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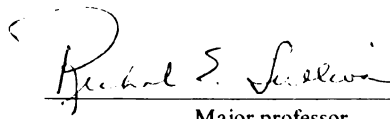
The Nobility of Blois-Chartres:
Family and Inheritance, 980-1140

presented by

Amy Livingstone Thompson

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph. D degree in History



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THE NOBILITY OF BLOIS-CHARTRES:
FAMILY AND INHERITANCE, 980-1140

VOLUME I

By

Amy Livingstone Thompson

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

THE NOBILITY OF BLOIS-CHARTRES: FAMILY AND INHERITANCE, 980-1140

By

Amy Livingstone Thompson

Recently medievalists have begun to examine the structure of the noble family. Generally scholars believe that collateral family organization and partible inheritance was replaced by patrilineage and primogeniture in the eleventh century. While there is consensus on the impetus for such a transformation, a lack of land, they disagree over what caused such a depletion of resources.

This thesis addresses these theories on noble family structure and seeks to determine the inheritance practices and family experiences of the noble families of the county of Blois-Chartres from the late tenth century to the mid twelfth. Most historians assert that the change to patrilineage and primogeniture occurred in the period under consideration. The evidence from the charters of the local religious foundations of Blois-Chartres questions the eleventh-century chronology of this transformation in inheritance and family structure. Furthermore, the absolute association between the practice of primogeniture and patrilineal family orientation frequently is not apparent among the noble families of this region. Indeed, by 1080 only some of the families of knights had begun to adhere rigidly to both primogeniture and patrilineage. Some castellan and vicecomital families passed titles to the eldest sons, but they do not yet exhibit the characteristics of patrilineage.

The lack of land that precipitated the transformation in the inheritance patterns of the noble families of Blois-Chartres was the result not only of the partitioning of the patrimony, but also a series of economic and social challenges that the Chartrain nobility faced in the late eleventh and the first half of twelfth centuries. The settlement of the region, which meant that a surplus land was no longer available to buttress or

expand noble family patrimonies, the threat of royal centralization and the Gregorian reform movement, combined to compel some families to alter their organization. To preserve their resources, the families of knights, castellans, lords, viscounts, and in some cases counts, not only passed titles and patrimonial lands to the eldest son, but also began to conform to patrilineage by excluding other progeny from inheritance.

The findings of this study are pertinent not only to the history of the nobility, but also touch upon related issues of family history, the experience of noblewomen, and the broader framework of social history. The examination of family structure and inheritance patterns lends insight into the impact that larger historical trends had on the private life of the medieval nobility.

Copyright

By

Amy Livingstone Thompson

July 31, 1992

To My Grandmother,
Gertrude Elizabeth Southworth Fenner Ludington
(1899-1987)

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Since this dissertation examines families, it is only fitting for me to thank my nuclear, extended and affinal families for their unfailing confidence in me. I would especially like to thank my parents, Frank and Carol Livingstone, and my husband, Gordon; without them this dissertation could not have been written. My mother painstakingly proofread endless versions, as well as providing hot meals and a haven. My father tracked down many bibliographic references and was always willing to provide an anthropological perspective on this project. My husband Gordon drew the maps for the dissertation and spent countless hours working out computer snarls and printing out chapters. This project was truly a team effort. I simply do not have the words to thank my family enough for their unflagging support.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AHR</i>	<i>The American Historical Review</i>
<i>CMPD</i>	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Dunois.</i>
<i>CSPDC</i>	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres.</i>
<i>DENIS</i>	<i>Saint Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou (1931-1789): histoire et cartulaire.</i>
<i>JEAN</i>	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Jean-en-Vallée.</i>
<i>JOSAPHAT</i>	<i>Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Josaphat,</i>
<i>MSAEL</i>	<i>Mémoires de la société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir</i>
<i>MCB</i>	<i>Marmoutier-Cartulaire blésois.</i>
<i>NDDC</i>	<i>Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres.</i>
<i>RHD</i>	<i>Revue historique de droit français et étranger</i>
<i>TIRON</i>	<i>Cartulaire de la Sainte-Trinité de Tiron.</i>

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Out of the wheat fields of northern France, rises one of the most spectacular achievements of the medieval period: Chartres cathedral. Notre Dame de Chartres testifies to the prosperity and richness of the region which, over several centuries, made possible this magnificent monument of Gothic art. Among the most important contributors to the cathedral of Chartres, as well as the other religious institutions of the region, were the nobles of the county of Blois-Chartres.

Noble families controlled the rich lands of the Chartrain and some of the most powerful nobles of northwestern France emerged from this region. They played an important role in shaping the political, economic, intellectual and social events and trends of the medieval period. Noble family structure and inheritance strategies responded to these alterations in the social and economic order. This study traces the history of many noble families in the county of Blois-Chartres from 980 to 1140. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the nobles witnessed the zenith of their power as well as the beginning of their decline.

Western Europe was economically transformed during this period. For most of the eleventh century trade and commerce were concentrated at the local level and society was organized on an agrarian base. The seeds of change were sown in this century, however, and by its end, significant economic revitalization had taken place. In the twelfth century, towns grew and commerce flourished. The Chartrain experienced this activity and vitality. Changes in the economic base, the reestablishment of effective and powerful monarchical authority, and attempts at reform by the Church all combined to challenge the nobility and resulted in the reshaping of the noble family.

This study examines how the noble families of Blois-Chartres confronted these

challenges and seeks to determine what adjustments or responses they developed to cope with such change.

Scholars studying the medieval nobility have relied upon two general methodologies. Either they have examined particular noble families¹ or they have pursued regional surveys.² The regional approach has come to displace treatments of individual families, due in large part to the research of the *Annales* school.³ French historians such as Marc Bloch, Georges Duby, Robert Fossier and countless others

1. The Bellême family, for example, has received much attention; see J. Depoin, "Les premiers anneaux de la Maison de Bellême," *Bulletin historique et philologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, (1909), 147-167; G. H. White, "The Lords of Bellême and Alençon," *Notes and Queries*, 152 (1927), 399-401 and idem "The First House of Bellême," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 22 (1940), 67-99; Jacques Boussard, "La seigneurie de Bellême aux Xe et XIe siècles," *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Age, dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris: 1951), pp. 43-54; Kathleen Thompson, "Family and influence in the South of Normandy in the Eleventh Century: The Lordship of Bellême," *Journal of Medieval History*, 3 (1985), 215-226. Many other noble families have been examined as well: Robert Latouche, "Les premiers vicomtes du Maine," *Revue historique et archéologique du Maine*, 65 (1909), 80-8; Jean Richard, "Sur les alliances familiales des ducs de Bourgogne aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles," *Annales de Bourgogne*, 30 (1968), 34-46; idem, "Châteaux, châtelains et vassaux en Bourgogne au XIe et XIIe siècles," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 3 (1960), 433-7; George Beech, "The Origins of the Family of the Viscounts of Thouars," in *Etudes de civilisation médiévale (IX-XII): Mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande* (Paris: 1974), pp. 25-36; Marti Aurell I Cardona, "La famille Porcelet et l'aristocratie provençale (972-1320): Parenté et pouvoir au Moyen Age." (Thèse du troisième cycle, Aix-en-Provence, 1983); Constance Bouchard, "The Bosonids: Or Rising to Power in the Late Carolingian Age," *French Historical Studies*, 15 (1988), 407-31.

2. For this approach, see the following: Roselyne du Buisson de Courson, "Les seigneurs de Coucy et leur seigneurie (XIe-XVe siècle)." (Thèse du troisième cycle, Paris IV, 1974); Stephen Weinberger, "Nobles et noblesse dans la Provence au XIe siècle," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations*, 36 (1981), 913-21; Patrick Geary, *Aristocracy in Provence: The Rhône Basin at the Dawn of the Carolingian Age* (Philadelphia: 1985); Charlotte Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility in the Reign of Henry I: The Second Generation* (Philadelphia: 1988).

3. Consideration of the medieval nobility and particular noble families often has been integrated into the histories of the region or county. For example, see Louis Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle* (Paris: 1906); Robert Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine pendant Xe et XIe siècles* (Paris: 1910); Jean Richard, *Le duc de Bourgogne et la formation du duché du XIe au XIVe siècle* (Dijon: 1954); George Beech, *A Rural Society in Medieval France: The Gâtine of Poitou in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Baltimore: 1964).

have demonstrated the importance of geographic considerations when studying the origins and structure of the medieval French nobility.⁴ This study will combine the two approaches and examine the Chartrain nobility as a regional entity and as individual families as well.⁵

Between 980 and 1140 many families achieved power and influence in the county of Blois-Chartres. Counts, viscounts and lords dominated the region. Twelve such families will be studied in depth. Those to be considered include: the comital family of Blois-Chartres, the family of the counts of Perche, the vicecomital families of Châteaudun, Chartres and Blois, the families of the lords of Fréteval, Alluyes, Montigny, Gallardon, Lèves, and Courville, and that of the vidames of Chartres.⁶ These families were selected because they appear prominently in the charters from the major religious houses of the area.⁷ Since the families selected were generally established in the eleventh century, it is possible to examine their development over

4. Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. by L. A. Manyon (Chicago: 1960); Georges Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région Mâçonnaise* (Paris: 1953); idem, *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West*, trans. by Cynthia Postan (London: 1968); Robert Fossier, *Enfance de l'Europe: Aspects économiques et sociaux*. 2 vols. (Paris: 1982); idem, *Histoire sociale de l'Occident médiévale* (Paris: 1970); idem, *La terre et les hommes en Picardie jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle*. 2 vols. (Paris: 1968).

5. The history of the family has been examined by many scholars. See, for example, Peter Laslett, ed., *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge: 1972); Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household, Sexuality*, trans. by Richard Southern (Cambridge: 1976); Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff, eds., *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiévale*, Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, 30 (1977); Lawrence Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York: 1977); Robert Wheaton and Tamara Hareven, eds., *Family and Sexuality in French History* (Philadelphia: 1980); David Nicholas, *The Domestic Life of a Medieval City: Women, Children and the Family in Fourteenth-Century Ghent* (Lincoln: 1985); Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, *A History of Private Life*, 5 vols., trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: 1987).

6. For the genealogies of these families, see Figures 1-17, on pp. 601-17.

7. Undoubtedly, there are other families worthy of consideration that appear in the charters and collections that I have yet to examine. I anticipate continuing my study of the Chartrain nobility and will pursue such research at a later date.

nearly a century and a half. In addition to the lords and viscounts, the families who were their vassals will also figure in the discussion. Unfortunately such families appear infrequently, making it almost impossible to trace them for more than one generation. Although the personnel of this lower section of the nobility may have changed between the eleventh and twelfth century, the sources furnish enough evidence from the group as a whole to determine many of their family characteristics.

Several prominent medieval scholars have argued that medieval noble families underwent dramatic transformation sometime during the High Middle Ages. They postulate that a patrilineal, primogenitary family structure replaced one of partible or shared inheritance and horizontal family organization. One aim of this study will be to determine the inheritance patterns and family organization of the Chartrain nobility and to evaluate any changes that occurred in the period 980 to 1140. A second goal is to explore the economic, social, political or religious forces that may have contributed to any such transformations. To pursue these objectives, examination of the Chartrain noble family is divided into two chronological parts. The first considers the noble family from the late tenth century to approximately 1080. Chapters address the origins of the selected noble families, inheritance patterns, family structure and the experiences of noblewomen. The second part will determine if changes occurred between 1080 and 1140 within the noble family and investigate their causes.

Inheritance, the organization of the family and the status of women are reevaluated with respect to the economic, political and social transformations of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The year 1080 represents a pivotal date in the history of the Chartrain nobility. Beginning around this time, symptoms of a transition in family organization and inheritance patterns become apparent. The chronological framework of this study was adopted because it reflects the trends and developments that took place within the Chartrain noble family, rather than dates associated with the political development of medieval France or Europe.

Before proceeding to discussion of the sources consulted and the historiographic background, the explicit geographical focus of this study requires definition. Under the Carolingians the city of Chartres was a royal administrative center. Surrounding and including the city of Chartres were six *pagi*, or administrative units, set up by the Carolingians: Châteaudun, Dreux, the Pincerais, the Dunois, the Vendômois and Blois.⁸ This study is concentrated on the families from the lands that eventually formed the county of Blois-Chartres (see Figures 18 and 19). More specifically, the territorial boundaries include the families to the south of the Eure River, as far west as the town of Nogent-le-Rotrou, as far south as the border with the county of Vendôme, and as far to the east as Le Puiset and Rochefort (see Figure 19). The families held their principal lands and power within this area but also possessed property beyond. Many of the families of lords and viscounts had feudal bonds to lords all over western France. The multiplicity of feudal ties transcended the lines of distinct territorial or comital units. For this reason, places and nobles from outside of Blois-Chartres will also occasionally appear in the discussion.⁹

The Chartrain is unusually rich in charter collections and it is upon these sources that this study is based.¹⁰ Other sources have been consulted to supplement

8. Jacques Boussard, "L'origine des comtes de Tours, Blois, et Chartres," *Actes du 103e Congrès Nationale des Savants* (Nancy-Metz: 1979), p. 87.

9. There are collections of charters outside of Blois-Chartres, specifically those for Blésois, Vendômois and Beauvaisis, that probably contain pertinent information on these families. Further inquiry into these sources is required to flesh out fully the history of the Chartrain nobility.

10. The following collections will be used in this thesis: *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ed. by B. Guérard. 2 vols. (Paris: 1840) (hereafter, *CSPDC*); *Cartulaire de Notre Dame de Chartres*, ed. by E. de Lépinos and Lucien Merlet (Chartres: 1862-65) (hereafter, *NDDC*); *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Dunois*, ed. by E. Mabille (Châteaudun: 1874) (hereafter, *CMPD*); *Cartulaire de Sainte-Trinité de l'abbaye de Tiron*, ed. by Lucien Merlet. 2 vols. (Chartres: 1883) (hereafter, *TIRON*); *Saint Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou*, eds. Viscount de Souancé and C. Métais (Vannes: 1899) (hereafter, *DENIS*); *Cartulaire de Saint-Jean-en-Vallée*, ed. by René Merlet (Chartres: 1906) (here-



Figure 18. France in the High Middle Ages

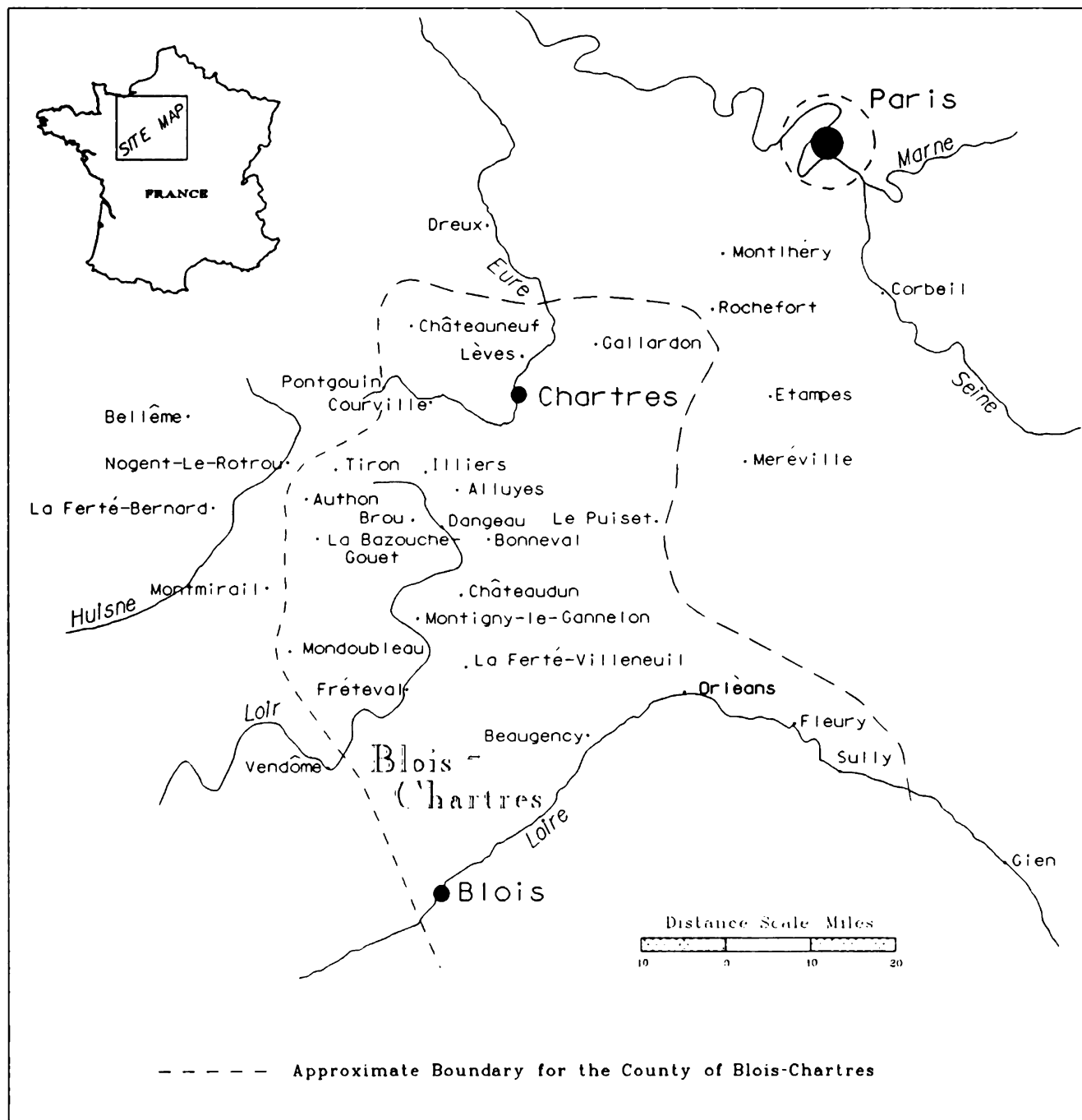


Figure 19. The Chartrain in the High Middle Ages

the information extant in the charters. The correspondence of Bishop Fulbert and Bishop Ivo as well as the acts of the Capetian kings are useful in tracing the history of the nobility of Blois-Chartres. The *Ecclesiastical History* of Orderic Vitalis and Abbot Suger's life of Louis VI similarly provide important historical background for the county, in addition to information on specific noble families. Regrettably, gaps exist in the sources. For example, no general history or chronicle of the county of Blois-Chartres was written in the Middle Ages. Nor did a count of Chartres or Perche or any other illustrious person inspire or commission a biography. Another lacuna occurs in the realm of hagiography. Virtually no local saints lives are extant for the county.¹¹ The court of Countess Adela of Blois-Chartres was an active literary center, but little that was produced contains information useful to the study of noble family structure or inheritance.¹²

The charters are an unusually fruitful source for the history of the noble family. These documents record property transactions between nobles and the Church.¹³ The members of the noble families and their relationships to each other are -----
....Continued....

after, *JEAN*); *Cartulaire de Notre Dame de Josaphat*, ed. by C. Métais (Chartres: 1911-12) (hereafter, *JOSAPHAT*).

11. A collection of the miracles of the Virgin is extant in the cartulary of Notre Dame de Chartres, but these stories contain little information pertinent to this study.

12. Baudri de Bourgueil, bishop of Dol, and Hildebert de Lavardin wrote poetry portraying Adela as a model of female beauty, intelligence and virtue. Hugh of Fleury dedicated his *Ecclesiastical History* to the countess and sought to justify women's abilities to rule. These works themselves provide little useful information for this study, but they do demonstrate the profound affect that Adela had on the intellectuals of her time. For these works, see the following: Baudri de Bourgueil, *Carmina*, ed. by Karlheinz Hilbert (Heidelberg: 1979); *Les Oeuvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil (1046-1130)*, ed. by Phyllis Abrahams (Paris: 1926); Hildebert de Lavardin, *Carmina Minora*, ed. by A. Brian Scott (Leipzig: 1969); Hugh of Fleury, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. by George Waitz in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, vol. 9: 349-64.

13. For a discussion of the organization of information in the charters, see David Walter, "The Organization of Material in Medieval Cartularies," in *A Study of Medieval Records: Essays in Honor of Kathleen Major*, ed. by D. A. Bullough and R. C. Storey (Oxford: 1971), pp. 134-5.

frequently indicated. Such information is vital for creating genealogies of particular families as well as determining family structure and property rights. Nearly all of the important cartularies or collection of charters pertinent to this region were edited and published in the last century. These editions are of a consistent quality and therefore may be consulted with confidence for the topic of the Chartrain nobility.

Unfortunately, many of the original charters were destroyed when the Bibliothèque Municipale of Chartres was inadvertently bombed by the Allies during World War II.¹⁴ The manuscripts in the Archives départementales in Chartres escaped this fate and are still housed there.

Since the primary objective of this study is to trace the history of the nobility of Blois-Chartres, it is important to establish what constituted a "noble" in this area. Scholars disagree over what characterized "nobility." Function, possession of certain jurisdictions, and birth have been offered as the essence of nobility. By my definition in Blois-Chartres a noble was an individual whose primary function was fighting and who controlled or possessed land and its dependents. Some noble families in the region had their origins in the Carolingian aristocracy, but most traced their ancestry from men who attained their power through their own efforts. Hence, birth or blood was not necessarily a requirement for noble status. In addition to controlling property, nobles also enjoyed certain jurisdictional prerogatives such as possession of the *ban*. Nobility, therefore, was defined by the custody of certain kinds of rights, by function and, in some cases, by birth. Lords, vassals, those who controlled the *ban* and who could trace their descent into the Carolingian nobility all enjoyed noble status. The knights or *milites* were also part of the Chartrain nobility, although they were to be

14. The first Bibliothèque Municipale was built very close to the railroad station and was mistaken for part of the station when the Allies were bombing this part of France. Since the end of the war a new Bibliothèque Municipale has been built far away from the train station. Sadly, many of the medieval originals and subsequent copies were destroyed by fire in the bombing. Some of the manuscripts survive, but many are in charred bits and pieces.

found at the lower end of the scale.¹⁵ To be included in this study of the nobility, families had to meet certain criteria. They had to be clearly identified in the charters as taking part in the feudal realm as either lords or vassals, or were referred to as *milites*. Certain families who appeared as donors in the cartularies were not noble, rather they were merchants, tradesmen or members of the urban elite.¹⁶ All wealthy persons who controlled land thus were not part of the Chartrain nobility.

The issue of the origins of the medieval nobility has generated much scholarship. Marc Bloch postulated that a rupture occurred within the nobility between the Carolingian period and the eleventh century. He argued that the Carolingian nobility had been replaced by essentially "new men." Many have since challenged this thesis, and recent research on the medieval nobility suggests that many families could trace their origins to the Carolingian nobility. Georges Duby believes there were two nobilities in the feudal age: one that was defined by blood, the other by power.¹⁷ New men, who attained status through their ability as powerful and successful warriors, fused these two strata by marrying women from Carolingian families.

15. The question of nobility has engendered much debate. For a discussion of this problem, see Frederic Cheyette, ed., *Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe* (New York: 1968); Guy Fourquin, *Lordship and Feudalism in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Iris and A. L. Lytton Sells (London: 1976); and Timothy Reuter, ed., *The Medieval Nobility* (Amsterdam and New York: 1978). Discussion of the *milites* is included in the above works and addressed in the following: Georges Duby, *The Three Orders*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: 1980); Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London: 1984); Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (New York: 1982); Joachim Bumke, *The Concept of Knighthood*, trans. by W. T. H. and Erika Jackson (New York: 1982); and Paul van Luyn, "Les milites dans la France du XIe siècle: examen des sources narratives," *Le Moyen Age*, 77 (1971), 5-51, 193-238.

16. These families appeared with greater frequency in the twelfth century, although some were present in the eleventh.

17. Georges Duby, *Chivalrous Society*, trans. by Cynthia Postan (Berkeley: 1977), pp. 59-80, 88-93, 94-111, 158-70, 178-85 (hereafter, Duby, *Chiv. Soc.*).

Léopold Génicot and Léo Verriest concur with this interpretation.¹⁸ Verriest asserts that the wife, whose roots were in the Carolingian nobility, was the conduit through which noble status was conferred upon her husband and children. Jane Martindale argues that, because women bestowed nobility, the matrilineal line was recognized, indeed valued. Martindale believes that noble status was determined by birth, which accorded women an elevated position within the family and society.¹⁹

Investigation of the origins of the French nobility supports this characterization of noble status. In Burgundy Constance Bouchard has found a continuation of the Carolingian nobility into the High Middle Ages. The eleventh century witnessed the rise of men who gained power through their own abilities. These men pursued marriage alliances with women of Carolingian descent, creating a noble class in Burgundy that was a hybrid between the new power brokers and the old Carolingian families.²⁰ Historians examining other areas of France have reached the same conclusion. Jacques Boussard suggests that the seigneurial families of the region of the middle Loire were descended from the Carolingian nobility.²¹ Guy Devailly similarly concludes that the eleventh century castellans of Berry were the

 18. Léopold Génicot, *La noblesse dans l'Occident médiévale* (London: 1982); idem, "La noblesse du Moyen Age dans l'ancienne "Francie": continuité, rupture ou évolution?" *Comparative Studies of Society and History* 5 (1962), 52-9; Léo Verriest, *Noblesse, chevalerie, lignage* (Brussels: 1959), pp. 65-109.

19. Jane Martindale, "The French Aristocracy in the Early Middle Ages: A Reappraisal," *Past and Present*, 75 (1977), 5-45. The importance of the female line is apparent in the naming practices of certain families. For a discussion of this see, Constance Bouchard, "Family Structure and Family Consciousness among the Aristocracy in the Ninth to the Eleventh Centuries," *Francia*, 14 (1987), 639-58.

20. Constance Bouchard, "The Origins of the French Nobility: A Reassessment," *The American Historical Review* (hereafter, *AHR*), 86 (1981), 501-32; eadem, "The Structure of the French Noble Family: The Lords of Seignelay," *Viator*, 10 (1979), 39-56.

21. Jacques Boussard, "L'origine des familles seigneuriales dans la région de la Loire moyenne," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 5 (1962), 303-322.

descendants of the Carolingian nobles.²² Research on the north of France provides confirmation of this pattern. Dominique Barthélémey finds that the lords of Coucy gained power through their own abilities as mighty warriors. Yet this family sought to legitimize its power and position by marrying into older, more illustrious families.²³ The exception to this model would seem to be Maine, where one scholar has discerned that the nobility of the region was made up of entirely new men.²⁴

Another topic of debate among historians interested in the nobility is noble family structure.²⁵ The contributions of Georges Duby have largely shaped this field of inquiry. Duby concludes that it was in the eleventh century that noble families radically altered their family structure by replacing their customary practices of partible inheritance and collateral family structure with primogeniture and

22. Guy Devailly, *Le Berry du Xe siècle au milieu du XIIIe siècle: Etude politique, religieuse, sociale, et économique* (Paris: 1973), p. 173.

23. Dominique Barthélémey, "Recherches sur Coucy, la Fère et Marle du milieu du XIème au milieu du XIIIème siècle: Les deux âges de la seigneurie banale." (Thèse du troisième cycle, l'Université de Paris IV, 1980).

24. Joelle Ben-Kemoun, "Etude sur les familles nobles du Maine de la fin du Xème au début du XIVème siècles." (Thèse du troisième cycle, l'Université de Maine, 1979).

25. The issue of family structure and kinship has generated much scholarship. See, for example, Susana Belmartino, "Structure des familles de l'aristocratie et le rôle des différents 'âges sociaux': A travers les sources littéraires et historiographiques, Castille et Léon Xe au XIIe siècles." (Thèse du troisième cycle, Aix-en-Provence, 1968); David Herlihy, "Family Solidarity in Medieval Italian History," in *Economy, Society and Government in Medieval Italy*, ed. by D. Herlihy, R. S. Lopez, V. Slessarev (Kent State: 1970); Robert Wheaton, "Family and Kinship in Western Europe: The Problem of the Joint Family Household," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 5 (1975), 601-28; Jacques Heers, *Family Clans in the Middle Ages: A Study of Political and Social Structures in Urban Areas*, trans. by B. Hubert (New York and Amsterdam: 1977); Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff, eds., *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiévale*, Collections de l'Ecole française de Rome, 30 (1977); D. A. Bullough, "Early Medieval Social Groupings: The Terminology of Kinship," *Past and Present*, 45 (1981), 3-18; Karl Leyser responded to Bullough's position in "Maternal Kin in Early Medieval Germany," *Past and Present*, 49 (1970), 126-34; Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, "Sur les structures de parenté dans l'Europe médiévale," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations*, 36 (1981), 1030-1; Alexander Murray, *Germanic Kinship Structures* (Toronto: 1983); David Herlihy and Christine Klapish-Zuber, *The Tuscans and their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven and London: 1985); Joseph Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton: 1986).

patrilineage.²⁶ David Herlihy agrees: he asserts that a system of collateral kinship was replaced in the late eleventh and early twelfth century with agnatic, patrilineal family organization.²⁷ R. Howard Bloch also detects radical change in noble family structure. He asserts that by the mid eleventh century horizontal family organization was abandoned in favor of patrilineage. Bloch cites certain markers, such as insignia, genealogies and concern with the issue of paternity, as indicative of the development of patrilineage and primogeniture.²⁸ The model developed by Duby and adopted by other scholars has found support among historians working on medieval Germany. John Freed finds a shift in the kinship pattern from collateral to exclusively agnatic structure in the eleventh century. Close identification of noble families with particular castles, the emergence of family names and the creation of a family burial place at a monastery are presented as indications of this change.²⁹

Duby's model of inheritance and family structure has inspired other scholars to investigate these issues. While most agree with Duby's thesis of an eleventh-century transformation in the noble family, they differ over what triggered the changes in

26. Duby, *Chiv. Soc.*, pp. 59-81, 112-22; idem, *Medieval Marriage*, trans. by El-bourq Forster (Baltimore: 1978), pp. 1-24, 88-100.

27. David Herlihy, "The Making of the Medieval Family: Symmetry, Structure and Sentiment," *Journal of Family History*, 8 (1983), 122; idem, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, MA: 1986), (hereafter, Herlihy, *Households*).

28. R. Howard Bloch, *Erymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Antropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago: 1983), pp. 66-9 (hereafter, Bloch, *Erymologies*).

29. John Freed, "The Formation of the Salzburg Ministerialage in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: An Example of Upward Social Mobility in the Early Middle Ages," *Viator*, 9 (1978), 67-102; idem, *The Counts of Falkenstein: Noble Self-Consciousness in Twelfth-Century Germany*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 74, part 6 (1984), 1-68; idem, "Reflections on the Medieval German Nobility," *AHR*, 91 (1986), 553-75; idem, "Nobles, Ministeriales, and Knights in the Archdiocese of Salzburg," *Speculum*, 62 (1987), 575-611; idem, "The Origins of the European Nobility: The Problem of the Ministeriales," *Viator*, 7 (1976), 211-41; see also: Karl Leyser, "The German Aristocracy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Centuries," *Past and Present*, 41 (1968), 25-53; idem, "Maternal Kin in Early Medieval Germany," *Past and Present*, 49 (1970), 126-34; idem, *Rule and Conflict in Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (Cambridge: 1977).

these families. Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne Wemple offer French monarchical centralization as a possible factor. They argue that, when noble families were faced with a revitalized monarchy, they adopted primogeniture in an attempt to preserve their resources.³⁰ David Herlihy and Jack Goody suggest that the change in noble inheritance was tied to changes in the eleventh century Church. The Gregorian reformers sought to eliminate secular noble control of church lands and offices. Herlihy believes that the reformers were successful in this goal, which impoverished noble families and caused them to alter their inheritance strategies to preserve what little land remained.³¹ This resulted in the change from partible inheritance to primogeniture. Goody agrees with Herlihy's assessment of the impact of the Gregorian reform movement but goes one step further. He posits that the eleventh-century Church encouraged the nobility to practice an inheritance system that would facilitate noble ecclesiastical donations and increase the likelihood that the Church would inherit noble properties.³² Other scholars look to the feudal structure of the noble class to explain the change in inheritance. Jean Yver suggests that adherence to

30. Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne Wemple, "The Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe 500-1100," *Feminist Studies*, 1 (1973), 126-41.

31. David Herlihy, *Households*, pp. 82-88. Also idem, "Church Property on the European Continent 701-1200," *Speculum*, 36 (1961), 81-99. For scholarship on the recovery of lands by various ecclesiastical institutions as a result of the Gregorian Reform Movement, see in particular, William Ziezulewicz "'Restored' Churches in the Fisc of St. Florent du Saumur (1021-1118)," *Revue Bénédictine*, 96 (1986), 106-17; R. I. Moore, "Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 30 (1980), 49-69; J. N. Sutherland, "The Recovery of Land in the Diocese of Grenoble during the Gregorian Reform Epoch," *Catholic Historical Review*, 64 (1978), 377-97; J. C. Ward, "Fashions of Monastic Endowment: The Foundations of the Clare Family," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 32 (1981), 427-451.

32. Jack Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge: 1983), 83-156; idem, "The Evolution of the Family," in *Household and Family in Past Time*, ed. by Peter Laslett, (Cambridge: 1972).

primogeniture can be correlated with strong lordship.³³ Léopold Génicot argues that the introduction of chivalry altered the function of the *milites*, which resulted in the implementation of primogeniture.³⁴

Changes in inheritance had a profound effect on family structure. Generally when families recognized the rights of a variety of kin to the patrimony, an open and collateral family structure prevailed. When inheritance became impartible, a patrilineal family configuration usually corresponded with this practice. Primogeniture and patrilineage were similar in their impact on the family because both elevated the rights of eldest sons. Yet these two structures did not always coexist. Primogeniture is a system of inheritance, while patrilineage denotes a certain family structure that emphasized the prerogatives of male kin. These two mechanisms sometimes coexisted, but one could be implemented without the other. While the eldest son might inherit the bulk of the family property, younger sons, daughters, female relatives and other kin were not automatically disenfranchised or subjugated.

While the endeavors of recent medieval historians have gone a long way in explaining the structure and dynamics of noble families, there are certain problems with their approaches. The theories offered are based upon certain assumptions. Most scholars assume that only one type of inheritance or family structure prevailed at any one time. Moreover, recent works have generalized about the entire noble class without taking into account economic and social differences among nobles. Historians have also generalized from their findings in one particular region to all of medieval Western Europe. These are some of the weaknesses in current scholarship on the

33. Jean Yver, *Egalité entre héritiers et exclusion des enfants dotés: Essai de géographie coutumière* (Paris: 1966). For a discussion of Yver and customary law, see the article "A System of Customary Law: Family structures and Inheritance Customs in Sixteenth-Century France," by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, in *Family and Society*, ed. by Robert Forester and Orest Ranum (Baltimore: 1976), pp. 75-103.

34. Léopold Génicot, "Les recherches relatives à la noblesse médiévale," in idem, *La Noblesse dans l'Occident médiévale* (London: 1982), p. 52.

nobility that this study attempts to redress. The county of Blois-Chartres, like all of Western Europe, experienced dramatic social, economic, political, religious and intellectual revitalization and evolution during the period from 980 to 1140. These transformations shaped and affected noble family patterns. Family organization, inheritance and the participation of female kin were all intertwined. Analysis of each of these subjects should result in a more integrated understanding of noble family dynamics.

CHAPTER TWO
THE ORIGINS OF THE CHARTRAIN NOBILITY
AND
THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF THE COUNTY
(980 TO 1140)

The century from 980 to 1080 witnessed the rise of the comital family and the political development of the county of Blois-Chartres. In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries the counts, and therefore the county, became embroiled in the struggle also emerged in the eleventh century, and most continued to be the dominant power brokers of the region into the twelfth century. This chapter will examine the origins of the Chartrain nobility, starting with the comital family, and trace the history of the county and these families from approximately 980 to the middle of the twelfth century.

The Counts of Blois-Chartres

The origins of the counts of Blois-Chartres before 980 are elusive and difficult to trace.¹ Various theories have been offered on the origins of Thibaut l'Ancien, the founder of the comital house, and his son Thibaut le Tricheur. Some propose that they

1. This difficulty stems in large part from contradictions in the sources themselves. For example, Raoul Glaber states that the counts came from base origins. Yet Richer asserts that the counts were descended from illustrious ancestors. See respectively: *Raoul Glaber, Les cinq livres de ses histoires (900-1044)*, ed. M. Prou (Paris: 1888), p. 86; Richer, *Histoire de France*, ed. R. Latouche. 2 vols., (Paris: 1937), 1: 86.

The futility of attempting to establish the origins of these counts is clear in the most recent work on the development of the French polity. Jean Dunbabin completely avoids discussion of the roots of Count Thibaut le Tricheur. She briefly mentions that the sources disagree, but does not elaborate. See Jean Dunbabin *France in the Making 843-1180* (Oxford: 1985), p. 191 (hereafter, Dunbabin, *France, 843-1180*).

were "new men", others believe they were descendants of the late Carolingian nobility; still others assert that Thibaut l'Ancien and Thibaut le Tricheur were actually the same man, a chronological impossibility.² Many possibilities exist for the origins of Thibaut l'Ancien. He could have been of modest descent,³ a functionary of the king, a Carolingian noble,⁴ or a direct descendant of the Carolingian count Eudes.⁵ An even wider debate centers around Richilde, the mother of Thibaut le Tricheur. She has been variously identified as the daughter of Robert the Strong,⁶ the widow of Charles the Bald,⁷ the product of Empress Richilde's liaison with a certain Gerlon or Goriadid⁸, and even the Empress Richilde herself.⁹ While the arguments are diverse, all are based on the underlying assumption that Thibaut l'Ancien emerged in the tenth century with an extraordinary base of power in the area around Tours. Thibaut l'Ancien most likely could not have commanded such influence unless he himself had

2. For the theory that Thibaut l'Ancien and Thibaut le Tricheur were the same person see: Léonce Lex, *Eudes comte de Blois, Tours et Chartres (995-1037) et son frère Thibaut (995-1004)* (Troyes:1892), p. 16 (hereafter, Lex, *Eudes*); Ferdinand Lot, "L'origine de Thibaut le Tricheur," *Le Moyen Age*, 19 (1907), 188 (hereafter, Lot, "L'origine de Thibaut..."). F. Lesueur and J. Depoin discard this theory as chronologically impossible; see F. Lesueur, *Thibaut le Tricheur, comte de Blois, de Tours et de Chartres au Xème siècle*, Mémoires de la société de sciences et lettres de Loire et Cher, 33 (1963), p. 64 (hereafter, Lesueur, *Thibaut*); J. Depoin, "Etudes préparatoires à l'histoire des grandes familles palatines III: Thibaut le Tricheur: Fut-il un bâtard et mourut-il presque centenaire?" *Revue des études historiques*, 74 (1908), 557 (hereafter, Depoin, "Thibaut").

3. André Chédeville, *Chartres et ses Campagnes* (Rennes: 1974), p. 252.

4. Lesueur, *Thibaut*, p. 74.

5. René Merlet, "Les Comtes de Chartres, Châteaudun et Blois au IXe et Xe siècles," *Mémoires de la société archéologique d'Eure et Loire* (hereafter *MSAEL*), 12 (1895-1900), 19-59 (hereafter, Merlet, "Les Comtes de Chartres...").

6. Lex, *Eudes*, p. 18.

7. Lot, "L'origine de Thibaut...", 188.

8. Depoin, "Thibaut," p. 557.

9. Lot, "L'origine de Thibaut...", p. 188.

roots in the Carolingian nobility through either descent or marriage. The evidence from other parts of France confirms this assumption and suggests that the counts of Chartres were probably descended from the Carolingian nobility through the maternal line.¹⁰

If the family was not related to the Carolingian nobility through Thibaut l'Ancien, the marriage of Thibaut le Tricheur to Letgard, the daughter of Count Herbert of Vermandois, established such a descent for their successors (see Figure 16).¹¹ Herbert of Vermandois was a direct descendant of Charlemagne through his eldest son, Pepin.¹² Letgard was also related through her mother, Hildebrante, to the future royal family of France. Hugh the Great was her uncle and Hugh Capet, the first king of the Capetian dynasty, was her first cousin.¹³ Marriage with Letgard conveyed status upon this family and aided in the expansion of its hegemony.

Whatever their origins, the success of these two early counts of Chartres was based upon their abilities as warriors and their loyalty as vassals to their liege lord, Hugh the Great. Thibaut l'Ancien established the territorial foundation of the family in the lower reaches of the Loire valley and his son Thibaut le Tricheur expanded upon it. He came to control Chartres, Blois, Tours and parts of Bourges and was an important vassal of one of the most powerful men of the time, Hugh the Great, count of Paris. In 945 King Louis IV d'Outremer was taken prisoner by the Normans and

10. The research of Constance Bouchard, Georges Duby, Léo Verriest and Léopold Génicot has established continuity of descent with the Carolingian nobility through the female line. The newly emerged families of France consciously sought wives with such a lineage. For discussion of this, see Chapter 1, pp. 8-9.

11. This was a second marriage for Letgard. She was previously married to William Longsword of Normandy. There is some suggestion in the history of Raoul Glaber that Thibaut was himself one of the assassins of William Longsword. F. Lesueur, *Thibaut*, p. 135.

12. Lesueur, *Thibaut*, p. 174.

13. Lesueur, *Thibaut*, p. 74.

turned over to Count Hugh, who conferred on Thibaut le Tricheur the responsibility of guarding the king at Lâon.¹⁴ Richer, the tenth-century historian, believed that Hugh the Great wanted to destroy the royal house completely.¹⁵ Thibaut le Tricheur was involved in his lord Hugh's attempt to oust the Carolingians and create his own dynasty.¹⁶ In the following year, Thibaut le Tricheur witnessed a donation by Hugh the Great and his son Hugh Capet of one third of his land in the *pagus* of Orléans to found the church of St. Luppin.¹⁷ Herbert, the fourth son of Herbert of Vermandois and Thibaut le Tricheur's brother-in-law, also appeared in the grant. Although the charter itself does not label the Thibaut present as the count of Blois-Chartres, his placement in the list of witnesses so near Herbert of Vermandois suggests this identification. Furthermore, the donation was made to Notre Dame de Chartres, which lends further proof that the witness Thibaut was indeed the count of Blois-Chartres.¹⁸

Thibaut le Tricheur's marriage to Hugh the Great's niece Letgard further solidified this alliance and secured the family's place among the most important nobles of the kingdom. Union with the family of his liege lord also bestowed social and

14. Lesueur, *Thibaut*, pp. 150-3.

15. Richer, *Histoire de France*, Lib. II., cap. 48, ed. Latouche, 1: 207.

16. Lesueur, *Thibaut*, p. 148.

17. *NDDC*, no. 7, pp. 74-7. In this charter, Hugh the Great is labeled the "most excellent duke of France" which indicates that he held this title as well as that of count of Paris.

18. Jean-Francois Lemarignier finds that it is only under King Henri I that the French counts were referred to by their geographic power base. Counties were still evolving political entities in this early period, and thus many had yet to coalesce into a precise geographic unit. During Henri I's reign the counts, among them those of Chartres, specified their region of influence. See J. F. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal aux premiers temps Capetiens (987-1108)* (Paris: 1969), p. 129 (hereafter, Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*). For discussion of the development of such territorial entities, see Jan Dhondt, *Etudes sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France* (Ghent: 1948), and Dunbabin, *France, 843-1180*.

feudal benefits, and Count Thibaut le Tricheur's power increased appreciably after his marriage. In 950 Thibaut witnessed a charter for the bishop of Chartres in which he is referred to as *nobilissimus*, the most noble count.¹⁹ The use of this adjective indicates that he had become one of most powerful noblemen in France. The family's power was extended further when Thibaut's son Hugh was elevated to archbishop of Bourges.²⁰ Familial monopolization of this important episcopal office is an indication of the authority and influence that the count of Chartres commanded. Hugh the Great's patronage and Thibaut's own abilities combined to make him one of the most powerful counts in late tenth-century France. Marital alliances made by Thibaut for himself and for his children continued to advance the position of this family and secured its place among the *optimati* of the kingdom of France.²¹

Thibaut le Tricheur created the foundations upon which his successors Eudes I, Eudes II and Thibaut III were to build. The county evolved as a political and geographical unit under these three counts and its political focus shifted to the north. Under Thibaut I'Ancien and Thibaut le Tricheur, comital power had been centered on the patrimonial lands in the Touraine. With the loss of Tours in 1044 and the addition of the Champagne inheritance through the Vermandois line, the political and feudal center of the counts moved to the north. Eudes I, the second son, ascended to the

19. *NDDC*, nos. 8 and 9, pp. 77-84: Signum Theobaldi, nobilissimi comitis. Signum Odonis, comitis, filii Theobaldi comitis. Signum Legardis, comitis.

20. *NDDC*, no. 8, p. 81 : Tedbaldus, comes; Hugo archiepiscopus, filius Tetbaldi comitis; Odo, comes; Hugo, dux Francie; Hugo filius ejus; Letgardis, comitissa. *ibid.*, no. 9, p. 83: Signum Hugonis, archiepiscopi, filii Theobaldi comitis.

21. Thibaut le Tricheur and Letgard had four children who survived to adulthood. Hugh, who may have been the eldest, assumed the office of archbishop of Bourges. Eudes succeeded his father as count and married Bertha, the daughter of King Conrad of Arles. Their daughter Emma married William Fier-à-bras, the duke of Aquitaine, while Berta was allied to Count Alan of Brittany. In this generation, therefore, the comital family of Chartres was allied through marriage to the royal house of Arles and two of the most important comital or ducal families in France.

office of count about 977 and his tenure lasted until 995.²² He held lands from both the patrilineal and matrilineal lines; his mother Letgard had brought many important territories to her marriage to Thibaut.²³ Like his father, Eudes I was an important vassal of the Capetians and fought for the king in campaigns against the Normans, the counts of Anjou and the duke of Lorraine.²⁴ The supportive relationship between the counts of Chartres and the Capetians is evident in two charters from the late tenth century. Hugh the Great signed and witnessed a donation made by Eudes I and one of his vassals.²⁵ In another charter from the same time, Eudes I witnessed an act for the king and was called "most illustrious," reflecting the influence and respect that he and his family were commanding.²⁶

Since the time of Thibaut le Tricheur, the autonomy of the county of Blois-Chartres had been threatened by the dukes of Normandy and the counts of Anjou. Eudes I faced the same political enemies. To combat the menace, he cultivated a close alliance with the recently installed Capetian king. He also created castellans, among

22. According to F. Lesueur, a son named Thibaut was killed in 962 in the Norman burning of Chartres (Lesueur, *Thibaut*, p. 195). However, Lex places the date of the death of the first son of Thibaut Tricheur and Letgard at 958 (Lex, *Eudes*, p. 18). Eudes was established as his father's heir as early as 950 or 949. In two charters from *NDDC* Eudes was clearly labeled count, demonstrating his designation as his father's heir (see nos. 8 and 9, pp., 77-84). His older brother Thibaut must have died sometime earlier. Presumably, as the eldest, Thibaut would have succeeded his father as count, although there is yet no concrete evidence to suggest that the counts practiced primogeniture.

23. Among them were Brou-sur-Seine, Cholaute-la-Grande in Champagne, as well as the following properties in the Vexin: Yuzières, Fontenay-St.-Per, and Lunay (see, Lex, *Eudes*, pp. 16-7).

24. Lex, *Eudes*, p. 7.

25. *CSPDC*, no. 18, pp. 77-80.

26. *CSPDC*, no. 1, pp. 81-83. This charter records the reaffirmation of privileges to St. Père of Chartres by the king. Eudes is called "illustrissimus" count and Countess Bertha was most beloved or "dulcissima." The kinship between the king and Bertha, Eudes' wife, is also made clear. She was referred to by King Hugh as "our niece."

them the lord of Fréteval, to protect his possessions from Angevin aggressions.²⁷ During Eudes I's tenure the founders of many of the Chartrain noble families first emerged in the area. Eudes I counted the lord of Fréteval, the lord of Alluyes,²⁸ Viscount Gelduin of Chartres, Viscount Geoffrey of Châteaudun, as well as the ancestors of the comital house of Perche, as his loyal supporters. Men who are known only by their first names also became vassals of the count. For example, Arduin, Lambert, Teduin, and Vivian all claimed Eudes I as their feudal lord.²⁹ These men and their families made donations and, since they held these lands from the count, they were required to have comital permission to alienate or donate such property.

While the same threats as in Thibaut le Tricheur's reign persisted, Eudes I maintained independence and, upon his untimely death around 995, left his minor sons a stable and strong county (see Figure 16).³⁰ Yet the situation facing the widow and the minor heirs was grave. A minority usually resulted in a period of weakness while

27. Scholars have examined and debated the nature and existence of feudal relationships. For discussion of these issues, see F. L. Ganshof, *Feudalism* (New York: 1961); idem, *Frankish Institutions under Charlemagne* (Providence: 1968); Robert Boutrouche, *Seigneurie et féodalité*, 2 vols (Paris: 1970); Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The Tyranny of Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe," *AHR*, 79 (1974), 1070-77; Philippe Contamine, ed., *La noblesse au Moyen Age XIe-XVe siècle: Essais à la mémoire de Robert Boutrouche* (Paris: 1976).

28. The family of the lord of Alluyes married into the Gouet family, thereby creating an extremely powerful and influential presence in the region.

29. For the appearance of these families see the following charters in *CSPDC*: The Frétevals, nos. 10 and 11, pp. 66-70; the lords of Alluyes, no. 8, pp. 63-5; Rotrou of Perche no. 4, p. 87; the viscount of Chartres, no. 1, pp. 81-3; the viscount of Châteaudun, no. 18, pp. 71-2; Arduin, no. 15, p. 74 and no. 7, p. 90; Lambert, no. 13, pp. 71-2; Teduin, no. 6, pp. 89-90; and Vivian, no. 2, pp. 84-6.

30. Lex, *Eudes*, pp. 18-21, suggests that Bertha and Eudes I had five children: Thibaut, Eudes II, Roger, Emma and Landric. Thibaut died on his way home from a pilgrimage to Rome sometime before 1004. The three other sons entered the church. Roger became the bishop of Beauvais (see Lucien Merlet, ed., *Lettres de Saint Ives*, *MSAEL*, 8 (1885), p. 346). By 1007 Landric had also joined the Church; see William Newman, *Catalogue des Actes de Robert II*, no. 38, (Paris: 1937), pp. 46-8, (hereafter, Newman, *Robert*). Their daughter Emma married the viscount of Thouars (see Lex, *Eudes*, pp. 18-21).

advisers and vassals jockeyed for power, leaving the county open to invasion or attack by external enemies. Countess Bertha assumed control of the county during her sons' minority.³¹ Shortly after Eudes I's death Bertha married King Robert II, the son of Hugh Capet. Some scholars suggest that Bertha sought this alliance to protect her sons and the county. Jan Dhondt goes as far to claim that Bertha seduced Robert into marriage to provide stability within Blois-Chartres and defense against the Angevin menace.³² Her decision to marry may have been precipitated by the count of Anjou's capture of Tours in 996, which undoubtedly made the countess desperate for protection. Whether the marriage was the result of a *grande passion* or merely political expediency, King Robert II did furnish the required aid against the Angevins. In 997, the year after their marriage, Robert II mounted a successful campaign against Anjou and restored Tours to Bertha and her sons.³³ The comital family of Chartres and the Capetians had long enjoyed a close relationship and King Robert II had stood as godfather to Bertha and Eudes I's sons. The situation soon became complicated, however, when Robert was forced to repudiate Bertha on the grounds of consanguinity.³⁴ The repercussions of this development have been debated by scholars. Dhondt asserts that the repudiation of Bertha made the counts of Chartres

31. Lex, *Eudes*, p. 26.

32. Lex, *Eudes*, p. 21; Jan Dhondt, "Sept femmes et un trio de Rois (Robert le Pieux, Henri Ier, Philippe Ier)," in *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale*, 3 (1965), p. 42 (hereafter, Dhondt, "Sept femmes").

33. Lex, *Eudes*, p. 21.

34. The motives behind Robert II's repudiation of Bertha are complex. Bertha and Robert were related within the prohibited degrees, which was compounded by Robert's role as godfather, but this had been known before the marriage and simply ignored. Jan Dhondt suggests that Robert probably greatly desired Bertha, "a seductive older woman." Once his ardor cooled, however, Robert may have begun to realize that Bertha was unlikely to provide him with heirs. Dynastic interests would, thus, seem to be the underlying reason behind the dissolution of the marriage.

the mortal enemies of the kings of France.³⁵ Yet, Dunbabin detects no tension or trouble resulting from this action.³⁶ In either case, the counts of Blois-Chartres were justifiably angered and threatened by King Robert II's subsequent marriage to Constance of Anjou.

