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**The *liber sepulturarum* of the collegiate church of Saint-
Paul of Lyon: topography and sociology**

**O *liber sepulturarum* da igreja colegiada de São Paulo de Lyon:
topografia e sociologia**

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ABSTRACT

The *liber sepulturarum* of the collegiate church of Saint-Paul in Lyon is a unique document that was published but never actually utilised in a more in-depth study. Using a database created from the published edition, it was possible to conduct inquiries and to consider the commemorative strategies of the parishioners. Dating from the end of the fourteenth – beginning of the fifteenth century, month by month, week by week, the anniversaries and the locations of the graves of the deceased who founded one or more anniversaries are listed. Thus, in this book, which contains the records of more than twelve hundred people, men and women, laymen and clerics, the location of the tombs – in the cemetery, the cloister or other places surrounding the canonical quarter – was meticulously recorded, so they could be located for commemoration on the day of the foundation of the anniversary. This document allows a topographical approach to the burial sites (cloister, cemetery, the parish church of Saint-Laurent, chapels, the space between the two churches, the chevet of the collegiate church, etc.) and, through the references therein, also a social approach, whereby elements such as occupation, origin, gender, marriage and family connections can be established. Further questions arise, such as the reuse of graves or differences in treatment between men and women (half as many as men). The descriptions provided by the document also allow to envisage with some precision the shapes of the graves (inscription, representations, etc.). Some of the tombs described, dating back to the thirteenth century, still exist, a number of which serve as actual landmarks. Thus, with the database created for this work, it is possible to precisely locate these various places using a GIS and ancient representations and understand how the parishioners, canons, people linked to the community (canons' servants, bell ringers, etc.) and outsiders fit into this city of the dead. The following question also emerges: the apparent absence of burials in the collegiate church. The cross-referencing of this remarkable document with other sources, whether archaeological or archival, provides a better understanding of the organisation of parish life and the status of lay people within a parish run by canons.

Keywords: Lyon; parish church; collegiate church; cemetery; gravestones; sociology.

RESUMO

O *liber sepulturarum* da igreja colegiada de Saint-Paul em Lyon é um documento único que foi editado, mas nunca foi efetivamente utilizado num estudo mais aprofundado. A partir de finais do século XIV – inícios do século XV, mês após mês, semana após semana, aí são listados os aniversários e a localização das sepulturas dos defuntos que fundaram um ou mais aniversários. Neste livro, que contém os registos de mais de mil e duzentas pessoas, leigos e clérigos, a localização dos túmulos – no cemitério, no claustro ou em outros locais em redor da colegiada – foi meticulosamente conservada. O documento permite, desta forma, uma abordagem topográfica dos locais de inumação (claustro, cemitério, a igreja paroquial de S. Lourenço, capelas, o espaço entre as duas igrejas, a cabeceira da igreja colegiada, etc.), bem como uma abordagem socioprofissional, carreando informações sobre a ocupação, origem, género, casamento e relações familiares dos indivíduos aí sepultados. Outras questões são ainda passíveis de ser levantadas, como a reutilização de sepulturas ou as diferenças de tratamento entre homens e mulheres (estas não ultrapassando metade do número dos homens aí sepultados). As descrições aí facultadas também permitem uma perceção mais clara das características das sepulturas (inscrições, representações, etc). Alguns dos túmulos descritos, que retrocedem até ao século XIII, ainda existem, mesmo servindo como marcos de propriedade.

Através de uma base de dados, criada a partir da edição deste documento, foi possível efetuar consultas e verificar as estratégias de comemoração dos paroquianos, bem como, localizar com precisão os vários locais de sepultura, com o recurso a SIG e a antigas representações, e compreender como paroquianos, cónegos, pessoas ligadas à comunidade (criados, sineiros, etc.) ou externas à mesma se integravam nesta cidade dos mortos.

O cruzamento do *liber sepulturarum* com outras fontes, quer arqueológicas quer arquivísticas, permitiu compreender melhor a organização da vida paroquial e o lugar dos leigos numa paróquia dirigida por cónegos.

Palavras-chave: Lyon; igreja paroquial; igreja colegiada; cemitério; lápides; sociologia.



The burial practices in the Middle Ages are a phenomenon understood through archaeological findings, preserved tombs (tombs and monumental tombs, epitaphs), various archival sources such as obituaries and wills, and iconography¹. From Philippe Ariès's *L'Homme devant la mort* and Jacques Chiffoleau's studies on the "Comptabilité de l'au-delà" in the Middle Ages², the way the history of Death is tackled has changed. This historiography was also renewed thanks to Danièle Alexandre-Bidon and Cécile Treffort³, introducing a deeper interest in inscriptions and representations. Such as the study of funerary monuments being developed in recent years thanks to the works of Lisa Barber in the south of France (Narbonne) and Guillaume Grillon (Burgundy) into gravestones⁴, just as Anna Chiama's study of obituary documents in cathedrals in Provence⁵ and Haude Morvan's work⁶. Thanks to the numerous medieval wills and testaments in the archives, Marguerite Gonon and Marie-Thérèse Lorcin described what it meant to live and die in the Lyonnais and Forez counties at the end of the Middle Ages⁷. In the absence of a consistent number of remains, the Lyon area has not yet been submitted to a meticulous inventory of its gravestones. Often, the remains have disappeared as the site in which they were found has changed. However, the collegiate church Saint-Paul in

¹ I would like to thank Samantha Traxler for her proofreading and advice.

² ARIÈS, Philippe – *L'Homme devant la mort*. Paris : Le Seuil, 1977; CHIFFOLEAU, Jacques – *La Comptabilité de l'au-delà: les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Âge, vers 1320-vers 1480*. Rome-Paris : École française de Rome, 1980.

³ ALEXANDRE-BIDON, Danièle; TREFFORT, Cécile (dir.) – *À réveiller les morts : la mort au quotidien dans l'Occident médiéval*. Lyon : PUL-Association des amis des bibliothèques de Lyon, 1993; TREFFORT, Cécile – *L'Église carolingienne et la mort*. Lyon : PUL, 1996 (Collection d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales, 3); ALEXANDRE-BIDON, Danièle – *La mort au Moyen Âge*. Paris : Hachette, 1998 (collection La Vie quotidienne).

⁴ BARBER, Lisa – "Dalles funéraires gravées à l'effigie du défunt". In *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France*. 69 (2009), pp. 153-171; BARBER, Lisa – "Les plates-tombes de Narbonne gravées avec effigie du défunt". In *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France*, 70 (2010), pp. 161-177; GRILLON, Guillaume – *L'ultime message : étude des monuments funéraires de la Bourgogne ducale XII^e-XVI^e siècles*. Dijon : Université de Dijon, 2011. Thèse de Doctorat.

⁵ CHIAMA, Anne – *Les cathédrales et la mort en Provence (XII^e-XIV^e siècle)*. Saint-Étienne : Université de Saint-Étienne, 2018. Thèse de Doctorat.

⁶ MORVAN, Haude – *"Sous les pas des frères". Les sépultures de papes et de cardinaux chez les Mendiants au XIII^e siècle*. Rome : École française de Rome, 2021.

⁷ GONON, Marguerite – *Les institutions et la société en Forez au XIV^e siècle d'après les testaments*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1961; LORCIN, Marie-Thérèse – *Vivre et mourir en Lyonnais à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1981.

Lyon has preserved several important archives, including many obituary records (two obituaries and a list of people buried around the middle of the fourteenth century)⁸ and a manuscript called *liber sepulturarum*, which helps to fill this gap. This book provides a precise description of the locations of the tombs, giving a more complete picture of the topography of the district and a representation of the funerary landscape within it, as well as establishing an initial sociological study of burials, throughout the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries.

