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

A Quantitative Approach. Part One

The medieval aristocracy has long offered a perennial fascination to French historians, but modern scholars have been faced with a major obstacle in treating the period to the end of the thirteenth century. This is the lack of aristocratic archives in northern France¹. This lacuna has obliged historians to resort to documentation supplied by ecclesiastics, royalty or other great lords. The present investigation is conditioned both by personal choices and the availability of sources. Although I recognize the advantages in examining the aristocracy in symbiosis with the peasantry, this will not be feasible here. Furthermore, since the Francilien aristocracy has been recently treated for the preceding decades of the twelfth century by Nicholas Civel², I shall limit myself to the half-century of Philip's reign. Encompassing only two, or three generations at most, this period presents a snapshot in time and place but not a longitudinal project that uncovers secular trends and mutations favored by present historians. The term *Francia* was often applied both to the region around Paris as well as to the entire kingdom of France³, but the specific term »Île-de-France« as used today was unknown in the Middle Ages. The geographic scope of this study will therefore be defined by proximity to Paris and the availability of two sets of documents.

Unlike most provinces, with the exception of Normandy and Champagne, the Paris region benefits from the proximity to powerful laymen, in this case the king,

- 1 Preliminary Note: The following study is preparatory to a larger work on the aristocracy around Paris. Since it seeks to exploit serial documentation produced by the king and the monasteries, it is quantitative and statistical in nature and thereby of chief interest to medieval specialists. Because of its length I am grateful to the editors of »Francia« for their willingness to undertake its publication in two parts. It supersedes an exploratory essay, *Les chevaliers dans les cartulaires monastiques de la région parisienne*, in: *Chevalerie et christianisme aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, ed. Martin AURELL, Catalina GIRBEA, Rennes 2011, p. 51–65. – The earliest known cartulary from a lay seigneurie stems from the vidames of Picquigny in the second half of the thirteenth century. Lucie FOSSIER, Olivier GUYOTJEANNIN, *Cartulaires français laïques: seigneuries et particuliers*, in: *Les Cartulaires*, ed. Olivier GUYOTJEANNIN, Laurent MORELLE, Michel PARISSÉ, Paris 1993 (*Mémoires et documents de l'École des chartes*, 39), p. 383–384.
- 2 Nicolas CIVEL, *La fleur de France: Les seigneurs d'Île-de-France au XII^e siècle*, Turnhout 2006 (*Histoire de la famille. La parenté au moyen âge*, 5).
- 3 For example: *Similiter francia particularis circa parisiis et francia generalis*. Pierre the Chanter, MS Oxford, Balliol Coll. 23, f. 22ra in John W. BALDWIN, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, vol. 2, Princeton 1970, p. 109, n. 1, Marc BLOCH, *Île de France*, Paris 1913.

who not only collected documents in his own archives and registers, but also ordered surveys of his vassals of which two, even if incomplete, are useful for my purposes. The first, the *Nomina militum*, was a survey of knights possessing incomes of at least sixty *livres parisis* grouped by castellany stretching from the north to the south of Paris of which I have selected ten of the most central⁴. The second, the *Scripta de feodis*, originated from the Anglo-Norman dukes in Normandy and was continued by Philip Augustus for the duchy and extended to other parts of the royal domain. It took note of the king's direct vassals, their military obligations, sub-vassals and possessions. Incomplete like the *Nomina*, it was applied to certain castellanies bordering Normandy to the north of Paris and also to the south, as well as extending into Vermandois. For my purposes I have selected six to the north and two to the south, but to supplement their findings I have added four from the Vermandois which were closest to Paris. Only four of these overlap with the *Nomina* survey⁵. The Paris region, as I have defined it, is therefore arbitrary and can best be apprehended in the accompanying map that depicts the eighteen castellanies of the two royal surveys and the ecclesiastical cartularies that surround them (see map p. 31). The royal surveys that define the scope of my investigation will be elaborated later, but for the present it is sufficient to note that my chosen territory is situated in the royal domain closest to Paris but does not comprise all of the royal domain which was in constant expansion throughout Philip's reign.

Churches also collected charters in their archives which in the later thirteenth century were copied into codices called cartularies that organized the documents for speedy recovery. From these cartularies I have selected thirty-two from churches in close proximity to the castellanies covered by the royal surveys⁶. For the sake of convenience I shall call them monastic charters and cartularies, since all but the secular chapters of Paris and Noyon and the Hôtel-Dieu were churches of monks or regular canons.

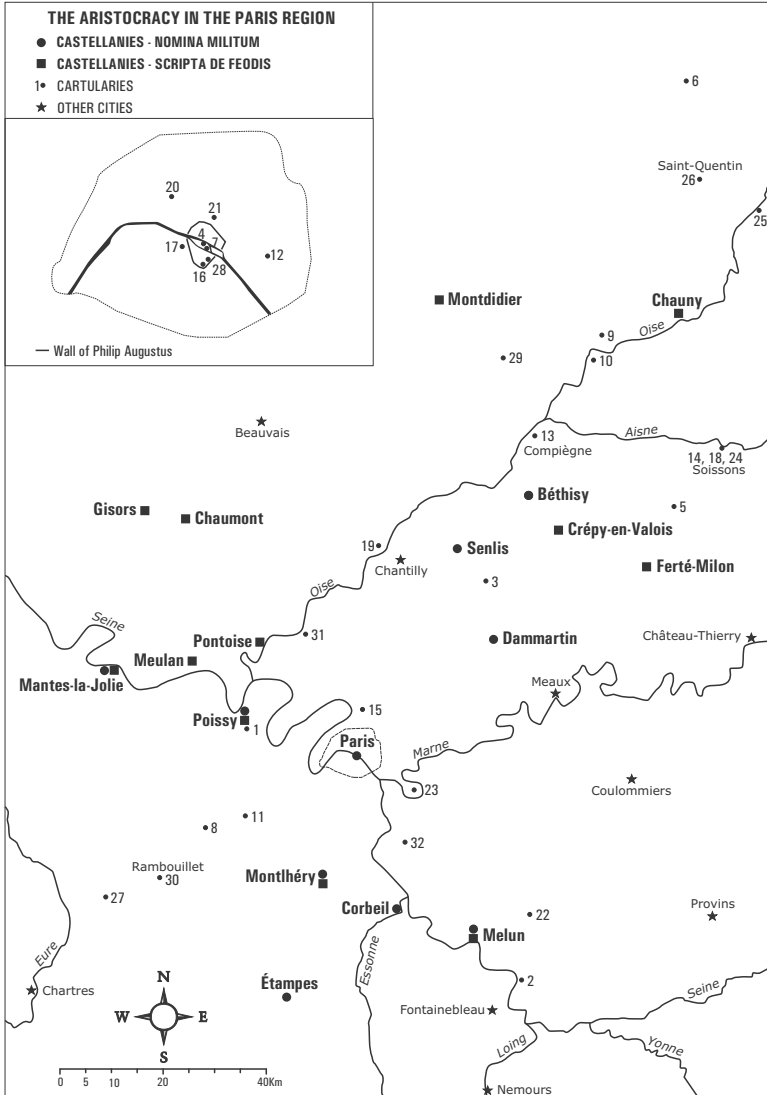
During Philip's reign the monastic charter underwent important transformations. Previously the charter was issued by a prelate (bishop or abbot), the king or a great lord. To establish its authenticity it was sealed both by the prelate or secular lord and contained witnesses at the end. Long and verbose, it provided religious motivation for the transaction, expressing penance, piety and requests for prayer. The following charter illustrates how much changed during our period:

Ego Ferricus de Gentilliaco, miles, notum facio universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presentes littere pervenerint, quod ego in perpetuam elemosinam ecclesie Beati Martini de Campis totam decimam tam in blado quam in vino et in aliis rebus, quas habebam in territorio de Tour, et pressoragium, et censum quem Galterius Cent Mars et frater ejus Revenuz de Lovecines, et Petronilla la Bigote de Vitriaco mihi debebant singulis annis in festo Sancti Remigii. Et ut ratum et

4 *Nomina militum qui tenent de domino rege in castellania ...*, ed. Léopold DELISLE, in: RHF 23, p. 686–689.

5 *Scripta de feodis*, *ibid.*, p. 621–633, 646–658, 669–675. For details of selection see below p. 44.

6 For the 32 cartularies see the items designated by asterisks* in the bibliography of cartularies at the end of the article.



Note: The numbers indicate the cartularies : 1 – Abbecourt-en-Pincerais. 2 – Barbeau. 3 – Chaalis. 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-Lazare (Paris). 21 – 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. 57–59.

*inconcussum in posterum perseveret, presentes litteras feci sigilli mei munimine roborari. Actum anno gracie M CC septimo decimo, mense octobri*⁷.

The bishops and abbots continued to issue charters, although at times the bishop was replaced by his *officialis*. The great lords became less numerous, and to fill their place appeared the knight who issued the charter in his own name and sealed it with his own seal. The charter was now abbreviated, the witnesses omitted, the religious motivation either omitted or greatly shortened, the transactions reduced to stereotyped formula and expressed in standardized vocabulary. With the disappearance of the witnesses, the seal became the chief authentication of the charter. The phrase: »so that this remains firm and established I have strengthened the present charter with my seal«, or other phrases to that effect, were rarely omitted, even in the copies that survived only in the cartularies. The monotony of this formula was broken only when the issuer of the charter possessed no seal. He then stated that he borrowed a seal from the abbot of the recipient monastery, the bishop, a feudal lord, a royal official or a close relative⁸.

From thirty-two cartularies I have gathered 1729 charters (see Table I/A p. 60) which contain transactions between the monks and the aristocracy and have classified their contents according to the principal topics they contained: economic activities such as gifts, counter-gifts, sales, pledges, and exchanges; wealth such as property, tithes, revenues, forest rights, cash and jurisdiction. I have also included particular categories such as reports of litigation, transactions between aristocrats alone, and the participation of women including their dowries and dowers as well as consenting parties such as families and the feudal lord. As can be quickly observed, these charters deal exclusively with activities of direct concern to the monks: 95% (65% gifts, 8% counter-gifts, 22% sales) treat the transfer of wealth to the church for which the aristocrat receives remuneration in 30% of the transactions (counter-gifts 8%, sales 22%). Of this wealth 45% consists of real estate and 60% of landed revenues (periodic revenues in kind and money [*cens*] 33%, tithes 17%), and jurisdictions 10%. Only 4% deal with transactions of immediate interest to the aristocracy themselves. Litigation occupied 14% of the cases which are almost always decided in favor of the church. Rare are the references to activities that we associate with aristocratic life: castle-guard, warfare, tournaments or hunting⁹. The horse that emblemizes the persona of the *chevalier* is totally absent.

Moreover, the charter itself that was issued by the knight and authenticated by his own seal was not free from the monk's domination. Although its terms were doubtlessly negotiated by the two parties beforehand, they are nonetheless expressed in Latin, a language monopolized by churchmen. A monk has inscribed them on parchment (the calligraphy proves it), and the style is routinely formulaic, indicative of

7 Paris, Arch. nat. S 1354, no. 1, SMCps III, p. 342. All cartularies will be cited by abbreviations found in the Bibliography at the end of the article.

8 For example: abbot, OurPD 492, (1218); bishop, Yèr 210, (1212); feudal lord, CHS 98 (1207); royal official, SNM 54, (1195); relatives, SMCux 127 (1224), SV f. 115v (1203).

9 Rare references to hunting usually refer to admitting that one does not have a right to hunt SVP f. 79r (nd) or to renunciation of one's right to hunt. Bar f. 277v (1227).

institutions not individuals. Even the knight's seal is not a sign of his independence, but a constraining instrument to force him into compliance with the terms of the agreement, as Philippe de Beaumanoir later acknowledged¹⁰. Most important, the charter was not collected nor preserved by the knight but by the monk who assuredly would not waste the expense of copying documents which were unfavorable to his interests¹¹. While the monastic charter is a fruitful document for studying the wealth of churches¹², it is significantly skewed as a historical source for the life and activities of aristocrats. In addition to its ideological bias, the monastic charter also suffers from a heuristic defect. Since the geographic distribution of monasteries and the existence of cartularies are fortuitous, they do not cover a territory systematically as do the royal inventories.

