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THE ARISTOCRACY IN THE PARIS REGION
DURING THE REIGN OF PHILIP AUGUSTUS, 1179–1223*

A Quantitative Approach. Part Two

Landed wealth

Both the king and churchmen took a keen interest in the landed wealth of the aristocracy of the Paris region but for different reasons. Philip Augustus sought to uncover the wealth that sustained the vassals who owed him homage and supplied his castles and army. The previous inventories of the counts of Champagne had counted only homage and castleguard, and the inventories that Philip inherited from Normandy posed the two traditional questions: how many knights were enfeoffed and how much knight service was due. When Guillaume de Ville Thierri's survey of the Vexin in the *Scripta de feodis* proposed a new format, however, not only did he ask about homage, service and subvassals, as we have explored, but equally important what kind of landed wealth was possessed by each royal vassal? This particular concern was likewise applied to Vermandois and the southern castellanies. In the Paris region the *Scripta* survey was applied to eleven castellanies, five from the Vexin to the north and west of the capital¹, two from the southern domain (Melun and Montlhéry) and the four from Vermandois. (Unfortunately the central castellanies around Paris were not included.)

The investigators assembled both considerable detail and, fortunately, followed a standard format, codifying items into three major categories as follows:

- (1) (p) landed property
 - (pt) agricultural fields, meadows, vineyards identified by place names
 - (pd) houses
 - (pc) fortified houses
 - (pn) woods
 - (pm) mills
 - (pp) presses
 - (pf) ovens

- (2) (r) landed revenues
 - (rc) *cens*, regular payments in money

* Part One of this article is found in *Francia* 39 (2012), p. 29–68.

1 Jean de Gisors lands were subjected to a separate survey. *Scripta de feodis*, ed. Léopold Delisle, in: RHF 23, p. 630–631, no. 98–103. I have added him to the five Vexin castellanies.

- (rk) produce, regular payments in kind
 - (ru) forest customs
 - (rt) tithes
 - (rf) *fief-rentes*
 - (rm) money in cash
- (3)
- (j) jurisdiction
 - (jj) justice
 - (jh) *hôtes*, serfs
 - (jp) tolls
 - (jm) dowry
 - (jd) dower

The *Scripta* surveys make little effort to assess the value of the items in money or in other fungibles. Only on rare occasions will they note, for example, 30 *arpents* of arable land, 50 *sous* of census, 30 *muids* of wheat or 27 capons. On one such occasion Hugues de Gisors's fiefs were evaluated at 60 *livres*². The chief concern was to record and identify individual items. These inventories are therefore of little use in assessing the monetary value of the landed wealth, but they do portray the kinds of wealth on which an aristocrat relied to support his feudal obligations. In modern terms they present, not value in money, but portfolios of landed assets possessed by an aristocrat. By counting and reducing to percentages of individual transactions (totaling 652) I can present the following portfolio at the disposition of 281 aristocratic tenants from the eleven castellanies (Table VIII).

From the Table VIII/A we see that agricultural lands (fields, pastures and vineyards) were an aristocrat's greatest resource of wealth (52 %). Houses, both domestic and fortified (11 %), woods (6 %) and mills (4 %) were the next most frequent property assets. Among his revenues the *cens* in money (10 %) and produce in kind (4 %) were the most important sources. *Hôtes* (4 %) and tolls (2 %) his most important jurisdictions. Equally noteworthy are the minimal importance of tithes (1 %) and cash (0 %). Moreover, if we compare 25 tenants from the *Nomina* survey holding 60 *livres par.* whose wealth was also recorded in the *Scripta* inventory, we do not find striking differences (Table VIII/B). The knight enjoying the standard amount differed from his peers only by slight increases in his agricultural property (66 %) and houses (13 %) as might be expected. The comparisons of aggregates sums up the situation (Table VIII/A): to perform his services for the king the average knight relied on a portfolio that was based overwhelmingly on landed property (75 %), relatively little on income (17 %) and minimally on jurisdiction (8 %).

Although the *bailli* Guillaume de Ville-Thierry and his imitators in Vermandois and the south made no effort to assess monetary evaluations of landed wealth, his colleague Thibaut Le Maigre, *bailli* of the Vexin, and Bernard de Poissy provided an exception that offers a momentary glimpse into aristocratic wealth in monetary terms. In 1217, about the time that the *Scripta* was compiled, they recorded an assessment of the fiefs of some 29 knights from the castellany of Poissy which was copied

2 Ibid., p. 621, no. 61.

into Register E³. Consisting of global figures rounded off to the tenth, they ranged from 2000 *livres* of Robert de Poissy to 15 *livres* (Roger Revel) and totaled 5510 *livres* for the entire castellany. Fortunately Robert de Poissy's fiefs at Poissy were also described in Register C in a format congruent with the *Scripta*⁴. They consist of land and a house at Bethemont »in fief and domain«, woods at Cruie (forest of Marly) with customs of live and dead wood, tolls at Maisons-Alfort for boats ascending and descending the Seine, his brother Amaury's holdings at Auneau and three subfiefs. Like his father Gace, Robert was the forester at Marly with rights of justice and hunting⁵. Little from this description, however, would explain the high assessment except the tolls at Maisons which were located advantageously on the Seine and may have been extremely lucrative. Nonetheless, he had already gained a reputation for his wealth at Bouvines when he was called *dives* and was accompanied by five knights in the quota list⁶. In fact, all of the Poissy family were well off: the brothers Simon recorded 800 *livres* and Amaury 300 *livres*, the next highest on the list. Since there was great disparity between the highest and lowest, the most representative figure would be 80 *livres* which was the mean average, but above the 60 *livres par.* set as standard in the *Nomina* survey. Eleven of the 29 knights at Poissy also appear in the *Nomina* survey ranging from Robert de Poissy's 2000 *livres* to Hugues de Poissy's 60 *livres* and with a mean average of 240 *livres*. Since all eleven on the *Nomina* list earned 60 *livres*, the Poissy inquest confirms that this sum was the standard for the broader royal survey. All but Hugues de Poissy enjoyed incomes of more than 80 *livres*, suggesting that 60 *livres* was, in fact, minimal.

Churchmen were likewise motivated to record aristocrats' wealth because the latter were their principal donors. I shall examine these donations in greater detail when I turn to the relations of the aristocracy with the church, but here the monastic charters present a detailed reckoning of landed wealth fully congruent with those of the royal surveys. (The following statistics from the charters are constructed on the same principles of those of the feudal surveys: percentages of number of transactions itemized.) The archives and cartularies of churches have long been the most abundant source for modern historical studies of aristocratic lands, but from the beginning it should be recalled that what was recorded is not of what the aristocracy presently held (as in the royal surveys), but what had been alienated. It is therefore of importance to compare the ecclesiastical statistics with those gathered by the king's agents. When the aggregate results of the 1729 charters assembled for this study are juxtaposed, important differences emerge (Table VIII/C): 45 % of the transactions as op-

3 Les Registres de Philippe Auguste, ed. John W. BALDWIN, Françoise GASPARRI, Michel NORTIER, Élisabeth LALOU, vol. 1, Paris 1992 (RHF, Documents financiers et administratifs, VII/1), p. 104–105.

4 *Scripta de feodis* (as in n. 1), p. 631–632, no. 104. Of the two versions in Register C and E, I have followed that of Register C. *Registres de Philippe Auguste* (as in n. 3), p. 104–105.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 74, 75. *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste*, ed. Henri-François DELABORDE, Charles PETIT-DUTAILLIS, Jacques BOUSSARD, Michel NORTIER, 6 vol., Paris 1916–2005 (*Chartes et diplômes*), vol. 3, no. 1265. Bethemont was listed among the villages of the castellany of Poissy. *Registres de Philippe Auguste* (as in n. 3), p. 179.

6 See above Table VII in John W. BALDWIN, *The Aristocracy in the Paris Region ... Part One*, in: *Francia* 39 (2012), p. 67.

posed to 75 % in the royal survey were derived from landed property, 55 % as opposed to 17 % from landed revenues and 10 % as opposed to 8 % from jurisdiction. Because the data of the charters and the royal survey are commensurate, I have constructed a second and more refined portfolio of aristocratic wealth drawn from 610 monastic charters involving 832 transactions located more precisely near the eleven castellanies involved in the royal inventory. The resulting portfolio of landed wealth from which the aristocracy drew their benevolences to the church differs even more (Table VIII/D): 40 % of landed property contrasts more starkly with the 75 % of the king's findings; 45 % continues to show the gap in revenues and 14 % with 8 % in jurisdiction. To be sure, the actual properties and revenues of the two portfolios could be the same, but it is nonetheless evident that the functions of the two portfolios differ in proportion. The aristocrat gives one-half less from his agricultural lands than he actually holds (28 % < 52 %); he gives almost twice as much from his *cens* than he holds (18 % > 10 %) and much more from his produce in kind (13 % > 4 %). Jurisdictional rights are more important in his donations, especially in tolls (3 % > 2 %) and in dowries and dowers (3 % > 0 %). Equally noticeable is that he has 3 % cash to give away against 0 % that he might declare and that 9 % of his donations come from tithes, not apparent in his current holdings, a point that will be discussed in the next section. As for the transactions in landed property (45 %), we should keep in mind that not all were donations but included 35 % in sales, gift-counter gifts, and exchanges which will also be discussed later⁷. They are included here because they represent property transfers to the church even though the aristocracy received remuneration. In comparing these two portfolios the important conclusion nonetheless remains: the aristocrat of the Paris region was reluctant to give a greater proportion of landed property (40 %) than he possessed (75 %), but preferred to donate more revenues (45 % > 17 %).

These comparisons raise a further question: are the landed resources for the portfolio designated for feudal service the same as the portfolio employed for giving to churches? Throughout the two sets of records we find mentions of property held »in fief and in domain«⁸. The customary distinction is that the domain supports the lord and his family and fiefs support his vassals, but it is not clear how this distinction operates between lands for feudal service and lands given for alms. To approach this problem requires a further comparison. While the scope of the feudal inventories appears to be systematic and the occurrence of transactions in the monastic charters fortuitous, overlap does occur. In the eleven castellanies surveyed around Paris we can compare the results (Table VIII/E). Of the 216 families reported at least 77 or 36 % may also be found in contemporary monastic charters⁹. Of this number 13 properties named in the survey of fiefs can also be identified in the 77 charters containing transactions with the churches. Thirteen is a small sample, but it does offer a

7 See below p. 33.

8 For some examples: *Scripta de feodis* (as in n. 1), p. 623, 653, no. 68, 211; Bar, f. 191r (1182); SD I, p. 500 (1209). All cartularies will be cited by the abbreviations found in the Bibliography at the end of the article (p. 50–52).