This manuscript, which belonged to a former vicar of the church of Saint-Nizier of Lyon in the nineteenth century, was acquired by the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* in 1921⁹. Although it was edited and published by Pierre Gras and Jacques Laurent in 1965¹⁰, it has never been used in any research whatsoever¹¹. This is why, we propose to offer an initial presentation, based on an approach which cross-references the information contained in this book with the remains that have or have not been preserved. We will thus examine the extent to which this relatively rare source allows us to comprehend the organisation of burials in the Saint-Paul district and to analyse the characteristics of the population through this document. Following an introduction to the work and its composition, our focus will shift to the burial spaces and the origins of the deceased who chose this location for interment. Lastly, we will examine the privileged tombs and the burial sites themselves. By

⁸ Archives départementales du Rhône et de la Métropole de Lyon (AD Rhône from now), 13 G 99, anniversary book of Saint-Paul, 14th century; 13 G 96 list of the people buried in the middle of the 14th century, roll; Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon (BML), ms Coste 341, anniversary book of Saint-Paul (11th-13th centuries).

⁹ Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), nouv. acqu. lat. 1124; OMON, Henri – “Un nouvel obituaire de Saint-Paul de Lyon”. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 65-2 (1921), pp. 69-72; LEMAÎTRE, Jean-Loup (ed.) – *Répertoire des documents nécrologiques français*, t. 1, Paris, 1980 (Recueil des historiens de la France, Obituaires, t. VII), pp. 171-172.

¹⁰ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, avec la collaboration de P. Gras. Paris : Imprimerie nationale, 1965; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*. Paris : Imprimerie nationale, 1965 (Recueil des Historiens de la France, *Obituaires*, V et VI), pp. 191-246. From now, we will give references according to this edition.

¹¹ BERTHELOT, Camille – *Église, religion, société à Lyon au Moyen Âge d'après les obituaires et les anniversaires : l'exemple du chapitre Saint-Paul*, mémoire de maîtrise sous la direction de René Fédou. Lyon, 1983. Camille Berthelot mentioned the manuscript however she worked mainly on anniversary books and the various other funeral documents. For first in-depth analysis of the manuscript: CHOPIN, Hervé – *La collégiale Saint-Paul de Lyon. Étude historique et archéologique*, mémoire d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie médiévale. Lyon : Université Lyon 2, 2000, 2 vols; CHOPIN, Hervé – *Occupation et utilisation de l'espace dans le monde canonial au Moyen Âge: l'exemple du diocèse de Lyon*. Lyon : Université de Lyon, 2022, 2 vols. Thèse de Doctorat.

cross-referencing with other sources, it will then be possible to identify certain distinctive features of these tombs.

1st part: A tool for the community

1) The collegiate church and its chapter

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Lyon was still regularly confronted with the resurgence of epidemics, the horrors of war and the passage of road gangs through the surrounding area. Located along a significant thoroughfare, at the boundary between the Kingdom of France and the Empire, the city served as the archiepiscopal see and thus played a pivotal role within the Church as the seat of the Primacy of the Gauls. Numerous canonical communities were settled in the city: five institutions of secular clergy (including the cathedral chapter) and two institutions of regular clergy. Located to the north, just a few dozen metres from the right bank of the Saône, Saint-Paul of Lyon is one of the oldest churches in the city¹². According to a thirteenth-century episcopal list, the church was founded by a sixth-century bishop, Sacerdos, an uncle of Saint Nizier¹³. The church was mentioned for the first time in Bishop Leidrade's letter and Brief to Charlemagne around 810. At that time, worship was maintained by a community of twenty-four canons, whose church was restored by the archbishop. Around 830, a chorebishop was at the head of the community. In the subsequent century, leadership shifted to an abbot, and from the twelfth century onwards, the community was overseen by a *camerarius*, referred to as *chamarier* in the French language spoken in Lyon. This dignitary remained in charge of the community until it died out in 1790. He was assisted by a sacristan, who held the curial office in the church adjacent to Saint-Paul, known as Saint-Laurent, with evidence of this role dating back to the mid-thirteenth century. From

¹² DUPLAIN, L.; GIRAUD, J. – *Saint-Paul de Lyon. Étude d'histoire lyonnaise*. Lyon : A. Rey et Cie, 1899; FÉDOU, René – "Communautés religieuses et sociétés urbaines. Le chapitre Saint-Paul de Lyon (1450-1550)". *Revue du Nord* 66, 261-262 (1984), pp. 277-285; REVEYRON, Nicolas – *Chantiers lyonnais du Moyen Âge (Saint-Jean, Saint-Nizier, Saint-Paul)*. *Archéologie et histoire de l'art*. Lyon : ALPARA, 2005; CHOPIN, Hervé – *La collégiale Saint-Paul de Lyon*; CHOPIN, Hervé – "Une église à travers les âges : l'ancienne collégiale Saint-Paul". In BOBICHON, Max *et al.* – *Quartier Saint-Paul, Lyon*. Lyon : s.n., 2002, pp. 83-103; CHOPIN, Hervé – *Occupation et utilisation de l'espace*.

¹³ CONDAMIN, James; VANEL, Jean-Baptiste – *Martyrologe de la sainte Église de Lyon*. Lyon : Librairie Emmanuel Vitte, 1902.

1321, the number of canons was fixed at 18. The book was produced at the heart of this community¹⁴.

2) The manuscript and its composition

The manuscript commences with an extensive introduction that precisely outlines its intended purpose: *Liber sive repertorium omnium et singularum sepulturarum sive tombarum personarum que quondam anniversaria subscripta ecclesie S. Pauli Lugdunensis...*

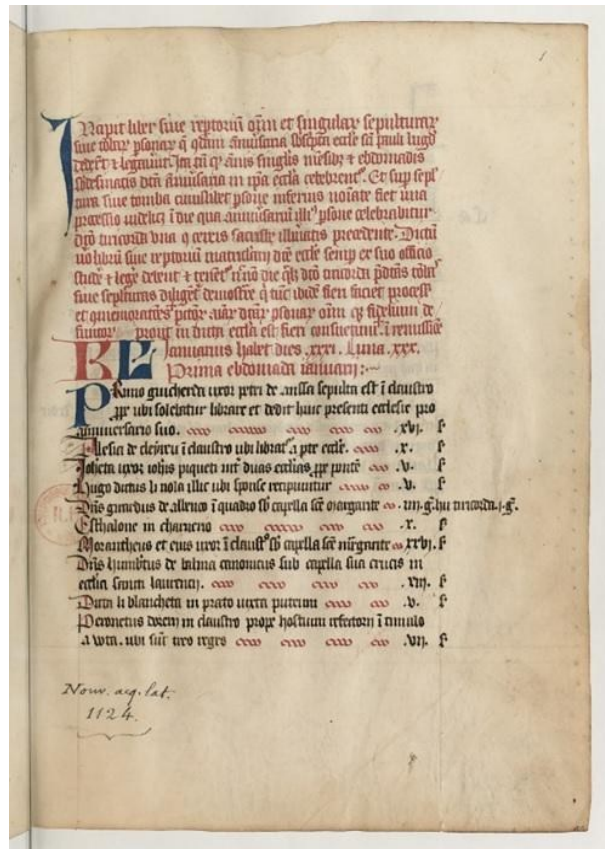


Fig. 1: *Liber sepulturarum...*, BnF ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1124, fol. 1r°.

