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PIERRE DU THILLAY, KNIGHT AND LORD:  
THE LANDED RESOURCES OF THE LOWER ARISTOCRACY  
IN THE EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Pierre du Thillay, Royal Bailli

The outline of Pierre du Thillay's career as royal bailli under Philip Augustus and as founder of the Hôtel-Dieu at Gonesse is now well-known<sup>1</sup>. He first appeared in 1200 with Robert de Meulan as the king's prévôt at Paris. In 1202–1203 he was transferred to the region around Orléans where he collaborated with the bailli Guillaume de la Chapelle hearing pleas and collecting revenues. In 1205 he was named the sole bailli at Caen where he was stationed until at least 1224. (By 1227 he has disappeared from the documents.) Offering two decades of loyal and efficient service to the king in the newly conquered province of Normandy, he was active in holding local assizes, attending the biennial sessions of the Exchequer, executing royal commands, holding inquests, and inventorying fiefs. In 1208 shortly after he entered his Norman post, he made his first donations to the Hôtel-Dieu of Gonesse from ancestral lands close by<sup>2</sup>. This foundation resulted in the celebrated hospital that functions to this day.

Philip Augustus's baillis were often designated »knights of the king«, thus situating their social status among the lower aristocracy. Pierre du Thillay accepted this status by identifying himself as *miles* and *dominus* in contemporary charters and obituary notices. Until recently this aspect of his career has been least known, but his land-book, now edited, illuminates this facet<sup>3</sup>. In the early thirteenth century Pierre commissioned a cleric to compile a small book to record his landed assets in

- 1 Léopold DELISLE, Fragments de l'histoire de Gonesse principalement tirés des Archives hospitalières de cette commune, in: *Bibl. de l'École des chartes* 20 (1859) p. 114–120; ID., *Chronologie des baillis et des sénéchaux royaux depuis les origines jusqu'à l'avènement de Philippe de Valois*, in: *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* [= RHF] 24 p. \*17, \*45, \*134–136; and John W. BALDWIN, *Philippe Auguste et son gouvernement: Les fondations du pouvoir royal en France au moyen âge*, Paris 1991, p. 178, 180, 287–289, 661, 662, 665. See also Denis SAVINEAUX in: *L'Isle de France médiévale* 1, Paris 2000, p. 150–152.
- 2 DELISLE, *Fragments* (n. 1 above) p. 123, 126–127. His foundations also included Notre-Dame de Fribois in his Norman estates. DELISLE, *ibid.* p. 124 and BALDWIN (n. 1 above) p. 594, n. 11. See below n. 6 and 94.
- 3 *Le Livre de terres et de revenus de Pierre du Thillay, fondateur de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Gonesse, bailli de Caen de 1205 à 1224: Ses terres en Ile-de-France et en Basse Normandie*, ed. John W. BALDWIN (*Cahiers Leopold Delisle*, 51, 1–2, 2002), cited hereafter as *Livre de terres*.

both the Ile-de-France and in Normandy. Evidently Pierre or his family bequeathed this manuscript to the Hôtel-Dieu because it has remained in the hospital's archives to this day. Unlike other ecclesiastical establishments whose documents and archives were confiscated and nationalized at the Revolution, the archives of hospitals, such as Gonesse, were allowed to remain in place as long as the institution continued to provide a civic service. This protection explains how Pierre's land-book managed to survive the peasants' reaction against these records of aristocratic privilege during the Revolution and subsequent losses occasioned by the transfer of documents to departmental and national archives.

The appearance of land-books is often be linked to occasions that, in turn, enable them to be dated. Pierre du Thillay's manuscript was written out in full by a single but unidentified scribe as an apparently continuous exercise<sup>4</sup>. Fortunately there are elements for dating it to the years 1219–1220. In May 1219 Gilbert de Tillières gave lands at Mathieu north of Caen to Pierre in return for an annual rent. The lands with their revenues are inventoried in Pierre's land-book precisely as they are found in the charter of donation. Furthermore, in September 1220 at the assizes of Caen Pierre bestowed these lands, again recorded in identical terms, on the chapter of Bayeux. Although one unexplained element remains, we may conclude that the land-book was copied out between these two dates<sup>5</sup>. The years 1219–1220 were apparently a time for confirming and taking stock for both Pierre du Thillay and Philip Augustus since the bailli and the king were approaching the end of their careers. In April 1219 Pierre asked the king to confirm by charter the royal immunities and protection accorded to his two foundations, the Hôtel-Dieu of Gonesse and Notre-Dame de Fribois<sup>6</sup>. For his part in 1218 Philip undertook a vast survey of the Norman fiefs to which task he commissioned eight Norman baillis, including Pierre du Thillay. By August-September 1220 the project was completed in time to be included in the last register transcribed by Etienne de Gallardon at the request of Guérin, bishop of Senlis and *de facto* head of the royal chancery<sup>7</sup>. Although the evi-

4 Guillaume Acarin, dean of Saint-Sepulchre in Caen, was identified as Pierre du Thillay's cleric and scribe in Normandy. DELISLE, *Chronology* (n. 1 above) p. \*135–136. *Recueil des jugements de l'échiquier de Normandie au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1207–1270)*, ed. Léopold DELISLE, Paris 1864, p. 272–276. The handwriting of Pierre du Thillay's book, however, is not that of the original charters of Guillaume Acarin. One charter of September, 1207, involving a sale by Robert Louvel to Pierre does, however, contain traits close to the hand of the *Livre des terres*. Arch. dép. Calvados 2 D 95. See below n. 42.

5 The two charters are in the cartulary of the chapter of Bayeux. *Antiquus cartularius ecclesie Baiocensis (Livre Noir) 1*, ed. V. BOURRIENNE, Rouen 1902–1903, p. 264–267. Pierre's donation at the assizes was confirmed by the overlord, Richard de Creully. The ambiguity that does not agree with the date 1219–1220 lies in the rubric to the chapter on Fribois which states that the revenues were bought during the time of Jean des Vignes, royal bailli. *Apud Fribois de redditu empto in feodo Huiemesini XX solidi in tempore J. de Vineis, ballivi domini regis*. The chronology of the succession of baillis, however, is not certain. Pierre du Thillay appears to have been succeeded by Renaud de Ville-Thierry for a brief time between 1222 and 1227. Jean des Vignes became the next bailli of Caen by 1226 and remained there until 1239. DELISLE, *Chronologie* (n. 1 above) p. \*20, \*136–137.

6 *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste 4*, ed. H.-F. DELABORDE, Ch. PETIT-DUTAILLIS, J. BOUSSARD, and M. NORTIER, Paris 1916–1979, nos. 1576, 1577, and 1584. The Hôtel-Dieu required two charters.

7 BALDWIN (n. 1 above) p. 372–375, 519–522.

dence is circumstantial, we may speculate that the royal bailli was taking account of his personal resources at the same time the king was taking stock of the kingdom. Both were soon to transmit their lands to their heirs. Pierre apparently ended his days as a Templar because a later inquest reveals that when an accused usurer sought redress, he proposed to seek out the former bailli at the Temple of Paris<sup>8</sup>.

## Local Lord in the Ile-de-France and Normandy

### *Family Lands at Gonesse, Tessonville, and Sarcelles*

Pierre du Thillay's family lands lay along the road that stretched north from Paris to Senlis. He may have possessed a fortified stone house complete with a square tower and moat such as the family of Montfermeil erected at nearby Roissy-en-France<sup>9</sup>. From the beginning of the Capetian era this region was designated as being »en France«, thereby suggesting the royal presence and the proximity that brought Pierre to the king's attention<sup>10</sup>. In Philip Augustus's day Gonesse was the site of a royal castle and a long-standing prévôté, although in 1202–1203 it was administered by Robert de Meulan, prévôt-bailli of Paris and Pierre's former colleague<sup>11</sup>. According to the *Prisée des sergents* in 1194, the town had supplied the king with sixty sergeants and two wagons, which was commuted to 244 livres parisis in 1202<sup>12</sup>. The king also possessed a mill there and a grange that often served as a source for his largesse. (Louis VII, for example, rewarded the messenger who brought the welcomed news of Philip's birth with an annual revenue of three muids of wheat from the grange of Gonesse<sup>13</sup>.)

The archives of the royal abbey of Saint-Denis, situated between Paris and Gonesse, provide a major source of information for the region. At the request of Abbot Suger, Mathieu le Bel, lord of Villers-le-Bel, not far to the northwest of Gonesse, acknowledged his liege dependency on Saint-Denis and drew up a charter in which he listed all of his liege men and, in turn, their vassals. Issued and surviving as a chirograph and later copied into the Cartulaire blanc of the abbey, this charter

8 Querimoniae Normannorum anno 1247, in: RHF 24, p. 15.

9 The remains were uncovered during recent excavations preceding the construction of a hotel. Jean-Yves DUFOUR in: *L'Isle-de-France médiévale* 2, Paris 2001, p. 157–158.

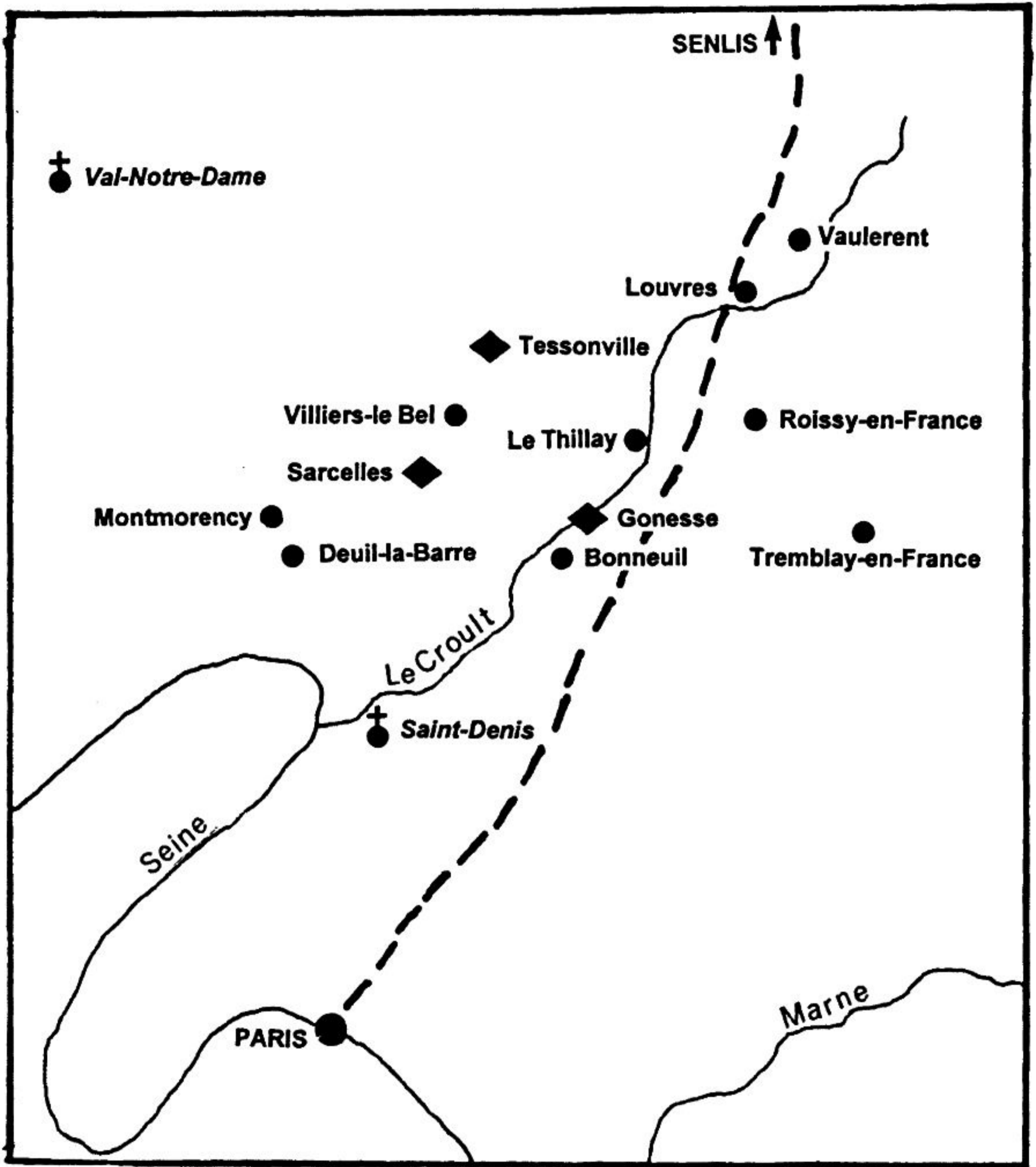
10 Michel ROBLIN, *Le terroir de Paris aux époques Gallo-Romaine et Franque, Peuplement et défrichement dans la civitas des Parisii*, Paris 1951, p. 197.

11 *Les Registres de Philippe Auguste*, ed. John W. BALDWIN et al., RHF (Documents financiers et administratifs 7), Paris 1992, p. 341, *Le premier budget de la monarchie française: Le compte générale de 1202–1203*, ed. Ferdinand LOT and Robert FAUTIER (Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Etudes, Sciences hist. et philol., 259), Paris 1932, p. CXLVI(1).

12 *Registres de Philippe Auguste* (n. 11 above) p. 341. *Premier Budget* (n. 11 above) p. CXLVI(1).