9 Since only 44 (18 %) out of 245 individuals were actually identified, it is clear that families are a better basis for comparison than individuals because of chronological disparities between the survey conducted c. 1218–1220 and the particular charters.

close-up view of the sources from which the aristocracy transferred wealth. In one example an entire property was bestowed on an abbey¹⁰. In three other cases only parts of the property (fields, meadows, *champarts*) were sold to the monasteries before the properties themselves were declared in the survey¹¹. On the other hand, revenues from at least nine properties, including cens, produce and tithes were offered to churches either before or after the survey¹². It is significant that six of these revenues were tithes. The remaining three cases of identified transactions are inconclusive. The sample therefore confirms that the aristocrats were twice as ready to donate revenues (9 cases) as to give property (4 cases) and when they did bestow property, it was divided into parts.

A micro-study of the landed wealth of Pierre du Thillay also serves as a conclusion to this investigation of aggregate statistics. Pierre was *prévôt* of Paris in 1200, royal *bailli* at Orléans around 1202, before Philip Augustus transferred him to Caen in Normandy where he served as *bailli* until 1224. Before his entry into royal service Pierre was a knight at Le Thillay outside of Gonesse to the north of Paris, direct vassal of Mathieu le Bel and subvassal of the abbot of Saint-Denis. In 1208 he made major donations to endow the Hôtel-Dieu of Gonesse. What is interesting about Pierre is that he not only provided two charters (1208 and 1215) of the lands and revenues he bestowed on the Hôtel-Dieu, but he also drew up a landbook accounting for the land and revenues he retained for himself at Gonesse, Tessonville and Sarcelles. Pierre's careful accounting confirms my conclusions from the aggregate statistics of the Paris region. He kept for himself nearly three times the land (148.3 hectares) that he gave to the Hôtel-Dieu (52 hectares) but dispensed nearly three times as many revenues (32 *livres*/4 *sous*) as he reserved for himself (10 *livres*/19 *sous*/7.5 *deniers*)¹³.

Churches and Monasteries

When I turn to the dealings of the aristocracy with churches and monasteries, the sources illuminate the terrain most brightly. The cartularies from which I have been gathering data are unsurpassed in documenting the landed wealth of the churches. Although this is not my present concern, regional studies of the medieval aristocracy rarely omit substantial chapters devoted to local monasteries for the simple reason that they are the major source of information. The aristocracy's impressive benefactions combined with the church's status as an immortal corporation that rarely alienated wealth made the ecclesiastic establishments the richest holders of landed wealth

10 Galterus de Marinis, Scripta 94, SD I, p. 649 (1218).

11 Albertus de Choi, Scripta 220, SMS, f. 29v (1217); Odardus Turcus, Scripta 220, SJV, f. 48v (1214); Girardus de Valle Enguejardi, Scripta 95, SMPo, p. 9 (1214).

12 *Cens*: Teoinus de Ruolio, Scripta 75, SMPo, p. 8; produce: Petrus de Munellis, Scripta, 304, HDP, p. 67 (1220); Renaldus de Cicingni, Scripta 205, Hér, p. 32 (1212); tithes: Girardus de Valle Enguejardi, Scripta 95, SMPo, p. 4 (1207); Guido de Alneto, Scripta 309, SGM, p. 62 (n.d.); Guillelmus de Orceio, Scripta 311, NDP I, p. 85 (1205); Guido de Val Grinosa, Scripta 305, HDP, p. 305 (1188); Renaldus de Cheziaco, Scripta 222, Arch. dép. Oise H 2850/2 (1223); Johannes li Bougres, Scripta 194, Mor, p. 26–27 (1220).

13 John W. Baldwin, Pierre du Thillay, Knight and Lord. The Landed Resources of the Lower Aristocracy in the Early Thirteenth Century, in: Francia 30 (2003), p. 9–15, 21–26, 36–37.

by the end of the Middle Ages. My goal in this section, however, is different: to explore the religious behavior of aristocrats as contributors to churches and monasteries.

Penance

The principal motor behind this process was the church's economy of salvation. From earliest times churchmen rewarded the donations of the laity with prayers and sacraments that expedited the salvation of their benefactors. By the close of the twelfth century the theologians' teaching at Paris clarified the mechanics of purgatory in which the faithful's donations generated measurable merit that reduced the benefactor's time in purgatory and hasten his or her entry into heaven¹⁴. From the eleventh century churchmen had prefaced the charters of the laity's donations with elaborate preambles that expressed the donor's remorse for injuries to churches, regrets for past sins, fears of illness and impeding death and finally the need for the church's intercession¹⁵. At the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we have seen that the clerical scribes now abbreviated the charters, stereotyped the terminology and standardized the formula. To express religious motivation for the donations the most characteristic phrase became »for the salvation of my soul and my ancestors« (*pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum*), followed in popularity by »burdened [by sins] at the point of death« (*laborans in extremis*). At times the phrase was linked specifically to sickness, childbirth, youthful sins or doing amends for injuries against the church¹⁶. Rare is one woman's avowal that she was a widow in the prime of life, with a sane mind and who was moved not by fear or remorse but by divine goodness for the remedy and salvation of her soul and her ancestors¹⁷. Other charters proposed burial at the beneficiary church¹⁸ or the establishment of chaplains or canons to sing masses for which the phrase »to perform my anniversary« was frequent¹⁹. More substantial was the intention to found chapels, often in castles²⁰, and, of course, to endow entire churches or monasteries. One particular object that attracted donations from the Poissy, Mauvoisin and Île-Adam families was the devotion to the recent and popular Saint Thomas Becket now enshrined in Canterbury England²¹. What is significant about these succinct and stereotyped expressions of

14 Jacques LE GOFF, *La Naissance du purgatoire*, Paris 1981, p. 209–240, 283–316.

15 For early examples see Barbara H. ROSENWEIN, *To be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: the Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049*, Ithaca 1989, p. 38, 137–138, 144, 149; Amy LIVINGSTONE, *Out of Love for My Kin: Aristocratic Family Life in the Lands of the Loire, 1000–1200*, Ithaca 2010, p. 101–102.

16 [...] *cum Parisius egritudine laborem de hac vita misera et mortali ad vitam vitalem pervenire desiderans*, SVP, f. 164v; *in dolore pareret filium et iam in extremis posite laboraret*, Bar, f. 104r-v; *tanquam iuvenis et inique ductus*, Pre, f. 109v; *emendare forisfacta*, SYB, p. 309.

17 [...] *in mea viduitate et in plena vite mea [...] compos et sane mentis existens pro remedio et salute anime mee et meorum antecessorum divine pietatis intuitu*, SNR, p. 74.

18 SCC I, p. 401; VdC I, p. 95.

19 NDP I, p. 122; III, p. 229; SMCux, p. 104.

20 SNR, p. 56; SJV, f. 109r.

21 The charters of these donations I owe to the generosity of Professor Nicholas Vincent who transmitted them to me electronically, *Norman Charters from English Sources: Archives, Antiquaries and the Rediscovery of the Anglo-Norman Past: Canterbury* (forthcoming 2013), p. 275–278, 286–287.

penitential motivation, however, is that they preface no more than 20 % of the 610 transactions collected from the churches and aristocrats of the Paris region²². More than 80 % of transfers of property between the two parties were therefore recorded without mention of religious motivation. This omission does not indicate its absence, but merely shows that in the short and business-like documentation the salvific motivation was assumed by the clerical scribes. No other motive can account for the massive transfer of landed wealth. Even if the charter did not specifically mention prayers, masses or churches, the spiritual credit accrued to the benefactor was undoubtedly understood.

Compensation to Aristocrats

Within this massive transfer of property and revenue not all was lost to the aristocracy. In the sample of 1729 charters more than one-third were accompanied by compensation for the aristocrat accomplished through sale (22 %), gift-counter-gift (8 %), exchange (3 %) and pledge (2 %) (Table I/A). In the Roman law that was adopted by canon lawyers a sale (*emptio, venditio*) was defined as the exchange of a thing for money which must be set at a declared price. Without a price there was no sale²³. This requirement to state the price in a sale was apparently recognized by the ecclesiastical scribes because they frequently (but not always) quoted it. Saint-Denis, for example, paid as much as 300 *livres* for a meadow and 60 *livres* for vineyards, and the chapter of Notre-Dame de Paris 250 *livres* for land at Orly²⁴. Prices for arable land, meadows and vineyards ranged from 200 to 5 *livres*. Occasionally prices were accompanied with the numbers of *arpents* which permits calculation of the price per *arpent*, ranging from 7 *livres* to 2 *livres* 15 *sous*²⁵. Houses sold as high as 50 *livres*; Saint-Denis bought a part of a forest for as much as 800 *livres*; Saint-Germain-des-Prés bought a portion of a grange for 431 *livres*, and Saint-Denis a mill for 400 *livres*²⁶. Remembering that 60 *livres par.* was the annual standard wealth for a knight these maximum prices suggest the extent to which a church was willing to pay for real estate. More impressive was the price for which churches offered to redeem tithes. The 1000 *livres* that the chapter of Notre-Dame paid for both the grange and tithes of Sognolles is difficult to interpret because of the conflation of the two entities²⁷, but the regularity with which churches paid sums ranging from 400 to 200 *livres* is noteworthy²⁸. They paid 89 *livres* for a *cens* that produced an annual rent of

22 124/610 charters from the sample in Table VIII/Da-Db.

23 Adolf BERGER, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, Philadelphia 1953 (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 43/ 2), p. 452–453 and John W. BALDWIN, *The Medieval Theories of the Just Price: Romanists, Canonists and Theologians in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Philadelphia 1959 (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 49/4) p. 19, 42–43.

24 SD I, p. 410 (1211); NDP II, p. 17 (1201).

25 SVP, f. 55v (n.d.); Yer, p. 192 (1207), but land measures varied.

26 SMCux, p. 106 (1217); SD I, p. 539 (1201); SGP II, p. 86 (1200); SD I, p. 93 (1223).

27 NDP II, p. 258 (1220–1221).

28 400 *livres*: NDP I, p. 429; 300 *livres*: NDP II, p. 521 (1205); Noy, f. 119v (1210); 200 *livres*: HDP, p. 31 (1202); p. 33 (1209); SLP, p. 94 (1211); SJV, f. 55r (1219).

5 *livres*²⁹ and that of 90 *livres* for three *muids* of grain³⁰. The purchases of jurisdictions ranged from 200 to 120 *livres*³¹.