After a nine-year minority, Eudes II became the count of Chartres in 1004. His behavior suggests that a rift had developed between him and Robert II as a result of his mother's repudiation. Before Robert II's marriage to Constance in 1002, Eudes II had been supportive and had participated with the king in his war against Otto William of Burgundy.³⁷ Beginning around 1010, Eudes II struggled against both the king and the count of Anjou. In 1010 and 1011 Count Fulk of Anjou went on a pilgrimage.³⁸ Eudes took advantage of his absence to declare war and ravage Angevin lands, an affront not only to the count of Anjou but also to the king, who was now allied to this noble house through marriage. Eudes II also pursued war with other counts and in 1028 was fighting Count Bouchard of Vendôme.³⁹ The counts of Vendôme did not greatly challenge the autonomy of Blois-Chartres but their alliance through marriage to Anjou assured them of Eudes II's hostility.⁴⁰

Even though the relationship between Eudes II and King Robert was strained

35. Dhondt, "Sept femmes" pp. 43-50.

36. Dunbabin, *France, 843-1180*, p. 192.

37. Lex, *Eudes*, p. 35.

38. Frederic Behrends suggests that this was the penance that Bishop Fulbert assigned for Fulk's part in the murder of Hugh of Beauvais; see *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, no. 13, ed. and trans. by Frederic Behrends (Oxford: 1975), pp. 26-7, note 2 (hereafter, Behrends, *Letters*).

39. Frederic Soehnée, *Catalogue des Acts d'Henri Ier, Roi de France (1031-1060)*, no. 10, (Paris, 1907), pp. 8-9 (hereafter, Soehnée, *Henri*).

40. For a discussion of the history of the counts of Vendôme and their donation practices, see Penelope Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage and Power: The Abbey of La Trinité of Vendôme, 1032-1187* (New York: 1981).

during the first two decades of the eleventh century, Eudes and the king participated in acts together on three separate occasions. In 1007 Eudes II and his brother Landric consented to King Robert II's confirmation of the foundation of Notre Dame de Beaumont by treasurer of St. Martin of Tours.⁴¹ In 1014 Eudes II and Archbishop Hugh of Tours asked the king to return Notre Dame and St. Julian of Tours, which had been founded by King Louis IV, to the Church.⁴² The last act of the king in which Eudes II appears is dated 1015, when Robert confirmed his gift of certain revenues from the county of Chartres to the cathedral of Beauvais. Eudes II's brother Landric also gave part of his benefices and, since they were held from the king, he was required to secure royal approval.⁴³ Eudes II's father and grandfather had frequently witnessed acts for the kings, yet Eudes II appeared only three times in over twenty years. In contrast, the counts of Anjou were present in nearly a dozen of King Robert II's acts. A shift in royal alliances from the counts of Chartres to those of Anjou had obviously transpired.

Eudes II's inheritance of the county of Champagne from his grandmother Letgard's family heightened the tension between the comital family and King Robert II (see Figure 16).⁴⁴ In 1019 Stephen, the great-grandson of Count Herbert II of Vermandois, died. The inheritance fell to his closest relative, his cousin Count Eudes II. King Robert was naturally reluctant to have the counts of Chartres add these rich lands to their existing power base, which would extend their dominion from Tours to Troyes and give them mastery over Reims, Provins and Château-Thierry, essentially

41. Newman, *Robert*, no. 30, pp.37-9.

42. Newman, *Robert*, no. 40, p. 50. Apparently King Robert II's grandfather had attained possession of these churches, which now belonged to Robert through inheritance. The archbishop and the count, as well as other nobles, petitioned the king to have these churches restored to the Church.

43. Newman, *Robert*, no. 41, pp. 51-4.

44. The Vermandois family eventually became the counts of Champagne.

surrounding the royal demesne.⁴⁵ King Robert II's own position was weak and Eudes II's Champenois inheritance would erode it further. The king was, thus, driven to dispute the inheritance and claim it for himself.⁴⁶ Eudes II wrote to Bishop Fulbert around 1023 protesting that the king was taking lands away from him that belonged to him through inheritance, not royal benefice.⁴⁷ Duke Richard II of Normandy finally intervened and mediated this dispute.⁴⁸ Once Eudes II was assured of his possession of his Champenois inheritance, his relationship with Robert improved. Their reconciliation is evident in Eudes II's use of the title "count palatine," an appellation reserved for only the most important and powerful royal vassals. Eudes II first used this title in the foundation charter of St. Jean-en-Vallée in 1028⁴⁹ and went on to employ it in later acts.⁵⁰

Yet Eudes II's increasing power and authority resulted in strained relations with Robert II's son and successor Henri I. Indeed, one scholar suggests that Henri I so feared the power of the count of Chartres that he allied himself through marriage with the German emperors to insure that his affinal kin could furnish troops and

45. Michel Bur, *La Formation du Comté de Champagne, (v. 950-1150)* (Nancy: 1977), p. 123.

46. Lex, *Eudes*, p. 44. See also Louis Halphen "La lettre d'Eude II de Blois de roi Robert," *Revue historique*, 97 (1908), 287 (hereafter, Halphen, "La lettre").

47. Behrends, *Letters*, no. 86, pp. 152-5, and Halphen, "La lettre," 294. Halphen asserts that the letter was written by Eudes II with respect for the king. Eudes II reminds the king that he has served him well and has been a faithful vassal both at home and abroad.

48. The duke of Normandy's mediation of this matter underscores Robert II's weakness and inability to assert his will over the French counts.

49. *JEAN*, no. 1, p. 1: Ego, Odo, palatii [*sic*], comes....

50. *CSPDC*, no. 8, pp. 119-21: Cujus vita et innocentia ea tempestate eo rutilabat, ut ab Odone, palatino comite....

CSPDC no. 4, p. 125: Ego Odo, gratia Dei, palatinus comes....

support against Eudes II.⁵¹ Eudes II's participation in the acts of King Henri I was minimal: he was mentioned in only two.⁵² About 1032 Henri I confirmed Eudes II's donation of the church of Chouzy to Marmoutier.⁵³ Between 1033 and 1037, the king gave Eudes II the right to build a bridge at Tours and collect tolls on it.⁵⁴ Eudes II was one of the most powerful nobles in the realm and a real threat to the weak Capetian Kings.

The retinue of Eudes II included many of the same vassals who had served his father. Lord Nivelon I of Fréteval was one of Eudes II most powerful and loyal vassals and witnessed for the count several times.⁵⁵ Viscount Gelduin of Chartres, Rotrou of

51. Dhondt, "Sept femmes," p. 54.

52. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 38-44, rightly argues that the absence of counts and other powerful territorial lords reflects a decline in the power of the French monarchs. He asserts that royal authority had become merely a facade and that the real power was vested in the nobles of the realm. The erosion of royal authority can be seen in the kings' witnessing of non-royal acts, which Lemarignier believes reflects a transition in royal authority from public to private that occurred under the Capetians. Georges Tessier, *Diplomatique royale française* (Paris: 1962), p. 205, supports this interpretation of the royal diplomas. He asserts that the kings' acts became private because they were no longer obeyed by all subjects. Moreover, Tessier interprets the Capetians' consultation with their vassals as a further indication of their fall from power and finds that the royal diplomacies of this period (i.e., the monarchies of Robert II, Henri I and Philippe I) reflect this change in kingship. Both Lemarignier and Tessier detect the beginnings of the reassertion of royal power under King Louis VII.

I concur with Lemarignier's and Tessier's conclusion that the absence of the counts and other nobles signals a decline in royal power. Central royal authority had been superseded by local territorial powers. I would further argue, however, that the participation of such powers, among them the counts of Blois-Chartres, in some acts of the early Capetians attests to their influence and growing authority. Clearly, the Chartrain comital family was one of the major power brokers of north central France.

53. Soehnée, *Henri*, no. 9, pp. 7-8.

54. Soehnée, *Henri*, no. 40, pp. 32-3. This act, however, indicates that the Capetian kings retained some public power, for Eudes II had to secure King Henri I's approval before he could undertake this project.

55. Nivelon I appeared in *CSPDC*, no. 5, pp. 95-96; no. 8, pp. 100-104, as well as in *JEAN*, no. 1, p. 1.

Perche, Vidame Raginald and Vivian also acted in the comital charters.⁵⁶ Eudes II confirmed donations made by his vassals as well.⁵⁷ Important developments within the comital retinue also occurred under Eudes II. Earlier counts had a body of followers who fulfilled various necessary functions within the household, but specialization of offices developed at this time. A charter datable before 1038 refers to Sansgualo, the seneschal of the count.⁵⁸ The ranks of comital vassals were further transformed by the appearance of new nobles. Important lords such as those of Meslay-la-Vidame and Illiers began to participate in Eudes II's acts.⁵⁹ Viscount Hervé of Blois also witnessed for his feudal lord.⁶⁰ As a result of his long battles with Anjou and the count of Vendôme, Eudes II's retinue expanded. This count invested many "new men" in return for their service against Anjou. Lord Walter of Alluyes, for instance, was rewarded with land by Eudes II for his aid against Fulk of Anjou.⁶¹ The war with the Angevin counts also provided Eudes II with vassals who had been dispossessed of their lands by the Angevins. Gelduin of Saumur, previously an Angevin vassal, lost his holdings and joined with the count of Chartres in return for the land of Chaumont-sur-Loire. Similarly, once the viscounts of Blois were dispossessed of their lands, they became the supporters of Eudes II. Ganelon, the lord of Montigny and the treasurer of St. Martin of Tours, also became a vassal of the

56. Viscount Gelduin acted in *CSPDC*, no. 8, pp. 100-4, and in *JEAN*, no.1, p. 1. Rotrou of Perche witnessed *CSPDC*, no. 8, pp. 100-4. For Vivian, see *CMPD*, no. 3, pp. 4-5; Vidame Raginald in *JEAN*, no. 1, p. 1.

57. Viscount Geoffrey I of Châteaudun, for example, gave the village of Chaumars just outside of Châteaudun to the monastery of Marmoutier with the consent of his lord Count Eudes II (see, *CMPD*, pp. 44-5, and pp. 1-3).

58. *CSPDC*, no. 4, p. 125.

59. Hugh of Meslay-la-Vidame and Ingelger of Illiers appear in *CSPDC*, no. 4, p. 125.

60. *CMPD*, nos. 4 and 5, pp. 4-7.

61. *CSPDC*, no. 5, pp. 96-8.

count of Chartres. The Montigny family had former ties to the counts of Anjou, but became the allies of the counts of Chartres as a result of the war.⁶² Many of the early and most powerful vassals of the counts of Chartres were drawn from the area around Tours. The war between Anjou and Chartres caused some powerful noble families to shift alliances and others to relocate on the patrimonial lands of the counts of Chartres.

Eudes II was undoubtedly one of the most powerful and successful counts of Chartres. He expanded the comital territory and kept the threat of the Angevins, the king, and to some degree, the Normans at bay. To achieve this, Eudes II was often at war. While he was victorious, his preoccupation with and involvement in these campaigns eventually undermined the power of the counts of Blois-Chartres. During his absences, the viscounts of Châteaudun and Chartres became extremely powerful, those at Châteaudun especially.⁶³ The counts of Chartres attained power and domination due to the fundamental weakness of the French monarchy. Other nobles, such as the viscounts, also exploited this power vacuum to acquire power. The feudal nobility did provide a measure of stability to medieval society, however.⁶⁴

Eudes II died in 1037 while asserting his right to the kingdom of Arles and

62. *CMPD*, no. 4, pp. 5-6. In this charter Ganelon of Montingy, Gelduin of Saumur and Hervé of Blois witnessed and signed this charter as vassals of Count Eudes II.

63. The details of the viscounts' behavior will be addressed later in this chapter.

64. Traditionally scholars have framed the decline of the monarchs and the rise of the nobility in negative terms. This perception, however, is flawed. While it is true that the kingdom of France experienced chaos, as a result of invasions and internal struggles, the nobles emerged to provide guidance and organization necessary to the continuation of society. What little stability there was in the late tenth and eleventh centuries was provided by the counts, dukes and bishops.

Burgundy and left a vast territorial base to his heirs.⁶⁵ The comital lands were divided upon his death between his two sons, Stephen and Thibaut III (see Figure 16). The eldest son, Stephen, received the county of Champagne.⁶⁶ Thibaut III, the second son, inherited the patrimonial lands of Blois, Chartres, and Tours, as well as the traditional enemies of his family: the counts of Anjou and the dukes of Normandy. Unfortunately, Thibaut III was not as successful as his father in protecting the county against these foes; in 1044 Tours was lost forever to the counts of Anjou and Count Thibaut III was imprisoned by the Angevins.⁶⁷

Thibaut III's difficulties stemmed in large part from his troubled relationship with King Henri I. He seems to have fallen out with the king between 1037 and 1044, the date of the fall of Tours. In 1037 Thibaut III and his mother Ermengard made a donation for the soul of the recently deceased Eudes II. Henri I supported and confirmed this gift, indicating association with the king.⁶⁸ Sometime after this date Thibaut III refused to do homage to the king for his title of count palatine. Like his father before him, Thibaut III used this title to illumine the power of his family, yet he was not willing to do homage for it.⁶⁹ Thibaut III's refusal precipitated

65. Eudes II's claim to this kingdom was through his mother Bertha, who was the daughter of King Conrad of Burgundy and Arles. It is somehow appropriate that Eudes II died trying to expand his lands even further (Dunbabin, *France, 843-1180*, p.192).

66. Sometime between 1045 and 1048, Stephen died and left his brother Thibaut as guardian over his lands and son Eudes.

67. The loss of the territories around Tours is evident in the charters. A charter from the cartulary of St. Père records that Count Geoffrey Martel of Anjou held the fief of Chinon through his vassal Johannis of Chinon (see *CSPDC*, no. 5, pp. 125-6).

68. Soehnée, *Henri*, no. 51, pp. 47-8.

69. Charles Cuissard, "Les seigneurs du Puiset (980-1789)," *Bulletin de la société Dunoise*, 3 (1875-1880), 328 (hereafter, Cuissard, "Les seigneurs du Puiset). Cuissard asserts that Thibaut was held captive for six years, but this hardly seems possible considering he was acting as count of Champagne for his minor nephew Hugh by about 1045. Moreover, Dunbabin, *France, 843-1180*, p. 193, argues that

Henri I's siding with the count of Anjou in the war with the house of Chartres. In addition to the friction caused by these problems, Thibaut III and his son-in-law Hugh Bardulf had incurred Henri I's wrath when they supported the king's brother Eudes in a revolt against the crown. The breach between the king and the comital house of Chartres was undoubtedly exacerbated by the loss of Tours to the Angevins in 1044 and Thibaut III's subsequent capture. The rift seems to have been healed by 1048 when the count of Chartres requested the king's permission to use one of his benefices to establish a church dedicated to St. Agnoul.⁷⁰ Thibaut III and his son-in-law Hugh also witnessed a charter for the king in this same year.⁷¹ In 1049 the tide of the aggression with Anjou had turned, and Thibaut III provided the king with 500 knights to aid him in the campaign against the Angevins.⁷² Ten years later, King Henri I, the count of Chartres and the count of Anjou were all assembled at the siege of Thimart. Henri I confirmed the transactions of both Thibaut III and the count of Anjou, which indicates continued contact and support.⁷³ Yet it is difficult to evaluate the relations between Henri and Thibaut III at this point. Dunbabin suggests that the king's increasing alliance with the Angevins after 1055 caused the relationship with comital house of Chartres to deteriorate once again.⁷⁴ Thibaut III continued to call himself count palatine, however, and participate with the king in charters. This

....Continued....

Thibaut III provided King Henri with 500 knights in 1049 when the king himself was involved in hostilities with Anjou. An imprisonment of six years hardly seems possible. Thibaut III also appeared in an act of King Henri dated from 1048, which again questions Cuissard's interpretation (Soehnée, *Henri* no. 81, pp. 85-86).

70. Soehnée, *Henri*, no. 81, pp. 85-6.

71. *NDDC*, no. 14, pp. 89-91. Hugh Bardulf was also guilty of besieging Henri I in his chateau at Pithiviers.

72. Dunbabin, *France, 843-1180*, p. 193.

73. Soehnée, *Henri*, no. 116, p. 117.

74. Dunbabin, *France, 843-1180*, p. 193.

implies some interaction between count and king, although relations between them almost completely atrophied during the reign of Philippe I. Thibaut III appeared in the acts of this king only immediately upon Philippe I's accession.⁷⁵ Thibaut III continued to style himself count palatine, which suggests at least titular association with the king of France.⁷⁶

Under Thibaut III specialization within the comital retinue increased. During Eudes II's tenure the office of seneschal was created, but under Thibaut III two new and important offices, constable and dapifer, emerged.⁷⁷ Many of the same families that his father and grandfather counted as their supporters continued to be bound in vassalage to Thibaut III. The viscount of Blois, the lord of Fréteval, the lord of Montigny and the vidames of Chartres appeared as affirming grants made by the count as well as securing his consent for their donations.⁷⁸ New nobles also joined the ranks of comital vassals, among them Gauslen, the castellan of Chartres, the lord of Courville, the lord of Dangeau, as well as men bearing the cognomina of Desredatus, Oculo Canis, Aculeus, and Borrellus.⁷⁹ The emergence of these new families demonstrates that the counts of Chartres and their vassals continued to grant their territories in fief to men of military skill. A process of subinfeudation elevated the

75. M. Prou, *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier Roi de France (1059-1108)*, nos. 6 and 7, (Paris, 1908), pp. 16-24 (hereafter, Prou, *Philippe*).

76. *NDDC*, nos. 14 and 18, pp. 89-91, 95-6; *CMPD*, no. 40, pp. 37-8.

77. *NDDC*, nos. 18 and 19, pp. 95-7.

78. Viscount Gelduin of Blois appears in *NDDC*, no. 14, pp. 89-91, no. 18, pp. 95-6, and in *CSPDC*, no. 31, p. 158. The lord of Fréteval acted in *CMPD*, no. 5, pp. 6-7; no. 35, p. 33; *NDDC*, no. 14, pp. 89-91. The lord of Montigny and the vidame of Chartres appear in *CMPD*, no. 35, p. 33.

79. Gauslen the castellan of Chartres acted in *NDDC*, no. 14, pp. 89-91. The lords of Courville and Warner Oculo Canis appear in *CMPD*, no. 35, p. 33. The lords of Dangeau made a donation in *CMPD*, no. 25, p. 26. A man bearing the name Aculeus made a donation in *CSPDC*, no. 91, p. 216. A member of the Borrellus family witnessed in *CMPD*, no. 40, pp. 37-8.

position of comital vassals and extended their power.⁸⁰ The noble families who emerged as powerful in the eleventh century continued to dominate the region of Blois-Chartres in the twelfth. Some of the new men who appeared during Thibaut III's lifetime did finally eclipse the power of some of the older families, however.

The independence of noble families evident during the tenure of Eudes II came to fruition under his son. Lords of some of these powerful families started to appear in the acts of the king. Like the early counts of Blois-Chartres, the participation of these men in royal diplomas and the king's confirmation of their donations attests to the influence that these families were coming to command. Under Henri I, the Montigny family secured the king's support of their donation of the priory of St. Hilaire.⁸¹ Hervé Gallardon similarly witnessed Philippe I's reconfirmation of the donation of St. Magloire in 1078.⁸² King Philippe also affirmed a gift made to the prebend of Cluny by Lord Fulcher of Fréteval.⁸³ The counts of Chartres were not present in any of these charters, suggesting that the nobles themselves were powerful enough to be worthy of the king's attention. The viscounts of Chartres and Châteaudun were conspicuously absent from the retinue of Thibaut III. The viscount of Châteaudun had been a disruptive force and a threat to comital authority during Eudes II's lifetime. In the 1070's Viscount Hugh I of Chartres presented the same problem for Thibaut III and Philippe I. In 1057, 1069, and 1070 Hugh I witnessed five acts for the king.⁸⁴ The menace of this vicecomital power came to fruition in the 1070's when Hugh I

80. Chêdeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, p. 300, detects a pattern of subinfeudation in Blois-Chartres in the decade spanning 1050 to 1060. The emergence of the men listed above confirms his thesis.

81. Soehnée, *Henri*, no. 71, pp. 72-3.

82. Prou, *Philippe*, no. 92, pp. 236-7.

83. Prou, *Philippe*, no. 69, pp. 176-7.

84. Prou, *Philippe*, no. 37, pp. 107-9, no. 43, pp. 120-3, no. 50, pp. 134-7, no. 52, pp. 140-2, and no. 53, pp. 142-4.

successfully waged war against the king and captured many of the king's most important vassals, ending royal or comital authority over this powerful family for several decades.⁸⁵

Like his father, Thibaut III was often at war and the campaigns against the Angevins and the king, in particular, took their toll on the county. Over-mighty nobles continued to be a problem, as illustrated by the antics of the viscount of Chartres. Nobles of every status wreaked havoc on the region by usurping land and indulging in violent behavior. Church lands were often the target of these incursions, but towns also suffered from noble disorderliness.⁸⁶ These disturbances combined to create a period of instability and upheaval in the county of Blois-Chartres. While Thibaut III was one of the weakest counts of Blois-Chartres, it is not fair to place the blame solely at his door. The problems that plagued Thibaut III were already in place during the tenure of Eudes II: noble disruption, war with Anjou, strain with the king and general instability had characterized the tenures of all of the counts considered thus far. Indeed, the late tenth and eleventh centuries were a time of trouble and instability throughout France and, to some degree, all of Western Europe.

Thibaut III's son Stephen succeeded his father as count of Blois-Chartres in 1089 (see Figure 16).⁸⁷ His tenure as count was fairly short, however, for he departed on crusade in 1096. His wife Adela assumed control of the county during his absence and later as a widow. Adela was a strong and able ruler who maintained the independence of the county in the face of some powerful foes, among them King

85. Cuissard, "Les seigneurs du Puiset," 337-9.

86. The burgers of Chaumars, for example, had to deal with Lord Nivelon I of Fréteval, Warner Oculo Canis and Geoffrey Rufus usurping certain dues and disrupting the market place (see, *CPMD*, no. 28, p. 29).

87. Thibaut III had married Adela of Crépy and they had four children. The eldest was Hugh, who became count of Troyes and Meaux. Another son, Philippe, entered the church and was eventually elevated the bishopric of Chalons. Their only daughter Elizabeth married Hugh Bardulf (see Figure 16).

Louis VI.⁸⁸ Upon Stephen's marriage to Adela, the daughter of William the Conqueror, the counts of Blois-Chartres began to pursue a pro-Norman and decidedly anti-Capetian policy, which further exacerbated the existing hostility between the king and the comital family of Blois-Chartres. While Adela struggled to maintain her independence from the French monarchs and to support her brothers William II and Henry I, she did come to Louis VI's aid on one occasion. In 1101 Louis was at war with the lord of Montmorency. The king had the support of his maternal uncle, the lord of Montfort, and of Countess Adela of Blois-Chartres.⁸⁹ Friendly relations between the king and this countess are further apparent in Adela's hosting of the marriage of Louis' sister, Constance, to Bohemond of Antioch, which took place in Chartres in 1106.⁹⁰ Though Countess Adela may not actually have extended the borders of the county, she did reverse the trend of decline evident under her father-in-law. Adela's policies and actions kept the county intact and powerful. After her son Thibaut IV became count, around 1109, Adela continued to be a presence in the county (see Figure 16).

Thibaut IV's tenure was plagued by aggression from both within and outside of the county. Viscount Hugh III of Chartres was an over-mighty vassal who frequently challenged the authority of the king and the count. In 1111 Adela and Thibaut IV demanded that Hugh's castle at Le Puiset be burned and his goods confiscated as punishment for his actions against King Louis VI's father, Philippe I.⁹¹ Sometime later in the same year, between March 12 and August 8, Thibaut joined Louis in condemning Viscount Hugh III to lose his property and besieged his castle at Le -----

88. For a discussion of Adela's tenure, see Chapter 8.

89. Achille Luchaire, *Louis VI le Gros: Annales de sa vie et de son règne (1081-1137)*, no. 16 (Paris: 1890), pp. 8-10 (hereafter, Luchaire, *Louis VI*).

90. Luchaire, *Louis VI*, no. 36, p. 22.

91. Luchaire, *Louis VI*, no. 108, p. 58

Puiset. Thibaut attacked the side of the château that faced Chartres, while Louis' party was able to breach the walls and the dungeon. The castle was subsequently dismantled and burned.⁹² In spite of their cooperation against Hugh III in the first siege of Le Puiset, relations between the count of Blois-Chartres and the king deteriorated. Indeed as the count supported his Anglo-Norman relatives against the Capetian king, Thibaut IV and Louis VI became overtly hostile to each other. Achille Luchaire suggests that much of Thibaut IV's aggressive and unruly behavior was designed to distract Louis VI from the English king's activities in Normandy.⁹³ It was during the early twelfth century that Robert Curthose and King Henry I sought to expand their Norman holdings, further threatening the autonomy of the French kings.

Another constant irritation that Louis VI faced during his reign was the Rochefort faction. The Rocheforts were a very influential noble family with whom Louis VI's father had sought marriage alliances for his two sons. There were two lines to this family; one founded by Milo I of Montlhéry and the other by Gui le Rouge, lord of Rochefort. Milo I had two sons, Lord Gui Trousseau of Montlhéry and Milo II le Bray, the viscount of Troyes and lord of Brai-sur-Seine.⁹⁴ Gui Trousseau's daughter was betrothed to King Philippe I's son Philippe and it was specified that Philippe and the future Louis VI would hold Montlhéry together. In order for the match to come to pass, the Rochefort branch needed to approve it. When Gui le Rouge returned from the Holy Land he agreed to the marriage, but only if Louis was betrothed to his daughter Luciana. He also insisted that he be made the royal seneschal, a very important office. Problems resulted, however, because Milo II (with whom the viscounts of Chartres were related through marriage) refused to give up

92. Luchaire, *Louis VI*, no. 114, pp. 61-2.

93. Luchaire, *Louis VI*, p. lxxviii.

94. Milo I of Montlhéry went on the First Crusade and died at the battle of Ramala.

control of Montlhéry and besieged the fortress. At the instigation of the Garlande family,⁹⁵ the rivals for power of both the Rocheforts and counts of Blois-Chartres, Louis broke off his betrothal.⁹⁶ Gui le Rouge and Hugh of Crècy⁹⁷ did not give up without a fight, however, and Thibaut joined their alliance. This count of Blois-Chartres was, according to a contemporary chronicler, "the second most powerful man in France" and thus a threat to Louis VI's tenuously extended authority.⁹⁸

After 1111 the rift between Thibaut and Louis may be attributed to the issue of rebuilding the castle at Le Puiset. After the first siege, Thibaut petitioned Louis to raise a fortress at Allaines, located on the Le Puiset lands. Louis refused and Thibaut offered to undergo a judicial ordeal to prove his right.⁹⁹ After this refusal, Thibaut joined forces with his uncle King Henry I of England in his expedition to France. The war between Thibaut and Louis escalated in 1112 when Viscount Hugh III of Chartres rebuilt the fortress of Le Puiset with the aid of Thibaut and Henry I. The Rochefort faction, consisting of Milo II of Bray, Hugh of Crècy, Gui II of Rochefort, as well as other powerful nobles, united with Thibaut in rebellion against Louis.¹⁰⁰ The king turned back from a proposed trip to Flanders to defend Tourni against Thibaut and Raoul of Beaugency. Louis then fortified Janville and trapped Viscount Hugh III in his castle at Le Puiset, which again fell to the king. It was destroyed and Hugh III was

95. Anselm Garlande eventually became the seneschal of France.

96. Luchaire, *Louis VI*, p. xxx.

97. Hugh of Crècy was Gui le Rouge's brother-in-law. Viscount Evrard II of Chartres married the daughter of Gui and his wife Alix of Crècy, who was Hugh of Crècy's sister. For this relationship, see , *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, by Abbot Suger, ed. and trans. by Henri Waquet (Paris: 1929), p. 70 (hereafter, Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*).

98. Luchaire, *Louis VI*, p. lxxxvii.

99. Luchaire, *Louis VI*, no. 117, p. 62. Actually Thibaut IV said his representative Andre Baudement, who became his seneschal, would fight Anselm Garlande.

100. Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, p. 70.

disinherited.¹⁰¹ Thibaut IV was wounded in battle and given safe passage to Chartres.

War between the count of Blois-Chartres and the king resumed in 1115, triggered by Thibaut IV's imprisonment of the count of Nevers, an action which was undoubtedly connected to Henry I's campaigns in Normandy.¹⁰² In 1119 Louis VI burned parts of the town of Chartres in retaliation. Hostilities flared again in 1130 and 1132. At the battle of Cosn  in 1130, Louis and the count of Flanders came to the aid of Count Gui IV of Nevers, while Thibaut and Geoffrey of Anjou supported their ally, Hugh le Manceau. The king fled in defeat and the count of Nevers was yet again taken captive.¹⁰³ A couple of years later Louis burned the town of Bonneval, with the exception of the monastery, and destroyed Ch teau-Renaud, both of which were Thibaut dependents. After 1130 relations between Louis VI and Thibaut IV improved dramatically.¹⁰⁴ In 1137 Thibaut IV joined the contingent of loyal royal vassals that went south to claim Eleanor of Aquitaine as a bride for Louis VII.

Starting in 1135 Thibaut IV faced yet another problem. In this year his uncle King Henry I of England died without legitimate male issue. Thibaut IV's brother Stephen challenged Henry's daughter Mathilda for the throne and was ultimately successful, although this precipitated many years of civil war. Mathilda's second husband was Count Geoffrey of Anjou, thereby involving this French comital house in the battle and presenting the count of Blois-Chartres with an even more threatening enemy to the south. The contest for the English throne was fought partly in the French

101. Luchaire, *Louis VI*, no. 134, pp. 70-2.

102. Luchaire, *Louis VI*, no. 203, pp. 101-2. Thibaut IV was excommunicated for this action.

103. Luchaire, *Louis VI*, no. 452, p. 211.

104. Thibaut IV's brother Stephen claimed the throne of England, which might have caused the count to settle with the king of France to limit the fronts on which the struggle for the English crown would be fought. On a local level, Thibaut may have sought alliance with the French king against the Angevins, his brother Stephen's rivals for the throne.

arena, and many noble families of Blois-Chartres were involved on both sides.

The reign of Louis VI was pivotal for the development of the French monarchy, as was Thibaut IV's for the house of Blois-Chartres. While Thibaut and Louis were at odds for most of their lives, they did eventually reconcile. Perhaps Thibaut IV realized the increased dangers his brother's quest for the English crown posed and attempted to protect himself by allying with a monarch who was clearly able to defend himself from external enemies as well as noble power. The bonds tentatively created between Louis and Thibaut were strengthened by their sons (see Figure 17). King Louis VII took Thibaut IV's daughter Adela as his third wife. Thibaut V and his brother Count Henry of Troyes each married one of Louis VII's daughters from his marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine. Moreover, Thibaut V was made seneschal of France in 1154, an office he enjoyed until his death in 1191.¹⁰⁵ The position of seneschal was arguably the most powerful in twelfth-century France. The successor of Viscount Hugh III of Le Puiset was also co-opted into the royal government and given the position of chancellor in 1179.¹⁰⁶ Over-mighty subjects of the early twelfth century, such as the count of Blois-Chartres and the vicecomital family of Chartres, recognized the changing and growing power of the French monarchy and attempted to preserve their influence, if not independence, by joining the king's ranks. At the beginning of his tenure Thibaut IV was the king's sworn enemy, but by the end he was his trusted adviser and loyal supporter.

105. Marcel Pacaut, *Louis VII et son royaume* (Paris: 1964), p. 112 (hereafter, Pacaut, *Louis VII*).

106. Pacaut, *Louis VII*, p. 173.

At the beginning of the eleventh century, the comital family of Blois-Chartres was just beginning to emerge as a power in the region. By the middle of the twelfth century, the count was one of the most important royal officials and, as such, one of the most powerful individuals in the kingdom. During this century and a half, the county changed from an amorphous collection of personal estates into a well-defined political entity. The comital family, through war, enfeoffment, marriage and their own acumen ascended to a position of power and influence.

THE NOBILITY OF BLOIS-CHARTRES

Like the comital house, other noble families of Blois-Chartres had their roots in the Carolingian nobility. The rupture between the nobility of the Carolingian period and that of the High Middle Ages proposed by Marc Bloch is simply not supported by the evidence from the Loire.¹⁰⁷ As Constance Bouchard and others have demonstrated, nobility was determined by both blood and function. "New men" gained power through their warrior skill and through marriages with women from old Carolingian families.¹⁰⁸

The nobility of Blois-Chartres can be divided into three ranks. Directly below the count were the most powerful families of the county: the family of the counts of Perche and the viscounts of Châteaudun, as well as the vicecomital families of Chartres and Blois. The office of viscount was created in the tenth century to aid the count in administering his holdings, but soon became hereditary. The next level within the Chartrain noble class was made up of lords who were the direct vassals of the counts and viscounts of the region. The families of the lords of Alluyes, Montigny, Fréteval,

107. See Chapter 1, pp. 10-15.

108. Bouchard, "The Origins of the French Nobility: A Reassessment," *AHR*, 86 (1981), 521.

Gallardon, and Courville were among the families that fall in this category. Some noble families held their land from ecclesiastical lords. The bishop of Chartres, in particular, appointed the vidame in the eleventh century to protect and manage his secular lands. While it does not seem that the position was hereditary, in the eleventh century it became the monopoly of one family. The lords of Lèves also attained and expanded their power through the control of ecclesiastical offices. The final rank within the nobility included families who were the vassals of the lords and indirect vassals of some of the viscounts.¹⁰⁹ In the sources, the men of this rank are often referred to as knights. While this scheme of the nobility of Blois-Chartres is somewhat simplistic and does not accurately represent the complexity or multiplicity of feudal ties, it does group noble families who shared a similar economic, social and feudal status. Inheritance and family structure were dictated by such criteria, making examination of these families in such a context both necessary and profitable.

The Viscounts

The Viscounts of Châteaudun and the Counts of Perche

The viscounts of Châteaudun were one of the most powerful families of eleventh-century Chartres. The family claimed its origins in the Carolingian nobility.¹¹⁰ The viscounts of Châteaudun emerged in the middle of the tenth century in

109. In his introduction to the cartulary of St. Père of Chartres, B. Guérard divides the Chartrain nobility into three levels, although he does not specify which families belonged in which level. The model used in this study is, hence, based on this scheme (*CSPDC*, pp. xxix-xxxi).

110. The origins of the viscounts of Châteaudun are also the easiest of the viscounts to trace, particularly in contrast to those of Chartres, whose origins are very difficult to discern and were most probably of common stock.

the person of Geoffrey, the son of Count Rorgon of Maine.¹¹¹ Jacques Boussard asserts that in 930 Geoffrey, who he believes was related to Count Rorgon, although not necessarily his son, assumed this office and established the vicecomital line for the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. He postulates that sometime later in the tenth century, a descendent of this viscount (also named Geoffrey) married Hildegard (see Figure 13).¹¹² The viscounts of Châteaudun were joined with the nascent comital family of Perche in the late tenth or early eleventh century. Rotrou of Perche married his only son to Melisend, the daughter of Viscount Geoffrey and Hildegard. In his history of the counts of Perche, Marc Oeillet des Murs suggests that the origins of the Percheron house lay in an ancient Carolingian family.¹¹³ He suggests that the counts of Perche were descended from Charlemagne's daughter Rotrude and cites nomenclatural evidence to support his position. The name "Rotrou" was frequently employed by the Perche-Châteaudun family for the heir to the county. The use of this name, Oeillet des Murs concludes, was a conscious attempt to recall the illustrious founders of the line.¹¹⁴ Oeillet Des Murs' thesis has validity since other scholars have found that many eleventh century noble families could trace kinship to the

 111. Chêdeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, p. 256. If this is accurate, then Geoffrey of Châteaudun would be related to Adelard, the seneschal of Louis the Pious.

112. Jacques Boussard, "Les origines des familles seigneuriales dans la région de la Loire moyenne," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 5 (1962), 310-311 (hereafter, Boussard, "Les origines").

113. Marc A.P. Oeillet des Murs, *Histoire des comtes du Perche de la famille des Rotrou de 943 à 1231* (Nogent-le-Rotrou: 1856), pp. 59-67 (hereafter, Oeillet des Murs, *Les comtes du Perche*).

114. Oeillet des Murs' assertion may be valid, but his evidence is too slight to be entirely convincing. The name Rotrude was not exclusive to the daughter of Charlemagne but could nonetheless suggest that the family of the Counts of Perche did have its origins, either by birth or marriage, in the Carolingian nobility.

Carolingian nobility through the female line.¹¹⁵

In addition to Melisend, Geoffrey and Hildegard had at least one son, Hugh, and another daughter.¹¹⁶ The other daughter married Abbot Albert of Micy. Their son Arnulf succeeded his maternal uncle Hugh as archbishop of Tours, thus establishing an ecclesiastical dynasty in one of the most important episcopal offices in the region. Moreover, the union with Abbot Albert allied the family to the Bellême family, which controlled many other important ecclesiastical offices and was one of the most powerful families in Normandy.¹¹⁷ Geoffrey and Hildeburg's son Hugh succeeded his father as viscount; but, when he became archbishop of Tours, his nephew Geoffrey was invested with his secular lands and powers.¹¹⁸ Geoffrey I was the first of the combined houses of Châteaudun and Perche to succeed to both patrimonies and employ the title of count of Perche.¹¹⁹

The vicecomital family of Châteaudun first appeared in the charters in 985 when

115. Boussard, "Les origines," pp. 304-10, argues that some of the noble families of the middle Loire were actually branches of other families in the region. In particular, he suggests that the viscounts of Châteaudun were related to those of Blois. Boussard postulates that Hildegard, the wife of Geoffrey and the mother of Melisend, had a sister named Gerberge, whose second husband was Gelduin. This couple were the parents of the Gelduin of Saumur who lost his lands to Count Fulk of Anjou, subsequently became the vassal of the count of Chartres and was rewarded with the fief of Chaumont-sur-Loire. This Gelduin was the father of Hervé, who became the viscount of Blois.

116. It is possible that Geoffrey and Hildeburg also had a son Alo, who became the lord of the château of Chinon.

117. Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge:1990); see in particular the genealogical charts on p. 228 and p. 260. Specifically, Head postulates that Ivo of Bellême's daughter Hildeburg married a certain Albert and that Abbot Albert of Micy was the result of this union. Hildeburg was married first, however, to Haymo of Château-sur-Loire, with whom she had Robert and Gervinus. Gervinus inherited the bishopric of Le Mans from his maternal uncle Avesgaud. Hildeburg's nephew Ivo was, moreover, the bishop of Séez.

118. Oeillet des Murs, *Les comtes du Perche*, pp. 311-2.

119. The titles of viscount of Châteaudun and count of Perche were eventually divided under Geoffroy I's grandsons; Geoffrey II became the count of Perche and Hugh II viscount of Châteaudun.

Geoffrey of Perche witnessed an act of Count Eudes I.¹²⁰ In 1004 Geoffrey witnessed a grant authorized and supported by Countess Bertha and her son Eudes II.¹²¹ The family enjoyed a close association with the counts, and they also controlled the office of archbishop of Tours.¹²²

Under the guidance of Geoffrey I the viscounts of Châteaudun came to rival the power of the counts, who were often absent on military expeditions. The letters of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres from the 1020's give testimony to this family's unruliness and aggressiveness. Early in the decade Fulbert wrote to Abbot Odilo of Cluny complaining that Viscount Geoffrey I had done violence to the Church by burning down some farms belonging to the Church and stated that he had excommunicated Geoffrey for his "many crimes." Fulbert said that he planned to ask Count Eudes II for aid, but he evidently did not have much hope for satisfaction from him because he was also going to appeal to the king or Duke Richard of Normandy for protection.¹²³ Later in the same year, Fulbert wrote to King Robert II to report that Viscount Geoffrey I was rebuilding the fortress of Gallardon, which the king had earlier razed. Geoffrey I had also constructed a fortress at Illiers on the lands of Notre Dame of Chartres, an obviously adulterine castle. Fulbert approached King Robert II for help

120. *CSPDC*, no. 18, pp. 77-80.

121. *CMPD*, no. 3, pp. 4-5

122. There is some suggestion that this Hugh, the son of Hildegard, had succeeded his own uncle Hugh to the office. In *CSPDC* no. 17, pp. 75-6, which is dated before 986, a "Hugh" is identified as an archbishop. Since many noble families used particular names to designate who would inherit certain ecclesiastical offices, it is possible that the archbishop of 986 is Hugh's uncle (see Bouchard, *The Sword, Miter and Cloister*, pp. 46-86).

Furthermore, Hugh of Châteaudun, the son of Geoffrey and Hildegard, had a son himself. A certain Helgaud is listed as "filii archiepiscopi." It is possible that this son followed his father into the church, as archbishop of Tours or another important official. In this charter, Archbishop Hugh consented to a gift to the monks of St. Père by Viscountess Hildegard of land at Chaumont-sur-Loire (see *CSPDC*, no. 6, p. 118).

123. Behrends, *Letters*, no. 98, pp. 177-9.

since Count Eudes II had not provided the necessary aid.¹²⁴ Evidently assistance did not come from the king, for Fulbert wrote again to request that King Robert II force Eudes II to provide defense; otherwise the bishop would "prohibit divine worship in the diocese....and be forced against his will by the greatest necessity to go somewhere into exile...."¹²⁵ Such correspondence demonstrates the obstreperousness of the viscount of Châteaudun, as well as the inability of the king and count to deal with him in a prompt and capable manner.

Even though his uncle was the archbishop of Tours, Geoffrey I caused endless trouble for the bishop of Chartres, disrupted the county, usurped land to build the fortress at Illiers and acquired more land to extend his territorial power. Toward the end of his life, however, he must have felt some remorse, since, between 1032 and 1037 with the support of Count Eudes II, he did make gifts to Marmoutier of property at Chaumars.¹²⁶ Geoffrey I's son Hugh succeeded his father as viscount and continued to cause trouble. When he began his tenure sometime in the 1030's, Hugh disputed his father's grant of customs and dues at Chaumars.¹²⁷ Hugh was eventually persuaded by his wife to give the property back to the monks and received a horse as a countergift from the abbot of Marmoutier.¹²⁸

The early viscounts of Châteaudun expanded their influence by granting property in fief to their supporters. In the 1040's men who were vassals of the viscounts first begin to appear in the charters. Hamlin, the nephew of Geoffrey of

124. Behrends, *Letters*, no. 99, pp. 179-81.

125. Behrends, *Letters*, no. 100, pp. 181-3.

126. *CMPD*, nos. 1 and 48, pp. 1-3 and 44-5. Chaumars was located just outside of the town of Châteaudun and was evidently quite rich since the charters deal with customs from markets.

127. *CMPD*, no. 1, pp. 1-3.

128. *CMPD*, no. 1, pp. 1-3.

Rupis Curvis, was clearly a feudal dependent of Viscount Geoffrey I's son Hugh.

Eudes Borrellus also appears as a vicecomital vassal in this decade.¹²⁹

During the early eleventh century the focus of this family's power was the lower Loire Valley. Many of their important possessions, including Chinon and Chaumont, were located around Tours where the family dominated the archbishopric in the early decades of the century. Yet in the second half of the century, the vicecomital family began to take a more active role in politics north and west of the Loire, specifically in Normandy. Around 1077 Count Rotrou I of Perche, the son of Geoffrey I and Heloise,¹³⁰ allied himself with William the duke of Normandy and king of England (see Figures 13-15). Orderic Vitalis suggests that William I may have purchased Rotrou's cooperation in order to stabilize the western border of his dukedom.¹³¹ Like his father Geoffrey I and his brother Viscount Hugh I, Rotrou plundered ecclesiastical lands. In response to his savaging of the lands of Notre Dame of Chartres, Rotrou was excommunicated and shortly afterward lost his hearing, which Orderic attributes to divine intervention.¹³² Interest in Normandy is further evident in Rotrou I's marriage to Adelina, the daughter of Warin of Domfront, who was the son of William of Bellême and the grandson of Ivo of Bellême.¹³³ The marriage of Rotrou and Adelina eventually involved the family in a "protracted

129. *CMPD*, no. 49, pp. 45-6; no. 13, pp. 12-4; no. 24, pp. 25-6; no. 48, pp. 44-5.

130. Heloise was a member of the Pithiviers family. Like the Bellême family, her family controlled several important ecclesiastical offices. Her uncle Roger was the bishop of Beauvais and her brother Oldoric the bishop of Orléans. Heloise's nephew and grandnephew, respectively, succeeded Oldoric to this office; see Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints*, pp. 259-62.

131. Majorie Chibnall, ed. and trans., *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols (Oxford: 1969-80), 2:30 (hereafter, Orderic, *History*).

132. Orderic, *History*, 2:30.

133. Orderic, *History*, 1:212.

struggle" with the Bellême family over the inheritance of Domfront.¹³⁴ Their son, Count Geoffrey II of Perche, battled his cousin Robert of Bellême over this property, claiming that it belonged to him through his mother. Geoffrey II burned Robert's holdings at Echauffour and two other villages and plundered Domfront.¹³⁵ The bitter conflict between Geoffrey II and Robert often caused these men to break the Peace of God, for which they were both excommunicated by the bishop of Seëz.¹³⁶

Count Geoffrey II was also part of William I's retinue in the Battle of Hastings and was rewarded for his participation with lands in England. Orderic Vitalis was impressed by Geoffrey II's valor and described him in the following terms:

A distinguished count, handsome and brave, God-fearing and devoted to the Church, a staunch defender of the clergy and God's poor; in time of peace, he was gentle and lovable; in time of war, harsh, successful, formidable to the rulers who were his neighbors, an enemy to all.¹³⁷

Alliance with the dukes of Normandy and kings of England, begun under Rotrou I and Geoffrey II, was further solidified by the marriage of Geoffrey II's daughter Margaret to Earl Henry of Warwick (see Figure 15). Geoffrey II's son, Rotrou II, "so impressed Henry I in his battles against the Bellême family, even though they were not successful," that the king gave him his illegitimate daughter Mathilda in marriage and estates in England.¹³⁸ Rotrou II joined King Henry's brother, Duke Robert Curthose, on crusade at the end of the eleventh century. During his absence, his father Geoffrey II fell mortally ill and instructed his wife and nobles to keep the peace and protect his

134. Orderic, *History*, 4:161.

135. Orderic, *History*, 4:161.

136. Orderic, *History*, 4:253. Robert did not take the sentence well, however, and reacted violently. The bishop evidently feared for his life and fled in exile to either England or Italy.

137. Orderic, *History*, 4:161.

138. Orderic, *History*, 4:399.

castles until Rotrou returned.¹³⁹ Geoffrey II became a monk at the Cluniac foundation of St. Denis of Nogent-le-Rotrou, which had been built by his father to honor Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and was further enriched by Geoffrey himself.

The alliance with the kings of England and dukes of Normandy continued into the next generation, as did the struggle against the Bellême family. Geoffrey II and Beatrice's daughters' marriages reflect this Norman involvement. One daughter married an Anglo-Norman earl, the other married Gilbert of Laigle, a member of a strong Norman family. Like the counts of Perche, the lords of Laigle were hostile to the Bellême family. Gilbert of Laigle had so impressed Duke Robert that he was often called upon to perform military service because he was "so conspicuously courageous."¹⁴⁰ In return for his military prowess, Gilbert was rewarded with castles, which so upset Robert of Bellême that he besieged these possessions. The marriage with Juliana of Perche was clearly an attempt to solidify an anti-Bellême contingent.¹⁴¹

Rotrou II assumed control of the county of Perche when he returned from the East around 1100. He continued to be absent often from the county, however. On two occasions he went to the aid of his cousin Alphonso I of Aragon to fight against the Muslims.¹⁴² He and his retainers were promised lands in Spain in return for their

139. Orderic, *History*, 4:395.

140. Orderic, *History*, 4:201.

141. Orderic, *History*, 4:201. Although Orderic attributes this alliance to an act of reconciliation by Geoffrey II to make amends for his knights' attack on Gilbert of Laigle, I am persuaded that the count of Perche was seeking allies against the Bellême foes.

142. Rotrou II's mother was Beatrix, the daughter of Lord Gui of Rochefort. She had at least two sisters, one of whom was married to the king of Aragon and her son became the king of both Navarre and Aragon. The other sister was married to the Earl of Salisbury.

military expertise. Orderic claims that there was treachery, that the Spaniards planned to kill Rotrou II and his men. Rotrou II did leave Spain suddenly and without compensation for his assistance, but Orderic's assertion of Spanish betrayal is weakened by Rotrou II's subsequent return to Spain to aid his cousin in 1124 or 1125.

The titles of count of Perche and viscount of Châteaudun were both held by Geoffrey I and his son Rotrou I. In the next generation, however, the titles were split between two of Rotrou I's sons. Geoffrey II acceded to the position of count of Perche and Hugh II became the viscount of Châteaudun. The vicecomital family remained quite powerful in the county of Blois-Chartres. Viscount Hugh II married into a family of powerful lords, the house of Fréteval (see Figure 14). While the family was influential, the late eleventh and early twelfth-century viscounts did not challenge the authority of the count or king. Like their father, Hugh II's children made marriages with important local families. His son and heir Geoffrey III wed the daughter of the lord of Mondoubleau, a lordship located to the south of Châteaudun near the border with Vendôme. His daughter Mathilda was married twice: her first husband was Viscount Robert III of Blois; the second, Count Geoffrey Grisgonelle of Vendôme. The marital alliances of the vicecomital family indicate political involvement in the county and the mid Loire region rather than in Normandy or with the kings of England. Like all Chartrain noble families, the viscount of Châteaudun was affected by the involvement of the comital house of Blois-Chartres in the battle for the English crown. Vicecomital marriage alliances with families to the south suggest they were seeking allies to secure their territories from possible Angevin aggression.

The Viscounts of Chartres

Like the viscounts of Châteaudun, the viscounts of Chartres emerged as an important noble power in the late tenth century. This vicecomital office first appeared

in the tenth century when a certain Geoffrey was referred to as viscount of Chartres in 939.¹⁴³ The origins and succession of the tenth-century viscounts remains unsure, but it is certain that all subsequent viscounts were descended from Viscount Gelduin (see Figure 12).¹⁴⁴ When Gelduin issued a charter between 1038 and 1040, he named Bishop Hugh, Gelduin and Fulcher of Chartres as his kinsmen and stated that he had succeeded them to certain fiefs by right of inheritance.¹⁴⁵ The direct predecessors of Gelduin I most probably were another Gelduin and Fulcher.¹⁴⁶ These two men witnessed and signed charters for Countess Letgard and Bishop Eudes of Chartres in the late tenth century.¹⁴⁷ Fulcher also acted alone in two charters from 985 which record donations by two of Count Eudes I's vassals.¹⁴⁸ Since Gelduin I became viscount sometime before 1038, the evidence suggests that Fulcher used the title at

143. Cuissard, "Les seigneurs du Puiset," p. 323, 326.

144. Cuissard, "Les seigneurs du Puiset," pp. 326-7, suggests that the Geoffrey the first viscount was succeeded by Hugh, Fulcher and Gelduin respectively. His reconstruction fails to take into consideration important evidence, see above.

Cuissard is correct in his assertion that all subsequent viscounts were descended from Gelduin I, but his determination of Gelduin's parentage is faulty. Cuissard suggests that Gelduin was the son of Count Eudes II and Countess Ermengard of Chartres, which would make him the brother of Thibaut III and Stephen, count of Champagne. When Eudes II acquired control of Champagne, Cuissard believes, he gave lands to his son, Gelduin, in the region of Beauvaisis, in particular the seigneurie of Breteuil. He postulates further that Gelduin was given control of the county of Chartres when his brother Thibaut III was busy with his wars against the Angevins and then imprisoned. There is absolutely no evidence for this theory of the origins of the viscounts of Chartres (Cuissard, "Les seigneurs du Puiset," pp. 326-29).

145. *CMPD*, no. 21, pp. 21-2; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 3, p. 158, note 151.

146. A charter from *CSPDC* suggests that Fulcher or Gelduin may possibly be related to a knight or noble named Vivan, who appears as making a grant with his brother Fulcher in no. 2, pp. 81-3. Vivan states that his father was also named Fulcher.

147. *CSPDC*, no. 8, pp. 63-5. In this charter Fulcher and Gelduin witness for Countess Letgard. In *CSPDC*, no. 17, pp. 75-6, and no. 1, pp. 81-3, Fulcher and Gelduin witnessed for Bishop Eudes of Chartres.