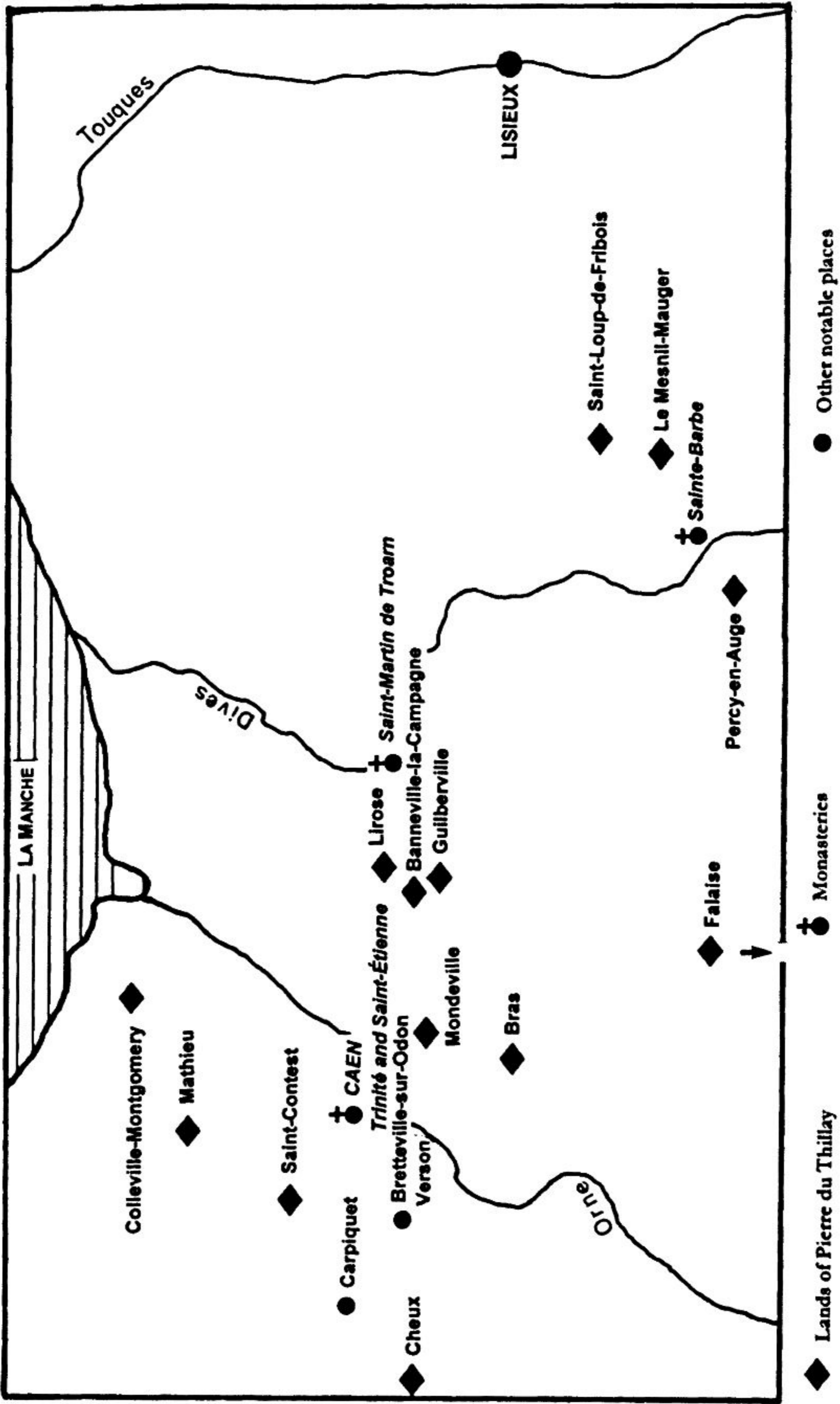
13 *Premier Budget* (n. 11 above) p. CLXXXII(1–2), CCII(1). Achille LUCHAIRE, *Etudes sur les actes de Louis VII*, Paris 1885, no. 522. *Monuments historiques*, ed. Jules TARDIF, Paris 1866, no. 588. For other gifts from Gonesse, see *Recueil des actes* 2 (n. 6 above) no. 573 (1197), no. 699 (1202–1208), and 4, no. 1433 (1216–1217). The royal mill was still functioning in 1285. RHF 22: 642–43.

Map. 1: Pierre du Thillay's Lands in the Ile-de-France



- ◆ Lands of Pierre du Thillay
- ⊕ Monasteries
- Other notable places
- Road from Senlis to Paris

Map. 2: Pierre du Thillay's Lands in Lower Normandy



◆ Lands of Pierre du Thillay

⊕ Monasteries

● Other notable places

plots the constellation of fiefs in the region<sup>14</sup>. In addition to his own holdings around Villiers-le-Bel, Mathieu acknowledged some 38 liege men and another 43 arrière vassals of his men. Within this extensive feudal survey, a Pierre du Thillay is found holding directly from Mathieu the fief of the church of Thillay, all his manor, and land at Dugny<sup>15</sup>. Despite the precision of this document, a problem arises over its date. Abbot Suger's (1122–1151) initiation of the inventory is explicit from the text and independently corroborated by Pope Hadrien IV's (1157–1159) confirmation of Mathieu le Bel's charter along with other royal donations to the abbey. In 1148, moreover, Suger returned to the provisions of Mathieu's charter which further restricts the date of the original charter from 1122 to 1148. The bottom margin of Mathieu's chirograph, however, carries a date that can be read as 1125 or as 1195, but the latter date is confirmed by the charter's seal which is not that of Suger but of Abbot Hugues Foucaut (1186–1197)<sup>16</sup>. It appears therefore that although the inventory goes back to Suger's time (before 1148), the surviving charter was not written until 1195 and may therefore have included later revisions. When Pierre du Thillay's land-book is compared with Mathieu's charter, six names (including Pierre's) are found precisely as in the 1195<sup>17</sup>. It has been long recognized that since aristocratic families limited themselves to a select stock of names, the same names frequently reoccur<sup>18</sup>. How well the 1195 document reflects conditions from Suger's time requires further study, but its accurate record of names from its own period can now be corroborated. In particular charters dated 1193, 1194 and after from the cartularies of Val-Notre-Dame, not far to the north, and of Saint-Lazare of Paris, both houses which held lands at Gonesse, report the names of Mathieu le Bel and Pierre du Thillay, as well as the four others found in the land-book<sup>19</sup>.

14 *Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego Matheus Bellus homo ligius existens sancti Dyonisii et ejus abbatis rogatu domini Sugerii abbatis et tocius conventus omnes feodos meos quos de sancto Dyonisio in proprium possideo et quos ceteri me feodati computavi nullum pretermittens. In primis ego Matheus Bellus in proprium possideo villam de Vilers et hospites de atrio ejusdem et atrium sancti Briccii et boscum de Reimolunt et terram meam de Soisiaco ....* AN S 2309. Cartulaire blanc de Saint-Denis, AN LL 1157, p. 240a–b. Cartulaire de Thou, Paris, BNF lat. 5415, p. 213b. See *Œuvres complètes de Suger*, ed. A. LECOY DE LA MARCHE, Paris 1867, p. 367.

15 *Petrus de Tiliaco de feodo de ecclesia de Tiliaco et duobus partibus decime et terrarum altaris et manerium suum totum hoc tenet apud Dunicacum et terram.* AN S 2309.

16 *Papsturkunden in Frankreich, Neue Folge, 9. Band, Diözese Paris, 2, ed. Rolf GROSSE (Abhandl. der Akad. der Wiss. in Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse, dritte Folge, 225), Göttingen 1998, no. 61. Œuvres de Suger (n. 14 above) p. 361–363. DOUËT D'ARCQ, Collection de sceaux (Archives de l'Empire), Paris 1863, no. 916. The hand is from the late rather than the early twelfth century. I wish to thank Ghislain Brunel of the Archives Nationales for calling my attention to the problem of dating and for supplying photocopies. The scribe of the Cartulaire blanc de Saint-Denis was the first to read the date as 1125, AN LL 1157, p. 246b.*

17 Philippe and Raoul de Gonesse, Baudouin d'Andilly, Guillaume de Cornillon, and Thibaut de Villiers. In addition to the names that correspond exactly in the two documents, other figures from Ezanville, Sarcelles, Belle-Fontaine, and the family of Papeillon appear in both the land-book and Mathieu's charter but with different given names.

18 See Brigitte BEDOS-REZAK's conclusions for the region, *La châellenie de Montmorency des origines à 1368*, Pontoise 1980, p. 183.

19 Cartulary of Val-Notre-Dame, AN LL 1541 and of Saint-Lazare of Paris, AN MM 210. Mathieu le Bel: Val-Notre-Dame (1193), fol. 45r and 46r. (Fol. 48v contains a charter of Mathieu II of Montmorency from 1193 which, however, refers to Mathieu le Bel and his brother, Raoul le Bel during

The opening statement of Pierre's land-book suggests that his holdings were subject to still another lordship: »In the territory of Bonneuil [Pierre has] eight arpents in domain from the fief of the vicomte«. Since the vicomtes of Corbeil possessed long-standing claims at Bonneuil-en-France, they were doubtlessly the overlords for this land<sup>20</sup>. Pertinent to Pierre's feudal position was his marriage to Avelina, daughter of Eudes de Saint-Cyr whose origins remain obscure<sup>21</sup>, and the marriage of Héloïse, his daughter and unique heir, to Eudes de Tremblay. We shall see that the latter took his name from a site that belonged to Saint-Denis not far to the east of Gonesse and who became Pierre's colleague as a bailli in Normandy<sup>22</sup>.

### Norman Acquisitions

The thirteen Norman territories recorded in Pierre du Thillay's land-book were deeply enmeshed in the feudal structure of the duchy for which the inventories of the Anglo-Norman dukes and the Capetian conquerors kept a record. Explicitly noting the feudal connections for all but two of the territories, Pierre's land-book illustrates the complexity of feudal Normandy. The adjacent lands at Saint-Loup de Fribois and Le Mesnil-Mauger, that were listed first in the land-book and constituted the core of Pierre's Norman holdings, were the king's direct gift. In 1206 Philip Augustus issued a charter granting him the land and manor at Fribois which the land-book confirmed as a royal gift<sup>23</sup>. The royal charter further announced the gift

the time of Mathieu I of Montmorency [1131–60]); Pierre du Thillay: Saint-Lazare (1194) fol. 24v–25r; Philippe and Raoul de Gonesse: Livre de terres I, nos. 11, 51, 62, Saint-Lazare (1222) fol. 75r, 85v–86r and many others; Baudouin d'Andilly: Livre de terres I, no. 11, Val-Notre-Dame (1193), fol. 45r; Guillaume de Cornillon, Livre de terres I, no. 63, Saint-Lazare (1193), fol. 24v–25r; (The cartulary of the Cistercians of Chaalis contained numerous charters of Guillaume and Raoul de Cornillon. Paris BNF lat. 11003, fol. 198r [1210], fol. 198v [1209], fol. 199r [1209], fol. 205r [1202].) Thibaut de Villiers, Livre de terres I, no. 9. All of the above names may be found in the charter of Mathieu le Bel (see above n. 14).

- 20 *In territorio Boni Oculi VIII arpenni in dominico de feodo vicecomitis*. Livre de terres I, no. 1. This overlordship was confirmed by the charter of 1215 when Pierre specified to the Hôtel-Dieu of Gonesse of the donation of the tithes of Bonneuil which he held in fief from the vicomte of Corbeil: *totam decimam totius feodi quod tenebam de vicecomite Corbolii in territorio Bonoculi*. DELISLE, Fragments (n. 1 above) p. 253. On the vicomtes of Corbeil and their holdings at Bonneuil, see Joseph DEPOIN, *Les vicomtes de Corbeil et les chevaliers d'Etampes au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in: *Bulletin de la Soc. hist. et archéol. de Corbeil, d'Etampes, et du Hurepoix* 5 (1899) p. 9–12. In 1228 Guy, vicomte of Corbeil since at least 1224, authorized the Hôtel-Dieu to keep nine arpents of land at Bonneuil. DELISLE, Fragments (n. 1 above) p. 130.
- 21 Avelina is named in two charters of 1208. DELISLE, Fragments (n. 1 above) p. 124, 248, 249; her father, in the Livre de terres I, no. 66. See also I, no. 31. He may have come from Saint-Cyr-l'École, Yvelines, ar. and can. Versailles, the site of a Benedictine nunnery. In the charter of 1215 detailing gifts to the Hôtel-Dieu of Gonesse, Pierre du Thillay mentioned: *in decima de Jahaigni (Jagny) qui fuit emptus a monialibus de Sancto Cyriaco*, most probably a reference to this nunnery. Perhaps this property came to Pierre through his wife. DELISLE, Fragments p. 253.
- 22 DELISLE, Fragments (n. 1 above) p. 125, 268. Livre de terres XX no. 7 (c. 1225). In 1252 an »Eudes, son of Eudes de Tremblay« styled himself as »Eudes, lord of Fribois« (Arch. dép. Calvados 2 D 157), but by 1264 the heir to Pierre's lands at Fribois was Jean de Tremblay. Livre de terres XX, nos. 6 and 9.
- 23 *Recueil des actes* 2 (n. 6 above) no. 927. Two copies of the charter with differing place-dates of Paris or Bonneville-sur-Touques were preserved in Register A and Pierre's land-book. The details in the



of lands at Le Mesnil-Mauger belonging to Geoffroi du Mesnil-Mauger that originated from the honor of Montfort, the barony of the chamberlain of Tancarville, and the fiefs of Robert des Vaux. The lands of Robert des Vaux were detailed in the land-book and those of the chamberlain in a chapter that was added by the middle of the thirteenth century<sup>24</sup>.