Closely allied to sale was the particular practice of combining a gift with a counter-gift which accounted for 8 % of the transactions. For example Gobert de Thourotte donated to the abbey of Ourscamp his mill for which the monks gave him 200 *livres de beneficio*, or Ansel de Brunoy gave a *cens* on land to Saint-Lazare in return for 2 *livres de caritate*³². The presence of the modifying phrases suggests that the monks sought to distinguish these contracts from the legal restrictions of sale despite their economic similarities. At times the counter-gift combined money with property which disqualified the transaction as a sale³³, but in the majority of the gift-counter-gift transactions the return was exclusively in money which rendered them an economic substitute for sale. In any event, this type of transaction was more modest than sale because rarely did the counter-gift exceed 100 *livres*. Another recourse that compensated for losses was exchange which performed the same economic functions as gift-counter-gift. In Roman law *permutatio* was the exchange of one thing for another³⁴. In the charters' terminology it was frequently called *commutatio* and usually involved comparable entities (land with land, tithes with tithes), but money could enter the bargain as well³⁵. At times the terminology identifies the contract; at other times it is only apparent from the context, thus introducing uncertainty into the identification. It accounted for 3 % of the transactions between churches and aristocrats.

A final technique for transmuting wealth into money was the pledge or gage (*vadium*) by which the aristocrat bestowed a revenue upon a church temporarily in exchange for a sum of money. When the time expired, the money was returned to the church and the revenue to the aristocrat. This contract constituted 2 % of the 1729 transactions. It could be based on property, jurisdiction or revenues from *cens* and produce, but with few exceptions it was usually based on tithes³⁶. The sums of money obtained ranged from 5 to 420 *livres* with 20 to 199 *livres* most frequent³⁷. On occasion the length of time was stipulated at three years, on others at five or six years³⁸, but most frequently no time-span was mentioned. The pledge functioned economically as a loan without time limits but with the tithe serving as collateral or security. It provided aristocrats opportunity to raise money temporarily. Along with sale and gift-counter-gift it converted assets into cash.

The second and refined sample of 610 charters illustrates the sources from which the aristocrat sold, gifted-counter-gifted or exchanged his wealth with churches

29 NDP I, p. 45 (1181).

30 SJVi, f. 57r (1223); also 70 *livres* for 7 *muids* of wheat Noy, f. 157v (1213).

31 When Arnoul, knight of Magna sold his tithes to a canon of Noyon, he explained that he was burdened with debt (*debitorum onere gravatus et necessitate compulsus*). Noy, f. 170r. Rarely do the charters offer motivations for the sale.

32 OurPD, p. 133 (1205); SLP, p. 91 (1209).

33 NDP II, p. 229 (1212–1213).

34 BERGER, Encyclopedic Dictionary (as in n. 23), p. 268.

35 SMps III, p. 241 (1205); SJVi, f. 42v (1195); SGP, p. 192 (1195).

36 SCCha, f. 34r (1210); SMCps III, p. 146 (1193).

37 HDP, p. 42 (1209); SJVi, f. 106r (1205); SVP, f. 182r (1219); SMF, f. 58r (1219).

38 SD I, p. 491 (1221); SD II, p. 342 (1186); Abb, p. 46 (1220).

(Table VIII/Db). Property (14 %), with agricultural property at the head (10 %), was preferred, with revenues (9 %), especially revenues in kind (3 %), in second place. Tithes amounted to 2 %.

Donations

In contrast to sales, gifts-counter-gifts and exchanges, pure gifts or donations offered only spiritual or nonmaterial benefits in return. From the sample of 1729 charters 65 % were in the form of donations (Table I/A). In my second and refined survey of 610 charters involving 832 transactions this figure rises to 74 % (Table VIII/Da). We recall from the last section that although the aristocratic portfolio of holdings consisted of 75 % land, his portfolio of transfers to the church was only 40 % in land. Again using the refined survey of 610 charters, of this 40 %, 26 % involved donations of land (the remaining 14 % were sales). The basic components of landed donations were largely agricultural land (18 %) and to lesser degree forests (4 %), houses (2 %) and mills and presses (1 % each). Of the 45 % from the distributive folio devoted to landed revenues 37 % went to pure gifts. The sources for these gifts consisted of: *cens* (16 %), produce (10 %), tithes (7 %) and forest use (3 %).

The non-negligible deployment of tithes (9 %, combining sales [2 %] and gifts [7 %]) calls for further comment. The tithe (meaning literally one-tenth, but often variable in practice) was an ecclesiastical tax imposed on the income of parishioners for the benefit of the parish priest, his church and the bishop. In the early Middle Ages these tithes were widely usurped by aristocratic laymen acting as patrons of the individual churches so that they became part of the aristocrats' normal revenues. Beginning in the eleventh century reforming churchmen launched a campaign to recover these tithes by excommunicating all laymen who held them. The approved procedure for removing the penalty required the layman to hand over the tithes to the bishop who then returned them to the church, but most often not to the original parish church but to a neighboring monastery who took the place of the parish patron³⁹. This campaign, however, was only partially successful as seen in the frequency of aristocrats who still enjoyed this income at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although the holding of tithes reported in the royal survey of the portfolio of wealth held by aristocrats was a negligible 1 %, (6 cases) and probably due to a reluctance to report them, they nonetheless constituted 17 % of the 1729 charters and 9 % of the refined sample of 610 charters for the distributive portfolio. Not only were churchmen willing to buy back tithes for high prices, as has been seen, but they constituted 7 % of all donations by aristocrats to churches. Rarely do the ecclesiastical charters restate the reform churchmen's program to recuperate tithes. Only Maurice, bishop of Paris (1160–1196), declared that Guy d'Auneau had unjustly held the small tithes of Eudesville and Ver-le-Grand for a long time for which he was excommunicated. He had turned them over to Bishop Thibaut (1143–1152) and received

39 Giles CONSTABLE, *Monastic Tithes from their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge 1964, p. 52, 66, 83, 99–136. For the difficulties in recovering tithes, see John W. BALDWIN, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, vol. 1, Princeton 1970, p. 229–235.

absolution. The bishop eventually conferred them on Sainte-Geneviève⁴⁰. (When Guy reported his holdings in the *Scripta* he mentioned Ver-le-Grand but no tithes)⁴¹. Similarly in 1198 Robert de Chennevières resigned the tithes of Fontenoy to Eudes bishop of Paris who then conferred them on Saint-Victor, and in 1219 Jacques, bishop of Soisson, reported that when Emiardis and her husband Mathieu de Doy sold to Saint-Jacques-des-Vignes the tithes of Verbria for 240 *livres*, they first gave them to the bishop who in turn invested them on the abbey⁴². The vast majority of the gifts and sales of tithes went directly to monasteries who duly recorded them in their cartularies. That tithes constituted a not insignificant part (9 %–17 %) of wealth given or sold to churches, may demonstrate that aristocrats considered them as toxic assets to be abandoned.

Tithes were not only unlawful for laymen, but they also posed a specific difficulty for churchmen when they served as pledges. Since pledges were *de facto* loans, the holding of tithes by the lender, in this case the monastery, could be considered unlawfully usurious because as revenue producing income they constituted interest and remunerated the holders of the loan without diminishing the principal. In 1163 Pope Alexander III declared them *mortgages* (dead pledges) and usurious because they did not reduce the principal. The theologians at Paris, however, considered pledges based on tithes an exception to the rule on *mortgages*. Because the laymen's retention of tithes was originally unlawful, churches could accept them, even temporarily, as pledges to recover stolen goods and not be obligated to deduct them against the principal⁴³. For that reason the monastic charters openly reported the pledges based on tithes but were reticent about property, *cens* and produce which did not qualify for the exception⁴⁴.

The transfer of jurisdictions amounts to 10 % of the transactions of the 1729 charters and 14 % of the 610 charters. In the latter 11 % were due to donations, the largest part (4 %) due to great lords like the counts of Beaumont and the Poissys to grant to monks exemptions from their tolls on the Oise, the Seine and elsewhere⁴⁵. The jurisdiction over *hôtes* (3 %), of course, does not represent the preponderant role played by the peasants in the landed economy of the aristocracy.

To be valid the contract of sale requires the payment of a specified amount of money, and the practice of gift-counter-gift usually involved cash payments as well, but as donations little (2 %–3 %) was offered in cash⁴⁶. The almsgiving of the aristocracy was therefore limited by and large to landed property and revenues. Finally, the aristocracy also practiced combining a donation with a sale. For example, in 1210 Geoffroi d'Orangis gave three-fifths of designated lands to Saint-Victor but sold the rest

40 SGM, p. 62. Gautier, knight of Vendeuil, recognized that he held tithes illegally. AB, p. 137 (1224).

41 *Scripta de feodis* (as in n. 1), p. 673, no. 309. See also SCC I, p. 279 (1189).

42 SVO, f. 41v (1198); SJV, f. 55r. In 1208 the tithes passed through the hands of the archdeacon of Paris. NDP I, p. 17.

43 BALDWIN, *Masters* (as in n. 39), p. 275–277.

44 It is possible that the stipulation of short time limits was associated with pledges based on *cens* which would minimize the culpability of the churches. Abb, p. 46 (1220); SD I, p. 491 (1221).

45 SMCps III, p. 368 (1220). VINCENT, *Norman Charters* (as in n. 21), p. 275–276.

46 Examples: SVP, f. 130r (1209); Cha, f. 18v (1209); NDP II, p. 264 (1218).

for 90 *livres*. Raoul de Cornillion sold 8 *arpents* to Chaalis for 45 *livres* and donated the *cens* on the land. Eudes de Touquin gave one-third of the revenues of Rosny-en-Brie to Notre-Dame de Paris, but sold the remainder for 300 *livres*⁴⁷. The seller could thereby collect both the proceeds of the sale as well as the spiritual benefits of a donation.

Occasionally documents called testaments were issued for executing one's benevolences at the time of death. Strictly speaking according to Roman law that was adopted by the contemporary canonists a testament was the normal means of providing for the succession of one's heirs⁴⁸. These documents called »testaments«, however, were charters for distributing one's benevolences to churches and can be found at all levels of society. At the summit Jean, count of Beaumont, »as he labored in grave illness drew up his testament« and assigned the archbishop of Reims, his nephew, the prior of Saint-Leonor, and four knights to be its executors »just as it was drawn up in a charter«, which has not survived⁴⁹. References are made to those of the royal knight Pierre the Marshal and the more obscure Adam de Soignelles in the cartulary of the Hôtel-Dieu of Paris⁵⁰. When Guillaume de Poissy (1220–1223), the nephew of Gace de Poissy, donated alms amounting to 40 *sous* from the *cens* of his lands at Laie (*de Lay*) to Saint-Victor of Paris, the canons copied the details into their cartulary. He accounted for 41 tenants who paid him a *cens* of 25 *sous* on 15 lands and 27 vineyards. In addition another 6 tenants owed another 15 *sous* for the *cens* on his press. Thus a virtual *censier* was transformed into a testament confirmed by Guillaume, bishop of Paris, and his feudal lord, Mathieu de Marly⁵¹. A more common format was the testament (*de legato*) of the deceased knight Jean de Andresel, son of Albert, transcribed by the monks of Barbeau in 1226. Rather than the sources of his alms, he listed the legatees. By his reckoning he distributed 25 *livres* among eight recipients each who received 20 *sous* or more and some 36 who received 5 *sous*. The abbey of Barbeau was favored with 100 *sous* which thus explains why Jean's testament is found in the abbey's cartulary. These sums were assigned on the *cens* of Andresel to which his wife Agnès gave her assent⁵². This testament was little more than a detailed account of one of the hundreds of donations made from revenues of *cens* that constituted 18 % of donations in the sample of 610 charters.