148. *CSPDC*, no 15, p. 74, and no. 18, pp. 77-9.

the end of the tenth century but passed it on to his kinsman Gelduin in the early eleventh.¹⁴⁹

While many scholars have found that eleventh century noble families had their origins in the Carolingian nobility, the evidence for the viscounts of Chartres suggests that the roots of their power lay in their function as officers of the count and trustworthy warriors.¹⁵⁰ André Chédeville concludes that the viscounts of Chartres had their origins in service rather than birth and the charter evidence would seem to support this interpretation.¹⁵¹ Gelduin I's relatives Gelduin and Fulcher had emerged as vassals of the count, positions gained most likely through their ability to provide service. Chédeville does configure a different genealogy for Viscount Gelduin, however. Gelduin, he believes, was the son of a *vir nobilis* named Harduin, a tenth-century vassal of Count Eudes I. Harduin was the provisor for the city of Chartres for the counts, which Chédeville equates with the office of viscount. While this interpretation is acceptable, it does not explain Gelduin's ancestors, Gelduin (unless he was in fact Harduin) and Fulcher.

The history of these viscounts is difficult to reconstruct for the tenth century

149. It is possible that the Gelduin appearing with Fulcher could have been Gelduin I. This seems unlikely, however, since Gelduin continued to act in grants until the mid-eleventh century. The necrology of Notre Dame of Chartres states that Gelduin died the 18th of May, but unfortunately does not give the date (*NDDC*, 3: 115 and 127).

150. Other scholars have also attempted to solve the question of the origins of the viscounts of Chartres. Jacques Boussard, "Les origines," pp. 310-11, suggests that these viscounts had their roots in the same Carolingian nobles from whom other families in the area traced their ancestry. Specifically, he cites Adelard the seneschal of Louis the Pious, Gui and Count Rorgon of Maine as giving rise to other noble families of the area. A. de Dion, "Le Puiset aux XIe et XIIe siècles" *MSAEL* 9 (1889), pp. 1-3 (hereafter, De Dion, "Le Puiset"), insists that Gelduin was both the count of Breteuil and the viscount of Chartres. He cites the reconstructions of Ducange and Grenier for Gelduin's possible parentage. Ducange in his *Histoire d'Amiens* proposes that Gelduin was the son of Gelduin or Hilduin the count of Montdidier, Breteuil, Arcis and Ramerupt. D. Grenier believes that Gelduin could have been the son of Harduin, the brother of Count Manassas of Dammartin (see de Dion, "Le Puiset," 3). The collected charters provide little support for any of these interpretations.

151. Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, p. 259.

but does become clearer in the eleventh. Like those of Châteaudun, these viscounts increased their power while the counts of Blois-Chartres were preoccupied with war with Anjou.¹⁵² In the 1070's the viscounts were powerful enough to pose a threat to the counts and even make war on the king. Just before hostilities broke out with the king, Viscount Hugh I was at the royal court and witnessed several acts. The weakened monarchs needed the consent of their most powerful vassals, providing further testimony to the influence this vicecomital family now commanded.¹⁵³ The viscounts of Chartres continued to rebel against royal and comital power far into the twelfth century. Gelduin's great-grandson Hugh III of Le Puiset waged war against Louis VI, but with mixed success.

Initially, the relationship between the count and the viscount of Chartres was quite close.¹⁵⁴ The death of Count Eudes II apparently caused Gelduin some grief, for he made a donation specifically for the soul of his lord.¹⁵⁵ None of Eudes II's other vassals made such a donation, suggesting that he and Gelduin enjoyed a particularly strong attachment. Gelduin's rise to power by the 1030's, when he began to appear in the acts of the king, had been aided by the support of the count of Blois-Chartres. In 1034 Gelduin of Saumur made a donation to establish two churches at Pontlevoy. Viscount Gelduin and his son Harduin both witnessed and confirmed this

152. The viscounts of Chartres became most powerful during the tenure of Thibaut III when Gelduin ran the county with Countess Ermengard while the count was at war and then imprisoned. This power led to an acceleration in the influence and aggressiveness of this vicecomital family.

153. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, p. 68, argues that by around 1025 a decline in the power of the French monarchs is evident in the presence in their acts of men of a lesser rank and lacking descent from the Carolingian nobility. Previously counts and members of powerful and prestigious noble families had participated in royal acts.

154. Gelduin first appeared in the charters as a witness for the counts. See *CSPDC*, no. 8, p. 101, and *JEAN*, no. 1, p.1.

155. *CMPD*, no. 21, pp. 21-22: Hoc autem facio pro redemptione animae meae seniorisque mei Odonis, videlicet comitis....

donation, along with the king.¹⁵⁶ A royal charter dated 1048 also refers to Vis count Gelduin, as well as his son Evrard.¹⁵⁷ It has been suggested that the weakness of the Capetian monarch is reflected in the inclusion of local strongmen in their acts.¹⁵⁸ While the presence of the viscount of Chartres signals the impotency of the monarchy, it also testifies to the power of this vicecomital family.

Gelduin passed a very strong and expanding viscounty to his sons. The key to his power was his relationship with both king and count and their healthy respect for his command of the strategically placed fortresses of Montfort, Auneau, Le Puiset and perhaps Montlhéry. These possessions provided an unspoken threat to both the monarch and the count.¹⁵⁹ The fortresses were of particular concern to the king, since they abutted the royal demesne. The territorial power of Gelduin is apparent in two of his gifts. Toward the end of his life he gave the monks of St. Père immunity from customs from a suburb of Chartres. In return, the monks were to celebrate the anniversary of his death.¹⁶⁰ At about the same time, that is before 1045, Gelduin and his son Harduin gave to Marmoutier the church of St. Gervase and St. Protase which they had

156. This act is dated from the reign of Henri I, but appears in the collection of acts of Philippe I. In 1075 Philippe reconfirmed a donation made by Gelduin of Saumur. Viscount Gelduin and his son Harduin, along with the count, were listed as witnesses who confirmed the donation (Prou, *Philippe*, no. 74, pp. 186-87).

157. *NDDC*, no. 14, pp. 89-91.

158. Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, pp. 67-9.

159. Cuissard, "Les seigneurs," p. 319.

160. *CSPDC*, no. 34, pp. 161-2: Hujus rei gratia, ego quidem Gilduinus, vicecomes Carnotinae urbis, uxorque propria, nomine Emmelina, una cum filiis nostris dulcissimis, sancto Petro, apostolorum principi, consuetudines scilicet sui suburbii, quae nostri sunt juris, grantater concedimus, ut monachi devote ei servientes in coenobio quo situm est juxta praefatam urbem, jus habeant orandi pro salute nostra, et singulis annis, post morem carnis, singulorum anniversaria celebrent.

This charter is dated 1046 and it seems that Gelduin had died by 1050, since his son Harduin had assumed the role and title of viscount of Chartres. See *CMPD*, nos. 110 and 117, pp. 101-2, 1. 111.

constructed at Chuisnes.¹⁶¹ Their ability to build a church suggests a fair amount of wealth. The provision made to celebrate Gelduin's death was another indication of the position of this family. Such arrangements and donations were undertaken to benefit souls but also to buttress and enhance the influence of the family and their status in the county.

Harduin had been designated by his father as his heir in the donation charter of the church at Chuisnes. In this act Harduin shared the title of viscount with his father. Harduin's tenure as viscount was brief and he issued no charters (see Figure 12). Yet it is clear that specialization within the vicecomital household began under Harduin. Witnessing the gift of St. Gervase and St. Protase to Marmoutier was a certain "Warin seneschal of Viscount Harduin."¹⁶² Gelduin had employed cooks and wineservants, but his son required a seneschal to help him with military matters.

Sometime between 1050 and 1060 Harduin's brother Evrard assumed the title of viscount of Chartres. Evrard, who the monks of Marmoutier state was greedy, claimed the church at Marolles and an allod at *Mortua Aqua*.¹⁶³ Sometime later, Evrard had a change of heart. He gave his half of Nottonville and the church at Averdon to Marmoutier.¹⁶⁴ During his tenure as viscount, Evrard continued to appear in royal acts. A charter from the cartulary of Notre Dame of Chartres records Evrard as a witness for King Henri.¹⁶⁵ Evrard and his brother Hugh witnessed one of

161. *CMPD*, no. 110, pp. 101-2.

162. *CMPD*, no. 110, p. 102: Guarinus, senescalcus Harduini vicecomitis...

163. *CMPD*, no. 117, p. 111; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 3, p. 162, note 160.

164. *CMPD*, no. 41, pp. 38-40; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 3, p. 160, note 155 and p. 161, note 157. Evrard made donations to other religious institutions as well. In particular see *CSPDC*, no. 32, p. 159, and no. 71, p. 319.

165. *NDDC*, no. 15. In this charter Henri I made provision for the monks to sing religious services for his soul.

acts of King Philippe I in 1067.¹⁶⁶

In 1073 Evrard abandoned the secular world and became a monk at Marmoutier.¹⁶⁷ His younger brother Hugh, the lord of Le Puiset, assumed the responsibilities of viscount (see Figure 12).¹⁶⁸ It was under Hugh that this family reached its eleventh-century apex of power.¹⁶⁹ Hugh was aggressive in asserting that power and independence from both count and king. At the outset of his tenure as

166. Prou, *Philippe*, no. 37, pp. 107-9.

167. *CMPD*, no. 41, pp. 38-40; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 3, p. 160, note 155. This charter records Evrard's retreat from secular life and the conferral of his title of viscount upon his brother Hugh, the seigneur of Le Puiset. Evrard I had been married to Humberg and had at least one daughter, Adelaide. Adelaide was the second wife of Roger Montgomery and they had one son: Evrard. Roger and his first wife Mabel of Bellême had several sons. Hugh of Montgomery succeeded his father to his English possessions and Robert of Bellême received the Norman lands. Orderic Vitalis states that two other sons, Arnulf and Roger, married heiresses and became counts, while another, Philip, went with Duke Robert on crusade and died at Antioch. Roger Montgomery's youngest son, Evrard du Puiset, joined the Church and eventually became the English royal chaplain. Orderic Vitalis says that Evrard entered the clergy because "the two eldest received the whole of it [the inheritance]" (see Orderic, *History*, 4:303).

168. Gelduin had four sons: Harduin, Evrard, Hugh and Galeran (see Figure 12). Once Evrard became a monk, Hugh succeeded to the office of viscount of Chartres. Galeran assumed his father's position as lord of Breteuil and founded the branch of this family that controlled this lordship into the twelfth century. The Breteuil branch took an active interest in events in Normandy. Galeran I was allied with King William I and provided support on several occasions (Orderic, *History*, 2:107). For discussion of this family, see A. de Dion, "Les seigneurs de Breteuil en Beauvaisis" *Memoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France*, 10 (1883), pp. 191-242 (hereafter, de Dion, "Les seigneurs de Breteuil").

169. There is dispute among scholars over the identity of Hugh as the son of Gelduin I and brother of Evrard and Harduin. Charles Cuissard and A. de Dion assert that Hugh was in fact the son of Evrard I (Cuissard, "Les seigneurs du Puiset," p. 332, and A. de Dion, "Le Puiset," pp. 13-5). Cuissard even proposes that the Evrard who appeared in the act of Philippe I was the grandson of Viscount Gelduin through his son Evrard I. There is a charter extant from *CSPDC* that refers to a viscount Hugh the son of Evrard of Le Puiset, which seems to lend credence to this interpretation (*CSPDC*, no. 57, p. 452). I believe this Hugh was Hugh III the son of Evrard II, the son of Hugh I (the Hugh in question). Since the charter is dated from the early twelfth century, the Hugh to whom it refers must be the great-grandson of Gelduin I, rather than his grandson. Lucien Merlet in *TIRON*, p. 333, supports my belief that Hugh I was the brother of Evrard I.

viscount in 1073, Hugh appeared as a witness in several acts of King Philippe I.¹⁷⁰ Like his father, Hugh I's participation in the royal acts points to the powerful position he enjoyed in the kingdom. Indeed, Orderic Vitalis called a member of this family "one of the most highly born nobles in France."¹⁷¹ Hugh I led a successful rebellion against King Philippe I. The war may have been the result of Hugh I's refortification of his chateau at Le Puiset.¹⁷² Such activity would have presented a serious threat to the king's land because of Le Puiset's proximity to the royal demesne. Between 1078 and 1080 Philippe I besieged the fortress and, according to Abbot Suger, won the battle.¹⁷³ He and Viscount Hugh I were soon reconciled, and Hugh was restored to his position as one of the most powerful royal vassals. In 1092 King Philippe was in the thick of his struggle with the Church over his repudiation of his wife Bertrade of Holland and subsequent liaison with Bertha of Anjou. Suger claims that Viscount Hugh I, at the king's request, imprisoned Bishop Ivo of Chartres, who was leading the charge against Philippe. Unfortunately this plan of action earned the viscount and king the wrath of the Church and the general populace. Hugh I's sons Evrard II and Hugh II both went on crusade, in part to escape the repercussions of their father's imprisonment of this prelate.¹⁷⁴ While Hugh I's rebellion and collusion with the king were ultimately unsuccessful, they do testify to the influence and power that family

170. Prou, *Philippe*, nos. 43, 50, 52 and 53, pp. 120-3, 134-7, 140-2, and 142-4.

171. Orderic, *History*, 3:139.

172. The viscounts of Chartres were also the lords of Le Puiset, an important fortress located near the royal demesne. Suger states that Le Puiset had been built to protect Queen Constance in the wars with her husband Robert II and her son Henri I over the succession to the throne of France (Suger, *La vie de Louis VI*, p. 133). In the late eleventh and early twelfth century, the vicecomital family took its name from this fortress. A recent work, *Le Puiset: Une histoire Franco-anglaise* (Chartres: 1987) by Jean Laureau traces the history of the lords of Le Puiset.

173. Suger, *La vie de Louis VI*, p. 136.

174. Suger, *La vie de Louis VI*, p. 136.

commanded at the end of the eleventh century.

Viscount Hugh I died sometime before 1095. He had married Adelaide of Monthéry with whom he had three sons and one daughter (see Figure 12). The union with Monthéry was important for it provided an ally whose holdings similarly abutted the king's demesne. Given Hugh I's aggression toward the king, the strategic placement of Monthéry was undoubtedly an attractive benefit.¹⁷⁵ Evrard II succeeded his father as viscount, but left France almost immediately upon the call for the First Crusade in 1096.¹⁷⁶ His brother Hugh II assumed responsibility for the viscounty, as well as guardianship for Evrard II's son. When the second wave of crusaders departed with Bohemond of Apulia around 1098, Hugh II went with them.¹⁷⁷ Evrard II and Hugh II were already married before they left for the Holy Land and their marital alliances reflect the family's involvement in and association with other noble families that were challenging royal authority. Evrard II married Alix of Corbeil, a daughter of the Rochefort house, whose members were mortal enemies of Louis VI. Hugh II wed Manilie, the daughter of Count Ebles II of Roucy, whose sisters married into the comital house of Perche and the royal house of Aragon.¹⁷⁸ Alliance with the Rocheforts, along with the vicecomital family's traditional rebelliousness against royal authority, resulted in almost continuous conflict with the kings of France for twenty-five years.

Upon Hugh II's departure on crusade, Hugh I's third son, Gui, assumed

175. The marriage with the Monthéry family also involved the vicecomital family in the Rochefort faction. The Rocheforts battled Louis VI for nearly a quarter of a century (see pp. 37-40 of this chapter).

176. Orderic, *History*, 6:100.

177. Hugh II eventually became the count of Jaffa. His and Manilie's son Hugh succeeded him to his honors in the Crusader states and perpetuated this dynasty. See John La Monte, "The Lords of Le Puiset on Crusade," *Speculum*, 17 (1942), 100-18.

178. Suger, *La vie de Louis VI*, p. 27.

guardianship of the viscounty and his nephew Hugh III.¹⁷⁹ When Count Gui of Rochefort and Gui Trousseau returned from the Holy Land, they arranged marriages of their daughters to Louis VI and his brother Philippe of Mantes. After 1107, hostility between the Rochefort family and Louis VI erupted as a result of the king's breaking off of the betrothal.¹⁸⁰ In 1111 the first of three sieges of Le Puiset began. Hugh III was not well regarded by contemporary historians. Suger called him a serpent and says that he gained his riches by "his own tyranny and that of his ancestors."¹⁸¹ Orderic Vitalis was of a similar opinion and states that Viscount Hugh III was "handsome, but evil."¹⁸² The war between Louis VI and Hugh III was precipitated by a request to Louis from Countess Adela and her son Thibaut IV to punish the viscount for his actions against Philippe I¹⁸³ and to rid the area of the menace of bandits and outlaws who were housed at Le Puiset.¹⁸⁴ Thibaut joined Louis in the siege and they succeeded in destroying the château, "much to the great joy of the country people living near and travelers."¹⁸⁵ Hugh III was imprisoned but was free by 1112. Sometime shortly after the siege, Thibaut and Louis fell out¹⁸⁶ and the

179. Historians have traditionally asserted that Gui assumed this role although there are no charters extant in the collections I have examined that refer to his guardianship of Hugh III. The lack of specific evidence suggests that Hugh III may have been of age by the early twelfth century.

180. Orderic, *History*, 6:157.

181. Suger, *La vie de Louis VI*, p. 131. The ancestor to whom Suger may be referring specifically was most likely Hugh I.

182. Orderic, *History*, 6:159.

183. Luchaire, *Louis VI*, p. 58.

184. Orderic, *History*, 6:159.

185. Orderic, *History*, 6: 161.

186. Suger suggests that the rift between the king and count was over the question of the control of the fortress at Le Puiset and its pertaining lands (Suger, *La vie de Louis VI*, p. 141). For discussion of this problem, see this chapter, pp. 37-8.

count threw his support behind Viscount Hugh III. The viscount was able to rebuild his fortress at Le Puiset with the aid of Thibaut and King Henry I of England. By the fall of 1112, Louis decided to delay a trip to Flanders in favor of dealing with Hugh III and his allies, Lancelin of Bulles, the lord of Dammartin, Raoul of Beaugency, Viscount Milo II of Troyes, Hugh of Crécy, and Gui II of Rochefort. In spite of the considerable force mounted against him, Louis VI was victorious.¹⁸⁷ The château was again destroyed. Although Hugh III was again formally disinherited, the family still maintained control of Le Puiset and was able to rebel for a third, but final time between 1116 and 1118.¹⁸⁸ Thibaut IV supported Hugh III's final rebellion but to no avail, and the viscount was once again vanquished. The support of the count suggests that this final altercation may have been tied to Henry I's wars in Normandy. Finding little success in France, Hugh III left for the Holy Land, where he died in 1132 in an argument over a game of chance.¹⁸⁹

The family of the viscounts of Chartres was one of the most powerful in central France. Its members controlled significant territories and resources and used them to join Thibaut IV and other powerful families in rebelling against the king. In the eleventh century this family had been tremendously powerful and it is perhaps not surprising that it united with other noble families of a similar position in resisting any royal attempts to curb their power. After the death of Hugh III, the viscounts were no

187. Luchaire, *Louis VI*, no. 134, pp. 70-2.

188. This final siege may have been precipitated by Anselm Garlande's death at the hands of Hugh III. The Garlande family was the close ally of the king.

189. Suger, *La vie de Louis VI*, p. 167.

longer over-mighty subjects.¹⁹⁰ Indeed, Hugh III's son or grandson became the royal chancellor under Louis VII. Like the counts of Blois-Chartres, this previously rebellious family was co-opted into the royal government, signaling the end of such strongmen and the ascendancy of the French monarchs.

The Viscounts of Blois

Unlike those of Chartres or Châteaudun, the viscounts of Blois never presented a serious threat to the count or the king. This family seems to have originated in the nobility in the area around Tours (see Figure 11). Boussard has suggested that the viscounts of Blois were related to those of Châteaudun through Gerberge, the sister of Viscountess Hildegard.¹⁹¹ Gerberge wed Gelduin of Saumur as her second husband, and Boussard asserts that they were the parents of Hervé, the first viscount of Blois. Chêdeville agrees that the two families were related but identifies Hervé as the brother of Gelduin of Saumur, the lord of Chaumont-sur-Loire.¹⁹² This suggested relationship between Hervé and Gelduin of Saumur is borne out in a charter datable between 1032 and 1037. These men witnessed for the count and were labeled comital vassals, although the charter does not refer to them as either brothers or father and son.¹⁹³ Since the viscounty of Blois was created by the count of Chartres to provide defense

190. Like the main line of the viscounts of Chartres, the lords of Breteuil also allied themselves with families that were actively rebelling against the king. Perhaps the most infamous of noblemen who rebelled against Louis VI, besides Viscount Hugh III, was Thomas of Marle. De Dion believes that a daughter of Thomas of Marle married one of the lords of Breteuil, probably Evrard III (see Suger, *La vie de Louis VI*, p. 174, and de Dion, "Les seigneurs de Breteuil...", p. 209).

191. Boussard, "Les origines," pp. 310-13.

192. Chêdeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, p. 259. This scholar believes Gelduin of Saumur became the lord of Chaumont after Nivelon of Fréteval.

193. *CMPD*, no. 4, pp. 5-6

against the Angevins, the family quite likely had its roots in the nobility of the Touraine.¹⁹⁴ The nomenclatural evidence also supports the case for the Tourangeau origins of the family and kinship to the viscounts of Châteaudun. Viscount Hervé named one of his sons Geoffrey, a name used frequently by the viscounts of Châteaudun. Another son was called Gelduin, which could be reference to Hervé's brother, Gelduin of Saumur. One of Hervé's daughters was named Gerberge, presumably after the Gerberge who was either Herve's mother or his sister-in-law. While it is difficult to establish the exact relationship between Gelduin of Saumur and the vicecomital family of Châteaudun or Blois, the evidence suggests that Viscount Hervé was related to both families.

Hervé was the first viscount of Blois to appear in the charters, starting in 1024.¹⁹⁵ During the tenure of Count Eudes II, Viscount Hervé witnessed several times for him and certain comital vassals.¹⁹⁶ Hervé was a vassal of the count and specifically stated that Count Thibaut III was his lord. When Hervé gave the customs of St. Gilliacus to Marmoutier, he secured the consent of Thibaut III, from whose fief the viscount held these customs.¹⁹⁷ This donation also heralds an important change within the vicecomital family.¹⁹⁸ Hervé gave these customs so he might enter the monastery of Marmoutier. His sons Gelduin, Geoffrey, and Stephen, as well as his

194. If these viscounts were related to Gelduin of Saumur, they would have been ideal protectors against the Angevin counts. Gelduin was deprived of his fiefs by the counts of Anjou, who undoubtedly incurred the hate of his family.

195. *CSDPC*, no. 4, p. 96, and no. 1, p. 123; Hervé acted in seven charters between 1030 and 1040. Hervé continued to be included in charters, but after 1050 he became a monk and is referred to in these records as "Hervé, the monk who used to be viscount."

196. *CMPD*, no. 21, pp. 21-2, no. 100, pp. 92-3. In *CMPD*, no. 99, p. 92, Hervé witnessed for Eudes II's widow Ermengard.

197. *CMPD*, no. 104, pp. 96-97.

198. *CMPD*, no. 104, p. 97.

daughters Ermengard¹⁹⁹ and Gerberge acted with the viscount in making this gift. While he appeared in later charters as a witness for Marmoutier, he was labeled Hervé, "the monk but formerly viscount."²⁰⁰ The viscount's retirement had obvious consequence for the family and further complicates attempts to trace its lineage. In a charter from around 1040 Hervé specified that his son Gelduin had "succeeded to his father's honors."²⁰¹ Yet Gelduin does not appear in the charters as viscount for another twenty or thirty years.²⁰² In the interim, Lord Robert of La-Ferté Villeneuve assumed the powers of viscount until 1060 (see Figure 11).²⁰³ It has been suggested that Robert was probably appointed by Hervé to act as viscount while Gelduin was a minor. The evidence suggests, however, that the family of Robert of La-Ferté Villeneuve continued to claim the office and title of viscount of Blois after 1060. Father Augis maintains that Robert persisted in the office of viscount of Blois and that his son Robert succeeded him to these honors.²⁰⁴ The correspondence of Bishop Ivo

199. This daughter may have been named after her father's lady, Countess Ermengard. Hervé may have chosen this name to flatter the countess or to connect more firmly his family to the counts.

200. See, for example, *CMPD*, no. 23, pp. 24-5, and no. 24, pp. 25-6: "Herveus monachus, quondam vicecomes".

201. *CMPD*, no. 104, pp. 96-7; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 3, note 145.

202. Gelduin first appeared between 1060 and 1064 as viscount in *CMPD*, nos. 120 and 121, pp. 113-15. He acted as viscount in the following charters: *CMPD*, no. 40, pp. 37-8, no. 104, pp. 96-7, no. 120, p. 113, and no. 121, pp. 113-4.

203. Robert I does not himself employ the title of viscount after this date, which suggests that the title passed to Hervé's son Gelduin. See *CMPD*, no. 14, pp. 14-6, no. 124, pp. 116-7, and no. 125, p. 117.

Robert appeared as viscount in the following charters: *CMPD*, no. 14, pp. 14-6, no. 15, p. 17, no. 29, pp. 29-30.

204. Abbé J. Augis, *Essai historique sur la ville et châtelainerie de La Ferté-Villeneuve*, (Châteaudun: 1902), p. 90-5. Augis also suggests a different origin for the viscounts of Blois. He asserts that the viscount of Blois was also the lord of La Ferté-Villeneuve. According to this scholar, the first viscount was named Robert, who was also the lord of La Ferté-Villeneuve. In his configuration, the office of viscount was never possessed by either Hervé or his kin.

of Chartres supports this interpretation. Sometime around 1100, Bishop Ivo wrote a letter objecting to the marriage of the widow of Viscount Robert III of Blois to Count Geoffrey Grisgonelle of Anjou.²⁰⁵ Since the letter is datable between 1102 and 1105, the woman concerned must have been the wife of Robert III, the grandson of Robert I. This letter establishes that Robert I was able to keep the office and some of its pertaining lands and to pass them along to his heirs.

In addition to Bishop Ivo's explicit reference to Viscount Robert III of Blois and his certainty that the count of Anjou was contemplating an alliance with the family, the charter evidence also indicates that these two families shared the vicecomital title and lands.²⁰⁶ Robert I, Robert II and Gelduin all appear in the sources as viscounts of Blois. Moreover, the vicecomital lands were shared between the Robertian viscounts and the descendants of Hervé. A charter datable between 1060 and 1090 states that Robert III inherited vicecomital lands from his father Robert II.²⁰⁷ Gelduin also acted as viscount and made donations from vicecomital properties. Apparently the viscounty of Blois was divided between the family of Gelduin and that of Robert I of La Ferté-Villeneuve. When Gelduin came of age Robert I or Robert II evidently retained the title of viscount and some of the lands that pertained to it. This explanation best reconciles the sources, and satisfactorily accounts for the inability of the viscounts of Blois to achieve the power that those of Châteaudun and Chartres

205. Merlet, *Lettres*, nos. 132 and 133, pp. 231-3.

206. Bishop Ivo often made mistakes in his genealogies. It is difficult to determine whether these mistakes were made from ignorance or for his own purposes. Ivo does correctly assert that the family of Robert III, viscount of Blois, was descended from the Beaugency line. Robert III's father Robert II married Agnes, the sister of Lancelin III of Beaugency and the daughter of Lancelin II (see *CMPD*, no. 15, p. 16). In this charter Robert II was called the brother-in-law of Lancelin of Beaugency, which would make Robert III the grandson of Lancelin II.

207. *CMPD*, no. 125, p. 117: Noverit posteritas nostra Rotbertum de Villa in Oculo, pro redemptione suae suique patris ac matris animae, in territorio Blesis, apud Villam quae vocatur Bergerulfi, Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii terram omnem dedisse, quam ad vicecomitatum Blesis pertinentem hereditario pater suus possederat jure.

attained. A division of the patrimonial land significantly weakened the power and resource base of both vicecomital families. Each received only a part of the whole. The splitting of the patrimony of the viscount of Blois created two families with a title but with insufficient power or resources to aspire to the heights that other viscounts in the area attained in the eleventh century.

The vicecomital families of Blois both died out early in the twelfth century. Robert II did have a son who married Mathilda, the daughter of Viscount Hugh II of Châteaudun, but Robert III died without issue early in the twelfth century and his wife remarried to the count of Anjou. Hervé's son Gelduin did marry, but evidently no children resulted from this union for the viscounty of Blois passed into the hands of the count of Blois-Chartres, their feudal lord. A lack of heirs, combined with the impoverishment from the division of the vicecomital lands, resulted in the end of both lines of the viscount of Blois.

The Lords of Blois-Chartres

Next in rank after the viscounts of Chartres, Châteaudun and Blois, were certain very strong seigneurial families. The lords of Fréteval, Alluyes and Montigny were three of the most powerful noble families of the region. The founders of these lines all emerged at the end of the tenth century through their own efforts, but they were able to attain status by marrying women from families of better social position or with roots in the Carolingian nobility.

The Lords of Fréteval

The family power of the lords of Fréteval was based on their service to the counts of Blois-Chartres and not their birth. Scholars agree that this influential family

was probably descended from a simple knight, who gained favor and fiefs from the counts through his military skills.²⁰⁸ A member of the Fréteval family first appears in a comital charter from the mid tenth century. A close association between the count and the family had been established by this time.²⁰⁹ In approximately 1025 Count Eudes II built a chateau at Fréteval to defend his southern border from the counts of Anjou. He gave control of this fortress to one of his most trusted supporters, Nivelon, who then took the title of lord of Fréteval.²¹⁰ Nivelon was also invested by this count with the fortress at Chaumont-sur-Loire.²¹¹ The confidence that Eudes II had in Nivelon is evident; he must have been a very competent and trustworthy vassal indeed.²¹² While the Frétevals obtained a lordship around 1030, the family had been present in the Chartrain since the mid tenth century. An eleventh-century pancarte records donations made by Bishop Hagan to the abbey of St. Père sometime around -----

208. See Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, pp. 255-259. Also Charles Métais, *Marmoutier-Cartulaire blésois* (Chartres: 1889-1891), pp. xiii-xxiv (hereafter, Métais, *CMB*). There has been some suggestion by Métais, Lucien Merlet, and also René Merlet that the Frétevals were in some way related to the vidames of Chartres. Chédeville discards this interpretation since there is no evidence to support it. From my own investigations, I have reached the same conclusion; there is no proof that links the Frétevals with the family of the vidames of Chartres. This erroneous assumption is found in Lucien Merlet's introduction to *NDDC*, pp. clxv-cxvi, and *TIRON*, 2: 35, note 1. See also René Merlet and Abbé Clerval, *Un manuscrit chartrain* (Chartres: 1893), pp. 116-7.

209. *CSPDC*, no. 1, p. 22.

210. Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, p. 256. The first reference to Nivelon as lord of Fréteval is dated around 1033 (see *CMPD*, no. 5, pp. 6-7).

211. Because of this gift of the fortress of Chaumont, Charles Métais argues that Nivelon, like many of the other comital vassals, had his origins in the Touraine (see Métais, *CMB*, pp. xii-xv). He suggests that Nivelon was given his fortresses by Eudes II to compensate him for lands lost to the count of Anjou in the area around Tours. This interpretation bears a remarkable similarity to the experience of Gelduin of Saumur. The evidence, however, argues against a Tourangeau origin for the Fréteval family. Instead they seem to have originated in the area around Fréteval, where their presence can be traced back to the early tenth century.

212. The chateau of Chaumont eventually was given to Gelduin of Saumur. It would seem that Gelduin was invested with the chateau after Nivelon of Fréteval. See Métais, *CMB*, pp. xxii-xiii.

930. The description of the property granted, states that the road running from the bridge to the small gate of Fulcher Nivelon divides the land of St. Père from that of St. Anian and St. Piat.²¹³ The first two traceable ancestors of the Fréteval line were Fulcher and Nivelon. The nomenclatural evidence, thus, points to a connection between the Frétevals and the tenth-century owner of this gate, Fulcher Nivelon. At the end of the tenth century a certain Fulcher participated in the acts of the counts. This Fulcher could have been the father of Lord Nivelon I (see Figure 4).²¹⁴

For his service to the counts, Nivelon I was rewarded by Eudes II with the lordship of Fréteval and a second possession at Chaumont-sur-Loire.²¹⁵ Nivelon I also appeared in the acts of Count Eudes II. Around 1024 he witnessed a gift by Count Eudes II to another of his vassals, Walter of Alluyes.²¹⁶ In 1048 Nivelon I and Eudes II together witnessed a royal grant to Notre Dame of Chartres.²¹⁷ Toward the end of his life, Nivelon and his sons restored to the Marmoutier certain property that they had violently usurped and held unjustly.²¹⁸ The eleventh-century nobility commonly

213. *CSPDC*, no. 1, pp. 19-25: Via quoque, quae incipit a ponte praescripto et vadit usque ad posticium Fulcherii Nivelonis, dividit terram Sancti Petri a Sancti Aniani terra Sanctique Piat....

This pancarte contains donations made in the tenth century as well as others of a much later date. In a portion of the charter, for example, Nivelon I's wife appears as a donor and describes the events leading up to her son Fulcher's assumption of the lordship. This section of the charter is datable from the first half of the eleventh century. Part of the charter clearly records gifts made between 930 and 950, during the episcopate of Bishop Hagan.

214. *CSPDC*, no. 8, pp. 63-5; no. 15, p. 74; no. 17, pp. 75-6; no. 18, pp. 77-9; no. 1, pp. 81-3.

Since this Fulcher is given no identification other than his name, it is also possible that he was the kinsman of Viscount Gelduin I of Chartres.

215. Métais, *CMB*, pp. i-xxxi; Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, pp. 256-7. Nivelon appears in the charter as seigneur of Fréteval only after 1025; thus it was around this date that he was given this honor.

216. *CSPDC*, no. 5, pp. 96-7.

217. *NDDC*, no. 14, pp. 89-91.

218. *CMPD*, no. 5, pp. 6-7; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 3, note 108.

seized land from the Church as a way to expand their territorial base.

Succession to the lordship was complicated after Nivelon I's death (see Figure 4). He had married Ermengard around 1010 and they had at least four sons.²¹⁹ A charter from the abbey of St. Père provides detail on the inheritance of the lordship. Sometime before 1040 the castle of Fréteval was besieged by the counts of Anjou. Pagan, the eldest son of Nivelon I and Ermengard, fled and was subsequently killed either in battle or in flight. The patrimony passed to Fulcher, who at that time was a cleric. Fulcher left the Church, assumed the position as lord, and reestablished himself as master of Fréteval by recovering the patrimony from the Angevins.²²⁰

The first act of Fulcher's tenure appears in a charter from approximately 1048.²²¹ Nivelon I had promised to Marmoutier certain vines that were held by Geoffrey, a knight of Châteaudun, but the property was never transferred during Nivelon's life time. Fulcher I rectified the situation by confirming the donation with his wife Hildeburg Gouet.²²² While Nivelon I left his son a powerful and wealthy lordship, Fulcher expanded it further. He extended his authority by granting some of his lands as fiefs. Control of vassals was an important element of power in feudal society. Listed in Fulcher's grants as his vassals were Ingelbert of *Vibreia*,

219. The sons in order of birth are: Pagan, Fulcher, Nivelon Pagan and Girard Pagan. Evidently "Pagan" was an important name, since three of four sons carried it in some form.

220. *CSPDC*, no. 1, pp. 19-25: Quo mortuo, filius ejus Paganus, modico tempore, patris beneficio fungitur; nam cum debellaret castrum quod vocitatur Fracta Vallis, patri a Gausfrido Martello sublatum, in ipso castri introitu, ab hostibus gladiis interimitur. Pro quo frater ejus Fulcherius, jam clericus, mundanis armis praecinctus, secularem miliciam est secutus.

221. *CMPD*, no. 9, pp. 10-1: Post annos plurimos obiit [Nivelon I]. Fulcherius honoratus quidam filius Nivelonis vineas ipsas donumque pervasit, sibi haec illum dicens dimisse defunctum.

Fulcher is referred to as being lord of these lands, but also as the son of Nivelon, indicating he had succeeded his father to the seigneurie.

222. Many of the same men or vassals witnessed for Fulcher in this charter as had in the charter concerning the lands at Chaumars. See *CMPD*, no. 5 pp. 5-6.

Achard son of Ilbert, Hugo Palestellus, Ansergerius, Johannes Penerius, Milo Bastardus (the illegitimate brother of Fulcher), Airic and William.²²³ Fulcher I, moreover, added an important fief to the familial holdings, that of Meslay-la-Vidame. Two charters from the 1080's indicate that the Fréteval family now controlled this territory, either through marriage, inheritance or conquest.²²⁴

The Fréteval family was well on its way to becoming one of the most powerful in the region. The family had constructed the church of St. Lubin, where Fulcher was probably a cleric.²²⁵ The church in question was evidently from Ermengard's patrimony. Yet her donation of the church, lands and tithes certainly reflected well upon the position of the Fréteval family within the local nobility. Another indication of its power is the participation of King Philippe I in one of Fulcher's gifts. Sometime between 1071 and 1075 Fulcher donated a prebend to the monastery of Cluny.²²⁶ King Philippe I confirmed this donation in one of his acts.²²⁷ Royal confirmation indicates the ascension of the Frétevals within the ranks of the Chartrain nobility, indeed the nobility of north central France.

223. The counts of Chartres had created vassals to buttress and extend their power. Their vassals, in turn, used the same process. The control of vassals was important in gaining power, but ultimately worked against the counts. Because their vassals could muster their own men, they were a threat to the count's power and, in extreme cases, even the king.

224. *CMPD*, no. 86, p. 76, and no. 75, p. 67.

225. *CSPDC*, no. 1, p. 24: Ad meridiem quidem est quaedam aeccleisa inter vineas, in honore Sancti Leobini constructa, quae olim fuisse abbatia dinoscitur. Quam aeccleisam matrona quaedam, Ermentrudis [*sic*] nomine, uxor Nivelonis, voto Sancto Petro dimisit moriens pro anima sua, cum terris ac decimis pertinentibus ad ipsam aecclesiam; datis viro suo, pro consensu, monilibus suis et armillis aureis; erat enim aecclesia ex patrimonio suo.

226. *NDDC*, no. 17, pp. 93-4.

227. This charter also illustrates that Fulcher, like other important and powerful feudal lords, was able to hold a prebend from the bishop of Chartres. The control of ecclesiastical offices, lands and customs helped to extend the power of many noble families. This donation may also reflect Fulcher's previous monastic experience.

Fulcher married Hildeburg Gouet, and they had two sons and three daughters. The marriages arranged for these children attest to the importance of this family and its expansion. Nivelon II succeeded his father to the lordship and continued to increase his dominion. He married a woman named Eustachia, who may have been related to the count of Dammartin. Nivelon II's brother Hamlin married the widow of Lord Ganelon II of Montigny, thereby gaining control of important lordship for himself as well as extending his family's network and possessions. Fulcher's daughter Agnes married the viscount of Châteaudun, a union that improved the social standing of the Frétevals. This alliance brought certain benefits to the vicecomital family as well. The lord of Fréteval was an increasingly powerful presence in the region and his lands abutted the viscount's holdings to the south. Hence, marriage with this family would prevent hostilities and provide the viscount with an important ally. Fulcher and Hildeburg's other daughters married into two local families of lords, those of La Ferté and Frouville. Although these families had not obtained the same social and political status as the Frétevals, these marriages undoubtedly benefited the family by expanding their alliances in some way. Fulcher's used the marriages of his children to extend his influence and construct a powerful alliance network. By the end of the eleventh century, the family was allied with several of the most important families of the region: the vicecomital family of Châteaudun, the lords of Montigny and Mondoubleau, and the Gouets.

Nivelon II succeeded his father as lord in the late 1090's. Almost immediately after his accession as lord, he departed on crusade, presumably with his lord Count Stephen of Blois-Chartres.²²⁸ Unfortunately, it is not entirely clear who assumed responsibility for the lordship during his absence. It is possible that his son Ursio was of age and acted as lord while his father was in the East (see Figure 5). Once Nivelon

228. Orderic, *History*, 5:30-31.

II returned, he and Ursio appeared in charters together, suggesting that they shared the duties and privileges of lord.²²⁹ The association between the lord of Fréteval and the count continued under Nivelon II and Ursio. They appeared as consenters and witnesses to gifts made by their feudal lords, Countess Adela and Count Thibaut IV.²³⁰ Nivelon II and Ursio's importance also continued to be recognized by the king. In 1111 at Etampes, they witnessed a gift by Louis VI for his father's soul.²³¹ The participation and presence of the lords of Fréteval at the king's court demonstrates their continuing status in the region.

Nivelon II died sometime around 1114, and Ursio assumed sole control of the lordship. He enjoyed a long tenure and maintained and extended his family's power and position. By 1150 the seigneurial family of Fréteval was still one of the major noble powers of the region, a position it enjoyed in the face of strengthened and expanded royal power. Its origins may have been inconspicuous, but the Fréteval family was enormously successful in establishing a powerful and wealthy dynasty.

The Lords of Montigny

The Montigny family was roughly equivalent in status to the Frétevals and also had its origins in service rather than birth. Around the middle of the tenth century, a knight named Gautier became the provisor for Count Eudes I for the area around Tours, an office which entailed providing the count with necessary supplies and

229. For discussion of this, see Chapter 7, pp. 423-4.

230. *CSPDC*, no. 14, pp. 411-12; *CMPD*, no. 77, p. 68-70 ; no.78, pp. 71-3; no. 173, pp. 163-6; no. 186, pp. 176-7.

231. Luchaire, *Louis VI*, no. 107, pp. 57-8.

foodstuffs.²³² Gautier's son Ganelon succeeded him as provisor of Tours and also inherited the lordship of Montigny from his cousin Hugh (see Figure 9). Ganelon I obtained an important ecclesiastical office as well, that of the treasurer of the cathedral of Tours and the collegial church of St. Martin.²³³ The Tourangeau roots of this family are indicated by its frequent patronage of Marmoutier.²³⁴ While Ganelon I may be the first lord of Montigny to act in the charters, the family had controlled the lordship for at least two generations. A charter datable between 1042 and 1044 records Ganelon I's gift of the church of St. Hilaire of Montigny to Marmoutier for the souls of his "relatives" Raher of Montigny and his son Hugh, from whom Ganelon I had inherited Montigny.²³⁵ By the end of the eleventh century the family was well established and controlled both secular and sacred offices around Tours. Its power was based not on the influence of illustrious relatives, but on service to the counts, family alliances and the talents of its members.²³⁶

Ganelon I was a vassal of the count of Chartres. When Eudes II donated the allod of Chaumars to Marmoutier, Ganelon I signed and witnessed the charter.²³⁷ The relationship with the comital family is further affirmed in a donation by Ganelon I's wife Agnes. She made a donation for the soul of her husband Ganelon I and stated that the power of the count and his family would defend the gift made for their

232. Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, pp 255-258; *CMPD*, pp. xviii-xxiii. Gautier was evidently a bit over zealous in provision of food, for Abbot Evrard of Marmoutier complained vigorously to the count that he and his nephew Ebles were seizing too much from church lands.

233. Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, p. 256; *CMPD*, p. xix.

234. Indeed, the evidence for this family for the eleventh century comes virtually exclusively from the cartulary of Marmoutier for the Dunois.

235. *CMPD*, no. 22, p. 23.

236. Jacques Boussard, "Le trésorier de Saint-Martin de Tours," *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France*, 47 (1961), pp. 66-88

237. *CMPD*, no. 4, pp. 5-6.

souls.²³⁸ The feudal relationship between these two families is clear, as well as the dependence of a vassal on his or her lord for protection and support. Ganelon I of Montigny controlled extensive lands, held important fiefs and was a powerful vassal of the counts of Blois-Chartres. The wealth and status of the Montignys is illustrated by their foundation of the priory of St. Hilaire at Montigny.²³⁹ Sponsoring a priory was an expensive matter. The foundation of a church associated with the family seat connected the family and its lineage to this particular church and castle.²⁴⁰ King Henri I confirmed the foundation of St. Hilaire and its transfer to Marmoutier. Even though Ganelon I of Montigny was a vassal of the counts of Chartres, he had ties to other important nobles in the region as well. In particular, he held some of his fiefs from the counts of Anjou and Vendôme. In a charter datable between 1042 and 1044 Ganelon I conceded the church of St. Hilaire, which was situated next to his castle, along with burial rights and tithes to the monks of Marmoutier.²⁴¹ Ganelon I's lords Count Thibaut III, King Henri I and Count Geoffrey II Martel of Anjou and Vendôme consented to this grant. Given the geographical proximity of Montigny to Anjou, it is not surprising that the lord of Montigny was bound to the counts of Anjou as well as those of Chartres.

Ganelon I's power in the region is apparent in his feudal lordship over the Courville family. The lord of Courville was fairly important, of a rank just below

238. *CMPD*, no. 97, pp. 90-1.

239. Ganelon I later granted this church to Marmoutier. He began construction and endowment of the church sometime before 1042. Even though Ganelon granted the church to the monks, provision was made that he would keep the church and its dues for his life time.

240. Scholars such as R. Howard Bloch have argued that this is one of the signs of patrilinear lineages; see *Etymologies*, pp. 60-90. Other noble families, such as the Frétevals and Courvilles, also constructed churches associated with their geographic seats of power.

241. *CMPD*, no. 22, pp. 22-24; for the text of the charter, see Chapter 3, note 118.

those of Montigny, Fréteval and Alluyes. The feudal relationship between the Montignys and the Courvilles is made explicit in the charters. At the end of the eleventh century, Ivo of Courville consented to the donation to Marmoutier by his vassal, Nivelon Sine Barbe, of land at Villeberfol in Vendôme.²⁴² Ganelon of Montigny, from whom Ivo held this land in benefice, also consented.²⁴³ The Courvilles had obviously granted part of their benefice to a vassal of their own. Like the Frétevals, the Montignys exploited subinfeudation to their own benefit. By allowing their vassals to grant parts of their fiefs to their own supporters, the lords of Montigny created their own feudal network and thus extended their control.

Since Ganelon I and Agnes had no children, the lordship and his office of treasurer of Tours passed to his nephew Ganelon II in approximately 1050.²⁴⁴ Ganelon II inherited a strong and prosperous patrimony. While his retinue was made up of many of the same men who had witnessed for and advised his uncle, it became more specialized and included a chamberlain and a hunting master.²⁴⁵ Yet certain problems began to emerge during his tenure. Ganelon II was reluctant to allow lands

242. *CMPD*, no. 107, pp. 98-9: Nosse debebitis si qui eritis posteris nostri Majoris scilicet hujus habitatores Monasterii Sancti Martini, Nivelonem, filium Guarini Sine Barba, donasse pro sua ejusdemque patris sui Guarini ac matris Hersindis animabus, Sancto Martino et nobis, sub regimine nunc agentibus domni abbatis Alberti, quandam terram in Vindocinensi pago sitam, quae vulgo appellatur Villa Berfordii, donasse vero eam solidam et quietam cum omni integritate sua, cum consuetudinibus omnibus et aqua ad ipsam pertinente terram, et area unius molendini et uno quoque colliberto, Hildeberto nomine, cum toto ejus jam ex nato vel nascituro fructu. Annuit ad hoc Ivo de Curba villa, dominus, ejus, cum liberis suis....Guanilo quoque thesaurius de quo Ivo tenebat et ipse nihilominus annuit. Tetbaldus, comes horum omnium domnus, sua etiam auctoritate confirmavit....Nos tamen ob istud dedimus ei L Dunenses solidos recompensandae caritatis, potius gratia quam precii, unde ipse magis gratanter hoc donum fecit, et terram ipsam de suo jure in nostrum funditus transferens possidendam nobis perpetuo et donavit et annuit.

243. *CMPD*, nos. 107 and 108, pp. 98-100.

244. Ganelon II did succeed his uncle in the office of treasurer of Tours and was often labeled "cleric" in the charters. Ganelon II, however, was never specifically called "thesaurarius," as was his uncle.

245. *CMPD*, no. 24, pp. 25-26: Gausbert, camberlencus ejus, Nodellus venator ejus.

and privileges that his uncle had promised to Marmoutier to be transferred upon his uncle's death.²⁴⁶ He seized these gifts, but "after a few years" was repentant and confirmed the gift. Ganelon II's unwillingness to alienate these properties may reflect concern over family resources. Ganelon I's generous ecclesiastical donations may have seriously jeopardized the continuity of the patrimony. Moreover, Ganelon II's own donations were much more modest than Ganelon I's.²⁴⁷ Neither the count nor the king witnessed or confirmed any of Ganelon II's donations nor did he participate in any royal acts. Such evidence could indicate a change in royal alliances. But in this case, it combines to signal a decline in economic and political status during the second half of the eleventh century. The family had overextended itself in regard to its donations and allocation of its resources in the early eleventh century and suffered the consequences during the tenure of Ganelon II.

Ganelon II died sometime at the very end of the eleventh century. His widow Adela, with whom he had two surviving daughters, remarried to Hamlin of Fréteval (see Figure 9). The alliance with the Frétevals was undoubtedly an attempt to restore the position and finances of the Montignys through alliance with a very powerful family. Hamlin took charge of the lordship until the early twelfth century, when Ganelon II's daughter Agnes and her husband Vidame Hugh II became the lords of Montigny.²⁴⁸ Vidame Hugh II died around 1107 and Agnes assumed sole control of the lordship. During this time Agnes made no donations and was charged with unjustly usurping land from the Church, a sign that she was in need of property.²⁴⁹ The fortunes of the Montigny family were reversed around 1115 when Agnes married

246. *CMPD*, nos. 23 and 24, pp. 24-6.

247. *CMPD*, no. 56, pp. 50-1, and no. 31, p. 31.

248. Hamlin presumably died sometime early in this century.

249. For discussion of this, see Chapter 7, pp. 406-9.

Eudes of Vallières. Eudes evidently came from a recently emerged, but nonetheless wealthy, noble family.²⁵⁰ The combined patrimonies of the Montigny and Vallières families restored the Montigny line to a position of stability and comfort, if not power. Eudes and Agnes had several children and their patrimonies were divided between two of their sons, Raher and Eudes. Tension over family holdings became apparent yet again, and both Raher and Eudes had to adopt innovative strategies to preserve their holdings.

While the family of the lord of Montigny enjoyed economic recovery under Eudes of Vallières, it failed to regain its position of significant influence within the region. This family continued to be absent from royal charters and only infrequently appeared in the acts of the counts. Moreover, its vast political network had been drastically reduced. Family members were no longer the vassals of the count of Anjou or involved in the politics of the region. The evidence suggests, therefore, that the zenith of this family's power was under Ganelon I. The succeeding generations may eventually have regained equilibrium, but they could not aspire to the influence and power that their illustrious ancestors had commanded.

The Lords of Alluyes and the Gouet Family

The decline that characterized the Montigny family was not shared by any of its peers. On the contrary, most noble families became increasingly powerful as the eleventh century progressed, and this was certainly the case for the Gouet family. Its origins similarly lay in service to the counts, but the family was somewhat unusual for

 250. Eudes did not appear in the charters before his marriage with Agnes, which suggests he came from outside of the region. Given the location of the Eudes' family's patrimony, Vallières is located to the northeast of Montigny. The Vallières family is not mentioned in any source as an old noble or powerful family, which has led me to deduce that they were of a fairly recent origin.

its roots can only be traced with any certainty through the female line (see Figure 10).²⁵¹ Just before the middle of the eleventh century, William Gouet married Mahild, the daughter of Lord Walter of Alluyes and Brou. While the Gouet family first appeared in association with this alliance, the lord of Alluyes and Brou had been present in the sources previously. A charter dated 985 that records a donation to St. Père of Chartres has a certain Hugh of Alluyes as a witness along with the count of Chartres and Henri, duke of France.²⁵² Hugh's inclusion among such illustrious nobles attests to the power that he enjoyed in the region. Hugh's participation with the count suggests, moreover, that he may have been a vassal of the house of Blois-Chartres. The lords of Alluyes were associated with the comital family at a very early date. In a charter dated before 1024, Eudes II invested Walter of Alluyes with lands to reward him for his service against the counts of Anjou. Walter was the father of Mahild and probably the son of Hugh of Alluyes.²⁵³

The alliance between Mahild of Alluyes and William Gouet created a strong territorial power. Mahild brought the lordships of Alluyes and Brou to the marriage; combined with the Gouet fiefs of Authon, La Bazoches-Gouet and others, they created

251. Chêdeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, pp. 256-8.

252. *CSPDC*, no. 18, pp. 77-80.