For this reason royal documentation is helpful in my investigation, even if it also must be used with care. During Philip's reign the royal chancery issued 323 charters containing transactions involving the aristocracy of the Paris region. Of these 173 (54%) owe their survival to the ecclesiastical archives and cartularies. When we compare the profile of the aristocrat in these charters with those of the monasteries, with the exception of transactions between laity (10% > 2%) we see little difference (see Table I/B). Once again it is clear that the monks preserved only those royal charters that were of interest to them. When, however, we compare those charters (108 or 33%) which were preserved in the chancery registers (see Table I/C), the differences increase because the transactions are no longer exclusively between the church and aristocrats but notably between the king and the aristocracy and among the laity itself. This last category rises from 2% to 78% because these dealings were of interest to the king. The conclusion nonetheless persists that there are few sources in which the aristocrats are permitted to speak for themselves, but these preliminary comparisons are offered to suggest that when studying the aristocracy the findings of the monastic charters should be tested against whatever evidence is available.

Demography and Prosopography

Both the royal surveys and the monastic cartularies record names of individuals of interest to this study, and these names may be counted with the results seen in Table V where they will be discussed at greater length. For the present it is sufficient to note that the *Nomina* and *Scripta* surveys produced the names of 351 direct vassals and an additional 1051 subvassals (see Table V/A, B, C, D). By alphabetizing the names of the direct vassals in the *Nomina* and *Scripta* surveys I have been able to compare them with the aristocrats (also alphabetized) who engaged in the 1729 transactions of the monastic cartularies in order to discover to what extent the monks were in contact with the royal vassals. Since the surveys and the monastic charters were drawn up at different times, I have used family rather than personal names. I have discovered that

10 Coutumes de Beauvaisis, ed. Amédée SALOMON, vol. 2, Paris 1899, p. 43–45, no. 1074–76.

11 In 1219 the knight Jean de Derceio was assessed for damages and expenses in drawing up the charter (*quam pro expensis in littere factis*), SNR, p. 147.

12 See in particular Constance Brittain BOUCHARD, *Holy Entrepreneurs: Cisterciens, Knights and Economic Exchange in Twelfth-Century Burgundy*, Ithaca 1991.

from 41% to 79% (with an average of 54%) of the direct royal vassals were also in contact with the monks (see Table V/E–F). These high percentages are explicable by the heavy concentration of churches around Paris; the lower results, doubtlessly by the scarcity of cartularies in proximity. Since there was a concordance of at least one-half between the two sets of sources, it appears that the monastic charter in the Paris region is a satisfactory heuristic tool. Moreover, when I searched through the 1729 monastic transactions for names that did not occur in the royal surveys of direct vassals, I found 951 additional names reaching a total of 2353 names for the Paris region (see Table V/E). Beyond this figure we enter uncertain territory. (Unfortunately the thousand sub-vassals were too numerous to compare.) Two thousand names, however, gives us an initial figure for the aristocratic population in a restricted area around Paris. In addition, we shall see that 22% of the 1729 monastic charters contained 378 feudal lords who consented to the transactions (see Table I/A, V/H), and 498 names appear in other surveys from the region (Table V/Ga–Ge). Although it is impossible to eliminate doubles in these last figures as well as among the thousand sub-vassals, they were doubtlessly underreported as were most surveys of the period. Reliable figures of the population are impossible to obtain at the end of the twelfth century, but the figure of 3200 aristocrats does offer an order of magnitude for this study. Around 1200 when the population of the city of Paris is estimated at 50000 bourgeois and clerics living within the walls of Philip Augustus, only a few thousand aristocrats inhabited the surrounding countryside.

One of the earliest inventories (1203–1206) that the chancery clerics inscribed into Philip Augustus's Register A was a list of aristocrats of the entire kingdom organized hierarchically according to the categories of dukes and counts, barons, castellans and vavassors (meaning doubtlessly knights¹³) which offers a convenient approach to organize the names of those prominent in the Paris region. Because constraints of space do not permit me to discuss the individual names, I shall merely identify them in Table II and indicate those who were also named in the *Nomina* and *Scripta* surveys. Those who bore the title of count were limited to two by the time of the list, the count of Beaumont-sur-Oise and the countess of Saint-Quentin (and Vermandois and Valois). The previous counties of Évreux and Meulan had been annexed by the king by the time of his conquest of Normandy in 1204¹⁴, and the counts of Dammartin lost their independence when they became embroiled with the Anglo-Normans¹⁵. The only active counts in the region were Mathieu and Jean de Beaumont¹⁶ and Aliénor, countess of Saint-Quentin¹⁷.

13 Les Registres de Philippe Auguste, ed. John W. BALDWIN, Françoise GASPARRI, Michel NORTIER, Elisabeth LALOU, vol. 7, Paris 1992 (RHF, Documents financiers et administratifs), p. 327–335.

14 Daniel POWER, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Cambridge 2004.

15 Jean-Noël MATHIEU, *Recherches sur les premiers comtes de Dammartin*, Paris 1995.

16 Louis-Charles DOUËT D'ARCQ, *Recherches historiques et critiques sur les anciens comtes de Beaumont-sur-Oise du XI^e au XIII^e siècle*, Amiens 1855.

17 Léon-Louis BORRELLI DE SERRES, *La Réunion des provinces septentrionales à la couronne par Philippe Auguste: Amiénois, Artois, Vermandois, Valois*, Paris 1899, p. LXXXVIII–LXXXIX, CXXVI. Louis CAROLUS-BARRÉ, Une arrière-petite fille de Hugues Capet, Aliénore de Vermandois, comtesse de Beaumont, puis de Saint-Quentin, dame de Valois, vers 1150–19 juin 1213, in: ID., *Études et documents sur l'Île-de-France et la Picardie*, vol. 2, Compiègne 1996, p. 187–217.

If the counts of Carolingian origin had all but disappeared from the Paris region, the royal chancery created the title of *barones* to classify the most prominent aristocrats of the region. To the southwest they included Simon and Amaury de Montfort-l'Amaury who were prominent in the Albigensian crusade and found time to compile their own *Scripta de feodis*¹⁸, as well as Mathieu de Montmorency, the royal constable, whose ancestors had disrupted the peace early in the century but now remained faithful to the king¹⁹. The title of lord of Livry and Neufmarché conceals the celebrated Garlande family who were also disruptive early in the century but now faithful to the king. They were presently represented by two branches, Guillaume de Garlande, lord of Livry, descended from the royal seneschal Guillaume, and Guy and Anseau, lords of Tournun(-en-Brie) descended from the royal butler Gilbert²⁰. The butlers of Senlis received their title early in the century²¹, and Jean, lord of Nesle, was Philip Augustus's chief supporter in the Vermandois²².

The category of castellans identified at least ten from the Paris region which included not only the local lords such as Marly-le-Roi, La Queue-en-Brie (*Cauda*), L'Île-Adam, Neauphle-le-Château, Chaumont, Gisors, Chevreuse and Hangest, but also royal favorites as Dreux de Mello and Gautier the Chamberlain with his sons Gautier the Young and Ours²³.

The section devoted to vavassors in Register A contains only 41 names from the entire kingdom. Fewer than the castellans, it is hopelessly incomplete. A cluster of four (Robert and Simon de Poissy, Guy Mauvoisin, and Pierre de Richebourg) close by to Paris and two in neighboring Vermandois (Philippe de Nanteuil and Aubert de Hangest, again) were included but are not sufficient to represent the thousands of knights from the region. From the *Nomina* survey, therefore, I have selected fifteen, including the above six, as a sample of the prominent knights of the regions. To these I have added two more, Philippe de Lèves and Barthélemy de Roye, who were exemplary both in royal service and activity in the region²⁴. Not only can these seventeen be found in the royal documentation but they are also heavily attested in the monastic charters. To them, of course, should be added the additional names found in the *Nomina* survey of knights having the minimum standard wealth of 60 *livres* and the knights inventoried as royal vassals in the *Scripta* survey, not to speak of the subvassals that were declared in the registers nor of the remaining knights named as principal actors in the 1729 monastic

18 Marc-Antoine DOR, *Seigneurs en Île-de-France occidentale et en Haute-Normandie, Contribution à l'histoire des seigneurs de Montfort-l'Amaury, des comtes d'Évreux et de leur entourage, au XII^e siècle et au début du XIII^e siècle*, Thèse de l'École nationale des chartes 1992, vol. 2. I am grateful to Abbé Dor who has generously granted me access to this thesis, including the edition of the *Scriptum feodorum*.

19 Brigitte BEDOS, *La châtellenie de Montmorency des origines à 1368: Aspects féodaux, sociaux et économiques*, Pontoise 1980.

20 John W. BALDWIN, *Philippe Auguste et son gouvernement: Les fondations du pouvoir royal en France au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1991, p. 156–157.

21 André DUCHESNE, *Histoire de la maison des bouteillers de Senlis*, Paris 1879.

22 William Mendel NEWMAN, *Les Seigneurs de Nesle en Picardie (XII^e–XIII^e siècle)*, Paris 1971 (Bibliothèque de la Société d'histoire du droit des pays Flamands, Picards et Wallons, 2), p. 27.

23 BALDWIN, *Philippe Auguste* (as in n. 20), p. 145–146, 156.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 152–155.

charters. As the *Nomina militum* survey affirmed, the names of these knights enjoying a standard wealth were important to the king. The names of the 3200 aristocrats constitute an equally rich bank of prosopographical data for the Paris region (see Table V/A–H).

Important to modern historians are the titles that aristocrats employed to represent themselves and through them their conception of nobility. The chief question is: at what point did aristocrats consider themselves to be »noble«? Drafted by the chancery and preserved in the royal registers, Philip Augustus's letters used the conventional addresses of »our knight« (*miles noster*) or »our friend and faithful person« (*amicus et fidelis noster*). The royal chancery clerics copied the feudal surveys with little attention to titles. The most abundant source for how aristocrats styled themselves comes, of course, from thousands of their own charters copied into the monastic cartularies. It would be fastidious if not pointless to produce statistics on these occurrences because the conventions for styling are both clear and repetitive throughout Philip's reign. Counts and countesses like the Beaumonts and Aliénor of Vermandois insisted on their high titles; the latter adopted the more prestigious »countess of Saint-Quentin and lady of Vermandois« when it became available. Barons and castellans usually preferred »lord« (*dominus*), but occasionally employed »knight« (*miles*). While the Montforts were at times tempted by their prestigious titles acquired elsewhere, they repeated »lord of Montfort« or even »Simon de Montfort« for affairs at home. The Nesles, Marlys, and Chevreuses favored »lord«, but the last one occasionally used »knight«. Perhaps mindful of their less illustrious origins, the Garlandes, alternated between »lord« and »knight«, or even a simple »Guillaume de Garlande«, but rarely »lord of the castle of Livry«. As for the knights, they preferred *miles* (»knight«) but also chose »lord«, as illustrated by the Barres and Pomponnes. What is clear is that with rare exceptions the aristocracy never employed the term *nobilis* for themselves. It is simply absent from their charters. The exclusive use of the term is found in letters by ecclesiastics addressed to the aristocracy. Abbots, bishops, *officiales*, judge delegates, even popes employ the protocol of *vir nobilis* or *mulier nobilis* but not the recipients. We remember that the aristocratic charters are those written and collected by monks, but since these charters never repeat the specific ecclesiastical address, we can feel assured that in this instance they record the authentic voice of their nominal authors. While we have not yet passed from this scribal practice into perceptions of self-representation, it is significant to note that in the charters of the reign of Philip Augustus the word *nobilis* does not occur in the aristocratic vocabulary.

Although churchmen contributed heavily to the ceremony of »dubbing« or »belt-ing« a knight, the ecclesiastical charters were virtually silent about the creation of new knights²⁵. After 1200, however, the charters began to record the names of *domicelli*

25 An exception is the reference to Pierre de Viliers, son of Guy de Viliers, who owed liege homage to the abbot of Saint-Denis. When Pierre became of age and a knight he could possess his land. SD I, p. 243 (1210). See Jean FLORI, *L'Essor de la chevalerie, X^e-XII^e siècles* (Travaux d'histoire éthico-politique, 46), Genève 1986, p. 319–320.

and *armigeri* who were kept distinct from knights²⁶. Philip Augustus's registers also began to collect the names of valets (*valeti*) along with knights and widows in the baillages to the south of Paris²⁷.