Women

Adult women joined their husbands and sons as principal actors and donors in transferring landed wealth to the church. In the sample of 1729 charters women participated in 15 % of all the transactions, but the figure includes their dowries and dowers as well as their initiatives. In the refined survey of 610 charters, however, women's activities in sales, gift-counter-gifts and exchange were negligible, but in making donations women also contributed 15 % of the gifts. (To highlight the comparisons I

47 SVP, f. 130r (1209); Cha, f. 18v (1209); NDP II, p. 264 (1218).

48 Bernardus Papiensis, *Summa decretalium*, ed. Ernst Adolph Theodor LASPEYRES, Regensburg 1860, p. 90–92, 96–99.

49 HVND, p. 8 (1221); SMPo, p. 2 (c. 1223).

50 HDP, p. 46 (1211); p. 47 (1212).

51 SVP, f. 54r–v.

52 Bar, f. 309r–v (1226).

have converted the aggregate percentages of Table VIII/Da to percentages of gifts by men and by women in Table IX). As the table shows, their profile of giving varied little with that of men but with a heavier emphasis on revenues over property which is confirmed in the details of their gifts (categories pt, rc, rk). The chief difference was that men were twice as prone to include tithes among their donations.

Guarantees

After the aristocrat and the individual church agreed on the terms of transfer by sale, exchange or gift, the next concern was to assure that the contract be respected in the future. Because the church was an immortal corporation this assurance was as vital for the distant as well as the immediate future. Churchmen relied on three sets of parties to support the agreement in the future: family, feudal lords and guarantors. Guarantors (*fidejussors* and *plegii*) to enforce the contract were employed infrequently⁵³, but the other two groups were a regular feature of agreements in the Paris region. As already noted, over half (57 %) of the 1729 transactions in the monastic charters included consent of the family (*laudatio parentum*) to the transfer (Table I/A). By this means churchmen sought to forestall future non-compliance or objections from the immediate heirs⁵⁴. Who precisely were available for consent naturally depended on the actual composition of the biological family and therefore governed who would be called to participate. We remember from Table III⁵⁵ that the most frequent (66 %) were the living spouses of the seller or donor, followed by the children (39 %) and siblings (37 %). These groups appear in all possible combinations, but the most frequent was husband and wife alone (34 %) and husband, wife and children (24 %). Uncles, aunts, cousins and spouses of the children, particularly of daughters, were also employed but too complex to measure. Mothers and fathers were present only in 7 %, mainly to support sellers and donors without progeny. The wife's consent was sought if the transaction involved her dowry or dower. The complexity of combinations has puzzled historians who have studied them, but what remains clear is that churchmen demanded explicit consent from the conjugal or nuclear family to protect their future interests. By emphasizing the nuclear family, however, churchmen were protecting themselves only for the next generation. It would be more difficult to assure themselves in the distant future. After that of the family, further consent was required from the feudal lord if the property or revenue was enfeoffed. This *laudatio domini* amounted to 22 % of all transactions (Table I/A). Finally, the guarantee of family and lords was applied to all transfers of wealth without distinction.

Litigation

After such precautions disputes nonetheless arose to be resolved in litigation. Fourteen percent of the 1729 charters contained reports of such litigation (Table I/A). The subjects of dispute were varied and often multiple, but they concerned lands, par-

53 The few extant cases come from Vermandois. Examples: OurPD, p. 40 (1201); OurPD, p. 34 (1209); SJVi, f. 53 (1208); Her, p. 23 (1197).

54 When Dreux Buffe gave woods to Val-Notre-Dame, his brother Gautier refused to consent to the donation. VND, f. 45v (1193). The charters rarely mention such objections.

55 BALDWIN, *Aristocracy* (as in n. 6), p. 63.

ticularly woods and tithes, but a discernible concentration surface on jurisdiction such as over customs, tolls and justice. The judges in such cases spanned the leadership of contemporary society both clerical and lay – bishops, *officiales*, abbots, feudal lords, and the king – but papal judge-delegates and royal *baillis* were notably active because they were designated expressly to deal with local issues. The procedure for resolving disputes was largely consigned to arbitration (*compromissum*) entrusted to the judges or to designated panels of clerics and knights, with the royal *baillis* particularly busy. The judgment was frequently accompanied by a formal inquest (*inquisitio*) to determine the facts of the case, and the final decisions were expressed in summary terms⁵⁶. Even when more details are offered, it is difficult to assess the gains or losses of each party without a thorough knowledge of the context. For example, among the abnormal number of litigations found in the cartulary of Saint-Denis (29 %, nearly twice the aggregate average), only a penetrating study of those involving the lords of Montmorency would be able to discern how these barons were able to encroach on the lands and rights of the abbey⁵⁷. Since virtually all available cases were preserved in ecclesiastical archives (even those presided over by the king⁵⁸), we may be permitted to assume that mainly those favorable to the church were retained, or at least those which contained some element favorable to the church. The great number of summary decisions expressed as amical resolutions (*pacem amicabilem fecerunt*) doubtlessly implied those favorable to the church that recorded them. This observation is supported by the frequent acquittals or renewals of grants of property and revenues by the laity at the end of the charter.

One particular case illustrates the essential features of litigation and announces an unusual termination to the case. In 1201 Geoffoi, bishop of Senlis, Geoffoi, prior of Saint-Arnould de Crépy and H. prior of Saint-Marguerite d'Élincourt arbitrated between the priory of Saint-Leu d'Esserent and Enguerran de Boves in a dispute over the tithes that Simon, lord of Clérmont, gave to the church. After a diligent inquest the judges came to an agreement (*compositio*) whereby Enguerran acquitted the tithes to the church. For Enguerran's benefit, however, the monks made him a counter-gift *de caritate* of 30 *livres* for the crusade for which he was preparing. He did, in fact, take part in the Fourth Crusade, but like Simon de Monfort returned home after the decision to attack Constantinople⁵⁹.

Obituaries

The laity likewise needed assurance that the churches' prayers and intercessions would continue into the future. One solution was to inscribe the name of the bene-

56 For the deployment of these legal procedures in the royal court see John W. BALDWIN, *Philippe Auguste et son gouvernement*, Paris 1991, p. 67–70, 190–194.

57 Brigitte BEDOS[-REZAK], *La Châtellenie de Montmorency des origines à 1368*, Pontoise 1980, p. 57–60.

58 54 % of royal charters survived only in ecclesiastical archives. See BALDWIN, *Aristocracy* (as in n. 6), p. 33.

59 SLE, p. 96 (1202). Jean LONGNON, *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin. Recherches sur les croisés de la quatrième croisade*, Genève 1978 (Centre de recherches d'histoire et de philologie de la IV^e section de l'École pratique des hautes études. V: Hautes études médiévales et modernes, 30), p. 123.

factor on a calendar at the date of death to remind the clergy to offer prayers or masses for which he or she had paid. Designated *anniversaria*, these inscriptions were mentioned frequently in the charters. By the end of the twelfth century but culminating later in the thirteenth, these calendars with their lists of names were copied into codices called obituaries or necrologies at a time contemporary to the appearance of the great cartularies. Throughout their development the obituaries were overwhelmingly populated by the names of deceased clergy, but eventually the latter introduced members of their own families and finally other laity who were not closely related but who had contributed to the church. Early inclusions consisted, of course, of the powerful: kings, royal families and the high aristocracy, but eventually lesser lords, ladies and knights were enrolled in notices that added descriptions of their material donations to the dates and names. Thereby the laity were reassured that they would not be forgotten after death.

Throughout the Paris region seven of these obituaries survive⁶⁰. Their fortuitous emplacement and uneven coverage exclude the compiling of aggregate statistics, but they are nonetheless sufficient to illustrate the obituary's function in serving the religious needs of the aristocracy. Fortunately all but one of these churches also produced a surviving cartulary which permits comparison between their contents.

The chapters of Notre-Dame de Paris and of Saint-Victor just outside the walls produced the most developed obituaries of the region that included not only the date and name of the layperson but also a description of his or her legacy. It is clear that Notre-Dame favored the members of castellan families already established in the chapter. For example, Hervé de Marly, (dean c. 1184–1192), recruited his brother Mathieu for donations, and Geoffroi de Chevreuse, canon, relied upon his father Guy to fund his anniversary⁶¹. Hugues Clément, dean (1195–1211) and Eudes, archdeacon, were instrumental in providing anniversaries for their brothers, the royal marshals Robert and Aubry as well as Hersende, mother of Hugues. Other royal knights, familiars of the Philip Augustus's court, including Gautier the Chamberlain, Barthélemy de Roye, Guillaume de Garlande and Guillaume de Barres were also included⁶². Of the some 30 lesser knights who gave or sold property to Notre-Dame, however, only one, Adam de Montfermeil was recognized in the obituary⁶³, and none of the precise donations in the obituary can be found in the cartulary⁶⁴. Although Saint-Victor's obituary was later, it resembled Notre-Dame's both in format and in contents. The favored families of the Marlys (now joined by their cousins the Montmorencys), the Chamberlains, the Royes, Garlandes, the Barres, and Chevreuses reappeared now joined by the barons of Montfort and the butlers of Senlis⁶⁵. From

60 A comprehensive survey and introduction to French obituaries is provided by Jean-Loup LE-MAITRE, *Répertoire des documents nécrologiques français*, 2 vol., 2 suppl., Paris 1980–1992 (RHF, *Obituaires*, 7).

61 *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, ed. Auguste LONGNON, vol. I/1, Paris 1902 (RHF, *Obituaires*, 1), p. 113–114, 121.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 95–96, 109, 192.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 202.

64 The donations of Pierre du Thillay, the royal *bailli*, for example, were not included in the obituary. NDP I, p. 405, II, p. 455. *Obituaires* (as in n. 61), p. 209, 232.

