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ROYAL COMMISSIONERS AND GRANTS OF PRIVILEGE
IN PHILIP THE FAIR'S FRANCE:
PIERRE DE LATILLI, RAOUL DE BREUILLI, AND
THE ORDONNANCE FOR THE SENESCHALSY OF TOULOUSE
AND ALBI OF 1299

From the spring of 1297 through the early summer of 1298 Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli served as special commissioners of Philip the Fair in the seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi¹. There they negotiated taxes and loans for Philip's wars, collected a variety of payments owed to the king, investigated illegal activities of royal agents and others, and sold, first, exemptions from prosecution to individuals charged with crimes and violating royal rights, and, second, a formidable array of privileges to many communities. By the time they returned to Paris, they had raised impressive sums of money. They had also created a storm of protest, so that, by the middle of 1298, the royal court had been visited by representatives of communities which felt particularly aggrieved by the treatment they had received. A series of suits resulted, and numerous documents detailing the communities' charges and the commissioners' responses were recorded.

This last aspect of the mission of Pierre and Raoul has received most attention from historians, most notably in a classic study published by Charles-Victor Langlois in 1907². It has tarnished the reputations not only of Pierre and Raoul, but also of the government of Philip the Fair and its investigatory agents. Joseph R. Strayer, for example, referred to their mission as a »raid«³, and John B. Henneman has described it as typical of »the rough methods by which the officials of Philip IV sought to collect

1 For introducing me to this subject and for his continued advice over the years, I am deeply grateful to the late Charles Holt Taylor, to whose memory I dedicate this article. I am indebted to the late Robert Fawtier and to François Maillard for their assistance in locating essential material for this article. My thanks are also due to the Director of the Archives départementales of the Tarn, who facilitated my work with the documents of the communal archives of Cordes, now deposited at Albi. I have also profited from the counsel of Alan M. Friedlander, Jean Glénisson, John B. Henneman, Michael F. Hynes, Alfred Soman, Joseph R. Strayer, Charles M. Radding, Teofilo F. Ruiz, and Nancy A. Vighetti. The preparation of this article has been made possible by generous grants from The Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Radcliffe College, The American Association of University Women, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Council of Learned Societies, the PSC-BHE Research Award Program of the City University of New York, and by sabbatical leaves given me by Brooklyn College. As always, the staffs of the Archives nationales and the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, of Butler Library of Columbia University, and of the New York Public Library have provided invaluable assistance.

2 Charles-Victor LANGLOIS, *Les doléances des communautés du Toulousain contre Pierre de Latilli et Raoul de Breuilli (1297-1298)*, in: *Revue historique* 95 (1907) p. 23-53.

3 Joseph R. STRAYER, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, Princeton 1980, p. 404-405, 411; see also 65-66, 91.

money for the royal treasury⁴. Because of the variety of revenues these royal officers collected, their work has been interpreted as foreshadowing the activities of later royal agents entrusted with multiple functions, which included, as those performed by Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli did not, reform and judicial inquest. Although Pierre and Raoul lacked such powers, their mission has been seen as epitomizing the change in the nature of royal reform after the days of Saint Louis and Alfonse of Poitiers, when reform commissions were issued to protect the rights of the king's subjects⁵.

If, however, one looks beyond the dossier of grievances, a different and more complex picture of the mission of Pierre and Raoul emerges. The rich documentation produced by and in response to the activities of these royal commissioners provides valuable information about the interaction of royal government and local communities at the end of the thirteenth century. It demonstrates the variety of tactics the king was forced to use to fund his wars. It shows the importance of money at the turn of the fourteenth century, when the financial needs of the government led to the sale of justice and of privileges. Further, the outcome of the mission reveals the government's willingness not only to acknowledge but also to profit from its agents' mistakes. If the mission produced an official investigation and suits before the king's justices, it also resulted in the royal ordonnance for the Toulousain and Albi of 1299, which brought the government 200 000 l. t. in return for a variety of privileges, similar to those which Pierre and Raoul had offered to individual communities, but here awarded to the whole seneschalsy. Further, the complaints roused by the mission of Pierre and Raoul caused the government of Philip the Fair to pay more attention than before to reform, and to recognize the wisdom of dispatching agents charged not only with enforcing royal rights but also with reprimanding royal officials and improving the quality of local royal government. After 1298 Philip vastly expanded his use of reforming officials, from an average of one such mission every two years before 1297 to an average of two each year for the rest of his reign.

The mission of Pierre and Raoul was launched during a critical period in the reign of Philip the Fair. It began three years after the outbreak of conflict with the English over the duchy of Gascony, in the very year when the count of Flanders allied with Edward I of England and war began to be waged on two fronts⁶. The king needed funds for his campaigns, and Pierre and Raoul were dispatched to the south to secure money from the inhabitants of the Toulousain. A truce was concluded on 9 October 1297 at Vyve-Saint-Bavon and renewed on 28 January 1298 at Saint-Martin of Tournai, but the king's need for funds was not greatly lessened. In the absence of open

4 John B. HENNEMAN, «Enquêteurs-Réformateurs» and Fiscal Officers in Fourteenth-Century France, in: *Traditio* 24 (1964) p. 315. See also Jean FAVIER, *Philippe le Bel*, Paris 1978, p. 86–91. Favier points out that the king badly needed money for the Gascon war and acknowledges that certain procedures may have been unavoidable. The degree of constraint that the commissioners exercised he terms, however, intolerable and persecutory; the section of his book in which he deals with their mission is entitled «L'arbitraire».

5 Claude de VIC and Jean-Joseph VAISSÈTE, *Histoire générale de Languedoc, avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, ed. Auguste MOLINIER, 15 vol., Toulouse 1872–93, 9, p. 207, n. 4 (MOLINIER), and cf. HENNEMAN (see n. 4) p. 309–11.

6 For Philip the Fair's wars with the English and the Flemings see Frantz FUNCK-BRENTANO, *Les origines de la Guerre de Cent Ans. Philippe le Bel en Flandre*, Paris 1897.

warfare, however, his ability to demand financial support was severely restricted, and thus his agents in the south were forced to employ a variety of expedients to secure the funds required by the government. Such developments, however, lay in the future when, in the spring of 1297, plans for the mission were formulated. Just four months before, the count of Flanders and Edward I of England had concluded an offensive alliance against Philip the Fair, who immediately began to prepare to invade Flanders. On 22 April 1297 one mandate was issued, on 8 May 1297 another⁷. These letters were addressed to Pierre de Latilli, then canon of Soissons and royal clerk, to Guichard de Marzi, seneschal of Toulouse and royal knight, and to Gautier des Roches⁸, royal knight, or to any two of them. By 14 July, however, Gautier had fallen ill and hence was replaced by Raoul de Breuilli, another royal knight⁹.

The three royal commissioners who were to work in the seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi were experienced administrators, and two of them – Guichard de Marzi and Raoul de Breuilli – knew the Languedoc well. As to Pierre de Latilli, he was becoming a figure of some importance in the central government. Later to be keeper of the seals and bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, he had been in royal service since at least 1292, when he had collected fines for the acquisition of noble property by ecclesiastics and non-nobles in the bailliage of Gisors¹⁰. By 1296 he was also a member of the Parlement of Paris¹¹. Raoul de Breuilli, having served as bailli of Caux in Normandy from 1278–86, was, between 1287 and 1290, seneschal of Périgord and Quercy¹². Guichard de Marzi, seneschal of Toulouse and Albi since 1296, had come to that post from Périgord and Quercy, where he was seneschal between 1294 and 1296, at the same time as his brother Dalmas was involved with the king's campaign against Gascony¹³.

7 Jean GUIRAUD, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Prouille, précédé d'une étude sur l'albigéisme languedocien aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, 2 vol., Paris 1907, 1, p. 73, no. 108; VIC and VAISSÈTE (see n. 5) 10, preuves, col. 344–45, no. 92, from Paris, Archives nationales, JJ 33, fol. 23v, no. 31, for which see Robert FAWTIER, with Jean GLÉNISSON and Jean GUEROUT, *Registres du Trésor des Chartes*, 1, Règne de Philippe le Bel, Paris 1958, no. 132.

8 Given as »de Ruppibus« in the first mandate and as »de Ruppe« in the second, his name is rendered as »Gautier de Roches« and as »Gautier de la Roche« in FAWTIER (see n. 7) no. 132 and index, s. v.

9 ... *corporali impedimento detentus*: GUIRAUD (see n. 7) 1, p. 73, no. 109. Gautier was dead by 15 October 1303. A royal letter of that date dealt with an assignment of 1500 l. t. of annual income granted to Jean de Bourgogne, brother of Othon de Bourgogne, which had been delayed by Gautier's death: FAWTIER (see n. 7) no. 36.

10 *Inventaire d'anciens comptes royaux dressés par Robert Mignon sous le règne de Philippe de Valois*, ed. Charles-Victor LANGLOIS, Paris 1899 (*Recueil des historiens de la France, Documents financiers*, 1) no. 1848.

11 STRAYER (see n. 3) p. 69, especially n. 2, and 79, 98, 161; Franklin J. PEGUES, *The Lawyers of the Last Capetians*, Princeton 1962, p. 57–58, 112–20, and, for Pierre's trial following the death of Philip the Fair, 67–74.

12 Joseph R. STRAYER, *Les gens de justice du Languedoc sous Philippe le Bel*, Toulouse 1970 (*Cahiers de l'Association Marc Bloch de Toulouse, Etudes d'histoire méridionale*) p. 134; and *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin BOUQUET et al., 24 vol., Paris 1738–1904, 24, part 1, p. *113, *213–14.

13 On Guichard, see STRAYER (see n. 12) p. 135, 166. For Dalmas, see *Comptes royaux (1284–1314)*, ed. Robert FAWTIER and François MAILLARD, 3 vol., Paris 1953–56 (*Recueil des historiens de la France, Documents financiers*, 3) nos. 12356, 26943, 26946–47; and François MAILLARD, *Les mouvements administratifs des baillis et des sénéchaux de 1314 à 1328*, in: *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1963, p. 901 for his service as regent of the seneschalsy of Toulouse on 21 August 1316 (cf. *Recueil* [see n. 12] 24, part 1, p. *264); and see STRAYER

Guichard was seneschal of Toulouse until, by 12 June 1301, he was replaced by Blain Le Loup. In the summer of 1297 he was named one of the king's chief captains in the war against Gascony, and thus he could not fully attend to his duties in the seneschalsy of Toulouse, where he often relied on his brother, Hugues, canon of Lyon, to act as his lieutenant¹⁴.

It seems unlikely that Gautier des Roches was ever directly involved with the work of the commissioners in the south, although he may possibly have become ill after reaching the Toulousain. Raoul de Breuilli did not participate in the first act known to have been completed by the commissioners on 20 August 1297 at Toulouse and executed by Pierre de Latilli and Guichard de Marzi, but, on 29 August 1297 at Toulouse, Raoul and Pierre dealt with the next case for which evidence survives¹⁵. Thus he may well have been working with Pierre de Latilli from the beginning. Because of the involvement of Guichard de Marzi in military operations in Gascony, Pierre and Raoul were chiefly responsible for executing the king's orders, and Pierre directed the operations. It was he through whom contact with the royal court was maintained, while Raoul was left to supervise negotiations in the Toulousain¹⁶.

The royal officials were later referred to as »dispatched to conserve and inquire into the rights of the king«, and this title encompasses the various powers they are known to have been given¹⁷. The two mandates that have survived delineate a number of specific functions; other tasks may have been assigned them in additional mandates, now lost. In the royal letter of 22 April 1297, they were empowered to receive payments from ecclesiastics, non-nobles, and corporate groups (*collegia* and *universitates*) for property acquired in royal fiefs and rear-fiefs¹⁸. They were also authorized to

(see n. 12) p. 101, and Recueil (see n. 12) 24, part 1, p. *258 for his position as regent of the seneschalsy of Carcassonne in August 1319.

14 STRAYER (see n. 12) p. 167; François MAILLARD, *Mouvements administratifs des baillis et des sénéchaux sous Philippe le Bel*, in: *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1959, p. 419; note, however, that Blain Le Loup is not known to have been seneschal of Toulouse before 12 June 1301 (see Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Doat 80, fol. 115–16). See below at n. 133 for the ordinance which Guichard issued as seneschal on 20 March 1301. For evidence of his activity in the Gascon campaigns see FAWTIER (see n. 7) nos. 441–43; VIC and VAISSÈTE (see n. 5) 9, p. 202–203. For Hugues's service as his brother's lieutenant, see Comptes (see n. 13) nos. 10874, 10881, 10885, 11052, 11956–57, 11962–63, 11968, 11982, 12002, 12077, 12083–85, and (for a record of a payment of 120 l. t. which he made to Pierre de Latilli, for which Pierre accounted on 22 May 1298) no. 12091.

15 FAWTIER (see n. 7) no. 132, confirmed at Paris in December 1300; GUIRAUD (see n. 7) 1, p. 73–75, nos. 107–109.

16 Replying to the charges of the consuls of Fanjeaux, Raoul de Lalande, *domesticus et familiaris* of Raoul de Breuilli, testified on 14 October 1298 that Pierre had traveled between the royal court and the Toulousain more than once: *quando ibat in franciam / prima vice qua iuit post dictam compositionem in franciam*: Paris, Archives nationales, J 1032B, no. 17, second sheet.

17 ... *pro perquirendis & conseruandis Iuribus dicti dominj Regis destinatus*, referring to Pierre de Latilli in the letter he and Guichard de Marzi issued on 20 August 1300, confirmed by the king in December 1300: Paris, Archives nationales, JJ 38, fol. 23v, no. 31. In documents connected with the southern communities' charges against Pierre and Raoul, the commissioners were said, similarly, to have been ... *destinati pro vestris iuribus perquirendis et conseruandis*: *ibid.* J 896, no. 29, first sheet. Cf. STRAYER (see n. 3) p. 411, n. 104.

18 GUIRAUD (see n. 7) 1, p. 73, no. 108, and LAURENT, BLOCH, and Jules DOINEL, *Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Aude. Archives ecclésiastiques. Séries G et H*, 3, Carcassonne 1900, p. 302–303. For background on these payments, see Gérard SAUTEL, *Note sur la*

sell unprofitable royal property. Further, they were given extensive powers to arrange compositions regarding rights, justice, and jurisdictional authority disputed between the king and other parties in the seneschalsy¹⁹.

The mandate the commissioners received on 8 May 1297 was different in emphasis, defining as it did the power to dispose of royal property given them in the first letter. In it the king commanded them to deal with royal property in the seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi which had fallen to him and been forfeited for crimes²⁰ and which owed annual payments (*cens*) to him or others, property which was not yielding substantial return because the lands were uninhabited or uncultivated. The officials were authorized to sell or alienate such property, although they were instructed to retain a suitable annual payment (*cens*) from all property burdened with such dues²¹. This aspect of their mission seems to have been relatively unimportant, although the first known act of the commissioners was accomplished by virtue of this letter. On 20 August 1297 Pierre de Latilli and Guichard de Marzi sold for 66 l. p. t. property located in Cambiac which had been confiscated from two brothers who, accused of homicide, had fled the region²².

At some point the commissioners must have been authorized, either orally or in writing, to undertake certain tasks connected with the king's wars. Pierre de Latilli may have been involved with seeing to the delivery of supplies from the south even before the commissions were issued, for items regarding shipments to Rouen in February 1297 were included in one of the accounts he submitted on 22 May 1298²³.

formation du droit royal d'amortissement (XIII^e-XIV^e siècles), in: *Etudes d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras*, 2 vol., Paris 1965, 1, p. 689-704, and Marie-Elisabeth CARREAU, *Les commissaires royaux aux amortissements et aux nouveaux acquêts sous les Capétiens, 1275-1328*, in: *Positions des thèses de l'École des Chartes*, 1953, p. 19-22. For the ordonnance governing the payments, issued by Philip the Fair in the All Saints' Parlement of 1291, see *Ordonnances des roys de France de la troisième race*, ed. Eusèbe-Jacob de LAURIÈRE et al., 22 vol. and Supplement, Paris 1723-1839, 1, p. 322-24, and n. 43 below.

19 ... *de compositionibus faciendis super juribus, justiciis et jurisdictionibus contensiosis inter nos et personas quascumque in partibus supradictis, de quibus compositionem fieri expedire noveritis*: GUIRAUD (see n. 7) 1, p. 73.

20 ... *quedam res, domus terre & possessiones, nobis commisse seu incurse in senescallia Tholose & Albiensi, in nostris et alienis scituata censivis*: VIC and VAISSÈTE (see n. 5) 10, preuves, 344; note, in the mandate of 22 April, ... *vendendi pro nobis et nomine nostro terras, possessiones et res alias immobiles vel minus utiles, de quibus noveritis, que ad nos, ratione incursum, in predictis partibus devenerint*: GUIRAUD (see n. 7) 1, p. 73. LANGLOIS ([see n. 2] p. 23) translates the phrase *commisse seu incurse* as »encours d'hérésie«, but the word *incurse* has broader connotations; see Paris, Archives nationales, J 896, no. 38 for an explicit reference to *incuribus heretice pravitatis* in a petition which the seneschal of Rouergue, Guillaume de Combreaux, addressed to the king between 1296 and 1299; and the letter of Pierre de Latilli and Guichard de Marzi of 20 August 1297 referring to *incursum ... pro quodam homicidio ... ut dicitur perpetrato*: *ibid.* JJ 38, fol. 23v, no. 31. See also Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, n. acq. lat. 2391, no. 6 (Comptes [see n. 13] no. 26016) for a similar confiscation accomplished *ut incursum domino Regi pro quodam homicidio ... imposito*, regarding which Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli arranged a composition *pro habenda deliberatione bonorum suorum immobilium* despite the fact that the party in question had been absolved by the official of Toulouse; this sum was paid in 1298.