Family

The charters collected by the monasteries provide, without doubt, the most abundant information on the aristocratic family. Of the 1729 charters selected from the reign of Philip Augustus over half (983, 57%) contained a provision known as the *laudatio parentum* by which at least one member of the family added his or her agreement to the transaction (see Table I/A). When a church acquired property or revenue, whether by gift, sale or exchange from an aristocrat, another member of the family joined the author of the charter. The *laudatio parentum*, therefore became a characteristic feature of the monastic charter. Since these members were normally drawn from two, or three generations at most, the charter offers only a brief snapshot of the family.

The conclusion emerging from these charters is not surprising: the fundamental structure of the aristocratic family in the Paris region was conjugal or nuclear. (To highlight the comparisons I have transformed the data of Table I/A into percentages of the total number [983] of *laudatio parentum* in Table III). Husband or wife were the most prominent members to concur (66%), followed by sons and daughters (39%), and brothers and sisters of the husband (37%). Mothers and fathers were infrequent (7%). Combining these groupings husband and wife together amounted to little more (34%) than the assembled nuclear family of husband, wife, son and daughter (24%). Uncles, aunts and cousins of the agnatic family and the spouses of the children and the sisters of the cognate family do appear on occasion, but they are statistically less significant. All of these statistics naturally depend on the fortuity of the biological stock available at the time. If patrilineal tendencies are not immediately apparent in these snapshots of two generations, it is nonetheless noteworthy that the *laudatio parentum* remained firmly implanted in the Paris region at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and that it was equally pertinent to both gifts and sales. Although my statistical results are not greatly different from those found in other regions, students of the medieval family have not been able to explain the differences between the groupings. The consensus is nonetheless widespread that the conjugal family was predominant²⁸. Lest this conclusion be unduly imposed on the inherent structure of the aristocratic family, the ecclesiastical context should not be neglected. It is not the family that designates members to agree to the transaction, but

26 Examples: *domicellus*, Foulque Courcelles, SVP f. 169r (1217), Milo de *Savegniac*, Bar f. 181v (1221); *armiger*, Baudouin HDP 50 (1213), Robert de *Molendinis*, SJVi f. 106r (1205).

27 RHF 23, p. 689–693.

28 The authoritative and exhaustive study of the *laudatio parentum* based on sources from western France is Stephen D. WHITE, *Custom, Kinship and Gifts to Saints: The Laudatio parentum in Western France, 1050–1150*, Chapel Hill 1988. For his complex conclusions see p. 189–209. Dominique BARTHÉLEMY, *La Société dans le comté de Vendôme de l'an mil au XIV^e siècle*, Paris 1993, p. 519–525; Bruno LEMESLE, *La Société aristocratique dans le Haut-Maine*, Rennes 1999, p. 111–117; Theodore EVERGATES, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100–1300*, Philadelphia 2007, p. 91–93.

churchmen who demand them. Churchmen required that the transfer of wealth be accepted by those members who might contest the transactions in the future. The pattern that emerges is precisely that advocated by churchmen. They had long privileged the conjugal family based on marriage made legitimate by consenting spouses and propagated by offspring who were legitimate heirs²⁹. By the sealed charter the aristocracy was constrained to adopt this view whatever their own opinions. Within the *laudatio parentum* one looks in vain for evidence of divorce and bastards discovered among the high aristocracy from other sources. There was room for negotiation between the family and churchmen, but that the dominant pattern conforms to ecclesiastical norms is no coincidence.

Where the aristocratic family enjoyed autonomy was in the choice of marriage partners for their children. In the *laudatio parentum* the spouses of married daughters were more often identified than spouses of sons because the son-in-law acted in the daughter's place, but in either case the identification was usually limited to the first name. For this reason intermarriage between aristocratic families is better perceived at the upper levels which attracted better documentation and for whom historians have constructed genealogies. At the highest level the king was naturally interested in the marriage of his great vassals. Although Philip Augustus did not claim authority as extensive as his rivals on the English throne, he did intervene in the marriages of the counts of Nevers, Auxerre, Champagne, Flanders, Brittany and Burgundy, but these interventions did not directly affect the matrimonial politics of the Paris region.

The genealogies of the better documented families reveal a profusion of intermarriage³⁰. Descended from an influential family that dominated the court of Philip's grandfather, the Garlandes were the most successful in placing their daughters. Guillaume de Garlande's daughters were married to the lords of Marly, the counts of Beaumont and Grandpré and the butlers of Senlis. Guy and Anseau de Garlande's branches married into the Andresels, Poissys and Île-Adams. When Simon de Montfort married Alix de Montmorency, he allied two major baronies from the north to the south. Guillaume des Barres married the elderly wife of Simon de Monfort after the latter's death. To the north the lords of Île-Adam not only married their Beaumont neighbors, but also the Garlandes and the Guy-Mauvoisins to the west. Robert Mauvoisin was allied to the Chevreuses who in turn connected with their neighbors, the Corbeils in the south. The Richebourgs' relations extended to the Mauvoisins, the Corbeils and the Chevreuses. Barthélemy de Roye, the most favored of the king's knights, not only married a daughter of the Montforts but gave his daughters to two prominent Norman lords as well as to the brother of Jean de Nesle.

The founding and endowing of abbeys provided occasions to call attention to these multiple alliances. Again, the Guillaume de Garlande's endowments to the abbey of Livry at the death of his son Thibaut offer good examples in 1197 and 1198. Since the king joined the enterprise, his charters illuminate the affair³¹. In addition to major

29 James BRUNDAGE, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, Chicago 1987, p.331–337.

30 A convenient collection of genealogies may be found in CIVEL, *La Fleur de France* (as in n.2), p.421–457.

31 *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste*, ed. Henri-François DELABORDE, Charles PETIT-DUTAIL-

legacies from the king and Guillaume were contributions from Dreux de Mello, Mathieu de Marly, Robert Mauvoisin, Jean de Pomponne and Jean de Gisors³². All, except the last, can be connected by marriage to the Garlandes. Similarly Barthélemy de Roye's establishment of the Premonstratensian abbey of Joyenval in 1224 enlisted contributions from the Montforts of his wife's family, from the Marly-Montmorencys related to Simon de Montfort's wife. Guillaume Créspin, the husband of Barthélemy's daughter contributed as well as her sister³³. The Gace and Robert de Poissys also participated because of links through the Montmorencys, but they were equally instrumental in founding the Premonstratensian abbey of Abbecourt along with local notables. A final example is the Cistercians of Val-Notre-Dame who enjoyed the patronage of the neighboring Beaumonts, Montmorencys and Île-Adams³⁴.

If the king was little concerned with the marriages of the local families (except when he rewarded his favorites), he was more attentive to disputed successions, including those involving a woman's dowry or dower and especially in the absence of male heirs. (As we shall have occasion to observe more closely, the dowry was the gift to the bride from her family and the dower, that of the husband to the bride at marriage.) Adam de Montfermeil, a knight of standard wealth from the castellany of Paris³⁵, had remarried after the death of his first wife and produced children from both spouses. About 1200 a dispute arose between the children over their inheritance, an issue complicated by the mothers' dowers. When the question was put to the barons assembled in the royal court, they clearly distinguished between the two dowers and what remained outside. They assigned to the first wife's dower one-half of Adam's land and the best residence. The second received one-half of the remaining half and the second best residence. Of the remaining quarter, one-half (1/8 of the total) was to be divided among the children of the first wife and the remaining (1/8) among the children of the second³⁶.

The issue arose again in 1217 when Guillaume de Garlande (married to Alix) died, predeceased by his son Thibaut, leaving three daughters as heiresses married to Jean, count of Beaumont, Henri, count of Grandpré and Guy, butler of Senlis. After preliminary negotiations, the king's court judged that the lands and moveables of the dowries of the three heiresses would be placed in common and divided into three equal parts. Following the decision of 1200 the count of Beaumont as husband of the eldest received the best of the residences with its fortifications wherever it was located in the kingdom, the count of Grandpré the second best and so on. The remaining residences were returned to the common fund and divided equally³⁷.

LIS, Jacques BOUSARD, Michel NORTIER, 6 vol., Paris 1916–2005 (Chartes et diplômes), vol. 2, no. 554, 699.

32 NEWMAN, *Seigneurs de Nesle*, vol. 1 (as in n. 22), p. 83, 196, CIVEL, *La Fleur de France* (as in n. 2), p. 436.

33 Adolphe DUTILLEUX, *Recueil des principales chartes de l'abbaye de Joyenval*, in: *Mémoires de la Société historique et archéologique de Pontoise et du Vexin* 13 (1890), p. 88–89.

34 Abb 93, p. 23–24.

35 Adam was related to Guillaume de Monfermeil who enjoyed an income of 60 livres but was not the king's vassal. In 1209 Guillaume approved a Adam's gift to Chalais. Cha f. 269v.

36 *Recueil des actes* 2 (as in n. 31), no. 666.

37 *Layettes du Trésor des chartes*, ed. Alexandre TEULET, vol. 1, Paris 1863, no. 1235–1237.

As heiress to the great fiefs of Vermandois and Valois, Aliénor, daughter of Count Raoul, did not escape the king's attention throughout her lifetime. In complex but well-known negotiations Philip confirmed her claims to southern Vermandois and Valois in 1185, and reconfirmed her to Crépy, Ferté-Milon in Valois and to Chauny, Saint-Quentin and Ribemont in Vermandois in 1191. At each date he took territories for himself, but in compensation he included a payment of 13 000 *livres* in 1191. Most important, he asserted himself as sole heir to Aliénor's fiefs should she die without heirs of her body³⁸. Her death in 1213 did not disappoint the king, although she had been married four times. Through a patient and watchful eye on her succession the king acquired her vast fiefs close to Paris.

If Jean, count of Beaumont, benefitted from the king's intervention at the Garlande succession, it became his turn to fall into royal hands in 1223 when, like his brother Mathieu, he died without direct heir (see Table IV). His closest successor in the male line was a cousin Thibaut d'Ully descended through a cousin Yves d'Ully. His claim was contested by the sons of two other cousins who argued that the inheritance should be divided equally among all of them because they were siblings of the same degree. Thibaut countered that if his father and his aunts were still alive, the county would have gone to the father because the custom of France decreed that inheritances follow patrilineal succession. At Vernon in 1223 the barons of the king's court declared in favor of Thibaut, but once again at a price³⁹. As with Aliénor, the king demanded compensation in exchange for the favorable decision. After all the claimants renounced their rights over Beaumont, the king and Thibaut divided the inheritance between themselves with Philip taking the county and the major fiefs and Thibaut what was left plus a payment of 7000 *livres* for his renunciation. What remained, Thibaut held in liege homage owing three knights⁴⁰.

Despite some inconsistencies the four cases adjudicated by Philip Augustus illustrate the principles that were perennial in family succession in the Paris region. Women benefited from dowers and dowries that were privileged above other rules of succession. Sisters inherited equally with preferential assignment of residences and fortification according to age. The underlying principle nonetheless remained patrilineal. A legitimate male took the lead over all female claimants. Of practical significance, the king welcomed ambiguous and contested successions in which he could intervene and take a share. In this way Beaumont, the last independent county, disappeared from the Paris region.

Women

Although the family was not possible without a female, women were infrequent in the available documentation. The king's chief interest with the aristocracy was in their roles of the military service and patrilineal succession. In the royal surveys of fiefs women were barely evident as tenants (2% in the *Nomina* and 3% in the *Scripta*). When his baillis investigated names of knights, widows and valets to the south of

38 Recueil des actes 1 (as in n. 31), no. 399.

39 Registres de Philippe Auguste (as in n. 13), p. 530–531.

40 Ibid., p. 533; DOUËT D'ARCQ, Recherches historiques (as in n. 16), p. CXXIV.

Paris (but not in the Paris region), they discovered that 13% of the total were widows, doubtlessly recognized because they were fief holders⁴¹. Within the 1729 monastic charters, however, the female presence is more significant. We have noted that in the *laudatio parentum*, occupying more than half of the charters, men were joined by wives, daughters, sisters and daughter-in-laws, in that order, to give their consent to the transactions of the male principal (see Table I/A). When women acted alone as widows or as principals without husbands, they initiated at least 10% of the business, a proportion that was due to the encouragement of female donors by ecclesiastical recipients. When we add the transactions due to dowries and dowers, the proportion of female involvement rises to 15%. (One percent [24 cases] involve dowries and 4% dowers. The overlap with female initiators is evident.)