65 Marly, *Obituaires* (as in n. 61), p. 579; Montmorency, p. 555, 595 (SVP, f. 18), Chamberlains, p.

the lower strata more knights can be detected: Ferry de Macy and his wife, Mathieu le Bel and Frédéric de Palaiseau⁶⁶. What distinguishes the obituary of Saint-Victor from that of Notre-Dame is a close connection between the obituary and the cartulary. Over half of the donations described in the obituary can be identified in the cartulary.

The monasteries outside Paris employed a simpler format but enlarged the scope to include more knights. The rich Cluniac house of Saint-Martin-des-Champs kept a massive obituary that was simply a list of names arranged according to date of death. Alongside the powerful and favored families which now became customary⁶⁷, they added the counts of Beaumont and the castellans of Île-Adam⁶⁸. The knights now included Guillaume de Nanterre, Guillaume d'Aunay, Guillaume de Cornillon, Baudouin d'Andeli, Ferry de Gentilly and Robert de Channevières, and over half of their donations can be found in the archives⁶⁹. The Cistercian houses likewise adopted the abbreviated format. To the north of Paris Val-Notre-Dame favored their powerful neighbors, the counts of Beaumont, the Montmorency-Marlys and the Île-Adams as well as the Montforts and Garlandes⁷⁰. They also reached down to Guy de la Thourette, Richard de Fresne, Enguerran de Tria, Jean de Montchevreuil, Dreux de Pierrefond, Agnès de Fraconville and Gérard de Vallangoujard⁷¹. Despite the fragmentary nature of this cartulary, there was a high correspondence with the obituary. To the south of Paris the Cistercian women of Porrois (Port Royal) also favored their powerful neighbors such as the Montforts, Chevreuse, Marlys and Lèves⁷².

The Cistercians of Val-Notre-Dame and Porrois relied heavily on neighbors for their patrimony, but other monasteries were foundations of single families. The Premonstratensian canons of Joyenval, for example, owed their creation to the royal chamberlain and favorite, Barthélemy de Roye. Their obituary demonstrates this dependence by the massive representation of the Roye family coupled with their marriage alliances to the Montforts, Nesles, and Créspins. Understandably, the important neighbors, Marlys, Poissys and castellans of Neauphle were also included⁷³. Similarly the Cluniac priory of Saint-Leonor was founded by the counts of Beaumont to serve as their necropolis, and its obituary faithfully reflects this dependence.

567 (SVP, f. 43r), p. 594; Royes, p. 535 (SVP, f. 33v); Garlandes, p. 608; Barres, p. 545–555 (SVP, f. 156v); Chevreuses, p. 581 (Moutié, p. 129); Montforts, p. 544, 556, 567; Senlis, p. 576.

66 Obituaires (as in n. 61), p. 543, 558 (SVP, f. 197v); p. 591 (SVP, f. 186r); p. 589.

67 Montforts, Obituaires (as in n. 61), p. 444 (SMCps III, p. 182); Chamberlains, p. 464; Royes, p. 421; Garlandes, p. 437 (SMCps III, p. 332); Montmorency, p. 464 (SMCps III, p. 186).

68 Obituaires (as in n. 61), p. 430 (SMCps III, p. 368, 374); p. 431 (SMCps III, p. 67, 76).

69 Nanterre, Obituaires (as in n. 61), p. 421; Aunay, p. 450 (SMcps III, p. 122); Cornillon, p. 454; Andeli, p. 462; Gentilly, p. 464 (SMCps III, p. 342); Channevières, p. 465 (SMCps III, p. 357).

70 Beaumont, Obituaires (as in n. 61), p. 628–629 (VND, f. 510); Montmorency-Marly, p. 626, 629–631 (VND, f. 43r–50); Île-Adam, p. 627, 629–631 (VND, f. 27v); Montfort, p. 629 (Arch. nat. L 944, no. 39); Garlandes, p. 628, 631.

71 Thourette, Obituaires (as in n. 61), p. 626 (VND, f. 56v); Fresne, p. 626; Tria, p. 626 (VND, f. 13r); Montchevreuil, p. 628 (Arch. nat. L 944, no. 9); Pierrefond, p. 629 (VND, f. 44r); Franconville, p. 629 (VND, f. 53v); Vallangoujard, p. 631 (Arch. nat. S 2071, no. 90).

72 Montfort, Obituaires (as in n. 61), p. 637–638; Chevreuse, p. 637 (Por I, p. 69); Marly, p. 638 (Por I, p. 38, 41); Lèves, p. 640.

73 Obituaires de la province de Sens, ed. Auguste LONGNON, vol. 2, Paris 1906 (RHF, Obituaires, 2), p. 283–309.

Count Mathieu was responsible for the principal buildings, and his wife Aliènor and brother Jean made important donations as well⁷⁴.

Monastic Conversion

Conversion to the monastic life designated a gateway to eternal life that was more reassuring than a mere anniversary notice. Since the unfree (meaning mostly the peasants) were excluded from the clergy by ecclesiastical law, it is obvious that the aristocracy was the major source of recruitment for the clergy. (The townsmen were only beginning to enter.) The hundreds of names enrolled in the obituaries, therefore, referred mainly to aristocratic families. We have already noticed that families like Marly-Montmorencys, Chevreuses, Garlandes and butlers of Senlis whose genealogies are better known populated the secular clergy of Notre-Dame. My survey of 1729 transactions from 32 cartularies of the Paris region, nearly all monastic, however, contains only forty cases of conversion to the monastic life. This touches few of the hundreds of monks and nuns who inhabited the region, mostly drawn from aristocratic families. The forty conversions divide equally between monks and nuns, but since the latter belonged to only four of the 32 houses, nuns were better represented. Deathbed conversion was followed in the sample by three aristocrats, all men, for example, Pierre li Vermaus, brother of Rainald de Coucy, was assigned a burial place at Ourscamp⁷⁵. Only three examples surface of oblates, that is, children under age, offered by their families to be reared by monks, thus suggesting that regulations against the practice were taking effect. One of the rare cases, for example, involved Perrenelle whose mother Alix de Montfort, funded her upbringing at Saint-Antoine until the age of twelve⁷⁶. If Perrnelle decided to become a nun at that age, the foundation was doubled. Most transactions, however, involved the endowment of adult men and women. At times candidates like Mathieu de Montmorency at Val-Notre-Dame and Matilde de Chaumont at Hôtel-Dieu de Paris made provisions for themselves⁷⁷. Most often it was the family that provided for their children or siblings. Given the heavy representation from women's houses many examples survive of fathers and mothers endowing daughters at times with the mother's dowry or dower⁷⁸. Eudes de Tiverval and his wife donated to Porroi on the condition that the nuns accept one of their daughters⁷⁹. The kind of wealth that was offered did not differ from donations in general. Landed property was preferred, but rents in produce followed closely. As a way of divesting toxic wealth, tithes were also employed. Since the overt sale of entry into a monastery was judged by canon law to be the crime of simony,

74 Joseph DEPOIN, *Manuscrits funèbres de Saint-Léonore de Beaumont: Obituaire et martyrologe*, in: *Mémoires de la Société historique et archéologique de Pontoise et du Vexin* 35 (1918), p. 18, 23, 28, 29, 33, 38.

75 OurPD, p. 269 (1186); Mon, p. 134 (n.d.); SJV, f. 48r (1217).

76 André RHEIN (ed.), *Les actes des seigneurs de Montfort, Rambouillet 1910* (*Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Rambouillet*, 21), p. 322 (1221); Yer, p. 74 (n.d.); SNM, p. 44 (1186). Joseph H. LYNCH, *Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260: A Social, Economic and Legal study*, Columbus, Ohio 1976, p. 36–40.

77 VND, f. 62r (n.d.); HDP, p. 23 (1193).

78 Yer, p. 153 (1183); Por I, p. 57 (1217).

79 Per I, p. 48 (1216).

the terms of the transactions avoided the language of *quid pro quo*, thus assuming the concise and business-like language of donations⁸⁰. The articulation of penitence is virtually absent. Prestigious families like the Montmorencys, the Île-Adams, the Meulans and the Senlis appear among the recruits, but the prominence of the female houses of Yerres and Porrois to the south accounts for the presence of the Montforts, Andresels and Chevreuses. Well over three-quarters of the recruits nonetheless come from the lower ranks whose names were recognized only locally. None of the houses, however, had the good fortune of the Cistercians of Longpont to enlist a knight as celebrated as the Champenois neighbor, Jean de Montmirail, whose piety nearly achieved the crown of sainthood⁸¹.

Crusaders

When an aristocrat entered a monastery, he renounced the world and his warrior profession, but churchmen offered an alternative that allowed him to retain his profession, shed blood and still be admitted to the Kingdom of Heaven. This was the crusade which for over a century had dispatched military expeditions to the Near East to liberate the holy places from the hands of the infidel. The crusader was an armed pilgrim who enjoyed both temporal and spiritual privileges but, most of all, an indulgence. Although the exact meaning of this privilege was ambiguous, the indulgence promised release from penance if not remission from all sins as many crusaders believed⁸². Three major crusades materialized during Philip Augustus's reign: the Third (1189–1191) that was led by Kings Philip and Richard of England to the Holy Land, the Fourth (1201–1204) of Pope Innocent III that was intended for the Holy Land but ended at Constantinople and the Albigensian Crusade which Innocent preached against the Cathar heretics in the south of France (1209–1218).

Recruitment for these expeditions from the Paris regions can be perceived in the sample of 1729 charters of which 107 contain explicit mentions of crusaders. This figure represents at least 6 % of the charters which is better reporting than the 2 % alluding to entry into monasteries. Although the notices are explicit only about pilgrimages to Jerusalem or against the Albigensians, the dates of the charters serve to identify the crusade that was joined. (Sixteen mentions cannot be associated with the designated campaigns.) Half of the crusaders (48) accompanied Philip Augustus to the Holy land in 1189–1191 and included prominent lords such as Raoul, count of Soissons, Guy, castellan of Coucy, Guillaume de Garlande, Adam, castellan d'Île-Adam, Guy de Chevreuse and Philippe de Lèves. Ten names may be linked with families appearing in the feudal surveys (*Nomina* and *Scripta*), but the remainder were from the lower echelons of the aristocracy. Unfortunately, we have little corroboration of these figures from independent sources because Philip Augustus's expedition, unlike Richard's, did not attract the same attention from the major chroniclers. What is well-known is that the king brought with him the chief barons of his father's generation,

80 Sole exception: OurPD, p. 269 (1186). LYNCH, *Simoniacal Entry* (as in n. 76), p. 83–224.

81 Theodore EVERGATES, *The Aristocracy of the County of Champagne*, Philadelphia 2007, p. 236–237.

82 James A. BRUNDAGE, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, Madison 1969, p. 139–190.

such as the counts of Flanders, Blois and Clérmont, who perished at the siege of Acre in 1191.