253. E. Lefevre, "Notice sur la baronnie d'Alluyes," *MSAEL*, 5 (1872), pp. 42-88. Lefevre argues that the lords of Alluyes could trace their origins back into the tenth century. In this century, the bishop of Chartres was forced to grant land to knights in exchange for protection against the Norman threat. He also postulates that the lords of Alluyes were also the vidames, the secular officers of the bishops. It was through their service to the bishop that, Lefevre believes, the family received the tower at Alluyes, which Thibaut le Tricheur constructed in this century. This family continued to hold this fortress until the thirteenth century. The first seigneur of Alluyes, Lefevre suggests, was Guicher, who appears in *CSPDC*; he asserts that Hugh was the son of Guicher and the brother of Walter of Alluyes.

a vast landed base.²⁵⁴ The Gouets were obviously landlords before the alliance with the lord of Alluyes, but not much more is known about them.²⁵⁵ Many of the lands that they possessed were located in Perche. Part of the county of Perche is even named La Perche-Gouet for this family.²⁵⁶ The alliance with the lords of Alluyes made the Gouet family one of the most powerful but also most threatening vassals of the counts of Perche. Sometime at the end of the eleventh century, the Gouets took advantage of Rotrou I's absence on pilgrimage or crusade to regain Montmirail, which had been seized from them by one of the previous counts of Perche.²⁵⁷ Both the Gouet family and the lord of Alluyes seemed to have had their origins in service rather than birth. The influence of the lords of Alluyes came from their ability to control large tracts of land and to provide defense for the count of Chartres. William Gouet's family seems to have been of more recent emergence, however, and his marriage into the Alluyes family represented an advance in his status within the local nobility. Like the counts and other nobles, the Gouets used marriage to improve their social, political and territorial position within the Chartrain nobility.

The Gouet family increased its power during the eleventh century. Like the family of other lords, the Gouets undertook the construction of a church on their

254. The lords of Alluyes seemed to have been particularly interested in forging an alliance with a family with Norman connections or at least Norman interests. According to Orderic Vitalis, William I Gouet was involved in the politics of Normandy. He and his vassal Gerogius of Courville were poisoned by Mable Talvas at Courville (Orderic, *History*, 2:123-24). Given the geographic focus of William I's holdings, it is not surprising he was involved in Norman politics.

Mahild's second husband similarly had interests in Normandy. Geoffrey of Mayenne was a vassal of the count of Maine who rebelled against William I of Normandy (Orderic, *History*, 2:117). Orderic called him "one of the strongest men of Maine." A certain Geoffrey of Mayenne went on crusade with Robert Curthose and sued William II for peace in 1098, but this man seems to have been Geoffrey of Mayenne and Mahild's son, Geoffrey II of Mayenne (Orderic, *History*, 5:241).

255. Chêdeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, pp. 256-8.

256. Oeillet des Murs, *Les comtes du Perche*, p. 84.

257. Oeillet des Murs, *Les comtes du Perche*, pp. 148-50.

important fief of Brou. William I and Mahild built St. Lubin of Brou and it became one of their important family possessions.²⁵⁸ In the twelfth century, their son William II gave this church to St. Père for their souls. Not only was this foundation and donation a symbol of the family's position, it also insured their salvation. Between 1050 and 1070 William I and his son William II used subinfeudation to expand their influence. Several lesser nobles and knights were listed as William II's vassals in his donations of St. Lubin: William of *Monte Boone*, William of Montmirail, the castellan of one of the Gouet's most important possessions in Perche, and Girard Brunellus. Another Gouet vassal, Hugh of Brethel, made a donation to the church of Marmoutier with the consent of his feudal lords, William I and Mahild.²⁵⁹ Around 1071, William II confirmed two donations to Marmoutier by his vassals, Girard Brunellus and Herlebald of Dangeau. Herlebald and his family were actually the lords of Dangeau.²⁶⁰ The Gouet family was the feudal lord of the vidame of Chartres as well. In a charter datable before 1080, Vidame Albert of Chartres donated to St. Père the tithes of St. Lubin of Brou with the consent of his lord William I Gouet.²⁶¹ Like the Dangeau family, the vidames of Chartres were feudal lords in their own right,

 258. *CSPDC*, no. 89, pp. 213-4: Quae aecclesia, a prisco tempore, intra vallum Castri Duni decenter constructa videtur, atque a patribus nostris, jure hereditario, possessa est.

259. *CMPD*, no. 37, pp. 34-5.

260. *CMPD*, no. 45, pp. 41-2. The Dangeau family was allied through marriage with one of the most powerful noble families of the Loire Valley, the Beaugencys. A series of charters from *CMPD* demonstrates that Herebald's sister Osilid was married to Ernald of Beaugency, the brother of Lord Lancelin II of Beaugency (*CMPD*, no. 26 pp. 27-8, and no. 25 pp. 26-7).

261. *CSPDC*, no. 88, p. 212. For the text of this charter, see Chapter 3, note 91.

testament to their feudal power and prominence in the region.²⁶²

William I died at sometime before 1072, when Mahild assumed control of the lordship (see Figure 10). She and William I created a very strong seigneurie which they passed on to their son, William II. They also further expanded their alliance network through the marriage of their daughter Hildeburg to Lord Fulcher of Fréteval. The union extended and buttressed the power of both families. William II assumed control of the lordship in the mid 1070's. He and his wife Eustachia had four sons and one daughter. Of all of the Chartrain noble families, this one was the most profoundly affected by the call for church reform. William II and Eustachia restored many churches and their appurtenances and encouraged their vassals to do the same. Early in the twelfth century William II and his son Hugh departed on crusade.²⁶³ Eustachia took charge of the lordship. Hugh died in the Holy Land. William II returned, but died a few years later. William III succeeded his father as lord of Alluyes and Brou, as well as the various Gouet holdings. The Gouet family continued its power and was counted as allies by kings and counts. The connection to Normandy and the English kings, begun under William I Gouet, was furthered by William III and is evident in his marriage to one of King Henry I's illegitimate daughters. This marriage allied William III not only with the king of England but also with Count Rotrou II of Perche, who had married another of Henry I's illegitimate daughters. Both Rotrou II's and William III's wives died in the tragedy of the White Ship. William III subsequently made another marriage, this time to the daughter of Count Thibaut IV of -----

262. That the Gouets were the feudal lords of the vidames casts doubt upon Lefevre's assertion that the lords of Alluyes were the same family as the vidame of Chartres. The Gouets and Alluyes clearly had some relationship with the vidames, but it seems to be based on the possession of fiefs rather than kinship. It is possible, however, that the vidames were a cadet branch of the Alluyes family, but there is no evidence to substantiate this conclusion.

263. Given their relationship with the counts of Blois-Chartres and Perche, William II and Hugh could have accompanied Count Stephen or gone with Count Rotrou I when he went on crusade with Robert Curthose.

Blois-Chartres. The second alliance represented a continuation of William III's political association with the Anglo-Normans. Thibaut IV was the nephew of Henry I. This marriage also allied the Gouet family with the comital house of Blois-Chartres and illustrates the powerful position that it enjoyed in the region.

William III and Elizabeth of Blois-Chartres had one son and a daughter. William IV died in the Holy Land, so the lands and titles of this family passed to his sister Elizabeth and her husband Hervé of Gien. The Gouet family remained a significant noble power in the twelfth century. William III's marriages to the daughter of a king and then a count indicate that both local and international powers found the Gouet family an attractive ally.

The Lords of Lèves

Unlike the other noble families of the region, the Lèves family did not emerge as a power until quite late in the eleventh century. Unfortunately, no information in the cartularies examined for this study provides information on this family before 1080. After 1080 the charters furnish some details (see Figure 8). At the end of the eleventh century Gauslen was the lord of Lèves. He had two brothers, Dodon and Gui. While the family controlled this important lordship, its members also assumed influential ecclesiastical offices in the region. For example, Lord Gauslen I's brother Gui was the abbot of St. Jean-en-Vallée. His son Geoffrey succeeded Ivo as bishop of Chartres in 1115. One of Geoffrey's nephews, Gauslen, followed his uncle as bishop in 1148.²⁶⁴ While these prelates won their office through their own merit, their position did much to improve the family status and to provide opportunities for their relatives to gain important ecclesiastical offices. By the end of the eleventh century,

264. Bishop Gauslen was the son of either Bishop Geoffrey's brother Milo or Gauslen II.

members of the Lèves family controlled church offices ranging from bishop and abbot to archdeacon.

It is evident that the Lèves family was one of the most powerful in the region to the east and north of Chartres. Perhaps the best indication of the family's territorial and economic power was its foundation of the abbey of Notre Dame of Josaphat near their lordship of Lèves. Lord Gauslen II and his brother Bishop Geoffrey gave extensive property and privileges to found this abbey.²⁶⁵ While the other noble families of the region built and sponsored priories and churches on their territories, the Lèves founded an abbey, an immensely expensive act of piety. Clearly, this family's economic position in many ways surpassed those of other families of lords.

Lord Gauslen I had several children and was succeeded around 1107 by his son Gauslen II as lord of Lèves. Gauslen II married a woman named Luciana, with whom he had many sons and daughters. The territorial and financial security that the family enjoyed under Gauslen I and Gauslen II shifted in the third generation. Gauslen II's successor Milo experienced significant problems with the resources he commanded. The family maintained its equilibrium, however, and remained a force throughout the twelfth century.²⁶⁶

The Lords of Gallardon

The origins of the Gallardon family have been investigated by several scholars, with unfortunately little consensus. Chêdeville has suggested that the Gallardons were descended from the Le Riche family, one of the most influential families in the

265. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 1, pp. 1-2; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, pp. 436, note 115.

266. For discussion of this family in the twelfth century, see Chapter 7, pp. 432-46.

region.²⁶⁷ There is little evidence to support such an interpretation, however. Other scholars suggest that the lords of Gallardon were in some way related to the viscounts of Châteaudun. Lefevre postulates that Gallardon was a fief of these viscounts, which was dismantled by King Robert I following the rampages of Geoffrey I of Châteaudun.²⁶⁸ The correspondence of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres indicates that by 1020 Gallardon and Illiers were clearly under the control of the viscount of Châteaudun.²⁶⁹ These fiefs may have come to the vicecomital family from the marriage of Melisend, the daughter of Hildegard and Geoffrey of Châteaudun, with Geoffrey of Perche. Given Viscount Geoffrey I's aggressive behavior and his construction of adulterine castles, the king may have taken these fortresses away from him and granted them to trusted royal vassals.²⁷⁰

Whatever their origins, the lords of Gallardon did not begin to appear in the Chartrain charters until the mid to late eleventh century (see Figure 3). René Merlet finds the first reference to the family at Gallardon to be around 1075 when a Herbert of Gallardon participated in a charter.²⁷¹ The lordship was established at Gallardon by Herbert's family, his son Herbert II and grandson Hervé I. Hervé I was a violator of

267. Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, pp. 256-8. In personal communications in 1989, Chédeville expressed doubt about the relationship between the lords of Gallardon and the Le Riche family. He does believe that the families of the vidames and the seigneurs of Châteauneuf had their origins in the Le Riche family.

268. E. Lefevre, "Notice sur la seigneurie d'Illiers," *MSAEL*, 5 (1872), 397. In his research on the lords of Alluyes, Lefevre suggests that they may have controlled Illiers in the tenth century (see, Lefevre, "Alluyes," p. 47). This may have been the case, but by the eleventh century Illiers and Gallardon were under the control of the viscount of Châteaudun.

269. Behrends, *Letters*, nos. 98, 99, 100 and 101, pp. 176-84.

270. If this is indeed what transpired, it would account for the lack of references to a lord of Gallardon in the early eleventh century. Viscount Geoffrey I certainly had control of Gallardon and Illiers in the 1020's but may have lost them to King Robert I.

271. René Merlet, "Gallardon et ses environs," *MSAEL*, 2 (1882), 286 (hereafter, R. Merlet, "Gallardon").

the Church and seems to have displayed many of the characteristics of other strongmen of his time. His son, Hervé II, was of a different nature and became one of the chief benefactors of the church of Notre-Dame de Josaphat in the second half of the twelfth century.²⁷²

The origins of the family appear obscure but seem to be connected to its members' service to a lord, perhaps the viscount of Châteaudun. R. Merlet suggests that Herbert I acquired this lordship through his marriage to Viscount Geoffrey I's daughter Rotroude.²⁷³ The control of Gallardon and Illiers by the vicecomital family is fairly well substantiated in the sources. It is possible, therefore, that the Gallardon family received its position and lordship from either service to the viscount or marriage. This interpretation would also account for the late appearance of the lords of Gallardon, which is conspicuous when compared to the other families of Blois-Chartres who were all well established earlier in the eleventh century.

In general, the charters support this assessment of the family's origins. In the foundation charter of St. Jean-en-Vallée from 1028, Count Eudes II had a certain Herbert of Gallardon witness for him.²⁷⁴ Clearly the family had obtained a position of some importance by the 1020's, some forty years before R. Merlet detects the establishment of the family in the region. Sometime before 1080 Herbert, a knight of Gallardon, made a gift to St. Père for the redemption of his soul.²⁷⁵ He stated that his mother Rotroude, from whom he must have received this property, had inherited

272. R. Merlet, "Gallardon," 286-8. Hervé I's son Hugh became the lord of Gallardon and Auneau before he left on crusade, seemingly never to return. His brother Hervé II became lord of Gallardon, while his other brother Gui controlled that of Auneau. Hervé II's descendants succeeded to the lordship of Gallardon.

273. Boussard has found that many noble families in the Loire valley were related to or actually branches of older, better established families ("Les origines," 256-9). The lords of Gallardon may follow this pattern.

274. *JEAN*, no. 1 pp. 1-2.

275. *CSPDC*, no. 101, pp. 223-4.

these allods. His sons Hervé and Fulcher consented to the donation. This Herbert II was, hence, the son of Herbert I who witnessed the St. Jean-en-Vallée foundation charter for the count. A pancarte indicates that Herbert II's son Hervé I was the lord of Gallardon by 1052. At the end of this charter, which records many gifts made to the abbey of St. Père, Hervé of Gallardon was accused of usurping land from the monks.²⁷⁶ Hervé I's seizure of land suggests the family was still carving out its niche in the power structure of the area. Sometime after this date Hervé I consented to a sale made by one of his vassals. His wife Hildeburg, as well as his two sons, Hervé and Hugh, assented to the transaction.²⁷⁷

Sometime approaching 1080, Hugh succeeded his father Hervé I as lord. He left on crusade at the end of the eleventh century, however, and the lordship passed to his brother Hervé II, who was lord until the middle of the twelfth century. Reconstruction of the origins and succession of the Gallardon family is difficult for the eleventh century, but becomes more definite for the twelfth. The ancestors of the lords of Gallardon were certainly established in the region by the foundation date of St. Jean-en-Vallée. It seems, however, that either Herbert I or Herbert II was the first lord of Gallardon. Viscount Geoffrey I of Châteaudun controlled this lordship and may have granted it to his vassal or son-in-law sometime before his death in 1040. The lord of Gallardon went on to become a powerful family in the county, as well as the region of the northern Loire valley.

Among the lords of the county of Blois-Chartres were families that ranked below the lords of Fréteval, Montigny, Gallardon and the Gouets. In particular the lord of Courville and the vidame of Chartres were the vassals of other lords, as well as the

276. *CSPDC*, no. 4, pp. 28-31.

277. *CSPDC*, no. 9, p. 132; Sometime before 1070 Herbert II of Gallardon also witnessed *CSPDC*, no. 33, pp. 160-1.

vassals of the viscounts and counts.

The Lords of Courville

In contrast to most of the Chartrain nobility, the family of the lord of Courville seems to have been of Norman origin. By the mid eleventh century, however, these lords were the vassals of the counts of Chartres, the viscount of Châteaudun, the lord of Montigny and the Gouet family.²⁷⁸ The second lord of Courville bore the name Giroie or Gerogius. In Normandy, there was a powerful noble house known as the family of Giroie. The denomination of this lord of Courville implies that the family may have been connected to that of Giroie in some way, since Giroie was not a common name in the eleventh century. The possibility of Norman origins is further substantiated by the fact that Ivo I of Courville and William I Gouet were both present when Mabel Talvas of Bellême tried to poison her brother-in-law. Orderic Vitalis states that this act of treachery took place at the castle of Courville and that Ivo and William I suffered from the poisoning, although neither died.²⁷⁹ Since the comital family of Blois-Chartres made two marriage alliances with dukes of Normandy in the late tenth and early eleventh century, it is possible that the ancestors of the lord of Courville came to the Chartrain as part of the retinue of one of these countesses.²⁸⁰

Roger Durand postulates that the lords of Courville appeared in the region in the second half of the tenth century during the tenure of Count Thibaut le

278. Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, pp. 256-9.

279. Orderic, *History*, 2:123-4.

280. Thibaut le Tricheur married Letgard, the widow of William Longsword, sometime in the second half of the tenth century. Their grandson, Eudes II, was married to Mathilda, the daughter of Richard II of Normandy, who brought Dreux as part of her dowry.

Tricheur.²⁸¹ He believes that the first lord of Courville, whose name is not extant, was a supporter of Thibaut le Tricheur and was granted the château of Courville by him. Since Courville was strategically placed on the frontier with the counts of Perche, a trusted vassal was needed to hold this fortress and help defend the border. The first lord of Courville to appear in the sources around 1025 was Ivo I (see Figure 2). Ivo was the son of the first seigneur and had a brother named Otrann who married into the Châteauneuf family.²⁸² The Courville family must have been fairly powerful to contract an alliance with the better established Châteauneuf family. Ivo I married and had six sons, only two of whom are traceable. Gerogius succeeded his father to the lordship. Ivo married into the Beaumont family and may have become the count of Beaumont-sur-Oise. The marriage of Ivo, like that of his uncle Otrann, attests to the power of the family and its attractiveness as a potential ally.²⁸³

The lord of Courville was attached through a complex of feudal ties to some of the most important noble families of Chartres. The first lord received the fortress from the count himself. In succeeding generations, the Courvilles attached themselves to other feudal lords by holding benefices from the viscount of Chartres and the lord of Montigny. In a charter from the cartulary of Marmoutier for the Dunois datable between 1048 and 1060, Ivo I of Courville witnessed a grant made by the viscount of Chartres of the church at Chuisnes.²⁸⁴ When Ivo made an extensive gift of land and other property to Marmoutier, he stated explicitly that he held the land, its dependents

281. Roger Durand, "Chronologie des premiers seigneurs de Courville: Courville et Vieuxpoint, notice généalogique, " *MSAEL*, 13 (1895-1900), 244 (hereafter, Durand, "Courville,").

282. Durand, "Courville," 244-5.

283. While the cadet lines of the first two generations were able to make illustrious matches, it is ironic that we know nothing beyond the names of the wives of Ivo I and his son Gerogius. Presumably, they came from the local nobility.

284. *CMPD*, no. 110, pp. 101-2.

and a church from his lord Viscount Gelduin and his son Harduin.²⁸⁵ Ivo of Courville and his son Ivo also witnessed a donation by Abbot Albert of Marmoutier with the viscount of Chartres. Also present were several important counts and viscounts, as well as the king. The lord of Courville was the vassal of the lord of Montigny through his control of the fief of Villeberfol.²⁸⁶ Due to this relationship, Ivo witnessed Ganelon I of Montigny's donation, specifically that of the church of St. Hilaire-sur-Yerre to Marmoutier.²⁸⁷ Ivo again acted in illustrious company since the king himself, the counts of Soissons and Vendôme, and the viscount of Melun also witnessed the grant. There is an important distinction to be made about Ivo's part in these charters, however. Unlike the lord of Fréteval or Montigny, Ivo's own donations were not confirmed by the king, nor did the monarch participate in any of the Courville grants. Instead, Ivo was associated with the king only when he acted in conjunction with his feudal lords.

The Courvilles were also successful in extending their influence by granting out part of their lands to vassals. In particular, the Courvilles conferred their benefice at Villeberfol to Nivelon Sine Barbe. Between 1050 and 1052 Nivelon, who is labeled a "secular knight," donated the land and dues from Villeberfol to the Church with the consent of his lord Ivo of Courville, who in turn secured the approval of his lord Ganelon II of Montigny. Count Thibaut III of Chartres, the lord of all of these men, confirmed the grant as well.²⁸⁸ Subinfeudation buttressed the power of the lordly family by establishing a following that owed dues and services, thus creating a network of military and economic support. Like other families of lords, the Courville

285. *CMPD* , no. 109, pp.100-1.

286. *CMPD*, nos. 107 and 108, pp. 98-100.

287. *CMPD*, no. 22, pp. 22-3.

288. *CMPD*, no. 107, pp. 98-9.

family constructed a church at its seat of Courville.²⁸⁹

Sometime around 1060 Gerogius succeeded his father as lord of Courville. He confirmed many of the gifts that his father had made, but also granted significant properties to the Church himself.²⁹⁰ While Ivo I had as many as six children, little is known about many of them. Gerogius' brother Ivo married into the Beaumont-sur-Oise family, and his brother Thibaut and Simon often participated in his donations. Gerogius inherited a strong and stable seigneurie and was able to extend his lordship over other vassals. He died sometime around 1090, and his wife Philippa assumed control of the lordship and of their minor son Ivo II. Philippa consented to various grants made by family vassals and was able to maintain the lordship and pass it on to her son sometime early in the twelfth century.

Ivo II also gave extensive properties to the Church. He was married to Ermengard, but they did not have any children, which may account for their generosity to the various monasteries in the region. Sometime early in the twelfth century, Ivo II was involved in hostilities with Count Rotrou II of Perche. The first lord of Courville had been charged by the count of Blois-Chartres with defending the border with Perche and, throughout the eleventh century, relations with the counts of Perche had been fairly peaceful. Sometime early in the twelfth century, however, Rotrou II began construction of a fortress at Pontgouin, which was quite close to Courville and the border with Chartres. This action caused Ivo II and his lord Viscount Hugh II considerable concern. They appealed to Countess Adela citing the protections provided to families of those who were about to depart on crusade.²⁹¹ Adela found in their favor, ordered Rotrou to cease construction, and instructed him

289. *CMPD*, no. 109, pp. 100-1.

290. For discussion of the donations of the Courville family, see Chapter 3, pp.136-9.

291. L. Merlet, *Lettres*, p. 32.

not to seek reprisal against Ivo II. Unfortunately, one day when Ivo II was on patrol with his knights, Rotrou II captured him. Adela was outraged and Bishop Ivo subsequently excommunicated Rotrou.²⁹² Ivo was eventually freed.

Like his father, Ivo II appeared with his lord in confirming a royal grant at Etampes in 1111.²⁹³ His presence attests to the position that he enjoyed in the county. Inheritance of the lordship of Courville was somewhat complicated after Ivo II. Because he and Ermengard had no surviving children, Ivo was forced to designate an heir. At various times between 1115 and 1125, he appointed the viscount of Chartres and Fulk Quercue as his successor.²⁹⁴ The original Courville line ceased to exist upon Ivo II's death around 1130.

The Vidames of Chartres

The vidames of Chartres were of the same approximate status as the lords of Courville. Their origins and power base were, however, somewhat different from those of other lords. The office of vidame was created by the bishop of Chartres early in the tenth century to manage the bishops' secular holdings. The motivation behind the emergence of this office was primarily one of defense against the Vikings and Normans.²⁹⁵ Like many other officials, the vidames usurped authority and lands from their superior to create their own fiefdom. Unlike the lords of the county, the vidame's power stemmed from the control of a formal office. Yet, like other noble families, the vidames obtained authority through their capabilities and service rather

292. Oeillet des Murs, *Les comtes du Perche*, p. 293.

293. Luchaire, *Louis VI*, no. 107, pp. 57-8.

294. Ultimately, the lordship fell into the hands of the Vieuxpont line.

295. Chêdeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, pp. 264.

than birth.

Several different theories have been offered for the family origins of the vidames of Chartres. Chédeville proposes that the vidames, like the lords of Gallardon and Châteauneuf, were related to the Le Riche family of the Seine valley and postulates that the tenth-century vidame Raginald was married to Oda, the sister of Gauslen Le Riche.²⁹⁶ While a charter from the abbey of St. Père substantiates that Vidame Raginald was married to a certain Oda, no information on her family background is extant (see Figure 1).²⁹⁷ Durand, on the other hand, asserts that the lords of Alluyes were the vidames of Chartres.²⁹⁸ While it is true that the Gouet-Alluyes family did eventually become the feudal lords of the vidames of Chartres and held extensive lands from the bishop, there is no evidence to prove this relationship. Métais suggests that the Fréteval family was descended from the first vidame, Giroard, but he does not present sufficient evidence to support this theory.²⁹⁹ Any familial connection or origin for the vidames of Chartres are difficult to ascertain. What can be established with fair certainty, however, is that the vidames of Chartres first appear at the beginning of the tenth century and that these men assumed this office because of their own abilities to manage and defend the bishop's land, not because of their illustrious birth.

The first reference to a vidame occurs in a charter from the cartulary of St. Père datable from 930. Vidame Giroard was listed as one of the *fideles* of the bishop and he witnessed the gift of vines near the church by Bishop Hagan.³⁰⁰ The next vidame

296. Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, pp. 259-61.

297. *CSPDC*, no. 19, p. 142. Similarly, a Vidame Raginald of Chartres appeared as a witness in the 1028 foundation charter of St. Jean-en-Vallée (*JEAN*, no. 1, pp. 1-2).

298. Durand, "Alluyes," pp. 74-6.

299. Métais, *CMB*, p. xix.

300. *CSPDC*, no. 1, pp. 19-25.

appears around 1024 and was named Raginald.³⁰¹ It is not possible to determine if Raginald was a descendent of Giroard. In this early period it seems probable that the office was not yet hereditary and that the bishop continued to select his secular officer. The chronological gap between Giroard and Raginald indicates that there must have been at least two or three vidames between these two men. It is also possible that the bishop did not always appoint vidames. By the middle of the eleventh century, Hugh the son of the vidame of Chartres began to act in the charters. It is possible that Hugh was the son of Raginald, but, since the charter does not state the name of the vidame from whom Hugh was descended, this cannot be established.³⁰² Hugh acted in another charter from about the same time as the feudal lord of Emmeline of Châteaudun, who donated the church of Moreë to Marmoutier.³⁰³ It was from this Hugh I that all subsequent vidames were descended. By the end of the eleventh century his sons, Albert and Gueric, had both assumed the title of vidame of Chartres.³⁰⁴ Since both sons claimed this title, the office and its corresponding lands and dues had clearly become the hereditary possession of the family.

While the vidames of Chartres originated as the vassals of the bishops, they entered into feudal relationships with other lords. The charters from the mid eleventh century indicate that the vidames were the vassals of the counts of Chartres,³⁰⁵ as

301. *CSPDC*, no. 5, pp. 96-7. Raginald was also referred to in a charter dated before 1034, where he was labelled the lord of Warin of Dreux, the son of Alberic who was the knight of Raginald the vidame (*CSPDC*, no. 8, p. 119).

302. *NDDC*, no. 15, pp. 92-93. Merlet and Lépinos identify this Hugh as the son of Vidame Gueric and Helisend. This identification is erroneous, however. Gueric did not become vidame until the end of the eleventh century; while he did have a son named Hugh, he cannot be the Hugh acting in this charter. Gueric's father was also named Hugh, and it would seem to be this vidame of Chartres who appears in this charter.

303. *CMPD*, no. 35, p. 33.

304. *CSPDC*, no. 88, pp. 212-3.

305. *CMPD*, no. 35, p. 33

well as bound to the Gouets through their possession of Brou. The vidames also successfully granted out land to secure their own vassals. Emmeline of Châteaudun stated that Vidame Hugh I was her feudal lord. The vidames, however, unlike any other noble families, based their power and position on the possession of ecclesiastical property. The charters that record donations or confirmations of gifts by the vidames were concerned with the transfer of churches, those of St. Roman and St. Lubin in Brou and that of Morée.³⁰⁶ The fiefs of the vidames of Chartres were made up primarily of ecclesiastical holdings, a result of their original office as the feudal officer of the bishop of Chartres.

Vidame Hugh I was succeeded by his sons Albert, Hugh II and Gueric. Gueric married Helisend, with whom he had three children. This vidame died sometime in the late eleventh century and his wife assumed control of the family and its possessions.³⁰⁷ She made several grants to provide for the souls of her deceased husband and son Hugh, who died about 1107. One of Helisend and Gueric's sons, Stephen, became the abbot of St. Jean-en-Vallée. The elevation of Stephen to this office attests to the position of the family and underscores its close relationship with the Church. Helisend and Gueric's son Hugh married into the Montigny family, a further indication of importance. Their only daughter, Elizabeth, married William of Ferrières. Helisend herself married, around 1100, to Bartholomew Bodellus. While Bartholomew did occasionally use the title of vidame, Helisend also used this title and clearly exerted control over family possessions. The vidames remained closely allied with the bishop of Chartres and secured his consent to their donations. Moreover, many of the gifts made by the twelfth-century vidames or vidamesses consisted of churches and ecclesiastical property. The title of vidame passed to

306. *CSPDC* no. 88, pp. 212-3, and *CMPD* no. 35, p. 33.

307. Apparently Hugh II and Albert were already dead.

Helisend's daughter Elizabeth and, through her, to her sons. Girard, Helisend and Bartholomew's son, was also called vidame but only after the death of his half-sister. Since Girard was not a vidame by birth or blood, he was prevented from passing this title along to his descendants. The family of the vidame of Chartres continued to be a presence and play an important role in the county throughout the twelfth century.

The nobility of the late tenth and eleventh centuries was far from static. The most powerful families of the county, the viscounts of Châteaudun and Chartres, were established at the end of the tenth century. These families had their origins in the former Carolingian nobility or in the service to this class. The beginning of the eleventh century saw the appearance of new men who were given lordships, castles and fiefs in return for their military abilities. Throughout the century, more vassals were created by these nobles, establishing yet another sector within the Chartrain nobility. The origins of these noble families of Chartres were diverse in time and in the circumstances surrounding their emergence. In the next generations the fabric of the nobility became even more complicated as these families intermarried. The noble families who established themselves as powers in the eleventh century continued to dominate the county, with few exceptions, during the first half of the twelfth.

CHAPTER THREE
INHERITANCE PATTERNS IN THE NOBLE FAMILIES
980 TO 1080

During the eleventh century many influential noble families were established in the region of Blois-Chartres and the county itself evolved into a political entity. By mid century, the power structure of the area was fairly well in place. With few exceptions, those families who commanded power and respect by 1050 would continue to be dominant for the next century. Yet the family structure of these nobles was far from static. Many forces had an impact on the families of this region and the mechanisms that governed noble family structure responded to these stimuli. Inheritance strategy was altered to deal with new tensions or problems that each family experienced. In eleventh-century Blois-Chartres nobles of varying status practiced permutations of shared or partible inheritance, as well as primogeniture. Even though some families did not physically divide the patrimony among heirs, nuclear and extended relatives exercised rights to family possessions which are evident in their requisite consent to transactions. Problems of securing, maintaining or extending family holdings resulted in concern over such resources, which triggered alterations in family structure and inheritance.

To a considerable degree, the method of inheritance determined the structure of the noble family and the roles of individuals within it. The position of women, younger sons, bastards and collateral relatives depended on the form of inheritance selected. Other aspects of family life were also affected by inheritance patterns, such as the type of family structure. It has been suggested that the change from partible to impartible inheritance was accompanied by the adoption of a patrilineal family

structure.¹ This chapter will examine the evidence from Blois-Chartres to determine the inheritance patterns and family structure of the nobility from 980 to 1080. Consideration of these issues will require addressing several other questions: Was there only one system of inheritance in eleventh-century Chartres? Or did the method of inheritance depend upon other factors, such as family position or the acquisition of wealth? Furthermore, is Duby's and other scholars' assertion of a major transformation from partible to impartible, primogenitary inheritance in the eleventh century accurate? If so, what forces combined to compel families to change their customary system of inheritance? Could the process of subinfeudation, donation practices or a need for land have shaped the nobles' response to passing on the patrimony? Finally, what impact did inheritance patterns have on the noble family? Did a change in inheritance necessarily lead to other modifications within the family, such as the development of patrilineal family organization?

Social historians have been engaged recently in considerable discussion of the matter of inheritance.² The model proposed by Georges Duby in his *thèse* on the Mâconnais and its later revisions has become the accepted interpretation of noble

1. Georges Duby, "Lineage, Nobility and Knighthood," and idem, "Youth in Aristocratic Society", both in *The Chivalrous Society*, (Berkeley: 1977), pp. 59-80 and 112-122, respectively (hereafter Duby, *Chiv. Soc.*).

2. Historians have examined inheritance from a variety of perspectives. See, for example, Majorie Chibnall, "Les droit d'héritage selon Orderic Vitalis," *RHD*, fourth series, 48 (1970), 347; Jack Goody, "Strategies of Heirship," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 15 (1973), 3-20; Robin Oggins, "Population Growth, Inheritance and European Expansion," *Acta: The Eleventh Century*, 1 (1974), 31-8; Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk and E. P. Thompson, eds., *Family and Inheritance* (Cambridge: 1976); Rabena de Aragon, "The Growth of Secure Inheritance in Anglo-Norman England," *Journal of Medieval History*, 8 (1982), 381-92; Cicely Howell, *Land, Family and Inheritance in Transition*, (Cambridge: 1983).

inheritance in the eleventh century.³ Duby argues that noble families changed their inheritance system from partible to impartible in the eleventh century in order to preserve the patrimony. This new mode of inheritance was accompanied by a transformation in family structure from open and horizontal to patrilineal. These modifications, Duby hypothesizes, occurred first in the upper echelons of the nobility, in the "families of the greatest lords" and later in those of the knights.⁴

This model has had a profound impact on scholarship in both Europe and the United States examining the nobility and inheritance.⁵ Many scholars accept Duby's date of the eleventh century for the transformation in inheritance and family structure. There is debate, however, over the exact point in the eleventh century when the change occurred. Jack Goody and R. H. Bloch suggest a date of mid century, which differs from Duby's contention that primogeniture and patrilineage were in place, at least among the higher echelons of the nobility, early in the eleventh century.⁶ The authors of some of the medieval French regional studies also challenge Duby's date for the adoption of primogeniture and patrilineage. For the north of France, Dominique Barthélèmy concludes that it was only in the twelfth century that younger sons were passed over in favor of their elder brothers.⁷ The findings of Guy Devailly for Berry and Robert Fossier for Picardy also question an eleventh-century date for

 3. Duby, *Chiv. Soc.*, pp. 59-80, also his *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région Mâçonnaise* (Paris; 1953).

4. Duby, *Chiv. Soc.*, p. 117.

5. For a more detailed examination of the historiography on inheritance, the medieval nobility and the family, see Chapter 1, pp. 10-15.

6. Duby, *Chiv. Soc.*, p. 117; Goody, *Family and Marriage*, pp. 120-32; Bloch, *Etymologies*, pp. 60-90.

7. Dominique Barthélèmy, *Recherches sur Coucy, La Fère et Marle* (Thèse du troisième cycle, Paris IV, 1980), p. 101.

the emergence of rigid primogeniture.⁸

Although historians generally agree that a need to preserve patrimonial lands triggered the adoption of primogeniture, they offer different theories about what precipitated the weakening of the patrimony. Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne Wemple postulate that a threat of royal centralization compelled noble families to employ primogeniture to preserve their holdings.⁹ Jack Goody suggests that noble estates were diminished as a result of gifts to the Church. The Gregorian reform movement, he argues, encouraged nobles to make donations and was an attempt by clerics to dispossess the nobility of their lands and add them to church coffers.¹⁰ Another theory has been developed, in large part, by scholars studying medieval England, who assert that the change in inheritance there resulted from the implantation of feudal tenure brought by the Norman Conquest. These historians argue that lords implemented a system of primogenitary inheritance in an attempt to maintain clarity in their feudal relationship with their vassals from generation to generation. Jean Yver has found a similar correlation between strong seigneurial authority and the practice of

8. Guy Devailly, *Le Berry du Xe siècle au milieu du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: 1973), p. 194; Robert Fossier, *La terre et les hommes en Picardie jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Paris-Louvain: 1968), pp. 263-7.

9. McNamara and Wemple, "Power of Women", 138.

10. Goody, *Family and Marriage*, p. 125. Another important difference between Goody and Duby lies in their interpretation of the position of extended kin. Goody believes that the change from partible to impartible inheritance caused extended kin to be dispossessed: They were no longer consulted in donations and their appearance in charters declined. Duby argues that the presence of kin and their consent to donations reflects increased family solidarity, symbolic of patrilineage and primogeniture. I find Goody's interpretation of the impact of primogeniture and patrilineage on the incidence of kin in the charters more persuasive than Duby's.

primogeniture for central France.¹¹

This chapter will examine the evidence from Blois-Chartres and seek to determine the pattern of inheritance and its implications for family structure. Some of the findings for the region support the theses presented by these scholars; others question the validity of the accepted models for inheritance and family structure for the eleventh-century nobility.

Inheritance in the Tenth Century

To determine whether and how eleventh-century patterns represent a modification in inheritance, it is necessary to consider briefly the practices of the tenth century. In this century, noble families of the region of Blois-Chartres honored the rights of kin to family possessions and in some cases practiced partible inheritance. The evidence for this rests upon the presence of extended kin consenting to alienations, the frequency of warnings issued to relatives and others not to disrupt grants made to the Church, and the independent role of noblewomen. Right to land was shared among the members of the families and an extended, collateral concept of family was predominant in the tenth-century nobility.

The extant tenth-century charters reflect the importance that was placed upon

11. See, Jack Goody "Inheritance, Property and Women: Some Comparative Considerations," in *Family and Inheritance*, eds. Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk and E. P Thompson (Cambridge: 1976), pp. 26-8 (hereafter Goody, "Inheritance, Property and Women..."); Marjorie Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England 1066-1166* (Oxford: 1986), pp. 160-4. For the correlation between strong seigneurial authority and the practice of primogeniture in France, see Jean Yver, *Egalité entre héritiers et exclusion des enfants dotés: Essai de géographie coutumière* (Paris: 1966), pp. 130-3. For a discussion of Yver's work see, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, "A System of Customary Law: Family Structures and Inheritance Customs in Sixteenth-century France," in *Family and Society*, eds. Robert Forester and Orest Ranum (Baltimore: 1976), pp. 75-103.

securing the consent of relatives to donations.¹² A mid tenth-century charter from the abbey of St. Père records a gift that Teduin made of his allods for his soul, and the souls of his parents and relatives.¹³ He had the consent of his relatives, in particular his paternal uncles, Teduin and Hunbald.¹⁴ Their participation as consenters implies that these men had a claim to the donated land. Similarly, when Heldebert made arrangements to sell his allods to St. Père, his relatives, too, gave their consent.

Furthermore, the charter states that the allods are rightfully his through inheritance

12. Stephen D. White argues that the consent of kin was not a legal requirement, but rather it was in the best interest of the donor. The consent of kin was a precaution taken in an unstable society, where relatives might make claim to donations; see *Custom, Kinship and Gifts to Saints* (Chapel Hill and London: 1988), pp. 44-8 (hereafter White, *Custom*). Like White, Emily Z. Tabuteau believes that the instability of eleventh-century society compelled the monks and nuns to insure that all kin gave their consent to donations since they could not be certain who would eventually inherit; see *Transfers of Property in Eleventh-Century Normandy*, (Chapel Hill and London: 1988), pp. 173, 175-9 (hereafter Tabuteau, *Transfers*). Jack Goody also interprets the presence of kin in donations as reflective of a family structure that allowed relatives a claim to the family possessions; see Goody, "Inheritance, Property and Women..," pp. 26-8. I find White's and Goody's interpretation of the presence of kin far more acceptable than Duby's suggestion that the appearance of relatives reflects family solidarity indicative of patrilineage and primogeniture. In particular, White's and Tabuteau's suggestion that the violent and disruptive nature of eleventh-century society drove nobles to have their kin consent is persuasive and reflected in the charters. Noble families, particularly those of a lower status, frequently claimed land donated to the Church by their ancestors. The letters of Fulbert of Chartres and the acts of the kings also contain many references to nobles taking land from the Church and each other.

13. *CSPDC*, no. 6, pp. 89-90: Hoc terrore ego Teduinus corpore et corde tactus, destinavi animo, ex rebus quae me contingunt ex jure materno, pro remedio patris mei Adelardi et matris meae Eldegardis, et meorum parentum remissione, quoddam alodum, vocitatum Vileta, et aliud, alio in loco, noncupatum Duplex Curtis, et quicquid ad eadem pertinent, cum silvis, pratis; et quicquid usque hodie visus sum inibi habere quesitum et inexquisitum, beato Petro Carnotensis coenobii, in quo venerabilis abbas Gisbertus videtur preesse, cum consensu parentum meorum, facta sollenniter donatione, publice tradere...Haec autem carta, ut firmior veriorque credatur, manu mea subterfirmavi et manibus seniorum et amicorum meorum roborandam tradidi. Actum publice, Carnotis civitate. S. Hugonis, archiepiscopi Biturigensis aecclisiae. S. Odonis comitis. S. Gausfridi, comitis Wastiniensis. S. Rodulfi militis. S. Adelardi patris Teduini. S. Teduini, avunculi Teduini. S. Huncbaldi, ejusdem Teduini avunculi.

14. Since the land in question belonged the Teduin through maternal inheritance, it is possible that these uncles were his mother's brothers. I have found, however, that *avunculus* usually denotes a paternal rather than a maternal uncle.

from his collective "relatives." This description reflects not a passing of land through one line but shared control and claim to the patrimony by kin as a group.¹⁵ In yet another charter, the importance of consent of kin is made even more explicit. In June of 954, Lambert, his sister Girberga, his kinsmen Guaningus and his sons Gadilo and Ingon and daughter Girberga transferred their allods to Girvard the knight and his three brothers, Gertan, Eudes and Hildegard.¹⁶ The charter specifically calls the land "our allod" and uses plural verbs, denoting that claim or right to it was shared among these relatives. Lambert stated that the transfer to Girard and his brothers was made with "common consent of all of our kin," establishing the necessity of the consent of kin. Shared fraternal authority over the patrimony is evident in Girvard's family. He, Gertan, Eudes and Hildegard acted together; it was to all of them that the land was transferred. Moreover, they both granted the countergift to Lambert and his family. Relatives exercised a right of inheritance or possession to family property. This claim required that these relatives consent to transactions that pertained to family possessions.

The right of kin to familial lands in the tenth century is further supported in

 15. *CSPDC*, no. 16, p. 75: In Christi nomine, convenit inter me Heldebertum et monachos Sancti Petri Carnotensis, quibus praeesse videtur Wibertus abbas, ut eis alodum juris mei vendere deberem quod ex successione parentum michi contigerat: quod et feci cum consilio parentum vel amicorum meorum.

16. *CSPDC*, no. 73, pp. 198-9: In Dei nomine. Notum esse volumus cunctis fidelibus, tam praesentibus quam futuris, ego videlicet Lambertus, filius Ansberti, cum Girberga, sorore mea, necnon et propinquis nostris Guaningo et filiis ejus Gadilone atque Ingone, et filia Girberga, quia nostrum alodum, quem in territorio Corbonensi actenus hereditario jure possedimus, Girvardo militi fratrique suo [*sic*] Gertanno, Odoni quoque atque Ildegario, transfundendo distrahimus; accipientes ab eis in argento XXIII solidos nummorum....Itaque, in commune consentientibus omnibus propinquis nostris, praedictis viris ea ratione tradimus ac vendimus alodum nostrum, ut, ab hodierna die et deinceps, eundem alodum possideant, potestatemque habeant vendendi et dandi cui voluerint, sine ulla calunnia....Si quis autem heredum nostrorum hanc venditionem infringere vel calumpniare temptaverit, iram Dei incurrat, et quod repertum non evincat; set cui intulerit libram auri persolvere cogatur.

warnings that appear at the end of some of the charters.¹⁷ Teduin evidently suspected that his donation might be disrupted since he made provision for a penalty of one pound of gold to be paid by anyone who attempted to challenge it. Lambert explicitly admonished "our heirs" not to impede the transaction or they would incur the wrath of God and pay a fine of one pound of gold.¹⁸ When another knight named Teduin and his wife Adalais made a donation for their souls, they specifically instructed that their sons or relatives not make any claim to the donation.¹⁹ They, too, set a fine, but of fifty gold pounds, considerably larger than the usual fee of one pound of gold. A charter from September 986 records an actual challenge brought by a relative. Ubert the knight, his wife Aiga and their heirs gave land in Chaumont to the church of St. Père. Several of their "survivors" disputed this donation, among whom a certain Adela persisted in her claim for approximately fifteen years and was excommunicated for

17. Two types of warnings were included in the charters. Many warn specifically against claims by relatives. Admonitions of a general nature, however, were at least equally common, and perhaps even more frequent. The tenth century, like the eleventh, was a time of tremendous instability, and nobles or knights often seized land from each other or the Church to expand their power bases. Both types of admonitory statements continue in the charters of the eleventh century, indicating that violence persisted in the lives of the noble and ecclesiastical landlords.

Admonitions have been studied by some scholars; see, Lester K. Little, "Formules monastiques de malédiction aux IXe et Xe siècles," *Revue Mabillon* 58 (1970-75), pp. 377-99; "La morphologie des malédictions monastiques," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations*, 34 (1979), pp. 43-60; Michel Zimmermann, "Protocoles et préambules dans les documents catalans du Xe au XIIe siècle," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velasquez* 10 (1974), pp. 41-76.

18. *CSPDC*, no. 73, p. 198; for this charter, see this chapter, note 16.

19. *CSPDC*, no. 3, p. 94: Ita ut, post obitum alterius nostrum, monachis supradicti coenobii, ibidem Deo deservientibus, jure perpetuo ad possidendum succedat, nullusque eis inquietudinem faciat filiorum vel parentum. Quod si aliquis fecerit, maledictione perpetua dampnetur, et insuper coactus potestate quinquaginta libras auri persolvat.

This fine is so exorbitant that it brings into question whether any noble could have paid it. It seems that this penalty was created to discourage any potential challenges, rather than to serve as a realistic fine (see Tabuteau, *Transfers*, pp. 205-10).

this "outrageous presumption."²⁰ These fines not only attest to the general instability of tenth-century noble society but also underscore the strength of the claim of kin through their ability to dispute donations.²¹

The claims and the threat of challenge discussed above differ from those cited by Georges Duby as indicative of patrilineal family structure and primogeniture. In cases from tenth-century Blois-Chartres, the challenges were brought not by younger sons or brothers but by heirs in general or relatives. This is an important difference. The challenges leveled by sons and younger brothers were initiated by a lack of land and were an attempt to bolster severely depleted family resources. Such claims have been interpreted by scholars as indicative of a restriction in the right of these relatives to the patrimony. Challenges brought by sons in their fathers' lifetimes particularly signal conflict between the two generations over the support of heirs and their role in the family. While warnings to potential claimants are frequent in the tenth century, there are virtually no charters that record actual claims brought against donations. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the charters recording actual challenges to donations are plentiful and reflect true concern over the state of noble family finances. These contestations were brought by sons, daughters, nephews, nieces, brothers and

20. *CSPDC*, no. 42, pp. 169-70: *Hac res gesta magnum nobis generavit detrimentum, sicut jam praelibavimus; nam, defunctis his quibus prefata carta tenendi assensum praebuerat, eorum superstites, vi et impunitae audaciae praesumptione, per annorum multorum curricula tenere voluerunt. Quorum quaedam mulier, nomine Adela, secularibus fulta praesidiis, ictum cotidiane excommunicationis fere per tria lustra sustinens, vix jam senio fessa et inrevocabili morte perterrita, dimisit invita, ferre timens excommunicationis vincula.*

Adela's specific relationship to the couple is not stated. Presumably she was neither a daughter or sister, since this relationship is, in most cases, indicated in the charters.

21. Tabuteau detects that families in Normandy continued to have "residual" rights to lands that had been given to the Church. This attests to the strength of the claim of family members to the donated lands and may explain why nobles included such warnings in the charters. They had to fear not only the general disruptiveness of medieval noble society, but also the "residual" claim of their kin (see Tabuteau, *Transfers*, pp. 23-4).

sisters whose share of the patrimony was in danger of restriction and who were seeking to supplement their holdings. The issue at stake in the claims brought by eleventh-century relatives or heirs was their right to the land rather than an attempt to restore or revitalize the family patrimony through contestation of earlier family gifts.

The warnings in the tenth-century charters and the participation of kin in them testify to the potency of claims of relatives to family lands. The role that women played in the charters also supports the prevalence of a family pattern and inheritance system that recognized the rights of nuclear and extended family members. In a charter dated 978, Countess Letgard made a donation of land that she inherited from her father, Count Herbert of Vermandois. This charter illuminates two important points. It shows first that noblewomen shared inheritance of the patrimony with their brothers²²; and, second, that they were able to control this inheritance once they acquired it, even after marriage.²³ Similarly, Countess Eldegard of Dreux controlled the lands she had received and decided, independently, to donate them to the abbey of St. Père. Eldegard gave land she had received as her marriage portion from her

 22. Letgard had at least three brothers; Herbert, Robert and Archbishop Hugh of Reims (see Dunbabin, *France 843-1180*, genealogical tables). Letgard's grandson Eudes II inherited his possessions in Champagne through her.

23. *CSPDC*, no. 8, pp. 63-5: *Horum ego Ledgardis, exempla secuta, instinctu divino ammonita, proposui in cordis mei secretario, quatinus de praediorum meorum possessionibus hereditariam facerem sanctam Dei ecclesiam....Ergo tam pro meis criminibus veniam impetrandis quam pro nobilissimi senioris mei atque gloriosi comitis Tedbaldi, ut utrisque Dominus indulgere digentur omnium peccatorum remissionem, consentientibus omni honore dignissimis, archipraesule scilicet Hugone et excellentissimo comite Odone, filiis meis, cedo ad locum Sancti Petri Carnotensis aecclesiam....In calce quoque hujus scripturae intimare volui quia, sicut pro anima mea omnia prefata Christo et beato Petro apostolo monachis famulantibus, in eorum usibus, concessi, ita pro anima patris mei Heirberti [sic], Trecassini comitis, qui michi praefatas res in hereditatem dedit atque concessit.*

husband at their marriage.²⁴ Provision was made in the gift for Eldegard's soul, and that of her husband Galeran. Male dominance of women's property was clearly not a reality in Blois-Chartres at this time. Yet neither Letgard or Eldegard could act without consent of their relatives, which demonstrates that noblewomen were bound by the same customs as noblemen. Countesses also participated in charters and were consulted by their husbands, further illustrating a lack of complete domination by their spouses.²⁵

Women in the lower echelons of the nobility also inherited land and passed it on to their heirs. The land that Teduin granted to the monks he received through maternal inheritance.²⁶ Women from all noble ranks were included in inheritance schemes. The challenge brought by Adela, the kinswoman of the knight Ubert and his wife Aiga, demonstrates that female kin could and did lay claim to family land, even though they risked excommunication.²⁷

The right of noblewomen to inherit land, to leave it to their heirs, and to control their inheritance and marriage portions all point to their independence within the noble family. Relatives, extended and nuclear, exerted certain rights to family possessions. Some shared in inheritance, but all exercised a claim to family holdings. Such a pattern of inheritance reflects a family structure that recognized and honored

24. *CSPDC*, no. 5, pp. 87-8: Horum ego Eldegardis exempla secuta proposui in corde meo qualiter de praediorum meorum possessionibus hereditariam facerem sanctam Dei ecclesiam....Ergo, tam pro meis criminibus veniam impetrandis quam pro senioris mei Waleranni, ut utrisque Dominus indulgere dignetur peccatorum remissionem, consentiente Walterio comite, filio meo, cedo ad locum Sancti Petri Carnotensis alodum juris mei, quem senior meus supra nominatus, secundum legem salicam et secundum consuetudinem qua viri proprias uxores dotant, michi in propriam concessit, nomine Guntherii Villa et de dominatione mea in dominationem monachorum ibidem servientium perpetualiter transfundo atque transcribo.

25. See *CSPDC*, no. 1, pp. 81-3; no. 18, pp. 77-80; no. 5, pp. 63-5.

26. *CSPDC*, no. 6, pp. 89-90: ...ex rebus quae me contingunt ex jure materno....

27. *CSPDC*, no. 73, p. 198; for the text of this charter see this chapter, p. 101, note 16.

all kin. What remains to be determined is if or how noble inheritance and family structure changed in the eleventh century.

Inheritance in the Eleventh Century

As seen in earlier chapters, the Chartrain nobility of the eleventh century was a complex entity, with various levels of status and position. Because of its multi-layered nature, it is prudent to consider the inheritance patterns and family structures of each sector of the nobility independently.