21 VIC and VAISSÈTE (see n. 5) 10, preuves, col. 344-45, no. 92.

22 FAWTIER (see n. 7) no. 132. Cambiac is 32 kilometers southeast of Toulouse (Haute-Garonne, ar. Toulouse, c. Caraman). This is the only act the commissioners are known to have accomplished by virtue of the mandate of 8 May 1297.

23 MIGNON (see n. 10) no. 2287.

As has been seen, Guichard de Marzi acted as one of the king's chief captains in Gascony after June 1297, and both Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli provided supplies for the army in Gascony while they were working in the Toulousain²⁴. To this end they received huge sums from the royal moneyers in Toulouse and in Sommières near Nîmes – 33 280 l. t. from the former, and 55 088 l. 12 s. t. from the latter, a grand total of 88 368 l. 12 s. t.²⁵. Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli also collected income owed to the king outside the seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi – from the seneschalsies of Carcassonne, Beaucaire, Périgord and Quercy, and Rouergue²⁶ – at least some of which may have been channelled to the Gascon army²⁷. Further, the men contracted loans for the king. The nunnery of Prouille lent Pierre de Latilli money for the king²⁸, and Pierre and Raoul borrowed from the executors of Louis of Anjou, bishop of Toulouse (who died on 19 August 1297) 20 10 l. 12 s. t.²⁹. The latter sum the commissioners received »for provisions for the Gascon war«³⁰, and the money they borrowed from Prouille may have been used for the same purpose³¹.

The two royal commissioners also levied war subsidy in the seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi. They were credited with raising 21 986 l. 2 s. t., of which Pierre and Raoul retained 2000 l. t., turning the remainder over to the treasurer of Toulouse³². Perhaps because of his prior work in the seneschalsy of Périgord and Quercy, Raoul de Breuilli assisted the seneschal, Gui Chevrier, in raising the subsidy there. When Robert

24 Ibid. nos. 2390, 2393; see also *Les journaux du Trésor de Philippe IV le Bel*, ed. Jules-Edouard-M. VIARD, Paris 1940, (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de la France) no. 699 for the expenses of Pierre de Latilli in Gascony, audited on 22 May 1298.

25 VIARD, *Journaux* (see n. 24) nos. 559, 2266, 3128; see MIGNON (see n. 10) no. 2392, for a reference to *lucro monetarum Sumidrii*.

26 MIGNON (see n. 10) no. 2392, and VIARD, *Journaux* (see n. 24) no. 1354.

27 Not all the money the men received had been disposed of while they were in the south. On 28 October 1298 Pierre de Latilli delivered to the treasury in Paris 11 170 l. t., most of which he had obtained from the receiver of Rouergue: VIARD, *Journaux* (see n. 24) no. 1354. According to STRAYER (see n. 3, p. 161), in 1297 Pierre de Latilli was involved in raising the ecclesiastical double tenth for the king in the dioceses of Albi and Rodez; on the tax see Joseph R. STRAYER, *Consent to Taxation under Philip the Fair*, in: Joseph R. STRAYER and Charles H. TAYLOR, *Studies in Early French Taxation*, Cambridge, Mass. 1939 (Harvard Historical Monographs, 12) p. 30–32.

28 GUIRAUD (see n. 7) 1, p. 86, no. 114, a royal letter dated 15 October 1298. The amount of this loan is unknown, but a royal mandate of 29 May 1298 testified that, for the Gascon wars, the house had advanced the king 4483 l. 7 s.: A. SABARTHÈS and Joseph POUX, *Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Aude. Archives ecclésiastiques. Séries G et H Additions*, 4, Carcassonne 1925, p. 96 (H 465).

29 VIARD, *Journaux* (see n. 24) no. 5744, for the repayment of the sum on 16 December 1301. From this debt were deducted 1867 l. 4 s. t. for the double tenth of 1297, which shows that the commissioners had not taken the money in connection with this levy. See *Comptes* (see n. 13) no. 11784, for a notation in the accounts of the seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi for 15 May 1298 – 24 June 1299 regarding the payment of debts of 1257 l. t. owed by the bishop.

30 ... *pro garnisionibus guerre Vasconie*: VIARD, *Journaux* (see n. 24) no. 5744.

31 See MIGNON (see n. 10) no. 2392 for evidence of contact between the royal agents and Gui, count of Saint-Pol, who, with Raoul de Nesle, was directing military operations in Flanders in 1298–99 (ibid. nos. 2544–45). While the commissioners were working in the south, the count of Saint-Pol made a trip to Rome and received from Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli a mule worth 40 l. t.

32 Ibid. no. 2391.

Mignon compiled his inventory in the 1320s, 17983 l. 7 s. 3 d. remained to be collected of the larger sum the two men had imposed³³.

On what basis Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli raised these subsidies is unknown. Like royal commissioners in Carcassonne, Beaucaire, and Rouergue, they may have been instructed to collect the fiftieth (from those with less than 1000 l. t.) and twenty-fifth (from those with more than this) being imposed throughout the kingdom³⁴. In other parts of the south, however, money was being asked either in the form of hearth taxes or as payment in lieu of military service³⁵, and it seems clear that the commissioners in the seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi attempted to secure money in place of military service³⁶. The situation was complicated following the conclusion of the truce of Vyve-Saint-Bavon on 9 October 1297, since a state of war no longer existed. After this date, the commissioners could not collect subsidy for the royal armies; thereafter payments connected directly with the king's campaigns had to be levied as fines for delinquent service. Thus, in January 1298 the consuls of Verdun-sur-Garonne obtained a certificate from Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli stating that they had made amends for themselves and for all the inhabitants of the community who had failed to serve in the army. In later negotiations with the communities of the Toulousain, Pierre and Raoul attempted with some success to impose similar fines³⁷.

The commission of 22 April 1297 was vaguely phrased and therefore flexible. The power to negotiate compositions regarding royal rights, justice, and jurisdictional authority disputed by inhabitants of the seneschalsy could be used for a variety of purposes. It proved particularly valuable after the conclusion of the truce of Vyve-Saint-Bavon, since it enabled the commissioners to negotiate agreements producing substantial revenue for the government. Their mandate did not include power to institute reform and investigate the activities of other royal officials – powers which

33 Ibid. no. 2395, and see VIARD, *Journaux* (see n. 24) no. 5227 for the account of Raoul de Breuilli *de viis Tholose et Petragoricii* [sic], submitted on 20 September 1301.

34 For the terms of the levy, see VIC and VAISSÈTE (see n. 5) 10, preuves, col. 345–46, no. 93 and also Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Doat 145, fol. 87v–88 (a protest lodged by the consuls of Millau which refers to *vicesimam quintam partem omnium bonorum hominum habitantium in dicta villa Amiliaui habentium ultra mille libras et quinquagesimam partem habentium in bonis mille libras et infra*). Cf. STRAYER (see n. 27) p. 50–52.

35 For redemption of military service see Germain MOUYNÈS, *Ville de Narbonne. Inventaire des Archives communales antérieures à 1790. Annexes de la Série AA (Actes constitutifs et politiques de la commune)*, Narbonne 1871, p. 178–79, no. CVIII; for demands for hearth taxes, see VIC and VAISSÈTE (see n. 5) 10, preuves, col. 345–46, no. 93, and J. ROUQUETTE and A. VILLEMAGNE, with C. GUICHARD, *Cartulaire de Maguelone*, 7 vol., Montpellier and Paris 1912–27, 3, p. 754, no. MXLII. This tax will be discussed in the study of the royal ordonnance of April 1297 for Rouergue which Alan M. Friedlander and I are now completing.

36 MIGNON (see n. 10) nos. 2391 (an account concerning *subventio ... procurata in senescallia Tholose pro exercitu predicto*) and no. 2393 (an account containing various items including *exercitus*).

37 M. DEVALS AÎNÉ, *Inventaire-sommaire des Archives communales antérieures à 1790 de Verdun-sur-Garonne (Tarn-et-Garonne)*, Montauban 1875, Série EE. Verdun-sur-Garonne is in the Tarn-et-Garonne, ar. Montauban, ch. l. c., 22 kilometers southwest of Montauban. For similar fines see LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 30, 32.

were explicitly bestowed on Pierre de Monci and Guillaume Aycelin, sent to the Rouergue on 2 September 1296³⁸ – nor had they been authorized to settle and determine cases at law. On the other hand, their ability to arrange compositions made it possible for them to turn to the king's profit numerous charges which had not been finally resolved in court.

The commissioners dealt with a number of cases involving malfeasance. Since their actions promised to produce gain for the king, they pursued reform and justice as diligently as royal officials formally commissioned for such purposes³⁹. The first case which Pierre and Raoul are known to have settled concerned, for example, a royal officer, the late Master Jean d'Aurillac, former chief bayle of Fanjeaux and Lauragais. Since he had died, they entered into negotiations with his chief legatee, the monastery of Prouille. The accusations against Jean included charges that he had performed his duties both badly and negligently, that he had failed to guard the king's rights, that he had not accounted properly for his receipts, that he had usurped royal property, and that he had bequeathed 100 l. to certain natural children »born of a damnable and nefarious union«⁴⁰. Perhaps to atone for his lapses, Master Jean, before dying, had made the house of Prouille his universal heir in his testament. Thus the commissioners proceeded against the monastery, from which, on 29 August 1297, they succeeded in wresting 300 l. t.⁴¹.

While they were negotiating with the house, the commissioners also seem to have instituted proceedings to secure payment of amortization for property the nuns had acquired in the past, and it may have been at this time that Pierre de Latilli secured a loan from the sisters. In short order the nuns decided that they had best protect their interests, and on 28 October 1297 they secured from the viguier of Toulouse, Blain Le Loup, an exemplification of a royal letter of 31 October 1295 ordering the seneschal of Toulouse and Albi to credit the house with 5000 l. t. which the nuns had lent to the king⁴². The nuns' prior also apparently appealed to the king, for on 27 November 1297 Philip the Fair ordered, by special grace, that the commissioners take six years' worth

38 Jean GLÉNISSON, *Les enquêteurs-réformateurs de 1270 à 1328*, Thèse, Ecole nationale des Chartes, 1946, p. 328, no. 2, from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Doat 176, fol. 143. A summary of Glénisson's thesis is published in *Positions des Thèses de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1946, p. 81–88; I am deeply grateful to him for giving me a copy of the complete thesis. Alan M. Friedlander and I will discuss this mission in the article referred to in n. 35 above.

39 HENNEMAN (see n. 4) p. 314–15.

40 ... *quibusdam filiis suis naturalibus de dampnato et nephario choitu natis, ut dicebatur, que debebant tanquam ab indignis et non capacibus, ab eis auferri et ipso domino regi aplicari*: GUIRAUD (see n. 7) 1, p. 74, no. 109.

41 GUIRAUD (see n. 7) 1, p. 74–75, no. 109.

42 SABARTHÈS and POUX (see n. 28) p. 95 (H 464); the *vidimus* was preserved in the house's muniments. The loan was said to have been attested by a letter of the abbot of Belleperche, who acted as a royal agent in the Toulousain in 1282: see MIGNON (see n. 10) no. 1873 and p. 235; *Comptes* (see n. 13) 1, p. 561, nos. 11772–79. On Blain Le Loup, see n. 14 above.

of income in payment of the amortization the nuns owed, rather than the amount actually due⁴³, and that they make satisfaction to the nuns for their loans to the king⁴⁴.

The agreement regarding the royal clerk which Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli concluded with the house of Prouille was referred to as *transactio, compositio, et finantio*, and the word *compositio* often recurs in the records of their activities. After October 1297, when military subsidies could no longer be levied, the conclusion of »general compositions« occupied much of the commissioners' time, as will be seen. Numerous other compositions were also arranged with individuals, and, although their precise dates are unknown, there seems no reason to assume that, like the »general compositions«, they were all negotiated toward the end of their service in the Toulousain. A large number of the compositions involved criminal activities. One man agreed to pay 500 l. t. for carrying arms on various occasions and for attacking the household of two people in Lavaur; his son, also accused of these offenses, consented to pay 20 l.⁴⁵ A former bayle of Auriac agreed to pay 60 l. for whipping and injuring the priest of the town⁴⁶, and two other men promised 20 l. apiece for similar offenses committed, respectively, against a notary and against the bayle of Lavaur⁴⁷. Another man composed for 10 l. for a like offense against a royal sergeant⁴⁸. Some 70 l. t. were

43 The terms on which the royal agents were attempting to collect fines from Prouille and, doubtless, other religious establishments and non-nobles in the seneschalsy are unknown, although the negotiations with Prouille suggest that they were pressing for the full amounts required by the royal ordonnance of 1291: Ordonnances (see n. 18) 1, p. 322–24. According to that ordonnance, ecclesiastical establishments were to pay the king four years' revenue for property acquired without payment in royal fiefs and property owing *cens*. Three years' revenue was owed for property similarly acquired in rear-fiefs and in property owing *cens* which was not held directly from the king. Six years' revenue was to be tendered for property purchased in royal fiefs and property burdened with *cens*. Four years' revenue was to be paid if the property was in a rearfief or in property owing *cens* that was not held directly of the king. For allodial property situated in the lands, fiefs, and rear-fiefs of the king which ecclesiastical establishments acquired without payment, they were to pay two years' revenue, and four years' revenue if the property had been purchased. The final clause of the ordonnance stipulated that in the seneschalsies of Périgord, Carcassonne, Beaucaire, Toulouse, and Rouergue, where property was dearer (*carior*), double payments were to be levied. Another clause stipulated that commissioners were to attempt to negotiate better terms, but that in no case were they to accept less than the sums given in the ordonnance. Confirming these instructions, on 2 October 1291 the king ordered the seneschal of Carcassonne to treat with an agent of the monastery of Villelongue on the basis of eight years' revenue: Eugène MARTIN-CHABOT, *Les archives de la Cour des Comptes, Aides et Finances de Montpellier, avec un essai de restitution des premiers registres de la Sénéchaussée*, Paris 1907 (Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris, 22) p. 104, no. 530.

44 GUIRAUD (see n. 7) 1, p. 75–76, no. 111, and LAURENT, BLOCH, and DOINEL (see n. 18) p. 303–304 (H 326).

45 Comptes (see n. 13) nos. 25992–93. Lavaur is in the Tarn, ar. Castres, 40 kilometers northwest of Castres. See *ibid.* no. 26036 for a similar composition for the carrying of arms and offenses committed in lands of the prior of La Daurade; and *ibid.* no. 10882, a composition arranged by Guichard de Marzi *super portatione armorum et excessibus factis* by the inhabitants of Samatan (Gers, ar. Auch, 33 kilometers southeast of Auch) in the territory of Villeneuve (8 kilometers northwest of Samatan); the inhabitants agreed to pay 1200 l. t. and in 1298–99 tendered a sixth of this sum. For compositions concluded by Hugues de MARZI, Guichard's brother and lieutenant, see *ibid.* nos. 10874, 10881, 10885.

46 *Ibid.* no. 26010. Auriac-sur-Vendinelle is in the Haute-Garonne, ar. Toulouse, c. Caraman, 34 kilometers southeast of Toulouse.

47 *Ibid.* nos. 26009, 26017 (which should be corrected from 20 l. to 10 l.: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, n. acq. lat. 2391, no. 6).

48 Comptes (see n. 13) no. 26008.

secured from individuals who had participated in judging a case involving high justice in a place where the king possessed these rights⁴⁹.

Compositions were also arranged to settle accounts long overdue. The consuls of Basiège, for example, agreed to pay 45 l. for »fouage« owed since the time of Alfonse of Poitiers⁵⁰. A woman and her two sons were brought to pay the remainder of the money they owed for manumission arranged with Master Gilles Camelin, royal proctor in the seneschalsy of Toulouse from 1272–89⁵¹. A citizen of Toulouse was persuaded to offer 100 l. t. because the king had been deceived when the man arranged a fine for the acquisition of noble property with the abbot of Belleperche, probably in 1282⁵². Nor were the mighty spared. Odo, lord of Montaut, agreed to pay 500 l. for carrying arms and committing other offenses at Largardelle, in the house and lands of the prior of La Daurade⁵³. The preceptor of the Templar house of Lavaur agreed to pay 40 l. for carrying arms⁵⁴, and the bishop of Couserans promised 100 l. because members of his household had whipped the bayle of Montjoie and a royal notary⁵⁵.

The compositions which Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli arranged were turned over to the treasurer of Toulouse to be levied, and, according to notations found in the detailed accounts of the compositions, many of them were paid, either fully or partially, in 1298. The compositions listed in this account amounted to almost 2000 l. t., and they did not represent all the profit the royal officials reaped for the king⁵⁶. Robert Mignon's inventory of the royal accounts shows that their compositions with individuals regarding inquests pending for various offenses, which were submitted on 20 May 1298, totaled 4384 l. 10 s.⁵⁷. The other compositions the agents concluded were probably similar to those detailed in their single surviving account. The account of Simon Louard, receiver of Toulouse and Albi, for 15 May 1298 – 24 June 1299⁵⁸ shows that individual compositions arranged by the commissioners

49 Ibid. nos. 26030–33. In the first of these entries Raimond Maurin is said to have been condemned (*condempnatus*) to pay 20 l., thus suggesting that the commissioners had brought him to trial. This is, however, the only time any such term appears in the records of the commissioners' acts, and the men whose names are listed in the other two entries are both said to owe their fines *per compositionem*.

50 Ibid. no. 26038. Basiège is in the Haute-Garonne, ar. Toulouse, c. Montgiscard, 24 kilometers southeast of Toulouse.

51 They paid 72 l.: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, n. acq. lat. 2391, no. 6; see Comptes (see n. 13) no. 26035. On Gilles Camelin, see STRAYER (see n. 12) p. 195–96.

52 Comptes (see n. 13) no. 26043. For the mission of the abbot of Belleperche, see n. 42 above. The accounts for the seneschalsy of Toulouse for 1298–99 record the payment of a number of compositions related to the activities of the abbot and his fellow-commissioners in 1282 (ibid. nos. 11772–79); the accounts do not refer to Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli in connection with these payments, but it seems likely that they were involved in the collection of these debts.