We know little about Robert de Fribois and Geoffroi du Mesnil-Mauger, but their fiefs possessed pedigrees in the inventories. Fribois was a fief of the chamberlain of Tancarville since the well-known Bayeux inquest of 1133<sup>25</sup>. One-third of a fief at Le Mesnil-Mauger belonged to the barony of Coquainvilliers from the eschaet of Hugues de Montfort seized by Philip Augustus in 1204. Before then it was held by a Guillaume d'Ouille in 1198; the scribe of the inventory of Norman fiefs of 1207 noted that it was in king's hands, apparently unaware of Philip's gift, but the inventory of 1220 confirmed it as belonging to Pierre along with other holdings<sup>26</sup>. The royal charter of 1206 mentioned a final gift of land that belonged to Henri de la Hosse at Banneville-la-Campagne, closer to Caen. This territory was accorded a separate chapter in the land-book, but its feudal connections are obscure<sup>27</sup>. This last royal donation was complemented by gifts from Guillaume de Rupierre at Banneville and Lirose<sup>28</sup>.

As at Banneville, the king's benevolence to Pierre doubtlessly inspired other lords to seek the powerful bailli's favor. These gifts account for acquisitions at Mathieu, Caen, and Cheux, whose benefactors are duly acknowledged in the land-book. In May 1219 Gilbert de Tillières bestowed lands on Pierre at Mathieu which, as has been seen, were detailed in the cartulary of the chapter of Bayeux<sup>29</sup>. Alberede de Rots gave Pierre the meadow called »Wi« at Caen where she had other interests<sup>30</sup>.

landbook were preceded by the heading: *Terra Petri de Teilleio apud Fribois de dono regis*, Livre de terres IV. In the land book this gift was preceded by purchased rents from the fief of Hiémois that were unexplained. Ibid. IV, nos. 1–8.

24 Robert des Vaux, *ibid.* VI, nos. 20–24; chamberlain de Tancarville VII. In the land-book these were preceded by rents from the fief of Ham, otherwise unexplained. *Ibid.* VI, no. 1. The royal inventory of 1220 noted a fief called Ham from the eschaet of Montfort in the baillage of Bonneville. RHF 23, p. 635f, g.

25 Confirmed in Livre de terres VII, no. 15. In 1133 the chamberlain owed the bishop of Bayeux two knights in addition to his fief at Fribois. The notice appears in both versions of the inquest: RHF 23, p. 700k and the summary, RHF 23, p. 699a and *The Red Book of the Exchequer* 2, ed. Hubert HALL, London 1896, p. 646.

26 1198: *Magni rotuli scaccarii Normanniae* 2, ed. Thomas STAPLETON, London 1840–1844, p. 365. 1207: *Registres* (n. 11 above) p. 299 and RHF 23, p. 711a, b. 1220: RHF 23, p. 634j. On the eschaet of Montfort, see Maurice POWICKE, *The Loss of Normandy, 1189–1204: Studies in the History of the Angevin Empire*, Manchester 1960, p. 346.

27 Livre de terres X, nos. 1–6. The inventory of 1220 noted that Henri held other lands in the baillages of Rouen and Contentin. RHF 23, p. 613L.

28 Livre de terres X, nos. 36–41. For other fiefs of Guillaume de Rupierre, see RHF 23, p. 617.

29 *Antiquus cartularius* 1 (n. 5 above) p. 264–267. Livre de terres XIV. Other holdings of Gilbert were recorded in the inventories of 1172, *Registres* (n. 11 above) p. 270 and RHF 23, p. 695g and of 1220, RHF 23, p. 612e, f and 618b. See POWICKE, *Loss of Normandy* (n. 26 above) p. 353–354 and above n. 5.

30 Livre de terres XVI. She held a fief from Saint-Etienne de Caen in the inventory of 1220, RHF 23, p. 619d and 620j.

Property at Cheux was the gift of Renaud de Saint-Valery where he held other lands<sup>31</sup>.

Finally the land-book includes five territories which are identified merely by the fief to which the land pertained. Saint-Contest was of the fief of Philippe d'Aignaux whose family made donations from that place to the Cistercians of Barbery as well<sup>32</sup>. Percy belonged to the fief of Pierre *de Eurou* who is otherwise unknown<sup>33</sup>. Lucrative rents at Falaise originated from the vast holdings of the count of Gloucester centered on the more distant Sainte-Scolasse-sur-Sarthe<sup>34</sup>. Guilberville belonged to the fief of Hugues of Clinchamps who had other lands there as well<sup>35</sup>. The farms at Mondeville belonged to a certain Roger de Mondeville<sup>36</sup>. No feudal antecedents were revealed for the territories at Coleville and Bras<sup>37</sup>.

Pierre du Thillay was not the sole holder of land in these thirteen territories. At Le Mesnil-Mauger he likely shared with the Louvel family<sup>38</sup>. At Saint-Contest and Mathieu he was joined by fiefs from the former barony of Chester. Mathieu contained at least ten different fiefs held from the bishop of Bayeux<sup>39</sup>.

The feudal inventory of 1220, moreover, reveals that Pierre held other lands not recorded in his land-book. The entry that confirmed his fief at Le Mesnil-Mauger noted that he held land at Vignetot, Herbigny, and a full fief at Livret<sup>40</sup>. Eschaets were assigned to him temporarily<sup>41</sup>. In 1207 Robert Louvel sold to Pierre the tithes of Condé-sur-Iffs, and Maurice de Caen gave him lands in 1218<sup>42</sup>. If Pierre's feudal

31 Livre de terres XIX. Among the holdings that Renaud gave to Saint-Etienne de Caen in 1228 were lands at Cheux, Mondeville, and Coleville. Arch. dép. Calvados, H 1859. Lechaudé d'Anisy, in: *Mémoires de la Soc. des antiquaires de Normandie* 7 (1834) p. 283. Renaud also made benefactions to the Saint-Sepulchre at Caen in 1220 which had been founded by Guillaume Acarin, Pierre's clerk, and to which Pierre also made donations. Arch. dép. Calvados, G 822, 19.

32 Livre de terres XII. The archives of the Cistercians at Barbery contain numerous donations from Gautier (father) and Philippe (son) d'Aignaux (1211–1235) from lands at Saint-Contest. Arch. dép. Calvados H 1755.

33 Livre de terres XV.

34 Livre de terres XVI. In the inventory of 1207 the holdings of the count of Gloucester were followed by a section on Falaise. For other fiefs in the inventory of 1220, see RHF 23, p. 611j, 618e, 619k, 620d.

35 Livre de terres XVIII. DELISLE, RHF 23, p. 620 L. In 1220 Hugues gave to the church of Villers-Canivet other rents from Guilberville, Lechaudé d'Anisy 7 (n. 31 above) p. 307.

36 Livre de terres XI, no. 18. Charters of Roger de Mondeville have been collected by Lechaudé d'Anisy 7 (n. 31 above) p. 366; 8 p. 107, 108, 123, 130, 243.

37 A Coleville in the baillage of Caen pertained to the constable of Normandy. RHF 23, p. 633j.

38 The parish was divided between them in the fourteenth century. For their interconnections see Livre de terres IV, nos. 6, 32, 43, VI nos. 80, 92, 99, 105, VII, no. 11. Arch. dép. Calvados 2D 95 (see below n. 42). Like Pierre the Louvels frequently gave to the church of Saint-Barbe. Arch. dép. 2 D 51, 123.

39 RHF 23, p. 634b and 702g. For some other examples: a Guillaume Paganello held a fief of one knight service at Percy, RHF 23, p. 610e, g. A Jean and Hasculf de Soligny had fiefs of one and two knights at Guilberville, Registres (n. 11 above) p. 274, 289, RHF 23, p. 612ef, 697h and 709a.

40 RHF 23, p. 634j. He may have held Rovretae (?) and Gouvix as well.

41 For examples: 1/3 fief from the eschaet of Montfort in the baillage of Bonneville (RHF 23, p. 621e), 1/2 fief of the heirs of Tallebois, eschaeted to the king in the Verneuil region (p. 715 L), one eschaeted fief of Jean Ellie (p. 716a).

42 Arch. dép. Calvados, 2 D 95, Lechaudé d'Anisy 7 (n. 31 above) p. 107 and p. 132. Pierre had also bought the mill and 30 acres of land at Beaumont-le-Roger from Ralph de Rupierre. Recueil des actes 2 (n. 6 above) no. 919, 3, no. 1023.

ties are only vaguely apparent in the Ile-de-France, they become the warp and woof of holdings in Normandy.

### Contemporary Land-Books in the Ile-de-France and Normandy

Pierre du Thillay's land-book compiles data on the extent of land and the revenues produced (including the *cens*) from three places in the Ile-de-France and thirteen in Normandy. To say that the purpose of such land-books was to provide a record of land and revenues is undoubtedly both true and tautological, but their contents are more easily described than their underlying motivations. Although the numbers offered are precise, the coverage is uneven, permitting occasional lacunae, but, most important, the data's significance is difficult to assess. In attempting to understand them, however, we must entertain the hypothesis that they present information that the landholders and their agents thought important to record.

As a genre of historical documentation, land-books first appear in western Europe during the Carolingian ninth century, but they do not proliferate until the second half of the thirteenth. Throughout their evolution nearly all were produced by ecclesiastical institutions<sup>43</sup>. Although the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés had generated a polyptyque as early as the ninth century, few comparable land books survive from the Ile-de-France until the threshold of the thirteenth century. Among those that appear in the region and serve as a context for Pierre's book, two may be classified as *censiers*. In the 1190s the Cistercians of Val-Notre-Dame to the northwest of Gonesse consecrated six folios of their cartulary to drawing up a simple list of *cens* that they paid on their lands at Taverny and Montmorency<sup>44</sup>. The lepers of Saint-Lazare of Paris, who had possessions at Gonesse, likewise devoted four folios of their cartulary to a *censier* in the 1250s, but their primary concern was to add up the *cens* and other occasional revenues<sup>45</sup>. Offering more comprehensive information about the landed economy of a great abbey was the earliest surviving but incomplete domanial account of Saint-Denis from 1229/30 that sought to balance revenues against expenses and to furnish totals for the *cens* collected, the produce sold and the

43 For an introduction to the genre of land-books, see Robert FOSSIER, *Censiers, terriers, et polyptyques* (Typologie des sources du moyen âge, 28), Turnhout 1978 and Mathieu ARNOUX and Ghislain BRUNEL, *Reflexions sur les sources médiévales de l'histoire des campagnes: De l'intérêt de publier les sources, de les critiquer et de les lire*, in: *Histoire et sociétés rurales* 1 (1994) p. 11–35.

44 To these *cens* they generally added the tithes that they owed and the amount of land (although not invariably) that was involved. AN LL 1541, fol. 63r–68r. The final date in the principal body of the cartulary is 1193.

45 AN MM 210, fol. 136ra–139vb. In the edition under preparation, *Recueil d'actes de Saint-Lazare de Paris, 1124–1254*, Simone Lefèvre has been able to date the latest items in the collection to January 1243 (fol. 137rb = fol. 132v) and August 1249 (fol. 139va = fol. 93r) The *cens* of Gonesse is found on fols. 136ra and 137rb. – In 1316/17 Notre-Dame d'Argenteuil, a priory of Saint-Denis that held lands at Sarcelles, compiled a book that recorded in minute detail the *rentes* that the monks collected from their possessions. With twice as many pages, its size and format nonetheless resembled Pierre's land book, but it was basically a *censier* to which other sources of income were occasionally added. Arch. dép. Val-d'Oise 12 H 2 (175mm x 265mm). The *cens* from Sarcelles may be found on fol. 2v–3r. So numerous were those who paid *cens* that their names were alphabetized.

grain stored<sup>46</sup>. The closest analogue to Pierre du Thillay's land-book from the Ile-de-France, however, is the »cadastre« that the Cistercians of Chaalis drew up for their grange at Vaulerent just 10 kilometers north of Gonesse in the Croult valley. Like Pierre's book it identified each parcel of territory, calculated its size (*quot arpenni*) and acknowledged the *cens* (*census*), the tithes (*decimas*) and champart (*campipartes*) that were owed at each place, but this »cadastre« was drawn up in 1248 two decades after Pierre's book<sup>47</sup>.

Since the bulk of Pierre's lands, however, lay in Normandy where he had been bailli of Caen for more than a decade before he undertook his land-book, Norman influence was undoubtedly determinative. Reaching back to the celebrated Domesday book of the eleventh century, the Anglo-Norman ruling classes benefited from long experience in devising handbooks and schemas for inventoring landed resources. In twelfth-century England these have been designated as surveys or customals<sup>48</sup>. In Lower Normandy the examples closest to Pierre's land books were produced by the Sainte-Trinité of Caen and Mont-Saint-Michel, both powerful abbeys that possessed lands to the west of Caen in the vicinity of Pierre's own holdings at Cheux. The Trinité's first survey (c. 1113) is brief, but the second and more extensive Survey B drawn up around 1175–1180 employed a schema that doubtlessly influenced Pierre's own compilation. Mont-Saint-Michel's extant survey of the adjacent lands of Verson and Bretteville commissioned in 1247 follows the same pattern but includes more details<sup>49</sup>. In the early thirteenth century Saint-Etienne, the other great abbey at Caen, drew up a roll of money revenues owed to the monks, but it is damaged and incomplete at the final membrane<sup>50</sup>. Further away in the Upper Normandy

46 AN LL 1240. Totals are summarized by Guy FOURQUIN, *Les campagnes de la région parisienne à la fin du moyen âge* (Publ. de la Fac. des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris, séries recherches, 10), Paris 1964, p. 154–55.