Thus, it serves as a directory of the tombs of individuals who founded an anniversary at the collegiate church of Saint-Paul and a directory for the use of the churchwarden (*matricularius*). Every year, month and week, the anniversaries were celebrated, with a procession to the grave of the deceased individuals whose commemoration was taking place. These processions most probably took place on Monday, day of the

¹⁴ CHOPIN, Hervé – *La collégiale Saint-Paul de Lyon*; CHOPIN, Hervé – “Une église à travers les âges”, pp. 83-103; CHOPIN, Hervé – *Occupation et utilisation de l'espace*.

dead, each week. Bells were rung and candles lit. The bell ringer, a layman, and the sacristan, the chapter dignitary responsible for the smooth running of the liturgy and the parish priest, were therefore involved. It was read regularly to carry out the processions and commemorations in remission of the sins of the souls of the founders and of all the faithful departed, as “is customary in this church” (*prout in dicta ecclesia est fieri consuetum*). The bellringer would indicate the location of the tombs so that the processions would run smoothly¹⁵.

The *Liber sepulturarum* consists of 68 parchment folios measuring 270 by 200 millimetres. It is devoid of decoration or illumination, but three different inks were used, as well as ink from later additions. Two coloured inks (red and blue) are used, while the body of the text is in black. The introduction is written in red, a colour that emphasises the monthly and weekly sections, and enhances the initials of each line and the line ends. Blue is used to write the *L* in the word *kalenda* of each month (the *L* in the abbreviation *KL*) and for the initial of the incipit. The rule is drawn with ink and follows the regular stitching pattern. It determines the layout of the pages. Spaces have been deliberately left empty to complete the text, which is sometimes achieved by using a second hand and lighter brown ink. Some, but not all, initials at the beginning of the page are slightly decorated with masks or faces¹⁶.

The manuscript is undated; however, based on the identifiable individuals buried, it can be inferred that it was written prior to 1410, with a significant concentration of anniversaries dating from the latter half of the fourteenth century¹⁷. However, it should be noted that the anniversaries founded may date back to the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth century. For example, *Acherricus*, a precentor – a role later replaced by that of cantor – who lived in the twelfth century, still had a visible tomb in the centre of Saint-Laurent Church at the time the

¹⁵ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, p. 191.

¹⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, nouvelle acquisition latine ms 1124, e.g., 2v, 3r, 8r.

¹⁷ The editors date to this period based on the death of *Petrus Felins* after 1423 however no precise source is indicated nor can be ascertained, BnF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1124, fol. 12v; GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, p. 202-G. It is the only one attested at this date. The best-known clerics or canons mainly died in the 13th and 14th centuries. The perpetual chaplain and choirmaster who died more recently than at the time of writing was Pierre Dole, who died in 1407 (AD Rhône, 13 G 551).

manuscript was copied¹⁸. This may explain the mention of “abest”, since although the tomb may have not been preserved, the perpetual anniversary was maintained¹⁹.

As shown in the introduction, the months and weeks follow one after another, with each month having four or five weeks. The number of days and moons are written at the beginning of each month. For each week, there is a list of anniversaries and the location of the tombs. The first name and surname, the title (*dominus, frater, miles*, for example), the family relationship (son/daughter of, wife/widow of, etc.), the occupation (approximately fifty occurrences in all) and the titles of the clerics (canons, chaplains, chamberlain, cantor, sacristan, etc.) are given on each line. The location of the tomb is then indicated, for example: *in claustro, prope ubi solebatur librare*²⁰. Sometimes this location is supplemented by a minor detail, such as *in timulo (sic!) a vota*, or another element often relating to the tomb itself, such as a descriptive element that allows you to find your way around more easily. Finally, the amount paid for the anniversary was written²¹. From these various elements, we have built a database by including all the information present in the text.

3) Methodology: development of a database

A database was created with Access® and Excel® software to analyse the distinct items of information in detail²². Each anniversary was treated as a record. Since several anniversaries were founded at various times of the year by the same person, the duplications of occurrences are inevitable. That is why we created a function to identify the first appearance of each deceased person. Subsequently, a second function can be used to identify the founding of several anniversaries by the same

¹⁸ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, p. 201-G. Was this tomb moved when the church was enlarged or rebuilt in the thirteenth century ?

¹⁹ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, p. 247-D.

²⁰ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, p. 191.

²¹ This book is very similar to the one of the collegiate church Santiago of Coimbra. The location of the tomb is given as well as the amount donated for the anniversaries. SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo – “Un libro de aniversarios de la colegiata de Santiago de Coímbra. Contribución al estudio del culto del Apóstol en la Edad Media”. *Ad Limina*, 9/9 (2018), pp. 186-224.

²² This database will be available online in the near future.

individual. Following this, the identity of the founder is presented, including their first and last names, gender or the presence of a couple, status (*uxor, filius, filia*, but also *dominus, magister*, etc.), and the father's or husband's name as specified in the text. Follow all other references as they are presented in the manuscript, along with the serial number for each month and week. A special function enables to highlight the clerics. Another one enables the selection of entries depending on the person's occupation or the cleric's function (*chamarier*, canon, perpetual chaplain, archbishop, etc.).

Four fields allow the entry of various levels of detail to locate the graves. The first field indicates a general location, representing one of the larger spaces within the vicinity, followed by more specific details that differentiate the exact location within this broader category. Lastly, a third (and occasionally a fourth) element completes the location by providing a more precise reference to the grave. To query the database regarding the ownership of a tomb or chapel, an 'owner' tick box is included, followed by a field to detail the amount paid for the foundation. A 'comment' field is also provided for storing additional information, along with a separate field for the date. Following this, we thought it would be an innovative idea to anticipate the questions relating to representations on the tombstone (yes/no tick box), with a field for the type of representation, *id est* whether the deceased is represented, and if so, how they are represented.

Subsequently, the database facilitates answers to the following questions: is the deceased buried in a grave that predates their death? Who was laid there before? Is there an inscription? A function records whether the anniversary is 'common' or not, and a field enables the entry of references to other individuals in the database. The edition references are given, as well as the full text of the record. In the edition, the second scribe who adds anniversaries appears in italics. Consequently, a function to keep a record of this has been included. A penultimate column allows the addition of references to documents that can be cross-referenced with the manuscript. Finally, a function has been added to note the rare references to “*non*

processionem" which appear in a few rare examples concerning those deceased whose grave location is not mentioned²³.

2nd part: Pieces of information to better know the population of the deceased

1) The data

The total number of records is 1477, comprising 986 men and 476 women. Considering individuals who established multiple anniversaries, the numbers are reduced to 813 men and 458 women. Several social groups are represented in the 35 professions listed, including notaries, who are buried in the cloister or in a chapel in Saint-Laurent, one between the two churches and the others in the cemeteries. Other trades are represented, such as drapers and butchers (there was a butcher's shop in the south of Saint-Paul's district). This presence of lawyers had already been highlighted by René Fédou²⁴. There were also families from what G. de Valous called the urban patriciate²⁵. There were also many lay people working for the chapter: four ringers, ten canons' maids and beadles. Half of the maids were buried in the cloister, often close to their master's tomb. The others were buried in the cemeteries.

The nobility was also present, but in smaller numbers. Three men are qualified as *miles*. Their remains lie in privileged spaces such as the chapter house or the cloister. One is mentioned only through the foundation of his anniversary. Other deceased belonged to the nobility but were also members of the clergy. This final group of individuals is significant: 199 records pertain to 127 people, representing approximately 10% of the total population mentioned in the manuscript. They were canons or dignitaries of the chapter, but also other priests or deacons, and parish priests such as the one from Saint-Vincent in Lyon which belonged to the sacristan of Saint-Paul. Archbishops also founded anniversaries, but their bodies were not laid to rest at Saint-Paul²⁶.