53 Ibid. no. 26036. Lagardelle is in the Haute-Garonne, ar. Muret, 8 kilometers southeast of Muret; Montaut is in all likelihood the community of that name located 12 kilometers south of Muret.

54 Ibid. no. 26040.

55 Ibid. no. 26041. Couserans is today known as Saint-Lizier (Ariège, ar. Saint-Girons, two kilometers southeast of Saint-Girons); the name is preserved at Montjoie-en-Couserans, which is two kilometers north of Saint-Girons.

56 On this account see ibid. 3, p. xcii–iii, no. 119. The item numbered 26036 in the detailed account of Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli is recorded in different ink as having been paid in 1299. Some of the sums given in the published accounts are incorrect: ibid. no. 26007 (6 l., for 20 l.); no. 26016 (10 l., for 40 l.); no. 26017 (20 l., for 10 l.); no. 26035 (70 l., for 72 l.).

57 MIGNON (see n. 10) no. 2392.

58 Comptes (see n. 13) 1, p. 524–92, nos. 10867–12376, on which see 3, p. xxxv, no. 13.

continued to be collected during that fiscal year; it records the receipt of 500 l. t. for arms-carrying at Lagardelle⁵⁹. The account also records payments relating to six additional compositions made with Pierre de Latilli: 20 l. t. for injuries inflicted on a former bayle of Villemur; a portion of a fine of 450 l. t. agreed to by three men accused of heresy; part of the 700 l. t. owed by various individuals as composition for excesses committed, for royal rights appropriated, and for homage that had not been rendered by a man of Lavour; a portion of the 400 l. owed by the castellan of Castelsarrasin for deceiving the king; 80 l. t. of the 100 l. t. owed by the abbot of Saramon for the offenses of two of his nephews in carrying arms; and, finally, a portion of 200 l. t. owed for negligence in rendering justice⁶⁰. There is no reason to doubt that these compositions were equitable. The commissioners may have permitted some who should have stood trial to avoid prosecution, but the individuals who paid were doubtless relieved to escape more formal proceedings.

A lengthy section of the accounts of the seneschalsy for 1298–99 reveals another apparently unexceptionable facet of the commissioners' activities in the Toulousain – the sale of manumission to both individuals and communities⁶¹. There were solid precedents for such actions, and the commissioners were collecting sums still due for similar arrangements concluded with previous royal agents. The money which the commissioners' sales produced in 1298–99 amounted to less than 200 l. t.⁶², but this represented only 5% of the 1376 l. that, according to the commissioners' accounts, could eventually be expected. One hundred and five individuals had contracted to purchase their freedom; the sums they agreed to pay ranged from 4 l. to 200 l., and most were about 25 l. Of the individuals eighteen were from Toulouse, seventy-three from Lavour, ten from Galcanta⁶³, and four from Pechbusque (fig. 1); they included four notaries, one from Toulouse and three from Lavour⁶⁴. In addition to the individuals who bought freedom, the consuls of eight communities made payments for manumission, presumably for their unfree inhabitants – unless the communities actually admitted to being composed totally of such individuals⁶⁵. Four of the communities lay west of Castres, two were near Castelsarrasin, and two near Toulouse (fig. 1). The sums they promised ranged from 12 l. to 420 l.

The seneschalsy accounts and royal letters issued to citizens of Toulouse in January 1298 show that the issues of servitude and servile payments loomed large in the

59 The payment, listed in the account of Pierre and Raoul, is said to have been made in 1299: *ibid.* nos. 10883, 26036. See above n. 53.

60 *Ibid.* nos. 10875–79, 10884. Saramon is located in the Gers, ar. Auch, 25 kilometers southeast of Auch.

61 *Ibid.* nos. 11785–899. Item no. 11785 is found at the end of the seventh sheet of the account; the rest are recorded on the reverse of the eighth and ninth sheets: Paris, Archives nationales, K 496, no. 6.

62 The total given in the account (*ibid.* no. 11785) is 187 l. 8 s. 2 d. t., whereas by my calculation the sums listed in the account *a tergo* amount to 190 l. 3 s. 10 d. The figures printed in the edited version of the accounts (see n. 13) are accurate.

63 The six men listed in *ibid.* nos. 11875–80 are all from *Gallicantu*; the communities of those listed in *ibid.* nos. 11881–84 are not equally clear, following as they do *Sicardus Gilabini, alias dicto de Plasaco*, who is not, as are the preceding men, said explicitly to be from Galcanta. Galcanta (*de Gallicantu*) is identified in *ibid.* index, s. v., as being near Grandselve, in the Tarn-et-Garonne, ar. Montauban, c. Verdun, cne. Bouillac.

64 Pechbusque is in the Haute-Garonne, ar. Toulouse, c. Castanet-Tolosan, 9 kilometers south of Toulouse.

65 *Comptes* (see n. 13) nos. 11889–99.

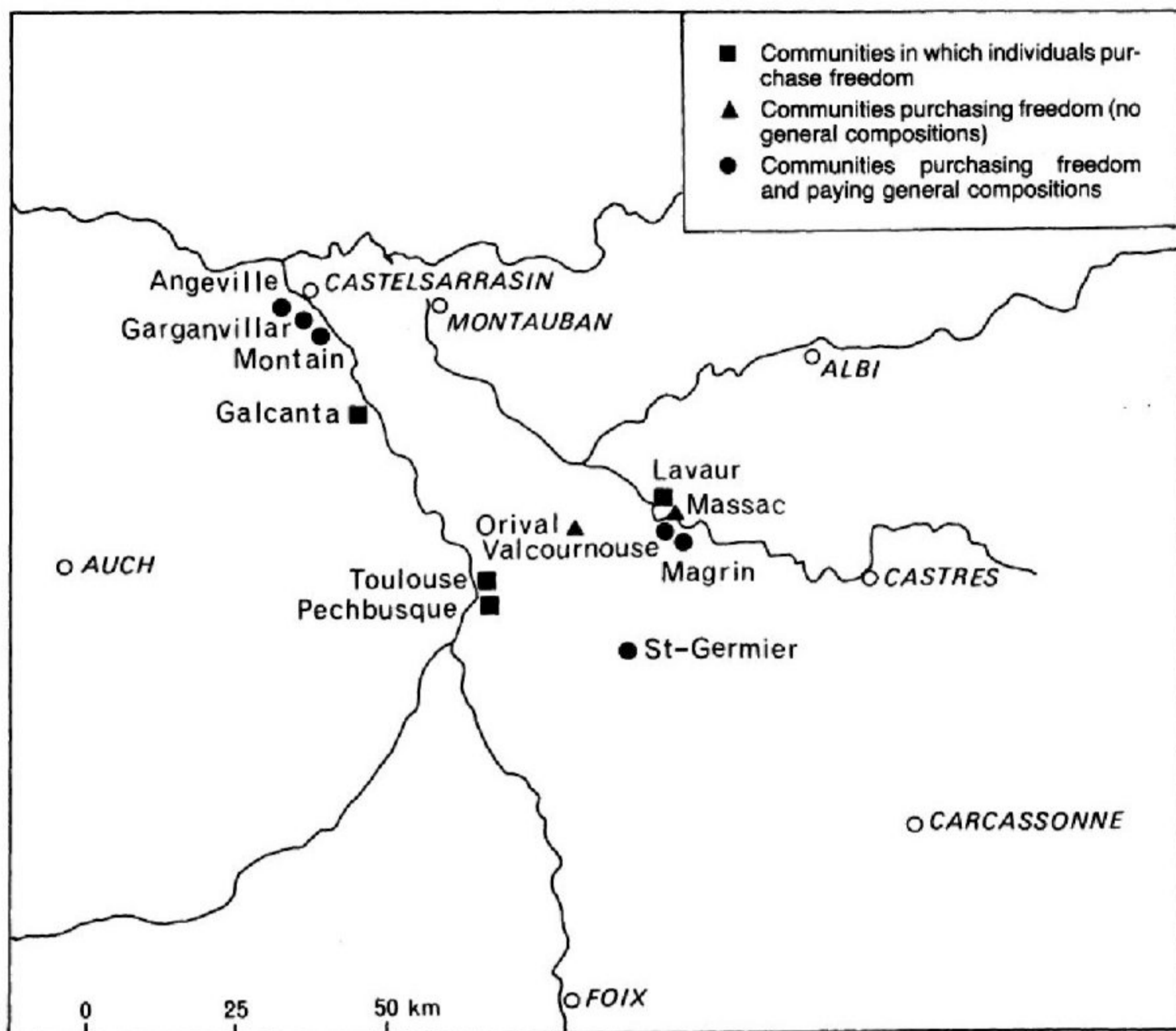


Fig. 1

commissioners' minds. They also demonstrate that their efforts to sell manumission were coordinated not only with attempts to collect dues from people of servile condition but also with a widespread campaign to negotiate general compositions with communities of the seneschalsy, the compositions which resulted in the protests lodged against Pierre and Raoul. These efforts were apparently initiated not at the beginning of the commissioners' service in the Toulousain, but later, after the conclusion of the truce of Vyve-Saint-Bavon, when the commissioners used a variety of expedients to raise revenue for the king. The later inquests into the commissioners' activities show that their agents approached communities to negotiate general compositions between October 1297 and January 1298; it was at the end of January 1298 that citizens of Toulouse secured letters from the king regarding the actions of Pierre and Raoul⁶⁶. The royal letters for Toulouse demonstrate that the commissioners were employing the issue of servile status to force the negotiation of compositions and

⁶⁶ See LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 30; Paris, Archives nationales, J 1034B, no. 47, first and third sheets; and J 1033, no. 9 for the arrival of the commissioners' deputies in Laurac after 29 September and before 1 November 1297. See LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 39–40 for dates ranging from 1 November through early January for other communities. On 23 February 1298 Pierre and Raoul ordered the removal of the

that they had tried to persuade nobles and others to transfer their rights over individuals of servile condition to »more powerful persons and royal officers« so that the commissioners could then force the individuals so transferred to make unfair compositions⁶⁷. The compositions negotiated with Toulouse were, thus, concluded with individuals, and, as has been seen, eighteen citizens are known to have purchased freedom; there is no evidence that the consuls ever offered the commissioners a global sum to protect all the citizens of Toulouse.

Toulouse was unusual. Six of the eight communities known to have purchased manumission also reached »general compositions« with the commissioners⁶⁸, and the seneschalsy accounts of 1298–99 show that 121 other communities, all but one of them consulates, paid more than 1000 l. t. for such arrangements⁶⁹. The rubric in the account states that this money was received »from ›caselages‹ and various consulates for certain compositions«⁷⁰. It thus suggests – as the protests lodged against the commissioners confirm – that the compositions were connected with servile payments.

As the seneschalsy accounts of 1298–99 demonstrate, the commissioners were most successful in the areas south of Castelsarrasin, south of Toulouse, and in the region between Castres and Toulouse; the region immediately south of Puylaurens was particularly hard-hit – or cooperative – as was the area between Caraman and

garrisons that had been placed in Puylaurens: Paris, Archives nationales, J 1024, no. 38. For the letters granted to citizens of Toulouse, see Adolphe BAUDOIN, *Lettres inédites de Philippe le Bel*, Paris 1887, p. 188–90, nos. 168–70, dated 23 and 24 January 1298 (at Vendeuil) and 26 January 1298 (at Pouilly).

67 BAUDOIN (see n. 66) p. 188–89, nos. 168–69.

68 The communities are those of Angeville, Garganvillar, Magrin, Montain, Saint-Germier, and Valcournouse. Angeville is in the Tarn-et-Garonne, ar. Castelsarrasin, c. Saint-Nicolas-de-la-Grave, 9 kilometers southwest of Castelsarrasin; Garganvillar is in the same vicinity, 10 kilometers southwest of Castelsarrasin; Magrin is in the Tarn, ar. Castres, c. Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, 34 kilometers west of Castres; Montain is near the communities of Angeville and Garganvillar, 15 kilometers south of Castelsarrasin; Saint-Germier is in the Haute-Garonne, ar. Toulouse, c. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, 30 kilometers southeast of Toulouse; and Valcournouse is near Magrin, 28 kilometers west of Castres, north of Pratviel. In the case of three communities (Angeville, Garganvillar, and Saint-Germier) the sums actually paid in 1298–99 in connection with manumission were the same as those tendered for their »general compositions«; in the cases of Magrin and Montain, different sums were paid; in that of Valcournouse, which admitted owing 350 l. t. for manumission, one of the three payments made on behalf of the community (totalling 14 l. 7 s. 4 d. t.) was the same as the amount paid for its »general composition«—33 s. 4 d. t. The two communities which purchased manumission but apparently had no additional dealings with Pierre and Raoul are Massac and Orival. Massac-Séran is near Valcournouse and Magrin, 30 kilometers northwest of Castres, and Orival is in the Haute-Garonne, ar. Toulouse, c. Verfeil, cne. Gragnague, 18 kilometers northeast of Toulouse.

69 Comptes (see n. 13) nos. 11053–179 (Paris, Archives nationales, K 496, no. 6, the reverse of the ninth and tenth sheets); see no. 11053 (Paris, Archives nationales, K 496, no. 6, fifth sheet) for the sum total of the account, 1078 l. 15 s. 8 d. According to my calculation, the amounts recorded in the account a tergo total 1060 l. 10 s.; *ibid.* no. 11065 should read 25 l. t. rather than 25 s. t. Some communities may have been omitted from this account; if the subtotal recorded in no. 11148 (804 l. 10 s. 8 d.) is taken as accurately reflecting the preceding sums, the total, again according to my calculation, would be 1075 l. 8 d. The only non-consular group listed in the account was composed of the inhabitants of »Cofinalo« (Couffinal, Haute-Garonne, ar. Toulouse, c. Belleserre, 42 kilometers northwest of Toulouse); they paid 66 s. 8 d.; *ibid.* no. 11124.

70 ... *de pecunia quam receperant de casalagiis et diversis consulatibus, pro compositionibus quibusdam*: *ibid.* no. 11053.

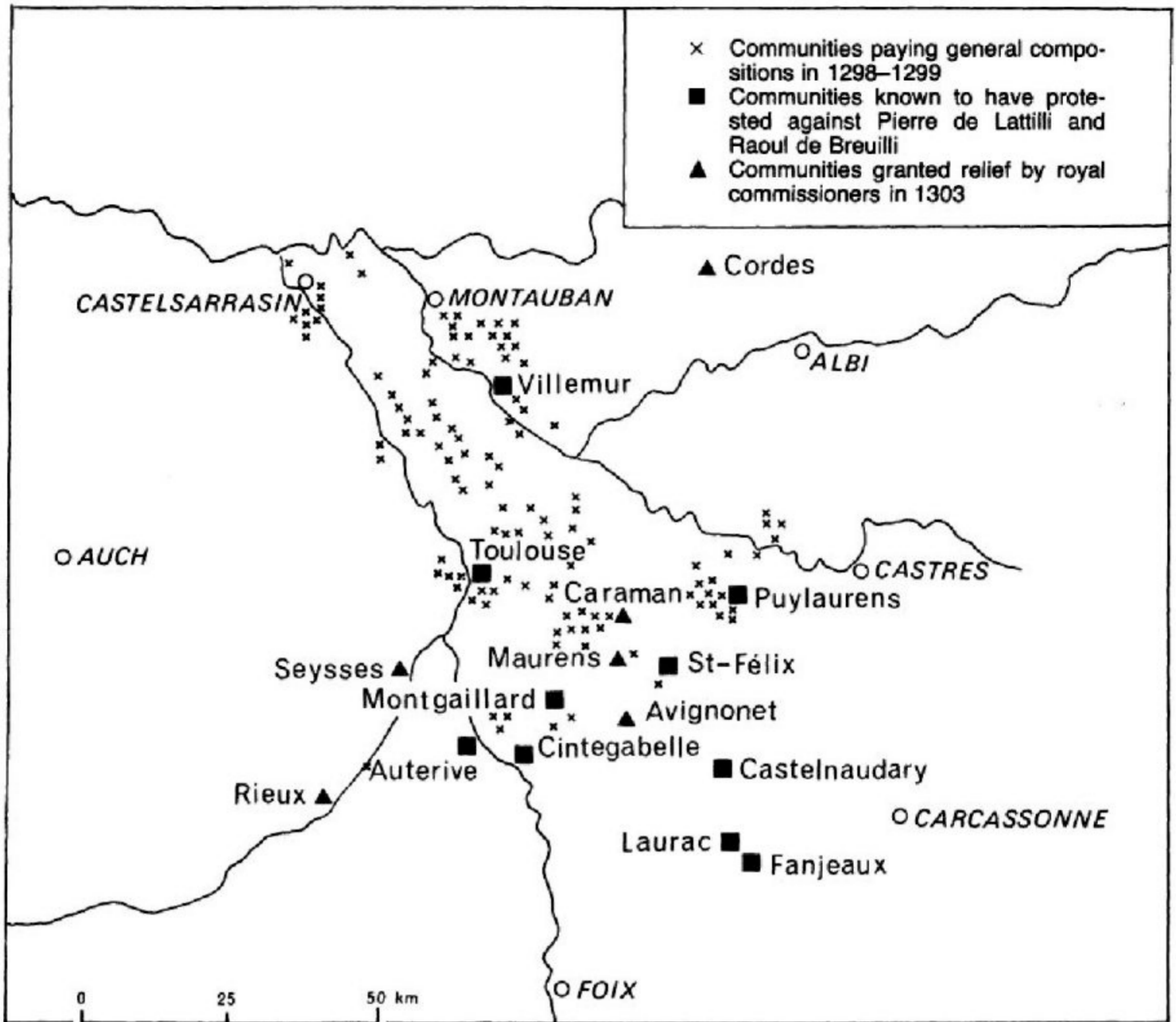


Fig. 2

Montgaillard (fig. 2)⁷¹. Only one of the communities known to have registered formal complaint against the »general compositions« appears in the accounts of those payments, if – as seems unlikely – it is Fanjeaux that is listed as »Faniove« and recorded as paying 33 s. 4 d. t. of the 20 l. said to be due⁷². The other leading communities of the seneschalsy are conspicuous by their absence from the list of those paying general

71 A number of communities in the vicinities of Laurac, Puylaurens, Saint-Félix, and Villemur were forced to make payments for the expenses of the commissioners' agents: Paris, Archives nationales, J 896, nos. 34, 40¹, and 40²; see LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 27, n. 1; 32–33, especially n. 3; 44. Among them are Appelle, Belmontet, Besplas, Le Bourguet, Guitalens, Roquevidal, and Saint-Paul. Neither these communities nor the others enumerated in Paris, Archives nationales, J 896, nos. 34, 40¹, and 40² are listed in the accounts of 1298–99 as making payments for general compositions, and it seems likely that they were assessed through the larger communities in whose vicinities they were located.