If considerable evidence survives for female dowries and dowers, the charters nonetheless reveal less details. Dowry (*maritagium* or *hereditas*) was the wealth, generally in property, that the bride's family bestowed on her at the time of her marriage and was thus acquired by the new family for future generations. Dower (*dos*) was the wealth, again generally in property, that the husband bestowed on his bride at marriage for the duration of her life but reverted to the husband and his heirs at her death. Both instruments were designed to support the wife in her marital functions. Historians normally rely on the Latin vocabulary to distinguish the two, but there is often lack of clarity which can only be resolved with a broader context rarely found in the charters⁴². Among the 23 cases (1%) of dowry, for example, in 1202 Dreux, lord de Cressensart, gave to his daughter Heresendis certain lands *in maritaggio* for his portion of her *heredita(s)*. When Heresendis gave this *heredita(s)* to her son, it appears to be her dowry, but not all phrases *de jure hereditario* are as clear⁴³. For example, Agnès d'Andresel gave a rent *in maritaggio suo* to endow her daughter as a nun at Yèrres in 1213, and in 1196 Alix de Montcheval with the assent of her heirs gave to the Hôtel-Dieu of Paris from her *matrimonium* for the soul of her husband, but we can only assume from the terminology that they are dowries⁴⁴. Only on rare occasions did husbands promise to reimburse wives for donations to churches drawn from dowries.

With the more frequent dowers (76 cases, 4%) the ambiguity decreases. When time and again wives gave their consent to their husbands' donations of property *ratione dotalicii*⁴⁵ or when they exempted their holdings from their husbands' benevolences *salvo dotalicio*⁴⁶, we can be sure that dowers are in question. Many cases survive (26) of the husband's compensating their spouses for alienating dowers that they had originally bestowed. For example, in 1201 Jean, lord of Montescort, bestowed land on the local priest with accompanying revenues. His wife Aude resigned her dower

41 RHF 23, p. 689–693. In 1212 the king commissioned his baillis to make an inquest into widows in the baillage of Bourges not covered in the survey. Recueil des actes 3 (as in n. 31), no. 1276.

42 BARTHÉLEMY, Vendôme (as in n. 28), p. 543–549; LEMESLE, Haut-Maine (as in n. 28), p. 124–131; EVERGATES, Champagne (as in n. 28), p. 103–111; Amy LIVINGSTONE, *Out of Love for my Kin: Aristocratic Family Life in the Lands of the Loire, 1000–1200*, Philadelphia 2010, p. 122–140.

43 OurPD 384.

44 Yèr, p. 78, 79, HDP p. 21–22.

45 NDP I, 431 (1200), SLP 107 (1220).

46 OurBN f. 103v (1212), OurPD, p. 129 (1220).

but received from her husband revenues on another territory⁴⁷. Other examples suggest that the husband was accustomed to designate one-half of his property as dower. When Hermilphus de Magny sold a rent to a canon of Noyon in 1212, he specified that his wife had one-half of all his goods *ex jure dotalicii*⁴⁸. While the charters allude to numerous dowries and dowers, rarely do they report their constitution. An early exception occurred in 1194 when »Geoffroy accepts Jaqueline, daughter of *Dedo Villan(us)*, as wife and gives her *in dotem* a fief that he held from lady Hydeburg ... Furthermore, he gives her *in dotem* the fief which Emelina, the daughter of Chevalier holds from me at Tremblay«⁴⁹.

Royal documentation helps to clarify these cryptic notices by portraying the king's knights who were favored with marriage to heiresses. Register C, for example, contains a dossier of charters devoted to the Garlande family, including four devoted to Alix de Châtillon-sur Marnes's marriage to Guillaume de Garlande in 1193. Since Alix's father was long dead (1170), her brother Gaucher was responsible for Alix's dowry. The king exchanged with Gaucher Pierrefonds for a rent of 80 *livres* drawn on Clichy outside of Paris to fund Alix's dowry (*maritagi[um]*) to which Philip also added Montreuil as reward for Gaucher's services⁵⁰. A second charter confirmed Guillaume's dower (*dotalitium*) to Alix. Elaborating on that which the monastic charters only suggested, Guillaume bestowed on his bride a house at his chief fief of Livry, one-half of his inherited lands, one-half of his acquired lands and one-half of what he might acquire in the future. Because the house at Livry was in the dower of his mother and was not available until her death, he substituted a house at Crussi not so encumbered⁵¹. A third charter of 1195 confirmed that Alix's brother increased her dowry with possessions at Viarmes. In contrast to the dower this dowry will be Alix's and Guillaume's in perpetuity⁵². Finally in 1215 shortly before his death Guillaume bequeathed to Alix an unspecified gift in dower which was confirmed by the Counts Beaumont and Grandpré whom we remember were Guillaume's sons-in-law and potential heirs in absence of a son⁵³.

Although the royal letters raised complex contingencies, along with the monastic charters they illustrate how the instruments of dowry and dower created means to support women in their marital functions, in particular, to raise their children. Less attested in the church charters, dowry was of Romano-canonical origin and effected the permanent transfer of property from the wife's family to the husband's patrimony. It was characterized as in perpetuity or *de jure hereditario*. Nonetheless, it was under the Church's jurisdiction, and following Roman law, it could not be alienated

47 Noy f. 105v–151r. Also, Hér, p. 26 (1201), SYB, p. 234, 235 (1208).

48 Noy f 150. Also OurPD, p. 229–230 (1206).

49 SD I, p. 59.

50 Recueil des actes 1 (as in n.31), no. 451.

51 Ibid. 1, no. 452.

52 Ibid. 2, no. 500. For an early example (1182) involving both dowry and dower, see *ibid.* 1, no. 64.

53 Ibid. 3, no. 1380. The conquest of Normandy allowed the king to reward his familiar knights, Adam, son of Gautier the Young (2, no. 888), Alix, daughter of Barthélemy de Roie (2, no. 905, 3, no. 1348) and Amicie, likewise daughter of Barthélemy (III, no. 1376) with advantageous marriages involving dowries and dowers. Although these negotiations bore similarities to those of the Paris region, they were fundamentally governed by Norman custom.

without the woman's agreement or compensation⁵⁴. The sum proposed by the Châtillons to the Garlandes (80 *livres*, plus additional lands), was relatively modest by contemporary standards but befitted knightly families.

Of Germanic origin, dower was more common in the monastic charters. Occasionally noted in monetary figures, it was most characteristically expressed as a proportion of the husband's lands. At the beginning of the century the customary figure was one-half along with a choice of residence, as we have seen in the case of Adam de Monfermeil and Guillaume de Garlande, and this proportion was also found in the monastic charters. Later in the century Philippe de Beaumanoir declared that the custom of one-half dowers was established throughout the realm in 1214, thus superseding the proportion of one third in Normandy that followed the customs of Anjou and England⁵⁵. The judgment of the barons in 1200 demonstrated that the dower should be kept separate and inviolate as long as the dowager was alive, and this practice was continued with the mothers of the Garlande marriages.

Since royal letters shed light on the creation of dowries and dowers, and their alienation became the subject of the monastic charters, the two sources offer different perspectives. Although the ecclesiastical charters uncover more dowries than dowries, the two instruments nonetheless retain their inviolate character and require compensation when they are bequeathed to churches. Most important, embedded in the *laudatio parentum*, they also require explicit agreement from the wife to the alienation. That the wife's consent is fundamental to the ecclesiastical charter and absent from the royal documentation raises the question: From where does consent originate – the aristocratic family or churchmen? The sources do not respond to the first option but are clear about the second. Churchmen considered Christian marriage to be exclusively under their jurisdiction. Defined in canon law as the agreement between a man and woman publicly expressed with words, consent constituted the essence of marriage. Canon law moreover adopted the Roman law of dowry that envisaged it as property which supported the expenses of marriage and could not be alienated without the wife's approval. The doctrine of consent was applied to the dower as well. When churchmen taught that a wife must consent to any transaction involving her marriage, it is no coincidence that the same practice is abundant in the monastic charters⁵⁶.

54 Bernard de Pavia, *Summa decretalium*, ed. Ernst Adolph Theodor LASPEYRES, Regensburg 1860, p. 190–193; Martinus, *De jure dotium*, in: Hermann KANTOROWICZ, *Studies in the Glossators of Roman Law*, Oxford 1938, p. 255–258; Michael SHEEHAN, *The Influence of Canon Law on Property Rights of Married Women in England*, in: *Mediaeval Studies* 25 (1963), p. 109–113.

55 Philippe de Beaumanoir, *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, ed. Amédée SALOMON, vol. 1, Paris 1899, p. 212, no. 445. Judith A. GREEN, *Aristocracy in Norman England*, Cambridge 1997, p. 368; Emily Zack TABITEAU, *Transfers of Property in Eleventh-Century Norman Law*, Chapel Hill 1988, p. 176; LEMESLE, *Haut-Maine* (as in n. 28), p. 125.

56 For the importance of consent in canon law, see *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, vol. 6, p. 746–747.

Vassals and Fiefs

Inventories

The knight's traditional function was to fight with a sword which became both the instrument and emblem of his profession. Since knights, and by extension the aristocracy, were the king's primary military resource, it was in the royal interest to know the scope of the fiefs that undergirded their profession. Philip Augustus was the first king to take stock of his military resources, but he was not the first in France. In 1172 the English king Henry II, as duke of Normandy, counted his knights in the duchy, just as in 1166 he had done in England; in 1172 Henri, count of Troyes, performed the same exercise for his county. King Henry sought to know how many knights were enfeoffed in Normandy, and how many of these owed him military service. Count Henri organized his survey according to castellanies and counted who owed him liege homage and listed their obligations of castleguard. When Philip captured the Norman capital of Caen in 1204, he had King Henry's Norman survey copied into Register A, to which the chancery clerics made corrections and additions. By 1207, however, a new survey replaced the old, but the questions remained the same. When Register C was inaugurated in 1212, however, Philip began to experiment with new inquests that expanded both the scope and the details of the surveys. By 1220 when Register E was drawn up, these experiments were incorporated into a comprehensive survey of all Norman fiefs organized according to *bailliages* that posed the two traditional Norman questions but enlarged the scope to all fief-holders.

Within this comprehensive survey Guillaume de Ville-Thierry returned an inventory for the Vexin (both Norman and French together) that altered the format. Organizing the Vexin according to castellanies, he replaced the two Norman questions with four new ones: (1) Who owed the king homage? (2) what was his service? (3) what fiefs did he hold? and (4) who were his sub-vassals? In fact, this new format was closer to the Champagne survey of Count Henri than the Norman surveys. This new format which I have called *Scripta de feodis* was applied to six castellanies in the Vermandois and to scattered territories to the south of Paris⁵⁷.

As for the Paris region, as I have defined it, the *Scripta de feodis* covered only the six Vexin castellanies (Poissy, Mantes, Meulan, Pontoise, Chaumont and Gisors) to the north and west of Paris and the southern castellanies of Melun, Corbeil and Montlhéry. For that reason I have supplemented their findings with four nearby castellanies in Vermandois (Ferté-Milon, Crépy, Chauny and Montdidier). Sometime between 1212 and 1220 another survey which may be entitled *Nomina militum LX librates redditus habentium* was added to Register C that investigated two questions: (1) which knights enjoyed the standard income of 60 *livres par*. annually? and (2) who did homage directly to the king and who did not? From this survey I have selected ten castellanies at the center of the Paris region extending from Béthisy and Senlis in the

57 For Champagne, see Theodore EVERGATES, *Feudal Society in the Baillage of Troyes under the Counts of Champagne*, Baltimore 1975, p. 60–69. For the Capetians and Normandy, see BALDWIN, Philippe Auguste (as in n. 20), p. 366–377.

north to Montlhéry and Melun in the south and including Paris itself. Only four castellanies overlap in the surveys of *Scripta* and *Nomina*, Poissy and Mantes to the northwest and Melun and Montlhéry to the south. Despite the fragmentary and uneven coverage of these surveys, eighteen castellanies provided Philip Augustus with information about the military resources of the Paris region (see Table V).