47 Arch. dép. Oise H 5521, edited by Charles HIGOUNET, *La grange de Vaulerent: Structure et exploitation d'un terroir cistercien de la plaine de France, XII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Les hommes et la terre, 10), Paris 1965, p. 66–69.

48 See the overview in P. D. A. HARVEY, *Manorial Records* (British Records Association, Archives and the User, 5), Trowbridge 1984, p. 15–24. A convenient list of English customals is found in M. M. POSTAN, *The Chronology of Labour Services*, in: *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Series 20 (1937) p. 175n.

49 *Charters and Customals of the Abbey of Holy Trinity Caen, Part 2, the French Estates*, ed. John WALMSLEY (British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History, New Series, 22), Oxford 1994, p. 53–60 (Survey A), p. 61–111 (Survey B). The late thirteenth-century cartulary from the Trinité contains an unedited survey of the revenues of many of the same territories. Arch. dép. Calvados H non coté (La Trinité de Caen), p. 121–149. The manuscript of the Mont-Saint-Michel survey is now lost, but Léopold Delisle printed part of it in: *Etudes sur la condition de la classe agricole et l'état de l'agriculture en Normandie au moyen âge*, Evreux 1851, p. 673–690. Robert CARABIE, *La propriété foncière dans le très ancien droit normand (XI<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, I *La propriété domaniale* (Bibl. d'histoire du droit normand, 2<sup>ème</sup> série, 5), Caen 1943 has studied this document extensively. – The neighboring abbey of Saint-Martin de Troarn likewise produced a *censier* in 1234 (Arch. dép. Calvados H 7747), but its size requires an edition and further study before it can be compared with Pierre's book.

50 *Rotulus de denariis qui debentur domui sancti Stephani Cadomensis ad turonenses*, Arch. dép. Calvados H 1957. Three parchments are sewn end to end. More study is needed to date the account precisely.

of the Seine valley similar land surveys were compiled at two abbeys in Rouen, Saint-Amand (1220–1240, in the form of a roll), and Saint-Ouen (1262, 1290–1307, in the form of a codex)<sup>51</sup>. The tradition of maintaining land-books was most likely encouraged by the archbishops of Rouen. As Archbishop Eudes Rigaud visited his province from 1248 to 1269, he noted carefully the numbers of monks or nuns in each monastery, their annual revenues, and outstanding debts. Since the houses of Saint-Amand and Saint-Ouen lay in his own diocese, he frequently inspected their books and urged improvements in their accounting<sup>52</sup>.

Within this ecclesiastical context Pierre du Thillay's land-book of 1219–1220 is not only unusual for the Ile-de-France, but even in Normandy where land-books were more abundant it is strikingly precocious as the product of a layman. To be sure, 1206 Philip Augustus had included accounts called *census* in his Registers that recorded the *cens* and other revenues from scattered lands in the royal domain, but they merely provided summary totals and not the details of Pierre's land-book<sup>53</sup>. Not until 1260 during the reign of Louis IX did a royal bailli produce an accounting of the royal domain (in this case the bailliage of Rouen) that surpassed Pierre's data<sup>54</sup>. It is nonetheless clear that the model for Pierre's land-book was the 1175–1180 Survey B of the Trinité de Caen. Both concentrate on the two major aspects of land and revenue, the latter category divided between rents in money and in kind. The last is further organized according to an established formula called the *regarda*. After listing the money rents, normally called *census*, the number of loaves of bread, capons, hens, geese, eggs, wheat, oats, and barley are reported. So comparable are the categories for organizing the data that the two inventories can be displayed on the same table. The chief difference lies in the procedure by which the information was collected. While Pierre's land-book offers no clue as to how this was done, the survey of the Trinité, followed by those of Mont-Saint-Michel and

51 Arch. dép. Seine-Maritime 55 HP 1. John WALMSLEY ed., *Les revenus de l'abbaye Saint-Amand de Rouen: Un rouleau de rentes des années 1220–1240*, in: *Histoire et sociétés rurales* 13 (2000) p. 143–47, and Arch. dép. Seine-Maritime 14 H 17. Henri DUBOIS et al., ed., *Un censier normand du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Le Livre des jurés de l'abbaye Saint-Ouen de Rouen (Documents, Etudes et Répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 62)*, Paris 2001. From the end of the thirteenth century and also in the Seine valley is the *Livre de rentes de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Vernon* [Ms. Stockholm Bibl. roy. Cod. Holm A 239], ed. Ulysse LOUIS, Pierre PAJOT, and Jean POUËSSEL, Saint-Aubin-les-Elbœuf 1997.

52 Th. BONNIN, *Journal des visites pastorales d'Eude Rigaud, archevêque de Rouen, 1248–1269*, Rouen 1852. Saint-Amand: p. 456 (1262), p. 512 (1264), p. 588 (1267); Saint-Ouen: p. 401 (1261), p. 551 (1266), p. 611 (1268). See also Pierre ANDRIEU-GUITRANCOURT, *L'archevêque Eudes Rigaud et la vie de l'église au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après le »Regestrum visitationum«*, Paris 1938, p. 159–165.

53 *Registres* (n. 11 above) p. 207–228.

54 *The Royal Domain in the Bailliage of Rouen*, ed. Joseph R. STRAYER, Princeton 1936. No comparable land book for the Norman aristocracy antedates Pierre's or the royal accounts. See the comment of Carabie (n. 49 above) p. 149. A lay example has been found for 1285: Lucien MUSSET, *La terre de Fontaine-Etoupefour au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Notules d'histoire féodale)*, in: *Bulletin de la Soc. des antiquaires de Normandie* 59 (1967–1989, 1990) p. 259–267. The *censier* from Mesnil-Rainfray in the Norman bocage is more difficult to date but was not before the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Lucien MUSSET, *Autour du censier du Mesnil-Rainfray (Manche, Canton de Juvigny-le-Terre)*. *Aperçus sur l'histoire de la seigneurie rurale dans le bocage normand*, in: *Le pays Bas Normand* 63 (1971) p. 2–11.

TABLE 1: LANDED WEALTH - ILE DE FRANCE

	Land	corde	Revenue <i>census</i> liv. par. l. s. d.	bread	capons	geese	wheat set.	Grain oats set.	barley set.	<i>census</i> owed liv. par. l. s. d.
Gonesse (1208 gift to Hotel-Dieu vineyards Paris Total	arpent									
	100.25		3 17 -			60	3	3		
	1.75		9 15 -							
	102		13 12 -			60	3	3		
Gonesse (1219-1220) domain <i>census</i> vineyards Total	32.5									
	208.5	9								2 1 9.5
	22	-18								1 9
	262.5									2 3 8.5
Tessonville	11		3 16 20		21	20				
Sarcelles <i>census</i>	28.875		3 1 5.5	15.5	25		0.5	12		
Total: Ile-de-France			20 9 7.5	15.5	46	20				

Table 1: Landed wealth - Ile de France

Source: Livre de terres I-III.

Note on the corda: In addition to the arpent, Pierre uses the measure of the corda, particularly in his vineyards. This measure is rarely attested (see Charles DUCANGE, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, Paris 1845, vo corda), but I have found it also in a charter of 1230, Gonesse, Archives hospitalières, Sac. I, liasse I, cote I. A division of the arpent, as many as 16 corde are cited. I therefore assume that an arpent contained at least 18 corde.

Saint-Ouen de Rouen, was compiled from sworn testimony of the men of the neighborhood who are named at the beginning of each place<sup>55</sup>.

### The Amount of Land: Ile-de-France

For his lands in the Ile-de-France Pierre du Thillay provides precise figures in arpents; for those in Normandy in acres, the traditional units of measure for the two provinces. The evaluation of these units, however raises difficult problems for the historian. Not only did they vary widely according to place, but they were also unstable over time. For this reason we shall begin our investigation by limiting ourselves to the medieval measures and reserving their interpretation until later. The arpent and acre offer us our most secure data.

Assembled in three clusters at Gonesse, Tessonville, and Sarcelles, Pierre du Thillay's ancestral lands lay in the upper valley of the Croult, one of the oldest and richest agricultural regions of the Ile-de-France<sup>56</sup>. If Pierre's landbook is not always complete or consistent, it did make a concerted effort to record in arpents the extent of his holdings, but it was compiled after the bailli had already bequeathed a large portion of his patrimony to the Hôtel-Dieu of Gonesse. In 1208 he declared succinctly that he donated a hundred arpents at Gonesse and Tremblay, about 2 arpents of vineyard at Deuil-la-Barre and houses at Paris. Then, in a subsequent charter of 1215 he returned to the details: some 22 properties were identified and measured in arpents (ranging from 10.5 to 1), mainly from Gonesse. The exact total was 100.25 arpents<sup>57</sup>. What was recorded in his land-book of 1219–1220 was therefore what remained: 262.5 arpents at Gonesse, 11 arpents at Tessonville, and 28.875 arpents at Sarcelles, plus 21 manses whose size were not recorded (Table 1). Among the more than hundred items, not one parcel of land exceeded 10.5 arpents, and most ranged below 3 arpents. To place Pierre's holdings in perspective, we may set them against the Cistercian grange at Vaulerent that lay up the Croult valley just 10 kilometers north of Gonesse. In the 1140s the Cistercian monks of nearby Chaalis established a vast farm or grange at Vaulerent. By the 1220s or 1230s they had constructed an immense barn in stone that still stands, measuring 72 by 23 meters and 20.6 meters high (It covers about one-third the floor-plan of Notre-Dame at Paris). In 1248 they drafted their »cadastre« that listed the lands that produced grain for this grange. Responding to the same questions that concerned Pierre, the document not only details the rents that were owed, but unlike other surviving accounts it also takes care to name the parcels of land and to measure them in arpents. According to the »cadastre« the total territory consisted of little over 1000 arpents of land<sup>58</sup>. Without

55 The jurors are listed for Carpiquet in Survey B of the Trinité; thereafter, their presence is merely noted. For Mont-Saint-Michel's holdings at Verson, see CARABIE (n. 49 above) p. 38. Saint-Ouen's land book is called a »livre des jurées«.

56 ROBLIN (n. 10 above) p. 237–239, 241. It was probably first cleared by the monks of Saint-Denis.

57 DELISLE, Fragments (n. 1 above) p. 248–249, 252–254. Pierre's charter of 1215 was confirmed by Guillaume, bishop of Paris, in 1220. Gonesse, Archives hospitalières, liasse 1, cote H.

58 On Vaulerent see Charles HIGOUNET, La grange de Vaulerent (n. 47 above) and François BLARY, Le domaine de Chaalis, XII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles: Approches archéologiques des établissements agricoles et

attempting a direct comparison, we can see that Pierre's original holdings were considerably less than a large working Cistercian farm, remembering that Vaulerent was only one of eight granges managed by the abbey of Chaalis.

From the 262.5 arpents of land remaining at Gonesse after the donation to the Hôtel-Dieu, only 32.5 arpents or 12 percent were held directly in reserve (*in dominico*). Two hundred thirty arpents were held *in censu* for which his land-book recorded the details as well as at Tessonville and Sarcelles. Since it was Pierre who paid the *cens* at Gonesse, this chapter noted not only the number of arpents, but also identified the land by its location or former holder, to whom Pierre paid the *cens*, and the amount in money. The chapter on Gonesse, therefore, resembled most closely the *censier* of Val-Notre-Dame and the »cadastre« of Vaulerent. From the scores of former holders, men identified as lords (*domini*), such as the brothers Philippe and Raoul de Gonesse, Guy de Sarcelles, and Baudouin Bolard were mentioned frequently<sup>59</sup>. Those to whom Pierre paid the *cens* came from a cross section of the lordships established to the north of Paris. They included the king himself (for 4 properties), churches such as Saint-Denis, the Templars, the parish church and Hôtel-Dieu of Gonesse, Saint-Martin-des-Champs, and a host of local *domini*, such as the powerful Mathieu, lord of Montmorency, Pierre de Sarnai, and Baudouin d'Andilly<sup>60</sup>.

Among those to whom *cens* was owed appeared families that supplied Pierre's colleagues as royal baillis. For example, Pierre du Thillay paid a *cens* for vines at Pierrefitte-sur-Seine to the heirs of the recently deceased Guillaume de Cornillon, brother of Renaud de Cornillon, formerly prévôt-bailli at Paris, and later Norman bailli of the Cotentin (1202–1214), a career that closely paralleled that of Pierre's<sup>61</sup>. More prominent in Pierre's land-book was Guillaume Pastez who was active between 1200 and 1217 in the northeastern royal domain on the team of baillis which included Renaud and Pierre de Béthisy, and Gilles de Versailles. Whether or not Guillaume's family originated from Flanders, he himself was firmly settled in the Ile-de-France<sup>62</sup>. Among these colleagues was also Eudes de Tremblay, Pierre's son-in-law<sup>63</sup>.

industriels d'une abbaye cistercienne (Mémoires de la Section d'archéol. et d'histoire de l'art 3), Paris 1989, p. 105–123. Higounet edits and analyzes the »cadastre« of 1248, p. 29–39, 66–69.

59 Livre de terres, Gonesse: I, nos 11, 12, 51, 56, 62, 72; Sarcelles, I, no. 19, II no. 25; Bolart I, no. 53.

60 The chapter on Sarcelles (III) also included a few names to whom *cens* was due. Livre de terres: king, I, nos. 29, 49, 55, 59; Saint-Denis, I, nos. 12–14, 36, 48; Templars, I, nos 26, 28, 54. Saint-Pierre de Gonesse, I, no. 48, III, no. 24; Hôtel-Dieu, I, nos 39, 48; Saint-Martin-des-Champs, I, no 7; Mathieu de Montmorency, III, nos. 22–23; Pierre de Sarnai, I, no. 19, III, no. 25; Baudouin d'Andilly, I, no. 11.