72 Comptes (see n. 13) no. 11111. The community of *Monte Galhardo* (ibid. no. 11084) paid 50 s. t., but it seems clear that this community is the Montgaillard located in the Tarn, ar. Albi, c. Salvagnac, 42 kilometers west of Albi, rather than the larger community of Montgaillard which protested against the actions of Pierre and Raoul. See LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 48 for evidence that some money was indeed collected at Fanjeaux; see ibid. p. 41–42 for the sum of 15 000 l. t. that the community's agents are said to have promised, half of the 30 000 l. t. demanded of them.

compositions, and it was the small community of Le Faget («Faieto») which agreed to tender 700 l. t., the highest amount recorded⁷³. Most of the sums were exceedingly small, in one case only 12 s. 6 d. But many of them were said to be installments of far larger amounts; these larger sums range from 15 l. to 700 l. and total 7505 l. t. Global amounts were recorded for only 51 (slightly more than a third) of the 127 communities, and if, as seems likely, they were all paying installments, the grand total of the money to be expected from the general compositions would probably have exceeded 20000 l. t.

The seneschalsy accounts of 1298–99 indicate that the general compositions were connected with payments of «caselage». They reveal, however, neither the precise nature of the compositions nor the manner in which they were negotiated. Additional information is furnished by the protests that caused the king to investigate the actions of Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli, protests made by the consuls of Auterive, Castelnaudary, Cintegabelle, Fanjeaux, Laurac, Montgaillard, Puylaurens, and Saint-Félix (fig. 2).

These protests show that the commissioners' representatives approached the communities to demand financial compositions for homages and «caselage», for the use of prohibited money, for military service that had not been or was not being rendered satisfactorily and for military service plain and simple, for noble property acquired over the past fifty years, and in connection with inquests pending against certain individuals. Thus, doubtless on the instructions of Pierre and Raoul, their agents raised the various issues the commissioners wanted invoked in dealing with the inhabitants of the seneschalsy – although, as has been seen, negotiations were also carried on with some communities for separate payment of fines for military service, with individuals accused of criminal offenses, and with individuals and communities regarding «caselages»⁷⁴. The agents pressed the communities to offer lump sums to be quit of all they owed.

Statements of the inhabitants of many communities suggest that they were being coerced into offering money simply to obtain guarantees of their free status and immunity for offenses committed in the past⁷⁵. This does not, however, seem to have

73 Le Faget is in the Haute-Garonne, ar. Toulouse, c. Caraman, 34 kilometers east of Toulouse; see Comptes (see n. 13) no. 11132. In 1298–99 the community paid 50 l. of the 700 l. t. it was said to owe.

74 LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 30, 32; see Paris, Archives nationales, J 881, liasse 3, no. 1, the complaints of the consuls of Saint-Félix (*super casalagijs homagijs seu articulis alijs*).

75 LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 29–45. The consuls of Puylaurens testified that they were promised *quod de omnibus homagijs seu de conditione homjtice eos absoluerent si qui essent et Remiterent eisdem et quitarent omnia feuda & Retrofeuda et alodia mjlitaria et a militibus et generosis personis actenus acquisita nec non de omnibus inquestis pendentibus et monetis prohibitis Receptis et alijs mandatis & in obedientijs exercitus & guerre ducatus aquitan' et generaliter de omnibus alijs commissis usque ad presens*: Paris, Archives nationales, J 896, no. 29, first sheet. Similarly, the consuls of Auterive were said to have agreed to compose *pro liberatione homagiorum casalagiorum feudorum militum abusuum monetarum deffectuum exercituum et pro quibusdam inquestis arduis pendentibus contra vniuersitatem dicte ville. scilicet. de armorum portatione facta in villa de brugueriis. et in villa danianis. et super depopulatione plurium arborum. et pro quibusdam parietibus et edificijs destructis per eos. & multis alijs excessibus per eos commissis vt dicebatur*: *ibid.* J 1029, no. 2, first sheet; see also the fourth sheet. For Cintegabelle, see *ibid.* J 655, no. 43; for Fanjeaux, *ibid.* J 1032B, no. 17, fifth and sixth sheets, and no. 17 bis, sixth and eighth sheets; for Laurac, *ibid.* J 1034B, no. 47, first sheet. For the emphasis on «caselages» in the accounts, see Comptes (see n. 13) no. 11053; MIGNON (see n. 10) no. 2393; and also BAUDOUIN

been the case. The witnesses who appeared on behalf of the royal agents doubtless exaggerated when they said that the communities' proctors exhibited joy and delight in dealing with the royal officers⁷⁶. Nonetheless, the detailed testimony presented by notaries involved with the negotiations indicates that, having been forced to promise compositions, the communities' agents attempted to gain additional privileges for their money. Some of the documents the communities obtained dealt with the terms of payment of the general compositions: letters to insure that nobles and satellite communities would be required to contribute; copies of royal lists of individuals obligated to make servile payments, to permit such people to be taxed more heavily than others; official lists of the inhabitants of the communities to insure that they and their descendants would be able to profit individually and collectively from the privileges; letters to guarantee that no further payments would be sought⁷⁷. That they had secured such letters the witnesses for the communities admitted. They were less willing to acknowledge that they had asked for and accepted additional rights in return for their payments. Yet the consuls of Fanjeaux, for example, seem to have requested several such privileges, including the abolition of a special payment of 12 d. and a due in pepper owed annually to the king and a local lord, as well as exemption from various tolls on roads linking their town to other centers⁷⁸. The lists of inhabitants who were to be guaranteed the privileges contained in the compositions and the missions some communities dispatched to Paris to secure confirmations of their compositions

(see n. 66) p. 160–61, no. 145, a royal letter of 25 January 1298 (issued at Vendeuil) restraining the commissioners from forcing citizens of Toulouse to pay for noble property they had acquired; on this letter see below at n. 95.

76 LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 45–46. See, e. g., the testimony of Raymond Boerii against the consuls of Saint-Félix: *quia videbantur esse leti quando fecerunt compositionem predictam. et quia ea facta grates reddiderunt eisdem dominis*: Paris, Archives nationales, J 1034B, no. 46, second sheet. Raoul testified that these consuls had offered him *unum ciphum argenti deauratum jntus et extra tanquam illj de quo multum erant contentj quia tractauerat dictam compositionem et benigne Receperat eos ad eam faciendam / quem ciphum dictus Radulphus Recipere Recusavit*: *ibid.* J 881, liasse 3, no. 1, sixth sheet. The consuls denied that *compositionem gratis factam. et dicunt eos metu compulsos ad illam faciendam. & aliis modis indebitis inductos*: *ibid.* J 881, liasse 3, no. 1, sixth sheet. A witness for Auterive stated that the community's agents *faciebant malum vultum et tristem et dicebant mortui sumus mortui sumus. et nullo modo possumus soluere. illud quod isti domini petunt a nobis*: *ibid.* J 1033, no. 9, sixth sheet. One of the proctors of Laurac declared that three of the community's representatives had wept when the composition was made: *ibid.* J 1031A, no. 7, first and second sheets; for Laurac see also the testimony of the commissioners' witnesses, in *ibid.* J 1034B, no. 47, first through third sheets.

77 See Paris, Archives nationales, J 881, liasse 3, no. 1, sixth sheet (Saint-Félix); J 896, no. 9, first sheet (Villemur); J 1029, no. 2, first sheet (Auterive); J 1031A, no. 8, second sheet (Cintegabelle); J 1032B, no. 18 (Castelnaudary); J 1033, no. 10 (Montgaillard); J 1034B, no. 46, first and second sheets (Saint-Félix); J 1034B, no. 47, second sheet (Laurac).

78 According to a consul and syndic of Fanjeaux, the community's composition stated *quod hominibus fanijouis concederetur prout sibi videtur / quod homines fanijouis possent ire de fanojouis usque ad montem giscardum et redire apud fanumjouis per iter de vitbrando – et sancto michaele – libere absque solucione leude / seu pedagii cum mercaturis quibuslibet. Item jdem per leodare de bellis planis item quod prestatio duodecim denariorum / unciarum piperis et similium quam soluunt homines fanijouis singulis annis quamdiu morantur ibidem juxta conditionem sui artificii domino Regi / et domino ysarno batalha. eius pariario pro tribus partibus – dominum Regem tangentibus perpetuo quitaretur habitantibus et habitaturis in dicto loco. Item possent uti consuetudinibus et vsibus quibus dicti homines et eorum predecessores tempore .. comitum Tholose .. dominorum Raymundi et alphonsi. continebantur etiam ut dixit plura alia de quibus dixit ad plenum se non recordari*: Paris, Archives nationales, J 1032B, no. 17bis, sixth sheet. See LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 47.

suggest the value which was placed on the documents⁷⁹. Thus it seems reasonable to give some credence to the assertions of the notaries who drew up the composition for the people of Laurac that it had been made »for the good of the region, in order that they and their descendants, present and future, might enjoy the liberties granted to the men of the town in exchange for the composition«, and »so that strangers who later settled there would not share in such precious liberties«⁸⁰.

However desirable the agreements purchased through general compositions, the tactics of the commissioners and their agents were brutal, and the sums demanded were unreasonable. The agreements wrung from the communities which were visited by the representatives of Pierre and Raoul⁸¹ and then forced to send representatives to Toulouse for further harrassment can hardly be said to have been willingly accorded. In Toulouse they were forced to agree to large compositions⁸²; later came the work of obtaining the communities' assent to their agents' actions. Again, harrassment was used, and the agreements that were obtained caused bitter resentment.

The larger the community, the more was demanded. Montgaillard may have escaped with 1200 l. t. and Auterive with 3000 l. t.; Villemur with 4000 l. t., Saint-Félix with 4500 l. t., and Cintegabelle with 5000 l. t., but the larger communities of Fanjeaux and Castelnaudary were compelled to agree, respectively, to payments of 15 000 and 18 000 l. t.⁸³. These large sums fully explain the subsequent protests, and the protests, in turn, may account for the fact that no payments from the aggrieved communities are known to have been rendered⁸⁴. The lump sums in the accounts of 1298–99 are hardly comparable in size, although the small community of Le Faget is there said to have proffered 700 l. t. – which may in fact have represented a comparable burden for its inhabitants. Nonetheless, the commissioners may possibly have been more reasonable in negotiating with the smaller communities of the Toulousain.

The tactics the commissioners used were extreme, but the sort of negotiation they were carrying on in the Toulousain was not unprecedented. Particularly relevant to their operations is an agreement involving the community of *Altus Mons* in the seneschalsy of Périgord and Quercy which was forwarded to the king for approval on 24 May 1298⁸⁵. It was Guichard de Marzi, then seneschal of Périgord and Quercy and

79 See LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 46–48; for the agents sent to Paris by Castelnaudary, Fanjeaux, Laurac, and Saint-Félix, see below at n. 107.

80 ... *ut ipsi et eorum progenies presentes et future. gauderent libertatibus concessis hominibus dicte ville. ratione compositionis predictae; ne si aliqui extranei venirent comorari in villa predicta gauderent privilegiis concessis hominibus dicte ville ratione compositionis predictae.* Paris, Archives nationales, J 1034B, no. 47 second and fourth sheets. Cf. LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 35.

81 See LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 30, 39–40 for the appearance of the commissioners' agents in the communities between October 1297 and early January 1298.

82 See the vivid description of the problems encountered by Laurac's agents, in LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 33.

83 Ibid. p. 41–45.

84 The entry in the seneschalsy accounts of 1298–99 for *Faniove* (recorded as owing only 70 l. t.) seems unlikely to refer to the community of Fanjeaux which, according to its consuls' protests, agreed in the end to pay 15 000 l. t.: see above, at n. 72.

85 Paris, Archives nationales, J 896, no. 11, published in the Appendix below; see LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 52–53, n. 2. Langlois identified the community as Aumont, in the Dordogne and the commune of Savignac, but there seems no doubt that it was the inhabitants of the honor of *Altus Mons*, the seat of a royal bayle near Mirabel, Caynat, and L'Honor de Cos, who were negotiating with the king; in this vicinity was later founded Réalville (Tarn-et-Garonne, ar. Montauban, c. Caussade, 14 kilometers

in 1297–98 the fellow-commissioner of Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli, under whom negotiations with the community began. In this case the inhabitants of *Altus Mons* initiated proceedings. Through their agent they offered the seneschal an annual payment – a composition – to avoid the vexations they were suffering in connection with the servile payments known as *albergium* (strikingly similar in root meaning to »caselage«) and the levies of hens and hay made annually in their community. They complained as well of the recent efforts of the seneschal's lieutenant, Gérard de Sabanac⁸⁶, to deny them the right to have consuls, which they claimed to have enjoyed, »like the other inhabitants of the region«, for thirty years and more⁸⁷.

The inhabitants of *Altus Mons* apparently presented their petition for freedom from these indignities directly to the king. He ordered Guichard de Marzi to hold an inquest and, if it seemed advantageous, to arrange a suitable composition⁸⁸. Guichard in turn commanded Gérard de Sabanac to investigate the value of the annual dues. Gérard found that for 25 years the people of the community had paid the levies, which he evaluated at 25 l. p. t. Thus the community finally agreed to offer, »by way of composition«, 240 l. p. t. to be free and immune in the future from »the said servitudes and exactions«. Nothing was said of the right to have consuls, and it seems clear that the community in fact abandoned such claims⁸⁹. On 24 May 1298 Gui Chevrier, then seneschal of Périgord and Quercy, forwarded the proposed terms of the composition to the king, who apparently quickly confirmed them. Among the receipts of the seneschalsy for the fiscal year 1298–99 was recorded the payment by the inhabitants of *Altus Mons* of 240 l. »for one »albergium«, payment in hens, and other dues which the lord king had in the said place, sold to them by the seneschal, by order of the king«⁹⁰. The scribe who recorded this payment interpreted the transaction as what it clearly was – the seneschal's sale of various rights at the king's command.

Thus, shortly before the campaign for compositions began in the Toulousain, Philip the Fair and his officials had carried on similar negotiations in the neighboring seneschalsy of Périgord and Quercy, with a community that lay no more than 30 kilometers from Castelsarrasin, just across the border from the seneschalsy of

northeast of Montauban). See Comptes (see n. 13) no. 28133 for the later history of the *baillivia* of *Altus Mons* and Mirabel, which Philip the Fair exchanged for the viscounties of Lomagne and Auvillars in November 1301, and half of which he later repurchased and then exchanged with the royal chamberlain, Hugues de Bouville.

86 STRAYER (see n. 12) p. 145, and François MAILLARD, A propos d'un ouvrage récent. Notes sur quelques officiers royaux du Languedoc vers 1280-vers 1335, in: Actes du 96^e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes, Toulouse, 1971, Section de philologie et histoire jusqu'à 1610, 1, France du Nord et France du Midi. Contacts et influences réciproques, Paris, 1978, p. 346.

87 Accounts of the seneschalsy of Périgord and Quercy for 1293–94 contain a reference to the consuls of *Altus Mons*, as does a list of debts of the seneschalsies renewed after 1292: Comptes (see n. 13) nos. 8918, 15214. The payment for the privileges they subsequently received from the king was, however, said in the accounts of 1298–99 to have been made by the men (*hominibus*) of *Altus Mons*: *ibid.* no. 10795.

88 The royal letter is exemplified in the act of 24 May 1298 printed in the Appendix below; it is dated at Pontoise on the Saturday after the Feast of Mary Magdalene, without any indication of year. Since the king was at Pontoise in July of both 1294 and 1295, it seems impossible to determine in which year the mandate was issued: Recueil (see n. 12) 21, p. 434–35. For the service of Guichard de Marzi as seneschal of Périgord and Quercy from 10 July 1294 to, probably, September 1295, see STRAYER (see n. 12) p. 135.

89 See n. 87 above.

90 *Ab hominibus Alti Montis, pro uno albergio, gallinagio et aliis deveriis que dominus Rex habebat in dicto loco, venditis sibi per senescallum de mandato domini Regis*: Comptes (see n. 13) no. 10795.

Toulouse and Albi. Even more significant, these negotiations were conducted by Guichard de Marzi, in 1297–98 seneschal of Toulouse and Albi and a colleague of Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli. Raoul himself was involved in raising war subsidy in Périgord and Quercy in 1297–98, at the very time Gui Chevrier was taking steps to see that the composition arranged under his predecessor was effected and implemented. Guichard de Marzi and the royal officials at court responsible for dealing with the petition of the inhabitants of *Altus Mons* – one of whom was probably Guillaume de Plaisians⁹¹ – may well have decided that a policy which was proving beneficial to the king in Périgord and Quercy should be extended on a grand scale to the Toulousain. They may have reasoned that what the inhabitants of *Altus Mons* so desired the people of the Toulousain could be persuaded to want for themselves⁹².

