topography of the gulf made each of them equally incapable of defending the region as a whole.<sup>24</sup>

From this defensive point of view, perhaps the more revealing Roman feature is a road that followed the path of the Vendée River from Fontenay on the coast out across the marshy gulf to one of the rocky outcroppings at its center.<sup>25</sup> Given the elevation of this "island" in relation to the low-lying road and the surrounding marsh, we have to assume that there was some implicit awareness of the predictable—albeit opposing—nature of the changes in water levels that would have resulted from the seasonal flooding of the rivers carrying fresh water from higher mountainous terrain to the east, as well as the ebb and flow of the Atlantic saltwater tides coming into the gulf from the west.<sup>26</sup> Like this Roman road, those lower elevation settlements, situated in close relation to both river and coastline, would have been susceptible to frequent flooding, and no doubt would

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<sup>22</sup>Rippon, *Beyond the Medieval*, 14, cites Christopher Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520* (London: Penguin Press, 2003), in calling the seventh-century evolved status of these Roman river settlements, "great estates" and notes that they generally straddled several environmental zones and contributed the variety of resources that supported their continued development into the later Middle Ages.

<sup>23</sup>Because the gulf extended well inland, the area was particularly vulnerable to maritime incursions by the Breton, Vikings, Normans, and Muslims, from the seventh to the ninth centuries. See Yves Le Quellec, *Petite Histoire du Marais Poitvin*, (La Crèche: Geste Éditions, 1998), 17-20; and Delahaye, *Histoire*, 26-31.

<sup>24</sup>Pon and Chauvin, *La Fondation*, p. 47, note that by the eleventh century, the monasteries of the region were in their second wave of invasion, instigating an era of "castrum" mentality, with fortified chateaux built in Niort, Mareuil, Luçon, Mervent, Vouvent, as well as Maillezais.

<sup>25</sup>Jean Hiernard, "Le Premier Réseau à Caractère Urbain du Centre-Ouest de la Gaule," *Les Réseaux Urbains dans le Centre-Ouest Atlantique de l'Antiquité à Nos Jours*, 5/3 (1995): 35-56. The Roman roads are referenced in Brochet, *Les Environs*, 130-131, who cites Georges Musset and Alfred Richard, *Les Chemins Gaulois et Romains entre la Loire et La Gironde* (Poitiers: Roy et Cie, 1892), 92.

<sup>26</sup>Jean-Luc Sarrazin, "Maillezais et la Mise en Valeur des Marais au Moyen Âge," in *L'Abbaye de Maillezais*, eds. Treffort and Tranchant, (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2005), 365-376.

have benefitted from some program of river management.<sup>27</sup> The implicit understanding of the dual nature of the gulf’s water is particularly insightful in that it foretells the complexity and sophistication of the early hydraulic solutions—some still in use today—and points to Rippon’s next “causal factor”—village development in relation to raising populations and the advent of a market economy.

This is where the examination of “human agency” comes into play, balancing the environmental aspects of the integrated inquiry.<sup>28</sup> Traditionally, historians would have us find evidence of human activity or human motivations recorded in contemporary documents. Borrowing from Bourdieu’s notion of “*habitus*,” Keith Lilley, however, cautions that in order to really get at the “who” behind the development of an urban community we want to make sure to explore all levels of society.<sup>29</sup> He recommends a “bottom-up” approach, which means looking beyond those documents known to have been commissioned and shared within the ranks of the powers that be at the top, as we seek to discover ways to account for the activities of the people who physically provided the labor to bring a town into being.

Unfortunately, most of the documents housed in Maillezais’s library in the twelfth century and associated with its economic or sociological development, which might have supplemented or nuanced our understanding of the motivations behind the “planning” of Maillezais’s hydraulic system, have been lost to fires.<sup>30</sup> What we have left by way of primary documentation

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<sup>27</sup> André Guillemin, *The Age of Water: The Urban Environment in the North of France, A.D. 300-1800* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1988); and Jean-Pierre Leguay, *L’Eau dans le Ville au Moyen Age* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2002).

<sup>28</sup> Rippon, *Beyond the Medieval Village*, 11.

<sup>29</sup> Lilley, *Urban Life*, 9 and 106. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 80, as quoted in Lilley, *Urban Life*, 14, defines “*habitus*” as “The production of a commonsense world endowed with objectivity secured by consensus on the meaning of practices and the world.”