Vassals and Lesser Nobles

At the outset of the eleventh century, knights were still firmly on the perimeter of the nobility.²⁸ These men relied upon their military prowess, not their birth, to establish themselves as feudal powers. Many such men became the vassals of the lords of Blois-Chartres. The charters provide a fair amount of information on these vassals and other members of the lesser nobility. The rights of kin to the patrimony and an extended family structure, detectable among the tenth-century nobility, continued to characterize families of the lower echelons of the eleventh-century nobility. By the end of the century, however, signs of tension and perceptible changes become

28. This chapter will consider vassals, knights and lesser nobles separately from lords. To establish the status of knight, I have either relied upon the charters to label the man *miles* or deduced from information provided on the resources and status of the individual that the individual should be considered with the knights.

evident.²⁹

The participation of kin of lesser nobles in eleventh-century charters testifies to the right of members of the kin group to family holdings. Donors secured the consent of their relatives to help protect their grants from contestation. Since gifts to abbeys were made for the benefit of the souls of the donor or his or her relatives, disruptions had serious repercussions because they jeopardized the salvation of souls. Monks and nobles alike sought ways to prevent future contestations. One means of prevention was to insure the consent of any relative who had a right to the property being donated.³⁰ Participation in the charters as a consenter, I believe, indicates an individual's right or claim to the possessions being given or alienated. In a charter datable before 1080, a knight named Fulco made a gift to St. Père of the *vicaria* of Abonville, with the consent of his sons and sister.³¹ His sons and his *propinqui* placed a symbol of this gift upon the altar of St. Père. The presence of Fulco's relatives

29. The families of the lower nobility will be considered with those of the knights and vassals because they had far more in common with them than they did with the lords and the upper nobility. These families were more likely to be subject to the forces that shaped and affected the knights and vassals, rather than those of the lords, viscounts or counts.

30. For further discussion of this and more examples of preventative measures, see Tabuteau, *Transfers*, pp. 113-205.

31. *CSPDC*, no. 85, pp. 209-210: Sanctae aecclesiae fidelibus, tam praesentibus quam futuris, notum esse volumus, ego Hubertus, abbas indignus, et omnis congregatio monachorum coenobii sancti Petri, quoniam quidam miles, nomine Fulco, moriens, vivente abbate Landrico, una cum cunsensu [*sic*] filiorum suorum, Hugonis scilicet et Guarini, adhuc puerulis, et Richildis sororis, vicariae medietatem, quam habebat in Abonis Villa, sancto Petro apostolo ac monachis sibi famulantibus concedendo tribuit, pro remedio animae suae et animarum parentum suorum atque incolumitate filiorum; donumque super altare sancti Petri misit, per manus filiorum et propinquorum suorum.

The use of "incolumitate" in this charter is somewhat unusual, but should not be interpreted as indicating that Fulco's sons were ill. In this and other cases *incolumitate* was substituted for *remedio* or the "health of the soul." In other words, the gift was made for the well being or good health of Fulco's sons' souls. For another example of this usage, see *CSPDC*, no. 89, p. 153, in note 142 of this chapter.

in an act that was intended to guarantee and solidify the gift demonstrates their importance in the family and their claim to the property being alienated.³² Around the middle of the eleventh century, Count Fulcrad of Vendôme donated burial rights and future interests at Villeberfol to Marmoutier. He held these rights from Peter of Montigny, the son of Gradulf Albus, and has his consent for the gift.³³ Peter's brothers Gui and Aduisam also authorized the transaction.³⁴ The presence and compliance of these siblings verifies that they exercised a right to the donated dues.³⁵

32. Since Fulco was dying and his sons were still minors it is possible that his relatives might be the future guardians of the boys. No one of the relatives, however, is designated as guardian in the charter, which implies that the family as a whole would assume responsibility for the children. This supports an interpretation of horizontal family organization. Because Fulco's daughter Richild is not referred to as a minor in the charter, it is possible that she was to take responsibility for her brothers.

33. Peter of Montigny, the son of Gradulf Albus, appeared in several charters from Marmoutier; see *CMPD*, nos. 23, 24, 107, 108, 115, 118, 119, 123, 126, pp. 24-5, 25-6, 98-9, 99-100, 108-9, 112, 112-3, 115-6, 117-8. It is possible that Peter and his father Gradulf Albus were related to the lords of Montigny, but I am, as of yet, unable to connect them to this family. Both Gradulf and Peter appeared as witnesses with the lords of Montigny and may well have been their vassals. Since the lords of Montigny at one time held Villeberfol from the count of Anjou and Vendôme, it is possible that Peter had gained possession of this fief through inheritance from one of the early lords of Montigny.

34. *CMPD*, no. 115, pp. 108-9: Nosse debebitis si qui eritis posteri nostri, Majoris scilicet hujus habitatores Monasterii Sancti Martini, Fulcradum de Vindocino, filium Gauscelini Bastardi, donasse pro anima sua Sancto Martino et nobis, sub regimine nunc agentibus domni Alberti abbatis, sepulturam villae possessionis nostrae, Berfordii nomine, in Vindocinensi sitae, quae ad ecclesiam sui juris appellatione Conon videtur pertinere, auctorizasse vero Petrum de Montiniaco, filium Gradulfi Albi, de quo Fulcradus sepulturam ipsam in fevum tenuerat, et fratres ejusdem Petri, Guidonem atque Adhuisam; Guanilonemque thesaurarium, de quo Petrus eam habuerat, accepisse tamen pro hoc Fulcrado a nobis LV solidos, causa potius recompensandae caritatis quam pretii, quos ei tradidit quidam monachus noster, Ernaldus cognomento Bloius, ipsius Villae Berfordii ceterarumque rerum nostrarum in Belsia tunc praepositus. Et hoc pretium per talem convenientiam ei donavimus, ut in eadem villa monachus noster oratorium sibi aedificaret.

35. Peter was not the eldest son of Gradulf Albus. In another charter datable between 1040 and 1043 from *CMPD* Fulcher is listed before Peter, which implies he was the elder son of Gradulf Albus and his wife Hersend (see *CMPD*, no. 102, p. 95). Fulcher was evidently dead by the time of Peter's grant.

In a charter datable between 1050 and 1060 Peter of Montigny, the son of Gradulf Albus, gave his tithes from the village of Villeberfol for the soul of his broth-

The right of immediate family members to the patrimony is apparent among the vassals of Blois-Chartres. Like Peter and Fulco, Fulcaud insured that his immediate kin were present when he made a donation to St. Père at the end of the eleventh century for the souls of his parents, himself, his wife, sons, daughters and all of his relatives.

Appearing as witnesses, and thus giving their tacit consent, were his mother Suffitia, his brother Herbert, his wife Lizinia, his sons John, Rotrou and Herbert, his daughter Melisend and his sister Aremburg.³⁶ A severe penalty was established to discourage future claims to his donation, suggesting that Fulcaud anticipated future challenges from relatives who did not appear in the charter.

Throughout the eleventh century, sisters consented to donations made by their brothers. For example, in 1039, when Raher the knight donated to Marmoutier

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er Gui. Apparently, Gui had been ill and one of the monks of Marmoutier had cared for him. In spite of the monk's care, Gui died and was buried at Marmoutier. Peter, in return, gave the tithes for his own soul and that of his brother Gui. A charter dated circa 1058 states that Peter of Montigny constructed a chapel at Villeberfol. While it is not stated, this, too, could have been for his brother's soul (see *CMPD*, no. 118 and no. 119, pp. 112-3).

36. *CSPDC*, no. 84, pp. 208-9: In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Ego Fulcandus [*sic*] notum esse volo omnibus fidelibus, tam praesentibus quam futuris, annuentibus dominis meis, Gausfrido videlicet atque Guilhelmo, ejus privigno, necnon Mahilde, matre Guillelmi, sancto Petro coenobii Carnotensis concessisse terciam partem aecclesiae de Arro, cum terra altaris, quam solebant presbiteri tenere....Quam largitionis donationem volui facere pro anima patris mei et matris meae, necnon pro salute propria et conjugis atque filiorum et filiarum meorum, sive omnium parentum meorum. Cui donationi si aliquis contraire voluerit, CCC libras auri persolvat et voluntas ejus inefficax remaneat; atque nisi ad emendationem venerit, poenis inferni, cum Juda proditore, subjaceat. Scripsimus etiam nomina testimonium qui ex utraque parte fuerunt testes donationis hujus. Herbertus, frater Fulcaldi [*sic*], firmavit. Suffitia, mater eorum. Fulcaldus [*sic*], hujus doni largitor. Lizinia, uxor ejus. Johannes et Rotrocus et Herbertus, filii ejus. Milesindis, filia ejus. Aremburgis, soror ejus. Hugonis Palestelli. Durandus presbiter. Lambertus, Odo. Ascelin. Bernard.

In the charters of the tenth century, penalties were customarily set to discourage future disputes. The usual fine was one gold pound, but by the end of the century fifty became the norm. By the end of the eleventh century a fine of 300 gold coins was established. This penalty seems extremely harsh and suggests that it was included, not as a realistic fine, but as a way to discourage future claims.

several of his allods located in Chartres and the Dunois, he secured the consent of all of his sisters. Provision was also made for any sons who might result from a future marriage,³⁷ and the grant is followed by a warning to any of Raher's relatives who might dispute the grant. A sizeable penalty of one hundred pounds of cooked gold was established for any relative who dared to level a complaint. Such arrangements suggest that it was likely that one or more of Raher's relatives would object either to the donation or to the provision made for inheritance by a son. Raher had the consent of his sisters to both his donation and the stipulation for a possible heir, confirming that sisters needed to be consulted in matters concerning the future of the family and its lands. In spite of Raher's precautions, his younger sister Adelaide contested his donation at some point between 1050 and 1060.³⁸ Adelaide justified her challenge by

37. *CMPD*, no. 100, pp. 92-3: Unde ego Raherius seculari militiae deditus, reminiscens meorum multitudinem peccatorum et iudicii diem admodum expavescens, pro redemptione animae patris mei Raherii, Frodelinaeque matris meae ac meae, concedo Deo et Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii aliquid de rebus meis, quod mihi ab ipso genitore meo dimissum est....Hoc vero feci favente domino meo Theobaldo comite, assensuque sororum mearum Milesindis scilicet ac Rainsoindis et Adelaidis, tali convenientia, ut post meum a saeculo discessum, nisi superstitem de legitima conjuge habuero filium in Sancti Martini veniat dominium. Volo ergo atque praecipio ut si aliquis de propinquis meis, aut per se seu per intromissam personam contra hanc donationem, quam libera mente et propria voluntate facio aliquam calumniam monachis inferre voluerit, centum cocti auri libras exsolvat, et quod petit non vindicet, sed donatio firma permaneat....

A later charter makes it clear that Raher never married. Instead he gave up the secular life to become a monk at Marmoutier and died in "floridae juventutis,"[sic] ("the flower of his youth") (see *CMPD*, no. 116, p. 110).

38. *CMPD*, no. 116. pp. 109-11: Carnotenae quidam civitatis indigena, rebus dives, professione miles, aetate juvenis, conditione nobilis, suavis moribus, nomine Raherius, sua post decessum suum praedia Sancto Martino Monasterii ad usum inibi Deo famulantium fratrum, cum adhuc esset in saeculo delegavit, trius ejus sororibus annuentibus et absolutissimo assensu publicaue donum id voce confirmantibus, Milesinde videlicet, Rainsoinde ac Adelaide necnon et comite Theobaldo matreque Ermengarde comitissa, auctoramento suo corroborantibus....Una sororum ejus, natu inferior, astu superior, nomine Adaladis [sic], fratris sui donis novas cepit inferre calumnias, non ea suo inficiens assensu data, cum non solum nutu simpliciue sermone, sed etiam jure ea jurando firmaverit, quod exagitabat ergo praefati monasterii fratres et inquietis avocabat litigiis, perque Rainaldi cujusdam cognomento de Spieris, cui nupserat, violentiam praedictis praediis injurias et injustas excitabat calum-

stating that she had not consented to the gift. This was blatantly untrue since she appeared in the original charter and gave her consent "not only by her word, but by swearing an oath." Adelaide and her husband Rainald of Espiers were, nevertheless, successful in their challenge and received ten pounds for permitting the land to pass to the monks.

A similar situation occurred in the Dangeau family.³⁹ When in 1064 and 1069 respectively, two brothers, Herlebald and Eudes of Dangeau, were approaching death each donated to Marmoutier his part of the church at Dangeau and its pertaining lands.⁴⁰ Shortly after the death of Eudes, between 1070 and 1072, his

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nias. Tandem clementiam Dei famulis suis beati Martini meritis et intercessionibus obtinentibus, consilia in melius referentes, concordiae favere delegerunt; acceptisque a monachis decem denariorum libris, in consensionem dissentione conversa, quod abnuebant annerunt.

39. It is difficult to know where to place the Dangeau family within the spectrum of the Chartrain nobility. They were the vassals of the Gouet family and seem to have controlled the castle of Dangeau. The Dangeaus also may have been associated with the Montigny family, since Walter of Montigny witnessed their charters. Members of this family appear quite often in the charters as witnesses for the Montignys and other families of the region. The charters that record familial acts of the Dangeaus are few, however. It is, therefore, difficult to determine just where they should be placed. I have included them with the knights and lesser nobles, but at the upper-most level of this sector of the nobility. While they did possess one castle, it is not clear that they held other property in the region, which has discouraged me from including them in the discussion of the families of the lords.

40. *CMPD*, no. 25, pp. 26-7: Nosse debetis si qui eritis posteris nostri, Majoris scilicet hujus habitatores Monasterii Sancti Martini, Herlebaldum de Doniolo, ad mortem vulneratum, devenisse monachum nostrum atque donasse Sancto Martino et nobis sub regimine nunc agentibus domni abbatis Alberti, anno ab incarnatione Domini M LXIII, dimidiam ecclesiam de eodem castro vel quicquid in ea dominii habebat, ita ut quamvis alii ex illa sint fevati, noster sit tamen totus in eadem ecclesia senioratus, sicut erat Herlebaldis, nostrae sint etiam reliquiae, nostri et libri. Annuit huic donationi Odo, frater ipsius Herlebaldis, adeo ut monachum nostrum nomine Hademarum, qui vice omnium nostrorum presens suscipiebat hoc donum, gratia reservandae nobis a se super hac re fidei osculetur, pollicens insuper illum nostrum in ecclesia senioratum, si quando necesse foret, ses semper rationabiliter probaturum....

Postea vulneratus est Odo, frater Herlebaldis, ad mortem, et mandavit ad se domnum Herbertum et domnum Hugonem monachos nostros, petens dari sibi vestes

brother-in-law Ernald of Beaugency contested, on behalf of his wife Osilid, the gifts made by her brothers.⁴¹ Ernald eventually abandoned the claim because the grant had been made so Eudes could be welcomed into the community of monks and his contestation jeopardized his brother-in-law's eternal soul. The strength of the claim of females is also evident in the presence of Ernald and Osilid's five daughters as authorizing the quitclaim. The daughter of another sibling and her husband, Gui Apostolus, also assented to this action, further testifying to the claim that sisters and nieces had to patrimonial lands. The right of sisters to the patrimony was characteristic of knights of all status. In the decade of the 1060's Robert of La Ferté-Villeneuve donated to Marmoutier all of the land of Bergerioux that pertained to the viscounty of Blois. Consenting to this donation were two brothers named Hugh and Haimo, their sister Berta and her husband Robert, who all held the land given. In return for their donation Robert of La Ferté-Villeneuve was granted sixty *solidi* as a counter gift. Hugh and Haimo, Berta and her husband, were compensated with fifty

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monachi. Et datus est ei monachilis habitus. Ipse vero dedit nobis terram suam dominicam prope ecclesiam quam dedit nobis Herlebaldus frater ejus, eo auctorizante, scilicet terram unius corrucae [*sic*], quae jungitur de una parte terrae nostrae de Seonvilla, de altera parte dividit eam chiminus, qui tendit de Doniolio ad Buslou, de alia parte dividit eam chiminus de Molino vetulo, et est idem chiminus in fusum de eadem terra.

These brothers were nearing death when they made their respective donations and both assumed the habit of a monk.

41. *CMPD*, no. 26, pp. 27-8: Post decessum Herlebaldi de Doniolio et Odonis fratris sui, calumniatus est nobis Ernaldus de Balgenciaco, de parte conjugis suae, Osilidis nomine, quae fuerat soror supradictorum fratrum, medietatem ecclesiae sitae ante Doniolium, quam dederat nobis Herbaldus, concedente Odone fratre suo. Calumniatus est nobis quoque terram quandam, quae est prope eandem ecclesiam, terram scilicet Dominicam praefati Odonis, quam dederat nobis idem Odo moriens, pro eo quod induimus eum vestibus monachi ad finem suum. Cumque de hoc jam saepius nos inquietasset, tandem recognoscens tortum se habere, guerpivit illam calumniam non tam pro mercede temporali, quam pro aeterna, et autorisavit Deo et Sancto Martino ipse et uxor sua Osilis nomine et filiae eorum Milensendis et Aremburgis, Agathes, Hazuisa, Frodelina, donum quod fecerant nobis Herlebaldus et Odo. Auctorizavit hoc quoque Guido cognomento Apostolus et uxor ejus, quae erat neptis Herlebaldi et Odonis.

solidi.⁴² This charter, in concert with others, substantiates the claim of all siblings to the land. Neither primogeniture nor patrilineage were characteristic of these families.

The absence of women in the charters as participants, coactors or consenters provides solid evidence of primogenitary inheritance and patrilineal family structure. The varied roles that wives, mothers and daughters of the knights and lesser nobles actually assumed indicate that such a family configuration or inheritance system did not prevail in Blois-Chartres. From the charters discussed above, it is clear that noblewomen were able to share in the patrimony and legitimately contest donations made by their male kin. Adelaide of Espiers believed that absence of her consent to her brother's donation was legitimate grounds for her challenge. In addition, women of this stratum of the nobility were able to act in charters on their own, and as partners of their husbands in such grants. Noblewomen also maintained control over the property given to them by their spouses or natal families at the time of their marriages. The activities of women are, indeed, so extensive that they will be considered later in a separate chapter. In patrilineal families males dominated their female kin and the roles and functions of women within the family and in society as a whole were restricted.⁴³ Checks of this kind did not operate in the lesser noble families of eleventh-century Blois-Chartres. Instead noblewomen continued to enjoy

42. *CMPD*, no. 125, p. 117: Noverit posteritas nostra Rotbertum de Villa in Oculo, pro redemptione suae suique patris ac matris animae, in territorio Blesis, apud Villam quae vocatur Bergerulfi, Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii terram omnem dedisse, quam ad vicecomitatum Blesis pertinentum hereditario pater suus possederat jure. Huic donationi Rotbertus filius suus voluntatis assensum praebuit, Hugo quoque Haimo, qui de eo illam terram tenere videbantur, cum Berta sorore eorum et marito ejus Rotberto, filio Roguelini. Sed licet, ut praediximus, in hac donatione animae tantum salus ab illis quaeretur; tamen ut promptioribus animis res acta esset et in posterum firmiter consisteret aliquid eis dare visum fuit domno abbati et fratribus[;] Rotberto videlicet guarnimentum quoddam sexaginta solidorum; reliquis vero Hugoni et Hamoni, Bertae quoque sorori eorum et marito ejus quinquaginta solidos nummorum.

43. See in particular, Duby, *Chiv. Soc.*; idem, *Knight, Lady and Priest*; idem, *Med. Marriage*; Jo Ann MacNamara and Suzanne Wemple, "Power of Women;" R. H. Bloch, *Etymologies*.

influence that they had in the late tenth century.

Extended kin consented to donations and acted in charters. The *propinqui* of a certain Hilduin participated with him in a grant.⁴⁴ Hilduin and his relatives had claimed the church of *Ursi Villaris* from the monks of St. Père. They eventually saw the error of their ways, however, and "Hilduin with his sons and other relatives" acted with Bishop Oldoric of Orléans to quitclaim the Church for perpetuity. Sometime before 1034 Urso the knight had falsely claimed half of the sluices from the mills at Anet, which his grandfather had given to St. Père.⁴⁵ Urso stated that his "ancestors", presumably his grandfather's relatives, had consented to the donation. This specific reference might have been an attempt to forestall any claims made by other of his relatives or to point out his own lack of right. Moreover, Urso does not base his contestation on a lack of consent; rather, he says he followed bad counsel. These examples demonstrate that kin exercised rights to each other's possessions and that their consent was necessary to insure the stability of the gift.

In addition to the inclusion of generic "relatives," the charters provide examples of the participation of specific members of the extended family. When Hugh of Brethel gave Marmoutier the chapel that his father had built, his wife, daughter and -----

44. *CSPDC*, no. 1, pp. 105-6: Monachi Sancti Petri Carnotensis coenobii possidebant, ex longo tempore, quandam aecclesiam in pago Dunensi, in loco qui dicitur Ursi Villaris. Quidam vero casatus noster, nomine Hilduinus, cum suis propinquis, intendebat eis calumniam de ipsa aecclesia, dicens eam ad casamentum nostrum et a suum beneficium pertinere....Unde contra jus atque fas contendere nolentes, ego videlicet Odolricus episcopus, et frater meus Isembardus, et predictus Hilduinus, cum filiis et ceteris propinquis suis, ex toto gurgivimus inceptam calumniam monachis Sancti Petri, annuentes ut solide et quiete possideant ecclesiam suam Ursi Villaris in perpetuum, sicut justum esse comperimus.

45. *CSPDC*, no. 7, p. 118: Ego miles Urso, filius Germundi de Aisiaco, notum esse volumus omnibus christianis praesentibus atque futuris, quia medietatem de exclusatio molendinorum Sancti Petri Carnotensis coenobii, qui sunt ad Anetum, quam meus avus dederat Sancto Petro et mei antecessores auctorizaverunt, et ego per malum consilium calumniabar, ab hac die, Sancto Petro quietam dimitto, ut et ego partem habeam in elemosinam meorum antecessorum.

nephews were present.⁴⁶ The same practice is apparent in a donation to St. Père by Hunver the knight made early in the eleventh century. Ermentrude who was Hunver's feudal lord, as well as her niece, consented to this gift.⁴⁷ The monks were required to pay Hunver two shillings annually and his wife, daughters, sons and nephew approved of this arrangement. The presence of Ermentrude's niece and Hunver's

46. *CMPD*, no. 37, pp. 34-5: Idcirco ego Hugo sub christianae fidei titulo militiae deditus, seculari castri Braietelli possessor in pago Cynomannensi, parum iterum quiddam boni si adprobet Deus operari volo, ad quosdam, quos precipue sanctae fidei domesticos puto. Pateat igitur universae notioni mortalium donasse me Sancto Martino ac Deo sibi que famulantibus monachis Majoris Monasterii, pro redimenda mea meaeque conjugis anima, animabus quoque parentum meorum ac filiorum, mei juris ecclesiam quandam, Deo sub Dei Genitricis honore sacratam, in Dunenesi pago sitam, cujus locus designabatur antiquitas [*sic*] Ad Lazellam, nunc ex nomine patris mei appellatur Capella Guillelmi....Aucta sunt haec omnia assensu meae conjugis, Ermae nomine, atque meae filiae vocabulo Hervisae, nepotum quoque meorum, filiorumque Rotberti de Monte Boone, Gauffredi scilicet atque Guillelmi, auctoramento nichilominus dominae Mahildis filiae Galterii de Aloia, filiorumque ac filiarum ejusdem quibus patres fuere Guillelmus cognomento Gugetus, et Gauffredus de Medana; hoc est Willelmi, Hildeburgis et Richildis, item Hamelini, Galteri et Hersendis, horum igitur omnium quae dixi donum feci, Sancto Martino in capitulo, presentibus jam dicta domina mea Mahilde et testibus qui ad hoc videndum fuerunt producti.

Unfortunately the direct relationship between Hugh of Brethel and Robert of *Monte Boone* is not completely clear. Presumably Robert was another member of Hugh's family since he is listed with other family members. It is possible he was a brother, a cousin, uncle or another nephew. Since the *fili* are named, but the *nepotes* are not, the *nepotes* could be the *fili*. If this was the case, Robert would have been Hugh's son, or, more likely, his brother.

47. *CSPDC*, no. 6, p. 98: In Christi nomine. Ego Ermentrudis, Erchembaldi primum, postea vero Bernardi conjunx, notum esse volo sanctae Dei aecclesiae fidelibus, universis praesentibus atque futuris, qualiter alodos meos, quos habebam in Carnotensi pago, juxta Pomeriatam, Sancti Petri monachorum terram, eidem Sancto Petro, Carnotensi videlicet coenobio, trado et perpetualiter habendos transfundo, per deprecationem Hunveri militis mei, pro anima Solionis filii mei, et Bernardi mei senioris, et mea....Infra has itaque terminationes alodos Sancto Petro concedo, ea conventionem, ut annis singulis, in festivate Sancti Mauricii, duos solidos denariorum de censu persolvant supradicto [H]Unvero, vel illis ad quos beneficium devenerit....Ut autem haec noticia sit firmior in secula, manu mea corroboravi, militumque meorum manibus corroborandam tradidi. S. Ermentrudis, S. Ermentrudis, neptis ejus. S. [H]Unveri. S. Ermae, uxoris ejus. S. Raherii, filii ejus. S. Aremburgis, filiae ejus. S. Adelais, filiae ejus. S. Ebrardi, nepotis ejus. S. Hugonis. S. Odonis. S. Giroldi. S. Drogonis. S. Osmundi. S. Bernardi. S. Teudonis, filii Unveri. S. Solionis. S. Rorigonis. S. Gerardi. S. Rainerii. S. Rogerii. S. Guidonis. S. Berionis. S. Germundi.

These relatives are oddly placed in the charter; this may be the result of the nineteenth-century editors incorrect translation or replication of the list of witnesses and signatures.

nephew illustrates the claim that extended kin, as well as all offspring, had to the property given and the legitimacy of their interest in the disposal of family property.⁴⁸ At some date before 1080, Walter son of Fladaldus granted his *vicaria* over the villages of Honville and Rêclainville to St. Père for his soul and those of his wife and relatives. Signing and consenting to the alienation were Walter's wife, children, brother and sister.⁴⁹ Even though Walter had direct heirs, the right of his brother and sister had not been superseded and they maintained a claim to their brother's holdings. Maternal kin had a right to family lands in the eleventh century as well. Ansold the knight had his brother Walter and his brother-in-law Geoffrey corroborate his donation to St. Père.⁵⁰ Both the paternal and maternal uncle

48. Ermentrude made this donation for the souls of her son Solion and her second husband Bernard. Solion and Bernard signed the charter, demonstrating that Ermentrude's niece had a claim to the land even during the lifetime of her cousin (Ermentrude's presumed heir).

49. *CSPDC*, no. 78, pp. 204-5: In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis. Ego Hubert, gratia Dei, abbas, et omnis congregatio sancti Petri Carnotensis coenobii, notum esse volumus, tam presentibus quam futuri evi, sanctae Dei aecclesiae fidelibus, Walterium, videlicet filium Fladaldi, medietatem vicariae Hunis Villae necnon et Reclamantis Villae atrii aecclesiae, ac tocius terrae quae ad istas duas villas pertinet, pro salute suae et conjugis animae, atque pro animabus parentum suorum, sancto Petro concessisse perpetuo jure: pro eaque accepisse agripennum unum vineae, quae vocatur Radfredus, pro quo nobis offerebantur XXV libre nummorum. Huic quoque dono assensum praebuerunt Walterius de Alneto, cujus beneficio hanc ipsam vicariam supra dictus Gualterius tenuerat; filiique ejus Gunherius, Gauslinus, Gualterius, cum patre, assenserunt. Subscripsimus etiam propinquos Walteri, eosque qui cum eo fuerunt, quando super altare sancti Petri hujus rei guerpum posuit, necnon et famulorum nostrorum nomina, quos inibi habuimus; ut si quis unquam huic operi calumniari temptaverit, prius a liminibus sanctae Dei aecclesiae sequestratus, et anathematis jugulo sauciatus, ab uno horum baculo ultionis propellatur, nisi resipuerit, in inferno inferiori. Rajenaldus, frater Gualteri. Fredesindis conjunx ejus. Beliardis soror ejus, Rajenaldus filius ejus. Adelina filia ejus. Gislebertus de Britiniaco.

50. *CSPDC*, no. 16, pp. 241-2: His et aliis multimodis adtestationibus subnixus, ego quidem Ansoldus miles, cum uxore mea carissima, nomine Hidlegardi, necnon omni prole nostra, et assensu domni mei Gunherii, dans concedo concedensque dono vicariam atque banneriam; vel si est alia aliqua exactio, quam ex beneficio domni mei supradicti actenus visus sum tenere, in terra sancti Petri quae est in Domna Maria, pro remedio scilicet animae filii mei Willelmi....Hanc autem cartam ut inconvulsa permaneat, praesenti seculo permanente, manibus propriis et nominibus caeterorum circumadstantium corroborari voluimus. Ansoldi, qui hanc donationem fecit. Rainaldi.

of Ansold's sons supported the gift, indicating that their mother's kin was as important to the family as the paternal line and that such kin exercised the same right to these possessions. The participation of agnatic and cognatic kin verifies a family structure that was bilateral and open. The presence of kin in the transactions of Fulco, Hugh, Hunver, Walter son of Fladaldus and Ansold proves that these family members had a legitimate claim to family holdings and that their consent was required to insure the stability of the grant.

The claim of nieces and nephews to family lands is discernible in their roles as consenters and witnesses. Between the years 1069 and 1072 Girard Raucus donated land at Boirville to Marmoutier. His wife and children, his nephew Gislebert Pagan, and a certain Mauger with his daughter Melisend consented to this grant.⁵¹ For his consent, Girard Raucus compensated his nephew Gislebert Pagan with tithes from another village, testifying to the nephew's right to a share of the patrimony. It is significant that Gislebert was rewarded with tithes and money. Girard's kinswoman

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Gauscelini et Arnulfi, filiorum ejus. Gualterii, avunculi eorum. Gausfridi, patru
eorum.

Ansold issued a warning at the end of the charter that no one should dispute the grant, or they will end up with Judas. This may testify to the "residual" claim that family members had to land, but certainly indicates the instability of eleventh-century society.

51. *CMPD*, no. 54, pp. 49-50: Noverint posteri quod Girardus, filius Ebrardi, cognomine Raucus, donaverit Sancto Martino et monachis Majoris Monasterii terram Boardi Villae, pro redemptione animae suae et quicquid ibi ad eum et ad suos pertinebat, concedentibus uxore sua et liberis suis et nepote suo Gislberto Pagano, et Maugerio cum filia sua; et pro hoc habuit ipse Girardus C. solidos de denarii Sancti Martini, Ada vero uxor sua X solidos, Gislebertus Paganus nepos Gerardi III solidos, Milessendis filia Maugerii III solidos. Isti omnes auctorisaverunt et confirmaverunt hoc donum.... Girardus dedit Pagano, nepoti suo, in commutationem istius terrae, decimam Laardi Villae et Maugerio et filiae suae Milessendi alodum quoddam in Boardi villa et unam occhiam ad Isignem. S. Pagani + S. Girardi +. S. Adae + uxoris ejus, S. Milessendis filiae ejus. + S. Odelinae. + S. Willelmi. + S. Maugerii. +

Since Mauger is not labelled Girard's brother, nor does he share the cognomen, I would suggest that he was Girard's brother-in-law and thus Melisend was Girard's niece. The list of signatures, which refers to Melisend as Girard's daughter, is wrong, since she is clearly called the daughter of Mauger throughout the charter.

Melisend and her father also received landed compensation. The exact relationship between Girard and Mauger and his daughter Melisend is not clear, but, since Melisend received the same amount of compensation as did Girard's nephew Gislebert, I would postulate that they had the same claim to the land; thus they would be cousins. This is further borne out by the fact that Mauger and Melisend, like Gislebert, were given property by Girard, in this case an allod, in exchange for the land that had been donated to the Church. Mauger, Melisend's father, seems to have been related to Girard in some way, either by blood or marriage. The patrimony of this family was partible and did not follow primogenitary inheritance. An absence of patrilineality is also evident out. If patrilineage had been in place, then Girard's own children would have been compensated instead of extended relatives such as nieces and nephews.

The absence of primogeniture and patrilineage is further detectable in charters that refer to nobles inheriting their property from their "ancestors" rather than a strictly lineal transfer of possessions from parent or grandparent to child. In an act datable from the first part of the eleventh century, Hugh Poireux with his wife and son made a gift to St. Père of customs which he held from his ancestors. This suggests that Hugh thought of the customs as coming not from his father in lineal descent, but from all of his ancestors.⁵² A charter from the late eleventh century affirms this same perception. When a noblewoman named Adelina made a donation to the same abbey for the souls of her father Ingelnulf and her first husband John, she stated that

52. *CSPDC*, no. 57, p. 182: Ego Hugo, qui cognominor Pirarius, et uxor mea Ledgardis nomine, et filius noster Fulcoisus, audientes vocem Pauli apostoli dicentis: "Dum tempus habemus, operemur bonum ad omnes:" cujus vocis sententiam implere cupientes, omnes consuetudines quas antecessores me habuerunt, et ego actenus habui, contra jus et legem divinam, in Droconis curte, scilicet in terra Sancti Petri Gesiacensis, amodo dimitto, pro honore sancto Petro, apostolorum principe; ut ipse animam meam et uxoris et filii mei introducere dignetur in regnum coelorum, Jhesu Christo annuente, qui vivit et regnat in secula seculorum.

she received the *vicaria* by custom from her relatives.⁵³ The continuation of the practice of holding or inheriting land collectively from the tenth century indicates that a vertical concept of possession, inheritance and family did not yet exist among the knights and lower nobility of Blois-Chartres.

The existence of collateral family structure and the right that such kin exercised over property is also substantiated by the potential threat that relatives were perceived as presenting to the stability of ecclesiastical donations. Sometime between 1032 and 1064 Landric made a gift to Marmoutier for his soul and those of his relatives. To discourage his "relatives and sons" from disputing the grant, he threatened them with eternal damnation.⁵⁴ Thus, relatives of not strictly lineal descent exercised a claim to family possessions. The same concern is evident in the grant of a life estate to Warin, prévôt of Le Dunois, of forty arpents of land at

53. *CSPDC*, no. 38, pp. 165-6: In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis. Ego Adelina, parentibus orta secundum seculi dignitatem natalibus, clarissimo cuidam viro, nomine Rodberto, jam secundis nuptiis, nobiliter copulata; ego, inquam, notum esse volo omnibus sanctae Dei aecclisiae cultoribus, quoniam, pro salute domni mei Rodberti....omnia quae in mundo temporaliter possidebat derelinquens, sub abbate Landrico, in sancti Petri, apostolorum principis, coenobio, scilicet Carontensi, comam [*sic*] capitis deponens, monastice victurus, factori suo se tradere studuit; ejus quidem deprecatione, pro salute animae suae pariterque animae patris mei Ingenulfi, atque Johannis, primi mei senioris, sancto monachorum cetui [*sic*], inibi degentium, concedo illam vicariam, quae a parentibus meis videbatur mei juris esse, tam in atrio aecclisiae quam in molendinis, et in terra eorum; ut perpetuo jure et vicariam et omnes consuetudines judicariae potestatis possideant, et sine ulla calumpnia teneant.

That Adelina specifies natal kin may be an attempt to distinguish between the land she held as a result of inheritance and her dower from her two husbands.

54. *CMPD*, no. 36, pp. 33-4: Idcirco ego in Dei nomine Landricus, recognoscens molem meorum peccaminum, quendam hominem juris mei nomine Gauzlinum, quem de beneficio senioris mei Landrici tenere videor, pro remedio animae meae et parentum meorum, Deo et Sancto Martino et monachis Majoris Monasterii, qui sunt et futuri sunt, in perpetuum trado serviendum, quiete et libere absque ulla parentum et filiorum calumpnia. Quod si ullus ex eis aut aliqua persona hoc largitionis donum inquietare praesumpserit, offensam Dei incurrens omnium sanctorum caetibus careat et tenebrosis incendiis in aeternum adustus cum diabolo intreat.

Chaumars.⁵⁵ The charter states that "none of his relatives, neither sons, nor daughters, nor wife, nor any powerful person," could claim the lands that made up the life estate.⁵⁶

The claim of kin is also perceptible in charters that record alienations that were subsequently challenged. Eudes Betinus contested Marmoutier's control of the land of *Molons*, claiming that it was part of his patrimony. When he finally abandoned his claim to this land, many family members consented: Mainald his mother, Juliana his sister, his paternal uncle and aunt, and his cousin Marie.⁵⁷ Since this was a quitclaim, the monks were concerned with insuring that all who had a right to the land abandoned their claim, which may partially account for this extended confirming

55. *CMPD*, no. 18, pp. 19-20: Venit enim idem Guarinus ante praesentiam ejusdem domni abbatis conventumque fratrum, postulans ut ex alodo Chamartio, in pago Dunensi sito, super fluvium Liddum, ei ad construendum et aedificandum concederemus XL arpennos terrae, nostra auctoritate. Cujus petitioni assensum prebentes, concessimus ei eandem terram diebus quibus advixerit possidendam, et in meliorandam, et cum ipsa in melioratione in dominio beati Martini et fratrum post suum decessum revocandam. Ita ut nullus ex parentibus ejus, nec filii nec filiae, neque uxor, nec potens persona, in supradicta terra audeat calumniam inferre. Quod si fecerit, offensum se sciat creatori omnium et multiplicium maledictionum vinculis irretitum.

56. The Church and the medieval nobility were often involved in disputes over property. For discussion of this problem, see Stephen D. White, "Pactum....Legem vincit et amor judicium: The Settlement of Disputes by Compromise in Eleventh-Century Western France," *American Journal of Legal Studies*, 22 (1978), 305-8; Stephen Weinberger, "Les conflits entre clercs et laïcs dans la Provence au XI siècle," *Annales du Midi*, 92 (1980), 269-79; Barbara Rosenwein, Thomas Head and Sharon Farmer, "Monks and their Enemies: A Comparative Approach," *Speculum*, 66 (1991), 764-96.

57. *CMPD*, no. 133, p. 123: Notum fieri cupimus presentibus et posteris nostris quod nos fratres videlicet Majoris Monasterii, terram quandam apud Villam Berfodii habebamus et post multos annos pacifice tenueramus, quae terra de *Molons* vocatur. Cum igitur eam ita quiete et in pace diu tenuissemus, surrexit quidam Odo Bevinus [*sic*] nomine et ipsam terram cepit nobis calumniari asserens [*sic*] de patrimonio suo illam esse....Parcens igitur prefatus Odo Betuinus verecundie amici sui domni Alberti et in promissione sua se veracem exhibere cupiens, predictam terram de *Molons* nobis benigne concessit. Mainaldis quoque mater ejus et Juliana soror, Harduinus etiam avunculus ipsius gratanter concesserunt; sed Sanctoldis uxor Harduini et Maria filia ejus concesserunt; dedit quoque unum denarum domnus Albertus eidem Marie.

Eudes Betuinus realized the error of his ways and asked to become a monk. He went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and when he returned he entered the order. The land at *Molons* was given as part of his entrance into the monastery.

group. The participation of Eudes' mother, sibling, uncle, aunt and cousin demonstrates that the monks believed these relatives had grounds to make a claim to the donated property. Eudes' cousin Marie was the only relative compensated, albeit humbly, for giving up her claim to the land, which further substantiates the right of females and cousins to the patrimony. The case of Adela of Mantes also proves the necessity of the consent of kin to transactions that pertained to contested lands.⁵⁸ In 1066, Adela the wife of Hubert, a knight of the castle of Mantes, regranted Genesville which had been given to her father-in-law by the abbey of St. Père.⁵⁹ After his death the lands in question had not reverted to the Church, and Adela had suffered the sentence of anathema for over twenty years. When she affirmed that the land would go to the monks to lift this sentence, her brother-in-law, Anscher, consented with his daughter Advisa, at a place called *Ri*. His other two daughters, Mahild and Avicia,

58. While Mantes is not in Chartres proper, this charter illuminates the Chartrain monks' concept of who enjoyed a right to family possessions. These monks secured the consent of nieces and affinal kin to insure that the gift remained undisputed. The inclusion of such relatives underscores the rights and claims that they exercised within the family.

59. *CSDPC*, no. 59, p. 184-6: In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Adela uxor quondam Hubert militis de Medanta castro, tam praesentibus sanctae Dei aecclesiae fidelibus quam futuris, notum esse volo, quoniam pater viri mei superius memorati, Gisberti abbatis monachorumque sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli coenobii Carnotensis praesentiam humiliter adiit, petens obnixe ut sibi et coniugi proprie unque eorum heredi, in manu firma censualiter concederent terram scilicet Geneth Villae, quae est in Vilcasini territorio; quae tertia etiam pars villae videbatur esse, cuius antiquum vocabulum, quia praesentibus est perincognitum, futuris scribendum minime perpendimus esse profuturum. Hanc denique terram dum vixerunt, jure heredes, visi sunt non injuste possidere. Qui autem post eos usurpando tenuerunt, cum animae suae detrimento, sine dubio, exinde paradisum perdiderunt. De quorum numero ipsa peccatrix, peccata peccatis adiciens, sub anathematis vinculo, per XX et amplius annos post viri mei mortem, contra fas non timui michi retinere....Unde nunc ipsam manum firmam primum reddo, ante domnum nostrum comitem Radulfum ejusque filium nomine Walterium, terram vero retinens brevissimae vitae meae necessarium. Postquam ergo defuncta fuero, nullo refragante, habeant monachi Sancti Petri ipsam terram perpetuo possidendam. Huic quoque redditioni prae-buerunt assensum Anscherius gener meus et filiae ejus, quarum nomine sunt haec: Havisia, Mahildis, Avicia, Adela, Helvisa quoque, jam conjugata cum viro suo statuali....In villa quae dicitur Ri annuit Anscherius gener Adelae, cum filia sua nomine Advisa....In Novio-mo annuerunt Mahildis et Avicia, sorores, filiae Anscherii....Hugo statualis in Medanto castro annuit, cum conjuge sua Helvisa.

gave their approval at Nogent-le-Rotrou. To insure the success of this agreement, it was necessary to secure the consent of all kin. The importance placed upon the consent of Anscher and his daughters confirms the strength of the right of relatives, both male and female, to family resources.

A charter from Marmoutier between 1032 and 1064 substantiates the claim that both natal and affinal kin had to family lands. A dispute over four arpents of land in Aitard's villa had arisen between the monks and a knight named Girbert.⁶⁰ Their quarrel was brought to the court of Blois, which found in favor of Marmoutier. An agreement, however, was arranged. Abbot Albert regranted half of the lands to Girbert for his use for the rest of his life. At the end of the charter Albert warns that neither Girbert's natal nor his affinal relatives could inherit these lands. If affinal as well as natal kin could inherit land, Girbert's family did not adhere to a rigid pattern of primogeniture or patrilineal organization.

In some knightly families, brothers shared control of the patrimony. Sometime around 1040 five brothers, Alberic, Haimeric, Frobert, Anscher and Robert, as well as Haimeric's two sons, sold to Marmoutier a carrucate of land which

60. *CMPD*, no. 98, p. 91: In pago Blesensi possessio quaedam sita est Sancti Martini Majoris Monasterii, quae Villa dicitur Aitardi. In hac miles quidam Girbertus nomine unum bumberium, quatuor videlicet agripennos terrae, praejudicio magis potentiae quam iudicio tenebat iustitiae. Unde in curia Blesensi quaerela coram iudicibus a praefati monachis monasterii deposita, ventum est ad iudicium.

Cumque satis utrimque diuque conclamatum pro partibus esset, tandem Sancto Martino terra illa reddi debere, cui iusticia debebatur, iudicio iudicatum est. Tunc iniquitatis miles ille convictus ratione deficiens, praecibus innititur, ut saltem in vita sua medietas terrae illius sibi concederetur. Cujus domnus abbas Albertus tali convenientia petitioni assensus est, ut primo terram illam Sancto Martino dimitteret, necnon et avunculus ejus Durandus eques, a quo hanc iste acceperat, quod eis coram cunctis fratribus tunc domnus abbas pro mansuetudine sua, Girberto in vita sua, medietatem terrae saepedictae concessit, hoc pacto ut nullus post ejus obitum de parentela vel affinitate ipsius in terra illa hereditet. Hoc itaque dictum est, scriptum est, firmatum est, completum est, discessum est, testes citati cartuale sunt subposti. Gelduinus, Praxedis mater ejus, Guarinus, Rainaldus, Pastulfus, Teduinus, Guido filius Gauscelini, Rotbertus praepositus, Rainaldus, Hugobaldus, Adelardus.

they held jointly at *Boceiis*.⁶¹ The inclusion of Haimeric's two sons, moreover, suggests that family property would continue to be shared among cousins in the next generation. Similarly, Rotrou the knight, son of Rainald Bresordus, and his brothers, Eudes and William, gave the monks half of their land at *Monte Brazal*.⁶² Like the carrucate at *Boceiis*, this land had not been portioned out; rather the brothers held the property collectively. These brothers had as their lords another set of brothers, Rodulf and Hilgod, the sons of Gerald Brunellus, who also shared control of these lands. Joint fraternal control of the patrimony is corroborated in a charter from the abbey of St. Père. About 1080, Marmoutier sold a church to St. Père. Three brothers, Arrald, Richard and Bernard, had possessed this church as part of their patrimony but had sold it to the monks of Marmoutier.⁶³ The right of brothers to the patrimony is further borne out in the case of Eudes of Le Moulin-de-la-Fonte. In 1064 Eudes gave

61. *CMPD*, no. 101, pp. 93-4: Notum sit omnibus ecclesiae catholicae fidelibus, maxime vero successoribus nostris, quod Albericus, Haimericus, Frobertus, Anscherius, Rotbertus, hi quinque fratres, filii Gunlardii, item Albericus et Gauterius, duo fratres filli Hamerici, vendiderunt Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii, in tempore domni Alberti abbatis, per manum Rodulphi monachi, cui erat obedientia de Camartio injuncta, terram unius carrucae, quam habebant in Boceiis, de casamento episcopi Aurelianensis, acceptis a supradicto Sancto XIII solidis, Rotberto atque Rotlando ministerialibus ejusdem episcopi assentientibus.

62. *CMPD*, no. 151, pp. 131-2: Notum sit omnibus Majoris Monasterii successoribus nostris, quod quidam miles, nomine Rotrocius, filius Rainaldi Brisardi, et fratres ejus, Odo et Guitellus, dederunt Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii medietatem terrae quam habebant ad Montem Burzal, cum omnibus consuetudinibus seu rebus ad eandem terram pertinentibus, pro remedio animarum suarum suorumque parentum, et aquam quae vocatur Osanna, ad molendinum faciendum, tali ratione, ut semel molendinum fecissent monachi de suo, semper postea molendinum et omnia instrumenta molendi equaliter faciant....Hanc donationem concesserunt Sancto Martino, domini virorum supradictorum, Rodulfus et Hilgodus, filii Girardi Brunelli, pro Deo, et viginti solidis a monacho Sancto Martini nomine Herberto, acceptis, teste Hugone filio Bernerii.

63. *CSPDC*, no. 92, pp. 216-7: Notum esse volumus nos monachi sancti Petri coenobii Carnotensis cunctis sanctae Dei aecclesiae fidelibus, a monachis sancti Martini Majoris Monasterii quamdam aecclesiam, sitam in Croto superiori super fluvium Audurae, olim emptam fuisse ab abbate Landrico, faventibus fratribus de quorum patrimonio fuerat, Arraldo scilicet, Richardo et Bernardo, qui hanc ipsam sancto Martino vendiderant, faventibus domnis de quorum beneficio tres supradicti fratres tenuerant.

to Marmoutier a serf named Rainald, but problems arose when his brother Simon disputed the gift. The ground for Simon's challenge was that he had not authorized the gift.⁶⁴ Simon was given five *solidi* by the monks for this oversight and quit-claimed the serf.⁶⁵

The claim of brothers to the patrimony to which the charters discussed above allude is underscored by examples of partitioning of family lands and possessions. Hugh son of Gauslen of Verneuil, a cleric, offered to sell to St. Père half of the church at Crucey which he had received from his father through hereditary right, while his brothers were endowed with other benefices.⁶⁶ The example of Hugh provides conclusive evidence that partible inheritance was practiced by some knightly families. A charter from the monastery of Marmoutier provides even more proof of the partibility of the knights' lands. Sometime between 1073 and 1084 Matthew son of Gripon made a donation of a quarter of the church of Rodon for his soul and the souls of his relatives. This same quarter, however, had been mortgaged by Matthew's

64. *CMPD*, no. 33, p. 32: Pateat successoribus nostris, Majoris scilicet hujus Monasterii Sancti Martini habitatoribus post nos futuris, militem quemdam nomine Odonem de Fonte donasse Sancto Martino et nobis, sub regimine nunc agentibus domni abbatis Bartholomei, anno ab incarnatione Domini M LXIII, servum quemdam nomine Rainaldum, quem postea calumniatus est nobis supramemorati Odonis frater, Simon nomine, pro eo quod non autorisaverat. Tandem aliquando pro guerpitione istius calumniae, accepit a nobis, per manum scilicet Johannis Langobardi, monachi nostri, solidos V, participato sibi loci hujus benefacto. Eandemque guerpitionem integre et perpetuo fecit una cum Fulcherio, nepote suo, testibus istis: Girardo et Germundo presbyteris.....

65. Also acting with Simon was his nephew Fulcher, who could have been Eudes' son. His presence may imply that Simon's complaint was based upon his shared claim to family property, and not only as his brother's heir.

66. *CSPDC*, no. 18, pp. 140-1: In nomine Domini nostri Jhesu Christi. Notum esse volumus, ego Eustachius abbas omnisque conventus monachorum Sancti Petri Carnotensis coenobii, omnibus christianae fidei cultoribus, tam praesentibus, quam futuris, quod quidam clericus, Hugo nomine, filius Gauscelini de Vernogilo [*sic*], sponte adiit quorundam monachorum nostrorum prasantiam, Rodberti scilicet quondam abbatis Fossatensis, atque Gausfridi tunc provisoris loci Bruerolensis, offerens eis ad emendum medietatem aecclesiae Cruciaci villae, quae, sine ullo incola, in solitudine redacta tota ceciderat, nullum habens ex ea emolumentum. Quam quidem aecclesiam praefatus pater ejus reliquerat, hereditario jure, aliis fratribus cetera beneficia relinquens.

brother to Adelard Mordens Lampredam.⁶⁷ The monks eventually redeemed the mortgage and Adelard, his wife and son received forty *solidi* from the prévôt of Villeberfol.⁶⁸ Matthew arranged another mortgage in the same charter of property that pertained to the same church.⁶⁹ The charter suggests that the church and its lands were divided between Matthew and his brother, although it is possible that Matthew's brother had died and that Matthew had inherited his portion of the church from him. A similar situation existed in the Dangeau family. When the brothers Eudes and Herlebald were approaching death, each gave to Marmoutier his part of the church at Dangeau.⁷⁰ The divided possession of this church verifies that this family also practiced partible inheritance. The right of both of these brothers to the patrimony is further substantiated by their abandonment of any future right they might have to the property.

67. Mordens Lapredam means biting eel.

68. *CMPD*, no. 136, pp. 125-6: Noverint omnes et presentes et futuri Matheum filium Griponis dedisse Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii quarterium ecclesiae Rosdonis pro anima sua et pro animabus parentum suorum. Illam tamen quartam partem inguadiaverat frater ejusdem Mathei cuidam militi scilicet Adelard Mordenti Lapredam, a quo redemit eam domnus Ivo monachus qui tunc erat prepositus Villae Berfordii precio XL solidorum; quibus acceptis clamavit eam quietam Adelardus et uxor ejus et filii ejus, audientibus et videntibus his testibus....

69. *CMPD*, no. 136, p. 126: Deinde cum hac convenientia ingaudiavit Matheus eidem monacho quicquid habebat apud Rosdonum, scilicet boscum, terram, prata, servos et ancillas pro decem libris denariorum quam commodavit ei predictus monachis, tali convenientia ut habeat Sanctus Martinus et monachi ejus totum quicquid inde exhibit, ita ut medietas redditionum computetur pro illis X libris. Alia vero medietas pro anima mea.

Matthew also sold to the monks land in another village, that of *Grimundi*. For this he received a palfrey worth seven pounds (see *CMPD*, no. 136, p. 126). The fact that Matthew and his brother mortgaged their land suggests that this family was experiencing significant financial difficulty. This is further supported by Matthew's sale of part of his land for a horse. This charter demonstrates that one lesser noble family was experiencing a financial crisis. The implications of the financial problems has for inheritance strategies will be discussed later in this chapter.