After the general compositions had been negotiated and accepted by the communities came the collection of the sums that had been pledged. These were paid directly to Pierre and Raoul. The sums recorded in the accounts of 1298–99 indicate that the communities were paying annual installments rather than, like the inhabitants of *Altus Mons*, the full amounts they had promised. It also appears that many of the communities were refusing to make any payment at all. Of the communities which lodged appeals, as has been seen, it is only Fanjeaux that may possibly be recorded in the accounts of 1298–99 as tendering any money at all; nor do the names of a number of other communities known to have dealt with the royal commissioners appear in the accounts. This does not, of course, mean that they all refused to cooperate, since payments may have been received before the accounts of 1298–99 were prepared. Laurac, Montgaillard, Puylaurens, Saint-Félix, Villemur, and a number of smaller communities tendered some money, at least to pay the expenses of the officers who were attempting to force them to capitulate, but these towns are not listed with the 127 communities enumerated in the accounts of 1298–99⁹³. The consuls of these and other communities may, like those of Castelnaudary and Fanjeaux (for at least a portion of the sum which the communities owed), have promised to deposit money they owed in escrow until they learned whether or not the king would grant their requests for relief⁹⁴.

At what point aggrieved communities determined to appeal to the king is not, in every case, known. The citizens of Toulouse, however, were among the first to

91 The letter of Gui Chevrier containing a copy of the petition was preserved among the papers of Guillaume de Plaisians: Charles-Victor LANGLOIS, *Les papiers de Guillaume de Nogaret et de Guillaume de Plaisians au Trésor des Chartes*, in: *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, 39, part 1, 1909, p. 218, no. 591. The entry in the inventory of these papers, »Le fet aux homes de Haut Mont«, is strikingly similar to one of the fourteenth-century notations on the dorso of Paris, Archives nationales, J 896, no. 11: see the introduction to this document in the Appendix below.

92 Note also the composition for 200 l. t. arranged with the monastery of Bonnacombe in Rouergue (Aveyron, ar. Rodez, c. Cassagnes-Bégonhès, cne. Calmont, 17 kilometers south of Rodez) in 1298–99: *Comptes* (see n. 13) nos. 12396, 12522.

93 See Paris, Archives nationales, J 896, nos. 34, 40¹, and 40², which cast light on the work of royal agents in small communities in the vicinities of Saint-Félix, Laurens, Puylaurens, and Villemur; see also LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 27, n. 1, and 48; and n. 71 above.

94 LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 49, and see below, following n. 97.

complain. By the end of January 1298 protests had been lodged by various citizens regarding the actions of Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli against individuals of servile status and regarding their attempts to collect fines from the citizens of Toulouse for the acquisition of noble property. As a result Philip the Fair issued four letters restraining his officials⁹⁵. The letters in favor of Toulouse do not suggest that consuls of the city were acting officially on behalf of their fellow-citizens; rather, when the source of the complaints is indicated, it is »certain citizens« or simply »citizens« who are said to have protested⁹⁶. The actions of these people may have been at least partly responsible for the decisions of consuls of other communities to approach the king to protest the commissioners' actions, to ask for reduction of the sums which were being asked for general compositions, and also to request confirmation of the privileges for which the general compositions were to be paid.

The complaints from Toulouse may have given the king and his officials pause. There is, however, no evidence of any move to recall Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli or to redefine their mandate. In the middle of March 1298 Pierre de Latilli left for the north, probably to present accounts for his and his colleague's operations, which were duly submitted on 20–22 May 1298⁹⁷.

Raoul de Breuilli continued his activities in the Toulousain after Pierre's departure. In late March he compelled officials of Castelnaudary and Fanjeaux to agree to deposit at least part of the money they owed at Toulouse until a final settlement was reached, or until the king intervened. In the case of Castelnaudary, the payment was made only on condition that if the king did not grant relief to the community before 15 May, the deposit would be deducted from the first term of the composition. The consuls of Fanjeaux were forced to pledge payment or to surrender themselves at Toulouse before Easter, April 6, unless the king remitted the sums they owed⁹⁸.

The efforts of at least two communities to collect money for the general compositions led to protests registered at the royal court on behalf of the bishop of Toulouse⁹⁹. On 23 April 1298 Philip the Fair instructed Raoul de Breuilli to see that the men of the bishop dwelling in his fief of Roqueville near Montgiscard not be compelled to contribute to the levy being collected at Montgiscard for these »new agreements«, and that the bishop's men *de corpore et casalagio* who lived at Castanet be similarly

95 BAUDOUIN (see n. 66) p. 188–90, nos. 168–70, dated 23, 24, and 26 January 1298, at Vendeuil and Pouilly, and 160–61, no. 145, dated 25 January 1298 at Vendeuil, and edited from La Faille's *Annales de la ville de Toulouse* in *Ordonnances* (see n. 18) 11, p. 390; although the copies of this letter in Baudouin and in *Ordonnances* read *mandamus ... quatinus ... ullathenus permittatis*, the copy in Toulouse, Archives municipales, AA 6, fol. 226 reads *nullatenus*, which, under the circumstances, must be correct.

96 BAUDOUIN (see n. 66) p. 188–90, nos. 168–70.

97 Paris, Archives nationales, J 1032B, no. 17, first sheet; J 1034B, no. 46, first sheet; MIGNON (see n. 10) nos. 2390–2; *Comptes* (see n. 13) no. 12091; VIARD, *Journaux* (see n. 24) no. 699.

98 Paris, Archives nationales, J 1032B, no. 17, first and third sheets (Fanjeaux); J 1033, nos. 11 and 18 (Castelnaudary); see LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 49.

99 The successor of Bishop Louis of Anjou (for whom see above at n. 29) was Arnaud-Roger de Comminges. Elected and appointed by Boniface VIII at the end of 1297, he was consecrated by the pope at Rome on 31 March 1298; he died at Orvieto on 6 November 1298 without ever taking possession of his see: BAUDOUIN (see n. 66) p. 46, n. 1; 54, n. 1; and Denis de SAINTE-MARTHE et al., *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*..., 16 vol., Paris 1739–1877, 13, col. 32–35.

immune from payment – always assuming that the complaints of the bishop were justified¹⁰⁰.

Other business in the seneschalsy also required Raoul's attention. His interest in the amortization payments owed by the monastery of Prouille had not diminished. Pursuant to the royal mandate of 27 November 1297, he seems to have surveyed the house's property in the spring of 1298. He was assisted by three men: Raimond de Gaudiès, judge of Rieux and the Val d'Aran, a relative of one of the men who had assisted him and Pierre de Latilli in arranging general compositions¹⁰¹; one of the notaries, Raimond Vita, who had been involved in that work¹⁰²; and a surveyor, Master Pierre Garin. Their task was completed by June 1298, when, at Toulouse, Raoul announced the terms of the agreement he had concluded with the prior of Prouille¹⁰³. The property the house had acquired by exchange, in alms, as donations, and through purchase was said to yield 238 l. 11 s. 4 d. p. t. a year, and thus, because of a privilege which Prouille had obtained from the king, the nuns were said to owe the king 1088 l. 9 s. 8 d. t., or approximately four and a half years' revenue. As has been seen, the royal privilege permitted the nuns to pay six years' revenue as amortization, but Raoul and the other officials must have interpreted this figure as an upper limit¹⁰⁴. If calculated at a flat rate of six years' revenue, the house would have owed 1431 l. 8 s., or 342 l. 18 s. 4 d. t. more than the assessed sum. But the nuns did not escape so easily from the commissioner's net, and Raoul announced in June 1298 that their prior had freely offered to pay 1200 l. p. t. more than the amount that was due. Shortly before this, on 29 May 1298 the house had obtained a royal letter guaranteeing that the 4483 l. 7 s. t. it had lent to the king for his needs in Gascony would be credited to the amortization payment, and it was to that day, 29 May 1298, that, in September 1298, the king confirmed the house's acquisitions of property¹⁰⁵. The accounts for this particular negotiation were closed on 15 October 1298, when the king declared that the nuns of Prouille had satisfied their debt of 4508 l. 7 s. p. t. for the arrangement they had concluded with Raoul de Breuilli, which included 1024 l. 15 s. p. t. owed for the double tenth of 1297–98, as well as 300 l. p. t., presumably the sum they had agreed to pay in 1297 because of the offenses of their dead benefactor, Jean d'Aurillac¹⁰⁶. Assuming that the nuns were being charged 2288 l. 9 s. 8 d. t. for amortization, this means that, somehow, Raoul de Breuilli had succeeded in gaining from them an additional 895 l. 2 s. 4 d. t.

At the royal court Pierre de Latilli may have encountered representatives of

100 BAUDOUIN (see n. 66) p. 46–48, nos. 46–47. The bishop's agents obtained another privilege on the same date, addressed to the seneschal and viguier of Toulouse, regarding clerks' rights at law: *ibid.* 48–49, no. 48.

101 STRAYER (see n. 12) p. 36, 188, 198–99; LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 31, n. 2; 46.

102 LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 45, 48.

103 GUIRAUD (see n. 7) 1, p. 75–77, nos. 110–11.

104 At the double rates which the ordonnance of 1291 instituted for the Midi, most categories of property acquired by ecclesiastics were to be taxed at amounts exceeding six years' revenue; for allodial property acquired without payment in royal lands, fiefs, and rear-fiefs, however, four years' revenue was owed; see n. 43 above.

105 GUIRAUD (see n. 7) 1, p. 85–86, no. 113; LAURENT, BLOCH, and DOINEL (see n. 18) p. 303–304 (H 326); SABARTHÈS and POUX (see n. 28) p. 96 (H 465).

106 GUIRAUD (see n. 7) 1, p. 86, no. 114, and see above, following n. 39.

communities and ecclesiastical establishments with which he and Raoul de Breuilli had been dealing in the south. Around 15 March the community of Saint-Félix sent to Paris a lawyer who had represented them before the commissioners, to secure confirmation of the privileges the community had been offered and to attempt to gain reduction or remission of the sum the community had agreed to pay. Castelnaudary, Fanjeaux, and Laurac took similar action¹⁰⁷. Agents of the bishop of Toulouse must have been at the royal court at about the same time, for, as has been seen, they obtained royal mandates addressed to Raoul de Breuilli on 23 April¹⁰⁸. It also seems likely that a representative of the house of Prouille was at court, since the royal letter regarding the loans the nuns had made for the Gascon war was dated 29 May, just a week after Pierre de Latilli had submitted his accounts. Guichard de Marzi may also have been at court, dealing with the »affair of the homages and certain other business of the king«; in the accounts of the seneschalsy for 1298–99 he was allowed the extremely large sum of 1100 l. t. for travel to Paris for this purpose¹⁰⁹.

Earlier in the month representatives of the consuls of Toulouse appeared before the king and his officials. As their complaints showed, the scale of disaffection was escalating; no longer was it simply »certain citizens« of the city who were presenting complaints. On 7 May 1298 the king issued a mandate to his seneschal at the request of the consuls of Toulouse. In it he commanded that no gifts or transfers of property be accepted from the citizens of Toulouse for homages claimed from them, since the citizens declared themselves exempt from such payments; the cases were to be held in abeyance until officials whom he intended to dispatch to the seneschalsy had arrived there¹¹⁰. Three days later the king issued another mandate for the consuls of Toulouse, this time regarding the charges of servile status that had been brought against some citizens and used as a pretext for seizing them and their property. The king ordered the seneschal to desist from pursuing the charges until he had established that the individuals were indeed of servile status; he commanded his official to search all relevant records to establish the people's condition¹¹¹.

How the king and his counsellors responded to the other delegates from the south is not entirely clear. Given the fact that in 1298 some communities made payments connected with their general compositions, the king may have approved some of the agreements. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the others, like the agents of the consuls of Toulouse, voiced grievances serious enough to prompt the king to action against his over-zealous commissioners. As the royal letter of 7 May 1298 to the seneschal of Toulouse shows, by that date the king had decided to send agents to the Toulousain who would be charged at least with inquiring into the homages demanded

107 Paris, Archives nationales, J 881, liasse 3, no. 1, sixth, eighth, and eleventh sheets (Saint-Félix); J 1031A, no. 7, first sheet (Laurac); J 1032B, no. 17, sixth sheet (Fanjeaux); J 1032B, no. 18 (Castelnaudary); see LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 46, especially n. 3, and 47–48, 50.

108 BAUDOIN (see n. 66) p. 46–49, nos. 46–48.

109 ... *pro negociis homagiorum et aliis certis negociis domini Regis*: Comptes (see n. 13) no. 12014. See below at n. 118–20.

110 BAUDOIN (see n. 66) p. 191–92, no. 172. On the same day the king issued a mandate regarding the rights at law of the inhabitants of Toulouse: *ibid.* p. 191, no. 171.

111 *Ibid.* p. 192–93, no. 173.

of the citizens of Toulouse¹¹². Although in mid-October 1298 the king was still referring to Raoul de Breuilli as »his beloved and faithful knight«, this conventional phrase does not mean that Philip and his ministers were fully endorsing the work he and Pierre had been doing. By the end of the summer three royal commissioners – Gilles, dean of Saint-Martin of Tours, Etienne de Suisi, archdeacon of Bourges, and the knight Geffroi de Vendôme – had been dispatched to the south to inquire »into the merits of the general compositions and for certain other business«¹¹³.

These agents' primary duty was to preside over a session of the Parlement of Toulouse, where they were occupied from at least 1 September 1298 through the following 21 November¹¹⁴. To them syndics of Fanjeaux and consuls of Auterive, Castelnaudary, and Laurac presented formal complaints against the conduct of Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli, and these communities were later joined by those of Cintegabelle, Montgaillard, Puylaurens, Saint-Félix, Villemur, and perhaps others¹¹⁵. Occupied with the affairs of the Parlement, the three royal commissioners appointed other officials to inquire into the charges¹¹⁶. Their formal mandate to their delegates was dated 15 November 1298, but before this their agents had begun receiving depositions of witnesses for and against Pierre, Raoul, and their associates, who were present to answer charges and press counter-claims. In late September, October, and November the royal delegates were swearing witnesses and hearing the charges of the consuls of Auterive, Castelnaudary, Cintegabelle, Fanjeaux, Lautrec, Montgaillard, Puylaurens, Saint-Félix, and Villemur¹¹⁷. The proceedings doubtless aroused considerable interest at the royal court. As has been seen, the seneschal, Guichard de Marzi, traveled to the court to deal with homages and other royal business sometime between 15 May 1298 and 24 June 1299, and the size of the sum he was allotted for his expenses

112 ... *donec gentes nostre quas ad partes Tholose in proximo mittere intendimus, ad partes fuerint antedictas*: *ibid.* p. 192, no. 172.

113 ... *ad inquirendum super meritis compositionum generalium et ad quedam alia*: LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 24. For the letter of 15 October 1298 in which Philip indicated his continued trust in Raoul, see n. 106 above.

114 Comptes (see n. 13) no. 12009, which indicates that they spent 82 days in the Parlement; cf., however, *ibid.* no. 12011, which suggests that they may have been involved with the affairs of the Parlement through 24 December.

115 LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 24, n. 1, and 25–27, 29.

116 See LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 24–25 for the sub-commissioners who were appointed; on Jean Antoine, see STRAYER (see n. 12) p. 22, n. 47, and MAILLARD (see n. 86) p. 336. The account of the commissioners' expenses published as Paris, Archives nationales, J 896, no. 41 by LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 24–25 was reedited in Comptes (see n. 13) nos. 27452–59, where it is correctly designated as J 896, no. 27; see *ibid.* 3, p. cvi, no. 136. The accounts of the seneschalsy for 1298–99 contain a number of items relating to the commissioners' work. They show that Geffroi de Vendôme and the dean of Tours received 175 l. t. apiece for their expenses, the archdeacon of Bourges 200 l. t.: *ibid.* nos. 12339–41. Further, the dean of Tours and his assistant, Pierre de Sainte-Croix, sent a royal sergent, Jean de Vigne, to Agen, Cahors, and Rocamadour, and Master Jean de L'Abbaye to Agen, although whether these missions were connected with the affair of Pierre and Raoul or with business involving the Parlement cannot be determined: *ibid.* nos. 12080–81. Notaries who carried out extraordinarily lengthy commissions in 1298–99 may have been working for the dean of Tours and his colleagues: *ibid.* nos. 12023, 12035, 12059.

117 Paris, Archives nationales, J 655, no. 43; J 881, liasse 3, no. 1; J 892, no. 3; J 896, nos. 8, 9, 25¹, 25², 29; J 1024, no. 38; J 1028B, no. 22; J 1029, no. 2; J 1031A, nos. 7, 8; J 1032B, nos. 17, 17bis, 18; J 1033, nos. 9, 10, 11; J 1034B, nos. 46, 47. Cf. LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 24, n. 1.

– 1100 l. t. – suggests that he made the trip north more than once¹¹⁸. He was accompanied by Gauvain des Bonconseils, juge mage of Toulouse¹¹⁹. The royal proctor Master Bernard Jeannin, who spent at least 120 days in Paris in 1298–99, may also have been involved in these affairs¹²⁰.

There is no official record of the outcome of the investigation of the communities' grievances against Pierre, Raoul, and their agents, but, to judge from the later careers of Pierre and Raoul, it hardly seems likely that they were punished. They had, after all, fulfilled the mission the king had assigned them, and their actions had brought considerable sums of money to the royal treasury. They had paved the way for the negotiation of an enormously profitable global composition, concluded with the seneschalsy in April 1299. Both men served in the All Saints' session of the Parlement of Paris in 1299–1300, and on 12 June 1301 Raoul was listed as one of the knights of the king's council¹²¹. In 1301 Pierre was sent on a number of missions for the king – to England, to Ghent, to the Norman Exchequer, and to the bailliage of Senlis¹²².

By the spring of 1299 an agreement had been reached which satisfied both the king and his aggrieved subjects in the Toulousain, bringing a financial windfall to the government and an array of privileges to the inhabitants of the seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi. Like other royal privileges, the king's ordonnance of April 1299 dwells primarily on his graciousness to his subjects, although it describes in some detail his motives for issuing it – his awareness of the pleasing and devoted services of the inhabitants of the seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi and the constancy of proven fidelity they had always maintained, unshaken, to the king¹²³. Another document reveals the high price of 200 000 l. t. which the inhabitants of the Toulousain paid for their liberties¹²⁴.