61 Livre de terres I, no. 62. Guillaume was identified as Renaud's brother in charters of 1202 and 1209. Senlis, Bibl. mun. Afforty Collection, XV, 51, 205. He was recently deceased in 1220. Afforty Collection XV, 375–76. On Renaud as prévôt-bailli, see DELISLE, Chronologie (n. 1 above) p. \*17, \*18, \*146 and BALDWIN (n. 1 above) p. 180–181, 223–229, 661, 666. In the cartulary of Saint-Lazare of Paris, Guillaume de Cornillon and his heir Raoul were lords over fiefs at Gonesse: no. 57, fol. 24v–25 (1194); no. 142, fol. 121v–122r (1224); no. 166, fol 86v–87r (1228); no. 190, fol. 75r–76r (1234). See also n. 17.

62 Livres de terres I, nos. 30, 50. On his career as bailli see DELISLE, Chronologie (n. 1 above) p. \*57, and BALDWIN (n. 1 above) p. 178–179, 181–182, 663. Despite his sharing a surname with a prévôt of the count of Flanders, he was among the vassals of the bishop of Paris (1198–1207) (Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Paris 1, ed. M. GUÉRARD, Paris 1859, p. 9) and was frequently recorded in the car-



TABLE 2: LANDED WEALTH - NORMANDIE

	Land acre	vavas.	Revenues <i>cens</i> liv. tur. l. s. d.	bread	capons	hens	geese	eggs	Grain wheat set.	oats set.	barley set.
Fribois											
revenue bought			3 - 10	10	10	2		50		1	
gift of king		15	- 3 -	91	59	2		604			
meadow	35.04										
Total	35.04	15	3 3 10	101	69	4		654		1	
Mesnil-Mauger											
fiefs											
fief of Robert		2	1 16 9	46	46	3		500	1	3	
<i>bordarit</i>	42		- 10 -	8	3	6		110	1.5		
<i>recuperavit</i>			6 19 7	113	87	13	2	1067	1.25	3.25	1.42
Total	42	10.5	4 13 6	29	32	3	2	310	3.75	6.25	1.42
		12.5	13 19 10	196	168	25		1987			
Colleville											
domain	7										
fief											
Total	53.625		3 1 4	30	22	22		415	18.5	2.33	
	60.625		3 1 4	30	22	22		415	24	0.5	
									42.5	2.83	
Banneville											
Henri Hose	40.5	6	1 11 4	20	11	10		210			
<i>bord et firm.</i>	38.75		- 16 10	34	6	36		360	10.5	15	
<i>firm. mob.</i>	9				2	4		40	12.25	1	0.5
gift Guil. de Rupierre	2.75	(2)	- 10 -	4				60	3	6	
Lirose				6	6			670	25.75	22	0.5
Total	91	6	2 18 2	64	25	50					

Mondeville fiefs	88	3																	
<i>firm. immob.</i>	10.19																		
<i>firm. mob.</i>	4.625																		
<b>Total</b>	102.815	3																	
Bras								-	17	6									
Saint Contest fief																			
Mathieu	48.125																		
Percy fief domain Total	37.75 30.37 70.12	1 1 1		1	8	8							1	8	6				
Caen meadow	5.25																		
Falaise fief revenue Total													12	19	5				
													14	18	-				
													27	17	5				
Guilberville Hugues de Clinchamps domain Total	156.5 42.5 199	5.5 5.5 5.5											10	7	3				
Cheux - gift																			
<b>Totals</b>		44		66	11	6		474	336		2	225	2	5416					

Table 2: Landed wealth - Normandy  
Source: Livre de terres IV, VI, IX-XIX.

1 lb. pepper  
2 lb. pepper  
3.5 lb. pepper  
5.5 lb. pepper 2 s/lb.  
7 goats

At Gonesse the *cens* was recorded exclusively in money. What Pierre du Thillay paid to stitch together scores of parcels of land was not much. Two hundred thirty arpents of land cost him the annual total of 2 livres, 3 sous, 6 deniers parisis in *cens*, a sum that could be easily covered from his own money revenues at the adjacent Tessonville or Sarcelles<sup>64</sup>. We may ask why a land-book was kept to document hundreds of former and present holders to whom a mere pittance of rents was paid. From the Paris land market we now understand that the ultimate goal was less to enregister economic profit than to create a record of the vast web of *cens* that held these properties together and furnished legal evidence in case they might be contested. The *censive*, or concession of land in return for a fixed, nominal charge was the normal regime of land-holding around Paris. The minimal rents merely recognized the rights of those who paid the *cens*<sup>65</sup>. By keeping track of payments owed, Pierre's land-book performed the same service as the *censier* of Val-Notre-Dame and the »cadastre« of Vaulerent.

### The Amount of Land: Normandy

As in the Ile-de-France, Pierre's Norman lands are grouped into chapters (13), each entitled by a place name. Within this framework the parcels of land are normally identified by the present tenants as they were in Survey B of the nuns of the Trinité and in Pierre's holdings at Tessonville and Sarcelles in the Ile-de-France. Only the lands held in domain were identified by geographic names and other place-markers as at Gonesse<sup>66</sup>.

The universal land measure in Normandy was the acre as in England. Divisible into 4 *vergées* and 40 *perches*, it nonetheless varied significantly according to the locality. Among the contemporary Norman surveys only Survey B of the Trinité made a concerted effort (14 out of 19 territories) to record the amount of land. Pierre followed this example but with less consistency (Table 2). At his two principal holdings, for example, he offered acreage figures only for the meadows at Fribois and the bordars at Le Mesnil-Mauger, thus neglecting the full extent of these royal gifts. For six of his thirteen Norman territories, however, he provides data that appears to be global like those of the Trinité survey<sup>67</sup>. Guilberville (199 acres), Mondeville (103

ularies of Saint-Denis in local affairs. For example, AN LL 1157, p. 246, 388, 389, 542, 754, 755, 825; LL 1159, p. 64.

63 DELISLE, *Chronologie* (n. 1 above) p. \*156–157, BALDWIN (n. 1 above) p. 82, 288–289, 665. DELISLE, *Fragments* (n. 1 above) p. 268 (July, 1222). In November 1222 a knight Jean de Tremblay and Avelina his wife sold to Saint-Denis 20 arpents of land for 95 livres. *Cartulaire blanc de Saint-Denis*, AN 1157, p. 468b. Germaine LEBEL, *Catalogue des actes de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis*, Paris 1935, no. 361.

64 Since nearly all of the recorded *cens* were figured in deniers, the 6 sous to the Templars, the 3 sous, 8 deniers to lady Tecée de Villiers, or the 3 sous to lord Pierre de Sarnai were exceptions. *Livre de terres I*, nos 28, 9, 19.

65 On the legal regime of the *cens*, see Olivier MARTIN, *Histoire de la coutume de la prévôté et vicomté de Paris* (Bibl. de l'Institut d'histoire ... de Paris, 1), Paris 1922–1930, p. 364–403.

66 This includes the meadows at Fribois and Caen, the domains at Colleville, Percy, Guilberville and the perpetual farms at Mondeville.

67 Colleville, Banneville, Mondeville, Mathieu, Percy, and Guilberville.

acres) and Banneville (91 acres) were the largest holdings, but they may not have equalled the unreported Fribois and Le Mesnil-Mauger. Although quantifiable comparisons will not be ventured at this stage, Pierre's lands do not appear to have attained the order of magnitude of the Trinité's holdings at Carpiquet (705 acres), Tassily (386 acres) Montbouin (360 acres) and Salley (287 acres)<sup>68</sup>. Although Pierre was a powerful bailli and favored by the king, his landed holdings in no way rival those of rich monasteries like Chaalis or the Trinité.

What is comparable, however, is the percentage of land that was held in reserve, since here we are dealing with acreage within the same area. The clerks who compiled Survey B for the Trinité and Pierre's land-book sought to distinguish between land held in domain, that is for the direct agricultural exploitation of the lord and land for which tenants paid rent (in money and produce). Most of the Trinité's territories (10/14) reported a domain of one-fourth or less; four reported large domains ranging from 37, 50, 58, to 81 percent. Pierre's land book recorded the domain for only three Norman territories (Table 2). Two, like the domain at Gonesse in the Ile-de-France (9–12%)<sup>69</sup>, were at the lower level (Colleville, 12% and Guilberville 21%); the greatest domain was found at Percy (46%), but there the lands were not as extensive (70 acres). Historians have long noticed that during the thirteenth century English monasteries began to reconvert former lands that had been given out to tenants for fixed rents into domain that could be cultivated directly. In that manner they profited from the rising prices of agricultural products denied to them by fixed rents<sup>70</sup>. The creation of a category *in dominico* suggests that the nuns of the Trinité were thinking about domain, but by the end of the twelfth century they were only beginning to experiment with direct exploitation. Pierre du Thillay may also have contemplated this solution four decades later. Since the monks of Mont-Saint-Michel and other Norman houses neglected to report acreage, the significance of their domains cannot be assessed.

In the second half of the century Louis IX was less interested in his agricultural domain, preferring money payments in the bailliage of Rouen wherever he could obtain them<sup>71</sup>. Whatever the progress of domanial agriculture in England, the movement appears to have had less impact in Normandy.

### Income Reported in Money and in Kind

In addition to arpents and acres Pierre du Thillay's land-book consistently reported revenue (*redditus*) expressed either in money or in kind. From the outset it is important to remember that although figures quoted in money are commensurate and can be totalled, those in kind, particularly in grain (wheat, oats, and barley), involved

68 The figures are calculated from Survey B, Charters and Customals (n. 49 above). See also Table 3.

69 The percentage depends on whether the total lands include the 100 arpents given to the Hôtel-Dieu.

70 See Georges DUBY, *L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes dans l'Occident médiéval* 2, Paris 1962, p. 501–507.

71 See the observations of STRAYER in *Royal Domain* (n. 54 above) p. 20–23. Strayer's definition of »domain« does not pertain to direct agricultural exploitation as used here, but to those lands whose income of any sort went directly to the king.

significantly differing measures from place to place, thus hindering comparisons. From the 100 arpents in the Ile-de-France that Pierre gave to the Hôtel-Dieu in 1208, he reported income of 3 livres, 17 sous parisis, 60 setiers of wheat, 3 setiers of oats and 3 setiers of barley (Table 1). The land-book of 1219/20 reported an income of 3 livres, 16 sous, 2 deniers parisis, plus some capons and geese, from the 11 arpents at Tessonville and an income of 3 livres, 1 sous, 5.5 deniers parisis, plus some minor grain from the 29 arpents at Sarcelles. The 263 arpents remaining at Gonesse in domain, *cens*, and vineyards, for which Pierre himself had paid 2 livres, 3 sous, 6.5 deniers parisis in *cens* reported no income at all. Since Pierre had already donated 200 livres parisis to the Hôtel-Dieu in 1208, it is clear that the land-book was ignoring the real income from the 241 arpents of rich arable land and the 22 arpents of vineyards at Gonesse a decade later. In terms of money his most valuable assets were the urban rents of 9 livres, 15 sous parisis that he collected on his Paris houses but then donated to the Hôtel-Dieu<sup>72</sup>.

There is, however, one source of income that clearly distinguished the ecclesiastical neighbors from the layman Pierre du Thillay. The *censier* of Val-Notre-Dame scrupulously records the church that claimed the tithes on nearly every property for which a *cens* was owed. Likewise Vaulerent's »cadastre« took note of the tithes due to other churches. In stark contrast, Pierre's land-book records no tithes that were paid or received from his lands, either in the Ile-de-France or in Normandy. Mathieu le Bel's charter of 1195, however, notes that Pierre held from him the fief of the church of Thillay that included two parts of the tithes and land of the altar<sup>73</sup>. His charter of 1215 detailing his gifts to the Hôtel-Dieu, moreover, specifies that the donations included tithes from Bonneuil, Tremblay, Mitry, Jagny and the tithing barn of Gonesse<sup>74</sup>. As ecclesiastical taxes for the benefit of designated churches, individual tithes had fallen into lay hands in the early Middle Ages. Throughout the twelfth century church reformers had sought to return these tithes either to the original churches or to transfer them to monasteries<sup>75</sup>. Pierre may well have divested himself of his last tithes by giving them to the Hôtel-Dieu. In any event, the complete absence of tithes in his land-book, in contrast to their presence in monastic records, attests to the influence of the reform policy on Philip Augustus's bailli.

Obviously the real revenue from the land that Pierre and his family had assembled was derived from the wine and grain it produced. Twenty-four arpents were designated for vineyards with holdings specified at Pierrefitte, Sarcelles, Groslay, and Deuil-la-Barre as well as Gonesse. The abbey of Saint-Denis had acquired vineyards at Pierrefitte, Deuil, and Groslay in the ninth century which by the twelfth had produced a thriving viticulture, rendering the wines of the Ile-de-France reputable and

72 The houses were on the rue des Prêcheurs not far from the abbey of Saint-Magloire on the Right Bank (7 livres, 10 sous) and the house of Durand (2 livres, 5 sous). DELISLE, Fragments (n. 1 above) p. 249, 252–254.

73 See above n. 15. In 1207 Pierre bought tithes at Condé-sur-Laison in Normandy from Robert Louvel. Arch. dép. Calvados 2 D 95, see above n. 42.