²³ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, pp. 213-B et F, 229-C, 234-C, 236-E et F.

²⁴ FÉDOU, René – "Communautés religieuses et sociétés urbaines. Le chapitre Saint-Paul de Lyon (1450-1550)". *Revue du Nord*, 66, 261-2 (1984), pp. 226, 328.

²⁵ DE VALOUS, Guy – *Le patriciat lyonnais aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*. Paris: Picard, 1973.

²⁶ Archbishop Aimery (1236-1245) was buried in Saint-Laurent, but Henri de Villars (1342-1354), Raymond Saquet (1356-1358) and Jean de Talaru (1375-1389) only founded anniversaries.

A key indicator of social distinction is the amount offered for an anniversary. The most common offering is 5 *sous*, with the amount increasing according to social status. Anniversaries costing more than 20 *sous* were less frequent. An agreement between the consuls and the parish churches established a minimum price of 5 *sous*, which accounts for 501 records out of 1477, approximately one third of the total²⁷. The largest sums reached 5 *florins* 8 *gros* and a gold funeral sheet, for example, for the cantor Mathieu de Varey²⁸. Étienne Châtelain, perpetual chaplain, also paid 5 *florins* and a jacket for a poor man²⁹.

The distribution of social groups by primary location clearly highlights the predominance of the cloister, the Saint-Laurent Church, and, to a lesser extent, the chapter house as the preferred burial sites for clerics. The latter was really a space reserved for fourteenth-century *chamariers* and their immediate families (relatives). In his will of 1396, Mathieu de Varey founded a chapel there under the name of the Trinity³⁰. He was laid to rest alongside his mother and brother³¹. The sacristans, parish priests of Saint-Laurent, were buried in this church.

It is challenging to ascertain the ages of individuals at the time of their death. The phrase “son or daughter of” does not necessarily indicate that they were children. Furthermore, it is not possible to estimate their ages at the time of death.

Regarding anniversary foundations, most of the deceased established an anniversary in their will, often on the day of their death. Processions occurred on Mondays, which explains the distribution of anniversaries by week without

²⁷ *Cartulaire municipale de la ville de Lyon*, CVI to CIX, pp. 206-232.

²⁸ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon*, II *Diocèse de Lyon*, 2^e partie, p. 220-B; his will and testament: AD Rhône, 4 G 63, fol. 16r^o-17v^o on March 3rd, 1397.

²⁹ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon*, II *Diocèse de Lyon*, 2^e partie, p. 208-E.

³⁰ AD Rhône, 4 G 55, fol. 190v^o-193v^o.

³¹ PUEL, Olivia; GANIVET, Pierre – “La géographie des morts dans l’abbaye de Savigny (Xe-XVIIIe siècle)”. In REVEYRON, Nicolas; PUEL, Olivia; GAILLARD, Charlotte (eds.) – *Architecture, décor, organisation de l’espace. Les enjeux de l’archéologie médiévale*. Lyon : Alpara-Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2013, pp. 131-142. The same type of family burials can also be found at the Benedictine abbey of Savigny, in western Lyon, inside the chapter house where the abbot is buried with his family.

specifying a particular day. It is most common to find a single annual anniversary; however, some ecclesiastics founded as many as twenty-five anniversaries. Notable examples include Jean de *Ranchetis*, canon of Saint-Paul and procurator general to the archbishop, and Gérard d'Arbenc (*de Albenco*), cantor and papal collector, who both founded ten anniversaries.

2) Where did the people come from?

The individuals buried here are from the parish of Saint-Paul, whose boundaries have remained largely unchanged since the Middle Ages.

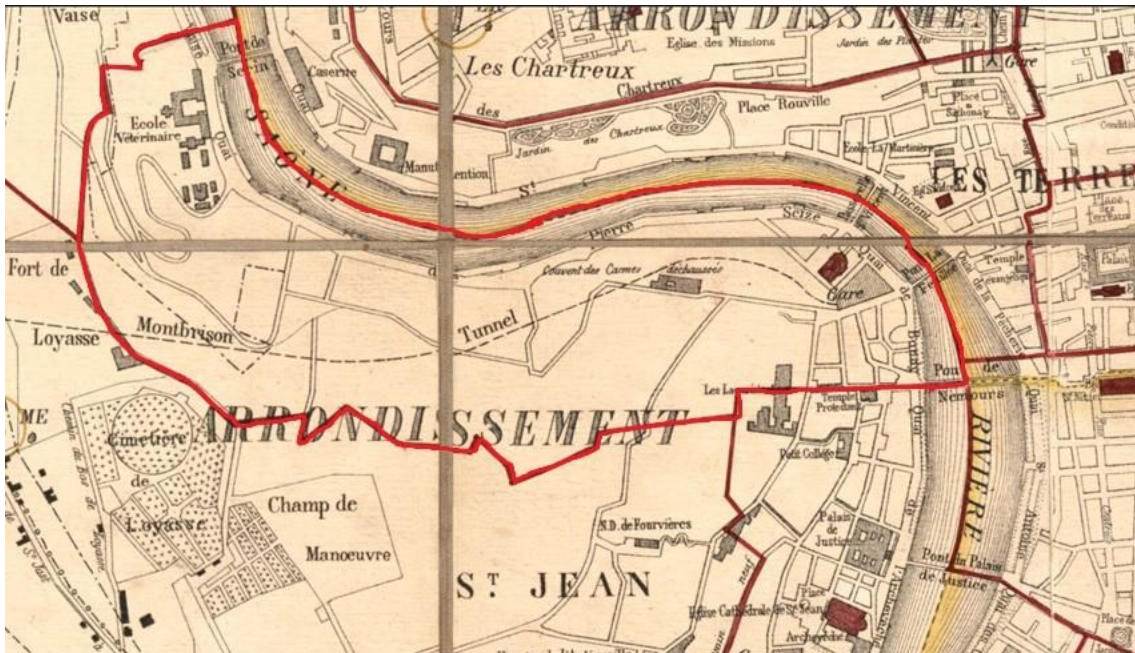


Fig. 2: Map of Saint-Paul's parish, AD Rhône 2 V 19/2 (plan des paroisses de Lyon, 1873)

It extended north, including the Bourgneuf district, and south along the Saône, to the north of the *Place du Change*. However, some of the people buried there were not from this area at all, even if they were from Lyon. The *chamarier* Mathieu de Varey is buried with his parents. The Varey family has been documented in historical sources since the early twelfth century. Its members also joined the chapter of Saint-Paul early on. The lay members were required to pay royalties to the chapter for the properties they owned in the parish, even though some also possessed houses in the parish of Saint-Vincent, located beyond the Saône, which was under the jurisdiction of the chapter of Saint-Paul. By the end of the thirteenth century, they were

recognized as among the city's notables, with six members signing the truce between the citizens and the Church of Lyon. Among the outsiders, there was a countess named Guillemette³².

3) The *claustrum*

This document enhances our understanding of the spatial organisation of the district. Although the book does not extensively reference Saint-Paul's church, it clearly illustrates the existing connections between the various buildings surrounding it. As observed in many historic collegiate churches, and according to the *Institutio Canoniorum* of 816, the district included an enclosure (*claustra canonicorum*)³³ with a single entrance, encompassing the refectory, dormitory, cellar, and other structures utilised by the canons. While the term *claustrum* is employed, it does not denote a cloister in this context. Despite the dual meanings of the term, it may be interpreted as referring to a space with four galleries rather than the entirety of the district, as *claustrum* could imply.