70. For earlier discussion of this family and the pertaining charters, see pp. 111-12, notes 39-41.

The patrimony of some knightly and lesser noble families was divided to provide children with an inheritance. In other families, possession of family property was shared collectively. In all lesser noble families, the patrimony was subject to the rights and interests of extended and immediate relatives. For donations to remain stable, such kin had to consent when ecclesiastical donations were made. This was the general pattern of inheritance and family structure for the knights in eleventh-century Blois-Chartres. There are, however, indications within some families of a transition toward another form of inheritance and family structure. Some of the signs that scholars interpret as the beginnings of primogeniture and patrilineage are present.

One of the accepted indicators of this transformation is the adoption of cognomina to distinguish patrilineal lines. In the eleventh century, some knights, vassals and lesser nobles used geographic cognomina or were known by nicknames that described certain attributes. Unfortunately, the evidence for cognomina is limited for Blois-Chartres. In order to argue that the use of a cognomen was a conscious denomination of a particular line within the family, it is necessary to have evidence that the cognomen had been passed from father to son or grandson. Few examples of this pattern are extant for the eleventh century, but the Sine Barbe family provides illustration of this practice. Nivelon Sine Barbe, son of Warin Sine Barbe, was a vassal of the Courvilles.⁷¹ During the twelfth century cognomina assumed by individuals in the late eleventh century were passed on to their heirs. For example, Eudes Borrellus had a son Azon Borrellus; Robert Aculeus' son William used his father's cognomen, as did Ernulf the son of Warner Oculo Canis. The evidence signifies that it was in this generation of the late eleventh and early twelfth century that cognomina became representative of a particular line or branch within a

71. *CMPD*, no. 107, pp. 98-99.

family.⁷²

Competition among family members over the possession of land is a more trustworthy marker of modifications within lesser noble families. Throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries alienors issued general warnings to medieval noble society not to challenge their grants, and, considering just how prevalent it was for knights to seize land from the Church, such warnings were understandable.⁷³ The evolution of admonitions points to a change in who posed a threat to donations. During the first half of the eleventh century, warnings were issued to the general populace. Beginning in mid century, however, heirs and family members were more frequently and specifically singled out.⁷⁴ Family members were, thus, perceived as the most likely disrupters of transactions. This is a telling transformation which indicates noble concern over the acquisition and maintenance of family holdings. During the course of the eleventh century, the lands of the Chartrain were cleared and settled. The potential for adding new lands through these means thereafter became slight.⁷⁵ Noble families, thus, faced the reality of finite resources. If they desired to

72. The lack of cognominal evidence is further complicated by the question of its accuracy as a symptom of primogeniture and patrilinearity. In the family of Gerard Raucus, for instance, cognomina were used to denote two branches of the family. Gerard carried the cognomen Raucus, while his nephew was labeled Gislebert Pagan (see *CMFD*, no. 54, pp. 49-50). Yet the evidence from the charter makes it clear that this family did not practice rigid primogeniture or patrilineage. The same problem exists for the use of cognomina for the Fréteval family. In some families the development of cognomina may well be reflective of primogeniture and patrilineage and I am not suggesting that we completely discard cognominal evidence. Caution does need to be exercised and, where possible, each case evaluated individually.

73. There are several examples of knights taking land from the Church for their own domains; see *CSPDC*, no. 18, pp. 140-1; no. 91, p. 216; no. 45, pp. 172-3; no. 46, pp. 173-4. In addition to the charters, the acts of the kings are full of references to knights and nobles who have unjustly seized land from the church. The eleventh century, not for the first time, saw the rise of powerful secular lords and knights who were able to use their might to take lands from the church for their own exploitation.

74. For discussion of this, see this Chapter, pp. 101-5, 119-20.

75. Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, pp. 117-33.

supplement or expand their territorial control, they had to resort to other measures, among them the seizure, usurpation or contestation of ecclesiastical gifts. Given the strength and legitimacy of the claim of noble relatives to each others' possessions, donations made by kin to the Church would have been a lucrative target for such actions. Previously I argued that warnings to relatives and heirs in general were proof that these families adhered to a wide kinship system and non-lineal inheritance. That relatives could possibly become heirs and challenge grants illustrates that they exercised some claim to family lands. Furthermore, since many charters do not designate heirs and all relatives had the same claim, these admonitions indicate that inheritance was not yet lineal. Such statements do, however, suggest a certain developing tension within noble families that would eventually result in a change in inheritance strategy and family structure.

By around 1050 heirs and relatives were specifically admonished not to challenge gifts. When Adela, the wife of the knight of Mantes, regranted disputed land to St. Père to lift a sentence of excommunication, she issued a specific warning that her heirs were not to try to reclaim it.⁷⁶ Similarly, when Raier the knight donated several allods to Marmoutier, he admonished his relatives not to claim the donated lands and included provision for an ample penalty for those who did.⁷⁷ Compensation was also granted to donors and their kin to discourage them from laying future claim to the land.⁷⁸ The possibility that relatives or heirs would claim donated lands suggests they were seeking new sources of land and revenue.

76. *CSPDC*, no. 59, p. 184-6: Huic vero operi si quis heredum meorum contradicere voluerit, cum Juda traditore pereat in inferno sine fine.

For further discussion of this family, see this Chapter, pp. 121-2, note 59.

77. See this chapter, pp. 109-11, notes 37 and 38, with relevant notes. In spite of the fine and warning, Raier's younger sister Adelaide challenged the grant and was eventually bought off by the monks.

78. For further discussion of the motivation for counter gifts, see Tabuteau, *Transfers*, pp. 117-9.

The most conclusive evidence of concern over noble family resources lies in the actual usurpation of donated land by relatives of the donor. Hugh, a knight, made a gift to St. Père of his part of the church of Epeautrolles and two additional bovates of land.⁷⁹ Even though the donation was "small and unfruitful," Hugh's two sons challenged the alienation. Even unfruitful land was appealing to these young noblemen, indicating that their access to rich lands had become limited. The sons of this knight were competing with the Church for resources and a contestation was, thus, almost inevitable. The gift of the *vicaria* of Mittainvilliers by Fulcher of Ecrignoles to St. Père was usurped by his sons, Hilduin and Walter.⁸⁰ These brothers, whose challenge was inspired by "diabolical instinct," ultimately gave up their contestation and were reconciled with the monks. Filial tension and concern over the state of family resources are evident in another dispute. Fulco the knight gave the *vicaria* of Abonville to the Church. When he died, his son Hugh invaded the territory and seized the lands for himself. Hugh was prevailed upon to surrender the

79. *CSPDC*, no. 94, pp. 218-9: In Dei et Domini nostri Jhesu Christi nomine. Omnis monachorum congregatio sancti Petri coenobii Carnotensis, notum esse volumus omnibus christianae fidei cultoribus, quod quidam miles, nomine Hugo Drocensis, patrocinante Huberto abbate hoc coenobium, medietatem aecclesiae de Spelterolis villa et terram duum bovum sancto Petro dederit, recipiens a nobis in recumpensatione orationes fratrum et alia misericordiae opera. Sed, quia res nobis tunc modica et infructuosa visa est, et filii predicti militis calumniabantur eam, minime fuit a nobis possessa....Qui simul cum matre, post humationem patris, ante altare apostolorum Petri et Pauli properantes, praefatam ecclesiam cum atrio et medietate decimae, pro anima patris, pari voto publice contulerunt, terramque unius atrii [*sic*]; ac donum super altare posuerunt, imprecantes Annae et Caiphae, Ananiae et Saphirae maledictionem omnibus refragatoribus hujus largitionis.

80. *CSPDC*, no. 70, pp. 195-6: Notum esse volumus omnibus christianae professionis, tam praesentibus quam futuris, nos monachi sancti Petri, quia, postquam vicariam de Mitani Villare emimus, sicut superius diximus, ab omnibus his cujus esse videbatur, filii Fulcherii de Scrineolis, videlicet Hilduinus et Walterius, viva voce atque toto nisu, instinctu diabolico, reclamare coeperunt, variis modis injuriam nobis facientes; tandemque resipiscentes, et de peccato suo veniam postulantes, sponte, guerpum vicariae quam reclamabant super altare sancti Petri ponentes, et venia impetrata quam poscebant, nostrarum precum participes nobiscum esse coeperunt.

Fulcher Ecrignoles gave this property in *CSPDC*, no. 69, p. 195.

gift to the Church, and placed a symbol of the grant on the altar of the church with his brother Warin.⁸¹ The challenges brought by sons to their fathers' ecclesiastical donations are reflective of a restriction in the land available to the lesser nobility and indicative of the attempts of members of that group to find a way to supplement their power base.

Brothers also challenged each others' alienations. Warner Guazellus sold a portion of his wood, along with some arable land to the monks of St. Père. After his death, however, his brother Vitalis brought a claim to the land and wood and was given ten solidi to resolve the dispute.⁸² Vitalis' attempt to add to his own lands by claiming part of his brother's implies that his own holdings were not sufficient to support himself and his family. Simon also challenged the gift of a serf made by his brother, Eudes of Le Moulin-de-la-Fonte, further revealing tension between brothers

81. *CSPDC*, no. 85, pp. 209-10: Post cujus mortem, filius ejus Hugo, jam adultus, cupiditate victus, postposito dono patris, vicariam invasit; sed, a nobis postea XXX nummorum solidis acceptis vicariam, quam injuste invaserat, reliquit, guerpumque, cum fratre suo Guarino, super altare sancti Petri publice posuit, sub testimonio horum quorum nomina subscribere curavimus (for the beginning text of this charter see note 31 of this Chapter).

Warin's presence indicates, at the very least, that he too had a claim to the lands given.

82. *CSPDC*, no. 13, p. 136: In nomine Domini nostri Jhesu Christi. Notum esse volumus, nos monachi Sancti Petri Carnotensis, sub abbate Huberto regulari tramite viventes, quod quidam miles, nomine Guarnerius, agnomine Guazellus, nobis vendidit portiunculam sui luci qui juxta lucum nostrum adjacet; terram quoque arabilem ante lucum, versus terram illam quam emerat Warinus monachus a Mascelino, Geraldii filio....Post cujus mortem, frater ejus Vitalis terram atque lucum calumniatus est, et, cum pertinax esset calumniando, pro eadam re a Gausfrido monacho X nummorum solidos accepit, et cum Guarnerii filio, guerpum super altare Sancti Germani posuit, coram subscriptis testibus.

Like other charters, this one by Warner Gauzellus ends with an admonition against anyone attempting to usurp this land and a fine of one pound of gold and was set to discourage any future challenges; see *CSPDC*, no. 13, p. 136: Si quis autem huic emptioni contraire voluerit et rem ad placitum duxerit, libram auri primum persolvat; et quandiu in pertinacia perstiterit, ore Dei et sanctorum sanctarumque omnium sit anathema.

over possession of property.⁸³

The charters also provide examples of the usurpation of donations by other family members. Gradulf, a knight, arranged a life estate with the monks of St. Père. Once he and his wife had died, however, their relatives did not allow the estates to revert to the monastery.⁸⁴ They claimed that this property belonged to them "by right, through their relatives who had held it before them." The grounds for this dispute further substantiate the perception of collective inheritance. These lands were so important to family resources that Gradulf's relatives resisted returning them. Even affinal kin appropriated ecclesiastical gifts. Walter exercised his right to his conjugal family land by seizing land that had originally been given to the Church by his father-in-law.⁸⁵ Since Walter had to resort to usurping land from his affinal kin, his own patrimony simply was not large or prosperous enough to sustain him.

This conflict over donations points to depletion of resources and increased competition for the patrimony in some knightly families. The mortgaging of a church

83. *CMPD*, no. 33, p. 32; for discussion of this family and the relevant charters, see p. 123-4, and note 64.

84. *CSPDC*, no. 7, pp. 99-100: Notum esse volumus sanctae Dei ecclesiae fidelibus universis, praesentibus atque futuris, qualiter ante nostram praesentiam veniens miles quidam nomine Gradulfus, humiliter expetiit, ut de quadam terra nostri praedicti monasterii precariam sibi faceremus, et ipse, pro reconpensatione, quendam alodum suum delegaret nostris usibus....

Post mortem quidem Gradulfi et uxoris ejus Odae, de supradictis terris multa mala perpassi sunt monachi a parentibus praedictorum, dicentibus jure sibi competere ob parentes eorum ante se visi sunt tenere. Unde monachi, infinitam peccuniam dantes, tandem, Deo opitulante, in suis usibus retorserunt.

85. *CSPDC*, no. 82, p. 207: Notum sit omnibus sanctae Dei aecclesiae fidelibus, quod Gualterius, filius Fledaldi, et uxor ejus Fredesindis, cum assensu Gualteri de Alneto, de cujus fisco erat, sicut antea dederat Bernardus socer ejus, pro anima patris ac matris fratrisque Guaningi interfecti, vivente abbate Landrico, ita postea vivente abbate Huberto, vicariam Abonis Villae et totius territorii ejusdem villae, cum alodo Picati Villaris, sancto Petro gurgivit, de eo quod injuste sibi usurpaverat, post mortem praefati Guaningi.

CSPDC, no. 102, p. 224, also pertains to this family.

and its appurtenant lands by Matthew son of Gripon and his brother underscores serious financial difficulty.⁸⁶ Desperation for lands among the knights is particularly noticeable in a charter from Marmoutier, datable between 1032 and 1064. Girbert the knight falsely claimed four arpents of land from the monks. When they sought justice from the court at Blois, where their control of the land was affirmed, Girbert protested the judgment, stating that he needed the estates for his support. He asked that half of the land be granted to him for his lifetime, and Abbot Albert "from his clemency" consented to this proposal.⁸⁷ Girbert's inability to allow all of the lands to revert to Marmoutier illustrates that they represented a vital portion of his livelihood.

Crises of the sort described above often precipitated a change in family structure and inheritance strategy. The evidence from eleventh-century Chartres, however, does not suggest that a transformation from partible inheritance to primogeniture occurred generally at this time. Only one charter implies the adoption of primogeniture. In the second half of the eleventh century, a knight Landric gave his son Ernald to be a postulant at the abbey of St. Père. Landric acted with his wife Emmeline and their son Hugh, who was designated *primogenitus*.⁸⁸ The denomination of Hugh as the "first born" son is representative of a change in inheritance strategy. The role that Hugh plays in the grant is clearly superior to that of his younger brother. He acted with his parents not only in authorizing the gift of part

86. For further discussion of this family and text of this charter, see this Chapter, pp. 124-5 and notes 68 and 69.

87. *CMPD*, no. 98, p. 91; for discussion and text of this charter, see this Chapter, p. 122, note 60.

88. *CSPDC*, no. 98, p. 221: Notum esse volo omnibus sanctae Dei aecclesiae fidelibus, tam praesentibus quam futuris, ego Landricus, militiae seculari deditus, una cum uxore mea, Ermelina nomine, et Hugone filio meo primogenito, Deo omnipotenti et beato Petro apostolorum principi, filium meum jam octonem, Ernaldum nomine, mancipans, trado in coenobio supradicti apostolorum principis, ut ibi serviat omnes dies vitae suae Deo et sanctis ejus, ac pro nobis et omnibus Dei fidelibus die noctuque preces fundat.... + Landrici. S. Ermelinae. Hugonis....

This is the first reference to the term *primogenitus* in the collection of St. Père.

of the patrimony but also in deciding the future of his younger brother.

Lesser nobles are perhaps the most difficult segment of the nobility to document. Some conclusions, however, may be drawn about inheritance practices and family structure. Many knightly and lesser noble families employed a system of partible inheritance during the eleventh century. This interpretation is supported by the necessity of the consent of relatives, who were participated because they exercised a legitimate claim to family possessions. Admonitions at the ends of charters also indicate that relatives, descendants, and heirs maintained a right to the family land. Yet, in the midst of these patterns, there are signs of subtle changes that would ultimately generate a transformation in inheritance practices. The embryonic use of cognomina at the end of the century, usurpation of land by nuclear kin, and the use of the denomination "primogenitus" by one family are indicative of tensions within the group of lesser nobles which would alter inheritance. Because their resources were restricted to begin with, the knights and their families were much more sensitive to depletion by grants or divisions of the patrimony than were nobles who possessed more wealth. It is, therefore, not surprising that the signs of change to primogeniture are first detectable among the knights.

The Lords

If the lesser nobles recognized the rights of kin to the patrimony and collateral family structure for most of the eleventh century, what patterns predominated among higher ranking nobles? To address this question, families of lords will be examined individually in an attempt to determine inheritance patterns and family infrastructure. Methods of transferring the patrimony between generations, kin networks, and the problem of usurpations will be assessed to evaluate whether these families adhered to

shared or partible inheritance, or whether they practiced primogeniture or patrilineage.

The vidame of Chartres, the lords of Gallardon and Courville

Like other lords, the vidames of Chartres granted out their lands in fiefs to create their own network of alliances and dependents. In a charter datable from 1042 to 1051 Vidame Hugh appeared as the feudal lord of Emmeline of Châteaudun, a noblewoman of as yet undetermined origin or connection.⁸⁹ Hugh's wife Adela and his sons Guerric, Hugh and Albert witnessed the grant (see Figure 1). The presence of all three sons indicates that each had to consent to the donation and had a right to familial fiefs. Their participation also implies that the monks were not sure which son would eventually inherit and thus secured the consent of all.⁹⁰ No one son was designated as successor nor did the family favor one son to the exclusion of other progeny.

Sometime before 1080, Albert, one of the sons of Vidame Hugh I, made a donation to St. Père of the prebend of the church of St. Lubin, which he held from

89. *CMPD*, no. 35, p. 33: Notum fiat fidelibus universis et maxime successoribus nostris, quod Emelina de Castro Duno dedit Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii medietatem ecclesiae Sancti Leobini de Moreis et eorum omnium quae ad ecclesiam pertinent....Hugo quoque, vicedominus Carnotensis, de quo eandem ecclesiam predicta Emelina tenebat, necnon et comes Tetbaldus, de cujus fevo erat, libenter annuerunt, et auctoramento suo firmaverunt. Hujus rei testes sunt: Adila, femina Hugonis, Guirrius, filius ejusdem Hugonis, Hugo frater ejus, Albert frater ejus, Guarnerius Oculus Canis, Fulcherius filius Nivelonis, Ivo de Curvavilla, Bernardus de Aisa, Guanilo thesaurarius, Burchardus, filius Hugonis de Insula.

90. Tabuteau, *Transfers*, pp. 174-7.

William I Gouet.⁹¹ Albert's "beloved brother" Guerric had become the vidame after the death of their father.⁹² The patrimonial lands of Vidame Hugh I were divided among his sons. Albert was endowed with part of his father's fiefs and his brothers, Guerric and Hugh, both used the title of vidame and received other lands. The right that the brothers maintained to the patrimony is apparent in the participation of Guerric the vidame in Albert's grant. Since the order of birth of the sons is not determinable, however, it is not possible to discern if the title of vidame was passed to all sons or only to the youngest or eldest.

As in the case of the vidames, evidence for the lords of Gallardon is limited for the period before 1080.⁹³ One extant charter does record a donation made by this family to the abbey of St. Père. Herbert II of Gallardon, his sons Hervé and Fulcher and his only daughter, Guiberg, granted some of their allods at Châteaudun

91. *CSPDC*, no. 88, p. 212: Itaque ego, Albertus nomine, Hugonis, sanctae aecclies Carnotensis vicedomini, filius, notum esse volo tam praesentibus quam futuris, meis scilicet successoribus, de aeclesia sancti Leobini, quae in Braio castro super fluvium Osannae fundata est, et a domno meo Willelmo, ipsius castri domino, cum aliis rebus tenere videor; de ipsa, inquam, cum consensu mei carissimi fratris, nomine Guerrici, qui nunc est, post patris mei mortem, vicedominus, junioratum quidem sancto Petro, ac monachis sibi famulantibus in coenobio ipsius, quo decenter in suburbio situm est supradictae civitatis, concedens annuo et annuens concedo, pro animabus parentum nostrorum, necnon pro salute tam mei quam fratris antenominati, perpetualiter concedo.

The property at Brou that Albert donated, as well as the one given by his father at Morée, were both part of the lordships of Alluyes and Brou. The Gouet family were the feudal lords of these lands. Hugo the vidame, and then his son Albert held this church from them. See L. Merlet, *Dictionnaire topographie de Département d'Eure-et-Loir* (Paris: 1981), p. 125.

92. Other charters make it evident that Hugh, the other brother, was also vidame. See *CMPD*, no. 111, pp. 102-4 and *CSPDC* no. 39, p. 295. It is possible that these two brothers shared the office of vidame, but probable that one succeeded the other.

93. Herbert of Gallardon does appear as a witness in *CSPDC*, no. 33, p. 160, an act datable before 1070.

(see Figure 3).⁹⁴ The necessity of the consent of all children, sons and daughter, confirms that each exercised a claim to the patrimony. Moreover, neither of the sons is designated as the primary heir, and the presence of Guiberg suggests that daughters shared in inheritance. The donated lands of Prenneville and Isigni had been held by Herbert II's mother during her life time. Herbert II evidently inherited these allods from his mother, indicating that women could legitimately possess and control land. Inheritance among the lords of Gallardon was not based upon a concept of patrilineage, where husbands assumed control of their wives' lands. The ability of women to control land and the required consent of all children, including daughters, to the grant point to a family that did not practice primogeniture nor was defined patrilineally.

The lords of Courville are far better documented than those of Gallardon or the vidames of Chartres (see Figure 2). Ivo, the first known lord of Courville, witnessed and acted in several charters during his lifetime.⁹⁵ Between 1048 and 1061 he donated to the church of Sts. Gervase and Protase at Chuisne lands, a mill and a church at Chaumars for his soul and those of his brother, wife, sons and

94. *CSPDC*, no. 101, pp. 223-4: In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Notum esse volumus nos monachi sancti Petri coenobii Carnotensis omnibus sanctae Dei aecclesiae cultoribus, tam praesentibus quam futuris, quod quidam miles, Herbertus nomine, de Galardone castro, veniens ad conversionem sub abbate Huberto, pro redemptione animae suae, una cum consensu filiorum suorum, Hervei scilicet atque Fulcherii et unicae filiae, nomine Guiburgis, alodos quos habebat in territorio Castri Duni sancto Petro et ejus monachis concessit, unamque domum intra castrum, in Prementis quidem villa, alodum quem mater sua Rotrudis possedit, necnon et manum firmam....in Isigniaco quam Constantius, pater Vitalis, coluit, vel Rotrudis mater sua visa est habere dum vixit. Signum Herberti, qui hoc donum dedit. Hervei. Fulcherii. Testes hujus rei sunt: Ebrardus, Gauscelinus Lupulus, Normannus, Amalguinus, Frotlandus, Tescelinus, Gaudius. Si quis hoc adnullare voluerit, nisi resipuerit, anathema trusus in inferno pereat.

95. See *CMPD*, nos. 22, 35, 103, 107, 108, 109, 110, 138, pp. 22-24, 33, 96, 98-9, 99-100, 100-1, 101-2, 127-9, respectively.

daughters.⁹⁶ To insure the donation, Ivo felt compelled to secure the consent of his wife, children, and grandchildren or nephews, validating their legitimate right to the possessions that were being granted. A warning was issued at the end of the charter by Bishop Aivert and the threat of excommunication intimates that it was likely that Ivo's gift was subject to challenge, most likely by other relatives. The potency of the right of all potential heirs to the patrimony is manifest in this admonition, as well as the participation of such kin in the charter.⁹⁷

Ivo of Courville did not designate any one of his sons as his heir in any extant charters. When Ivo corroborated a donation made by his vassal Nivelon son of Warin Sine Barbe, between 1048 and 1052, his sons Gerogius, Rodulf, Ivo and Hugh appeared with him.⁹⁸ Nivelon Sine Barbe refers specifically to the fief at Villeberfol as belonging collectively to Ivo and his sons, implying that all of these sons had an

96. *CMPD*, no. 109, pp. 100-1: Ego quoque Ivo de Curba villa, spe vitae aeternae permotus, ac pro redemptione animae meae et fratris mei Otranni, uxorisque meae Agathae, omniumque filiorum et filiarum meorum hujus ecclesiae Sanctorum Martyrum Gervasii et Protasii Cheonis, a domno Willelmo praedicatore constructae, in dedicatione ipsius a domno Aiverto facta, tunc temporis Carnotensis ecclesiae episcopo, augeo dotem. Molendinum etenim unum scilicet Frenchesac, qui mihi paterno jure contigerat, in ipsius fundamentis ecclesiae viro concesseram religioso, scilicet domno Willelmo, assensu domini mei Gilduini vicomitis, filiorumque ejus Arduini atque Ebrardi, a quibus habeo totam terram Curvae villae, cum ecclesia una, et omnibus subjacentibus ei, servis vel ancillis magnis vel parvis nunc ad usum monachorum, ibi Deo famulantium in perpetua possessione concedo. Addo autem totam terram Charmeti cum hospitibus decem et silvula una, et pratum unum quod dicitur Magnum, omnesque consuetudines burgi cellae illius, a sexta feria mediante die usque ad quarta ejusdem horae, cum uxore mea, et omnibus natis meis atque nepotibus in perpetuum concedo.

97. *CMPD*, no. 109, p. 101: Ne quis autem hoc donum aliquo modo infringere praesumat, ego Aivertus, Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus, qui in quantum meae fragilitati permittitur hanc dedicationem perago omnibus calumniatoribus hujus doni, nisi resipiscentes venerint ad emendationem, potestate mihi a Deo tradita, abnego communionem ecclesiae, et excommunicando et anathematizando a conventu fidelium catholicorum ejicio.

98. *CMPD*, no. 108, pp. 99-100. In later charters Gerogius labels Simon and Thibaut as his brothers. In *CMPD* no. 109, pp. 100-1, Ivo makes reference to his daughters, but none of their names is given.

equal claim to this portion of the patrimony.⁹⁹ Gerogius and Rodulf both participated with Ivo in another charter of the same period and again neither son was distinguished as heir.¹⁰⁰

Although only one of Ivo's sons eventually inherited the title of lord, his brothers were not dispossessed from the patrimony.¹⁰¹ In a charter datable from around 1080, Gerogius described himself as the son of Ivo who possessed the castle at Courville and built the church of St. Nicholas.¹⁰² The Courville family continued to enjoy considerable wealth in the second generation of lords and shared right to the patrimony also persisted. Thibaut and Simon, two of Gerogius' brothers, participated in and consented to this grant. Shortly after Gerogius made this donation, he confirmed the transfer of this church from Marmoutier to the abbey of St. Jean-en-Vallée.¹⁰³ Once again, his brothers Thibaut and Simon consented to the

99. *CMPD*, no. 108, p. 100: Notum percognitumque sanctae Dei ecclesiae fidelium patefieri volumus cognitioni, quoniam Nivelus filius Guarini sine Barba seculari militiae mancipatus, divino instinctu animatus, una cum matre sua nomine [Hersindi] quandam terram in Blesensi pago sitam, quae antiquorum vocabulo Villa Berfodii nuncupatur, cum voluntate et assensu domni Ivonis de Curba villa et filiorum suorum Girogii videlicet et Rodulfi, Ivonis quoque et Hugonis, de quorum feudo ipsa videbatur esse terra, cum omnibus suis appenditiis, cultis videlicet et incultis....

100. *CMPD*, no. 109, pp. 100-1.

101. *JEAN*, no. 2, pp. 1-2: Omnibus sanctae et universalis aecclesiae fidelibus notum sit et manifestum quod vir quidam, Girogius nomine, Curvevillae dominus, una cum uxoris sue Philippae necnon et fratrum suorum, Tetbaldi videlicet atque Simonis, consensu et voluntate, aecclesiam Sancti Nicolai in eodem Curvevillae castro sitam....

102. *CMPD*, no. 138, pp. 127-129: Igitur ego Girogius in Carnotensi territorio castri possessor, quod Curva Villa vocatur, ecclesiam eodem castro habebam ab Ivone meo quondam genitore in honore Sancti Nicholai constructam, ministeriisque atque ornamentis possessionum denique redditibus decenter sufficienterque ditatam, ac traditam octo numero canonicis administrandam, quorum abbatiam atque integrum totius ejusdem ecclesiae dominatum, cum michi singulariter extra partem scilicet aliquam fratrum meorum, idem genitor dedisset ipseque obisset.... Porro autem huic meae dominationi Phillipa conjunx, et Tetbaldus atque Simon germani mei, gratis annuerunt animoque libenti. Ita fecit et Hugo vicecomes Carnotensis, de cujus erant beneficio quae donavi. Horum interim id est meae donationis et conjugis fratrumque assensionis.

103. *JEAN*, no. 2, pp. 1-2. See note 101.

transaction.¹⁰⁴ The assent of brothers to this transaction testifies to their continued claim to the land and the inability of the seigneur to act completely autonomously.

Ivo and his son Gerogius were the lords of Courville, yet they did not have autonomous control over family possessions. The consent of natal kin proves that such relatives maintained rights to the patrimony. Gerogius' brothers were not completely disinherited or disenfranchised; they continued to participate in donations involving family lands. The consent of other relatives, sons, daughters, grandchildren or nephews, and wives was also necessary for the stability of the gift. Like other clerics, Bishop Aivert undoubtedly insisted that all potential heirs give their consent and his warning denotes that donations were liable to be contested, most probably by relatives.¹⁰⁵ The Courville family was rich and their donations to the Church were fairly generous. The pressures of a depletion in land were not a problem, so the family honored the rights of daughters and those sons who did not secure lordships for themselves.

104. The other brothers, Rodulf, Hugh and Ivo, may have predeceased their father since they did not continue to participate in charters once their brother Gerogius became lord.

105. Tabuteau suggests that in Normandy the monks would insure the donation by getting the consent of all kin, since they could not be sure who would eventually succeed. Even if inheritance followed a primogenitary pattern, the monks could not be sure the eldest son would inherit, since he might predecease his father. The monks of the Chartrain also experienced this same uncertainty. Yet the variety of inheritance patterns indicates to me that no one system of inheritance, such as primogeniture, was yet rigidly fixed among the nobility of the eleventh century. Indeed, if such a system was established, the monks would only have to acquire the consent of those who would inherit directly, in the case of primogeniture, the eldest son and his sons; see Tabuteau, *Transfers*, pp. 174-7.

The Lords of Fréteval and Montigny and the Gouet Family

Like the Courvilles, the lords of Fréteval represented a wealthy and powerful castellan family. Fulcher of Fréteval received control of the castle of Fréteval from the count of Chartres at the end of the tenth century in appreciation for his services against the counts of Anjou. Fulcher's son Nivelon I became the first to bear the title of lord of Fréteval (see Figures 4-7). Nivelon and his wife, Ermengard, had four known sons. In probable order of birth they are: Pagan, Fulcher, Nivelon Pagan and Girard Pagan.¹⁰⁶ Since Pagan was killed while trying to defend the castle of Fréteval from the count of Anjou, Fulcher, who had become a monk, left the spiritual life and became the lord of Fréteval.¹⁰⁷ This succession is borne out in a charter from the 1040's in which the monks of Marmoutier accused Nivelon I of usurping their lands.¹⁰⁸ To compensate for his father's greed and aggression, Fulcher insured that the lands were transferred. This charter states specifically that Fulcher succeeded his father, Nivelon I, to the honors of lord of Fréteval. The combined evidence reveals that the lords of Fréteval preferred to pass the title of lord and its honors to the eldest son

106. Girard Pagan appears in *CSPDC*, no. 1, p. 25, and *CMFD*, no. 115, p. 144.

107. For the description of these events, see *CSPDC*, no. 1, pp. 19-25 in Chapter 2, p. 68, note 220.

108. *CMFD*, no. 5, p. 6: Nosse debebitis, si qui eritis posteris nostri, Majoris scilicet hujus habitatores Monasterii Sancti Martini, nobilem quemdam, vocabulo Nivelonem partem quandam vici nostri Camarti, juxta Castrumdunum sit, injuste ac violenter occupasse dudum, nec cessasse quoad vixerit querelis quamplurimis jus proprium reclamantem [sic]. Quapropter suus quoque filius, nomine Fulcherius, qui post ipsum paterni fuit heres honoris hujus, etiam suae violentiae aliquandiu visus est heres existere.

It was common for noble families who had recently emerged to use usurpation of church lands as a way to increase family lands. Chêdeville suggests that Nivelon I was the first lord of Fréteval, demonstrating that this family had been established recently and was in the process of carving out its niche in the power structure of the region.

and then to younger sons in order of birth.¹⁰⁹ A lack of primogenitary or lineal inheritance is further supported by the fact that Pagan's brother rather than his son succeeded to the lordship. It is also possible, however, that Pagan's son was a minor when his father died.

While the title of lord and its honors were passed to the eldest son, inheritance of the entire patrimony was not so simple. Acting with Fulcher in his donation to Marmoutier of the disputed lands at Chaumars were his two brothers, Nivelon Pagan and Girard Pagan. They, too, promised to support the grant,¹¹⁰ indicating that they exercised a claim to the vines. The fact that Fulcher had to guarantee that his brothers would obey the agreement may be indicative of some tension within the family. The use of a cognomen "Pagan" to denominate two of Nivelon I's four sons could be an attempt to establish a patronymic or family name, which is also suggestive of patrilineality.

It would not, however, be accurate to insist that the Fréteval family embodied all of the characteristics of patrilineage or primogeniture. Appearing in the charter with Fulcher was his bastard brother, Milo, who held land from him.¹¹¹ The participation of Milo, his role as a witness, and his possession of land attest to a family structure that was tolerant of illegitimate offspring. The essence of a patrilineal family system was to limit heirs. If the Frétevals had adhered to this type of organiza-

109. *CSPDC*, no. 1, pp. 19-25; see Chapter 2, pp. 68-9.

110. *CMPD*, no. 5 p. 6: Et quia pater ejus injuste quidem fevo tamen illud addixerat comitis tunc Odonis, sponpondit Fulcherius quod eandem nostri reformationem juris auctorizare faceret Tetbaldum comitem atque comitissam Bertam, comitis scilicet filios et heredes Odonis, sui quoque fratres Girardus et Nivelon quem cognominant Paganum, ut eidem reformationi annuerent, se promisit acturum.

For Girard's use of the cognomen Pagan, see Métais, *CMB*, pp. xx-xvi.

111. *CMPD*, no. 5, pp. 6-7 and no. 9, pp. 10-11. In both charters Milo is referred to by the following: Ibi quoque tunc inter alios quamplurimos praesentibus istis postea testificaturis. De hominibus Fulcherii praesentes affuerunt isti....Milo Bastardus, frater Fulcherii.

tion, their inclination would surely have been to dispossess illegitimate progeny.

Another standard corollary of patrilineage is the powerlessness of female kin, especially wives. The autonomy and influence of the wives of Nivelon I and Fulcher within the family argue against patrilineal family organization. Ermengard, the wife of Nivelon I, donated to St. Père part of her patrimony to found a church for the benefit of her own soul.¹¹² This noblewoman had the wealth at her disposal and the autonomous power to make grants from the territories she had inherited. Clearly Ermengard remained in control of her inheritance, although, like a noble husband, she was required to have her spouse's consent to her donation. Ermengard's daughter-in-law, Hildegard, also enjoyed importance within the family. Hildegard continued to be referred to by her natal cognomen, Gouet, which implies that her lineage was just as important as that of the Frétevals.¹¹³

The examples of the power and influence that the wives of the lords of Fréteval exercised, combined with the acceptance of bastards, attests that this family was not organized patrilineally. While eldest sons did inherit the title and a patronymic seems to have been developing, the roles assumed by women and the importance placed on Hildegard's lineage reflect a family that did not restrict females or attempt to place them under the domination of male relatives. Duby's insistence on the strict association between primogenitary inheritance and patrilineal family orientation is, thus, not supported. The Fréteval family apparently practiced the one without the other, verifying that the use of primogeniture did not necessarily correspond with all the indicators of patrilineage.

112. *CSPDC*, no. 1, pp. 19-25; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 2, p. 69, note 225.

113. *CMPD*, no. 9, pp. 10-11: Fulcherius honoratus quidam, filius Nivelonis vineas ipsas domumque pervasit, sibi haec illum dicens dimisisse defunctum. Vix quandoque recognoscens rectum nostrum sub hac res illas ratione reliquit, ut obtinere eas quoad viverent sinerentur, ipse scilicet suaque quam inde dotaverat uxor nomine Hildeburgis, filia Guillelmi cognomento Goiti.

Inheritance in the next generation of the lords of Fréteval followed the same pattern. In his donations to Marmoutier, Fulcher had the consent of all of his children. In a charter datable between 1072 and 1084, Hamlin, Nivelon, Comitissa and Pagana appeared.¹¹⁴ Nivelon II must have been Fulcher's eldest surviving son since he became the lord of Fréteval when his father died. Yet, even though Nivelon II was lord, he still required the consent of his siblings to his donations, making it clear that they maintained a right to family lands.¹¹⁵ The presence of daughters reaffirms the influence that women in this family continued to enjoy and demonstrates that the disenfranchisement of married daughters from the patrimony, characteristic of patri-lineality, did not occur within this family. The continued association of Agnes or "Comitissa," as she was often labeled after her marriage to the viscount of Châteaudun, in Fréteval family transactions lends further support to this interpretation.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, the husbands and sons of Pagana and Hildeburg acted in Fréteval charters. Their participation substantiates the right that daughters maintained to the patrimony and

114. *CMPD*, no. 86, p. 76: Notum fiat Majoris Monasterii monachis quod Fulcherius, Nevelonis [sic] filius, quando noster factus est monachus, beato Martino Majoris Monasterii, et nobis monachis ejusdem servum suum quendam, vocatum Rainardum de Merlaio, in perpetuum dedit. Quod concesserunt filii ejus Nevelo [sic] et Hamelinus et filiae ipsius Comitissa et Pagana.

In *CSPDC*, no. 36, p. 428, a certain Ursio is referred to as the brother of this Nivelon, yet he appears in no other charter. Given the fact that Nivelon II named one of his sons Ursio, it is probable that he had a brother of this name as well.

115. For discussion of this, see Chapter 7, pp. 418-24.

116. In most of the charters Agnes appears as "Comitissa" (see *CMPD*, no. 86, p. 76, no. 141, pp. 131-2, no. 150, pp. 138-9). However, in another charter from Marmoutier she is labelled simply Agnes, the viscountess of Châteaudun (see *CMPD*, no. 84, p. 77).

In one charter from Marmoutier, Agnes of Fréteval's sister-in-law Adela of Montigny (Agnes' brother Hamlin's wife) was labelled "Comitissa." I believe this was merely confusion between the two women. This charter would seem to predate her marriage into the Fréteval family since she appears with her first husband Ganelon II of Montigny. It is likely that this charter was a later copy of an earlier charter by Ganelon II and that when the later charter was drawn up the scribe confused Adela with her present sister-in-law Agnes, and mistakenly labeled Adela "Comitissa" (see *CMPD*, no. 114, p. 72, note 2).

their association with their natal kin. Female kin clearly had a right to family lands, clearly the Fréteval family did not adhere to patrilineage.¹¹⁷

The family of the lords of Montigny provides sharp contrast to those of the lords of Fréteval and Courville. Ganelon I, the treasurer of Tours, inherited the lands of Montigny from his uncle Raher. He married Agnes, but no children resulted from this union (see Figure 9). This lack of a direct heir, however, did not appreciably alter the character of Ganelon I's charters. In a charter datable from the 1040's Ganelon I gave Marmoutier the church of St. Hilaire-sur-Yerre, which was located close to his castle at Montigny.¹¹⁸ Consenting to the donation were "those of my [Ganelon I's] relatives who were still living: "his wife; Nihard of Montoire, his nephew; Ganelon the son of his brother Gauslen; two more nephews, Cleopas and Ganelon, the sons of his sister Melisend and Merran of *Noiastro*; their daughter Hersend with her husband Adelard

117. It could be suggested that Fulcher's daughters changed their names upon their marriage to identify themselves with their husbands' families, and not their natal family. This would appear to be the case for Agnes/Comitissa, but the reasons for the change in name have to do with the political and social significance of her match with the viscount of Châteaudun rather than an attempt to disassociate herself from her natal family. In regard to Fulcher's daughter Pagana, I do not believe she adopted a permutation of her husband Pagan of Frouville's name. The name of "Pagan" and its derivatives was an important name in the Fréteval family. Two of Fulcher's brothers carried "Pagan" as a cognomen. Pagana's name was in keeping with her natal family's nomenclatural tradition, and not in response to or a result of her marriage to Pagan of Frouville. Furthermore, Fulcher's other daughter, Hildeburg, did not change her name in any way after her marriage with Bernard of La Ferté.

118. *CMPD*, no. 22, pp. 22-3: Proinde ego Guanilo, thesaurarius Sancti Martini, concedo fratribus qui in Majoris Monasterio Deo et Sancto Martio deserviunt, ecclesiam quandam juxta Montiniacum castrum meum sitam, in honore sancti Ylarii constructam, cum decima, offerenda et sepultura, et quicquid pertinet ad illam....Hoc autem facio pro anima Raherii de Montinaico et Hugonis filii ejus, mea quoque anima, parentumque meorum. Quod donum ut firmitus esset majoremque auctoritatem obtineret, dominus meus Rex Francorum, Henricus nomine, hoc annuit et Tetbaldus comes nec non et comes Gaufredus, quos, pro eo quod hoc auctorisaverunt et cartam hanc firmaverunt, elemosinae participes facio, et ut fieri mereantur exoro. Illi quoque, qui de mea parentela superstites sunt libenter assensi sunt, videlicet Nihardus de Monte Aureo, nepos meus, sed et alius nepos meus, Guanilo nomine, filius Gauscelini, nec non et alii duo nepotes mei Cleophas et Guanilo, filii Malranni de Noiastro Castro, cum sorore ipsorum nomine Hersindi, uxore Adelardi Barduni.

Bardulf. The participation of extended kin affirms these family members all had a right to the donated land and dues. In spite of Ganelon I and Agnes' lack of progeny, no heir was designated in this charter. Furthermore, the presence of so many relatives suggests that all were considered potential heirs of Ganelon I. To insure that the gift would remain in the possession of Marmoutier and free from later disputations, the consent of all extended kin was secured. The legitimate claim of female kin and their progeny is also substantiated by the participation of the children of Melisend, Ganelon's sister. One of Ganelon's nephews eventually became the lord of Montigny, Ganelon the son of his brother Gauslen; but, at the time of the gift to Marmoutier of St. Hilaire-sur-Yerre, the heir had yet to be determined and all of these relatives were prospective heirs.¹¹⁹

The position that Ganelon I's wife, Agnes, enjoyed also reflects a family system that did not seek to limit noblewomen's activities. Between 1032 and 1037 Agnes arranged with the monks of Marmoutier that her vines and buildings would pass to them after she died, with all of her improvements, but she stipulated that she would enjoy the use of these possessions for her lifetime.¹²⁰ Ganelon I consented and is mentioned at the end of the charter as placing the agreement upon the altar of the church. Agnes acted independently in reaching this agreement with the monks

119. In the twelfth century, Lord Ivo II of Courville faced a similar lack of heirs. In a series of charters, he appointed his feudal lord as his heir. Unlike Ivo II, Ganelon I did not designate an heir, but one of the relatives acting in the charter would surely succeed him.

120. *CMPD*, no. 97, pp. 90-1: *Noscant cuncti successores nostri cum domna Agnete, domni Wanilonis tesararii uxore, nos talem convenientiam habuisse ob amorem sui senioris suumque, quantum ipsa vixerit. Concessimus illam emptionem quam fecit in terra nostra de vineis Dagfridi clerici, hac autem ratione, ut ipsae vineae et quicquid alterius aedificii in terra nostra fecerit, pro redemptione animae senioris sui ac suae, post obitum suum in Sancti Martini revertatur dominium. Comitem vero Odonem, hujus elemosinae, favente suo seniore Guanilone, fecit participem, Ermengardim quoque comitissam, ac filios eorum Teobaldum scilicet et Stephanum, quorum potentia, si forte quod absit, aliqua surrexerit calumnia, animarum suarum defendantur elemosinae dona.*

concerning lands which she alone purchased and controlled. The participation of Count Eudes I of Blois-Chartres, his wife and sons also testifies to the importance of Agnes' grant and illustrates that the count was her feudal lord as well as her husband's.

The presence of Hersend, Ganelon I's niece by his sister Melisend, in the donation of St. Hilaire also bears witness to the fact that women of this family were not disenfranchised from their natal families once they married. In a patrilineal system, daughters were given a dowry at the time of their marriage, which terminated their claim to the patrimony.¹²¹ The presence and consultation with Hersend in Ganelon's donation charter points to an absence of patrilineality. The domination of male kin and the subsequent restriction of women associated with patrilineage are not evident in the Montigny family.

The traits of extended family structure and the right of kin to the patrimony continued into the next generation. About 1070 Ganelon II succeeded his uncle Ganelon I to the lordship and to the office of the treasurer of Tours. When Ganelon II sold a mill between 1075 and 1084 his wife and his *nepos* Gui consented.¹²² The parentage of Gui is not certain. He could be the son of an unidentified sibling of Ganelon II or a first cousin.¹²³ Gui's authorization of the sale signifies that he had a right to the mill. Since Ganelon II had children, it is not likely that Gui was present as heir to his uncle or cousin. Like Ganelon I, Ganelon II needed the consent of extended or collat-

121. Presuming, of course, that they had brothers.

122. *CMPD*, no. 31, p. 31: Guanilo etiam de Montiniaco auctorisavit, de cujus casamento erat predictus molendinus, et uxor ejus et Guido nepos ejus.

123. J. F. Niermeyer in the *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: 1983), lists first cousin as a possible definition of "nepos." In this instance, this might be the best translation. Cleopas, who is also labelled the "nepos" of Ganelon I, was thus Ganelon II's first cousin. He was the son of Ganelon II's aunt Melisend and her husband Merran of *Noistra*. Gui could be another unidentified son of this union or the progeny of another of Ganelon I's siblings. The parentage of Nihard of Montoire, another of Ganelon I's nephews, is also presently undetermined. Gui could be his brother.

eral kin before he could alienate possessions from the family holdings. It is significant, however, that Ganelon II did not have the consent of the family of Melisend and Merran of *Noiastra*. The absence of these kin implies that the rights of female relatives, or those who traced their claim to the patrimony through them, were being displaced.¹²⁴

This trend toward a new family configuration accelerated toward the end of Ganelon II's life. Sometime before 1084, Ganelon II made a gift to Marmoutier for the soul of his uncle and his wife, including the priest's portion of St. Hilaire and the chapel of St. Salvatore.¹²⁵ Only his immediate family, his wife, sons and daughters, appeared as consenters. The absence of extended kin in these charters is obvious and reinforces the development of a change within the shape of the family of the lords of Montigny from extended to nuclear. Underlying this transformation were problems with family finances. During Ganelon I's tenure the family had been very wealthy and powerful. Ganelon I had many brothers and sisters who maintained a right to the patrimony.¹²⁶ The family had enjoyed a close relationship with the counts of Chartres and was one of the most influential families of the region. Under Ganelon, I the kings of France confirmed the family's donations and the family sponsored the priory of St.

124. It is possible that these relatives were dead. But this seems too convenient an explanation, since it is unlikely that the entire family would have died within a few years of one another.

125. *CMPD*, no. 114, pp. 107-8: Wanilonem pro avunculi sui animae vel suae conjugis, quoque exheredum suorum remedio, Sancti Hilarii presbiteratum et capellam Sancti Salvatoris eorumque appendentia quae immerito tenere videbat, quae Sancti Martini monachi erga eum in quantum poterant, calumniati sunt, concedente uxore Comitissa et eorum infantibus illorum rectitudinem decernendo in postero, dimisisse, cum recognitionis causa, monachi caritative sibi C sol. et conjugis suae XXX dederunt.

This is the charter where Ganelon II's wife Adela is mistakenly called "Comitissa." For a discussion see, this Chapter, note 116.

126. *CMPD*, pp. xviii-xxix, also no. 4, pp. 4-5; no. 22, pp. 22-4; no. 97, pp. 90-1. Ganelon I also had the king witness one of his charters, demonstrating the power and influence of this generation of the seigneurs of Montigny (see *CMPD*, no. 22, pp. 22-4).

Hilaire-sur-Yerre. Yet by Ganelon II's day such signs of political power and financial well-being were absent. In his later years Ganelon II made a donation of pasturage rights of pigs in his woods, tithes of a vineyard and a sluice to Marmoutier so he could become a monk.¹²⁷ The grant was far more modest than those made by his uncle, and only his immediate family consented. Tension over resources is also corroborated by Ganelon II's unwillingness to allow his uncle's donation of the church of St. Hilaire and all that pertained to it to pass to Marmoutier.¹²⁸ His reluctance to alienate this property signals that it represented an important part of his holdings and that family resources were at a premium.¹²⁹ Ganelon I's generosity to the Church drained family finances and, hence, forced the next generation to act to preserve the patrimony. Extended kin were pruned from the family tree in an attempt to preserve family resources. Although the Montigny family had not yet adopted rigid primogeniture or patrilineal structure, the signs of change were becoming increasingly conspicuous.

127. *CMPD*, no. 56, p. 50: Domnus Guanilo de Montiniaco, quando factus est monachus, dedit beato Martino et monachis Majoris Monasterii pastionem per omnes boscos suos ad omnes porcos proprios monachorum undecunque adducantur, et decimam vini sui de Proanivilla, et sclusam quam vocant Rotberti Chinonati; concedentibus uxore sua et filiis et filiabus suis.

128. *CMPD*, no. 24, pp. 25-6: Nosse debebitis si qui eritis posterii nostri, Majoris scilicet hujus habitatores Monasterii Sancti Martini, Guanilonem clericum de Montiniaco post primam et secundam auctorisationem, quarum unam in vita Guanilonis thesaurarii, avunculi sui, de ecclesia Sancti Ylarii et rebus ipsius, alteram vero post mortem ejus de vindragio ejusdem ecclesiae et capellania de Montinaco fecerat, hanc terciam rursus fecisse. Post paucos annos quam ipse vita excesserat, Genzone, monacho administrante res ecclesiae ipsius, ceperat idem Guanilo calumniari nobis decimam et sepulturam et caetera, quae cum eadem ecclesia ab eo donata fuerant.

Ganelon II finally reaffirmed his uncle's grant sometime between the years 1051 and 1060.

129. Tabuteau argues that counter-gifts were made to help insure the continuity of the gift. That Ganelon II and his wife were compensated for their donation implies two important things: First, that the monks suspected that they or their kin might challenge the donation. Second, that Ganelon II could not afford to make a gift to the church without receiving something in return. While there are other reasons for counter-gifts (see Tabuteau, *Transfers*, pp. 115-9.) I believe that in this case the counter-gift was a response to financial tension within the Montigny family.

While evidence for the Gouet family is more extensive than that for other eleventh-century noble families, it is difficult to determine inheritance strategies from the extant charters. The majority of Gouet family charters in this century involved Mahild, the wife of William I. This noblewoman exercised authority over the family domains in the 1060's and 1070's. The patrimony passed undisputed to Mahild and William's only son William II (see Figure 10). Although the inheritance within this family followed a primogenitary pattern, the activities of the Gouet wives cast doubt on the presumed correlation between primogeniture, patrilineal family structure and the powerlessness of women.

No charters are extant from the tenure of William I Gouet. In 1059 Eudes, son of Wazzon, donated a church at Villevillon to the monastery of St. Père. Eudes' "most noble lady" Mahild and her son William II consented to his gift.¹³⁰ Clearly William I must have died sometime before 1059 and his wife Mahild had assumed his feudal responsibilities. Ten years later Walter Infans granted the church of St. Mary at Alluyes to St. Père. Again Mahild authorized the gift as the feudal power from whom Walter Infans held this church.¹³¹ The lady of Alluyes maintained control and

130. *CSPDC*, no. 36, pp. 163-4: Ego Odo, filius Guazzonis, notum esse volo, tam praesentibus omnibus quam succedentibus, quia memor divini eloquii dicentis: "Date, et dabitur vobis," ipse, inquam, pro salute animae meae ac conjugis, ex beneficiis, quae denique temporaliter possidere videor, aecclesiam, quae olim quidem sita est in loco qui vocatur Villa Villonis, nunc vero, imminentibus malis, ad nichilum redactam, cum terra ac decima ad aecclesiam pertinenti, terramque aliam unius aratri, sancto Petro atque abbati Landrico monachisque ejus jure possidendam tribuo; Agoberto, venerabili episcopo, annuente, necnon nobilissima domna mea Mahilde atque ejus filio Willelmo, de quibus id possideo.