74 DELISLE, Fragments (n. 1 above) p. 253.

75 Giles CONSTABLE, *Monastic Tithes from their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge 1964.

commercially profitable<sup>76</sup>. That Pierre alienated no more than 7 percent of his vineyards to the Hôtel-Dieu suggests that he recognized their value. Lying in the fabulously fertile »plaine de France«, the 382 arpents of undesignated land was doubtlessly assigned to grain. In 1203 Robert de Meulan, the prévôt-bailli of Paris, had dealt in wheat from Gonesse to the amount of 50 livres<sup>77</sup>. If Pierre had the same success as the neighboring Cistercians at Vaulerent, he could have filled a barn nearly half the size of the impressive grange of the enterprising monks<sup>78</sup>. Because production in the Ile-de-France attained its maximum around 1225, it was a good time to plant wheat, but the actual profit is difficult to measure<sup>79</sup>. We shall return to this problem.

The closest we can measure Pierre's wealth in money from his lands in the Ile-de-France consists of what he gave away. In 1208 he not only bestowed 100 arpents on the newly established Hôtel-Dieu of Gonesse, but he also accompanied the bequest with 200 livres parisis in coin for construction. This figure strikes us as large, one commensurate with the great magnates of France, not with the lesser aristocracy. A generation earlier King Louis VII had given the same sum for the construction of Notre-Dame at Paris, and Bishop Maurice de Sully, 100 livres for a lead roof. Two generations after Pierre, Bishop Renaud de Corbeil's benefaction to Notre-Dame remained at 100 livres<sup>80</sup>. When Pierre du Thillay established his own anniversary at Notre-Dame, it was around 60 *livres* which appears to be consistent for a knight of his status<sup>81</sup>. Pierre could afford to be generous in the Ile-de-France in 1208 because in 1206 as royal bailli at Caen the king had already rewarded him with Norman lands.

Following a formula developed in Normandy and most clearly articulated in Survey B of the Trinité de Caen, Pierre recorded his Norman revenues according to the following categories (although not always in the same order): money in livres tournois or angevin<sup>82</sup>, *regarda* (bread, capons, hens, geese, eggs), and grain (wheat, oats, and barley). Despite this stereotypic format, the Norman chapters of Pierre's land-book are more revealing of the nature of his agricultural revenue than those of the Ile-de-France (Table 2). Of the thirteen Norman territories ten produced multi-

76 Roger DION, *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France des origines au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1959, p. 215, 225. FOURQUIN (n. 48 above) p. 65–73, 107–118.

77 Premier Budget (n. 11 above) p. CLXXXII(1–2). Grain sales from Gonesse continued to supply income. RHF 21, p. 252 (1238).

78 The surviving grange has a capacity of 6000 m<sup>3</sup> capable of storing 2000 quintaux of grain. Guide bleu- Ile-de-France, Paris 1996, p. 50.

79 FOURQUIN (n. 46 above) p. 73. BLARY (n. 58 above) p. 384 concludes that the granges of Chaalis were planned for cultivating between 200 and 380 hectares of land.

80 DELISLE, *Fragments* (n. 1 above) p. 248–249. *Obituaires de Sens* 1 (1), ed. A. MOLINIER, Paris 1902, p. 179, 104, 134.

81 The exact figure varies slightly among the accounts. The Obituary of Notre-Dame of 1529 established 20 December as the anniversary of *Petrus de Tiliaco, miles*. *Obituaires de Sens* 1(1) (n. 80 above) p. 232. The earlier obituary of Notre-Dame for the same date attributes to *dominus Petrus, miles* a gift of 60 livres parisis. *Obituaires de Sens* 1(1), p. 209. Charters from 1223 and 1227 confirm this figure for *Petrus de Tiliaco, miles*. *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame* 2 (n. 62 above) p. 445; 1, p. 405.

82 The livre tournois, which equalled the livre angevin after the Capetian conquest, bore the value of 5 livres tournois = 4 livres parisis.

ple crops. (Falaise yielded mainly money rents; Caen consisted of a meadow and Cheux produced too little to judge.) Doubtlessly benefitting from the fertile »plaine de Caen«, most of the places grew wheat and oats as their main crops. Barley was found less often, and rye is not mentioned<sup>83</sup>. Even Fribois, Le Mesnil-Mauger and Percy lying to the east in the more rugged bocage of the »pays d'Auge« produced small quantities of these grains. All lands except those at Falaise and Caen rendered the traditional *regarda* of bread, fowl and eggs. Meadows were reported at Fribois (35 acres) and Caen (5 acres) but with no indication of what grazed there.

After the crops were recorded at Fribois and Le Mesnil-Mauger, Pierre's chief holdings, the clerk noted the *servitia, precaria* or work service (*corvée*) that was due from the land. This information was designated as »customs« or »generalities« in the other surveys. Because of the meadows at Fribois, pasture fees (*herbergagium*) and the cutting of hay or grass were prominent, but service also included work in the woods, vineyards, mills, and presses, as well as carting services<sup>84</sup>. The mention of presses also suggests the production of wine and cider in the region (*facere sciceram et vindemiare vineas, ferre poma ad pressorem*).

The enumeration of work service likewise implied social distinctions. Most clearly identified was the peculiarly Norman category of *vavassor*. Situated between the free status of knights (*milites*) and the servile condition of peasants, the *vavassor* was evidently at the top of the work force on Pierre's land. His distinctive service involved the horse (*servitium equi*) which was specified. Whether it was limited to military escort service (*chevauchée*) or included carting work as well is not clear. Pierre claimed at least 47 *vavassors* throughout his lands, but the highest concentration was at Fribois (15) and Le Mesnil-Mauger (11). At the lowest level of the work force were the *bordars* (*bordarii*) who were kept distinct at Le Mesnil-Mauger (53 listed) and Banneville (21 listed)<sup>85</sup>. The remaining some 130 names are devoid of classification. Except for the *vavassors*' distinctive *servitium equi* and an occasional mention that the *bordars* owe other services befitting their station (*alia servicia sicut bordarius*), there are few clear differences in payment in money and agricultural products and the type of work service. While the *vavassors* may have generally paid more in kind than the *bordars*, the differences are not striking. Moreover, we find *vavassors* like Guillaume Grente who owed carting services and work in meadows, woods, and mill at Fribois just as the *bordars* at Le Mesnil-Mauger<sup>86</sup>.

One final modality of exploitation should be noted. After listing *vavassors* at Banneville, Pierre turned to a second group who were labelled »those who held in *bordar* tenure and in *fief-farm*« (*in bordagio et firma feodi*). These were followed by a third group entitled »moveable farm« (*firma mobilis*). At the nearby site of Monderville the *vavassors* were followed by those who held »immoveable farms« (*firma immobilis*) as well as »moveable farms.« In this way Pierre du Thillay began experi-

83 The 6 muid, 6 setiers (= 78 setiers) of barley at Bras increase its total disproportionately to its frequency.

84 Repair of casks and vessels and attendance at pleas were also mentioned.

85 On *vavassors*, *bordars* and others, see DELISLE, *Etudes* (n. 49 above) p. 3–26.

86 *Livre de terres* II, no. 9. A half mill is mentioned at Guilberville, but no income is specified. *Ibid.* XVIII, no. 32.

menting with a system as had the nuns of the Trinité before him<sup>87</sup>. Since the actual revenues paid in these sections cannot be easily differentiated in quantity and nature from the remaining parts, the chief distinction appears to be legal, not economic. The fief-farm appeared in twelfth century Normandy to replace the feudal requirements of a fief (homage, military service etc.) with those of a rent contracted in money and kind. Although the tenure changed, the payments remained more or less the same. An »immoveable farm« was without term or perpetual, and like a fief it remained in effect as long as the holder and his heirs paid the rent. A »moveable farm« was temporary, at shorter term, or for life at the longest, and therefore subject to renewal at more frequent intervals<sup>88</sup>. The farming system, therefore, was an effort to preserve the economic profit of fiefs without the encumbrances of feudal obligations. Unlike the nuns, however, Pierre introduced the short term farm at Banneville and Mondeville to increase his flexibility to raise the terms of his leases, an advantage to landholders in a period of rising prices. Within all this information, however, no clues are divulged as to how the agricultural produce was consumed, marketed, or otherwise disposed of, nor what agents performed these tasks.

The common format of the Norman land-books emphasizes the shared character of the revenues realized. The survey of the nearby nuns of the Trinité de Caen (1175–1180) that preceded Pierre's inventory but recorded lands that were more scattered, provided the closest comparisons. The later survey (1247) of Mont-Saint-Michel for Bretteville and Verson followed an altered format but nonetheless included comparable data. That of Saint-Amand de Rouen, although closer in time (1220–1240), was further away, but its format was likewise comparable. When Pierre's book is situated in the context of these three, the common sources of revenue are most striking, consisting of money, grain (wheat, oats and barley), and the *regarda* (bread, fowl, and eggs). Pierre's agricultural produce resembled most closely the Trinité's estates. Mont-Saint-Michel's lands concentrated on wheat and barley and grew only an insignificant amount of oats. Mont-Saint-Michel and Saint-Amand no longer collected loaves of bread among the *regarda*. The customs and services could differ widely. Mont-Saint-Michel collected fees for pasturing pigs, Saint-Amand for sheep and brewing beer, absent from the Trinité's and Pierre's lands. When compared with the three abbeys, the most important source of income unavailable to Pierre was the seignorial *banalités*. Although mills and ovens were mentioned among the services owed by Pierre's workforce, these monopolies recorded no income. In contrast, two mills and one oven provided the Trinité with significant income. Mont-Saint-Michel realized major profit from an oven, and Saint-Amand from five mills. As in the Ile-de-France, the layman Pierre du Thillay reported no revenue from tithes which were included in the revenues of the Norman monasteries.

Within the workforce all three abbeys accounted for vavassors as did Pierre, but the 47 recorded for his smaller lands compared favorably with those of the extensive

87 At Bavent, Montbouin and Ranville. Charters and customals (n. 49 above) p. 92, 94, 100.

88 On the farming system see CARABIE (n. 49 above) p. 293–315 and M. DE BIÉVILLE, *Les fief fermes, mode de gestion de domaine normand de la couronne* and *Id.*, *Les fief fermes, institution original du droit normand*, in: *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 4<sup>ème</sup> série, 41 (1963) p. 551–552, 45 (1967) p. 405–406.



estates of the Trinité (79) and Saint-Amand (50). The two manors of Mont-Saint-Michel supported only 11. The Trinité and Mont-Saint-Michel identified bordars like Pierre's, but they included a category of villeins absent from Pierre's book<sup>89</sup>. Saint-Amand made no effort to classify the non-vassorial tenants. The Trinité and Saint-Amand likewise identified occasional tenants with the indistinct label of fief-farm (*firma*), but Mont-Saint-Michel's estates at Bretteville and Verson followed Pierre's example of a *firma mobilis* that suggests the increased employment of this short term contract.

At the conclusion of the chapter on Colleville-Montgomery Pierre's clerk provides totals for the acreage held in fief and in domain, revenues received in coin, wheat, and barley from his men and from his domain, and finally the totals of his *regarda*. This exercise in computation is completely accurate except for the money<sup>90</sup>. The desire to arrive at totals informs the other Norman surveys as well. The nuns of the Trinité provide totals for six of their nineteen territories, ranging from exact precision to near estimates, to patent errors. The errors, however, need not be attributed to faulty calculations but to the common occurrence that the manuscripts are fair copies of earlier versions in which the numbers may have been modified without adjusting the totals. The monks of Mont-Saint-Michel provided totals for all of their major categories of revenues at Bretteville and Verson. Although the nuns of Saint-Amand occasionally report individual items, their roll of revenues consists largely of totals (*summa*) of money and kind. It is important to notice, however, that except for the adjacent Bretteville and Verson, not one of the surveys attempts to add figures from different estates. We may assume, therefore, that the clerks recognize that the grain measures which doubtlessly report the major source of income were incommensurate from place to place. Despite the impressive array of data, we can legitimately compare only the money yields and to a lesser degree the discrete items such as bread, fowl and eggs, but whose value was less significant.

	<i>livres tournois</i>	bread	capons-hens	geese	eggs
Pierre du Thillay (13 terr.)	67	474	561	2	5416
Trinity (19 terr.)	40	248	941	74	8418
Mont-St-Michel (2 terr.)	139	—	276	—	803
St-Amand (50 terr.)	582	—	921	71	4091

(Source for Pierre du Thillay's figures: Table 2. The totals of the monasteries are calculated from the editions. See n. 49 and 51.)

The totals can be best compared in the above tabular form, but their deficiencies must be kept in mind. Each is based on a different number of estates, and although the acreage is known for Pierre du Thillay's and the Trinité's properties, the different

<sup>89</sup> See the discussion in *Charters and Customs* (n. 49 above) p. 23–25. Half of the Trinité's estates omit mention of villeins, and except for their names they cannot be distinguished in the accounts.

<sup>90</sup> *Livre de terres IX*, nos. 35–40.

land measures render them incomparable. We should also be prepared that the revenues for Fribois and Le Mesnil-Mauger are under-reported since we remember that their acreage appears incomplete. Nonetheless, we may proceed on the hypothesis that since the clerks of Pierre and the Norman monasteries recorded what they judged to be worthy of note, their data is comparable to that degree. When the cash yields are examined, we can see that Pierre's 67 livres tournois from thirteen estates is higher than the Trinité's 40 livres tournois from nineteen estates. A comparison of the individual estates confirms this conclusion. Not one of the Trinité's territories approached the money yields of Pierre's Le Mesnil-Mauger (14 livres) and Guilberville (10 livres) (Table 2). The Trinité's most productive estate in cash was Auberville (8 livres); Pierre's was Falaise (28 livres), but most of this income was due to urban rents. More than half of the 139 livres that Mont-Saint-Michel received at Brettville and Verson came from tithes (57 livres) and ovens (20 livres), unavailable to Pierre. As to Saint-Amand, its estates consistently produced higher cash yields (Boos, 50 livres; Le Mesnil-Benoit, 41 livres; Malaunay 35 livres ...) for a grand total of 582 livres. That of Dieppe (120 livres) benefited from the proceeds of a mill and tithes. The totals from the *regarda* are more difficult to interpret. While Pierre appears to have received more loaves of bread than the Trinité, his revenues from fowl place him roughly in the expected order. Egg production – the easiest to count – also places him in this order. (Saint-Amand's low figures require further interpretation.)