A number of major areas can be identified, both on the "Plan scénographique de la ville de Lyon" in the mid-sixteenth century and on the map of the noble estate in the eighteenth century: the cloister, with its two main components, the galleries (*in quadro*) and the meadow (*in prato*), the church of Saint-Laurent, the space between the two churches of Saint-Paul and Saint-Laurent, the chapter house, the small cemetery behind Saint-Paul and the parish cemetery behind Saint-Laurent.

³² GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, p. 208-C. Was she count Guy II's wife ? Although tradition places her burial in Saint-Irénée.

³³ *Institutio canonicorum Aquisgranensis*, c. 117, p. 398.



Fig. 3: Plan scénographique de Lyon, ca 1550, Archives Municipales Lyon (3 SAT)

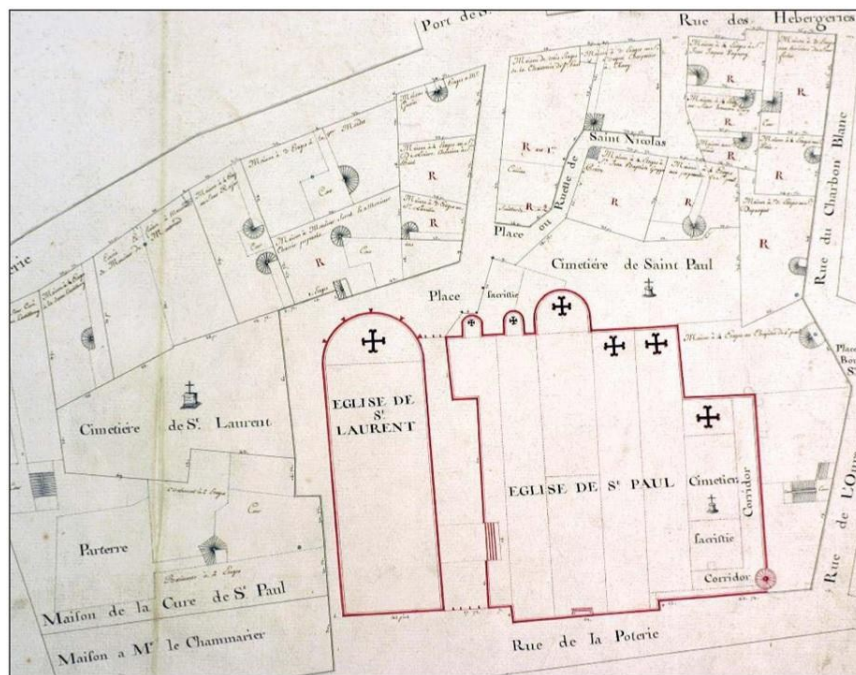


Fig. 4: Saint-Paul's map of the noble annuity, 18th century, AD Rhône 13 G 372

Saint-Paul's was the church of the canons, but it was not the parish church. In fact, thanks to a document of the middle of the thirteenth century, Saint-Laurent – which belonged to Saint Paul's chapter - was identified as the parish church. The two churches were connected by a covered passageway since at least the fifteenth century, used by the canons during processions. It is uncommon to find two parallel churches, however Lyon's episcopal group already consisted of three churches built next to each other. Another example can be found in Besançon with the collegiate

church and, later, the abbey of Saint-Paul built next to each other, although in this case the two churches were a little further apart.

The parish cemetery was located to the north and east of Saint-Laurent, and the baptismal font, the location for marriages, certain chapels, as well as the main and side doors, including the one connected to the covered passage, are all mentioned in the manuscript. The treasury was in the upper part of Saint-Paul's, overlooking the space between the two churches, on the southern side the churchwardens' rooms (*camere*).

Saint-Paul's Church is mentioned in relation to its four altars, located in the four apsidioles on either side of the main altar in the choir. It is also mentioned in relation to its western gate, which featured depictions of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. A small cemetery with a central cross, enclosed by a wall and surrounding houses are described to the east of the apse. Finally, to the south of Saint-Paul was the cloister: the area with the highest density of burials recorded in the manuscript. It is subdivided into several areas: the chapels (Saint-Michel, Sainte-Marguerite, Saint-Eustache), the gates (Saint-Maurice and Saint-Jean), the refectory door, the cloister door and the place where deliveries used to be made to the canons. Steps in direction of Sainte-Marguerite or Saint-Michel were described as well. We also come across the expressions *a parte inferiori* or *a parte superiori* attesting to the difference in elevation which existed between the meadow and the galleries. The cloister contained benches and a washbasin, and the coping of a well was uncovered during restoration work conducted in 2005³⁴.

3rd part: Privileged places for privileged people

1) Privileged burial areas

As previously mentioned, the burial register indicates the locations of the burials. It is essential to briefly examine these various spaces.

³⁴ VERNIN, E. – *Église Saint-Paul (Lyon): cour du cloître*, rapport d'opération archéologique. Lyon: Service archéologique municipal, 2005.