Recruitment for the Fourth Crusade was opened in 1200 with the charismatic preaching of the priest Foulques de Neuilly to the knights assembled for a tournament at Écry in Champagne where hundreds received the cross. The sample of 1729 charters captures 31 (or one-third) from the Paris region including the well-known figures of Simon, lord of Montfort, Mathieu, count of Beaumont, Guy the castellan of Coucy (once again), Mathieu de Montmorency, Robert de Mauvoisin, Enguerran de Boves and Mathieu, lord of Marly⁸³. From this group the chronicler Geoffroy de Villehardouin identified all but two as having taken the cross at Écry, including the lesser knights Ferry and Jean d'Yerres, likewise found in the charters⁸⁴. He noted that they came »from France«, but there were many others not included in his narrative. Of the remaining 23 names from the charters only two appear in the *Nomina* survey⁸⁵.

To encourage the campaign against the Albigensians Pope Innocent extended the scope of the crusading indulgence to extend the benefits of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to those who spent only forty days fighting the heretics no further than southern France⁸⁶. Despite this incentive only thirteen crusaders can be found in the sample of 1729 charters. They included naturally Simon de Montfort, the renown leader and his brother-in-law Mathieu de Montmorency⁸⁷. Of the remaining only Simon de Chavigny and Robert de Poissy may be found in the *Scripta* survey. The Montfort-Montmorency allies occupy the center of attention of Pierre the chief chronicler of the crusade from the nearby abbey of Vaux-de-Cernay⁸⁸, but even the rich cartulary of that monastery patronized by the Montforts identified no crusaders from the local area⁸⁹. This low representation from the Albigensian crusade is all the more sur-

83 Montfort, e.g. STE, p. 13–15 (1202–1203); Beaumont, NDP I, p. 21 (1206); Coucy, OurPD, p. 115–118 (1201–1204); Montmorency, Por I, p. 25 (1204); Mauvoisin, SLP, p. 75 (1202); Boves, SLE, p. 96–98 (1206); Marly, Por I, p. 30 (1204).

84 [Geoffroy de] Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Edmond FARAL, vol. 1, Paris 1938 (Classiques de l'histoire de France, 18), p. 11. LONGNON, *Compagnons* (as in n. 59), p. 13. Ferry and Jean accompanied their father Baudouin d'Yerres. Yer, f. 229r (1203).

85 Choiseaus, Cha, f. 122r (1202); Vilers, OurPD, p. 154 (1202).

86 *Qui contra perfidos arma susceperint expugnandos illa valeat remissio peccatorum quam his qui laborant pro terre sancte subsidio duximus indulgendam*. Die Register Innocenz' III, vol. 10: Pontifikatsjahr 1207/1208, ed. Rainer MURAUER et al., Vienna 2007 (Publikationen des Historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Rom, II/1), p. 256; MIGNE PL 215, col. 1247; Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Hystoria Albigensis*, ed. Pascal GUÉBIN, Ernest LYON, 3 vol., Paris 1926–1939, vol. 1, p. 74.

87 SD I, p. 388 (1214).

88 Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay (as in n. 86), vol. 2, p. 244.

89 The cartulary does contain a charter (1194) from Simon de Gleiseri from the Third Crusade. VdC I, p. 122. The charters of the region are surprisingly silent about the Albigensian crusade. Other sources such as Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, however, note that Simon de Montfort's retinue contained prominent participants like Guy de Lèvis, Guy de Montfort, Simon and Geoffroi de Neauphle, Simon and Robert de Poissy, Pierre de Richebourg, Roger d'Andelly, Burchard and Mathieu de Marly, Guillaume de Garlande and Robert de Mauvoisin studied by Christine WOHL, »Volo vincere cum meis vel occumbere cum eisdem«: Studien zu Simon von Montfort und seinen nordfranzösischen Gefolgsleuten während des Albigenserkreuzzugs (1209 bis 1218), Frankfurt on the Main et al. 2001 (Europäische Hochschulschriften, 906), p. 123–156. Other prominent figures from the Paris region whose crusade cannot be identified include: Guy,

prising since, unlike the Third, it occurred during a peak period of charter production. Whatever the deficiencies of the documentation, the steady and clearly delineated decline of crusaders in my sample suggests a waning interest among the aristocracy in the Paris region despite the greater coverage accorded by the chroniclers Geoffroi de Villehardouin and Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay. The monastic charters nonetheless uncover a sector of the crusading armies hitherto hidden to historians. The royal inventories and chroniclers revealed great lords and bannerets who contribute to the Capetian victory at Bouvines, and the chroniclers likewise noticed these men on crusade, but the charters provide the names of the sixty-some lower knights from the region of Paris who soldiered off to fight the infidel and heretic.

Since the 1729 charters were not drafted with the purpose of identifying crusaders, but of recording the transfer of wealth, they are more useful in uncovering the financing of the crusades. Moreover, since the monks were less interested in the money that they bestowed than the wealth they gained, very few cases of direct subventions are recorded. Not on the eve of the Albigensian crusade but of the Fourth Crusade in 1202 Simon de Montfort acknowledged the receipt of 40 *livres* »freely and charitably« offered by the prior of Saint-Thomas-d'Éperon and promised that it was not given of necessity but voluntarily⁹⁰. Similarly in 1193 Mathieu de Montmorency declared that when Raoul *Pilatus* bestowed vineyards on Val-Notre-Dame, it was with the condition that if he wished to go to Jerusalem, he could seek both permission (*licentiam*) and aid (*auxilium*) from the church⁹¹. Direct loans to crusaders were also rare as were pledges⁹². For example, Payen de *Soissiac*, about to depart to Jerusalem in 1192 gave his tithes at Soissi to Saint-Spire de Corbeil as pledge for 80 *livres*. This arrangement acted as a loan because presumably he would repay the sum on his return⁹³. Most transfers, however, follow the customary schema of transaction as seen in the Table X. Of immediate benefit to the departing crusader was the opportunity to sell off assets for cash, which accounted for 9 % of the transactions. Thereby the aristocrat pocketed sums ranging from 100 to 40 *livres* for the sale of property and revenues⁹⁴. Closely allied were gifts and counter-gifts which supplied another 13 % of the cases. For example, Guillaume de Garlande gave to Saint-Martin-des-Champs his woods at Noisy en exchange for 100 *livres* (*de caritate*)⁹⁵. Well over half of these exchanges were in money ranging from 100 to 7 *livres* rather than in property and revenues in kind which would be less useful on the expedition. While less than a quarter of these transactions provided cash useful for the long journey, the overwhelming remainder (70 %) consisted of pure gifts to the church with no material compensation⁹⁶. As would be expected the wealth that the crusader bestowed on the

butler of Senlis (1180), Senlis, p. 176, SGM, p. 183 (1220); Thibaut de Marly, NDP II, p. 200 (1173); and Gace de Poissy, VND, f. 38v (1184).

90 STE, p. 13; RHEIN, Montfort (as in n. 76), p. 313 (1200).

91 VND, f. 43v–45v.

92 VND, f. 68v–69v (n.d.) reports an elaborate scheme of lending 10 *livres* to Robert, chamberlain of Montmorency, with guarantees to pay back when he left for Jerusalem.

93 SCS, p. 55 (1192).

94 OurPD, p. 228 (1203), p. 237 (1202); SCC I, p. 279 (1188); SLE, p. 96, 98 (1202).

95 SMCps III, p. 107 (1191); SCC I, p. 279 (1188); SLE, p. 96, 98 (1202).

96 Confirmation by his son Robert de Poissy in 1213. Abb, p. 42. When Gace de Poissy was on his

church did not differ in kind from what they were accustomed to give in alms, but the proportions of their giving had changed. They gave less property (31 % < 45 %) and about the same in revenues (51 % = 55 %) and more in jurisdiction (17 % > 10 %). Of particular interest was their reluctance to dispose of their toxic tithes (5 % > 17 %). A good number of the donations were delayed until death of the crusader either in the Holy Land or on their return⁹⁷. About 1204 Mathieu de Marly confessed that he was unable to assign the 15 *livres* of revenue from Meulan since he was impeded by important affairs⁹⁸. The most significant aspect of these gift-charters, however, is the relative absence of expressions of compunction. When the knight H. Balacir gave his tithes to Saint-Corneille de Compiègne in 1189 for which he received a counter-gift of 50 *livres*, he confessed that he had held them unjustly⁹⁹. Before departing against the Albigensians in 1216 Guy de Pierrelaye resigned the woods of Hossel to Saint-Denis which his father and he had held unjustly¹⁰⁰. And Jean de Tria and Nicolas de Bazoches in 1189 and Count Mathieu de Beaumont in 1206 made formulaic requests for their souls and placed their gifts on the altar¹⁰¹. The overwhelming majority of donations, however, were made in the contractual language of business transactions with not a word of penitential contrition. As departing crusaders, nonetheless, these warriors were aware that they were pilgrims whose souls benefited from the extraordinary benefit of the penitential indulgence. The church's ultimate and immeasurable recompense for their sacrifice was eternal salvation.

Conclusion

Throughout the »feudal period« the aristocracy of northern France has lacked its own voice, causing modern historians to rely on the testimony of contemporary chroniclers and monastic charters, all composed by churchmen. To mitigate the quasi-monopoly of the ecclesiastical evidence, I have sought to compare the monastic charters with royal surveys of fiefs initiated by Philip Augustus for the region surrounding Paris. For the monastic testimony I have assembled 1729 charters drawn from 32 cartularies in the region; for the feudal surveys I have relied on the *Nomina militum* and the *Scripta de feodis* compiled at the end of Philip's reign. In exploring the fundamental features of the aristocracy, the monastic charters attested to the predominance of the conjugal, nuclear family of husband-wife and children, although the monks' attention to the family was to protect their own interests. The king began to regulate the succession of families, particularly those who lacked male heirs and thereby to privilege patrilineal succession. Both monks and royalty were concerned with women's dowries and dowers, the monks insisting on the wife's consent in their disposal, the king channeling their inheritance and assigning one-half of the dower to the wife. As for the question of self-representation as a »noble« class, the term *nobi-*

deathbed in the Holy Land at an undisclosed date, he was unusual in giving to Abbecourt 40 *sous* in cash.