From the totals we may conclude that fifty years earlier the nuns of the Trinité were receiving a higher proportion of their revenues in agricultural produce than in cash. By the 1220s Pierre du Thillay sought more of his income in cash which became a trend throughout the thirteenth century. If Mont-Saint-Michel's cash receipts were inconclusive, the nuns of Saint-Amand were attempting to maximize their cash yield. By the opening decades of the century a surviving roll converted all of the revenues of Saint-Etienne de Caen into tournois money. Although the end of the account is damaged and incomplete, the remaining receipts total 616 livres<sup>91</sup>. In the 1260s the surviving account book for the baillage of Rouen suggests that the royal government was likewise making a concerted effort to convert into cash its revenues in agricultural produce<sup>92</sup>. Conversion of produce into money could be disadvantageous to the lord in a period of rising prices. If it were combined with short-term leases, however, it could work to his favor because he avoided the costs of marketing and transfer.

One scrap of evidence enables an evaluation of Pierre du Thillay's Norman revenues in coin. In 1206 when Philip Augustus first endowed his bailli, he specified that they consisted of the lands of Robert de Fribois, Geoffroy du Mesnil-Mauger, Robert de Vaux, and Henri de Heuse<sup>93</sup>. More revealing, the king proposed that these lands would produce 70 livres in annual income. This sum approximated the 20 *librata* sterling (or 80 livres angevins/tournois) that was considered traditional for a

91 See above n. 50.

92 Conclusions of STRAYER in *Royal Domain* (n. 54 above) p. 20–21.

93 *Recueil des actes* 2 (n. 6 above) no. 927.

knight's fee in England. The actual lands may be identified in Pierre's land-book of 1219/20 from the estates of Fribois, Le Mesnil-Mauger and Banneville where they yielded the following revenues:

Money (l.t.)	bread	capons	hens	geese	eggs	wheat set.	oats set.	total
16 l. 11s.	357	242	73	2	3161	26.5	23.5	
Price	2d.	4d.	3d.	6d.	10 = 1d.	-	-	
	2l.	4l.			1 l.			9 l.
	19s.		18s.	1s.	6s.			5 s.
	6d.	8d.	3d.		5d.			10 d.

Source: Livre de terres. See Table 3 for prices.

It is clear that since the money realized (16 livres, 11 sous) fell far short of the 70 livres anticipated, Pierre still relied heavily on agricultural produce as his main source of revenue. Since the *regarda* consisted of discrete units for which customary prices can be assigned (see below), the total approximated only 9 livres. We may suspect, therefore, that wheat and oats were Pierre's major source of revenue. The scores of setiers of wheat, oats and barley inventoried in Pierre's land-book are difficult to evaluate because their measures varied. This factor constitutes the major obstacle to estimating his landed income.

Yet all indications suggest that the bailli of Caen was wealthy. Just as the king's endowment of Norman lands enabled Pierre to give to the Hôtel-Dieu of Gonesse one hundred arpents of land and two hundred livres parisis from his estates in the Ile-de-France, so he showed himself generous in Normandy as well. We have noted his foundation of a house of canons at Notre-Dame de Fribois that Philip Augustus confirmed in 1219. In addition to his own donations, Pierre encouraged Richard fitz Henri, apparently a neighbor, to give extensive revenues to the canons by offering Richard 100 livres tournois. Richard's gifts consisted of fiefs at Heroville and houses at Caen that yielded grain, *regarda* and 7 livres tournois in *cens*; Pierre's counter gift was 100 livres paid outright in coin<sup>94</sup>. Like the bequest at Gonesse one hundred livres was a significant sum from a lord who held fiefs worth 70 livres and whose total annual income in money from his Norman lands did not exceed 67 livres.

### Appraising Value: Hypotheses and Speculations

Despite the precision and profusion of the data contained in the land-books, the economic conclusions that can be drawn from them are impressionistic. The chief problem is metrological: the medieval land and grain measures remain stubbornly

<sup>94</sup> *Notum sit ... Et pro huius beneficii collatione dedit mihi petrus de Teill[ei]o, fundator predictae capelle beate marie de Fribois, c libras turonenses.* Arch. dép. Calvados 2 D 90. For Pierre's involvement in other donations to Notre-Dame de Fribois, see two undated charters in Arch. dép. Calvados 2 D 156.

incommensurate, as is illustrated in Pierre's own inventory which occasionally cites different measures of land and grain<sup>95</sup>. Yet even in Pierre's day efforts were taken to estimate the monetary value of produce in order to arrive at comparative totals. We recall that early in the thirteenth century the monks of Saint-Etienne de Caen converted their revenues into livres tournois<sup>96</sup>. While Archbishop Eudes Rigaud was encouraging the monasteries of his province to improve their accounting procedures in the 1250s, he was also estimating annual incomes in round figures<sup>97</sup>. Admittedly the techniques for appraising value were crude and flawed, but the need to perform such estimates was as irresistible in the thirteenth century as it is today.

After an abortive attempt in the 1320s<sup>98</sup>, nothing was accomplished to standardize metrology in France until the Revolutionary and Napoleonic governments imposed the metric system on the nation at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For historians the obstacles are twofold: an astounding diversity among regions and an instability over time. The great regional variety can be addressed through the conversion tables drawn up by the assessors in the early nineteenth century, but the instability over time nonetheless threatens to mask earlier changes. Early modern historians who have worked back through the data from 1800 tend to be optimistic about the stability of measures at least to the seventeenth century<sup>99</sup>. While some medievalists have shared this optimism<sup>100</sup>, seemingly insurmountable doubts have been recently raised about the validity of the 1800 figures for the medieval era – at least without undertaking painstaking research through the archives of the intervening period<sup>101</sup>. (Such research is excluded from this study by the large number of separate territories to be investigated, even granting that the data is available.) Despite these obstacles I shall nonetheless attempt to appraise value in the thirteenth century. By venturing hypotheses, I shall extrapolate data from the land-books to speculate on comparable orders of magnitude, accompanied by outside limits of possibility. Although lacuna can be detected, I take comfort in the supposition that the data is comparable to the degree that it was judged worthy to be

95 *ad arpenos Gonessie*, Livre de terres I, after no. 62; *acra ad percam de XVIII pedibus*, IV, nos. 32, 34, 35; *ad magnam percam*, IV, no. 37; *avene ad mensuram Troarni*, X, nos. 39, 40, 41, XI, no. 18; *ordei ad mensuram de Iz*, XII, no. 1; *frumenti ad mensuram de Maton*, XIV, no. 9; *frumenti ad mensuram ville* (Guilberville?), XVIII, no. 14.

96 See above n. 50 and 91.

97 See above n. 52.

98 Edgar BOUTARIC, *Etudes historiques: De poids et mesures au quatorzième siècle. – I. Tentative de Philippe le Long pour établir l'unité de poids et mesures (1321)*, in: *Revue des soc. savantes* 2<sup>ème</sup> série, 3 (1860) p. 320–324.

99 For a recent example, see Jean-Marc MORICEAU, *Les fermiers de l'Île-de-France, XV<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1994, p. 820–824.

100 Henri NAVAL, *Recherches sur les anciennes mesures agraires normandes, acres, vergées et perches*, in: *Bull. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de Normandie* 40 (1932) p. 29–183. FOURQUIN (n. 46 above) p. 49.

101 For a recent pessimistic view based on evidence from southern France, see Pierre PORTET, *Les mesures agraires d'Arles de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne: enquête sur la définition et évolution multi-séculaire d'un système métrologique*, Table Ronde CRA/CNRS, Avignon, 8–9 décembre, 1998. I thank the author for allowing me see his paper. Alain DERVILLE (*L'agriculture du Nord au moyen âge, Artois, Cambresis, Flandre Wallone*, Arras 1999, p. 11–13) has found both stability and change.

TABLE 3: SPECULATIVE APPRAISAL

Territory	arpent = hectare	hectares	census l. s. d.	bread @ 1d. l. s. d.	capons @ 4d. l. s. d.	hens @ 3d. l. s. d.
<b>Ile-de-France</b>						
			<i>in livres parisis</i>			
Gonesse (1208)	102 @ .51	52	13 2 -			
Gonesse (1219-1220)	262.5 @ .51	133.9				
Tessonville	11 @ .42	4.6	3 16 2		- 7 -	
Sarcelles	28.9 @ .34	9.8	3 1 5.5	- 1 3	- 8 4	
Total: Ile-de-France		200.3	19 19 7.5	- 1 3	- 15 4	
<b>Normandy - Pays-d'Auge</b>						
	<i>acre = hectare</i>		<i>in livres tournois</i>			
Fribois	35 @ .82	28.7	3 3 10	- 8 5	1 3 -	- 1 -
Mesnil-Mauger	42 @ .82	34.4	13 19 10	- 16 4	2 16 -	- 6 3
Percy	70.12 @ .82	57.5		- 1 1	- 2 8	- - 6
<b>Normandy - Caen region</b>						
Colleville	60.6 @ .61	37	3 1 4	- 2 6	- 7 4	- 5 6
Banneville	91 @ .97	88.3	2 18 2	- 5 4	- 16 8	- 12 6
Mondeville	102.8 @ .68	70		- 2 3	- 1 8	- 8 -
Bras			- 17 6		- 3 4	- 3 6
Saint-Contest			2 8 8		- 6 4	- 8 3
Mathieu	48.1 @ .49	23.6	1 8 6	- - 8	- 1 -	- 1 6
Caen	5.25 @ .61	3.2				
Falaise			27 17 5			
Guilberville	199 @ .55	109.5	10 7 3	- 2 11	- 1 4	- 8 9
Cheux			- 9 -			- - 6
Totals: Normandy		452.2	66 11 6	1 19 6	5 19 4	2 16 3
Totals: Pierre du Thillay		652.5				
<b>Norman Monasteries</b>						
Carpiquet	704.75 @ .61	429.9	3 14 3	- 1 -	2 13 -	- 8 -
Villons-les-Buissons	193 @ .61	117.3	4 7 2	- 1 4	- 9 8	- 4 6
Bretteville-Verson			138 13 7		1 5 4	2 10 -
Bavent	39.87 @ .55	21.9	- 4 -		- 7 -	1 9 -

Table 3: Speculative appraisal

- Sources: for Pierre du Thillay's lands, Tables 1 and 2; for Carpiquet, Villons-les-Buissons, and Bavent, Survey B in Charters and Customals of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Caen, ed. WALMSLEY (n. 49); for Bretteville-Verson, Etat des revenus de l'abbaye du Mont-Saint-Michel in DELISLE, Etudes (n. 49) p. 673-90.

- Prices: The prices for the Ile-de-France adopt those of Normandy except for wheat, oats, and barley which take the prices of the Premier budget of 1202/03 (n. 11) p. CLXI(1) and CLXXXII(1). Prices for Normandy are taken from the collection of DELISLE, Etudes (n. 49) p. 585-593, 596, 610-614, reexami-

geese @ 6d. l. s. d.	eggs @ 10 = 1d. l. s. d.	wheat 1 set. = 6 s.p. l. s. d.	oats 1 set. = 3 s.p. l. s. d.	barley 1 set. = 3 s.p. l. s. d.	other products l. s. d.	Totals l. s. d.	Land Productivity s./hectare
		18 - -	- 6 -	- 6 -		31 14 -	12.2
- 10 -		- 3 -	1 16 -	- 6 -		4 13 2	20.2
		6 6 0.5					12.9
- 10 -		18 3 -	2 2 -	- 6 -		42 3 2.5 l.p.	
						52 14 - l.t.	
-	- 5 5	1 set. = 16 s.t.	1 set. = 4 s.t.	1 set. = 4 s.t.		5 4 8	3.7
- 1 -	- 16 7	3 - -	- 3 -	- 5 8		23 6 8	13.6
	- - 10		- 5 -		2	- 12 1	0.2
		1 set. = 12 s.t.	1 set. = 2.5 s.t.	1 set. = 2.5 s.t.			
	- 3 6	25 10 -		- 7 1		29 17 3	16.1
	- 5 7	15 9 -	2 15 -	- 1 3		23 3 6	5.3
	- 2 7	13 7 -				14 1 6	4
	- 2 4			- 9 15		11 1 8	
	- 3 7	32 17 -	- 4 4	1 1 11		37 10 1	
	- 1 6			- 16 11		2 10 1	2.1
			1 10 -				
	- 3 1	2 5 -			- 11 -	29 18 5	
					1 1 -	14 9 4	2.6
						- 9 6	
- 1 -	2 5 -	92 8 -	6 2 4	12 7 10	1 14 -	192 4 9	
						244 18 9 l.t.	
- 7 6	- 12 5	193 3 -	13 15 6	16 13 7		231 - 11	10.8
- 6 -	- 3 1	43 19 -	1 10 -	1 - -		51 - 9	8.7
	- 6 8	756 12 -	- 15 -	94 17 6		995 1 -	
		1 set. = 16 s.t.	1 set. = 4 s.t.	1 set. = 4 s.t.			
	- 2 8	4 8 -	2 3 -	1 7 -		10 - 8	9.2

ned in CARABIE (n. 49) Appendix 2A; from the charter of 1207 of Philip Augustus for *Kauquainvillare*, Recueil des actes 2 (n. 6) no. 975. (There was a *Cachekienvilla* at Lécaude, Calvados, ar. Lisieux, c. Mézidon-Canon. Arch. dép. Calvados 2 D 116), and the charter of 1235 of Louis IX for Putot-en-Auge, Calvados, ar. Lisieux, c. Dozulé, Léopold DELISLE, Cartulaire normand de Philippe Auguste, Louis VIII, Saint Louis et Philippe le Hardi, Caen 1852, no. 410. For comparative purposes, see also the prices collected by Joseph STRAYER in Royal Domain (n. 54) p. 24-29 for the Seine valley in the 1260s. (For grain measures I adopt the divisions: 3 bushels = 1 quarter, 2 quarters = 1 mine, 2 mines = 1 setier, 12 setiers = 1 muid.)

recorded. Most important, by reducing the medieval data to commensurate hectares and money I can make rough evaluations and comparisons.