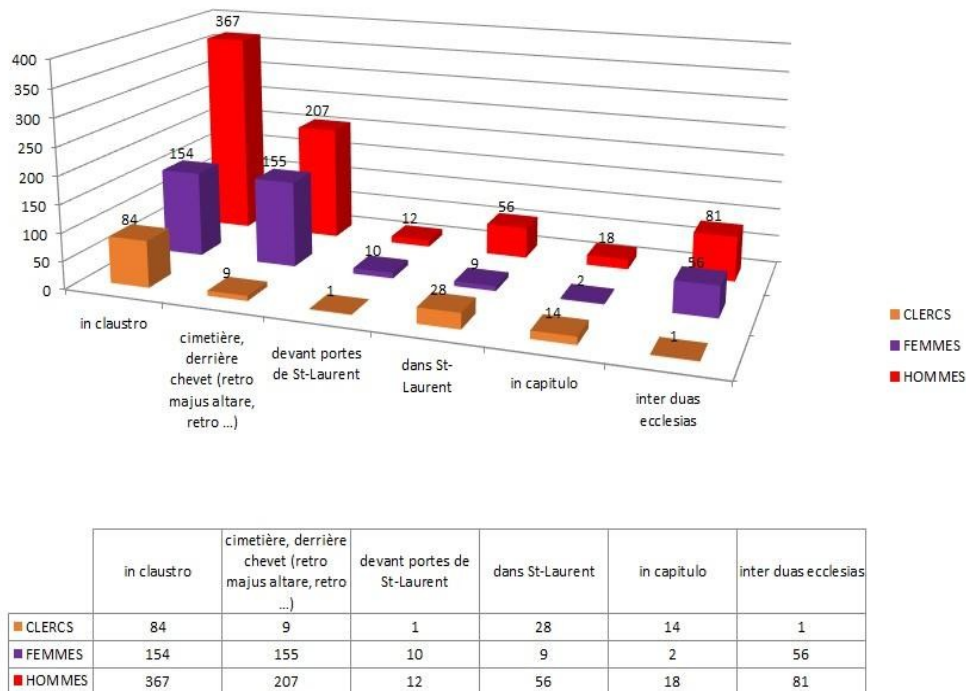


Fig. 5: Number of people buried in the main spaces.³⁵

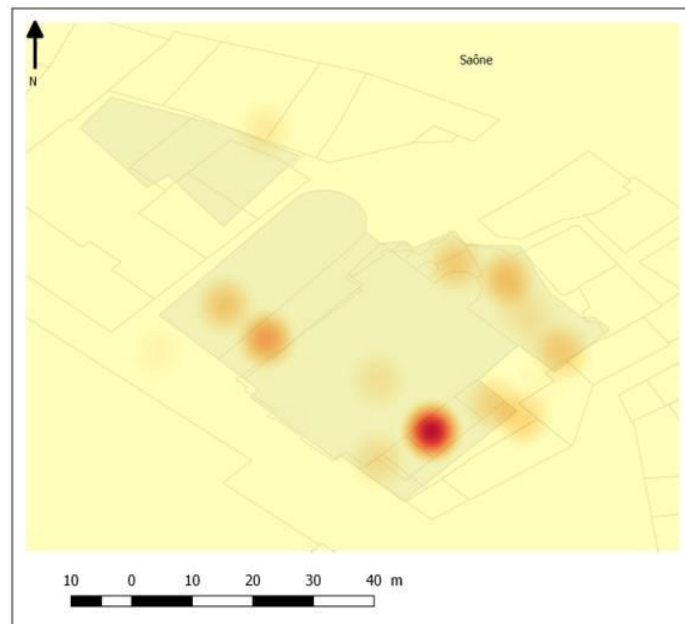


Fig. 6: Map of the main locations of the tombs, according to the mentions in the manuscript (QGIS, H. Chopin UMR 5138 Arar and M. Foucault, SAVL, Lyon)

The cloister is the area with the highest number of burials, housing 367 men (including 84 clergymen) and fewer than half that number of women. It contains the

³⁵ Although listed separately, the “Hommes” (men) category includes the 84 clergymen.

graves of various individuals, including canons, ecclesiastics, bourgeois from the parish, and people from other regions. Serving as the primary location for burials, the cloister's graves are distributed throughout, with a particular concentration near the doors and chapels. The descriptions provided offer precise details of the galleries (*in quadro*) and the *pratum*. The entire arrangement brings to mind, albeit on a smaller scale, the design of the *Chiostro dei Morti* in Florence, within the Dominican complex of Santa Maria Novella³⁶.

Among the different cemeteries, the parish cemetery behind Saint-Laurent and particularly the small one to the north-east of Saint-Paul's, were also chosen as burial grounds by just over 200 men, 155 women, and 9 clergymen. The latter graveyard lies at the back of Saint-Paul's. The location of the graves is given as "behind the main altar", "behind the altars of Saint-Jacques or Saint-Jean, of Marie-Madeleine or of the Virgin". In the centre of this small cemetery, bordered by houses, stood a cross. The larger cemetery, where many individuals, particularly the less affluent and less documented, were buried, is situated behind Saint-Laurent on the Saône River side, near a temporary, likely wooden, bridge crossing the river. A mass grave is also mentioned, which was most likely an ossuary.

The space between the two churches, which is not specifically named, is defined by the side doors of the two churches facing each other. It plays a key role for burials with 138 people interred here: 82 men (including only one clergyman) and 56 women.

The most privileged burial places were the church of Saint-Laurent and the chapter house of Saint-Paul. In both locations, men are predominant, particularly clerics such as cantors, canons, and sacristans. The graves are situated within Saint-Laurent Church, near the doors, adjacent to its chapels, in the presbytery, or at the centre of the church. The chapels mentioned were those of the Cabanone, Étienne d'Avignon, Sainte-Catherine and Saint-Nicolas. The locations of the baptismal font, the stoup, and the place where marriages were celebrated are also indicated on the map. The

³⁶ RAVALLI, Gaia – *Il chiostro dei Morti di Santa Maria Novella. Un laboratorio della pittura fiorentina alla metà del Trecento*. Firenze: Edifir, 2015.

chamariers rested in peace in the chapter house, a reserved and privileged burial area. However, Mathieu de Varey's family is an exception seeing as two women were buried here - his mother and Catherine de Lavieu, Pierre de Lavieu's wife - as well as Hugues de Lavieu (also a relative of Mathieu de Varey).

Having outlined these burial sites, we now turn our attention to the individuals buried there.

2) Privileged families

There were no specific places to bury the canons. Most of the time they were interred in the cloister, in Saint-Laurent's or in the *capitulum*. They were mostly buried along with a friend or a relative. The best places were given to the *chamariers*. The sacristans of Saint-Paul were placed in Saint-Laurent's.

Most graves mention only a single individual, though this does not necessarily imply they were buried alone; they may have been interred alongside a spouse or another person, though this is not always recorded. Approximately one hundred individuals were buried next to another body, and 78 tombs contained more than two people. Some of them belonged to local nobility, from the Lyonnais, Forez, Bresse, Dombes or Dauphiné regions, such as the Chevrier, La Baume/Balme, Villars, de Vaux, Lavieu³⁷, Vassalieu, Mont-d'Or and Riverie families. Only nine families had more than six people in each grave: La Balme (7), Bourgneuf (7), d'Anse (8), Chevrier (*Caprarii*, *Caprarie*, *Caprerie*, 8), Pompière (8) in a chapel in Saint-Laurent, Saint-Clément (8) and Dorier (*Dorerii*, 13). Two families are represented with respectively 18 and 49 individuals: the Fuer and the Varey. Both were amongst the oldest families in Lyon according to G. de Valous with the d'Albon and the Chaponay who also have a few family members buried in the cloister ³⁸.

³⁷ *Les familles nobles du Forez au XIIIe siècle. Essais de filiation*. Ed. Édouard Perroy. Montbrison : Centres d'études foréziennes, t. 1976-1977 (thèses et mémoires n°8), t. I, n°105, pp. 416-457.

³⁸ VALOUS, Guy – *Le patriciat lyonnais aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, p. 121; pp. 164-168 for d'Albon's family, pp. 169-183 for the Chaponay; pp. 247-259, for the Chevrier. Other families were also mentioned.

Family's name	Number of records	Number of people	Men	Women
Varey (de)	58	49	28	21
Fuer (de)	28	18	10	8
Dorier	14	13	8	5
La Balme (de)	13	7	6	1
Pompière (de)	9	8	4	4
Chevrier	9	8	5	3
Saint-Clément (de)	8	8	2	6
Bourgneuf (de)	8	7	4	3

Fig. 7: Names of the most represented families in the manuscript.

Regarding the Varey family, attested since the late twelfth century, at least two distinct branches, with identifiable members, can be distinguished. The first, the original branch, can be traced back to two canons: Mathieu de Varey, the *chamarier*, and his namesake, who served as a cantor during the same period. This branch possessed several tombs. The family tomb is recorded as being located near the Saint-Maurice door, close to the north-western corner of the cloister. Mathieu the *camerarius* was buried in the chapter house, in the Trinity chapel which he founded, alongside his brother Ennemond (described as a *miles* and lord of Avauges) as well as their mother Arembort and Ennemond's son Jean³⁹. Another tomb is situated near the refectory door, believed to have been in the south-eastern corner, which may correspond to the present door in the Sainte-Marguerite chapel.

There were also alliances with other families: Catherine de Varey was married to André de Pompière; Alesia de Varey was Mathieu de La Mure's wife, but she was buried in the Varey family vault; Jeannette was Jean de Saint-Clément's wife, buried next to her husband in the space between the two churches, near the Sainte-Catherine door on the Saint-Laurent side. Léonarde was Pompière's widow; Marguerite married Mathieu de Chaponay. Both women were Jean de Varey's sisters. Not all members of the family were buried at Saint-Paul. Villana, for example, only has one anniversary there, but she was not buried there. She had not yet died

³⁹ AD Rhône, 4 G 55, fol. 190v-193v (February 9th, 1396).

when the last additions were made to the manuscript. Marguerite chose the Benedictine abbey of Ainay to be buried with her husband's family⁴⁰.