97 For example, Guy de Coucy, SCCha, f. 44v (1190); SCCha, f. 114r (1210); Bar, f. 139r (1195).

98 Por I, p. 25 (1204).

99 SCC I, p. 279.

100 SD I, p. 59r (1216).

101 VND, f. 32r (1189); SYB, p. 254 (1189); NDP I, p. 21 (1206).

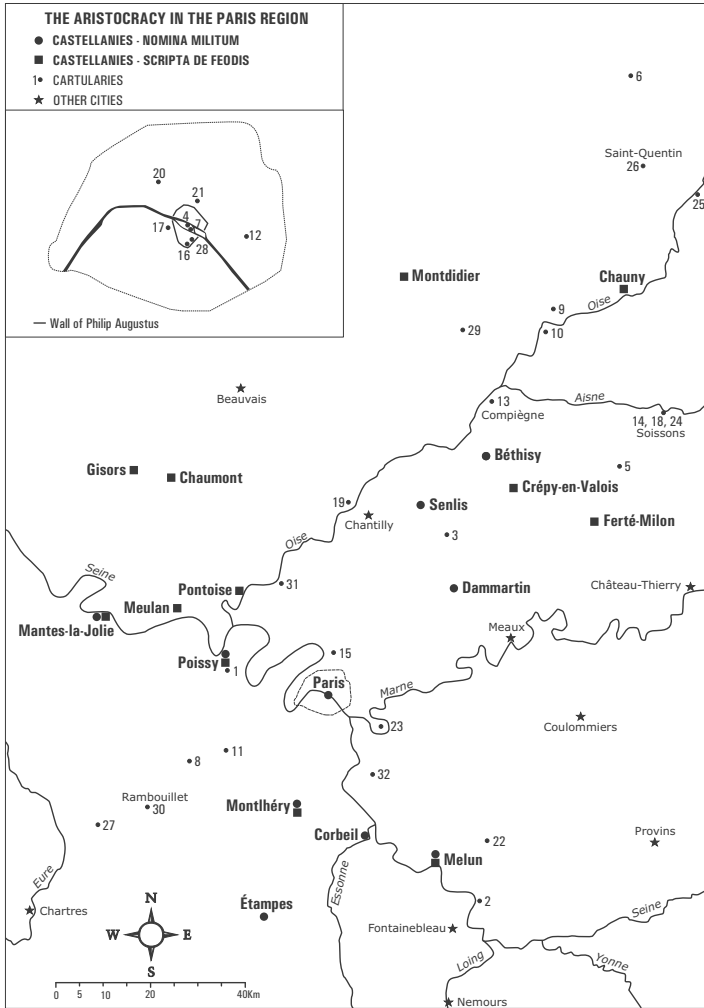
lis itself was absent from aristocratic vocabulary and exclusively found in the charters of churchmen. In their own charters the aristocrats of the Paris region styled themselves as counts, lords and knights, most frequently combining the last two titles. In contrast to a minimal concern among the monks the king devoted sustained attention to the aristocrats' feudal obligations. He recorded his direct vassals, their subvassals, how many enjoyed an annual income of 60 *livres par.*, who owed him liege-homage, the service of castle-guard and of host and *chevauchée*. From these surveys we can see that he possessed a strong contingent from the Paris region that contributed to his victory at Bouvines. In assessing the landed wealth, however, the monastic charters combined with the royal surveys to present a balanced picture. The feudal surveys indicate that the aristocrats' wealth consisted mainly of property (75 %) and to a lesser degree of revenues (17 %). In one particular survey this wealth ranged from 2000 to 15 *livres* with a mean average of 80 *livres*. By contrast the monastic charters show that when the aristocrat gave to the church the greater part came from revenue (55–45 %) than from property (45–40 %), a practice confirmed by the example of the royal *bailli*, Pierre du Thillay. Although the actual properties doubtless overlapped at times, the donation portfolio differed from that which the aristocrats retained. The charters naturally provide the best gauge of the aristocrats' interaction with churches and monasteries. Unsurprisingly, their donations dominate (74–65 %) their transactions. Sales, gifts-counter-gifts, and exchanges occupy a third. Women participated in only 15 % of these transactions, but their giving-profile did not differ appreciably from that of men. For most of these transactions the monks exacted the consent of the nuclear family (57 %) as well as of the feudal lord (22 %) to protect themselves against the future. To assure the aristocrats of their due recompense in masses and prayers the monks offered enrollment in obituaries. The ultimate reward of salvation, however, was best obtained through conversion to the monastic life and, perhaps more congenial to aristocratic tastes, the opportunity to participate on a crusade. In the charter sample the former was attested in only 2 % of the transactions, the latter in 6 %. In fact, churches contributed little to financing the departures of aristocrats on these holy wars. By setting the monastic charters against the royal records we have attempted to reduce the undue influence of the monks in portraying the aristocracy, but even in this documentation the aristocrats themselves have not yet found their own voice.

This study subscribes to the program originally proposed by Marc Bloch in 1931 and notably exemplified by Georges Duby in 1953 for the Mâconnais, that of examining the French aristocracy region by region. More recently the program has been perpetuated by Dominique Barthélemy for the Vendômois (1993), by Bruno Lemesle for the Haute-Maine (1999) and Theodore Evergates for Champagne (2007)¹⁰². By narrowing the geographic boundaries, by limiting its scope to a brief period of two genera-

102 Marc BLOCH, *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française*, Oslo 1931; Georges DUBY, *La société aux XI^e et XII^e siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, Paris 1953; Dominique BARTHÉLEMY, *La société dans le comté de Vendôme de l'an mil au XIV^e siècle*, Paris 1993; Bruno LEMESLE, *La société aristocratique dans le Haut-Maine*, Rennes 1999; and Theodore EVERGATES, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100–1300*, Philadelphia 2007.

tions and by approaching the leading questions in the aggregate, my findings are not fully commensurate with those studies of its distinguished peers, but hopefully these findings will prepare for broader conclusions worthy to be compared with other regions and thereby to advance our understanding of the aristocracy in the High Middle Ages.

Annexe



Note: The numbers indicate the cartularies: 1 – Abbecourt-en-Pincerais. 2 – Barbeau. 3 – Chaaalis. 4 – Hôtel-Dieu de Paris. 5 – Longpont (Aisne). 6 – Mont-Saint-Martin. 7 – Notre-Dame de Paris. 8 – Notre-Dame de la Roche. 9 – Noyon, chapter. 10 – Ourscamp. 11 – Porrois (Port-Royal). 12 – Saint-Antoine (Paris). 13 – Saint-Corneille de Compiègne. 14 – Saint-Crépin-en-Chaye. 15 – Saint-Denis. 16 – Sainte-Geneviève-du-Mont (Paris). 17 – Saint-Germain-des-Prés (Paris). 18 – Saint-Jean-des-Vignes (Soissons). 19 – Saint-Leu d'Esserent. 20 – Saint-Martin-des-Champs (Paris). 22 – Saint-Martin de Champeaux. 23 – Saint-Maur-des-Fossés. 24 – Saint-Médard de Soissons. 25 – Saint-Nicolas de Ribemont. 26 – Saint-Quentin (collegial). 27 – Saint-Thomas d'Épernon. 28 – Saint-Victor (Paris). 29 – Saint-Yved de Braines. 30 – Vaux-de-Cernay. 31 – Val-Notre-Dame. 32 – Yerres. For the full reference see the items designated by * in the Bibliography p. 50–52.

Bibliography of cartularies and their abbreviations

- AB Abbaye-aux-Bois: Le chartrier de l'Abbaye-aux-Bois (1202–1311), ed. Brigitte PIPON, Paris 1999 (Mémoires et documents de l'École des chartes, 46).
- *Abb Abbecourt: Abbecourt-en-Pincerais, monastère de l'ordre de Prémontré, ed. Joseph DEPOIN, Pontoise 1913.
- *Bar Barbeau: Cartulaire de Barbeau, Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 10943.
- Bea Beaupré: Cartulaire de Beaupré, Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 9973.
- *Cha Chaalis: Cartulaire de Chaalis, Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 11003.
- CSH Conflans-Sainte-Honorine: Les comtes de Beaumont-sur-Oise et le prieuré de Conflans-Sainte-Honorine, ed. Joseph DEPOIN, Pontoise 1915 (Mémoires de la Société historique et archéologique de Pontoise et du Vexin, 33), p. 1–262.
- Et Étampes: Cartulaire de Notre-Dame d'Étampes, ed. Jean-Marc ALLIOT, Paris 1888 (Documents publiés par la Société historique et archéologique du Gâtinais, 3).
- HDB Hôtel-Dieu de Beauvais: Cartulaire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Beauvais, ed. Victor LE BLOND, Paris 1919 (Publications de la Société académique de l'Oise, 4).
- *HDP Hôtel-Dieu de Paris: Archives de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris (1157–1300), ed. Léon BRIÈLE, Paris 1894.
- HDPon Hôtel-Dieu de Pontoise: Cartulaire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Pontoise, ed. Joseph DEPOIN, Pontoise 1886.
- Hér Héronval: Cartulaire d'Héronval, ed. Comité archéologique de Noyon, Noyon 1883.
- HVND Hôpital Val-Notre-Dame: Cartulaire de l'hôpital de l'abbaye du Val-Notre-Dame, ed. Henri OMONT, t. 1, Paris 1904 (Mémoires de la Société historique de Paris et de l'Île-de-France, 30).
- Jos Notre-Dame de Josephat: Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Josephat, ed. Charles MÉTAIS, Chartres 1903–04.
- *LonA Longpont (Aisne): Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Longpont, Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 11005.
- LonE Longpont (Essone): Cartulaire du prieuré de Longpont, Paris, Bibl. nat. nouv. acq. lat. 932.
- Mon Montmartre: Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye royale de Montmartre, ed. Édouard DE BARTHÉLEMY, Paris 1883.
- Mor Morienvall: Cartulaire de Morienvall (Senlis), ed. Achille PEIGNÉ-DELACOURT, Senlis 1879.
- Mori Morigny: Morigny, son abbaye, sa chronique et son cartulaire, ed. Ernest MÉNAULT, Paris 1867.
- *MSM Mont-Saint-Martin: Cartulaire de l'abbaye du Mont-Saint-Martin, Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 5478.
- NDC Notre-Dame de Chartres: Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres, ed. Eugène DE LÉPINOI, Lucien MERLET, Chartres 1862–65.
- NDM Notre-Dame de Moulineaux: Recueil de chartes et pièces relatives au prieuré Notre-Dame de Moulineaux, ed. Auguste MOUTIÉ, Paris 1846.
- *NDP Notre-Dame de Paris: Cartulaire de l'Église de Notre-Dame de Paris, ed. Benjamin GUÉRARD, Paris 1850.
- *NDR Notre-Dame de la Roche: Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la Roche, ed. Auguste MOUTIÉ, Paris 1862.
- *Noy Noyon, Chapitre: Cartulaire du chapitre de Noyon, Arch. dép. Oise G 1984.