Vassals and Homage

Of the 266 knights who claimed a standard income of 60 *livres par.* in the *Nomina* survey from the ten central castellanies around Paris, 138, slightly over half, held their fiefs directly from the king, leaving the remainder (128) as non-royal vassals. From the twelve castellanies of the *Scripta* the king could number at least 247 direct vassals. In the four overlapping districts the figures are not the same, explained probably by the differing methods and dates of the surveys. Nonetheless, Philip Augustus could count no more than 351 knights holding their fiefs directly from him in the Paris region⁵⁸. These included the highest level of aristocracy such as the counts of Beaumont, the barons of Montmorency and Nesle, the castellans of the stature of the lords of Marly, Gisors and Hangest as well as numerous knights families, such as the Poissys, Barres, Pomponnes, Mauvoisins, Andresels and Meluns. Most of these prominent aristocrats can also be identified in the ecclesiastical charters, but occasionally names appear that cannot be found in the charters.

Beneath these royal vassals lay a vast substratum that included some 128 knights who held their fiefs from other lords in the castellanies of the *Nomina* and 659 sub-vassals in the *Scripta*. Add to these a series of sub-vassals reported by the great vassals of the region such as Jean de Gisors, the counts of Beaumont and Jean de Nesle, I arrive at a total of 1051 sub-vassals. Beyond royal surveys in the royal registers other lords of the region made inventories. For example, in 1195 Mathieu le Bel reported to the abbot of Saint-Denis that he had 38 vassals who in turn claimed 43 sub-vassals⁵⁹. When Gautier the Chamberlain drew up his testament in 1198, he distributed 54 subtenants among three sons and one grandson⁶⁰. Local prelates followed suit and set their agents to the task: the abbot of Saint-Germain-des-Prés reported 59 and Eudes, the bishop of Paris, identified 45 direct vassals⁶¹. At the end of the reign Amaury, lord of Montfort commissioned a survey of fiefs that closely resembled those of the king⁶². Six castellanies reported a total of 255 vassals. And lest it be overlooked, 22% of the 1729 ecclesiastical charters declared that their transactions were approved by the lord of the fief, thus indicating that 378 feudal lords were involved. It would be nearly impossible to eliminate the duplication contained in these raw figures, but they still offer orders of magnitude. In our sample of the Paris region the systematic royal surveys have uncovered some 1400 fief holders to which surveys of other local lords add 500 and the monastic charters another 1330. The estimate of 3200 fiefs, therefore,

58 In the four overlapping castellanies I have taken the highest figure.

59 See below p. 46.

60 Recueil des actes 2 (as in n. 31), no. 587.

61 SGP I, p. 308–312; NDP I, p. 5–11. Additions and emendations were made in 1228–1229. NDP I, p. 146–150.

62 Edited by DOR, Seigneurs, vol. 2 (as in n. 18).

would not too great since we should presume under-reporting. Philip Augustus found 351 direct vassals in eighteen castellanies, whereas the Amaury de Monfort numbered 255 in six. I can estimate that the French king was direct lord over 11% of the available knights in the region.

Since monastic charters identified not only consenting feudal lords but also numerous land transactions, they often echoed the language of fiefs. Throughout the region the charters take note of fiefs⁶³ and report the obligation of homage⁶⁴. While all churches were involved, the monks of Saint-Denis were particularly sensitive to the regime of fiefs – so much so that their cartulary contained a special chapter devoted to *De feodis*⁶⁵. Essentially, the feudal relationship embodied the principle of superiority of lord over vassal expressed through homage and fealty. In the territory around Saint-Denis in which the appearance of fiefs was precocious, Abbot Suger (1121–1151) was one of the first to articulate the hierocratic principle among fiefs and vassals. He noted that »the count of Auvergne owed homage to the duke of Aquitaine who in turn owed homage to the king«⁶⁶. This principle was clearly expressed in a charter in which a local lord, Mathieu le Bel, at the request of Abbot Suger declared that he owed direct homage and then declared those who, in turn, did homage to his vassals. As has been noted, Mathieu reported two zones by listing 38 direct vassals with their fiefs followed by 43 subvassals and their fiefs. In 1148 Suger referred to this survey again, and Pope Hadrian IV (1157–1159) confirmed its findings. The survey survives in a sealed charter and a copy in the Cartulaire blanc de Saint-Denis⁶⁷. In the thirteenth century when the monks copied the charter into the cartulary, they read the date as 1125 which concurred with Abbot Suger's initiative. The charter itself, however, bears not the seal of Abbot Suger but that of Abbot Hugues Foucaut (1186–1197); paleographic examination shows that it is in the hand of the late twelfth century and finally that the date can be read as 1195 as well as 1125. Equally important, 16 of the 38 families were still active at the end of the century (including Pierre du Thillay, the royal bailli), and of these over half can be identified positively in the *Nomina* survey and the contemporary charters. Although it was customary that a small stock of names were repeated in aristocratic families, there is little doubt that the surviving charter was drawn up in 1195. A Mathieu, son of Raoul le Bel, emerged in the charters of the 1190s. Suger's survey initiated in the early twelfth century was therefore revised in the last decade of the century.

63 For example: SD I, p. 65–66, 242, II, 29; VND f. 32v–33r; Mon 128, SV f. 118r; SMCps III, p. 211; SMF f. 41v; Por I, p. 27; NDP II, p. 253. The language of allods has virtually disappeared from the charters. I have found only three cases. For example, Alberic, knight of Guignecourt, gave to Chaalis four and a half arpents of land *de allodiis* in the territory of Montlegnon, Cha f. 117v (1187); for others, OurPD, p. 282 (1221), SJVi f. 58v (1223).

64 SD I, p. 669; NDP I, p. 46–47; NEWMAN, Seigneurs de Nesle 2 (as in n. 22), p. 86, 209; Noy f. 204r, 207r.

65 SD I, p. 239–272.

66 Suger de Saint-Denis, Vie de Louis VI le Gros, ed. Henri WAQUET, Paris 1964, p. 238–241.

67 Suger de Saint-Denis, Œuvres, ed. Françoise Gasparri, vol. 2, Paris 2001, p. 259–263, 272. Papsturkunden in Frankreich, Neue Folge, 9. Band, Diözese Paris 2, ed. Rolf GROSSE, Göttingen 1998, no. 61; Louis DOUËT D'ARCO, Collection de sceaux, Paris 1863, no. 916; SD I, p. 240; Paris, Arch. nat. S 2309. I am grateful to Ghislain Brunel, conservateur-en-chef, Arch. nat., for calling my attention to the problem of dating.

The survey is noteworthy for demonstrating not only the continuity of vassals throughout the century but also the underlying structure. It may be difficult to recapture the precise terms of the original charter, but *Radulfus infans frater meus* of the charter is most likely the Raoul, father of Mathieu in the 1190s. The organization of fiefs, moreover, has a distinct shape. As has been seen, in the 1190s Mathieu le Bel claimed 38 direct vassals, who themselves reported only 43 altogether, thus acknowledging no further sub-infeudation. Of the direct vassals, Raoul »the child« acknowledged 16, Jean de Pomponne 10 and Raoul *de Carni* 6, and Raoul *de Grassi* 5. At the upper zone the hierarchy is decidedly flat (1 < 38) to become steeper in the lower zone (1 < 16 to 1 < 5). This same flatness characterizes the fiefs held by Gautier the Chamberlain (1 < 54) before he distributed them to his four heirs in 1198. Thereafter they sharpen between 1 < 17 to 1 < 12. Similarly distributed were the direct vassals of the count of Beaumont (1 < 90), the lord of Nesle (1 < 149), not to speak of the lord of Montfort (1 < 255). The prelates followed suit. When therefore Philip Augustus acknowledged 351 direct vassals in eighteen castellanies, he was following contemporary practice.

In company of six barons and others from the realm the king announced in 1209 the custom that when fiefs are divided among heirs or in any other way, all who held them hold them directly from the previous lord and not through intermediate lords. The royal decree sought to abolish the custom of *pariage* (prevalent in Normandy, for example) that permitted tenants to hold directly from the chief tenant, and he alone holds from the superior lord, thus introducing an extra lord⁶⁸. This policy of »immediatization« of fiefs was probably effective only in the region around Paris, but it appears to have been practiced there since Suger's time. Philip's surveys as well as the others proceeded no further than two zones of vassals and subvassals. Of the hundreds of transactions found in the monastic where consent was required, the vast majority came from the immediate lord. A mere handful (10) mention a superior lord as well⁶⁹. Among the vassals surveyed in the *Scripta* only a few notable figures (Pierre de Richebourg 27, the vicomte de Melun 67, and Philippe de Nanteuil 36) declared more than ten subvassals. Hugues de Pomponne, brother of Jean and vassal of Saint-Denis, was typical in holding eight⁷⁰. The heirs to Gautier the Chamberlain claimed from 12 to 17 each. Unlike the great lords of Montfort, Nesle, Beaumont, the bishop of Paris and Mathieu le Bel, as well as the king, the shape of the second zone was steeper, producing a silhouette of a house with a gently sloping roof.

Liege Homage

If a vassal owed obedience to his lord through homage and fealty, what were his obligations to different lords when they were in opposition, certainly a possibility among hundreds of fiefs. The prevailing solution was liege homage that accorded preference to one lord over the others. It was a major preoccupation of the abbots of Saint-Denis (but shared by other prelates as well) that their vassals owed them liege

68 Recueil des actes 3 (as in n. 31), p. 1083.

69 CHS, p. 85 (1185), SGM, p. 188 (1200), SGA f. XXIVv (1213), SJVi f. 103r (1216), SMPo, p. 18 (1218, 1220), Bar f. 138v, 325r, 181v (1217, 1220, 1221), SD I, p. 409 (1221).

70 SD I, p. 245.

homage for their fiefs according to the »custom of the Vexin« (*ad usus et consuetudines Vilicassini*, 1222)⁷¹. In 1205 Ansel, lord of Île-Adam made a treaty with his neighbor Mathieu, count of Beaumont, in which he acknowledged that he was liege vassal for certain fiefs. The count, however, held one fief without homage or limitations on service⁷². Hugues de Pomponne not only recognized liege homage to the abbot of Saint-Denis in 1224 but also to the counts of Meulan, Dammartin and Clermont⁷³. A major concern of the inventories of fiefs, therefore, was to distinguish the types of homage received from vassals. Each of the four heirs of Gautier the Chamberlain in 1198 noted their liege vassals with results that ranged from 42% to 8%. Eudes, bishop of Paris counted 40% of his vassals as owing liege homage and 44% simple homage. The lord of Montfort was the most exigent in inquiring into his vassals: 185 knights from four castellanies reported 42% liege homage, 22% simple homage and 26% were guaranteed by oath (*assecuravit*).

Of all the lords the king was understandably inclined to assert liege allegiance. Not only did he demand it from the major barons of the realm, but whenever the monarch granted a fief to a favorite he became the liege lord according to his policy of immediatization⁷⁴. Ansel d'Île-Adam and Hugues de Pomponne included the king among their multiple lords to whom they swore liege homage⁷⁵, and the monastic charters frequently acknowledged liege homage to the king⁷⁶. Distinguishing homage became a major preoccupation of the royal inventories. The findings did not differ markedly from other feudal surveys. The *Nomina* in the central castellanies found 52% holding directly from the king and 48% from other lords. (Since three castellanies reported only royal tenants, the total is skewed.) 75% to 25% is more representative. The castellanies the north and west counted from 25% to 50% owing liege homage, 10% to 35% in the south and 37% to 54% in Vermandois. From these figures it appears that Vermandois was more accustomed to royal suzerainty than the west and south (see Table VI).

As Philip Augustus asserted his position at the apex of the hierarchy, he was confronted with a particular problem. Although Louis VI was the first to raise the issue, Philip resolved it throughout his reign with individual solutions until 1213 on the acquisition of Vermandois and Valois from the Countess Aliénor he announced the general custom of the French kingdom that »none of our predecessors have ever done homage«⁷⁷. During the last decade of his reign he proceeded to eliminate the homages he acquired when he took over the county of Beaumont⁷⁸.

71 SD I, p. 240, 243–245, 91 (1222), p. 244–245; OurBN f. 47v; AB 117.

72 TEULET, Layettes 1 (as in n. 37), no. 792.

73 SD I, p. 245.

74 For example, TEULET, Layettes 1 (as in n. 37), no. 336, Recueil des actes 1 (as in n. 31), no. 164, 2, no. 762, 3, no. 1365.