Mathieu the cantor's branch is attached to the Fuer family. Thus, Alesia, Thomas de Varey's daughter and Mathieu's sister, was buried in the cloister, in the Fuer tomb, under the chapel of Saint-Michel. This second family played a significant role: Quincarnon, a historiographer from Lyon in the seventeenth century, mentions the presence of their coat of arms on the vaults and walls of the cloister gallery⁴¹.

Finally, these examples illustrate that the main families of the urban patricians used marriage to create alliances between Lyon's patrician families. Saint-Paul's church was particularly chosen by a few of these families to be their final resting place.

3) Aspects of the tombs

Nothing remains of the tombs presented. As early as the seventeenth century, Quincarnon compiled an inventory and detailed account of the inscriptions and monuments preserved in the collegiate church while writing its history. An examination of this text indicates that many tombs still existed at that time; however, the majority date back to the end of the fourteenth century. It is important to note that the work carried out in the church, coupled with the actions of the Reformed, who seized control of the town in 1562 and destroyed part of the church, adversely affected the graves. However, five inscriptions remained: those about Mathieu de Fuer, Marguerite de *Beuna*, Marguerite de Fuer, a Master Pierre sacristan of Saint-Just, another of Lyon's collegiate churches on the hill near to Fourvière, and that of Nicolette, wife of Jean de Précieux⁴². They were all located in what remained of the cloister at the time, *id est* two galleries, one to the south and the other to the

⁴⁰ LE LABOUREUR, Claude – *Les Mazures de l'abbaye royale de l'Isle-Barbe lez Lyon, ou Recueil historique de tout ce qui s'est fait de plus mémorable en cette église depuis sa fondation jusques à présent, avec le catalogue de tous ses abbez*. Paris : Jean Couterot, 1681, t. I, p. 657.

⁴¹ QUINCARNON, Charles Malo – *La fondation des antiquités de la basilique collégiale, canoniale et curiale de Saint-Paul de Lyon*. Édité par Marie-Claude GUIGUE. Lyon, 1882, p. 36 : "La petite allée du cloître fut commencée et achevée aux frais des maisons de Fuer et de Chevrier", which means that the small cloister alley was built and completed at the expense of the houses of de Fuer and de Chevrier. The Chevrier coat of arms is found on three or four pillars and ten or twelve times in the vaults.

⁴² QUINCARNON, Charles Malo – *La fondation des antiquités de la basilique collégiale, canoniale et curiale de Saint-Paul de Lyon*, pp. 25-26, 38, 38-39 and 40.

west. On the other hand, the author makes no mention of the inscription on the chevet, which identifies beneficiaries also recorded in the fourteenth century obituary and the burial book. This inscription, dating to the thirteenth century based on an analysis of the writing style, was not included in the *Corpus des inscriptions médiévales de la France*⁴³. It reads:

ESTEVENZ : DE : CH
ATEL : NVA : ET : IOHA
NNA : SAVNERIA : † :

They seem to be Étienne de Châteauneuf and Jeanne Saunier, his wife. In the Book of Burials, we read *Stephanus de Castro et Johanneta ejus uxor, retro S. Johannem*⁴⁴. In the fourteenth century obituary, the following is written on October 15th: *Item Stephanus maritus quondam dom. Johanne Saunerii, pro cujus anima Dna Johanna, uxor sua dedit XV lb. vienn. Deo et S. Paulo pro ann. mariti sui et pro suo ann. post obitum suum eadem die*⁴⁵. These three pieces of information appear to refer to the same individuals. A key factor is the location of the inscription, which is engraved in the stones of the former chapel of Saint-Jean, overlooking the small cemetery on the chevet side of Saint-Paul. Several fragments of plaques, along with a few intact plaques, have survived, as well as a painted tomb niche depicting angel musicians in the intrados; however, all these date to after the book was written.

Despite the absence of many remains, the book gives us a detailed description of the tombs. They are described in different ways by the word *tumulus/timulus*, or *tomba*. They are covered with a slab, sometimes large, sometimes smaller. Iron rings are mentioned, indicating the presence of a vault, as the rings could be used to open it.

Twenty-six tombs have ornamentation. They belong to canons or perpetual chaplains of Saint-Paul. Only three of them are not associated with clerics. They

⁴³ *Corpus inscription France médiévale*, pp. 93-94: two inscriptions from Saint-Paul which have disappeared are mentioned.

⁴⁴ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, p. 237-E.

⁴⁵ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, p. 151.

show figurative representations. The deceased were all attested in the fourteenth century, and some even died at the very end of that century. We can therefore assume that most of the graves were covered with slabs. In his thesis, Guillaume Grillon showed that from 1300 to 1350 this type of grave was at its peak⁴⁶. It is said that the deceased was laid to rest *sub grosso lapide*⁴⁷. For example, the *chamarier* Mathieu de Varey's tombstone featured a representation of himself⁴⁸. This is not the only example of a tomb featuring a representation of the deceased. The same applies to Canon Jean de *Ranchetis*⁴⁹. The text also states that two individuals appear on yet another tomb (*due ymagines*)⁵⁰ and that priests⁵¹ and deacons⁵² are also represented. Other drawings are more religious in nature, such as a simple cross⁵³, the Virgin Mary⁵⁴, the painted sepulchre of Christ⁵⁵, a Saint Christopher probably also painted on the wall, although this is not specified⁵⁶. The Magi (*ubi sunt reges*) are also represented although it is not known whether they appear on the tombs or near the door of the refectory in the cloister, since they are mentioned several times⁵⁷. Lastly, other types of decoration are displayed on tombs, such as Étienne

⁴⁶ GRILLON, Guillaume – *L'ultime message : étude des monuments funéraires de la Bourgogne ducale XII^e-XVI^e siècles*. Dijon : Université de Dijon, 2011. Thèse de Doctorat.

⁴⁷ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, pp. 243-D, 340-B.

⁴⁸ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, p. 228-E.

⁴⁹ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, p. 196-D.

⁵⁰ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, p. 207-B.

⁵¹ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, pp. 198-G, 199-C.

⁵² GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, pp. 197-D, 204-C, 215-B, 240-A, 243-D et 340-B.

⁵³ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, pp. 203-G, 212-A, 213-E, 229-B, 242-E.

⁵⁴ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, p. 199-E.

⁵⁵ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, pp. 192-F, 239-H.

⁵⁶ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, p. 207-B.

⁵⁷ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, pp. 192-B, 214-C, 223-F.

Burgensis's coat of arms (*arma sua mutonis*)⁵⁸ or tools symbolising Guillaume Trippa's profession (*insignia latomi*)⁵⁹.

The representations of the Virgin Mary and the cross do not raise significant questions. However, the other themes require clarification. The cult of Saint Christopher has a long history, evidenced by both place names, such as Saint-Christophe-en-Brionnais, and murals, including those found in Saint-Symphorien-sur-Coise from the fifteenth century and Vertaizon from the thirteenth century. As Dominique Rigaux notes, paintings of Saint Christopher first emerged in the Alps during the twelfth century, highlighting the importance of this cult in the Lyon area⁶⁰. The reference to the Magi also appeared often in iconographic documentation. A fourteenth century obituary mentions the tomb of a draper couple, Jean *Patodi* and his wife Alisia, who were buried *in prato claustris, juxta pilare quod est ante sepulturam in qua sunt depicti tres reges*⁶¹. Moreover, a chapel of the Three Kings was founded in 1487 in the church of Saint-Paul⁶². As for the holy sepulchre, representations of it go back a long way in the region. An imitation was already to be found in the cathedral of Vienne in the ninth century⁶³.