How and where the negotiations between Philip the Fair and the inhabitants of the seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi were conducted is not clear. There is no reference to any such negotiations in the documents related to the investigation of the actions of Pierre and Raoul. Thus it seems clear that they occurred after the communities' complaints had been aired and the testimony that had been collected delivered to the

118 See above at n. 109.

119 Comptes (see n. 13) no. 12013 for the 100 l. t. he was paid for his expenses; on him see STRAYER (see n. 12) p. 138, 168–69; and also 20, 22, 28–29; and MAILLARD (see n. 86) p. 331.

120 Comptes (see n. 13) nos. 12024–25; and see STRAYER (see n. 12) p. 199 and 31 for his service as royal proctor from 1298 to 1322.

121 VIARD, Journaux (see n. 24) nos. 4457, 4541, 4877.

122 Ibid. no. 4870 (10 June 1301, England); no. 5587 (22 November 1301, Senlis and the Exchequer); no. 5801 (26 December 1301, Ghent); see n. 11 above for his later activities and for his final downfall after the death of Philip the Fair.

123 ... *quod Nos propensius attendentes grata devotionis obsequia, quae gentes Tolosae & Albiensis Senescalliae Nobis impendisse noscuntur, ac probatae fidelitatis constantia quam apud eos reperimus inconcussam*: Ordonnances (see n. 18) 12, p. 335, printed from the first edition of VIC and VAISSÈTE (see n. 5; Paris 1730–45) 4, preuves, p. 111–13 (in the new edition, 10, preuves, col. 348–52, no. 96–XLIX), where it is said to be taken from »Registre 18« of the Trésor des Chartes, »Registre depuis l'an 1299 jusqu'en 1307«, and from a manuscript of M. Bertin, vol. VI, fol. 95. For the copy in Paris, Archives nationales, JJ 38 (which actually contains acts of the years 1297 through 1307), fol. 17–18, no. 18, see FAWTIER (see n. 7) no. 117. Another copy survives in the communal archives of Verdun-sur-Garonne, AA 2: DEVALS AÎNÉ (see n. 37) p. 2. Cf. LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 52.

124 Cordes, Archives communales, CC 27, no. 5, published in the Appendix, below.

king. It is perhaps no coincidence that, on 16 March 1299, representatives of the bishop of Toulouse obtained a royal letter regarding local ordinances concerning the export of grain, wine, and other products¹²⁵, nor that, on 5 April 1299, a royal letter was issued for Toulouse ordering the seneschal and viguier to observe the statutes and ordonnances promulgated for the city's profit and governance¹²⁶. Thus, agents of the city and bishop of Toulouse may have been at court at the very time the royal ordonnance for the seneschalsy was issued in April 1299. Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli were surely there, for on 8 April 1299 they deposited 1400 l. t. they had received in the Toulousain¹²⁷. That they were actively involved in the negotiations between the king and the Toulousain seems unlikely, given the reputation their activities had won for them in the seneschalsy. As to Guillaume de Nogaret, he may, as Langlois suggested, have taken part in the deliberations regarding the grievances of the communities of the Toulousain, his native region, but there is no evidence to prove that this was the case¹²⁸.

In return for 200 000 l. t. offered by the inhabitants of the Toulousain, the king granted the seneschalsy a variety of privileges. First of all, he eradicated all traces of servitude on royal lands in the seneschalsy. Every kind of servitude, involving corporal status or the payment of »caselage«, was to be abolished, on condition that 12 d. t. a year for each sextariate of land burdened with »caselage« be paid to the king; all individuals who were freed were also to give the king a third of their property, both movable and immovable. These provisions were to apply to all men and women subject to nobles, non-nobles, and ecclesiastics, who were under royal authority. The king ordered that any people of servile status who in future attempted to enter the seneschalsy should be expelled from the communities at the consuls' request unless they could demonstrate that they had been freed; if, owing to ignorance of their condition, they were not driven out and if they married inhabitants of the seneschalsy, their offspring were to enjoy the condition of their free parents; all immigrants who refused to become free on the conditions imposed in the ordonnance were to remain in the statuses they had had in their places of origin. Philip the Fair also remitted all claims to property acquired from nobles, saving the annual payment of 12 d. t. from property burdened with »caselage«; twenty years' peaceful possession was to guarantee that the possessors not be forced to fine for the property. The king further cancelled all monetary penalties inflicted for offenses committed before the day of the issuance of the ordonnance, except for crimes involving corporal punishment or the confiscation of property. Fines for failure to perform satisfactory military service or for the reception of prohibited money were also annulled, as were payments of »fouage«. Finally, the king cancelled all financial agreements made with Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli and their agents, and he ordered that the books containing

125 BAUDOUIN (see n. 66) p. 52–53, no. 53.

126 Ibid. p. 193, no. 174; no reference is made to the individuals or group requesting the mandate.

127 VIARD, *Journaux* (see n. 24) no. 2380.

128 LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 53, especially n. 3. Langlois indicates that some trace of the documents connected with the protests existed in the inventory of the papers in Nogaret's possession at the time of his death, but he cites no evidence to support this hypothesis. For the preservation of the petition of the inhabitants of *Altus Mons* among the papers of Guillaume de Plaisians, see above at n. 91.

records of the homages and payments of »caselage« of the seneschalsy's inhabitants be destroyed¹²⁹. The king stipulated that all liberties granted to the communities in the past were to remain in force and stated, to protect his rights, that he did not intend to cancel future subventions and subsidies owed him by the free inhabitants of the seneschalsy¹³⁰. Thus the general compositions which Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli had arranged individually with communities of the seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi were translated into a single composition, the agreements they had concluded into a single charter of privilege for the seneschalsy.

Philip the Fair ordered the seneschal of Toulouse and Albi, Guichard de Marzi, to apportion among the inhabitants of the seneschalsy the global sum of 200 000 l. t. they had promised. As a royal mandate of 1303 shows, Guichard was fully as autocratic and capricious with regard to this global composition as his colleagues had been in 1297–98. He divided the lump sum with little concern for equity, permitting some communities to escape without payment and overly burdening others; his assessments produced a profit of 9000 or 10000 l. t. beyond the 200000 l. t. the seneschalsy had actually agreed to pay¹³¹. His actions suggest that he had learned little from the investigation of the conduct of the commissioners of 1297–98 – nor is there any evidence that the king made any attempt before 1303 to change the assessments he imposed. His actions regarding the 200000 l. t. may, in the end, have played some part in his fall from office in 1301, for a royal mandate to reformers in the seneschalsy issued on 14 September 1303 commanded them not only to review the assessments but also to see that all sentences against Guichard were carried out¹³². For the moment, however, he proceeded undisturbed.

One piece of evidence suggests that Guichard was not completely blind to the consequences of the mission of Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli. On 20 March 1301 he promulgated a reform ordinance for the seneschalsy, more general than the ordonnance of April 1299. Its provisions are comparable to those contained in the royal ordonnance of April 1297 for the Rouergue and to those of later ordonnances of reform issued by the king and his officials¹³³. Noting that while he had been occupied in Gascony, the officials and inhabitants of the seneschalsy had profited from his absence to commit many offenses, he declared that »his desire for equity and his wish

129 LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 41 for the use the commissioners had made of such records, and see above, at n. 111, for Philip the Fair's order that the seneschal search through them.

130 Ordonnances (see n. 18) 12, p. 335–36.

131 Cordes, Archives communales, CC27, no. 5, in the Appendix, below.

132 Ibid.

133 Cordes, Archives communales, FF1, a document whose contents are partially obliterated. The ordinance is clearly dated *die lune ante Ramos Anno domini M^o. CCC^o*. Since the Easter style of dating was employed in the seneschalsy of Toulouse, this means that the ordinance was issued on 20 March 1301; see n. 14 above. Similar reform ordinances were issued by two reforming officials in the neighboring seneschalsy of Périgord and Quercy on 20 October 1302: GLÉNISSON (see n. 38) p. 267–68, no. 20. Statutes for the city of Périgueux were promulgated on 31 December 1302 and an ordinance for Montauban on 11 February 1302: Périgueux, Archives municipales, FF6, published in *Les Olim, ou registres des arrêts rendus par la Cour du roi, sous les règnes de Saint Louis, de Philippe le Hardi, de Philippe le Bel, de Louis le Hutin et de Philippe le Long*, ed. Arthur-Auguste BEUGNOT, 4 vol., Paris 1839–48 (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de la France, Première série, Histoire politique) 3, part 1, p. 366–72; Montauban, Archives municipales, 2 FF 1, no. XXVI, and

to see the devoted receive the reward of tranquillity and the deceitful suffer for their perversity« moved him to institute certain measures consonant with the royal dignity, the fidelity required by his office, and the condition of the seneschalsy's subjects¹³⁴. Thus he established a scale of fines for those convicted of carrying arms (60 l. t. for nobles and 60 s. tol. for non-nobles) and decreed that the guilty be punished for their excesses. He restrained bayles and notaries from recording charges in the books of the court unless the charges were based on grave suspicion or had been formally presented; he forbade that anyone be compelled to pay prison charges unless condemned, and he ordained that the charges not be excessive; he commanded that bayles not release prisoners except on the explicit order of a judge; he set forth a number of principles designed to insure that sergeants not waste the property of debtors and thereby defraud the debtors' creditors of their claims. Thus, like the king he served, Guichard de Marzi may have come to realize, however fleetingly, that the cooperation and loyalty of the king's subjects were more likely to be won by good government than by force. But his own reform ordinance was issued too late and its provisions were perhaps too restricted to efface memories of his other acts or win him any immediate favor or indulgence.

The assessments which Guichard de Marzi imposed led the communities, once again, to complain to the king. Because relevant accounts for the seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi do not survive, there is no way of knowing precisely how the sums were levied. Nor is there any means of determining whether those who had paid fines and compositions in 1298–99 had their payments credited to the sums owed for the privileges bestowed in the ordonnance of April 1299.

Between April 1299 and May 1303 events occurred in Languedoc and in the kingdom at large which go far to account for the mandate concerning the assessments that Philip the Fair issued for the Toulousain on 22 May 1303. The period had witnessed a revival of warfare. Although the English and French had concluded a truce, the rebellious Flemings had to be controlled; a state of open conflict between them and the French existed from January through May of 1300 and again between May of 1302 and June of 1305, and even when troops were not actually fighting, garrisons had to be maintained and preparations for renewed hostilities made. Despite the king's evident need for funds, however, these years witnessed, beginning in late 1300 and early 1301, a modification of royal policy, as the pursuit of financial gain was tempered by increased royal concern for the good governance of the kingdom and the well-being of the king's subjects.

In 1299 and 1300 efforts to secure funds continued in the Midi. In the Agenais, Raoul Rousselet, canon of Dol, furnished with powers similar to those exercised by Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli, investigated royal rights and property, and his

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Doat 87, fol. 55–67. Reformers who were operating in the seneschalsy of Beaucaire at the same time issued a number of ordinances for the seneschalsy: GLÉNISSON (see n. 38) p. 267, no. 19. See also above, n. 38, and below, at n. 158.

134 ... *urget nos jtaque stimulus equitatis meroribus obuiare premissis vt deuoti tranquillitatis premium consequantur / & dolosi peruersitatis aculeos patiantur / Hoc enim decori regalis culminis conuenire putamus / et Cur' [Curie, Cure?] nostre deposcit fidelitas / & statuj expedit subditorum Auctoritate igitur Regia stabilimus...*: Cordes, Archives communales, FF 1.

activities, like theirs, led to protests that resulted in royal intervention¹³⁵. During the summer and fall of 1300 the seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi received another commissioner authorized to levy funds for the king. On 21 March 1300 Nicolas de Luzarches, provost of Auvers in the church of Chartres, was commissioned to receive payments for noble property acquired by non-nobles and ecclesiastics in the seneschalsy, and he entered into agreements with numerous ecclesiastical establishments in the summer and early fall of 1300, agreements which the king approved in February 1301¹³⁶. There were signs of change, however. On 20 September 1300 Nicolas was given a reforming assignment in the seneschalsy of Toulouse, where he and the seneschal were commanded to investigate the conduct of Guillaume Isarn, royal *viguier* of Toulouse, who was accused of numerous offenses against the bishop of Toulouse and his servants¹³⁷. At the same time, Richard Leneveu, archdeacon of Auge in the church of Lisieux, professor of civil law and royal clerk, was, with Gui de La Charité, bishop of Soissons, carrying on inquests both economic and political in nature in Beaucaire, Nîmes, Montpellier, and Aigues-Mortes¹³⁸. Then, in the spring of 1301, Richard Leneveu found himself named, with Jean de Picquigny, *vidame* of Amiens, as royal inquisitor and reformer in the seneschalsies of Toulouse and Carcassonne¹³⁹. Although these men were clearly expected to raise money, the reforming powers they were given distinguished their mission from that of Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli, and the use they made of these powers surely suggested to the king's subjects that financial gain was no longer the sole object of missions dispatched by the royal court.

After Richard Leneveu and Jean de Picquigny set to work at the end of May 1301, one of their most spectacular undertakings was the prosecution of Guichard de Marzi and his brothers Dalmas and Hugues. This prosecution led to Guichard's removal from office, to the brothers' condemnation, and to the confiscation of their property¹⁴⁰. The royal commissioners also dealt with other arduous problems: Bernard Saisset, the outspoken bishop of Pamiers who had maligned the king; the discontented southerners, led by Bernard Délicieux, who were chafing at the

135 FAWTIER (see n. 7) no. 120; Adolphe MAGEN and G. THOLIN, Archives municipales d'Agen. Chartes. Première série (1189–1328), Villeneuve-sur-Lot 1876, p. 201–202, nos. CXVIII–IX.

136 FAWTIER (see n. 7) nos. 142, 145–49; GLÉNISSON (see n. 38) p. 319–20.

137 See BAUDOIN (see n. 66) p. 53–56, no. 54 for the case of Guillaume Isarn, and see also 57, no. 55 for a privilege of 21 September 1300, clearly connected with this case, issued in favor of the bishop of Toulouse.

138 GLÉNISSON (see n. 38) p. 207, 314, 322.

139 Ibid. p. 207, 264–65, no. 15, and 322–23.

140 Ibid. p. 208; VIC and VAISSÈTE (see n. 5) 10, preuves, col. 334, no. 110–VI. Guichard maintained his innocence with great persistence and succeeded in interesting the pope in his case. Finally, in 1312, he was forgiven and restored to royal favor: *ibid.* col. 528–29, no. 175. From then until 1321 he received important royal commissions and, with Guillaume Durand, bishop of Mende, and other impressive individuals, was named an executor of the will of Béraud de Mercoeur on 26 May 1314: Paris, Archives nationales, P 1368¹, no. 1599. If, in view of the conduct of the royal officers in the Toulousain in 1297–98, it seems ironic that Pierre de Latilli, then canon of Paris, returned there to act as a reformer in 1303, it is even more surprising that Guichard de Marzi, after his rehabilitation, was sent in 1316 as a reformer to the Toulousain, where his brother Dalmas was governing the seneschalsy on 21 August 1316: see above, n. 13. In 1319 Philip V awarded him, as a gift for life, an annuity of 10 s. p. per day on the income of Lyon: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 38510, fol. 116v.

prosecutions for heresy conducted by papal inquisitors; the inhabitants of Bordeaux, who revolted against the king in the spring of 1302¹⁴¹. Later, on 10 September 1302, Richard Leneveu and two fellow-clerks of Lisieux were empowered to sell freedom to the people of the seneschalsies of Toulouse, Carcassonne, Beaucaire, Agenais, Rouergue, and Gascony¹⁴². Thus the king charged these men with a task similar to the one he had entrusted to Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli in 1297–98. The powers bestowed in the mandate of 10 September 1302 involved, however, more than the sale of manumission. Hence they were hardly superfluous even in the Toulousain, freed from servitude by the ordonnance of April 1299¹⁴³. The commissioners were authorized to grant other lords the right to free their subjects of servile status, to arrange means by which bourgeois and non-nobles could acquire noble fiefs and to ennoble such people, to arrange amortization payments with ecclesiastics, and to compose with all those who owed money to the king.

Following the disastrous defeat of the royal army at Courtrai on 11 July 1302, Philip the Fair was in sore need of funds. Considerations of practical politics and the pointed threats and insults of Boniface VIII, however, dictated restraint. The king and his advisers recognized the necessity of assuaging discontent, in order to demonstrate Philip's worthiness as ruler and to secure his subjects' support¹⁴⁴. The situation in the Midi was particularly difficult, given the rebellion in Bordeaux and the unrest caused by ecclesiastical inquisitors. In the spring of 1303 attempts to raise money for a campaign against the Flemings were preceded on 18 March by the issuance of Philip the Fair's grand ordonnance for the reform of the kingdom. Negotiations with representatives of Edward I of England – as well as the increasing momentum of Philip's struggle with Boniface VIII – resulted by early May 1303 in the decision to make peace with the English and restore to them the lands in the duchy of Gascony that Richard Leneveu and Jean de Picquigny had labored to defend¹⁴⁵. Then, on 15 May 1303, a fresh commission for the institution of reform in the seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi was issued to Richard Leneveu, and he was assigned as fellow-commissioner none other than Pierre de Latilli. Their mandate laid heavy emphasis on reform, but they were also ordered to exploit royal property and revenues to produce funds for the treasury¹⁴⁶. It was in the context of these developments that Philip the Fair issued his mandate regarding the unfair assessments imposed by Guichard de Marzi on the communities of the Toulousain.

141 GLÉNISSON (see n. 38) p. 208–16.

142 VIC and VAISSÈTE (see n. 5) 10, preuves, col. 403–405, no. 117–LVIII; GLÉNISSON (see n. 38) p. 210–11. A similar mandate for the bailliage of Caen was issued on 29 August 1302 to Guillaume de Gilli, royal clerk; the commission is virtually identical to the one given to Richard Leneveu, although Guillaume was also empowered to arrange fines with those who had neglected summonses to serve in the royal army: Paris, Archives nationales, JJ 35, fol. 14, no. 48; JJ 36, fol. 15v–16, no. 47.