131. *CSPDC*, no. 87, pp. 211-2: In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, qui unus est essentialiter et trinus potentialiter. Notum esse volumus cunctis sanctae Dei aecclesiae fidelibus, tam presentibus quam futuris, ego Teodericus, coenobii sancti Petri Carontensis abbas, omnisque congregatio monachorum cui preesse videor, quoniam Gualterius, praenomine Infans, sancto Petro apostolorum principi, pro anima sua et conjugis ac parentum dominorumque suorum, presbiterium aecclesiae sanctae Mariae....Donum itaque hujus largitionis, per assensum domnae suae Mahildae, de qua id beneficium tenebat, super altare sancti Romani martiris posuit, qui non longe a Braiao castro apostolo quaeritur et veneratur [*sic*].

assumed her father's feudal role.

Sometime before 1070 Mahild married Geoffrey of Mayenne, a powerful noble in his own right.¹³² If Mahild's power had been based only on the fact that she was a widow, then the autonomy which she exercised should have been restricted once she married Geoffrey. This was not the case. Mahild was consulted by her second husband and continued to act in family transactions. Sometime around 1070, Arraud of Bullou and Landric of Tourielle, two knights from the Gouet domains, made an ecclesiastical donation to St. Père with the consent of their feudal lords, Geoffrey and Mahild.¹³³ Similarly, when Bernard of Bullou and Walter of Montmirail, both Gouet vassals, confirmed a donation by a priest who held certain lands from them in benefice, they had the approval of their feudal lords, Geoffrey, Mahild, and her son, William.¹³⁴ These vassals held their benefices from

132. Mahild had at least another four children by Geoffrey. They are listed in *CMPD* as Hamlin, Geoffrey, Walter and Hersend (see *CMPD*, no. 37, pp. 34-5).

133. *CSPDC*, no. 25, pp. 148-50: Notum esse volumus, quod, communi consilio et pari affectu, ego Airardus de Buslo et Landricus de Toriello, cum devotissimis nostris coequalibus opidanis, Gausfridum cummilitonem convenimus, ut loculum, in quo aecclesia in honore sancti Romani martyris habebatur, Sancti Petri coenobio Carnotensi, pro remedio suae suorumque animarum, concederet.... Unde quod divino instinctu fecimus, domno nostro Gausfredo et Mahildi domnae nostrae verbis munstravimus.... Nomina testium, Gausfredus domnus, cujus assensu actum est hoc. Mahildis ejus conjunx. Willelmus, filio ejus. Airardus de Buslo. Bernardus, frater ejus. Landric de Toriello. Willelmus praepositus. Odo de Domicilio. Gausfridus. Guarinus. Gausfridus. Raiardus, qui hanc donationem fecit. Rainald forestarius.

William II appears in these charters as heir to his father's holdings. That he acts with Mahild demonstrates that she maintained control over her son and their lands after her remarriage. Geoffrey of Mayenne may have enjoyed some authority over his wife's and stepson's lands, but Mahild and William II's presence demonstrates that he could not autonomously determine the fate of these possessions. Mahild, thus, remained in control over the Gouet family lands and guardianship of her son.

134. *CSPDC*, no. 66, pp. 192-3: Quod libenti animo domni ejus, Bernardus videlicet de Buslo et Walterius de Monte Mirabili, assenserunt, et de suis rebus praefatum donum, ut in suis locis dicetur, augere maluerunt; et super altare apostolorum Petri et Pauli publice, in presentia omnis congregationis atque plurimorum hominum, poni mandaverunt, et apicibus omnibus posteris notificari jusserunt; omnes contraire conantes nodo excommunicationis constringentes et eorum animas, nisi resipuerint et ad satisfactionis remedium confugerint, in infernum imprecantes labi, cum diabolo

the patrimony of the lords of Alluyes and Gouet and in spite of her remarriage, Mahild maintained control not only over the lands she brought to her marriages but also over her first husband's patrimony.¹³⁵

Geoffrey of Mayenne appeared in only these two charters with Mahild, both dating from approximately 1070.¹³⁶ His absence in later acts suggests he had died a few years after the marriage.¹³⁷ In 1079 Mahild donated lands to the church of St. German for the souls of her two husbands. She also gave land between the church of St. German and the village of Alluyes, of which she was lord by hereditary custom,

....Continued....

veniam et requiem habituras. Huic rei assensum praebuit Gausfridus de Medena, qui eo tempore honorem Alogiae ex integro tenebat. Assenserunt etiam Mahildis, conjunx ejus, et Willelmus, privignus Gausfridi, atque Walterius, filius ejus.

135. Bullou and Montmirail were two of the important fiefs that originally came from the Gouet patrimony.

136. Orderic Vitalis called Geoffrey "one of the strongest men in Maine" (Orderic, *History*, 2: 117-19). David Douglas finds that the Mayenne family was established in Maine early in the first half of the eleventh century; see David Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (Berkeley: 1964), p. 57 (hereafter, Douglas, *William*). Geoffrey, who Douglas believes was the son of Haimo "of Medano," had become lord of Mayenne by 1054 (*William*, p. 71). He was eventually captured by William I, taken to Normandy "where he was compelled to do homage" (*William*, p. 71). Geoffrey of Mayenne led a revolt against William I in 1063 and, as a result, Mayenne was sacked. In 1069 Geoffrey once again joined the count of Maine in resisting Norman control. Douglas suggests that Geoffrey took Gersende, the sister of Count Hugh IV, as his mistress (*William*, pp. 223-4)

137. Geoffrey of Mayenne ceases to appear in the politics of Maine in 1073, which combines with the Chartrain evidence to suggest that he died sometime early in the 1070's. Orderic Vitalis does not provide a date for Geoffrey's death, but does refer to a Geoffrey of Mayenne, presumably Geoffrey and Mahild's son, who accompanied Duke Robert on the First Crusade (Orderic, *History*, 4:55). Mahild appeared as the lord of the Gouet lands in a charter datable between 1071 and 1080 and in 1079 she made a donation for the souls of her two husbands (CSPDC no. 67, p. 198, and no. 68, p. 199). In these charters her son William II gave his consent, but did not participate in the actual donation with his mother. The land granted in 1079 Mahild controlled by right of inheritance, thus it was not part of the Gouet patrimony. This was not the case in the grant of 1071x1080 which concerned Gouet vassals and patrimony. This evidence leads me to conclude that William II became the lord of Gouet sometime between 1072 and 1078.

for the souls of her relatives.¹³⁸ Mahild's participation as a feudal lord also continued. When Hugh, the castellan of Brethel, made a gift of the church at Chapelle-Guillaume and other lands to Marmoutier he did so with the consent of his lady Mahild.¹³⁹

Sometime between 1071 and 1078 William II Gouet reached his majority and succeeded to the patrimony.¹⁴⁰ Mahild continued to take an active role in the lordship, however. In 1079 she and William together gave a wood in Perche, which was part of the original Gouet patrimony, to Marmoutier.¹⁴¹ The right of pannage had been shared by mother and son, indicating that they shared property as well as authority over family vassals. William alone gave the pannage and promised the other

138. *CSPDC*, no. 67, p. 193: Domna igitur Mahildis, pro redemptione animae suae atque animarum seniorum suorum, Willelmi videlicet atque Gausfridi, ac parentum filiorumque suorum, dedit sancto Germano terra, quae, juxta ejusdem ecclesiae cimiterium sita, dividitur via, qua pergunt ab eadem basilica ad Colummerios, et ab eadem terra terminatur.

Also *CSPDC*, no. 68, p. 194: In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Notum esse volo omnibus sanctae Dei aecclisiae fidelibus, tam presentibus quam futuris, quod ego, Mahildis nomine, quae, hereditario jure, honoris Alogiae, divino nutu, domna esse videor; pro Dei amore, de quo omnia quae ad usum vitae humanae pertinent habeo et cui omnia debeo, seu pro honore beati Petri, apostolorum principis, cui, inter alia dona, aeclessiam sancti Germani in ipsa Alogiae area concedimus.

①39. *CMPD*, no. 37, pp. 34-5; for the text of this charter see this Chapter, p. 113⁵, note 46.

140. A charter from Marmoutier suggests that William II was lord by 1070, but I believe this charter is dated incorrectly. The charter concerns the donations made by Herlebald and Eudes of Dangeau of their property at Dangeau, and the subsequent contestation by their brother-in-law (see *CMPD*, nos. 25 and 26, pp. 26-8). This dispute was not settled until after 1072 and the Marmoutier charter, supposedly of 1070, that records the Dangeau gift and contestation does not mention this action, which has led me to believe that it was drafted after the dispute had been settled.

141. *CMPD* no. 44, p. 41: Noverint nostri presentes et posteri quod Guillelmus Gogietus et mater ejus Mahildis donaverunt Sancto Martino et nobis, sui Majoris Monasterii monachis, ex bosco ipsorum de Pertico, quantumcunque et adquaecunque [*sic*] opus esset fratribus nostris, in tota obedientia Veteris Vici. Post hoc etiam transactis pluribus annis, cum eidem obedientiae praesset monachus noster, nomine Fulco, donavit rursus idem Guillelmus pasnaticum ejus bosci de porcis dominicis nostris, dimidium quidem ad praesens, et post matris mortem alteram medietatem, annuente Eustachia conjuge sua, et filiis Guillelmo et Hugone.

half after the death of his mother. Mahild also consented to a donation to St. Père of Chartres.¹⁴² While William II Gouet had assumed the lordship, his "venerable" mother still exercised influence within the family and was a powerful presence within the community.

For approximately two decades Mahild of Alluyes controlled the patrimony of the Gouet family. Because she and William I had only one son, it is impossible to know if the Gouets consistently adhered to primogeniture. The evidence does reveal that the family was not organized patrilineally. The power that Mahild exercised is contrary to every characteristic of patrilineage. She was independent not only when she was a widow but also during her second marriage and the tenure of her son. Mahild's position can be attributed to the social status that marriage with her family had conferred on the Gouet family. The Gouets were a powerful family but without distinction. The lords of Alluyes, on the other hand, were well established and may even have been descended from the late Carolingian nobility. Mahild also brought the important fiefs of Alluyes and Brou to the marriage. Furthermore, Mahild's daughter-in-law Eustachia also enjoyed autonomy and appeared in charters with her husband as his partner. William II consulted his wife in his transactions, and she was present as a consenter.¹⁴³ While the title and lordship may have been passed to the son, the

142. *CSPDC*, no. 89, pp. 213-214: Quapropter ego Willelmus honoris Alogiae dominus, quantum ad seculi dignitatem attinet, clarus quidem genere, sed pravo perobscurus opere, inter hujus fluctivagi procellas seculi, armis praecinctus militari-bus ac mundanis implicitus negotiis...Itaque, annuente venerabili matre mea Mahilde, una cum karissima conjuge Eustachia, seu liberis nostris adhuc infantulis, Hugone ac Willelmo; pro redemptione quidem animarum antecessorum nostrorum, necnon et pro nostra incolomitate [*sic*], concedens dono et donans concedo beato Petro apostolo, ac ejus monachis sibi normaliter famulantibus in coenobio quod non longe a moenibus Carnotinae urbis situm est, aecclesiam scilicet beatissimi Leobini confessoris et episcopi praedictae urbis. Quae aecclesia, a prisco tempore, intra vallum Castrì Duni decenter constructa videtur, atque a patribus nostris, jure hereditario, possessa est.

143. See *CMPD*, no. 44, p. 41, and no. 45, pp. 41-2; *CSPDC*, no. 3, pp. 470-1, and no. 89, pp. 213-4.

presence of his sisters as consenters and the powerful role that the Gouet wives enjoyed deny the necessary association of primogeniture with the subjugation of women through patrilineage.

Among the families of the lords of Blois-Chartres it was common for the eldest surviving son to inherit the title of lord, but other siblings, and indeed kin in general, maintained a claim to the patrimony. The succession of the eldest son to the title was not completely fixed, however. For example, in the generation of lords of Fréteval that succeeded Nivelon I inheritance of the lordship was lateral rather than vertical. When Pagan, Nivelon I's son and heir died, the lordship was passed to another of Nivelon's sons rather than to Pagan's son. Moreover, use of the term *primogenitus* to designate the eldest son is virtually unknown in these families in the eleventh century, though it became more common in the twelfth. Most families of lords in Blois-Chartres were not configured patrilineally but adhered to an open and collateral family structure where the claim of extended, affinal and nuclear kin was recognized. The Montigny family was the exception. At the end of the century, due to its financial difficulties, this family started to adopt a closed family structure. Similarly, the seigneurial family of Courville seems to have concentrated control of family property in the hands of the lord, who was always the first born son. While eldest sons became lords, they generally did not attempt to restrict or supersede the rights of their siblings or other kin. Indeed, such relatives maintained a right to the patrimony and were consulted in transactions that pertained to it. While the resources of the lords allowed various family members rights to the patrimony, certain viscounts of the region provided progeny with an actual share. The underlying reason for this contrast is economic. Even though most lordly families were wealthy, they did not command the same resources as the vicecomital families.

The viscounts of Blois, Chartres and Châteaudun

The complexity of Chartrain noble family organization is further apparent in the three vicecomital families of the region. The inheritance patterns of the viscounts of Blois are particularly tangled.¹⁴⁴ In either 1041 or 1042 Hervé, the first known eleventh-century viscount of Blois, donated to Marmoutier the customs of *Gilliacus* which he held from Count Thibaut III.¹⁴⁵ Hervé was succeeded by his son, Gelduin, who appears to have been the eldest son, implying that the title to the viscounty was passed primogenitorially (see Figure 11). The right of all of Hervé's children, however, is supported by the presence of his sons Geoffrey and Stephen, as well as his daughters Ermengard and Gerberga-Claricia as consenters. Hervé's family lands could seemingly support his eldest son as viscount and allow his other sons and daughters a claim to family lands as well.

Viscount Hervé made the donation discussed above so that he could enter the monastery of Marmoutier. Gelduin was too young to assume his father's responsibilities, so Robert I, the lord of La Ferté-Villeneuve, was appointed viscount of Blois by either Gelduin himself or his feudal lord Count Thibaut III. When Robert I died, his son Robert II succeeded him to the lordship of La Ferté-Villeneuve and to part of the viscounty as well. A charter datable around 1064 refers to Robert I possessing vicecomital lands by hereditary right. His son Robert II made a gift from this property

144. For further information on the origins of the two vicecomital families of Blois and the complications that eventually resulted in the creation of two viscounts, see Chapter 2, pp. 61-5.

145. *CMPD*, no. 104, pp. 96-7: Notum sit omnium generationi futurorum, quod Herveus vicecomes Blesensis remisit Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii, quando apud eundem locum devenit monachus commendatitiam et omnes alias consuetudines, quas habebat in villa ejusdem Sancti quae Gilliacus appellata est, et ut haec remissio firmiter foret, Tetbaldus comes eam auctorizavit, de cujus fevo Herveus supradictus tenebat consuetudines, et cuncti filii ipsius Hervei, id est Gelduinus, qui in paternum successit honorem, et Gaufredus et Stephanus, filiae quoque Ermengardis atque Girberga quae nuncupatur etiam Claricia.

later in the eleventh century, indicating that he had inherited lordship over it from his father.¹⁴⁶ The splitting of the patrimony of the viscounts of Blois between Robert I and Gelduin significantly weakened the resource base of both families, but particularly that of Robert II. Robert II tried to preserve his resources by refusing to allow the donation made his father to pass to the monks. In approximately 1060 Robert I confirmed the liberation of Hilducia, one of his serfs whom he had granted to his vassal Herbald.¹⁴⁷ When Robert II succeeded his father, he disputed the freedom of Hilducia and her children and claimed their lands.¹⁴⁸ Robert ultimately allowed the

146. *CMPD*, no. 125, p. 117: Noverit posteritas nostra Rotbertum de Villa in Oculo [Robert II], pro redemptione suae suique patris ac matris animae, in territorio Blesis, apud Villam quae vocatur Bergerulfi, Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii terram omnem dedisse, quam ad vicecomitatum Blesis pertinentum hereditario pater suus possederat jure.

147. *CMPD*, no. 14, pp. 14-6: Notum igitur fiat et fidelibus universis et maxime successoribus nostris, quod Odo comes et mater ejus regina dederunt Sancto Martino et monachis Majoris Monasterii quendam servum suum, nomine Ohelmum, qui accepit uxorem nomine Hilduciam, Rotberti vicecomitis Blesiensis ancillam, quam ipse vicecomes dederat cuidam militi sui Herbaldo nominato. Videns autem Ohelmus quod propter uxorem suam a dominis illius pateretur molestiam, dedit Herbaldo aliquantum pecunia ut eam faceret liberam, quod et ille fecit, dum tempore quodam profecturus esset Romam. Et ut res rata foret et firma libertatis cartulam fecit fieri et tradidit mulieri, quam firmavit etiam vicecomes Rotbertus, et Milsendis uxor ejus.

148. *CMPD*, no. 14, pp. 14-5: Post haec, mortuo Rotberto vicecomite et Herbaldo ejus milite, Ohelmo quoque defuncto et uxore sua, filioque suorum Ascelino, jam pene obselata rei hujus memoria, captata calumniae oportunitate, insurrexerunt Rotbertus et Guillemus clerici, alter Rotberti vicecomitis, alter Herebaldi filius et in res Ascelini patrisque ejus Ohelmi, quae Sancto Martino remanserant, inhiantes, coeperunt partem mulieris repetere; negantes patres suos liberam eam fecisse.

CMPD no. 15, p. 16: Notum sit fratribus nostris, quod Rotbertus de Villenolio, gener Lancelini, immisit nobis calumniam de rebus Ohelmi servi nostri de Charmarito. Cui cum diceremus injustam esse ejus calumniam, quia pater suus et avus et proavus eadem res nobis concesserant et autorisaverant, et de auctoramento patris ejus testes haberemus, de hominibus, ipsius scilicet Godefredum Spatai et Alcherium prepositum, qui coram ipso Rotberto dicebant se vidisse quod pater ejus nobis autorisaverat illas res solutas et quietas in perpetuum; respondebat ille se non concensisse [*sic*] auctoramento patris sui, cum jam de honore patris donum haberet.

Although the Robert referred to in *CMPD*, no. 14, pp. 14-5, as a cleric, I believe him to be the viscount of Blois. It is possible that Robert had joined the Church, which would account for this denomination. Moreover, this charter has many editorial errors and it may be that it should read William clericus.

lands to pass to the Church,¹⁴⁹ but his reticence suggests that he was attempting to keep his resources intact, including serfs.

Although the vicecomital family of Blois was experiencing difficulty in regard to its resources, it continued to honor the claim of all progeny. When Robert II finally abandoned his right to these properties his brother William and sisters Aiderna, Elizabeth, Gila and Mainetia, consented to the alienation of these estates from the patrimony and all were compensated.¹⁵⁰ Although Robert was lord and viscount and facing economic restriction, his brothers and sisters maintained an interest in and right to the patrimony.

The acceptance of counter gifts by the Robertian viscounts of Blois further implies economic strain. Counter gifts were given for a variety of reasons, but one predominant motivation for them was to insure that relatives would not later contest donations. Previously, the family of the viscounts of Blois had not received compensation. The coincidence of counter gifts with Robert II's challenge suggests an attempt to avoid contestations that might be levied by other family members. The concurrence of counter gifts with Robert II's reluctance to alienate lands from the patrimony indicates that the family was feeling an economic and territorial pinch.

In spite of financial strain the Robertian viscounts of Blois did not attempt to disallow the claim of all children to the patrimony. The presence of Robert II's siblings, the necessity of their consent and their remuneration confirm that each had a claim to the family property. Moreover, Robert II's sisters' presence discloses that

149. *CMPD*, no. 15, p. 16: Cum ergo Rotbertus iste pro illis rebus nobis molestus esse coepisset, dedimus eis IIII libras denariorum et dimisit calumniam illa, et res supradictas auctorisavit nobis solutas et quietas in perpetuum.

150. *CMPD*, no. 15, p. 16: Inde reversus in domum suam Rotbertus ad Firmitatem Nerberti cum Odone monacho nostro, preposito obedientiae de Chamarito, fecit hoc ipsum auctorizare uxorem suam, Agnes nomine et fratrem suum Willelmum, qui pro hoc habuit XII denarios et sorores suas quarum Adierna habuit pro hoc X solidos, Elisabeth XII denarios, Gila totidem, Maientia totidem. Huic auctoramento Willelmi et sororum suarum affuerunt isti testes....



this family did not restrict daughters from the patrimony, a practice common among patrilineal families. The financial motivation for a family structure and inheritance pattern that elevated the right of the eldest son above all other children and heirs was present, but the vicecomital family of Blois had yet to adopt completely either of these strategies.

In contrast to the two vicecomital families of Blois, the viscounts of Chartres headed one of the most powerful noble families of the region. Even though the viscounts emerged as one of the dominant feudal powers of Blois-Chartres under the leadership of Gelduin I sometime before 1030, it is difficult to reconstruct the inheritance patterns of this family much before this decade (see Figure 12). A charter datable between 1038 and 1040 records Gelduin's donation to Marmoutier of allods that he held in Le Dunois, which he inherited from his kinsmen Bishop Hugh, Fulcher and Gelduin. Fulcher had given the viscount this land, but Gelduin also succeeded his relatives by custom of inheritance as possessor of this allod. Since Fulcher gave Gelduin the land, it would seem that he was more closely related to Fulcher than to his other two kinsmen. Fulcher and Gelduin may have been his father and grandfather, but it is also possible that they were Gelduin's collateral relatives, denoting an absence of lineal inheritance.¹⁵¹ Abbot Albert gave Gelduin four

(51) *CMFD*, no. 21, pp. 21-2: Unde ego Gelduinus, seculari militiae deditus, remiscens meorum multitudinem peccatorum et iudicii diem admodum expavescens, concedo Deo et Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii, aliquid de rebus meis, quod michi a quodam propinquo meo nomine Fulcherio dimissum est, unum videlicet alodem in territorio Dunensi, juxta Campum Martis situm, in loco qui antiquitus Martis Aqua, novitatis depravatione appellatur Mortua Aqua, cum pratis, vineis, terris cultis et incultis, servis et ancilis [*sic*], qui in potestate ejusdem loci commorantur, vel ad ejus potestatem pertinentes, ubicunque inventi fuerint, excepto uno nomine Ansberto. Hoc autem facio pro redemptione animae meae seniorisque mei Odonis, videlicet comitis, ac conjugis meae nomine Emelinae, filiorumque meorum Evrardi, Arduini, Hugonis episcopi, Gelduini et Fulcherii Carnotensis propinqui mei, cui hereditario jure in praefato alode [*sic*] successi. Sed ut haec elemosina, quam sicut predixi in loco Majoris Monasterii facere disposui, certiore habeat firmitatem, dedit michi domnus



pounds of cooked gold as security for this gift. Gelduin warned that any of his heirs who attempted to dispute the gift, either on their own or through another person, would have to pay a penalty of the same amount. The viscount or the monks suspected that this donation would be contested by his kin, which testifies to the strength of the claim of such relatives to his possessions.

The inheritance patterns of this family become more evident in the next generation and it is clear that this family did not conform to a model of primogenitary inheritance. Instead, partible inheritance was preferred. This strategy is discernible in a series of charters from the mid-eleventh century. When Ivo of Courville, a vassal of the viscounts of Chartres, made a donation to Marmoutier, he had the consent of his feudal lords, Viscount Gelduin of Chartres and his sons Harduin and Evrard.¹⁵² The participation of two of Gelduin's sons as the collective lords of Ivo of Courville reveals that one son had not been designated to inherit all familial lands or vassals. Rather, responsibilities and rights to the patrimony were shared. Upon Gelduin's

....Continued....

Albertus abbas, qui tunc temporis monasterio praeerat, fratres ejusdem loci IIII libras cocti auri centum librarum denariorum precii, concilio ac jussione Ermengardis comitissae, supradicti domini mei uxoris. Volo ergo atque precipio ut si aliquis de hereditibus meis, aut per se aut per intromissam personam, contra hanc donationem, quam libera mente et propria voluntate facio, aliquam calumniam monachis post meum decessum inferre voluerit, centum cocti auri libras exolvat et quod petit non vindicet, sed donatio firma permaneat.

A. de Dion, "Les seigneurs de Breteuil," pp. 198-9, suggests that Gelduin inherited the viscounty of Chartres from his wife's family. De Dion believes Emmeline was the daughter of Fulcher of Chartres. Considering that Gelduin states that he inherited these lands from his kinsmen Fulcher and Gelduin, it is possible that the land in question, and perhaps the title of vicomte, came from his wife's family.

This Bishop Hugh could be the infamous Hugh of Langres who lost his office to his multitude of crimes (see Chapter 5, pp. 258-60).

152. *CMPD*, no. 109, p. 101: Molendinum etenim unum scilicet Frenchesac, qui mihi paterno jure contigerat, in ipsis fundamentis ecclesiae viro concesseram religioso, scilicet domno Willelmo, assensu domini mei Gilduini vicecomitis filiorumque ejus Arduini atque Ebrardi, a quibus habeo totam terram Curvae villae, cum ecclesia una, et omnibus subjacentibus ei servis vel ancillis magis vel parvis nunc ad usum monachorum, ibi Deo famulantium in perpetua possessione concedo.

death, Harduin succeeded him as viscount, but his tenure was very brief.¹⁵³ His brother Evrard, whom Orderic Vitalis labels "one of the most highly born nobles in France," assumed the title when Harduin died.¹⁵⁴ The division of the patrimony among the sons is evident in a charter from 1073 which records Evrard's entrance into the monastery of Marmoutier. Evrard gave his lands to his brothers, left his money to the poor and then went on pilgrimage. When he returned he became a monk.¹⁵⁵ The viscount specified that his honors and possessions would revert to his brothers, indicating that they would be shared by his siblings. Hugh was already lord of Le Puiset and was selected to succeed to the honor of viscount. Galeran, the youngest

153. Only one charter is extant from the tenure of Harduin (see *CMPD*, no. 110, pp. 101-2). In another charter, Evrard stated that he had succeeded his brother to the honors and title of viscount (see *CMPD* no. 17, pp. 22-3).

154. Orderic, *History*, 3:139.

155. *CMPD*, no. 41, pp. 38-40.: Illustris quidam Carnotensium vicecomes, Ebrardus nomine, audita Domini voce quae dicit: "Nisi quis renunciaverit omnibus quae possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus;" et "venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego vos reficiam;" timens, ne si ab ista Domini benignissima admonitione se faceret alienum, alienaretur etiam in futuro a regno coelorum, excogitare cepit qualiter ad ipsum dominum propius accederet, ipsiusque servitio se familiariter manciparet. Et quia ad hoc magnum ei faciebant impedimentum et praesens saeculum, et quaeque in eo possidere videbatur, nec facile illi erat adimplere quod volebat, maluit omnia omnino relinquere, quam pro his in perpetuum infernales cruciatus sustinere. Igitur honorem suum et possessiones fratribus suis dereliquit, reliqua autem quae in auro et argento habere potuit, pauperibus erogavit, quatinus nichil jam sollicitus de rebus transitoriis, securius et expeditius inhiaret divinis. Inter illa quidem quae Domino per manus pauperum suorum condonavit, dedit nobis, monachis videlicet Majoris Monasterii beati Martini, sub regimine nunc agentibus domni abbatis nostri Bartholomei, anno ab incarnatione Domini M LXX III, quicquid in dominio habere videbatur in villa illa, quae villa Nantulfi nuncupatur, quae in Dunensi territorio consistit; id est medietatem ipsius villae et ecclesiam quandam quae apud Averdonum sita est. Reliqua vero predictae villa medietas in manu fratris sui Hugonis, scilicet domini de Puteolo castro, ad tumpus [sic] remansit...Sed, ut ad propositum redeamus, domnus Ebrardus nudus et pauper effectus, patria, parentibus suis derelictis, peregre profectus est. Cumque de peregrinatione illa in qua multo tempore demoratus est, reverteretur ad Majus Monasterium, habitum inibi monachium suscepturus devenit, ubi cum pro quibusdam uxoris suae impedimentis, aliquandiu in laicali habitu moraretur, venit ad eum Hugo, frater ipsius, qui ei in honorem vicomitis successerat.

This brother Hugh was obviously not the same Hugh in *CMPD*, no. 21, pp. 21-2, who was labeled bishop. Gelduin may have had two sons named Hugh; one who was the bishop of Langres and the other who succeeded his brother Evrard as viscount.



brother, had already inherited part of the patrimony, for he was lord of Breteuil. The participation of both brothers in the charter supports fraternal right to all family holdings.

The division of the vicecomital patrimony is further evident in the donation of Nottonville made at the time of Evrard's entrance into Marmoutier. Evrard himself gave his portion of Nottonville and the church at Averdon.¹⁵⁶ All three of Viscount Gelduin's sons possessed parts of this patrimonial possession. Hugh and Lord Galeran of Breteuil gave their respective halves of this village to Marmoutier as well.¹⁵⁷ In the charter that records Evrard's abandonment of the secular world, Hugh gave his half of Nottonville "out of affection for his brother."¹⁵⁸ Galeran consented to his brother's donation of his portion at Nottonville in this same charter. In 1077, he was similarly motivated by "love for his brother Evrard, who was a monk held in this vill."¹⁵⁹ Each of Gelduin's three surviving sons possessed a share of

156. See the preceding note.

157. *CMPD*, no. 41 p. 39: Qui [Hugh] cum ab eo plurima salutis suae monita audisset, compunctus timore divino, immo etiam commotus amore fraterno, dedit nobis medietatem illius villae, cujus alteram medietatem jam supradiximus domnum Ebrardum nobis donasse, et insuper donum ipsius domni Ebrardi, auctoritate sua in capitulo nostro nobis libentissime confirmavit, et de utroque donum super altare beati Martini portavit. Eodem quoque modo gratantissime auctorizavit utriusque donationem Gualerannus, dominus de Bretulio, frater ipsorum.

Sed nec illud est omittendum quod hoc quoque sub dono supradicto, vicecomes Hugo concessit nobis, annuente ibi tunc domno Ebrardo, et apud castrum Puteolum, postea Gualeranno fratris suis [*sic*], ut quicumque fevati erant de his, quae ad honorem pertinebant possessionis villae Nantulfi, fevos ipsos aut aliquid ex eis si vellent, vel donarent nobis, vel venderent, vel etiam de nobis tenerent, quicquid ergo hinc fieret suo nobis firmavit auctoramento.

158. See the preceding note.

159. *CMPD*, no. 39, p. 36: Pateat universorum notioni bonorum quod ego Walerannus, sub fidei gratia christiane seculari militiae deditus, possessor in Franci castrum vocabulo Bretulii, ob amorem domini germanique mei fratris Ebrardi, ante paucum tempus monachi in Majori Monasterio Sancti Martini Turonensis effecti, ipse quoque factus eidem loco devotus et familiaris, donaverim Deo et ipsi Sancto Martino sibi inibi famulantibus monachis, servos omnes et ancillas, quas habebam in illa possessione quae vocatur Nantulfi, ita ut nullum eorum aut aliquid suum retineam mihi, sed



the lands or its dependents at Nottonville, providing conclusive proof that the vicecomital family of Chartres practiced partible inheritance.

The right of younger sons in this family is corroborated by Evrard's challenge to the donation to Marmoutier of the church of Marolles and the allod of Morteuves made by his father and his brother Harduin. Evrard had recently become viscount and disputed this gift on the grounds that he had not consented to it.¹⁶⁰ He claimed that he did not authorize the donation of the allod of Morteuves even though he acted as a witness to the transfer, which implies his consent.¹⁶¹ The lack of siblings' consent as a legitimate reason for contesting gifts proves the right that the younger sons had to the patrimony, although Evrard waited until he was actually viscount before he made this complaint. The necessity of the consent of all sons is also conspicuous in the charter that records Evrard's entrance into the monastery. His two surviving younger brothers, Hugh and Galeran, both consented to the act, which reveals their hold over patrimonial lands as well as active participation in determining

....Continued....

quicquid in eis et in rebus suis juris fuit hactenus mei, sit deinceps Sancti Martini et monachorum Majoris Monasterii sui.

160. *CMPD*, no. 117, p. 111: Cum post mortem Harduini, vicecomitis Carnotensis, frater ejus Ebrardus vicecomitatus suscepisset honorem, sicut est animus rerum mutare statum, et nova quaeque adoriri avidus, multa quae pater ejus vel frater statuerant destituere et quae probaverant cepit improbare. Unde contigit ut rebus quibusdam, quas pater ejus Gelduinus et frater supradictus Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii dederant, calumniam non vereretur inferre, et minitaretur auferre, ecclesiam videlicet de Mairolis et alodum Mortuae Aquae; hanc praetendens occasionem, quod quasi non suo data fuerint auctoramento. Quod audientes supramemorati caenobii fratres, convenerunt cum de illatis rebus suis calumniis et minis, et rationabiliter ostendentes, quam juste eatenus possederint, quod illi noviter calumniaretur.

161. I interpret participation in the act to indicate tacit abandonment of any claim to the donated property (see Tabuteau, *Transfers*, p. 120).

the future of family holdings.¹⁶²

The viscounts of Chartres passed the title to the eldest surviving son and, in the event of his death, to other sons in the order of birth. Even though the title of viscount belonged solely to the eldest son, the patrimony was divided among all sons. Two of the most important possessions of the viscounts were the lordships of Le Puiset and Breteuil. Viscount Gelduin's younger sons received these lordships from him as their inheritance. The lordship of Breteuil, which is located in the Beauvaisis, was the original possession of this family. As such, in a system of primogeniture and patrilineage it would have been passed to the eldest son. Yet Gelduin's youngest son Galeran inherited these possessions, indicating that in this generation of the vicecomital family of Chartres the youngest son inherited the traditional patrimonial lordship of Breteuil.¹⁶³ Hugh, the third son, became the lord of Le Puiset.¹⁶⁴ Due to their tremendous wealth, the viscounts of Chartres could divide the patrimony among

162. *CMPD*, no. 41, p. 39: *Donum et auctoramentum domni Hugonis vicecomitis, fratris domni Ebrardi, factum est apud Majus Monasterium, in capitulo, ubi et affuerent hii audientes et videntes...*

Auctoramentum Gualeranni factum est apud Puteolum, castellum domini Hugonis, fratris ipsius, quando domnus abbas Bartholomeus quaerebat solutionem inter dominum Ebrardum et uxorem ejus, et affuerent audientes et videntes qui subnotati sunt testes.

163. Breteuil had been in the possession of this family since the late tenth century. Sometime in the early eleventh century, Gelduin acquired lands in Chartres, by marriage, inheritance or conquest. The subsequent lords of Breteuil were descended from Gelduin's son Galeran. Two branches of the family developed after Galeran's death: one in Beauvaisis and the other in Chartres.

164. Le Puiset was first used as a title by Gelduin's son Hugh. After Hugh I, his vicecomital successors, Hugh II and Hugh III, were both referred to as "Hugh of Le Puiset" in the sources. Evrard I's daughter Adelaide was known as "Adelaide of Le Puiset," perhaps to distinguish her from the family who controlled the Norman Breteuil. Her son Evrard used his mother's name and was "Evrard du Puiset." Evrard I could have held Le Puiset before he became viscount, which would also account for Adelaide's denomination of du Puiset.

all sons without fear of weakening their financial well-being or political autonomy.¹⁶⁵

Like their counterparts in Chartres, the family of the viscounts of Châteaudun and the counts of Perche provided all sons, and in one case daughters, with a share of the patrimony. In the eleventh century the families of the viscounts of Châteaudun and of the counts of Perche were united by the marriage of Melisend of Châteaudun with Geoffrey of Perche (see Figures 13-15). Viscountess Hildegard had divided her lands between her son Hugh, the archbishop of Tours, and her daughter Melisend, and presumably provided her other daughter with property as well. When she gave her allod at Beaumont to St. Père, Hildegard had Hugh's consent.¹⁶⁶ His presence as a consenter documents his claim to the land as Hildegard's heir.¹⁶⁷ Melisend also received a portion of the family patrimony. Her son, Count Geoffrey I of Perche, held the lordships of Illiers and Courville, which he inherited from the vicecomital family of Châteaudun through her.

Viscountess Hildegard must have suspected that her donation to St. Père was in danger of contestation because she issued a warning to her descendants and any other person not to usurp it or her son Hugh would pronounce the sentence of anathema

165. It is important to note that Gelduin had no known daughters, which makes it impossible to determine if this family would have divided its patrimony among daughters as well. A. de Dion, "Le Puiset," pp. 1-8, suggests that there was a daughter named Elizabeth who became the lady of Sours. However, there is no evidence of this person in the charters. De Dion's assertion would seem to be based upon a confusion with Harduin's wife Elizabeth.

166. *CSPDC*, no. 6, pp. 117-8: *His aliisque dictis quampluribus, sanctorum dictis ac sacrae scripturae mysteriis edocta et ammonita, ego Hildegardis, vicecomitissa Castri-dunis, do sanctissimo Petro Carnotensis coenobii alodum meum de Bello Monte, cum terris cultis et incultis, et silvis piscatoriisque ibidem pertinentibus, assentiente et annuente filio meo Hugone, archiepiscopo Turonorum.*

167. Hugh himself was apparently the father of at least one child, Helgaud. The list of witnesses for this charter labels Helgaud the son of the archbishop.

upon them.¹⁶⁸ Since it was more common at this time for donors to warn relatives in general, the viscountess was evidently aware of tension among her relatives over the patrimony.

Inheritance in the next generation of viscounts of Châteaudun and counts of Perche was uncomplicated. Melisend and Geoffrey had only one child, Geoffrey I, who inherited the titles of both viscount and count. Geoffrey I and his wife Heloise had two sons, Hugh and Rotrou, but it is not possible to establish their order of birth.¹⁶⁹ Their names suggest that Hugh was destined to be the viscount of Châteaudun and Rotrou the count of Perche. Selection of names might be determined by which of the family offices or honors the child would eventually inherit. The name "Hugh" was borne by the viscounts of Châteaudun, and would thus have been given to the son intended to succeed to this office.¹⁷⁰ Rotrou, however, came from the founder of the house of Perche and designated the son who would one day be count.¹⁷¹ Moreover, as count was a more important office than viscount, this evidence suggests that Rotrou was older than Hugh. Rotrou did eventually succeed his

168. *CSPDC*, no. 6, pp. 117-8: Si quis vero ex progenie mea aut alius invasor, stimulis vel sagittis exsagittatus diabolicis, vim fecerit monachis, et elemosinam, quam Sancto Petro dedi, quocumque modo abstulerit, dampnatione dampnatus perpetua, pereat cum Dathan et Abiron et Anna et Caipha; auctoritateque filii mei archipraesulis Hugonis anathematizatus permaneat.

169. *DENIS*, no. 5, pp. 13-19. In this charter Hugh is listed first and Rotrou second.

170. Hugh, the son of Viscountess Hildegard, had acted as the viscount before he became archbishop.

171. Names reflected a specific future for the child, as is apparent in the Burgundian nobility's selection of certain names for future lords and others for children destined to hold ecclesiastical offices (see Bouchard, *Sword, Miter and Cloister*, pp. 45-65).

father to both titles, but Hugh was viscount for a short time.¹⁷² Initially, the titles and patrimony were divided among the sons.

Rotrou married Adelina, the daughter of Warin of Bellême, and they had at least three sons and as many daughters. Once again, the titles and patrimony were divided among the sons. Geoffrey II became the count of Perche and Mortagne, Hugh II viscount of Châteaudun, and Rotrou lord of Montfort.¹⁷³ There is some indication, however, that by Rotrou I's day the eldest son was coming to be favored. In approximately 1078 Rotrou donated to St. Père the church of St. Denis at Nogent with the consent of his wife Beatrice and their sons.¹⁷⁴ Rotrou's daughter-in-law also made a gift and she was labeled, "uxore majoris filii," the wife of the eldest son. The use of the qualifying term "eldest son" implies the first son was somehow different from the others. It appears that forces were at work subtly reshaping and changing the structure of this noble family.

In spite of this suggestion of primogeniture and patrilineage, the consent of brothers to gifts from the patrimony continued to be required. In 1080 when Gervase

172. Hugh appears in very few charters: *CMPD* no. 1, pp. 1-3, no. 49, pp. 45-6. Oeillet des Murs believes that Hugh died before his father (see *Les comtes du Perche*, p. 171). Yet in these charters, Hugh is referred to as viscount, indicating he must have succeeded his father, albeit briefly. For a further discussion of this succession, see *CMPD*, p. 2, note 1.

It is also possible that Hugh's father gave him the office since he was an adult and his father already had another office himself.

173. Unfortunately information on the daughters Helvisa, Beatrice and perhaps Eustachia, is not abundant. Beatrice was married to Renaud IV of Château-Gontier and this Eustachia may be the same Eustachia who married William II Gouet.

174. *CSPDC*, no. 30, pp. 156-8: Unde ego Rotrocus, cassibus mundanae conversationis inretitus, militiae armis accinctus, prae omnibus peccatorum pondere pressus, verumtamen de multitudine misericordiarum Domini praesumo indignus opus bonum et quod creditur laudabilius; monasterium scilicet, quod meus genitor Gausfredus in honore sancti Dionisii construere coepit, in territorio non longe distante a castello Nogiomo dicto, cupio amplius adornare et magnificare....Beatrix quoque, uxor majoris filii, intra arcem suam aurum et argentum habens, se sibi propinquiorum estimans, preter calicem unum quem fecerat aureum, nichil omnino voluit reddere.

the knight sold and donated to Marmoutier part of the land that he held at Bury, he had the consent not only of his feudal lord, Viscount Hugh, but also of Hugh's brother Count Geoffrey II.¹⁷⁵ Even though the family lands and titles had been divided, each brother maintained a claim to the territories that the other possessed. These brothers also shared authority over certain patrimonial properties. When they confirmed Gervase's gift, Geoffrey and Hugh together gave the church at Rodon to the monks of Marmoutier. The roles that the women of this family played also establishes a lack of patrilineage. Viscountess Hildegard controlled patrimonial lands even though she had a son who could have assumed authority over family possessions. Later wives of the counts of Perche and the viscounts of Châteaudun were the active partners of their husbands. They appeared in charters, demonstrating their claim to family possessions and participation in determining their future. The women of this family were not subjugated by their husbands or male kin.¹⁷⁶

The viscounts of Châteaudun and the counts of Perche practiced partible inheritance. While there is some indication that the eldest son was being distinguished from his brothers, it is equally evident that the patrimony continued to be divided. Furthermore, patrilineage had yet to come to characterize the organization of this noble family. Indeed, this family corroborates the coexistence of some of the elements of primogeniture and patrilineage with division of the patrimony.

175. *CMPD*, no. 140, pp. 130-1: Noverint omnes presentes et futuri quod Gervasium militem, filium Lancelini, partim vendidisse, partim donasse nobis scilicet Majoris Monasterii monachis quandam terram in Blesensi pago sitam, Buriacum nuncupatam, et in ea consistentem ecclesiolam unam in honore....[elision in edition] annuente conjuge sua nomine Oschia, et filiis suis Lancelino, Guillelmo, Rodulfo, Bernerio, Gilduino, Matheo, acceptis ab Hugone preposito obedientiae de Cambone denariorum solidis 500 et auri tres uncias atque dimidia. Hugo quoque cognomento Capellus vicecomes de Castro Duno de cujus fevo erat terra illa et ecclesia, hanc venditionem donationemque Gervasii nobis concessit, suoque auctoramento firmavit....

Post paucum tempus frater supradicti vicecomitis Hugonis, Gaufredus nomine, illam venditionem a Gervasio factam suo nobis concessit auctoramento, et ipsi duo fratres concesserunt nobis ecclesiam de Rosdono, testibus....

176. For discussion of this, see Chapter 7, pp. 477-97.



The vicecomital families of Blois-Chartres employed a variety of inheritance strategies. The patrimonies and titles of the viscounts of Chartres and Châteaudun were clearly divisible among all sons. The two vicecomital families of Blois designated the eldest son as viscount but allowed other children a claim to the patrimony, although they do not seem to have granted progeny portions of the patrimony. These families controlled vast and rich estates; hence, there was no need to restrict heirs. As the eleventh century progressed, however, signs of financial strain appeared in the two families of the viscounts of Blois. Subtle signs of change to primogeniture, and perhaps patrilineage, become apparent, but these families had not yet begun to conform rigidly to these patterns by the end of the eleventh century. The elements were present, but they had yet to combine to produce a transformation.

The Counts of Blois-Chartres

Inheritance within the family of the counts of Blois-Chartres was less complicated than in other noble families of the county. It has been argued that concepts of royal inheritance were based upon the models used by the nobility of France.¹⁷⁷ Andrew Lewis postulates that primogeniture was a mode of inheritance utilized especially by comital families, which the Capetians adopted to insure the stability of royal succession. This position presumes that comital families practiced only one system of inheritance during the tenth and eleventh centuries and that it remained unchanged from generation to generation. The inheritance scheme of the counts of Blois-Chartres did not conform to this predictable pattern. Decisions about inheritance were determined by criteria unique to each generation, making it

177. Andrew Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, MA: 1981) pp. 1-6, 101-4.

impossible to state that the counts always implemented one pattern.

Thibaut Le Tricheur, the first count of Blois-Chartres, and his wife Letgard had two sons (see Figures 16 and 17). The eldest son, Hugh, was given the office of archbishop of Bourges, while the second son, Eudes, inherited the counties of Blois and Chartres.¹⁷⁸ The same pattern of the eldest son receiving an important ecclesiastical office and the second son the patrimony occurred in the next generation. Eudes I had four sons, Roger, Thibaut, Eudes II and Landric. Roger became bishop of Beauvais, Thibaut and Eudes inherited the county of Blois-Chartres,¹⁷⁹ and Landric was given some share of the patrimony.¹⁸⁰ For two generations, the eldest son did not become the count but assumed an important ecclesiastical office instead.

Inheritance was dramatically affected by the expansion of the comital family's territorial power under Count Eudes II. Eudes II inherited the counties of Blois and Chartres from his father, and in 1019 the county of Champagne also fell to him through his grandmother Letgard. These counties were divided between Eudes II's two sons, Stephen and Thibaut. Stephen, the elder, became the count of Champagne rather than receiving the traditional patrimony of Blois and Chartres, which went to the second son, Thibaut III. In a system of rigid primogeniture the eldest son usually inherited the original patrimony, while younger sons received conquests and maternal

178. Lex, *Eudes*, p. 18; Lesueur, *Thibaut*, p. 212.

179. When Eudes I died, his wife Bertha supervised the county for her two minor sons, Thibaut and Eudes. It is difficult to determine which of the two was the elder. The issue is somewhat moot, however, since Thibaut died about 1004, before he came of age.

180. Lucien Merlet, *Lettres*, p. 346, identifies Roger as the bishop of Beauvais. An act of King Robert II refers to Landric holding a benefice (see Newman, *Robert*, no. 41, pp. 51-4).

lands.¹⁸¹ This did not occur, however, in the comital family and this pattern was repeated in the next generation. Thibaut III's eldest son, Hugh, inherited the Champenois possessions and became count of Troyes and Meaux,¹⁸² while Stephen, the second son, became count of Blois-Chartres.¹⁸³ Primogeniture does not accurately represent the inheritance practices of the counts of Blois-Chartres in the eleventh century. The patrimony and titles were divided among sons or they were provided with prestigious ecclesiastical positions, and the order of inheritance was governed by the political and territorial circumstances of each generation. Lewis must look to some source other than the comital family of Blois-Chartres for the origins of the adoption by the Capetians of primogeniture as their primary method of inheritance.

The noble families of Blois-Chartres demonstrate a wide variation of inheritance and family structure. There was no single established system. Indeed, the type of inheritance selected was a response to the particular resources of the family. In some cases, when families could no longer divide the patrimony effectively, they adopted primogeniture. In all ranks of the nobility, siblings and relatives continued to have a claim or right to the patrimony even if titles were passed primogenitorily. The correlation between primogeniture and patrilineage, moreover, is challenged by the evidence from Blois-Chartres. Furthermore, the adoption of strict patrilineage and

181. This was the usual practice if the conquest lands were not larger than the original patrimony. In the case of the counts of Blois-Chartres the issue of the size of the patrimony, as compared with the inherited lands of Champagne, is not relevant. The combined holdings of Blois, Chartres and Tours would be roughly equal in size to Champagne.

182. Meaux and Troyes were part of the lands that Count Eudes II inherited through his grandmother Ledgard.

183. There was another son, Eudes, who died either before his father or shortly after Thibaut III.



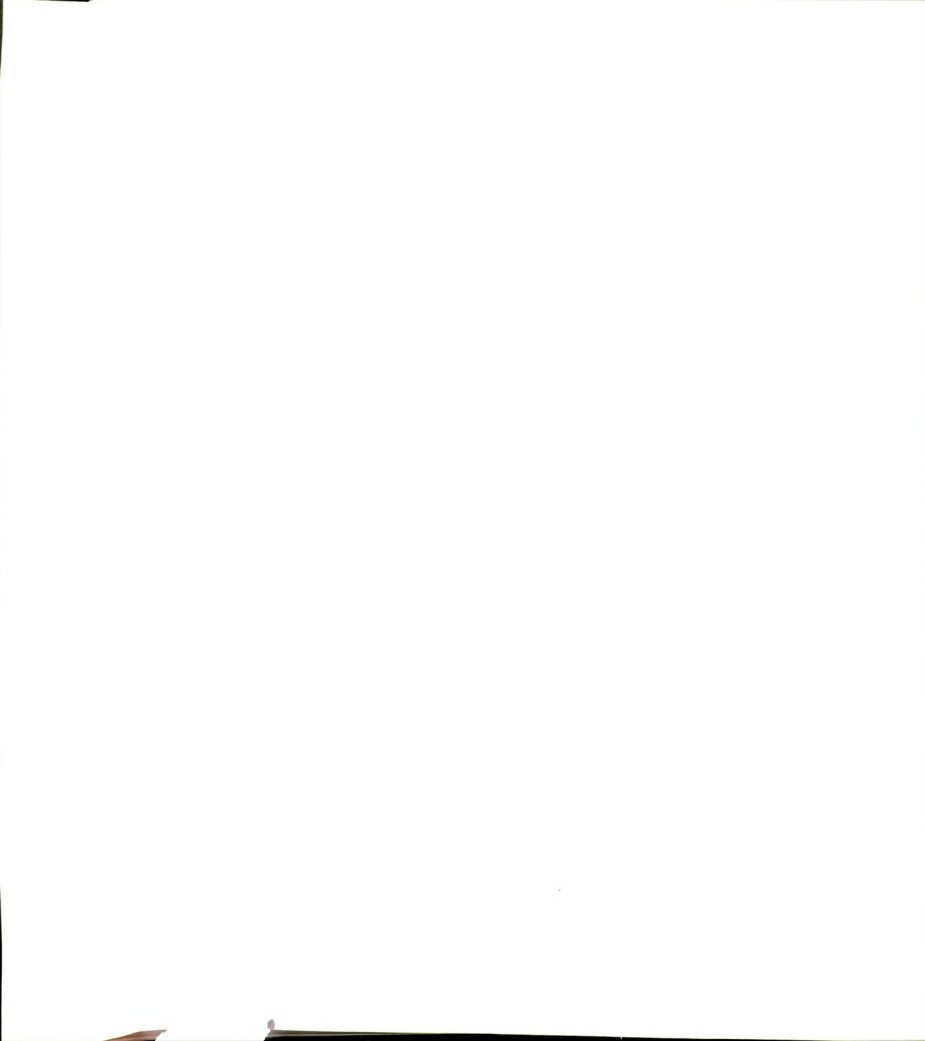
primogeniture in Blois-Chartres occurred first in the ranks of the knights. In other words, instead of the "trickle down" model for change in inheritance and family organization, in this county such changes are first detectable in the lower echelons of the nobility.¹⁸⁴

The presence of bastards in at least two noble families of the region confirms an absence of patrilineal family structure. The Frétevals acknowledged their illegitimate offspring and included them in the family. The Dangeau family, who were the vassals of the Gouets, also recognized their bastard offspring. Herlebald and Eudes of Dangeau's illegitimate brother, Rainald Brisard, appeared in the charters of this family as a witness, which confirms his acceptance as part of the family.¹⁸⁵ The basic premise of patrilineage is the limitation of heirs. The inclusion of bastards, the participation of collateral kin in the charters, and the influential roles assumed by noblewomen combine to prove that no such concept of family organization operated in the eleventh century among the noble families of Blois-Chartres.