Furthermore, it is sometimes specified when there is an inscription on the tomb alongside these decorative elements. This is the case for sixteen tombs, including those of two canons: Mathieu de Varey, the *chamarier*, and Jean de *Ranchetis* which specify: *ubi est nomen suum* or *nomen suum scriptum*, accompanied by the *ymago* of the deceased. This applies to lay people, men and women, as well as ecclesiastics⁶⁴.

⁵⁸ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, pp. 242-C.

⁵⁹ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, pp. 233-G.

⁶⁰ RIGAUX, Dominique – “Une image pour la route. L'iconographie de saint Christophe dans les régions alpines (XII^e-XV^e siècle)”. *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public* 26 (1996), pp. 235-266.

⁶¹ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, p. 138 on August 4th.

⁶² CHOPIN, Hervé – *La collégiale Saint-Paul de Lyon*, p. 53.

⁶³ NIMMEGEERS, Nathanaël – *Évêques entre Bourgogne et Provence. La province ecclésiastique de Vienne au haut Moyen Âge (V^e-XI^e siècle)*. Rennes : Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014, pp. 271-280.

⁶⁴ GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, pp. 192-E, 196-A, 200-E, 205-E, 208-A, 208-E, 211-B, 214-B, 215-F, 216-A, 228-E, 234-B, 235-F, 239-E, 241-A, 245-F.

The tombs date from the second half of the fourteenth century, except for one which concerns a perpetual chaplain of Saint-Paul who lived in the thirteenth century.

The graves may be reused or may contain multiple deceased individuals. This situation explicitly pertains to approximately 80 people. References *in timulo* accompany the location of these graves. 11 graves have multiple burials. We do not consider a grave containing a husband and wife interred together; there must be more than two bodies present for it to qualify as a multiple grave. For instance, the largest tomb belongs to the Varey family, which contains at least 22 individuals, all from the same family, making it a family vault. Following this is the tomb of Pierre de Rotonay, which contains twelve individuals in addition to himself. Among them are family members, including his daughters and their husbands, his sons, and his wife; however, other names appear without any established familial connections. The Vassalieu tomb contains ten individuals from a noble family originally from Forez, some of whom held significant positions within the Church of Lyon. For example, Thibaud de Vassalieu, who chose the Cartusian house of Sainte-Croix-en-Jarez to be buried, served as archdeacon of the cathedral chapter until his death in 1327. Aczo, Louis and Guillaume de Vassalieu, buried in the cloister of Saint-Paul, may have been *chamariers* of the chapter in the twelfth and late thirteenth centuries. Other members of this family are mentioned and appear to have been at least canons, although no precise familial connections have been established. In any case, all those mentioned above belong to chivalric lineages. A woman is also interred with them, but we have not yet identified her familial ties, if any. André Bonin's grave is shared by seven other individuals, including his wife and another couple, with no apparent links between them. The tomb of the Fuer family, which contains at least five individuals, attests to the alliance of this family with the Varey; however, this connection is with the branch of cantor Mathieu de Varey rather than that of his namesake, the *chamarier*.

The tombs of canons and clerics appear to be utilised by the *familia* of the deceased, as seen in the case of Étienne Châtelain, a perpetual chaplain of Saint-Paul, whose tomb also contains his maid and another man. This is also true for the tomb of Jean de *Ranchetis* which contains three other bodies: two men, one of whom is a cleric,

and a woman married to Perrin Maréchal (it remains unclear whether this refers to his profession or his name). Ponce de Mont d'Or and Mathieu Gaudet are buried in the tomb of the cantor *Albi/Blanc*. Finally, a haberdasher, Philippe de Gornay, is interred in the tomb of an unnamed deacon.

The precise cross-referencing provides a clearer understanding of the conditions surrounding multiple burials and, at times, the consolidation of tombs, allowing us to formulate hypotheses regarding the situations that archaeology may encounter. Quincarnon noted the epitaph on the tomb of two canons: *Hic jacet Joannes de Calce canonicus ... Sti Pauli qui ob. Anno Domini M... & Joannes de Limtis ... Sti Pauli qui ob. Die*. These two canons are found in the Book of Burials. Although Quincarnon gives the spelling in modern Latin, on the plaques, the first names must have been spelt differently. Another difference concerns Guillaume de la Chauz, buried in the cloister under the chapel of Saint-Michel, who is referred to as *Joannes de Calce* by Quincarnon and Jean de Lymans as *Joannes de Limtis*. Furthermore, they are buried in the same grave, leading to further confusion. Both are attested at the end of the thirteenth century⁶⁵.

Some tombs seem to have existed for a long time and are important points for locating other tombs. In most cases, these are the tombs we have just been talking about, *id est* those containing several burials, notably those of Jean *de Ranchetis*, Pierre de Rotonay and André Bonin. These must have been large, identifiable tombs, located in the cloister. They acted as landmarks to help organise the procession. However, there is no a priori procession order of tombs for each week.

Conclusion

This burial register is a noteworthy source that provides an insight into burial practices in a parish lead by canons in a major French town at a time when many people were dying because of epidemics and wars. It also gives us a better idea of how the space around the collegiate church was organised. However, there are

⁶⁵ QUINCARNON, Charles Malo – *La fondation des antiquités de la basilique collégiale, canoniale et curiale de Saint-Paul de Lyon*, pp. 38-39; GRAS, Pierre; LAURENT, Jacques (eds.) – *Obituaires de la province de Lyon, II Diocèse de Lyon, 2^e partie*, pp. 214-A, 240-G, 153; *Polyptique*, p. 19.

limits. Some of the deceased remain unnamed, and some places are completely devoid of graves, even though these spaces must have been densely occupied in the past. This is the case with the cemeteries, which are mentioned less frequently than the cloisters. The chapter accounts conserved in the archives allow us to know the incomes associated with burials. The names mentioned do not often appear in the manuscript⁶⁶. Some of the Poor who were given a dignified burial do not appear either. Yet thanks to the account records, we do know that the destitute were buried in the cemetery⁶⁷. The church of Saint-Paul is also largely missing. No grave is mentioned there. Quincarnon, the historian of the church in the seventeenth century, presents this absence because of the tradition that the church was miraculously consecrated by Christ. Thus, even Isabelle d'Harcourt, widow of Humbert VII, Sire of Thoire-Villars, who elected to be buried in the collegiate church, was denied this privilege, and was finally buried in the Saint-John the Baptist cathedral. We now understand that, in many churches such as cathedrals, the burial ban went on for some time, as in Chartres⁶⁸. The amounts donated for the anniversaries (more than 646 *livres*) deeply illustrates the importance of those foundations as a major source of income for the community.

⁶⁶ AD Rhône, 13 G 550 et 551, account registers corresponding to the period when the manuscript was written.

⁶⁷ AD Rhône, 13 G 550, fol. 3v.

⁶⁸ QUINCARNON, Charles Malo – *La fondation des antiquités de la basilique collégiale, canoniale et curiale de Saint-Paul de Lyon*, 1882; JOURD'HEUIL, Jean-Vincent – "Des cathédrales sans sépulture canoniale (1200-1500) : le cas de Chartres et de quelques autres". *Le Moyen Âge* 124, fasc. 3-4 (2018) - PÉCOUT, Thierry (ed.) – *Les Chapitres Cathédraux et la mort. Actes de la Table-ronde des Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae*. Paris : Archives Nationales, 18 mars 2016, pp. 581-614.

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