Estimating the size of land is simpler than calculating value. In the Ile-de-France Pierre du Thillay's land-book included figures in arpents for most of his lands. Three different land measures predominated in the region: arpent of Paris = 0.342 hectare, common arpent = 0.422, and royal arpent = 0.511. If I accept the conversions of 1800 that have been recently compiled by Mireille Touzery, I arrive at the results of Table 3<sup>102</sup>. The total of Pierre's ancestral lands may therefore be estimated at 200 hectares with the outside limits ranging from 137 to 206 hectares. The 1800 figure is probably closer to the truth because the greater part of Pierre's lands lay at Gonesse that most probably used the royal arpent. Since the Cistercians of Chaalis at their nearby grange of Vaulerent explicitly used the royal arpent, their 1000 arpents may be estimated at 511 hectares or two and a half times Pierre's holdings<sup>103</sup>. Pierre's original estate was comparable to that of his fellow bailli, Renaud de Béthisy, who between 1206 and 1211 cleared out 230–270 hectares from the forest of la Potière situated between Roye and Noyon. Whereas Renaud's land was newly farmed, Pierre's had doubtlessly been under cultivation for generations<sup>104</sup>. Although trans-Channel comparisons are perilous, Pierre's 200 hectares also approximates the five-hide knight's fief in England which according to traditional measures may be estimated at 243 hectares. The acreage of knights' fiefs varied widely in English practice, but nonetheless the five-hide fief appeared early in the twelfth century and served as a benchmark necessary to fulfill a knight's military service<sup>105</sup>. Pierre's ancestral lands in the Ile-de-France could not compete with the vast granges of the Cistercian and Benedictine houses, but in extent they shared the same order of magnitude of a well-endowed knight in France and England.

To estimate the hectares that the king and other patrons bestowed on Pierre in Normandy is more difficult. The nineteenth-century conversions of the Norman acre into hectares that Henri Naval collected are more numerous and vary more widely than in the Ile-de-France, and Pierre appears to have been less careful in recording all of his land. The acreage of some territories is omitted, and Saint-Loup-de-Fribois and Le Mesnil-Mauger, his chief lands, were doubtlessly under-reported.

102 Atlas historique et statistique des mesures agraires (fin XVIII<sup>e</sup>–début XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles), 3 Ile-de-France, Caen 1997.

103 HIGOUNET, Grange de Vaulerent (n. 47 above) p. 35–37, 69. I accept 0.511 as the royal arpent rather than the 0.43 used by Higounet. FOURQUIN (n. 46 above) p. 138 estimates that in the fourteenth century Saint-Denis's grange at Tremblay farmed 4,000 arpents or 1688 hectares at the 1800 conversion.

104 Charles HIGOUNET, Un nouveau domaine laïc du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: la cense de La Potière, in: Villa-Curtis-Grangia: Landwirtschaft zwischen Loire und Rhein von der Römerzeit zum Hochmittelalter, ed. Walter JANSSEN and Dietrich LOHRMANN (Beihefte der Francia, 11), München 1983, p. 260–269.

105 An English knight's fee could vary from 2 to 190 hides, but five hides was considered customary in the twelfth century. Sally HARVEY, The Knight and the Knight's Fee in England, in: Past and Present 49 (1970) p. 133, 160. A hide was 120 acres. If we take the traditional English equivalent of 1 acre = .40467 hectares, five hides came to 242.802 hectares. Frederic William MAITLAND, Domesday Book and Beyond, Boston 1897, p. 371. On the ideal of the five-hide fief, see Michael POWICKE, Military Obligations in Medieval England, Oxford 1962, p. 29–32, 73.

(Only the meadows and lands of bordars were measured.) The recorded acreage is therefore a minimal figure. Converted into hectares at the 1800 rates, the results appear in Table 3. Since the Norman total of 450 hectares (the outside limits of 320 and 634 are too disparate to be of use) is two and a half times greater than his family heritage, he appears to have been well endowed by the king and other Norman lords. Of the six territories that furnish complete land statistics, Guilberville (110 hectares), Banneville (88 hectares), and Mondeville (70 hectares) were the largest, but not one equalled Gonesse even after Pierre had made his donations to the Hôtel-Dieu. Nor did any one compete with the Trinité's large estates at Carpiquet (430 hectares), Tassilly (313 hectares) and Montbouin (295 hectares), not to speak of the total of 2500 hectares that Trinité recorded in Survey B from nineteen estates fifty years earlier<sup>106</sup>. As in the Ile-de-France the holdings of a powerful royal bailli were over-shadowed by those of rich, neighboring monasteries. The total of Pierre's recorded land approached the figure of 653 hectares.

The most difficult task is to convert the revenue (*redditus*) into monetary terms. In addition to the money income, all the land books I have been using record important revenues in kind. (Since Pierre du Thillay's inventory contained little revenue for the Ile-de-France, as has been seen, I have been obliged to speculate indirectly from the size of donations.) In thirteenth-century Normandy, however, Saint-Etienne de Caen converted its income into coin, and Archbishop Eudes of Rouen requested monetary estimates of the annual incomes of the monasteries of his province. To follow their example I shall look for contemporary and representative prices of the various commodities in Normandy. These can be more valid for the *regarda* of bread, fowl, and eggs that were assessed as units. The most illusive are the grain prices that not only fluctuated over seasons but, most important, varied according to regions because the grain measures were of different dimensions. Locating a contemporary price from a specific region, however, bypasses the problem of differing measures, since it presumably takes into account the size of the measure. Prices at the appropriate time and place are nonetheless difficult to obtain. Never are they found in land books themselves, rarely in charters, and most frequently in domanial accounts but these survive only sporadically. My prices for Caen region were largely compiled by Léopold Delisle (who in turned relied on the Anglo-Norman ducal accounts), supplemented by charters from Philip Augustus and Louis IX for the Pays-d'Auge in 1207 and 1235<sup>107</sup>. Late medieval evidence suggests that the grain measures of Caen dominated the region surrounding the city, but not as far east as the Pays-d'Auge<sup>108</sup>. Assigning a specific price per commodity is, of course, arbitrary and ignores the phenomenon of fluctuating prices, but my goal is to establish an approximate order of magnitude permitted by the comparative value of commodities.

106 These estimates are calculated from Naval's conversions (n. 100 above).

107 See the sources to Table 3.

108 François NEVEUX, Villages et villes de Normandie à la fin du moyen âge: Le cas des villages entre Caen, Bayeux, and Falaise, in: Villages et villageois au moyen âge (Société des historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement supérieur public, Série histoire ancienne et médiévale, 26), Paris 1992, p. 149-160.



The results of these speculative calculations appear on Table 3. If my hypotheses are realistic, Pierre du Thillay's Norman estates brought him 58% of his revenues in grain, 35% in cash, and 7% in *regarda* (counted in discrete units). Of the first category wheat accounted for 48% of his income. As in land size, the original territories of Fribois and Le Mesnil-Mauger were undoubtedly under-reported for unknown reasons. Combined with Banneville their income of 52 livres tournois did not approach the 70 livres annual income that the king anticipated in 1206. Of the others Saint-Contest (38 livres), Colleville-Montgomery (30 livres), and Banneville-la-Compagne (23 livres) were the most lucrative, doubtlessly due to wheat production. Bras (11 livres) was especially rich in barley. Falaise brought him 30 livres most of which was from money rents. Although Guilberville was the largest in reported land (110 hectares), it yielded only 14 livres in income.

Thanks to a common format, Pierre's income can be compared to those lands that monasteries possessed in the regions of Caen and the Pays-d'Auge where I can employ the same price coefficients. The Trinité's small manor at Bavent in the Pays-d'Auge yielded only 10 livres, but the larger Villons-les-Buissons between Mathieu and Saint-Contest produced 51 livres, thanks to its wheat crop. Its chief territory at Carpiquet lying to the west of Caen near Cheux, however, yielded the impressive sum of 228 livres, again due to its grain production. This region occupying the »plaine de Caen« must have been unusually fertile because in 1247 Mont-Saint-Michel's contiguous domains at Bretteville-sur-Odon and Verson produced the enormous income of 995 livres, realized primarily from wheat and barley.

For those territories that reported acreage, I can calculate land productivity in terms of sous per hectare. Pierre's most productive lands lay in the Ile-de-France with the small holding at Tessonville (4.6 hectares) earning the most (20.2 sous parisis/hectare). The lands donated at Gonesse in 1208 and at Sarcelles gained 12 sous parisis/hectare, more than most of the Norman territories. (Figures are unavailable for the remaining lands at Gonesse, the core of Pierre's inheritance.) In Normandy only Colleville was comparable (16 sous tournois = 13 sous parisis), but it outperformed the Trinité's estates at Carpiquet (11 sous tournois) and Villons-les-Buissons (9 sous tournois). The yield of 14 sous tournois for Le Mesnil-Mauger is probably too high since its acreage is under-reported. Unfortunately no land estimates survive for the rich lands at Saint-Contest and Bretteville-Verson. Pierre's other estates, for which information exists report lower yields from 6 to 2 sous, not matching the Trinité's small manor at Bavent (9 sous).

I have arrived at a total annual revenue of 192 livres tournois for Pierre du Thillay's Norman lands. It is not yet possible to assess the total revenues for the nuns of the Trinité and the monks of Mont-Saint-Michel because much of their lands lay outside the Caenais and Pays-d'Auge regions, but in 1250 Archbishop Eudes estimated their annual income along with other houses in the neighborhood:

Trinité de Caen (65 nuns)	2500 livres tournois
Saint-Etienne de Caen (54 monks)	4000
Mont-Saint-Michel (40 monks)	5000
Sainte-Barbe (40 canons)	2000
Troarn (44 monks)	3000
Saint-Amand de Rouen (44 nuns)	1200

As in the Ile-de-France, the royal bailli may be situated at an order of magnitude far below the neighboring monks. On the other hand 192 livres tournois nearly tripled Philip Augustus's estimate of 70 *librata* to be realized from royal gifts in 1206. It was nearly two and half times the amount (20 *librata* sterling = 80 livres tournois) considered ideal for endowing a knight's fief in England. Over the twelfth century the 20 *librata* figure replaced the five-hides because a money income was considered more useful for assessments than land size. Like the land measure it was a benchmark since actual fiefs varied widely<sup>109</sup>. The only aggregate information on income from knights' fiefs available in France comes from a survey conducted by Thibaut IV, count of Champagne, in 1252 and studied for the region of Troyes by Theodore Evergates. The 432 fiefs surveyed ranged from one to 200 *librata terre* tournois, but over half were worth 20 livres or less<sup>110</sup>. In these terms Pierre du Thillay's Norman income of 192 livres tournois placed him at the top of the scale in Champagne and his total income from the Ile-de-France and Normandy of 245 livres tournois made him an extremely rich knight befitting his position as a favored royal bailli.

The statistics of this last section are admittedly conjectural. Not until the appearance of estate accounts can more reliable figures be obtained on income, but these accounts are limited to monasteries in France (Saint-Denis in 1229, for example) and in England where they abound<sup>111</sup>. The conclusions of this section are based on hypotheses: that the conversions of land size of 1800 were reasonably stable as maintained for Normandy by Henri Naval and for the Ile-de-France by Guy Fourquin and do not distort the thirteenth-century land measures beyond recognition; that prices uncovered at the time and place of the land books can represent the medieval market; although arbitrary, that these prices may be commensurate one to the other (wheat to oats to barley, for example, capons to hens); and that the areas for which I lack prices did not employ grain measures that differed significantly from the ones I have uncovered. These hypotheses are of consequence, and exceptions are more easily detected than generalities; nonetheless, this study seeks to bring to light orders of magnitude of wealth and thus address the promise of a precocious land-book of a French knight and a royal bailli of the early thirteenth century.

109 POWICKE (n. 105 above) p. 73. Frank STENTON, *First Century of English Feudalism, 1066–1166*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Oxford 1961, p. 168. Thomas K. KEEFE, *Feudal Assessments and the Political Community under Henry II and his Sons*, Berkeley 1983, p. 23.

110 Theodore EVERGATES, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes under the Counts of Champagne, 1152–1284*, Baltimore 1975, p. 69–81.

111 AN LL 1240 (fragmentary) analyzed in FOURQUIN (n. 46 above) p. 154–155. On the English monastic accounts that abound in the thirteenth century, see HARVEY (n. 48 above) p. 25–41. It is true that income can be assessed from a scattering of lay estate accounts in England and from wardships, escheats, and inquisitions found in royal documentation, but apparently knight's incomes have yet to be studied systematically in England.