143 Cf. LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 52–53, n. 2.

144 STRAYER (see n. 27) p. 59–63. See also my forthcoming study, *Philip the Fair, Boniface VIII, and the Grand Ordonnance of Reform of 1303*.

145 GLÉNISSON (see n. 38) p. 216, for a royal mandate regarding the restitution, addressed to Richard Leneveu, Jean de Picquigny, and Nicolas de Luzarches as well.

146 *Ibid.* p. 332–33, no. 5. See GUIRAUD (see n. 7) 1, p. 88, no. 117, a royal mandate of 29 July 1303 to Richard Leneveu and Pierre de Latilli, commanding them to see to the restitution to Prouille of money deposited there by the bishop of Pamiers, which had been taken on the orders of Jean de Picquigny for expenses connected with the revolt in Bordeaux. As a result of the commissioners' work (*ibid.*

On 22 May 1303 Philip the Fair ordered the two men he had named as royal reformers in Languedoc, Richard Leneveu and Jean de Picquigny, to take measures to correct the injustices inflicted on the communities of the seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi by Guichard de Marzi, as well as to see to the enforcement of all sentences visited on the former seneschal. In view of the commission that Pierre de Latilli had received with Richard Leneveu just a week earlier, Pierre may have been involved in implementing the royal orders in the very seneschalsy where his actions in 1297–98 had led to the negotiation of the global composition with the king. Whether assisted by Pierre or not, Richard Leneveu and Jean de Picquigny proceeded to execute the king's orders, and by 14 September 1303 they had considerably decreased the assessments of several leading communities of the seneschalsy. Rieux and Cordes were accorded reductions of 2000 l. t., Caraman 1000 l. t., Seysses 800 l. t., Avignonet-Lauragais 500 l. t., and Maurens 200 l. t. It seems possible that in the case of all the communities the sums their consuls had contracted to pay in 1297 and 1298 had served as the basis for – or had perhaps been transformed into – the assessments which, on royal orders, Guichard de Marzi later made. Of these communities only Maurens is known to have made any payment for a general composition in 1298; the total sum for which it was then assessed was 400 l. t., of which 16 l. 13 s. 4 d. were actually paid in that year¹⁴⁷.

On 26 October 1303 Philip the Fair ordered the treasurer of Toulouse to credit Cordes with the reduction made by Richard Leneveu and Jean de Picquigny¹⁴⁸. For safety's sake the consuls of Cordes had secured an exemplification of the reformers' decision on 26 September 1303. They may have had difficulty obtaining their allowance, since five years later, on 9 August 1309, they received yet another official copy of this act, as well as a *vidimus* of the royal mandate of 26 October 1303¹⁴⁹.

Philip the Fair's mandate of 22 May 1303 thus seems to have been issued as part of the government's general effort to demonstrate the king's concern for his subjects, to secure their loyalty, and to raise money for his campaign in Flanders¹⁵⁰. Other royal mandates connected with the subsidies of 1303 show that when opposition to royal levies was great, the king was prepared to negotiate in order to obtain money. Royal letters granted to the Toulousain later in the summer of 1303 suggest that the willingness of the communities to pay installments of the composition agreed to in

p. 88–90, nos. 117–22, 14 September 1303), on 3 August 1303 Jean de Picquigny ordered the return of the money, although not until 1306 does this appear to have been fully effected: *ibid.* p. 90–91, no. 123 (a royal mandate of 26 June 1306), and also p. 91, no. 124 (a royal letter of 21 November 1310 to the bishop of Pamiers indicating that by then the restitution had been accomplished).

147 Comptes (see n. 13) no. 11100.

148 For the mandate on behalf of Cordes, dated 26 October 1303, see Cordes, Archives communales, CC 27, no. 5, published in the Appendix, below. Similar mandates may have been issued on behalf of the other communities.

149 The document published in the Appendix survives in the communal archives of Cordes. Thus, there seems no question that the exemplification of 1309 was obtained by the consuls of the community. There is no indication of the circumstances under which the *inspeximus* of 1304, included in the document of 1309, was secured. Since, however, it served as the basis for the exemplification of 1309, it was probably in the community's archives.

150 Note especially the privileges issued to the bishop of Toulouse on 20 February 1303 and 17 July 1303, in BAUDOIN (see n. 66) p. 59–60, nos. 58–59.

1299 won them immunity from any save voluntary contributions to the subsidy in lieu of military service that Philip the Fair had ordered collected. On 25 July 1303 Philip the Fair commanded the seneschal of Toulouse not to attempt to coerce the inhabitants of the seneschalsy to go or send troops to Flanders; the seneschal was, however, instructed to try to persuade the people of the seneschalsy to furnish wages for a certain number of soldiers¹⁵¹. The king said in his letter that he had already given these instructions to Nicolas de Luzarches, Pierre de Latilli, Jean de Picquigny, and Jourdain de l'Isle, who were apparently supervising the subsidy. A mandate he had issued for the seneschalsies of Toulouse and Rouergue on 10 July had not, however, suggested that he expected contributions in the Toulousain to be completely voluntary¹⁵². In the ensuing two weeks, the king's attitude apparently changed. On 25 July he stated that he was issuing his mandate in consideration of the services rendered for royal wars in the past. It seems unlikely, however, that he would have been so generous and sympathetic had he not been expecting to collect substantial payments from his subjects in the Toulousain for the privileges he had issued in April 1299. The king's expectations appear to have been justified, and on 17 August 1303 he flatly commanded the seneschal and viguier of Toulouse not to collect any subsidies or fines for failure to perform military service¹⁵³. In explanation he said that he wanted to be prompt in favoring those who had been prompt in responding to his needs¹⁵⁴.

Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli were sent to the south to raise funds for the king at a time when money was critically needed for campaigns against the English and the Flemings. They diligently fulfilled their commissions, disposing of superfluous and unprofitable royal holdings, negotiating payments for the acquisition of noble property, selling manumissions, collecting debts owed to the king, arranging compositions with individuals faced with prosecution, levying war subsidy, furnishing provisions to the king's armies. Their mission was successful, and it seems likely that the momentum of their early achievements led them to launch the campaign to secure payments – general compositions – that resulted in the protests and inquests which have blackened their reputations. The government's need for funds did not vanish upon the conclusion of a truce with the English and the Flemings in October 1297, and the negotiation of financial compositions in return for privileges and immunity from prosecution was a promising solution. The smaller-scale compositions the commissioners had already effected in the Toulousain and the composition with the honor of *Altus Mons* which their colleague, Guichard de Marzi, had negotiated as seneschal of Périgord and Quercy provided instructive precedents. And so the commissioners and their agents set to work, with an enthusiasm, a determination, and a dedication that roused discontent among a number of communities, but that led many to accept and pay for the proposals they were offered. As their earlier activities had profited the king, so too, in the long run, the government benefited

151 Ibid. p. 193–94, no. 175.

152 Ibid. p. 163–64, no. 148.

153 Ibid. p. 194–95, no. 176.

154 ... *nos eo promptius favorabiles exhibere volentes quo eos ad nostra invenimus beneplacita promptiores*: ibid. p. 195. Other letters in favor of Toulouse were issued on 25 and 31 July and 12 August 1303: ibid. p. 164–66, nos. 149–51.

financially from the general compositions that the commissioners arranged during the last phase of their mission. The reaction this campaign produced enabled the king and his ministers to negotiate an even grander and more general composition than they had effected, a composition producing 200 000 l. t. for the treasury in exchange for privileges which were markedly similar to those the commissioners had offered.

The over-bearing, often brutal tactics employed in negotiating general compositions fully account for the resentment the mission of Pierre and Raoul aroused. The methods they and their subordinates used to force communities to proffer money were hardly unparalleled, but their single-minded determination and the scale on which they applied these tactics distinguished their mission from those of other royal officials, particularly those supplied with reforming powers. The widely-held assumption that their actions during the final months of their service in the Toulousain were typical of those of other royal commissioners is thus unwarranted. They and the multitude of notaries and sergeants who assisted them indeed exceeded the bounds of prudence, if not of custom and legality. But there were no clear grounds for imposing penalties on the commissioners. Exemplary punishment of the officials would have embarrassed the government, and thus the southern communities were denied this satisfaction. On the other hand, there is no evidence that the communities were forced to pay the damages which the royal officers claimed¹⁵⁵, and in the end the painful experience had beneficial and enduring consequences for the Toulousain and for the rest of Philip the Fair's realm.

Philip the Fair and his advisers learned some valuable lessons from the mission of Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli. First, the king and his officials were made aware of the value which individuals of servile status placed on gaining full liberty. This the commissions issued on 29 August and 10 September 1302 reveal, and Philip's actions provided a useful precedent for Louis X in 1316 when, facing financial crisis even more acute than that of 1302, he dispatched commissioners to sell freedom to his subjects¹⁵⁶. Philip the Fair had also learned, as Louis X would later realize, that not all the inhabitants of the realm preferred purchasing freedom, which made them liable to the subsidies expected of free men, to remaining in their servile condition. Nonetheless, the mission of Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli demonstrated that enough people were willing to pay for freedom to make such negotiations profitable for the monarchy.

The mission of Pierre and Raoul also demonstrated the benefit to be gained from bartering privileges for money, a lesson that was driven home by the considerable financial profit reaped from the ordonnance of April 1299. The predecessors of Philip the Fair had not been blind to the advantages of such negotiations, but Philip and his sons used the tactics employed by Pierre and Raoul with particular effectiveness, as the

155 In responding to the charges of the consuls of Laurac, Raimond Durand and Simonnet de Pishalop, two of the commissioners' agents, demanded reparations of 1000 l. t. apiece for the damages they had suffered and sought compensation for expenses connected with their work which had not been repaid: LANGLOIS (see n. 2) p. 37, and Paris, Archives nationales, J 896, no. 25, fifth sheet. The surviving documentation contains no evidence that the commissioners and their subordinates lodged similar complaints against other communities, although it seems unlikely that these tactics were employed only in dealing with Laurac.

156 André ARTONNE, *Le mouvement de 1314 et les chartes provinciales de 1315*, Paris 1912 (Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris, 29) p. 72-73.

many charters of privilege they issued in connection with demands for money testify¹⁵⁷.

The most important lessons the king and his officials derived from the mission of 1297–98 were, in a sense, negative. The protests the mission provoked served, first, as clear evidence that there were limits to the demands that could be made of royal subjects. The protests showed that subjects were prepared to admit the obligations and payments they owed the king, but that excessive pressure was likely to transform loyalty into opposition. Brute force was shown to be less effective than persuasion. The reaction suggested as well that commissioners empowered to institute reform as well as to protect the king's rights and reap financial gain were more likely to be successful in gaining money for and promoting loyalty to the king than were agents whose duties were undisguisedly fiscal in nature. The success achieved by the reforming mission of Pierre de Monci and Guillaume Aycelin in the Rouergue in 1296–97¹⁵⁸ contrasted strongly with the difficulties created by the mission of Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli to the Toulousain a year later. Royal policies were accordingly modified. During the twelve years of his reign before 1297 Philip the Fair dispatched only seven groups of reformers – approximately one group every two years. But in the sixteen years of his reign after 1298 some thirty-five reforming missions were sent out – on average, more than two a year; during the troubled reign of Louis X, a period of some eighteen months, twenty-one reforming missions would be dispatched to different parts of the realm¹⁵⁹.

Such tactics were not foolproof. Privileges and reformers could accomplish only so much. Despite the tour which Philip and his family made through Languedoc in the winter of 1303–04 and the many privileges the king issued in the course of this journey¹⁶⁰, a league of communities was, under the leadership of Bernard Délicieux, forged against both the Inquisition and the king, and the league determined to offer rulership over the region to the son of the king of Majorca¹⁶¹. As regards this treasonous movement, however, two facts are noteworthy. First, that only one of the communities known to have been involved in paying for the privileges given to the region in April 1299 – the town of Cordes – took an active part in the league, which

157 This subject is treated in my doctoral dissertation, *Charters and Leagues in Early Fourteenth-Century France: The Movement of 1314 and 1315*, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Radcliffe College and Harvard University, 1960.

158 See n. 38 above.

159 See GLÉNISSON (see n. 38) p. 260–90.

160 Note particularly the detailed reform ordinance that Philip the Fair issued on 7 February 1304 at Béziers for the seneschalsy of Toulouse: Paris, Archives nationales, JJ 36, fol. 58v–59v, no. 133; JJ 35, fol. 62v–63, no. 136; Ordonnances (see n. 18) 1, p. 397–400. A large portion – perhaps a third – of the war subsidy which communities of the seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi owed in 1304 was forgiven them (*de dicta subuentione leuanda magna portio eisdem fuerat relaxata*): Cordes, Archives communales, CC 27, no. 6, an act of 21 November 1304 issued at Toulouse by Jean d'Auxy, chanter of Orléans, Nicolas de Luzarches, Jourdain de l'Isle, and Gérard Baleine, royal tax collectors in the seneschalsy. On the taxes of 1304, see STRAYER (see n. 27) p. 66–68.

161 Michel de DMITREWSKI, Fr. Bernard Délicieux, O.F.M. La lutte contre l'Inquisition de Carcassonne et d'Albi, son procès, 1297–1319, in: *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 17 (1924) p. 318–37, and, for additional sources, see Elizabeth A. R. BROWN, Representation and Agency Law in the Later Middle Ages: The Theoretical Foundations and the Evolution of Practice in the Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Midi, in: *Viator* 3 (1972) p. 351.

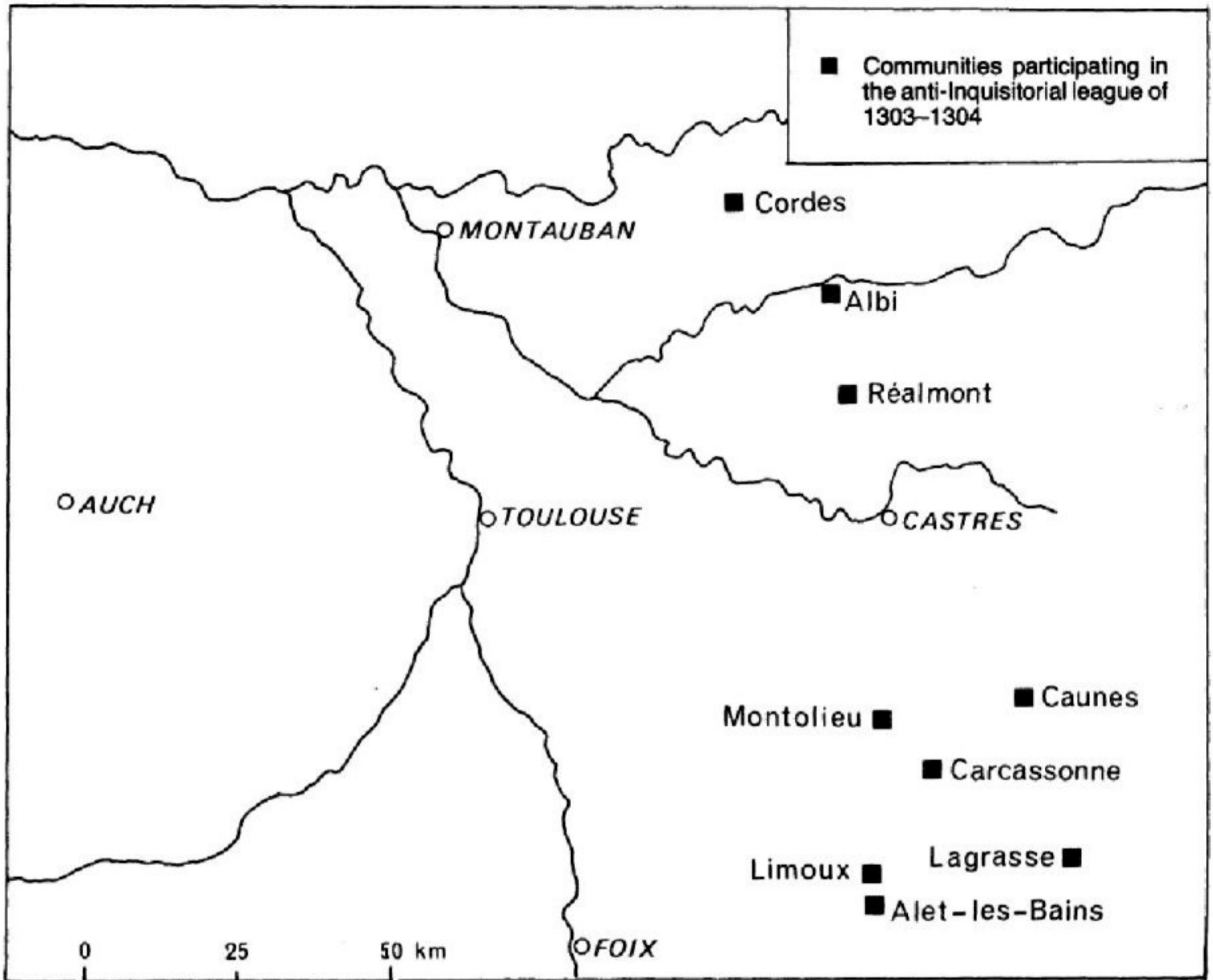


Fig. 3

was centered in Albi and Carcassonne (fig. 3). Second, that Philip the Fair dealt as moderately and restrainedly as he did with those who had participated in the league. Many of the leaders were executed as a warning to others, but a large part of the heavy fine imposed on Carcassonne was eventually remitted, and not until after Philip the Fair's death did Bernard Délicieux receive the harsh punishment which his actions in 1303-04 apparently merited¹⁶².