- *OurBN Ourscamp: Cartulaire de l'abbaye d'Ourscamp, Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 5473.
- *OurPD Ourscamp: Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame d'Ourscamp, ed. Achille PEIGNÉ-DELACOURT, Amiens 1865 (Documents inédits de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie, 6).
- *Por Porrois: Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Porrois au diocèse de Paris plus connue sous son nom mystique Port-Royal, ed. Adolphe DE DION, Paris 1903.
- Pre Prémontré: Soissons, Bibl. mun. 7.
- *SA Saint-Antoine: Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Antoine, Paris, Arch. nat. LL 1595.
- SCH Saint-Christophe-en-Halette: Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Christophe-en-Halette, ed. Amédée VATTIER, Senlis 1876.
- *SCC Saint-Corneille de Compiègne: Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Corneille de Compiègne, ed. Émile MOREL, Montdidier 1904–77.
- *SCCha Saint-Crépin-en-Chaye: Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Crépin-en-Chaye, Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 18372.
- *SD Saint-Denis: Cartulaire blanc de Saint-Denis, Paris, Arch. nat. LL 1157, 1158.
- SFP Saint-Fursy de Péronne: Charters of St. Fursy of Péronne, ed. William Mendel NEWMAN, Mary ROUSE, Cambridge Mass. 1977.
- SGA Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois: Cartulaire de Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris, Arch. nat. LL 387.
- SGL Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Le prieuré de Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Origines et cartulaire, ed. Joseph DEPOIN, Versailles 1895 (Commission des antiquités et des arts de Seine-et-Oise, 15), p. 102–129.
- *SGM Sainte-Geneviève-du-Mont: Cartulaire de Sainte-Geneviève-du-Mont, Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève 356.
- *SGP Saint-Germain-des-Prés: Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés des origines au début du XIII^{ème} siècle, ed. René POUPARDIN, Paris 1909–30.
- SJIC Saint-Jean-en-Île-lès-Corbeil: Le prieuré de Saint-Jean-en-l'Île-lès-Corbeil, ed. Jean-Marc ROGER, Paris 2009 (Paris et Île-de-France, Mémoires, 60), p. 177–291.
- SJVa Saint-Jean-en Vallée: Cartulaire de Saint-Jean-en-Vallée de Chartres, ed. René MERLET, Chartres 1906 (Collections de cartulaires chartrains, 1).
- *SJVi Saint-Jean-des-Vignes: Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 11004.
- *SLE Saint-Leu d'Esserent: Le prieuré de Saint-Leu d'Esserent, Cartulaire (1080–1538), ed. Eugène MÜLLER, Pontoise 1899–1901.
- SLM Saint-Laurent de Montfort-l'Amaury: Le prieuré de Saint-Laurent de Montfort-l'Amaury, ed. Adolphe DE DION, Rambouillet 1888 (Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Rambouillet, 8).
- *SLP Saint-Lazare de Paris: Recueil des actes de Saint-Lazare de Paris (1124–1254), ed. Simone LEFÈVRE, Lucie FOSSIER, Paris 2005 (Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, 75).
- SLS Saint-Léger de Soissons: Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Léger de Soissons, ed. Abbé PÊCHEUR, Soissons 1870–76.
- SMa Saint-Magloire: Chartes et documents de l'abbaye de Saint-Magloire, ed. Anne TERROINE, Lucie FOSSIER, Yvonne DE MONTENON, Paris 1998 (Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, 1).
- *SMCps Saint-Martin-des-Champs: Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs, monastère parisien, ed. Joseph DEPOIN, Paris 1912–21.

- *SMCux Saint-Martin de Champeaux: Le chartrier de la collégiale de Saint-Martin de Champeaux, ed. Jean DUFOUR, Genève 2009 (Hautes Études médiévales et modernes, 94).
- *SMF Saint-Maur-des-Fossés: Livre noir de Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, Paris, Arch. nat. LL 46.
- SMPa Saint-Merry de Paris: Cartulaire et censier de Saint-Merry de Paris, Paris 1891 (Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France, 18), p. 101–271.
- SMPo Saint-Martin de Pontoise: Chartrier de l'abbaye Saint-Martin de Pontoise, ed. Joseph DEPOIN, Pontoise 1911 (Société historique du Vexin).
- *SMS Saint-Médard de Soissons: Cartularium novum de Saint-Médard de Soissons, Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 9986.
- SNM Saint-Nicaise de Meulan: Recueil des chartes de Saint-Nicaise de Meulan, prieuré de l'ordre du Bec, ed. Émile HOUTH, Paris, Pontoise 1924.
- *SNR Saint-Nicolas de Ribemont: Le cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Nicholas-des-Prés sous Ribemont, ed. Henri STEIN, Saint-Quentin 1883 (Mémoires de la Société académique de Saint-Quentin, 4^{ème} série, 5).
- *SQ Saint-Quentin (collégiale): Livre rouge de l'église collégiale de Saint-Quentin, Paris, Arch. nat. LL 985B.
- SRS Saint-Remi-lès-Senlis: Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Remi-lès-Senlis, Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 11002.
- SSC Saint-Spire de Corbeil: Cartulaire de Saint-Spire de Corbeil au diocèse de Paris, ed. Émile COÛARD-LYS, Rambouillet 1882.
- *STE Saint-Thomas d'Éperon: Cartulaires de Saint-Thomas d'Éperon et de Notre-Dame de Maintenon, prieurés dépendant de l'abbaye de Marmoutier, ed. Auguste MOUTIÉ, Adolphe DE DION, Rambouillet 1878 (Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Rambouillet, 4), p. 1–188.
- *SV Saint-Victor: Cartulaire de Saint-Victor de Paris, Paris, Arch. nat. LL 1450.
- *SYB Saint-Yved de Braine: Le chartrier de l'abbaye prémontrée de Saint-Yved de Braine, 1134–1250, ed. Olivier GUYOTJEANNIN, Paris 2000 (Mémoires et documents de l'École des chartes, 49).
- *VdC Vaux-de-Cernay: Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame des Vaux-de-Cernay de l'ordre de Cîteaux au diocèse de Paris, ed. Lucien MERLET, Auguste MOUTIÉ, Paris 1857–58.
- *VND Val-Notre-Dame: Cartulaire de l'abbaye du Val-Notre-Dame, Paris, Arch. nat. LL 1451.
- *Yer Yerres: Cartulaire de l'abbaye d'Yerres en Brie, Paris, Arch. nat. LL 1599B.

Note: *indicates the 32 cartularies comprising the sample of 1729 monastic charters.

Table I

Transactions	A Monastic charters [1729]	B Royal charters (ecclesiastical archives [173])	C Royal charters (registers [108])
Transaction			
Gift	65 %	52 %	68 % (60 % to <i>fideles</i>)
Sale	22 %	22 %	11 %
Gift-Countergift	8 %	8 %	5 %
Exchange	3 %	3 %	5 %
Pledge	2 %		2 %
Litigation	14 %	27 %	7 %
Transaction between laity	2 %	10 %	78 %
Transaction benefiting laity	2 %	1 %	1 %
Women	15 %	5 %	9 %
Landed wealth			
Property	45 %	46 %	60 %
Revenue	33 %	21 %	20 %
Tithes	17 %	12 %	2 %
Forest usage	2 %	8 %	5 %
Money	3 %	6 %	1 %
Jurisdiction	10 %	21 %	11 %
<i>Laudatio parentum</i>	57 %	37 %	3 %
Husband-wife	38 %	40 %	
Son-daughter	22 %	25 %	
Brother-sister	21 %	19 %	
Father-mother	4 %		
Husband-wife alone	19 %		
Husband-wife-son-daughter	13 %		
<i>Laudatio domini</i>	22 %	12 %	11 %

Note: Since each charter contains multiple categories, the percentages are those of the total number of charters.

Table VIII: Landed wealth: »Scripta« and monastic charters compared

	no	vas	pt	pd	pc	pn	pm	pp	pf	rc	rk	ru	rt	rf	rm	jj	jh	jp	jm jd	Tot p	Tot r	Tot j	Tot %
281 ten, 652 tr	281	659	342	59	11	39	26	4	4	65	27	6	6	4		9	26	14	2				
A-11, Cast %			52 %	9 %	2 %	6 %	4 %	1 %	1 %	10 %	4 %	1 %	1 %	1 %		1 %	4 %	2 %		75 %	17 %	8 %	
A-11, Cast %																							
B-25 ten, %			66 %	9 %	4 %	4 %	7 %			1 %							1 %	4 %					
C- 1729 ch Tab IA																				45 %	55 %	10 %	
D- 610 ch Tot no.			228	24	9	49	11	8		146	104	27	78		28	10	25	39	40				
610 ch, Tot %			28 %	3 %	1 %	6 %	1 %	1 %		18 %	13 %	3 %	9 %		3 %	1 %	3 %	3 %	3 %	40 %	45 %	14 %	
E- 16 tr, no.			4							1	2	6											
Da- 610 ch, Gifts, men %			15 %			4 %				13 %	8 %		6 %		1 %		3 %	7 %		22 %	31 %	10 %	
Da- 610 ch Gifts, wom, %			3 %							3 %	2 %									4 %	6 %	1 %	
Da- 610 ch Gifts Tot no.			146	17		36	6	8		132	81	24	58		13	8	18	35	30	213	308	91	
Da- Gifts,- Tot %			18 %	2 %		4 %	1 %	1 %		16 %	10 %	3 %	7 %		2 %	1 %	2 %	4 %	4 %	26 %	37 %	11 %	74 %
Db-610 ch Sal, CG, Ex, no			82	7	9	13	5			14	23		20		15	2	7	4	10	116	72	23	
Db, 610 ch Sal, CG, EX, %			10 %	1 %	1 %	2 %				2 %	3 %		2 %		2 %		1 %		1 %	14 %	9 %	3 %	26 %

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Table IX: Men and women compared as donors

	p	pt	pn	r	rc	rk	rt	j	Total
Men no.	187			257				81	525
%	36 %			49 %				15 %	85 %
Women no.	30			51				10	91
%	32 %			56 %				11 %	15 %
Men no.		128	31		107	68	54		525
%		24 %	6 %		20 %	13 %	10 %		
Women no.		18	5		25	13	4		91
%		20 %	5 %		27 %	14 %	4 %		

p- landed property

pt- fields, meadows, vineyards

pn- woods

r- landed revenues

rc - cens

rk- produce

rt- tithes

j- jurisdiction

Statistics derived from Table VIII/Da of donations in the sample of 610 monastic charters.

Table X: Crusader finances

Subventions	3	4 %	Property, p	18	31 %	
Loans	2	2 %	Revenues in kind, rk	13	22 %	
Pledges	2	2 %	Revenues, <i>cens</i> , rc	10	17 %	+
Sales	7	9 %	Forest usage ru	4	7 %	+
Gifts-counter gifts	11	13 %	Revenues, tithes, rt	3	5 %	= 51 %
Gifts	57	70 %	Jurisdiction, j	10	17 %	
Total	82		Total	58		