75 TEULET, Layettes 1 (as in n. 37), no. 792; SD I 245.

76 SD I, p. 242–244.

77 Suger, Vie de Louis VI (as in n. 66), p. 220–221; Recueil des actes 1 (as in n. 31), no. 139, 155, 422; TEULET, Layettes 1 (as in n. 37), no. 739; Recueil des actes 3, no. 1309; BALDWIN, Philippe Auguste (as in n. 20), p. 335–336.

78 NDP I, 7, p. 182–183; TEULET, Layettes 1 (as in n. 37), no. 1572; DOUËT D'ARCQ, Beaumont (as in n. 16), p. 108.

Service: Castleguard

As landed wealth the fief served many roles, but the king's immediate objective in seeking homage was to provide two-fold military service: castleguard and army duty (host and *chevauchée*). Since the primary function of the castle at the end of the twelfth century was to control the surrounding countryside, most warfare revolved around sieges. By then most castles, both royal and private, were firmly implanted. Throughout the fighting of the late century castles passed in and out of Philip's hands, but the conquest of Normandy highlighted two practices already in operation⁷⁹. The king frequently handed over newly acquired castles to royal favorites, and once given, he imposed the duty of »rendability«, that is, to return the castle at the king's demand which was reinforced by pledges who subscribed in writing⁸⁰. Thereafter, the royal archives were swelled by such charters⁸¹. Few of these transactions affected the castles of the Paris region, but the local lords had their own concerns⁸². For example, in 1186 the king confirmed that the Guy-Garlandes held their castle of Tournan-en-Brie in liege homage from the bishop of Paris. (The castle remained on Eudes de Sully's inventory [1197–1206].) When Ansel de Garlande granted liberties to the bourgeoisie of Tournan in 1193, a *corvée* for working on the fortifications was part of the agreement⁸³. In 1201 Ansel, lord of Île-Adam, granted to Mathieu, lord of Montmorency, guarantees for free passage which led past Ansel's castle on the island in the Oise that blocked the Montmorency's access to their fiefs⁸⁴. Fortification became a sensitive issue between the abbots of Saint-Denis and their neighbors. In 1199 Mathieu, count of Beaumont, objected to abbot Henri's fortifying a house at Morlaie and obtained the king's support in forcing the abbot to render the small fortress at the request of the count⁸⁵. On the other hand, in 1219 Mathieu, lord of Montmorency, agreed to Philip not to fortify the island on the Seine at Saint-Denis which he held from the king⁸⁶, and in the following year the king obliged Mathieu's sergeant to demolish his fortified house, but allowed another sergeant to build an unfortified house on the island of Châtellier as long as it did not exceed the height of the other houses⁸⁷. At the same time the abbot of Saint-Denis protested against the fortifications of Gautier, count of Blois, at Estrées, but eventually allowed the work to proceed in exchange for compensation. In 1195 Ansel de Garlande was permitted to build without fortification⁸⁸.

79 Charles COULSON, Fortress-Policy in Capetian Tradition and Angevin Practice: Aspects of the Conquest of Normandy by Philip II, in: *Anglo-Norman Studies* 6 (1983), p. 13–38, especially p. 23, 32–39. Pacy, TEULET, Layettes 1 (as in n. 37), no. 433–40; Bray-sur-Somme, *ibid.*, no. 919.

80 Examples: Radepont, Actes 2 (as in n. 31), no. 761; Argentan 2, no. 807, 986; Nonancourt 2, no. 875.

81 Examples: Ivry and Avrilly, TEULET, Layettes 1 (as in n. 37), no. 594; Conches and Nonancour 1, no. 747, 1262–69.

82 Beusart, TEULET, Layettes 1 (as in n. 37), no. 680; Aigremont, *Registres de Philippe Auguste* (as in n. 13), p. 529, TEULET, Layettes 1 (as in n. 37), no. 1304.

83 *Recueil des actes* 1 (as in n. 31), no. 165; NDP I, p. 7; TEULET, Layettes 1 (as in n. 37), no. 410.

84 Arch. dép. Oise 72 H 168 (1201); TEULET, Layettes 1 (as in n. 37), no. 1304 (1201).

85 *Recueil des actes* 2 (as in n. 31), no. 603.

86 TEULET, Layettes 1 (as in n. 37), no. 1372.

87 *Recueil des actes* 2 (as in n. 31), no. 638.

88 SD II, p. 127, 128, I, 824.

Between 1206 and 1210 the clerics of the royal chancery drew up in Register A a list of 110 castles distributed throughout the kingdom⁸⁹. For inexplicable reasons this list omits important castles inventoried in the *Nomina* and *Scripta* surveys (Paris, Senlis, Dammartin, Ferté-Milon, Crépy, and Chauny), but the *Scripta* does contain eight castellanies where castleguard was expressly inventoried. Most of these castles were located in towns whose communes had long shared responsibility for maintaining the fortifications and supplying castleguard. Originating in the previous reign (1150), the charter for the commune of Mantes contained a clause declaring that common necessities such as castle guard (*de excubis*), chains, the digging of moats and fortifications were the commune's responsibility. This clause was incorporated in the charters of Chaumont (1182), Pontoise (1188), Poissy (1188) and Meulan (1188–1190)⁹⁰. In 1195 Phillip issued a new charter to Saint-Quentin based on the customs from the time of Count Raoul of Vermandois, Aliénor's father. It contained the clause that permitted the mayor and *échevins* to fortify the town. The clause was incorporated in the charters to Chauny (1213), and Crépy (1215) as well⁹¹. Whatever the contributions of the town communes, the king still garrisoned eight of these castles with knights who recognized their obligations in months per year. A precedent for this exercise appears as early as 1190 in the castle of the vidame of Picquigny near Amiens, and at the end of the reign the lord of Montfort recorded this service for four of his six castellanies.

Table VI illustrates the results of the royal survey. At Montlhéry which provided the largest contingent and was the most rigorously surveyed, 62 knights provided 110 months of service, allowing the king to maintain the largest garrison average of 9.2 knights a month. Meulan in the Vexin came next where 10 knights provided 48 months and raised a garrison of 4 knights per month. In Vermandois Chauny garrisoned 3.7 knights and Ferté-Milon 3 knights. Montlhéry boosted its garrison by the large size of its contingent and by some 50 knights who contributed two months each. Meulan's and Chauny's results were reinforced by three knights who performed one year's service each. Of the 27 names reported at Montdidier only one acknowledged guard duty of two months and 9 owed service but were ignorant of how much. Amaury de Montfort's inventory recorded 185 knights of whom 87 contributed 120 months, but at best they furnished garrisons of 4.25 guards monthly at Montfort castle, 3 at Rochefort and 2.8 at Éperon, results comparable to the king's with the exception of Montlhéry. The precious inventory of the vidames of Picquigny produced exceptional results: 54 knights contributed 361 months, establishing a monthly garrison average of 30 guards. This was plainly aided by 24 knights who served for a year, 4 for six months and 13 for two months⁹².

89 Registres de Philippe Auguste (as in n. 13), p. 338–342.

90 Recueil des actes 1 (as in n. 31), no. 59, 233, 234, Registres de Philippe Auguste (as in n. 13), p. 460–462; COULSON, Fortress-Policy (as in n. 79), p. 26–27.

91 Recueil des actes 1 (as in n. 31), no. 491, 3, no. 1295, 1389; COULSON, Fortress-Policy (as in n. 79), p. 27.

92 Paris, Arch. nat. R 1 (34, 35); E.-F.-J. TAILLIAR, La féodalité en Picardie, fragment d'un cartulaire de Philippe Auguste, in: Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie 22 (1868), p. 437–560.

The logistics behind these inventories are not always clear. Did all knights serve personally or did some commute their service for money? Most likely the number of guards did not remain constant but fluctuated seasonally according to need, and we are not informed about the castles of Mantes, Pontoise, and Melun. Garrisons averaging three to nine knights a year do not appear to be heavily supplied, but they nonetheless presented the ecclesiastical authorities with problems of parish jurisdiction. In 1221 a dispute arose between the church of Saint-Vaast and the chapel of *sancti Wlgsi* of the castle of Ferté-Milon over the rights to perform baptisms and burials of the families of knights on duty. Countess Aliénor of Saint-Quentin had adjudicated a similar dispute in the royal castle of Ribemont in 1200⁹³.

Service: Host and Chevauchée

The other military preoccupation of the *Scripta* was host and *chevauchée* (*exercitum et equitatio*). This standard formula designated the service of an armed knight on horseback at his own expense either to join the king's army (host) in wartime or to accompany him on more informal raiding parties (*chevauchée*). The men of the communes of castles in which the survey was taken were already obliged to perform this military duty. Along with castleguard and repair the clause »host and *chevauchée*« was included in the charters of Mantes, Chaumont, Pontoise and Meulan in the Vexin⁹⁴. At Étampes where the commune was dissolved for its disorderly conduct in 1199, the king nonetheless retained host and *chevauchée* for the townsmen⁹⁵. The charter of Saint-Quentin which became the model for Chauny and Crépy in Vermandois likewise contained the formula, as did Roye closeby Montdidier⁹⁶. The Vexin communes of Mantes, Chaumont and Pontoise, however, sought to limit the obligation within the boundaries of the Seine and Oise rivers. Meulan specified that in the direction of the Vexin, the Seine and Yvelines the service was limited to a distance in which the expedition could return within the same day.

Whatever the communal obligations, the *Scripta* was concerned with the king's direct vassals, many of whom owed liege homage. Of the eleven castellanies surveyed, three reported no or insignificant duties of host and *chevauchée*. Melun omitted the service altogether as it did castle guard, and at Gisors and Montlhéry the results were insignificant. Apparently the knights' service there was limited to castleguard. The same situation was found in the lord of Montfort's inventory at the castles of Montfort (3/85) and Éperon (1/65), the only two to report on host and *chevauchée*. Of the eight castellanies covered in the royal survey, 60% (141) of 235 knights declared that they owed host and *chevauchée* to the king. The four castellanies reporting from the Vexin declared that each knight owed such service at his own expense (*ad costum suum*), but the Vermandois castles made no mention of the requirement except for Montdidier which claimed that the knights served according to

93 SGM, p. 130–131, *Dominus castri et milites feodati qui tenentur ratione feodorum suorum facere stagium pro custodia castri. Necnon et familie tam domini quam dictorum militum erat plene de cura sancti Wlgsi*. SNR, p. 56–57.

94 Recueil des actes 1 (as in n. 31), no. 59, 233.

95 Ibid. 2, no. 616.

96 Ibid. 2, no. 91, 3, no. 1295, 1389, 2, no. 540.

the custom of Vermandois (*ad usum Viromandesii*). Despite the clear figures of the survey, their significance remains open to question. If 141 knights were prepared to answer the royal summons to host and *chevauchée*, did that mean that they were available for personal service? But for how long? Or were they prepared to commute their service for money? which was the motivation behind the Anglo-Norman surveys. In fact we remain in the dark as to why the king compiled these inventories.

We have noted that at least 22% of the transactions found in the monastic charters required the consent of a feudal lord (Table I/A). Many of these exchanges involved fiefs that were encumbered with feudal obligations that needed to be addressed. For example, when the church of Saint-Fursy de Péronne exchanged land for a rent to increase the fief of Julien *de Alagnia*, this land still required the holder to serve the chapter of Noyon with a horse for a year within the diocese⁹⁷. Or in 1202 a certain Pierre fils de Gérard *Sicarii* gave the church of Saint-Léger de Soissons 20 *sous* from land held from the count of Soissons in fief, but this donation did not release him of his *feodi servici(um)*⁹⁸. Other notations of feudal service did not involve knights but the men of villages who like the communes of castles owed service of host and *chevauchée*. For example, charters from the region of Saint-Denis in 1183 and 1211 show the abbot attempting to release the men of villages from customs requiring that they accompany their lord on host and *chevauchée* and go to war and to tournaments⁹⁹.