<sup>30</sup> For the library at Maillezais, see Hervé Genton, “La Bibliothèque de Maillezais à la Fin du XIIIe siècle,” in *L’Abbaye de Maillezais*, 70-110. Fires destroyed documents archived in the Chambre des Comptes in Paris (1737), at the Séminarie de La Rochelle (1772), and finally in the departmental archives for the Deux-Sèvres (1815). Notable sources are, however, the Chronicle of Saint-Maixent, written by Ademar de Chabannes, a cartulary of Saint-Cyprien de Poitiers, and the *Gallia Christiana*. For these sources, see René Crozet, “Maillezais,” *Congrès Archéologique de France*, La Rochelle, (La Rochelle: Société Française d’Archeologie, 1956), 80-96; Treffort and Tranchant, “Maillezais, Lieu de Mémoire, Lieu de Pouvoir,” in *L’Abbaye de Maillezais*, 7-16; and Sarrazin,

is the extant chronicle mentioned above. As might be expected, this document does indeed provide a clear picture of the configuration of political powers at the top. Given it was commissioned by the contemporary abbot, Goderan, it illustrates a particular political agenda in mind that served to ratify, or perhaps to re-invigorate the abbey's close alliance with the ducal family.<sup>31</sup> Setting this stage, the chronicle's fabulous telling of the abbey's miraculous foundation story served to reiterate the abbey's alliance with successive generations of nobility from both Poitou and the Touraine,<sup>32</sup> beginning with the fact that Maillezais Abbey was founded by Duke William IV of Aquitaine and his wife, Emma of Blois in 970.<sup>33</sup> So while the chronicle was actually written by Peter of Maillezais, one of the resident monks, who might otherwise have been in a position to provide us some of those precious views into the lives of the lower levels of society, one has to read carefully between the lines in order to discern these details.<sup>34</sup>

We do see glimpses of at least the context of the lower ranks as the chronicle goes on to highlight a major transition in the monastery's

"Maillezais," 365-66. As noted by the various authors contributing to Treffort and Tranchant, *L'Abbaye de Maillezais*, the archival search for surviving documents pertaining to the abbey and its history in the Vendée has been exhaustive. Compiled results are found in Yannis Suire, *L'Homme et l'Environnement dans le Marais Poitevin, Seconde Moitié du XVIe Siècle-Début du XXe Siècle*, (La Roche-sur-Yon: Centre Vendéen de Recherches Historique, 2002); Étienne Clouzet, *Les Marais de la Sèvre Niortaise et du Lay Xe au XVIe Siècle*, (Paris-Niort, 1904); and Louis Delhomme, *Notes et Documents pour Servir à l'Histoire de l'Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Maillezais au Diocèse de Luçon depuis sa Fondation (976) jusqu' à son Erection en Evêché par le Pape Jean XXII (13 août 1317)*, (Paris-Niort/Miami: Books on Demand, 1904/1961).

<sup>31</sup> Goderan, a Cluniac monk, was brought to Maillezais in 1060 by Guy-Geoffroi-Guillaume VIII, Duke of Aquitaine, to oversee the abbey's reform, a process that was begun under Pope Stephen IX, in 1057, who also made Maillezais a dependent of Cluny. For this history, see Pon and Chauvin, *La Fondation*, 45; Alfred Richard, *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou, 778-1204*, (Paris: Picard, 1903); and Michel Dillange, *Les Comtes de Poitou Ducs d'Aquitaine (778-1204)*, (Paris: Geste Éditions, 1995), 153-161.

<sup>32</sup> Bozóky, "La Legend," 17-29. For the significance of foundation stories, see Amy Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995). For the history of ducal patronage, see Sylvie Refalo, "Les Ducs d'Aquitaine et l'Abbaye de Maillezais (vers 970-vers 1100)," in *L'Abbaye de Maillezais*, 326-33.

<sup>33</sup> Treffort and Tranchant, "Maillezais," 9.

<sup>34</sup> Peter of Maillezais, *De Antiquitate*, 1247-72. See also, Louis Halphen, "L'Histoire de Maillezais du Moine Pierre," *Revue Historique* 150 (1908): 292-97.

history, which takes place in 1003 and 1005 when Duke William V, the founding couple’s son, came to power.<sup>35</sup> At this momentous occasion, William donated to the abbey what amounted to the entire island, measuring approximately 8 kilometers by 6 kilometers, on which the original abbey was located—one of only three elevated “islands” sites in the ancient Golfe des Pictons (Fig. 1-8).<sup>36</sup> This donation included the large plot of land that had been the site of his grandfather’s, Duke William III, Tête d’Étoupe (935-963) hunting lodge, as well as the site where his parents had built their primary residence.<sup>37</sup> Donated in his mother, Emma’s, name, the memorializing gift came with the stipulation that the abbey be relocated to this superior site.<sup>38</sup> What we glean from this episode, in addition to the picture of the long and mutually beneficial relationship between the ducal family and the abbot, is the sense that both parties were keenly aware of the status, power, and economic factors entailed in land and the strategic siting of buildings in relation to topography and natural resources. Admittedly subtle, this emphasis on the abbey’s placement with a particular landscape implies that on some level there was an awareness of the source of labor necessary to work the land and build the structures, even if these people—be they the resident monks or the local inhabitants—were not the first concern.

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<sup>35</sup>Pon and Chauvin, *La Fondation*, 34.