As this incident and the royal policies implemented during the remainder of Philip the Fair's reign demonstrate, the government had come to recognize that harshness and high-handedness were not always effective. The results that quite different policies could have were described by an anonymous continuator of the *Universal Chronicle* of Guillaume de Nangis, who wrote of the king's trip to the south in 1303-04, »And since the king revealed himself as liberal, munificent, gracious, and good, he was magnificently received and was showered with great gifts, had he wanted to accept them; he wondrously won the hearts of all. His subjects were so drawn to him that, because of their affection for him, they faithfully promised to aid him with

162 BROWN (see n. 161) p. 351; I deal with the prosecution of Bernard Délicieux in my forthcoming study, *Corruption, Finance, and Reform in Fourteenth-Century France. The Reformatores Patrie Generales in Languedoc 1318-1319*.

all their strength and at their own expense against all the enemies of the realm of France»¹⁶³. Liberality, munificence, graciousness, and goodness – these words contrast sharply with those that had been and have been used to describe the mission of Pierre de Latilli and Raoul de Breuilli in 1297–98. Although Philip the Fair never overtly condemned these royal servants, his later policies suggest that the consequences of their mission were not forgotten. Privileges and favors, even if purchased, resulted in loyalty and cooperation that authoritarian tactics could not elicit.

APPENDICES

I

Domme, 24 May 1298

A letter of Gui Chevrier, seneschal of Périgord and Quercy, addressed to Philip the Fair from Domme (Dordogne, ar. Sarlat, 12 kilometers south of Sarlat) on the Saturday before Pentecost 1298 (24 May 1298). Responding to a royal mandate exemplified in his letter, the seneschal forwards to the king his recommendations regarding a petition presented to the king by the inhabitants of the honor of »Altus Mons«, who have agreed to pay 240 l. t. to obtain freedom from certain servile dues.

A. Paris, Archives nationales, J 896, no. 11; parchment; 257 mm. wide by 355 mm. long. A notation in an eighteenth-century hand in the left margin of the document reads: Information faite par le Sénéchal du Périgord et du Quercy d'après les ordres du Roi. Relativement a la réclamation adressée par les habitans de Aumont au Roi contre un droit d'alberge exigé par les baillis et Sergens desd' habitans. On the dorse of the document the following notations appear. First, in the same hand as the notation on the face of the document, Remontrance faite au Roi par les hommes de Autmont contre un droit de Gite prétendu par ses baillis et Sergens contre lesd' habitans. Second, in two different fourteenth-century hands: le fet aus homes de aut mon; and, more important, Nos autem omnia et singula in predictis contenta litteris grata habentes et firma¹⁶⁴ volumus et presentium tenore concedimus quod dicti homines iuxta formam dicte compositionis a prestacione¹⁶⁵ albergii¹⁶⁶, gallinarum, et feni huiusmodi mediante dicta summa peccunie infuturum liberi maneant et immu-

163 ... *et quia liberalem, munificum favorabilemque et benignum cunctis se exhibuit ab ipsis magnifice susceptus magnisque muneribus si voluisset accipere muneratus, omnium corda mirabiliter ad se traxit. In tantum etenim affecti sunt erga ipsum quod sibi promicterent fideliter ex affectu ferre illi iuvamina tota virtute et sumptibus propriis adversus omnes regno Francie adversantes et contra Flandrenses maxime: Léopold DELISLE, Documents parisiens de la Bibliothèque de Berne, in: Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France 23 (1896) p. 252–53; corrected from Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 4598, fol. 201v; see also Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300, avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368, ed. Hercule GÉRAUD, 2 vol., Paris 1843 (Publications de la Société de l'Histoire de France, 33, 35) 1, p. 338–39.*

164 et inserted and cancelled.

165 feni cancelled.

166 feni cancelled.

nes. Quod ut ratum. *Note also, in an early nineteenth-century hand, 1298, Haultmont en Perigort.*

Excellentissimo ac serenissimo Principi domino suo karissimo domino Philippo, provisione divina regi Franc' illustrissimo, servus suus Guido Caprarii miles eiusdem, senescallus Petragorie et Caturcensis, se totum ad pedes regie maiestatis ad eiusdem precepta paratum.

Noverit regia celsitudo me litteras regias recepisse una cum quibusdam supplicationibus clausis, sub sigillo regio dudum directas domino Guiscardo de Marziaco militi, dudum senescallo Petragorie, predecessori meo, quarum litterarum regiarum tenor sequitur sub hiis verbis:

Philippus Dei gratia Franc' rex .. senescallo Petragorie salutem. Mandamus vobis quatinus hominibus de honore Alti montis super contentis in eorum supplicationibus, quas cum presentibus sub sigillo nostro vobis mittimus interclusis, vocatis quorum interest, facientes iusticie complementum super quodam novo servitutis genere, eis ut dicitur imposito per nostros servientes et baiulos dicti loci, quod vocatur albergium, de quo valde se conqueruntur gravatos et nobiscum libenter component^a, sciatis quid hoc est, et si super hoc ad comodum nostrum possitis componere absque preiudicio alieno, compositionem admittatis eandem, et nobis quid inde feceritis rescribatis. Datum apud Pontisaram sabbato post Magdalenam.

Item tenor dictarum supplicationum talis est:

Regie maiestati significant supplicando B. Gelat, Hugo la Cerra, pro se et aliis hominibus de honore Alti montis quod baiuli Alti montis dictos homines de novo quamplurimum molestant, levando servitatem indebitam que albergium vocatur ab eisdem pro libito voluntatis, ita quod semel in anno veniunt dicti baiuli ad hospitia hominum predictorum, cum tali comitiva sicut^b eis placet, contra voluntatem et prohibitionem hominum predictorum, propter quod albergium bailivia predicta non venditur in maiori summa. Quare supplicant dicti homines dari in mandatis senescallo Petragorie, ut sine cause cognitione dictos homines non permittat vexari per dictos baiulos, vel saltim mandari^c, quod se informet de valore albergii predicti, cum certam summam^d sint parati dare annuatim pro evitando labore suo pro dicto albergio, et quod refferat quod invenerit ad proximum parlamentum.

Item significant dicti homines quod dicti baiuli vexant indebite dictos homines percipiendo ab eisdem seu ab aliquibus ex ipsis gallinas et fenum annuatim. Quare petunt dari in mandatis dicto .. senescallo, ut a predicta vexatione desistere faciat dictos baiulos previa ratione.

Item significant dicti homines quod per .XXX. annos et amplius predicti homines habuerunt consules ut ceteri homines patrie pro denariis per eos debitis taxandis et levandis; nuper dominus Geraldus de Sabanaco locum tenens dicti domini senescalli in plena assisia sine cause cognitione inhibuit dictis hominibus ne exnunc aliquis ex eis uteretur officium consulatus tenere^e.

a componentur A.

b siccut A.

c mandar' A.

d summa A.

e tener' A.

Facta igitur diligenti inquisitione, de mandato domini Geraldii de Sabanaco legum doctoris, tunc iudicis et locum tenentis predicti predecessoris mei, de modo et forma perceptionis ac etiam de valore albergii de quo fit mentio^f in mandato regio supradicto, et post modum de mandato meo de valore et modo perceptionis feni et gallinarum de quibus fit mentio^f in supplicationibus supradictis, ipsisque inquisitionibus visis et diligenter inspectis, ac etiam super eis diligenti deliberatione et tractatu prehabitis cum meis iudicibus et procuratore et thesaurario regiis in dicta senescallia et pluribus aliis peritis, comperto quod a viginti quinque annis citra genus huiusmodi servitutis predictorum albergii, feni, et gallinarum fuerat impositum hominibus antedictis, et quod predictae res valebant aut valere poterant comuni estimatione annuatim duodecim libras Turonensium parvorum et non ultra, comperto etiam per facti experientiam quod dicta ballivia Alti montis et honoris eiusdem alias vocati Danteiac per remissionem seu sufferentiam exactionis huiusmodi minus non est vendita anno presenti, tandem homines predicti honoris obtulerunt se daturos predictae regie maiestati per modum compositionis ducentas quadraginta libras Turonensium parvulorum pro remissione albergii, feni, gallinarumque premissorum, ad hoc ut tam ipsi homines quam eorum successores a predictis servitutibus seu exactionibus per dictam maiestatem regiam perpetuo sint liberi et immunes. Ergo autem credens utile et expediens regie maiestati recipere compositionem predictam, de consilio et assensu iudicum, procuratoris, ac thesaurarii predictorum, Hugoni Martini et Guillelmo Ragamberti sindicis ac procuratoribus hominum predicti honoris Alti montis alias vocati Danteiac pro se et nomine quo supra humiliter supplicantibus dictam oblationem recipi et admitti pro dicta libertate et immunitate dictis hominibus per dictam maiestatem regiam ut dictum est perpetuo concedenda, predictam compositionem a dictis sindicis et procuratoribus admisi et recepi, sub modo et forma superius comprehensis. Necnon et libertatem et immunitatem prestationis servitutum predictarum nomine quo supra eisdem hominibus et eorum successoribus duxi perpetuo concedendam, et etiam nomine regie celsitudinis feci eis pactum de non petendo aliquid exnunc a predictis hominibus seu eorum successoribus occasione feni, gallinarum, et albergii premissorum, retenta celsitudinis regie in omnibus voluntate, et premissa significo et rescribo. Precipiat michi servo suo serenitas regia sue beneplacita voluntatis.

Datum in Monte dome, die sabbati ante festum Penthecosten anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo octavo.

^f mensio A.

II

9 August 1309

An exemplification executed on 9 August 1309 by Bernard Armanni, lieutenant of Yves de Landévennec¹⁶⁷, judge ordinary of Toulouse, keeper of the royal seal of the seneschalsy and viguerie of Toulouse, of two letters. Frist, a royal letter drawn at Paris on the Saturday before All Saints Day 1303 (26 October 1303) and addressed to the

167 STRAYER (see n. 12) p. 19, 22, n. 47, and 180–81; and MAILLARD (see n. 86) p. 339.

treasurer of Toulouse, ordering execution of the remission of 2000 l. t. of a general financial settlement granted to the consuls of Cordes by Richard Leneveu and Jean de Picquigny. Second, an exemplification dated Thursday following the feast of Blessed Matthew the Apostle 1303 (26 September 1303), issued by Nicolas Foulques of Tournai¹⁶⁸, keeper of the seal of the seneschalsy and viguerie and judge of the court of the seal of Toulouse. Nicolas Foulques exemplifies a letter issued at Toulouse on Saturday, the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, in 1303 (14 September 1303), by Richard Leneveu, archdeacon of Auge in the church of Lisieux, and Jean de Picquigny, vidame of Amiens, reformers in the Toulousain and Albigeois and the Languedoc, regarding the actions they have taken to comply with royal orders (exemplified in their letter) dated at Paris on the Wednesday following the Ascension 1303 (22 May 1303), commanding review of the assessments imposed for the payment of 200000 l. t. due from the seneschalsy of Toulouse and Albi by reason of 'caselages'; the commissioners specify the reductions they have granted to six communities of the Toulousain.

A. Cordes, Archives communales, CC 27, no. 5; parchment; 375 mm. wide by 438 mm. long. I am grateful to the Director of the Archives départementales of the Tarn for providing me with the measurements and with photographs of this document, now deposited in the Archives of the Tarn. The act was sealed on a double strip of parchment; the seal is now missing. A sixteenth-century notation on the dorse reads: Vidimas de Lettras de Remissieu de dos mila ll' per la Finansa del Rey.

Noverint universi, quod nos, Bernardus Armani tenens locum venerabilis et discreti viri domini Yvonis de Leudunhaco legum doctoris, iudicis ordinarii Tholose, custodisque sigilli regii senescallie et vicarie Tholose, vidimus, tenuimus, et diligenter inspeximus quandam patentem litteram serenissimi principis domini nostri Francorum regis, eiusdem sigillo cereo impendenti sigillatam, non viciatam, non cancellatam, nec in aliqua sui parte habolitam, ut prima sui facie apparebat, cuius tenor talis est:

Philippus Dei gratia Franc' . . . rex, thesaurario nostro Tholose salutem. Cum dilecti et fideles nostri .R., archidiaconus Algie in ecclesia Lexoviensi, et Iohannes vicedominus Ambianensis, dominus de Pinconio, miles, auctoritate litterarum nostrarum, de summa consulibus de Cordua Albigesii olim imposita per Guychardum de Marziaco militem, tunc senescallum Tholose, ratione generalis financie facte inter nos et gentes senescallie Tholose et Albiensis, in qua quidem impositione dicti consules fuisse dicuntur quamplurimum agravati, duo milia librarum Turonensium eisdem consulibus seu hominibus de Cordua remisisse dicantur, mandamus vobis quatinus, facta vobis fide primictus de remissione huiusmodi, prefatos consules de Cordua pro dictis duobus milibus librarum eisdem consulibus sic remissis nullatenus molestetis, ad solvendum residuum dicte summe statutis et prefixis terminis dictos^a consules compellentes. Actum Parisius, sabbato ante festum Omnium Sanctorum, anno Domini millesimo CCC^o tertio.

^a dicto A.

Item nos predictus locumtenens vidimus, tenuimus, et diligenter inspeximus quoddam transscriptum seu vidimus sigillo regio senescallie et vicarie Tholose inpendenti ut prima facie apparebat sigillatum, non viciatum, non concellatum, nec in aliqua sui parte habolatum, cuius tenor talis est:

Noverint universi, quod nos Nycolaus Fulconis de Tornaco, tenens sigillum senescallie et vicarie Tholose, iudexque curie eiusdem sigilli, vidimus, tenuimus, legimus, et inspeximus quasdam patentes litteras non viciatas nec cancellatas, nec in aliqua sui parte habolatas, sigillatas sigillis pendentibus cereis venerabilium virorum dominorum Richardi Nepotis, archidiaconi Algie in ecclesia Lexoviensi, et Iohannis vicedomini Ambianensis, domini Pinguonii, militis, ad partes Tholosanas et Albienses et totius Lingue Occitane pro reformatione patrie ex parte regia destinatorum, quarum tenor sequitur sub hiis verbis:

Universis presentes litteras inspecturis Richardus Nepotis, archidiaconus Algie in ecclesia Lexoviensi, et Iohannes vicedominus Ambianensis, dominus Pinguonii, ad partes Tholosanas et Albienses et totius Lingue Occitane pro reformatione patrie ex parte regia destinati, salutem in Christo. Noveritis nos litteras regias recepisse, quarum tenor sequitur in hec verba:

Philippus Dei gratia Franc' rex, dilectis et fidelibus magistro Richardo Nepoti, archidiacono Algie in ecclesia Lexoviensi, et Iohanni vicedomino Ambianensi, domino Pinguonii, militi, nostris, salutem et dilectionem. Cum olim ratione casalogiorum in senescallia Tholosana et Albienci^b a communitatibus dicte senescallie ducenta milia librarum ordinaverimus exigenda, et sicut intelleximus ultra illa ducenta milia circiter novem vel decem milia librarum taxata fuerint et levanda, et in impositione illius summe que levanda extitit equalitas non fuit observata, quin ymmo quedam communitates in nichilum, alie minus debito taxate fuerint, et alie in excessu^c fuerint gravate, vobis de quorum fidelitate fiduciam gerimus plenioram et vestrum cuilibet committimus et mandamus, quatinus ad partes predictas vos personaliter conferentes, a communitatibus dicte terre quibus de dicta summa ducent[arum] milia^d librarum nichil est impositum, id quod de dicta summa secundum iustam et legitimam extimationem debuissent solvisse, si comode possit fieri, exigatis et levetis, et in alleviationem communitatum que in predicta impositione gravate fuerint, cum eo quod ultra summam predictam ducentarum milium librarum impositum extitit convertendum. Ceterum vobis committimus et mandamus, ut omnes sententias contra Guychardum de Marziaco quondam senescallum Tholosanum militem latas exequutioni debite efficaciter demandetis, omnibus senescallis, iudicibus, baillivis, vicariis, prepositis, et iustitiariis nostris, et specialiter baillivo Moscacon^e,¹⁶⁹ dantes tenore presentium in mandatis, ut in premissis et ea tangentibus vobis et vestrum

b Sic A.

c excessu A.

d Sic A.

e Sic A.

169 Doubtless for *Matisconensi* (Mâcon). On 9 December 1301 Philip the Fair had ordered the bailli of Mâcon to seize the property in his bailliage which belonged to Guichard de Marzi and his brothers and to three men who had served under Guichard, so that it could be used to satisfy the fines imposed on them by the reformers: VIC and VAISSÈTE (see n. 5) 10, preuves, col. 384, no. 110-VI.

cuilibet hobediant sicut nobis, taliter id acturi, quod de necligentia^f, inhobedientia vel hoffensa a nobis possint redargui merito et puniri. Actum Parisius, die mercurii post festum Ascencionis Domini, anno eiusdem millesimo CCC^o tertio.

Virtute et auctoritate quarum litterarum, nos Richardus et Iohannes predicti fecimus remissiones que sequuntur^g. Informatione diligenter primictus^h facta, quod homines villarum inferius nominatarum in inpositione predictarum ducentarum miliumⁱ librarum ultra debitam extimationem gravati fuerint, primo remisimus hominibus de Rivis duo milia librarum Turonensium. Item hominibus de Cordua duo milia librarum Turonensium. Item hominibus de Avinione quingentas libras Turonensium. Item hominibus de Caramanno mille librarum Turonensium. Item hominibus de Saisses octingentas libras Turonensium. Item hominibus de Maurensis ducentas libras Turonensium. Datum Tholose, die sabati in festo Exaltationis sancte Crucis, anno Domini millesimo CCC^o tertio.

In cuius visionis et inspexionis testimonium nos dictus Nycolaus Fulconis dictum sigillum autenticum senescallie et vicarie Tholose huic presenti transcripto seu vidimus duximus apponendum, die iovis videlicet post festum beati Mathei apostoli, anno Domini millesimo CCC^o tertio.

In cuius visionis et inspexionis testimonium nos Bernardus Armani, tenens locum supradictus, dictum sigillum regium senescallie et vicarie Tholose hiis presentibus transcriptis seu vidimus duximus apponendum, die sabati in vigilia beati Laurentii, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo nono.

f necgligencia A.

g Sic A.

h Sic A.

i Sic A.