If the royal chancery clerics possessed an abacus like the clerics of the bureau of accounts, they would have been able to add up the results of the royal survey of fiefs in the *Nomina militum* and *Scripta de feodis*. In the 18 castellanies of the Paris region the king could count 351 knights who held from him directly and therefore owed him homage. In the nine castellanies of the *Scripta* with 210 reporting, 83 (40%) owed him liege homage and 74 (35%) simple homage. As for castleguard in eight circumscriptions he could receive 290 months from 117 knights or an average of 3.5 knights per castle per month. Again in ten castellanies, 141 out of 235 knights reporting, 60% acknowledged that they owed their sovereign host and *chevauchée*, presumably at their own expense. We have no direct evidence that the royal clerics ever performed these arithmetic exercises or that they put their inventories to use. We are not even sure of what they signified to the king himself, the supreme lord of the realm.

At the bureau of accounts located at the Temple outside the walls of Paris the clerics were similarly engaged in keeping records on the royal finances. Three times a year they wrote down the revenues and the expenses reported by the baillis and prévôts when they arrived at the capital. The clerics had the means add up the revenues and expenses in order to produce an annual budget, but they did not perform this exercise until late in the reign. Rather, their function was to supervise the activities of the royal agents in the local *bailliages* and *prévôtés*. It is more than likely that the *Scripta de feodis* were employed in the same way: not to add up the king's feudal resources but

97 SFP, p. 81–82 (1187–1207).

98 SLS, p. 115.

99 *In exercitu et equitatu et g[u]jerris suis tornamentis exceptis*. SD I, 784,785 (1183); *aliis consuetudinibus scilicet exercitu, equitatu inquietabat et ad guerres et ad tornamenta eos ducabat*. SD II, p. 201 (1211). For other examples: Compiègne, SCC I, p. 437, 438, Pontoise, SMPo, p. 13.

to keep a record of the vassals' obligations. This more limited use, however, does not prevent modern historians from profiting from this data for their own goals.

Inventories for War

In addition to the feudal inventories the chancery clerics around 1204–1208 compiled in Register A an extensive list of »knights carrying banners« that covered the entire kingdom (566 knights, chiefly north of the Loire). These »bannerets« hoisted their banners to lead squadrons of mounted knights into war or tournaments. As field commanders, the bannerets performed an essential function on the battlefield. In the Register they were organized by region in which the sections entitled Vexin and Vermandois correspond to the territory I have marked out around Paris. 56 bannerets are thereby identified from the Vexin drawn from 45 aristocratic families. If we compare families, 33 out of 45 or 75% are identical with the feudal inventories and the hierocratic list of aristocrats¹⁰⁰. From Vermandois the figures are comparable: 14 out of 20 families or 70%. This high correlation shows persuasively that the king relied heavily on vassals from the Paris region for his military commanders in the field.

The final criterion for judging military effectiveness is, of course, victory in battle. From 1193 to 1199 when Philip went on the offensive against Richard of England, his fortunes in war were not brilliant. In fact, after Richard's return to France in 1194 most of the major victories went to the English king. For this warfare we have only the narratives of the French and English chroniclers who shed little light on the logistics of the opposing armies. Richard's spectacular victory at Courcelles-lès-Gisors in September 1198, however, offers an exception. While the contemporary chroniclers differ on the details of the engagement, all were agreed on Richard's victory and that Philip's losses entailed at least 100 knights captured. Fortunately for our purposes the English chronicler Roger of Howden listed 43 French knights taken prisoner. If about a hundred were captured, the 43 names represent the most noteworthy. Of Roger's figure at least 6 of the families can be found in the banneret list from Vexin and one from Coucy. Moreover, 19 families or nearly half can be matched with those in the *Nomina* and *Scripta* inventories¹⁰¹. While names are deformed and others difficult to locate, it is clear that Philip drew a substantial part of his army from his vassals in the Paris region.

Richard's sudden and unexpected death in 1199, however, dramatically altered the military balance. Richard's successor John lacked the military skills of his brother, and Philip was able to apply good luck, superior finances and shorter supply lines to conquer Normandy and drive the English from north of the Loire. As is well known, the final denouement took place on the fields of Roches-aux-Moines and Bouvines in 1214. The confrontation did not entail a local *guerra*, but a true *bellum* that sum-

100 By comparing individuals 30/56 or 54% were identical with the feudal surveys and the hierocratic list. Since at least a decade has passed between the two series, the comparison of families is more realistic.

101 *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. William STUBBS, vol. 4, London 1871, p.56–57. Although Alain de Roucy originated from Coucy, his fiefs at Étampes and Chauny confirm his recruitment from the Paris region.

moned the entire kingdom. After 1212 when the royal chancery clerics initiated a new Register C, they drew up an assessment of the king's military effectives most likely in preparation for the coming event. This inventory which I shall call »Knights' quotas« briefly accounted for 763 knights grouped in units of five under the leadership of bannerets. When compared with the reports of chroniclers, it is found to be incomplete at the upper level of counts and barons, but these can be supplemented from the chroniclers and estimates of modern historians that bring the total French contingents to about 1300 knights¹⁰². Using the bannerets list as a framework, I have sorted the knights' quota list into six regions: Vexin, Vermandois, Coucy-Laonnois, Ponthieu-Artois, Normandy and miscellaneous. The Vexin and Vermandois correspond roughly to the Paris region, as I have defined it, and can be best presented in tabular form: Table VII.

In this survey 14 bannerets from the Vexin brought 118 knights on the field with an additional 60 knights supplied by the three castellanies of the Vexin, Dammartin and Pierrepont for a total of 178 knights. From Vermandois 12 bannerets produced 60 knights to which the castellanies of Chauny, Valois, Senlis and Montdidier contributed another 100 for a total of 160. Moreover, of the 14 bannerets in the Vexin 10 appear in the *Nomina* survey; of the 12 in Vermandois 7 in the *Scripta*. Therefore, 65% of the bannerets enrolled in the knights' quota survey were recruited from knights in the feudal survey.

The *Nomina* and *Scripta* inventories help to assess the feudal resources of the regions which supplied the above totals. To simplify complex calculations, I shall estimate that Philip Augustus's survey of vassals as seen in Table V and VI amply covered the requirements demanded in the quota lists. Unfortunately, the ten castellanies of the *Nomina* survey which is the principal source of our knowledge for the Vexin and the southern castellanies inform us only as to who were the direct vassals of the king and who were not. It can be supplemented, however, with four castellanies from the *Scripta* survey which overlap. By combining the results of the two inventories we can see that the fourteen castellanies from the Vexin and the south enfeoffed 250 direct vassals of the king¹⁰³. The figure includes 71 knights from Montlhéry, most of whom, we have seen, did not owe host and *chevauchée*. Therefore, a figure between 250 and 179 is more realistic for the Vexin. We may conclude, therefore that Philip Augustus fielded 178 knights from castellanies in the Vexin and the south which contained 250–179 knights owing him homage.

The four castellanies of Vermandois served by the *Scripta* inventory were more abundant in information. Ferté-Milon, Crépy-en-Valois, Chauny and Montdidier recorded 101 direct vassals to the king and 268 subvassals¹⁰⁴. Of the direct vassals nearly half (46) owed liege allegiance and 88 acknowledged service in host and *chevauchée*¹⁰⁵. To use a total that is commensurate with that of the Vexin surveys, we may again conclude that Philip Augustus received on the field 160 knights from the four

102 BALDWIN, Philippe Auguste (as in n.20), p.365–366, Appendix E, p.681–684.

103 Statistics from Table V/A and B. This figure is arrived at by taking the higher number for the overlapping castellanies.

104 Statistics from Table V/B, C.

105 Statistics from Table VI. Lh % (no. after the percentage) and H and C.

Vermandois-Valois castellanies which had enfeoffed 101 direct vassals owing him homage but also contained 268 subvassals¹⁰⁶.

The *Scripta* inventory further provides details that illuminate the quotas of the bannerets. Jean de Nesle's quota of 40 knights, Count Jean de Beaumont's 20 knights, and Pierre de Richebourg's 5 could have readily been supplied by their contingents of 149, 90, and 27 subvassals respectively¹⁰⁷. Equally evident are the values of the fiefs of the castellan of Neauphle, Robert de Poissy and Amaury de Poissy estimated at 240, 2000 and 300 *livres par.* respectively that could readily have covered their quotas of 5, 5, and 3 knights¹⁰⁸. Where the feudal relationships are known in the *Nomina* survey, 9 bannerets in the Vexin held one of their fiefs directly from the king; only Amaury de Poissy held from another lord. In the *Scripta* three bannerets owed the king liege homage, four simple homage and five acknowledged the duty of host and *chevauchée*.

It is difficult to assess the importance of these comparisons between the knight quotas of Register C and the homages of the *Nomina* and *Scripta* inventories because they are fragmentary, incomplete and, at times, incommensurate. It is nonetheless clear that the majority (65%) of the bannerets in the quota list were the king's direct vassals and that six of the king's direct vassals in the *Scripta* survey enfeoffed 334 knights that could have all but covered the 338 knights that were required in the quotas¹⁰⁹. The juxtaposition of the bannerets' quotas with their known subvassals, which we have already seen, suggests that those entering with contingents from 20 to 5 could have supplied their quotas from their own subvassals. From the Paris region alone Philip had a military pool of 351 direct vassals owing him homage, at least 923 subvassals and 128 knights holding from other lords for a total 1051 to supply the quota of 338 knights¹¹⁰. The dense regime of fiefs around Paris could have supplied three times the required quotas. As is characteristic of military statistics, the potential effectives often outweigh the actual.

The required quota of 338 knights from the Paris region supplied almost half (44%) of the effectives (763 knights) of the quotas estimated in Register C. It supplied a quarter (25%) of the army (1363) that modern historians believe Philip Augustus fielded at Bouvines. The Paris region therefore contributed beyond its size to the Capetian victory. By opening with three bannerets, Mathieu de Montmorency, the count of Beaumont and Guillaume de Garlande, all from the Paris region and each bringing 20 knights, the quota list of Register C announced their leadership and thereby the vital contribution of the aristocracy of the Paris region to Philip's great victory.

The battle of Bouvines took place on 27 July 1214 and thereby raises a chronological problem for my discussion of Philip Augustus's feudal surveys which, although contemporary, cannot be dated precisely. The list of »bannerets« which was tran-

106 Statistics from Table V/B, C.

107 Table V/Ca, Cb, Cc.

108 To be discussed under »Landed wealth« in Part Two (forthcoming).

109 Statistics from Table VII, DELISLE, *Scripta* (as in n. 5).

110 Statistics from Table V/A, B, C, Ca, Cb, Cc, D. Where there is overlap, I have taken the higher figure.

scribed in Register A can be situated to the years 1204–1208. The »knights' quota« is found in Register C (fol. 89v) which was compiled between 1212 and 1220. It is placed on a separate page and preceded by a list of hostages from the Lowland campaign in May–June 1213 (fol. 87–88r). From circumstantial evidence it can be presumed to precede the battle. The *Nomina* survey is likewise found in Register C (fol. 4r–5v) on two folios preceded by pledges from Flemish knights dating from 1213 to 1215, but it cannot be dated with more precision than between 1212 and 1220. All of the *Scripta* surveys, however, are found in the hand of the chancery scribe, Étienne de Garlandon, who copied them into Register E in 1220. Those concerning Jean de Gisors, Robert de Poissy and the castellany of Montlhéry were preceded by first drafts in Register C, but the castellany of Crépy contains a mention of the king's gift of Bonneuil-en-Valois to Robert de la Tournelle dated July, 1218. While it is reasonable to assume that the »bannerets« list and the »knights' quotas« preceded the battle, the *Nomina* survey cannot be situated with the same precision, and elements in the *Scripta* suggest that it was compiled after 1218¹¹¹. Naturally all of the surveys took time to complete and could have been conducted years in advance of their final inscription, but there is no firm evidence that Philip Augustus conducted the surveys to prepare for the conflict. Whatever the king's intention, the feudal surveys nonetheless enable historians to assess the resources available to the king in the decade contemporaneous to the battle.

111 For the three royal registers, see BALDWIN, *Philippe Auguste* (as in n. 20), p. 518–525. On the date of the feudal surveys, *ibid.*, p. 336–337, 365, 372–375. Fiefs of Jean de Gisors (*Scripta* no. 98–103, Register C, fol. 8v), Robert de Poissy (*Scripta* no. 104–107, Register C, fol. 9r) and Montlhéry (*Scripta* no. 300–313, Register C, fol. 25v, 142r–143r); Bonneuil (*Scripta* no. 195; *Recueil des actes* 4 [as in n. 31], no. 1531). For other elements of dating, see BALDWIN, *Philippe Auguste* (as in n. 20), p. 618, n. 162.