<sup>36</sup> Delahaye, *Histoire*, 7. For the island’s paleo-environmental history, see Lionel Visset, Étude Pollcanalytique de Quelques Sites du Marais Poitevin, “Bull,” *AFAQ* 2 (1987): 81-91; and Yves Gruet and Paul Sauriau, “Paléoenvironnements Holocènes du Marais Poitevin (Littoral Atlantique, France): Reconstitution d’Après les Peuplements Malacologiques,” *Quaternaire* 5/2 (1994): 85-94, who demonstrate that the gulf was the result of sea rising from 6830 BCE to 1160 BCE.

<sup>37</sup> Part of this foundation is still visible under the extant abbey’s southern wall. Emmanuel Barbier, “Maillezais, du Palais Ducal au Réduit Bastionné,” in *L’Abbaye de Maillezais*, 201-28. Bord, *Maillezais*, 13-15, states that this hunting lodge was built as an *aula* or hall, and that William IV and Emma transformed it into a fortified *oppidum*. On pages 71-72, he lists all the donations the abbey received in the eleventh century and where they are recorded. In general, see Francis Michaud and Michel Garnier, *Châteaux en Aquitaine* (Chaury-Niort: Éditions Patrimones & Medias, 1997); and *Sites Défensifs et Sites Fortifiés au Moyen Age entre Loire et Pyrénées: Actes du Premier Colloque Aquitaine, Limoges, 2-22 mai 1987* (Bordeaux: Fédération Aquitaine, 1990).

<sup>38</sup> Peter of Maillezais, *La Fondation de l’Abbaye de Maillezais*, Liber II [fol. 252 a], in Pon and Chauvin, *La Fondation*, 138-39. See also, Mickey Abel, “Emma of Blois: Arbiter of Peace and the Politics of Patronage,” *Reassessing Women’s Role as “Makers” of Medieval Art and Architecture* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2012), 823-62.

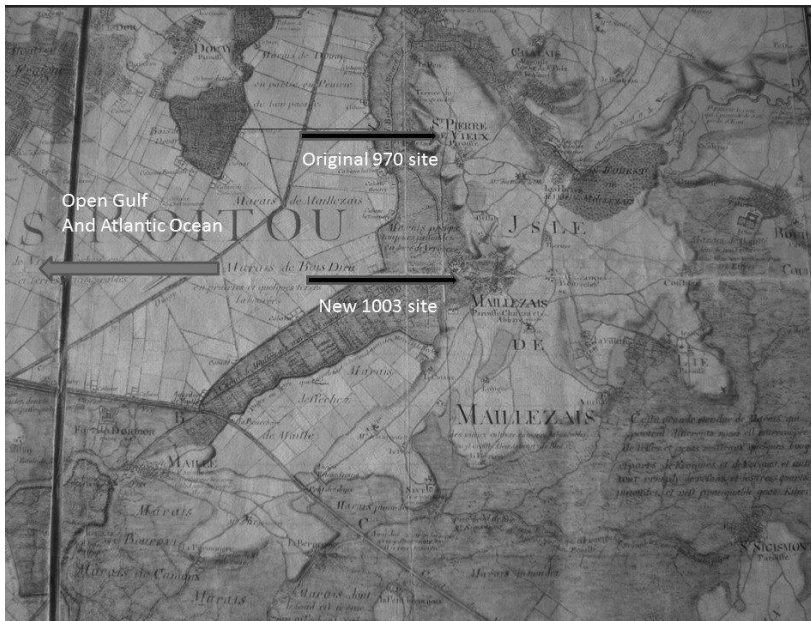


Fig. 1-8. Maillezais Island. After Claude Masse, c. 1700.

Nonetheless, the symbiotic or reciprocal nature of the relationship between the various interests is supported by the environmental factors.<sup>39</sup> The abbey's new location at the edge of the gulf not only better accommodated the needs of the monastery with its prominent east/west orientation for the church, but provided the monks with a particularly "spiritual" view out across the inundated marshlands, simulating the biblical vision of sequestered seclusion associated with Saint John writing on the island of Patmos or perhaps Saint Hillary expelling the snakes from the paradisiacal island of Gallinara.<sup>40</sup> However, as I have argued elsewhere, this relocation was also strategic in that it served to elevate the

<sup>39</sup> Zupko and Laures, *Straws*, 10, notes that even the new townspeople had a reciprocal ties to the people outside the town where they drew profits and sustenance from these people's labor, who in return expected the townspeople to protect them.

<sup>40</sup> Rosa Dessi, "Images Médiévales d'une Île Sainte: Patmos," 281-300; and Cecile Treffort, "Isles et moines du Littoral Atlantique entre Loire et Gironde au Moyen Âge," 319-34, both in *Lérins, une Île Sainte de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge*, eds. Yann Codou and Michel Lauwers (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).