Annexe

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-Pincerai, 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. Edouard 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 LÉPINOIS, 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-Halatte, ed. Amédée VATTIER, Senlis 1876.
- *SCC Saint-Corneille de Compiègne: Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Corneille de Compiègne, ed. Emile 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 POUPOARDIN, 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. Emile 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.
- *Yèr Yères: Cartulaire de l'abbaye d'Yères 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>			
Husband-wife	57 %	37 %	3 %
Son-daughter	38 %	40 %	
Brother-sister	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 II

Hierocratic List	<i>Nomina militum</i>	<i>Scripta de feodis</i>
Counts		
Count de Beaumont[-sur-Oise] [Mathieu, Jean]	Paris	x
Countess of Saint-Quentin [Vermandois, Valois] [Aliénor]		
Barons		
Lord of Montfort [Simon, Amauri]		
Lord of Montmorency [Mathieu]	Paris	
Butler of Senlis [Guy]	Senlis	
Lord of Livry and Neufmarché [Guillaume de Garlande]		
Lord of Nesle [Jean]		Montdidier
Castellans		
Lord of Marly[-le-Roi] [Bouchard, Mathieu]	Paris	
Lord of La Queue-en-Brie [Roger de Meulan]	Paris, Meulan	
Dreux de Mello [Lord of Loches]		
Castellan of Île[-Adam] [Adam, Ansel]		
Lord of Neauphle[-le-Château] [Simon]		
Hugues de Chaumont [Petronille]		Chaumont
Jean de Gisors		Gisors
Lord of Chevreuse [Guy]		Melun
Lords of Méreville, Nemours, Acières [Chamberlains]		
Lord of Hangest [Aubert, Florence]		Chauny, Montdidier

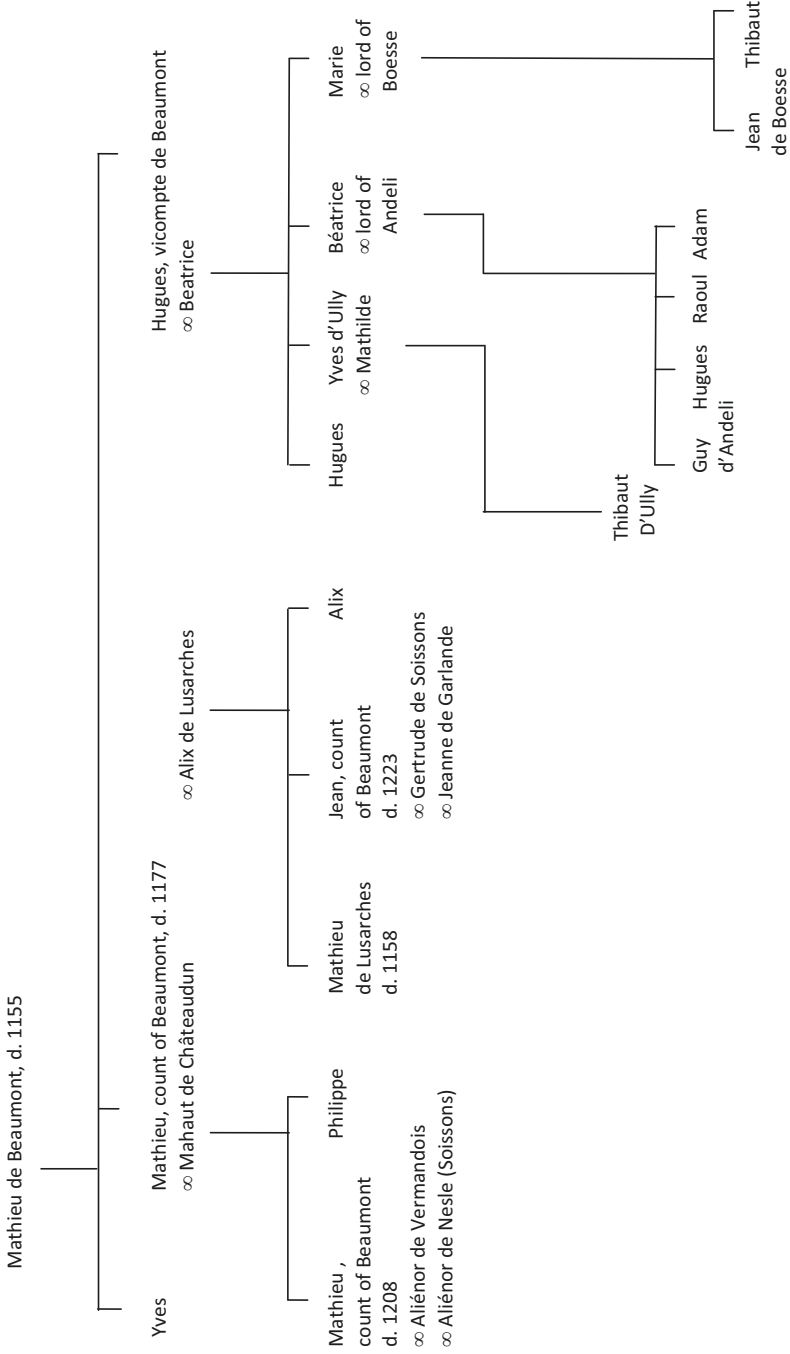
Hierocratic List	<i>Nomina militum</i>	<i>Scripta de feodis</i>
Vavassors		
Poissy Simon de	Paris, Poissy	
Poissy Robert, [Gace, Amaury] de	Poissy	
Cornillon [Guillaume de]	Paris	
Aulnay[-lès-Bondy] [Guillaume d']	Paris	
Barres [Guillaume de]	Dammartin	
Pompone [Hugues de]	Dammartin	
Béthisy [Hugues, Pierre, Philippe de]	Béthisy	
Nanteuil-le-Hardouin [Philippe de]	Béthisy	
Mauvoisin [Guillaume, Robert]	Mantes	
Richebourg [Pierre de]	Paris	Mantes
Vicomte de Corbeil [Payen, Guy]	Corbeil	
Corbeil [Baudouin de]	Corbeil	
Pasté Guillaume	Corbeil	
Andresel [Jean, Albert d']	Melun	
Vicomte de Melun [Adam]	Melun	Melun
Lèves Philippe de Roye Barthélemy de		

Table III: »Laudatio parentum«

No: 983	Husband – wife	Son – daughter	Brother – sister	Father – mother	Husband – wife alone	Husband – wife – son – daughter
%	66 %	39 %	37 %	7 %	34 %	24 %

Statistics derived from the sample of 1729 charters. Table I/A.

Table IV: Beaumont Succession



Sources: Registres de Philippe Auguste (as in n. 13), p. 530-531; Douët-d'Arcoq, Recherches historiques (as in n. 16), p. CXXXVIII, CXXX.

Table V: Vassals and subvassals

	Paris	Senlis	Dammartin	Béthisy	Poissy	Mantes	Meulan	Pontoise	Chauny	Gisors	Étam- pes	Corbeil	Meun	Monthé- ry	Ferté- Milon	Crépy	Chauny	Mont- didier	Total	Total
A	18	22	19	6	5	7					12	15	19	15	10	24	40	27	138	
B					2	9	20	12	9	13			10	71					247	*351
C																				
Ca						59	16	64	15	12			153	72	33	94	93	48	659	
Cb																			90	
Cc																			149	
D	12				9	7					13	25	57	5					128	1051
E																				951
F	79%	76%	56%		78%	46%					41%	57%	61%	69%	67%	35%	46%	49%	54%	2353
Ga																			38+43	
Gb																			4+54	
Gc																			59	
Gd																			45	
Ge																			255	498
H																			378	378
																				3229

Note: In overlapping castellanies I have taken the highest figure.

- A – King's direct vassals, *Nomina*
- B – King's direct vassals, *Scripta*
- C – Subvassals, *Scripta*
- Ca – Subvassals of Jean, count of Beaumont
- Cb – Subvassals of Jean de Nesle
- Cc – Subvassals of Jean de Gisors
- D – Vassals not holding from the king, *Nomina*
- E – Principals of monastic charters not among king's direct vassals
- F – % of families of direct vassals recognized in monastic charters
- G – Other surveys
- Ga – Mathieu le Bel
- Gb – Gautier the Chamberlain
- Gc – Saint-Germain-des-Prés
- Gd – Bishop of Paris
- Ge – Amaury de Montfort
- H – Feudal lords in monastic charters (*laudatio domini*)

Table VI: *Liege homage, castleguard, host and »chevauchée«*

	Paris	Senlis	Dammartin	Béthusy	Poissy	Mantes	Meulan	Pontoise	Chauny	Gisors	Étampes	Corbeil	Melun	Monthéry	Ferté-Milon	Crépy	Chauny	Montdidier	Total	
<i>Norm</i>	30	22*	19*	6*	14	14					25	40	76	20					138	
Lh %	60%				36%	50%					48%	38%	25%	75%					52%	
<i>Scr</i>							16	12					10	71	10	24	40	27	210	
Lh %							50%	25%					10%	35%	50%	54%	45%	37%	40%	
H %							6%							31%	50%	46%	50%	55%	35%	
<i>CG</i>							10		2	5				62	8	12	8	10	117	
k/m							4		0.33	2.25				9.2	3	1.7	3.7	2.9	3.5	
<i>H&C</i>							16	12	8	1				9	10	23	35	20	141	
H&C%							80%	100%	89%	8%				13%	100%	96%	88%	74	60%	

Nom – *Normina*, knights owing liege homage

Lh% – percentage of knights owing liege homage

Scr – *Scripta*, knights owing liege homage

Lh% – percentage of knights owing liege homage

H% – percentage of knights owing homage

CG – knights owing castleguard

k/m – knights per month owing castleguard

H&C – knights owing host and *chevauchée*

H&C% – percentage of knights owing host and *chevauchée*

* – castellannies reporting only direct royal vassals

Table VII: Knights' quotas

	Quota	Banneret	<i>Nomina</i>	<i>Scripta</i>
Vexin				
Jean, count of Beaumont	20	Coucy	Paris tr	90 vassals
Mathieu de Montmorency	20	Vexin	Paris tr	
Guillaume de Garlande	20	Vexin		
Guy, butler of Senlis	10	Vexin	Senlis tr	
Guy de la Roche	10	Vexin		
Robert de Picquiny	5	Vexin		
Pierre de Richebourg	5	Vexin	Paris ntr, Mantes tr	27 vassals
Castellan de Neauphle	5	Vexin	Poissy tr	290 livres
Gilles d'Aci	5	Vexin	Melun tr	
Robert de Poissy, le Riche	5	Vexin	Poissy tr	2000 livres
Amaury de Poissy	3	Vexin	Paris ntr, Poissy ntr	300 livres
Pierre Mauvoisin	5	Norm		
Guy de Thourotte	5		Paris ntr, Senlis tr	
Philippe de Nanteuil		Vexin	Béthisy tr	Crépy. 32 vassals, lh, ee
Total	14			118
Knights of the Vexin				30
Knights of Dammartin				10
Knights of Pierrefonds				20
Total				60
Total Vexin	14		10	178
Vermandois				
Jean de Nesle and brother	40	Flanders		Montdidier, 149 vassals
Aubert de Hangest		Coucy		Montdidier, Coucy, 6 vassals, h, ee
Jean de Montgobert		Vermandois		
Raoul Flamenc		Vermandois		Montdidier, h, ee
Gilles de Pleissis		Vermandois		Chauny, h
Robert de la Tournelle		Vermandois		Crépy, lh, ee
Gilles de Marquaix		Vermandois		Péronne, 30 vassals, lh

	Quota	Banneret	<i>Nomina</i>	<i>Scripta</i>
Raoul de Clérmont			Vermandois	
Guy de Choisy	5			
Renaud de Magny	5			Chauny, h, ee
Raoul d'Estrées	5		Vermandois	
Baudouin de Rom	5		Coucy	
Total	12	60		
Knights of Chauny, Valois and Senlis	50			
Knights of Montdidier	50			
Total Vermandois	12	160		7
Grand totals	26	338		334 vassals

Note: tr = holding from king; ntr = not holding from king; lh = liege homage; h = homage; ee = host and *chevauchée*.