Certain signs of tension and depletion of resources are detectable within some families, particularly those of the knights, but the dramatic transformation from partible inheritance and collateral family structure had not taken place in this county by the end of the eleventh century. The seeds of such a change had been sown, but they would not bear the fruit of primogeniture and patrilineage until far into the twelfth century.

184. Duby, *Chiv. Soc.*, p. 117.

185. *CMPD*, no. 25, pp. 26-7; for discussion of this family see pp. 109-10 and p. 123 of this chapter. For the text of these charters see this Chapter, notes 40 and 41. In this charter Ranald Brisard appears as a witness for both of his brothers. He is labelled: Ranald Brisardus, frater Herlebalidi bastardus, and Rainaldus Brisardus, frater Odonis Bastardus.



CHAPTER FOUR

NOBLEWOMEN IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne Wemple perhaps best sum up the current view of the experience of noblewomen in the eleventh century:

As the idea of primogeniture and the indivisibility of the patrimony was again entrenched, the daughters of the nobility suffered a severe diminution of their rights....With the power of their women thus severely reduced, the aristocratic family was in better condition to face the ensuing period of struggle with the resurgent monarchies--a struggle that continued well into modern times. The success of the aristocracy as a class in adjusting itself to this broad political change was accomplished largely at the expense of aristocratic women. This meant that the heads of great families--both men and women--were losing the power they had derived from the private power of the family. But while it was possible for aristocratic men to retain the same power by acting as administrators of the new institutions, such positions were not open to noble women. Their activities were confined to the role of housekeeper, a role whose boundaries were shrinking.¹

The Carolingian period, in this interpretation, was the apex of noblewomen's autonomy; the succeeding centuries represent a decline in such activities as landholding, political participation and spousal partnership.² The evidence from

1. McNamara and Wemple, "The Power of Women," 137-8.

2. The nature of women's history makes it very difficult to point to specific books that deal solely with the experience of noblewomen. Margaret Wade Labarge considers noblewomen in her recent book *A Small Sound of the Trumpet* (Boston: 1986), yet the examples she provides are drawn mostly from royal families and the higher nobility. Perhaps not surprising, there has been considerable examination of medieval queens. See, for example, Amy Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings* (Cambridge, MA: 1950); Marion Facingier, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 5 (9168), 3-48; M. W. Campbell, "Queen Emma and Aelgifu of Northampton: Canute the Great's Women," *Medieval Scandinavia*, 4 (1971), 66-79; eadem, "Emma, reine d'Angleterre: Mère dénaturée ou femme vindicative?" *Annales de Normandie*, 23 (1973), 97-114; H. E. Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks*



eleventh-century Blois-Chartres challenges this configuration. The charters provide examples of noblewomen wielding considerable influence within the family and noble society. Indeed, the same description that McNamara and Wemple use to describe the possibilities for noblewomen in the Early Middle Ages still applies in many ways to the noblewomen of eleventh-century Chartres:

Wherever we look during this period, we find no really effective barriers to the capacity of women to exercise power. They appear as military leaders, judges, castellans, controllers of property. Though barred from the priesthood, they even exercised vast power over the Church as a result of their family positions.³

The noblewomen of Blois-Chartres, too, controlled property, acted as guardians for their children, and participated in both political and feudal matters.⁴

....Continued....

Papers, 26 (1972), 93-183; K. E. Cutler, "Edith, Queen of England, 1045-1066," *Medieval Studies*, 35 (1973), 222-31; Anne Prah-Perchon, "Rôle officiel de Mathilde femme de Guillaume le Conquérant, 1053-1083," (Thèse du troisième cycle, Aix-en-Provence, 1973); Janet Nelson, "Queens as Jezebels: The Careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History," in *Medieval Women* (Oxford: 1978), ed. by Derek Baker, pp. 31-78 (hereafter, Baker, *Women*); Bernard Hamilton, "Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem, 100-1190," in Baker, *Women*, pp. 143-74; Pauline Stafford, "The King's Wife in Wessex," *Past and Present*, 91 (1981), 3-27; eadem, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (Athens: 1983).

Information on women in the lower echelons of the noble class and those of knightly status is usually found in articles on specific families or regions. Yet, generally, scholars considering the topic of noblewomen adhere to Duby's thesis on patrilineage and therefore do little in the way of examining the actual experiences of noblewomen in the eleventh century. From my research, I would suggest that more needs to be done to reevaluate the activities and experiences of noblewomen in this century. We have too long adhered to Duby's general thesis on patrilineage and the impact that it had on women in the family and society as a whole.

3. McNamara and Wemple, "The Power of Women", 136.

4. Several attempts have been made at writing a general history of women. See, for example, Vern Bullough, *The Subordinate Sex: A History of Attitudes toward Women* (Urbana: 1973); Martin King Whyte, *The Status of Women in Preindustrial Societies* (Princeton: 1978); Bonnie Anderson and Judith Zinsser, *A History of their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present*, 2 vols. (New York: 1988). Many scholars have concentrated their examination on women in the Middle Ages. See the following, Eileen Power, "The Position of Women," in *The Legacy of the Middle*

To evaluate the experiences of noblewomen in the county of Blois-Chartres, a number of topics will be considered, among them marriage, donations and political roles.⁵ In the discussion of marriage, the primary objective will be to determine what kind of marriage portion prevailed and evaluate what this meant in regard to the position of women. Under the rubric of donations, independent gifts by noblewomen and the ability of women to control and inherit land will be considered. The political opportunities or influence that noblewomen assumed will also be examined, specifically their participation in the feudal realm. If modern scholars are accurate in their definition of the feudal relationships, then women should have been excluded from any participation in the matters of tenure and feudal politics. Yet the charters suggest that this rigid and precise interpretation of recent historians had little reality in the society of eleventh-century Blois-Chartres.

....Continued....

following, Eileen Power, "The Position of Women," in *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, ed. by C. G. Crump, (Oxford: 1926), pp. 401-33; eadem, *Medieval Women*, ed. by M. M. Postan, (Cambridge: 1975); Jean Verdon, "La Femme dans la société en France aux Xe et XIe siècles" (thèse du troisième cycle, Paris X, 1974); Suzanne Fonay Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500-900* (Philadelphia: 1981); Angela Lucas, *Women in the Middle Ages: Religion, Marriage and Letters* (New York: 1983); Shahar Shulamith, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Chaya Galai (New York and London: 1983); Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago: 1985); Judith Bennett, *Women in the Medieval English Countryside: Gender and Household in Brigstock before the Plague* (New York and Oxford: 1987); Barbara Hanawalt, *The Ties that Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England* (Oxford: 1988).

One approach adopted by scholars of the history of women is to collect essays that examine the various experiences of women into one volume. See for example, Susan Mosher Stuard, ed., *Women in Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: 1976); Derek Baker, ed., *Medieval Women* (Oxford: 1978); Constance Berman, ed., *The Worlds of Medieval Women: Creativity, Influence, Imagination* (Morgantown: 1985); Barbara Hanawalt, ed., *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe* (Bloomington: 1986); Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, eds., *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, 2nd. ed., (Boston: 1987); Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, eds., *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Athens: 1988); Joel Rosenthal, ed., *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History* (Athens: 1990).

5. The discussion will be limited to secular noblewomen, since the charters provide no information on women who entered the Church. Undoubtedly noble families of Chartres did place some of their daughters in the Church, but nothing is known of them, at least at this point.

Statistical Analysis of Roles Assumed by Noblewomen

Statistical analysis of the eleventh-century charters provides an introduction to the types of powers, activities and roles that the noblewomen of Blois-Chartres were able to assume. The frequency of noblewomen's participation in the charters challenges an interpretation of restriction and powerlessness for medieval aristocratic women. Three hundred and twenty-six eleventh-century charters are extant in the cartularies of Marmoutier and St. Père. In fifty-seven of those, wives participated as coactors, and in another forty-six as consenters (see Table 1 and Table 2). A total of 104 in 326 charters means that wives were consulted in just over thirty-one per cent of all land transactions of the eleventh century. Counting daughters, sisters, mothers, other female kin and feudal ladies as well as wives, women appear as coactors in 83 of the 326 charters, and as consenters 126 of 326, for a combined figure of 209 of 326 or sixty-four per cent.⁶ Women also appeared as witnesses (27 of 326) (Table 6), as signing the charters (51 of 326) (Table 8), and as receiving compensation for their consent (37 of 326) (Table 4). Grants were also made for the souls of female kin (43 of 326), most particularly wives and mothers (Table 10). This statistical analysis has important implications for the issue of noblewomen's autonomy within the family and noble society. Women acted in charters with their husbands, sons or brothers. They also witnessed and received compensation for their consent. In eleventh-century Blois-Chartres noblewomen were not powerless, which challenges the assumption that noble families were actively excluding or restricting women.

Statistical evaluation of male participation in the charters offers additional insight into the position of women in noble society and family. Not only did wives

6. A comparison of the numerical data demonstrates that wives were most likely to act in charters, while the incidence of mothers, sisters, daughters, etc., was fairly low, twelve, five and six respectively.

TABLE 1

WOMEN ACTING IN CHARTERS

Marmoutier: 149 charters extant.

WIFE	DAUGHTER	SISTER	MOTHER	LADY	OTHER
26	1	0	6	0	1

Saint-Père: 177 charters extant

WIFE	DAUGHTER	SISTER	MOTHER	LADY	OTHER
31	5	5	6	0	2

Total:

57	6	5	12	0	3
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Grand Total: 83

TABLE 2

WOMEN CONSENTING TO CHARTERS

Marmoutier:

WIFE	DAUGHTER	SISTER	MOTHER	LADY	OTHER
32	23	12	4	6	11

Saint-Père:

WIFE	DAUGHTER	SISTER	MOTHER	LADY	OTHER
14	10	1	4	8	1 (niece)

Total:

46	33	13	8	14	12
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Grand Total: 126

Combined Grand Total from Tables 1 and 2: 209

TABLE 3

MEN CONSENTING

Marmoutier:

SON	BROTHER	FATHER	UNCLE	OTHER
25	15	1	3	11

Saint-Père:

SON	BROTHER	FATHER	UNCLE	OTHER
25	10	0	0	4

Total:

50	35	1	3	15
----	----	---	---	----

Grand Total: 111

TABLE 4

WOMEN RECEIVING COMPENSATION

Marmoutier:

WIFE	DAUGHTER	SISTER	MOTHER	LADY	OTHER
15	4	5	0	0	2 (nieces)

Saint-Père:

WIFE	DAUGHTER	SISTER	MOTHER	LADY	OTHER
8	1	1	1	0	0

Total:

23	5	6	1	0	2
----	---	---	---	---	---

Grand Total: 37

TABLE 5

MEN RECEIVING COMPENSATION

Marmoutier:

SON	BROTHER	FATHER	UNCLE	OTHER
8	3	0	0	6

Saint-Père:

SON	BROTHER	FATHER	UNCLE	OTHER
10	2	0	0	2

Total:

18	5	0	0	8
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Grand Total: 33



TABLE 6

WOMEN ACTING AS WITNESSES

Marmoutier:

WIFE	DAUGHTER	SISTER	MOTHER	LADY	OTHER
3	0	0	1	2	1

Saint-Père:

WIFE	DAUGHTER	SISTER	MOTHER	LADY	OTHER
10	3	2	2	0	3

Total:

13	3	2	3	2	4
----	---	---	---	---	---

Grand Total: 27

TABLE 7

MEN WITNESSING CHARTERS

Marmoutier:

SON	BROTHER	FATHER	UNCLE	OTHER
2	3	0	0	10

Saint-Père:

SON	BROTHER	FATHER	UNCLE	OTHER
5	5	0	2	5

Total:

7	8	0	2	15
---	---	---	---	----

Grand Total: 33

TABLE 8

SIGNATURES OF WOMEN TO CHARTERS

Marmoutier:

WIFE	DAUGHTER	SISTER	MOTHER	LADY	OTHER
6	2	3	1	3	1

Saint-Père:

WIFE	DAUGHTER	SISTER	MOTHER	LADY	OTHER
17	7	4	5	1	1

Total:

23	9	7	6	4	2
----	---	---	---	---	---

Grand Total: 51

TABLE 9

SIGNATURES OF MEN TO CHARTERS

Marmoutier:

SON	BROTHER	FATHER	UNCLE	OTHER
3	0	0	0	1

Saint-Père:

SON	BROTHER	FATHER	UNCLE	OTHER
11	2	0	0	1

Total:

14	2	0	0	2
----	---	---	---	---

Grand Total: 20

TABLE 10

DONATIONS FOR THE SOULS OF FEMALE KIN

Marmoutier:

WIFE	DAUGHTER	SISTER	MOTHER	LADY
10	2	0	8	0

Saint Père:

WIFE	DAUGHTER	SISTER	MOTHER	LADY
10	3	1	9	0

Total:

20	5	1	17	0
----	---	---	----	---

Grand Total: 43

appear in nearly one-third of the eleventh-century charters, but approximately twenty per cent of these transactions were made by families acting collectively as donors.⁷ Moreover, comparison of female and male kin in consenting and receiving compensation reveals important information. Donors secured the consent of their sons in fifteen per cent of their transactions and their daughters in ten per cent (Tables 2 and 3). Yet considerable discrepancy exists between male and female progeny who were granted compensation. Sons were remunerated in five per cent of the charters, while daughters in less than two per cent (Tables 4 and 5). Among siblings, brothers were three times more likely to consent than were their sisters, but they achieve parity compensation (Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5). Similarly, female extended kin were just as likely to consent as were such male relatives (Tables 2 and 3). Even though certain male relatives were significantly more active in the charters, a comparison of the totals of male and female family members' inclusion indicates women's equal participation. One hundred and twenty-six noblewomen acted as consenters to family transactions (Table 2). Somewhat fewer noblemen appeared, one hundred and eleven (Table 3). The same trend is apparent in regard to compensation. Thirty-seven women were granted counter gifts as compared to thirty-three men (Tables 4 and 5). Male relatives did witness charters slightly more often than females: thirty-three incidents as opposed to twenty-seven (Tables 6 and 7). The frequency and parity of women's participation in the charters points to a family structure that did not subjugate female kin or relegate them to powerlessness. Like noblemen, noblewomen were active participants in a complex family network and secured the consent of their relatives to their donations.

7. Of the 326 charters, men acted with their families in sixty-one acts, or just under twenty percent of the total.



Marriage, Dowry, Dower and the Control of Land

The medieval marital relationship experienced by noblewomen was paradoxical.⁸ Many noblewomen exercised some degree of power and independence within their marriages, but the marriage itself permitted little opportunity for self-assertion or self-determination for either partner. Marriages were arranged between families, and compatibility of the partners took a back seat to the political or social goals of the families involved. Furthermore, a woman who found herself in an unhappy or brutal marriage had little recourse. A letter of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres illustrates the point. Galeran of Meulan and his wife had serious and violent marital problems, but Fulbert concludes that the Church could offer little assistance in these difficulties.⁹ Women did, however, have some control over certain aspects of marriage, which is evident in Fulbert's assertion that a woman's oath of betrothal was as equally binding as that of her male counterpart.

In contrast to the experience of the wife of Galeran of Meulan, the charters provide evidence that some noble marriages were based upon a loving and mutually respectful partnership. Three charters, in particular, afford a personal glimpse into noble marital relations. When Robert *Fossatensis* made a donation to the abbey of St.

8. Marriage and its role in medieval society has been examined by several scholars. See, for example, Juliette Turlan, "Recherches sur le mariage dans la pratique coutumière, *RHD*, fourth series, 35 (1957), 477-528; P. Wolff, "Quelques actes notairés concernant famille et mariage (XIVe-XVe siècles)," *Annales du Midi*, 78 (1966), 115-23; Michael Sheehan, "The Formation and Stability of Marriage in Fourteenth Century England," *Mediaeval Studies*, 33 (1971), 253-6.

The question of ability to choose spouses has also been addressed. See the following: J. T. Noonan, "The Power to Choose," *Viator*, 4 (1973), 419-34; Michael Sheehan, "Choice of Marriage Partner in the Middle Ages: Development and Mode of Application of a Theory of Marriage," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, (1978), 4-15.

9. Behrends, *Letters*, no. 93, pp. 168-70.

Père he did so with Agnes, his "venerable" wife.¹⁰ At the very end of the eleventh century another knight, Ansold, made a donation to the same abbey with his "beloved" wife Hildegard.¹¹ On the other side of the coin, Agnes of Montigny was motivated to make a donation by her love of her husband.¹² Such protestations of affection indicate that some noblemen respected and loved their wives and *vice versa*. Noble wives also gave gifts for the souls of their deceased husbands, which reflects a concern for their spouses afterlives and suggests that they held their husbands in affection and esteem.¹³ These examples, in conjunction with the evidence of partnership of wives in the charters, paints a somewhat brighter picture of the experiences of noble wives than some scholars have led us to believe.

Some scholars believe that the type of the marriage portion is an accurate gauge of the place and importance of women in a society.¹⁴ Diane Owen Hughes, for example, argues that the transformation from morning gift, *morgengabe*, to dowry suggests a decline in the status of women in southern European society.¹⁵ David Herlihy and Jack Goody also conclude that a shift from the provision of the marriage portion by the groom to the bride's family was a result of the adoption of impartible

10. *CSPDC*, no. 15, p. 138: ego quia quidam miles, nomine Rodbertus Fossatensis, atque Agnes, ejus venerabilis conjunx...

11. *CSPDC*, no. 16, p. 241: ego quidem Ansoldus miles, cum uxore mea carissima, nomine Hildegardi....

12. *CMPD*, no. 97, pp. 90-91: Noscant cuncti successores nostri cum domna Agnete, domni Wanilonis thesaurii uxore, nos tale convenientiam habuisse ob amorem sui senioris...

For the complete text, see Chapter 3, p. 145, note 120.

13. A discussion of such gifts will follow presently.

14. For a discussion of marriage portions and their meaning, see J. Hajnal, "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective," in *Population in History*, ed. by D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley (London: 1965); J. Comaroff, ed., *The Meaning of Marriage Payments* (New York and London: 1980).

15. Diane Owen Hughes, "From Brideprice to Dowry in Mediterranean Europe," *Journal of Family History*, 3 (1978), pp. 262-296.

inheritance and patrilineage.¹⁶ Instead of a share in the patrimony, daughters were given a dowry at the time of their marriage. Any further claim to the familial lands by them or their heirs was precluded. As Herlihy states:

One tactic they [noble families] adopted was to exclude some offspring--typically daughters and younger sons--from a full share in the inheritance. Daughters (all or some) received from their fathers or brothers the dowries they now needed for marriage, but barring unusual circumstances, neither they nor their offspring could advance any further claim upon the patrimony. Daughters were pushed to the margins of the agnate lineage, and their children passed entirely out of the *generatio* of their maternal ancestors.¹⁷

Tracing the arrangements of noble marriage portions is arduous. The sources are often vague about the regulations surrounding these practices. In the tenth century, where there is a general paucity of charters, one charter does provide some information.¹⁸ Countess Eldegard donated to the monks of St. Père an allod from her dower for her own soul and that of her husband Waleran.¹⁹ She states that she has the right to give this property because of the custom of husbands providing dowers for their wives.²⁰ At this time it was clearly customary for *husbands* to provide their

16. Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, MA: 1986), pp. 73-4 and 84-7 (hereafter, Herlihy, *Households*); Jack Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge: 1983), pp. 206-7 (hereafter, Goody, *Family and Marriage*).

17. Herlihy, *Households*, pp. 87-8.

18. For a discussion of women in the tenth century, see Chapter 3, pp. 104-6. The position of women is pursued there to determine dynamics of the tenth century noble family and their implications for inheritance practices.

19. The identity of Countess Eldegard is not made explicit in the charter. By a process of elimination, however, I believe her to be the countess of Dreux. There was a Count Waleran of Dreux at the end of the tenth century, and this "countess" Eldegard is presumably his wife (see *CSPDC*, no. 1, pp. 55-56).

20. *CSPDC*, no. 5, pp. 87-88; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 3, p. 105, note 24.

wives' marriage portions. It is impossible, however, to extrapolate to the entire tenth century nobility from just one example. Eldegard was a countess, and what was custom for comital families might not have been true for the lower echelons of the nobility. Yet this small piece of evidence should not be completely discarded, just interpreted cautiously.

References to marriage portions are more frequent in the eleventh century, but they are by no means plentiful. Since the evidence on dowers and dowries is not abundant, the noble class as a whole will be considered.²¹ Dower and dowry coexisted in this region during the eleventh century. In a charter datable between 1040 and 1043, Gradulf Albus of Montigny donated the precarial rights of *Putellis*, which his father-in-law had given to Gradulf's wife Hersend when they were married. Hersend gave her consent to his donation, along with their sons Fulcher, Peter and Gui.²² In this family the marriage portion was given by the bride's natal family, which could suggest either a change from the tenth-century practice of dower or, more likely, that both dowry and dower were granted by noble families. Hersend consented to Gradulf's donation, establishing her control of and future right to this property. Hersend had mortgaged this property to Rainald son of Fulcrad in exchange for two measures of wheat. She alone reached this agreement, which verifies her authority over the dowry after her marriage.²³ A charter from the end of the eleventh

21. In the previous discussions of inheritance, marriage and origins of the nobility, I have attempted to make distinctions by place within the noble class. This is not a fruitful approach for the issue of dower and dowry, however.

22. For a discussion of this family, which, as far as I am able to determine, was not related to the lords of Montigny, see Chapter 3, pp. 108-9, notes 33-35.

23. *CMFD*, no. 102, pp. 94-5: Notum sit omnibus Gradulfum Album de Montinicao donasse Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii et nobis monachis ejus, totam suam manum firmam de Putellis, ita solutam et quietam, sicut Fulcherius Dives dederat eam Hersindae filiae suae in desponsalio, quando desponsavit eam praefatus Gradulfus....Calumniatus est quoque hanc eandem manum firmam Rainaldus filius Fulcradi, dicens Hersinda uxor jam saepedicti Gradulfi inguadiaverat ei illam propter duos modios frumenti, quos redderat pro ea.

century supplies another example of the bride's family furnishing a dowry. When Isenburg married Fulcaud of Dangeau, her father Hugh of Chêrville gave him two bovates of land at Villeau as her dowry.²⁴ Problems arose, however, because Hugh had already given this land to the Church. Fulcaud seized the land from the monks of Marmoutier and "threw [their] plow" off the land. He was later remorseful, so he and Isenburg gave these lands and an additional virgate of land elsewhere to restore themselves to the monk's good graces. Isenburg participated in this transaction with her husband by giving her consent to the donation and quit-claiming her right to the lands that made up her dowry.²⁵

Husbands also provided their wives with dowers, as is evident in a charter from St. Père datable between 1029 and 1033. Rodulf, the nephew of the late Bishop Fulbert of Chartres, petitioned the monks, his lords, to allow him to set aside eight and a half arpents of vines at St. Lubin for a dower for his wife Geile, the daughter of Haldric the prévôt.²⁶ Between 1050 and 1060 Raginald of Châteaudun gave vines and houses at Chaumars to the monks for the remedy of his and his wife's soul and made

24. Hugh is labeled of *Sichervilla* in the charter, which I have tentatively identified as Chêrville. Lucien Merlet, *Dictionnaire*, p. 246, identifies Sechervilla as Chêrville. While the spelling is not exact, it is possible that Sicherville in Mabille's edition should be Sechervilla.

25. *CMPD*, no. 55, p. 50: Scire debetis, qui successores nostri fueritis Majoris Monasterii monachis, quod Hugo de Sicherivilla donaverat nobis apud Villeellum, terram ad duos boves. Quando autem maritavit filiam suam, Isenburgem nomine, et dedit eam Fulcado de Dongeolo, tradidit ei etiam prefatam terram cum filia. Qui Fulcaldus saisivit terram et projecit carrucam nostram de ea. Postea vero compunctus, venit in capitulum nostrum, cum Isemburge uxore sua, et ambo suscepti in benefactum nostrum, guerpiverunt calumniam quam faciebant insuper et concesserunt nobis donum, quod supra memoratus Hugo fecerat. Et ut firmior esset ista concessio, fecit ipse Fulcaldus ex sua parte donum de illa terra domno abbati Bernardo, per unam virgam, quam super altare portavit, favente Isemburge, uxore sua.

26. *CSPDC*, no. 12, pp. 271-2: Ego Arnulfus, Dei gratia, abbas Carnotensis cenobii sancti Petri aposolorum principis, notum esse volo Christi fidelibus, tam presentibus quam futuris, quod petitioni fidelis nostri Rodulfi, nepotis domni Fulberti, bone memorie presulis, annuimus ego et monachi fratres mei: videlicet ut octo aripennos vinearum et dimidium, quas de nostro beneficio tenet apud Sanctum Leobinum, mittat in dotem sponse sue Geile, Haldrici prepositi filie.

the provision that if he predeceased his wife Alburg, she was to keep half of the donation to support herself. Upon her death, however, the land was to be transferred to the monks of Marmoutier.²⁷ Before 1070 a dispute arose over the lands of Robert Corneus. When he died the monks of St. Père tried to claim a portion of his land, but Robert's wife protested, stating that her husband had promised her the land for her lifetime. To prove her claim she underwent a judicial ordeal and won possession of the property. Robert's wife continued to control the land even after she remarried and her ability to retain ownership of this land attests to the strength of her right. The monks specified that only Robert's wife, not his grandchildren, had a right to the land. Only after this woman's death did Robert's grandchildren attempt to lay claim to this property, which further testifies to her rightful entitlement to it.²⁸

Dowers remained under the authority of noblewomen during their marriages, as is indicated in a series of charters concerning the transfers of dower lands. In a charter datable before 1024, Gradulf the knight wished to arrange a post obit gift of an allod that belonged to his wife's dower. In return, the monks of St. Père were to

27. *CMPD*, no. 2, pp. 3-4: Cunctis catholicae ecclesiae fidelibus maximeque nostris posteris patefactum praecognitumque volumus fieri, quod Raginald de Castroduno, pro ejus suaeque conjugis animarum remedio, immo et pro unci ejus filii, nostrique loci monachi, pio affectu, Sancto Martino videlicet Majoris Monasterii quendam vinearum clausum, quem in burgo Camartiaco nomine, prope ejusdem sancti habebat domum, cum torculari, post suae mortis delegavit occasum, et unam cameram, mansioni quae est juxta vineas, contiguam, sed aliquatenus ab ea discretam. Quorum tamen singulorum ejus conjux, nomine Alburgis, ipso ante se defuncto, quamdiu vixerit teneat medietatem, mortua vero Sancto Martino in proprium jus restituatur.

28. *CSPDC*, no. 33, pp. 160-1: Dum Rodbertus Corneus mortuus fuit, voluerunt monachi ipsam terram recipere; set uxor ejus judicium portare fecit, quoniam ea conventionem suo data fuit seniori, ut ipsa, quandiu viveret, eam possideret. Quam feminam quidam miles, Sulio nomine, in conjugio accepit; qui, multis vicibus, servitium abbati Arnulfo obtulit. Post mortem vero feminae, reclamaverunt ipsam terram nepotes ejusdem Rodberti; set monachi fortiter resisterunt eis.

give Gradulf and his wife Oda a precarial tenure for their lives.²⁹ Oda's consent was necessary for the exchange and she is described as sharing the precarial tenure of the new lands with her husband, which demonstrates that her participation was required in any transaction pertaining to her dower. The dower allod was supposed to pass to the monks after their deaths, but "their relatives" disputed this transaction. Some of the family evidently believed they maintained a right to the property. Since no kin had consented to Gradulf's arrangement, they may have had grounds to contest it. Noblewomen's marriage endowments, like other noble property, were subject to the claims and rights of family members. These examples suggest that noble husbands required the consent and participation of their wives in any action that pertained to dower lands.

Two charters from the end of the eleventh century provide further confirmation of wives' authority over their dowers. The family of Geoffrey Freslavena made a donation of half of an allod at Châtenay for his soul. The donated land came from the dower of Geoffrey's wife, Roscelina, and she explicitly authorized the grant. Long after this donation, Roscelina and her sons gave the other half of the allod,

29. *CSPDC*, no. 7, pp. 99-100: Notum esse volumus sanctae Dei ecclesiae fidelibus universis, praesentibus atque futuris, qualiter ante nostram praesentiam veniens miles quidam, nomine Gradulfus, humiliter expetiit, ut de quadam terra nostri praedicti monasterii precariam sibi faceremus, et ipse, pro reconpensatione [*sic*], quendam alodum suum delegaret nostris usibus; ea videlicet ratione, ut, quandiu viverent ipse et uxor ejus, nomine Oda, in cujus dote est praedictus alodus, utrumque tenerent; post decessum vero eorum, utrumque fratribus remaneret....Nostram siquidem terra, quam per precariam poscit habere, in Carnotensi comitatu posita, vocatur Gerani Villare; et ille alodus quem reconpensat [*sic*], in Drocasensu comitatu, super flumen Blesis, positus, nominatur Palisiacus. Nostra itaque terram Jerani Villare, eo tenore Gradulfo supra nominato per precariam concedimus, ut, quandiu ipse advixerit et praedicta ejus Oda uxor, utrumque teneant.

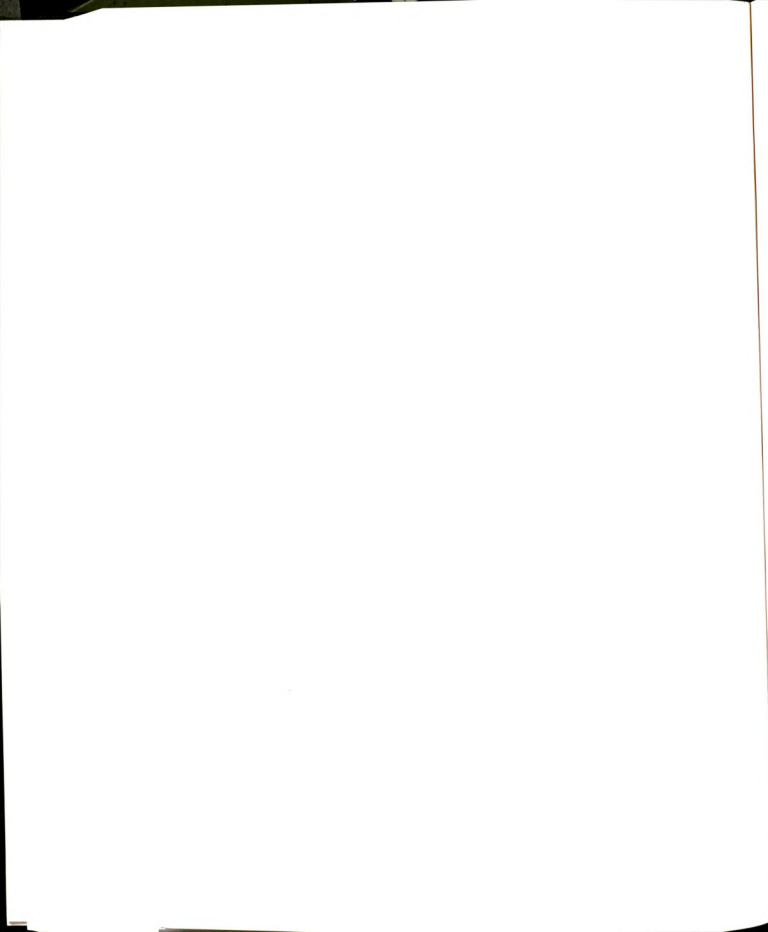
Post mortem quidem Gradulfi et uxoris ejus Odae, de supradictis terris multa mala perpassi sunt monachi a parentibus praedictorum, dicentibus jure sibi competere quod parentes eorum ante se visi sunt tenere. Unde monachi, infinitam peccuniam dantes, tandem, Deo opitulante, in suis usibus retorserunt.

which included the fees of three knights.³⁰ Her participation affirms her jurisdiction over the dower and proves that some noblewomen did possess knights and their fees. As a widow Roscelina exercised dominion of her dower and was not dominated by her male kin. A charter from St. Père substantiates another noblewoman's continued authority over her dower during her succeeding marriages. Before 1080 Roscelina gave the monastery a garden, which she had held by right of dower for more than twenty years from her first husband Geoffrey.³¹ Even though Roscelina had been married three more times and had children from at least two of the marriages, she persisted in controlling her first dower. The monks' granting of "little gifts" to Roscelina and Frodo's three sons indicates that her family, like Oda and Gradulf's, exercised some claim to her marriage portion. While noblewomen did exercise authority over their dowers and dowries, relatives enjoyed some right to them, as they did to other noble possessions. Such rights further attest to an extended noble family configuration and the multiplicity of claims to noble property.

Women remained in possession of land that they received from arrangements other than those made by their husbands or natal families. A charter from the

30. *CMPD*, no. 38, pp. 35-6: Nosse debent et presentes et futuri dudum devenisse in dominium Sancti Martini et monachorum ejus medietatem alodii de Cattiniaco, quae donata est nobis pro anima Gaufredi cognomento Freslavena, auctoramento Roscelinae uxoris suae, de cujus dote erat, et filiorum ejus Rotberti atque Drogonis. Longo autem post tempore reliquam medietatem quae remanserat, donaverunt nobis predicta Roscelina, uxor jam dicti Gaufredi et filii ejus Rotbertus atque Drogo, et cum ipsa medietate fevum etiam trium militum; insuper etiam promiserunt domno Ivoni monacho nostro, qui tunc praeerat apud Sanctum Ylarium, per cujus manum hoc factum est, quod si aliquando calumnia insurgat, ipsi eam nobis acquietabunt.

31. *CSPDC*, no. 79, p. 205: Notum esse volumus, ego Hubertus abbas, et omnes monachi coenobii Carnotensis, quia quendam ortum, in nostra terra juxta ortum nostrum situm, quaedam mulier, Roscelina nomine, per XX et amplius annos, a primo seniore suo Gausfrido, dotis jure, concessum tenuerat; de quo nullum habuit sobolem. Nunc, quadrigama, a nobis taxatam peccuniam accipiens, reliquit perpetualiter possidendum, donumque vel guerpum, cum presenti suo seniore Huberto, necnon et filiis tribus quos habuit de Frodone, quibus etiam dedimus munuscula, super altare apostolorum Petri et Pauli posuit, sub praesentia nostri ac nostrorum servientium, quorum nomina subscripsimus.



monastery of St. Père records a donation by Melisend, the wife of Waldin the knight, now deceased, of a portion of her land that lay next to that of the monks.³² While the origin of this property is not determinable, at the time of the gift Melisend supervised it independently. Between 1070 and 1084 Agnes of Marly sold her knight's fee at Rodon so her second husband, Mainner of *Gasseranum*, could travel to Rome. The fee is not labeled dower or dowry in the charter, but Agnes alone engaged in this transaction with the monks. This fee belonged to her alone.³³ Like Melisend, Robert Corneus' wife and Roscelina, Agnes of Marly enjoyed independent possession of land as a widow and during her succeeding marriages. Women enjoyed control of their marriage endowments, as well as other property. The ability to possess land, its dependents and revenue attests to women's power and influence within the noble family. Noble wives, like male family members, followed custom by honoring the claims of their kin to family holdings. They were not dominated by a family structure that oppressed them or denied females control of property.

The Ability of Noblewomen to Inherit Land

Another accepted corollary of patrilineal family structure is the limitation or restriction of daughters' claims to the patrimony. Some scholars, such as David Herlihy, argue that noble families adopted the system of dowry in concert with primogeniture to restrict the claim that certain progeny had on familial lands. He

32. *CSPDC*, no. 18, p. 141: In quo etiam loco Milesindis matrona, conjunx quondam Gualdini militis jam defuncti, pro anima sui senioris et sua, juxta terram nostram, quam emit Warinus monachus, dedit portiunculam sua terrae, exorta a monacho Guausfrido[sic].

It is not clear if the land had belonged to Melisend's husband or if it was part of her dowry or dower. In any case, it is evident that Melisend was now in complete control of this land.

33. *CMPD*, no. 132, pp. 122-3; for the complete text of this charter, see p. 222, note 116 of this chapter.

argues that the primary goal of this system was to concentrate inheritance and authority over the patrimony in the person of the eldest son. Once daughters were given their dowries, they no longer exercised a right or claim to the patrimony and their appearance in charters as consenters with their natal kin declined. The evidence from eleventh-century Blois-Chartres does not conform to this model. In some families, daughters maintained some right or claim to the patrimony even after they were married. The daughters of the lords of Fréteval continued to participate in charters with their natal family after marriage (see Figures 4-7, 13 and 14). Comitissa the daughter of Lord Fulcher, for instance, consented to donations made by her brother after she married Viscount Hugh II of Châteaudun.³⁴ The connection of Fréteval daughters, their husbands and children to their natal kin is also substantiated by the consent of Fulcher's son-in-law, Pagan of Frouville, to a charter that recorded the end to a dispute. Pagan was married to Fulcher's daughter Pagana.³⁵ The participation of daughters with their conjugal families demonstrates connection and involvement in the transactions of women's natal family.

The residual rights of daughters to the patrimony after marriage are borne out in claims that their husbands made through them to their family lands.³⁶ In a charter datable between 1084 and 1100 Bernard of La Ferté laid claim to a donation of vines

 34. *CMPD*, no. 86, p. 76: Quod concesserunt filii ejus Nevelo et Hamelinus et filiae ipsius Comitissa et Pagana. Agnes is only called "Comitissa" after her marriage to Viscount Hugh II (see Figure 13).

CMPD, no. 84, p. 75: Quod si forte venderent, forestagium exinde redderent. Hoc donum concessit Ursio filius ejus et Hamelinus frater ejus et Agnes vice comitissa soror sua.

Pagan of Mondoubleau, Nivelon II's first cousin, also witnessed this charter, demonstrating an open family system that allowed cousins and daughters to participate in transactions.

35. *CMPD*, no. 75, p. 67; for the text of this charter, see the Chapter, p. 197, note 37.

36. For other examples of husband's making claim through their wives, see *CMPD*, no. 121, pp. 113-4; no. 129, pp 119-20; *CSPDC*, no. 3, p. 124; no. 84 p. 208.

and houses made by his father-in-law, Fulcher of Fréteval.³⁷ Bernard's only connection to this land was through his wife Hildeburg, indicating that she exercised a right to this property (see Figures 4 and 7). In return for quitclaiming, Bernard received a palfrey from the monks. The son-in-law of a noblewoman named Berta contested her gift and tried to expropriate the land. The monks called this man, named Raher, before the count where he, his wife Engucia and their son and daughters gave up their right to the land in return for forty *solidi*.³⁸ The awarding of compensation indicates the strength of Engucia's claim to her natal patrimony. Gausbert of Langeais similarly disputed the sale of lands made by his father-in-law Christian to Marmoutier.³⁹ Gausbert asserted that his claim was through his wife's maternal grandfather.

37. *CMPD*, no. 75, p. 67: Omnibus sanctae Dei ecclesiae rectoribus atque cultoribus, tam futuris quam modo viventibus, notum fieri volumus, quod burgum, qui est inter domum Hugonis, Ebrardii filii, et domum Gisleberti bannari, et vineas quae sunt juxta Camarcium, in loco qui dicitur Montiniacus; haec omnia quae Fulcheris, Nevelonis filius, pro remedio suae animae, monachis Sancti Martini tribuit, Bernardus de Firmitate, qui ea calumniabatur, ab omni calumnia libera atque soluta, clamavit, et pro hac concessione, de caritate Sancti Martini palefridum candidum a monachis habuit.

38. *CSPDC*, no. 3, p. 124: Notum esse volumus omnibus christicolis, tam presentibus quam futuris, ego Landricus abbas omnisque fratrum nostrorum congregatio, quoniam Capellam Regiam, quam, sicut superius scriptae litterae ostendunt, a Berta matrona et filiis ac filiabus suis, probata peccunia, emeramus, postea gener ejus Raherius, conjunx videlicet Engucia, calumniabatur. Pro qua re convenientes eum Carnotis ante comitem Tedbaldum, et ipso comite atque obtimatibus ejus nobis suggerentibus, spopondimus ei XL solidos nummorum Carnotorum, ut ipse calumniam, quam faciebat ante comitem, dimitteret....una cum uxore sua Engucia et unico filio nomine Rainaldo, nec non et filiabus duabus, Berta scilicet ac Adelina; ibique has litteras jussit fieri, et eas manu propria manibusque omnium suorum corroborari voluit, coram convicaneis [*sic*] et contribulibus suis.

39. *CMPD*, no. 129, pp. 119-20: Post haec [the original transaction] annis multis elapsis quidam Gausbertus de Lengiacis qui supradicti Christiani filiam nomine Marcam habebat uxorem, cujus scilicet Marcae mater filia fuerat cujusdam Hugonis cognomento Francisci, calumniam nobis de suprascriptis rebus emovit, dicens eas juris fuisse predicti Hugonis. Qui tamen calumniae suae hunc tandem imposuit finem. In capitulum nostrum una cum prefata conjuge et duobus filiis Hugone, Petro, puerulis, Urso quoque fratre suo veniens, participationem totius nostri deinceps beneficii cum eisdem accepit et ita res supradictas vel quicquid de terra sive de rebus habebamus quae juris fuerant Hugonis illius, integre nobis omnes auctorizaverunt et insuper etiam donaverunt, donumque inde super altare ecclesiae nostrae posuerunt.

Gausbert's claim seems to have been based on the fact that Christian did not have the right to sell his wife's dowry; it should have gone to Christian's daughter Maria. This charter proves Gausbert's right to his wife's patrimony, but also substantiates the control that women had over their dowries. Gausbert and his family eventually gave up their right and placed a symbol of the disputed transaction on the altar and authorized the alienation. Gausbert's brother Urso also consented to the quitclaim. His participation implies a right, not to Christian's land, but his brother's possessions. Gausbert's quitclaim obviously affected his own holdings, which would have been of interest to his brother, who exercised a right to such property through the right of kinship.

The charters indicate that noblewomen also used their relationship as sister or niece to bring claims to family lands. A noblewoman named Gertrude donated her allod of Aigacourt to the cell of St. Père at *Gesiacum*. Her niece Hildeburg and her husband Robert, a knight of the castle of Evreux, seized the land that Gertrude had granted.⁴⁰ Sisters also disputed donations made by their brothers. Adelaide sister of Raher disputed a gift he had made on the grounds that she had not consented to it, even though she and her other sisters *had* given their approval.⁴¹ The need for sisters' consent confirms their right to the patrimony and their ability to contest gifts made by other family members. Ernald of Beaugency used his wife Osilid's

40. *CSPDC*, no. 53, p. 184: Haec autem matrona Gertrudis antequam seculum moriendo relinqueret, sancto Petro et nobis praedictum alodum reliquit; et per plura tempora possedimus, non solum ea vivente, set etiam postquam mortua fuit et sepulta ante fores atrii Gesiaci aecclesiae. Deinde, instigante diabolo, quaedam neptis ejus, nomine Hildeburgis, uxor scilicet Rodberti militis de castro Ebroico, vi et seculari potentia invasit omnia quae sancto Petro matertera ejus, pro sua contulerat anima, et Dominum et apostolum ejus Petrum, tam ipsa quam praedictus vir ejus, exhereditaverunt, et mundanos homines heredes facere maluerunt. De quorum facinore nos interim tacentes, Deo, equissimo judici, examinandum linquimus.

41. For the original grant, in which Adelaide along with her sisters Milisend and Rainsind, consented to her brother's donation, see *CMPD* no. 100, pp. 92-3. For the "false claim" made by Adelaide see *CMPD* no. 116, pp. 109-10. The complete text of these charters can be found in Chapter 3, pp. 109-11, notes 37 and 38.

relationship as sister to Herlebald and Eudes of Dangeau to lay claim to property that her brothers had donated to Marmoutier.⁴² The cases of lesser nobles lodging claims to lands through their wives provides evidence that they were concerned about the state of their family resources. Knights and vassals often made marriages with women of families of position and wealth to bolster their financial and economic situation. Their attempts to add more lands by challenging gifts or seizing lands indicates a need for more property and suggests acquisition of property was becoming increasingly difficult.

The persistence of noblewomen's claims to the patrimony raises the larger question of their eligibility as heirs. The examples provided above make it clear that women could legitimately inherit land from their natal families and control the portions arranged by their husbands. Some charters provide evidence that noblewomen inherited land from their natal families through the right or custom of inheritance. A charter of Bishop Ivo from the very end of the eleventh century indicates that a certain woman held part of a church *jure hereditario*.⁴³ Lady Mahild of Alluyes also inherited certain fiefs from her father *jure hereditario*.⁴⁴ Similarly Gertrude, who gave an allod to the monks of St. Père, stated that she held this allod by

42. *CMPD*, no. 26, pp. 27-8: Post decssum Herlebalidi de Doniolio et Odonis fratris sui, calumniatus est nobis Ernaldus de Balgenciaco, de parte conjugis suae, Osilidis nomine, quae fuerat soror supradictorum fratrum, medietatem ecclesiae sitae ante Doniolium, quam dederat nobis Herbaldus [*sic*], concedente Odone fratre suo.

43. *CMPD*, no. 155, p. 144: Monastraverunt etiam atque probaverunt monachi Sancti Martini per hos et alios testes donum se habuisse de medietate supradictae aecclesiolae Sancti Victoris et rerum ad eam pertinentium, et de sexte parte alterius medietatis priusquam ibi aliquid habuissent monachi Bonae Vallis. Mulier enim quaedam cui ipsa jure hereditario pertinebat, una cum viro suo nomine Guigone, annuente insuper Almo eorum domino, sepedictam medietatem dederat beato Martino, et Rainaldus Rufus de quo Almarus tenebat, postea, sed antequam Bonevallenses monachi quicquam ibidem habuissent, donum ipsum concesserat et auctorizaverat Deo et beato Martino.

44. *CSPDC*, no. 68, p. 194: quod ego, Mahildis, nomine, quae, hereditario jure, honoris Alogiae, divino nutu, domna esse videor.

"right" and that the monks would hold the allod after her death *jure hereditario*.⁴⁵

Noblewomen did inherit land by custom and their appointed heirs inherited land from them by the same right. Provision of a dowry or dower, some scholars conclude, restricted noblewomen's claim to the patrimony. They believe that primogeniture and patrilineage characterized eleventh-century noble family structure. Yet, while there are indications that some natal families provided dowries, the evidence does not suggest that women were automatically powerless or denied a right to the patrimony as a result. On the contrary, noblewomen often controlled their dowries and sometimes continued to inherit patrimonial land, but they always exercised a claim to their natal family property.

The preceding discussion has considered the various roles that noblewomen assumed either in partnership with their husbands or within the context of the noble family. Yet the noblewomen of Blois-Chartres also took on certain independent roles within noble society. The remainder of this chapter will examine these more public activities. For example, many noblewomen possessed land and made donations independently. Moreover, wives, sisters and daughters were accused of taking land unjustly from the local ecclesiastical institutions. Mothers assumed responsibility of guardianship for their minor children and the patrimonies. Some noblewomen exercised political or feudal power as well, which is evident in their use of the title *domina*. The influence of noblewomen within the noble family and society is further

 45. *CSPDC*, no. 58, p. 183: His et aliis Dei omnipotentis dictis, ego peccatrix, Geretrudis nomine, secundum seculi dignitatem non infimis parentibus orta, libentissime, in quantum praevallet mea pusillanimitas, obedire studens, alodum quendam, quem jure, videor, possideo in Aiga Curte, Deo omnipotenti et Sancto Petro Gesiaci, cellae scilicet coenobii Carnotensis, post mortem meam, hereditario jure possidendum, annuo; quatinus idem, cui a Domino est dictum....vincula videlicet peccatorum meorum meique conjugis, nomine Hilduini, filii Hermari, et parentum meorum, solvat, ne judex equissimus, in ultimo examine, cum reprobis ad infernales poenas mittat.

supported by the special relationship that noblewomen enjoyed with local churches as patrons and sponsors. The basis for the autonomy that noblewomen of eleventh-century Blois-Chartres experienced was their ability to possess and control property. In the feudal society of the High Middle Ages land was the foundation for all supremacy and wealth. Noblewomen's right to hold land permitted, even required, their participation in the political and economic life of noble society.

Donations and Independent Gifts

Noblewomen were involved in the alienation of land in many different ways. One of the most common types of donations was a grant made for the soul of a noble husband. In most cases, but not always, the gift was made *after* the death of the spouse. At the end of the eleventh century Melisend, the wife of Waldin the knight, "now dead," gave St. Père a portion of her land that bordered the monks'.⁴⁶ Similarly Oda wife of Warin with her children made a gift for his soul to Marmoutier, where he was buried.⁴⁷ Mahild of Alluyes made two gifts to St. Germain for the redemption of her two husbands' souls.⁴⁸ The grants were quite generous and consisted of lands

46. *CSPDC*, no. 18, p. 141; for the text of this charter, see p. 195 note 32 of this Chapter.

47. *CMPD*, no. 157, pp. 147-8: Notum fiat universis tam futuris quam presentibus quod Oda uxor Garini filii Gradulfi et filii ipsius Gradulfus et Garinus, annuentibus sororibus suis Jerosolia, Roscia, Annete, anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo nonagesimo octavo partim dederunt in elemosina Deo et beato Martino atque nobis Majoris Monasterii monachis, pro anima Garini memoratae Odae mariti, qui apud nos humatus jacet....

48. *CSPDC*, no. 67, p. 193: Domna igitur Mahildis, pro redemptione animae suae atque animarum seniorum suorum, Willelmi videlicet atque Gausfridi, ac parentum filiorumque suorum, dedit sancto Germano terram....

CSPDC, no. 5, pp. 403-4: Domna ergo Mahildis, pro redemptione anime sue et animarum seniorum suorum Willelmi atque Gaufridi, ac parentum sobolumque suorum, Willelmi scilicet atque Gauterii, sancto Germano dedit duos aripennos terre, non longe ab ecclesia ipsius, unumque aripennum prati....

The gift was also made for the benefit of her son William, who consented to the gift, and her other relatives.

and meadow. A woman named Gertrude gave her allod at Aigacourt for the remedy of the soul of her husband and relatives.⁴⁹ Agnes of Marly made a donation for the soul of a loved one, but in her case it was her son, Gausbert.⁵⁰ The wife of Bernard confirmed the gift of the allod of *Piris* at Vieuvicq, which she had been previously given by her mother, for the souls of herself, her mother and her husband. When Bernard died, his wife donated all that pertained to the allod to Marmoutier for her soul and the souls of her husband and mother.⁵¹ Bernard's wife also promised that all of her relations gave up their claim to the allod. Bernard's mother-in-law and wife, like other noblewomen, controlled land and were able to make donations to benefit themselves and their family. Noblewomen were involved with the spiritual health of their families and had the authority and territorial wherewithal to provide spiritual security for them.

As well as making donations on behalf of their loved ones, noblewomen interceded with the Church in other ways. Adelaide of Le Puiset, the daughter of Viscount Evrard I, encouraged her husband Roger Montgomery to support the Church. Orderic Vitalis says that she was "remarkable in her gentleness and piety, and continued to encourage her husband to befriend the monks and protect the

49. *CSPDC*, no. 53, p. 183; for the pertinent text, see p. 198, note 40 of this Chapter.

50. *CMPD*, no. 132, pp. 122-123: Notum sit omnibus presentibus et futuris nostris quod Agnes de Malliaco, mortuo filio suo Gausberto, donaverit beato Martino et monachis Majoris Monasterii pro ejus anima quiquid in Rosdonio habebat....

For the rest of this charter, see p. 222, note 116 of this chapter.

51. *CMPD*, no. 105, pp. 97-8: Nosse debebitis si qui eritis posteris nostri Majoris scilicet hujus habitatores Monasterii Sancti Martini. Bernardum filium Alberici abstulisse nobis alodum de Piris apud Veterem Vicum, quem socrus sua nobis dederat. Cum vero idem moriretur Bernardus, guerpivit nobis ipsum alodum. Uxor quoque illius ad quam alodus pertinebat, fecit inde donationem super altare Sanctae Mariae de Veteri Vico pro viri sui et pro sua et matris suae anima, quae prior dimiserat alodum. Promisit etiam se illum Sancto Martino et nobis de omni parentela sua acquietare.

poor."⁵² Clearly Adelaide had considerable influence on her husband and used it to help him cultivate good relations with the monks.

Not only did noblewomen grant land for the sake of their loved ones' souls, but also they made donations on their own behalf. In most of the donations made for the souls of husbands, noble wives also made provision for the health of their own souls. Typically donations made for spouses were also made for the souls of the donors. A noblewoman named Ermengard, who is labeled *matrona*, made a gift of the land that she held at rent from the monks of St. Père for the remedy of her soul.⁵³ In a charter datable from approximately 1050,⁵⁴ Ermengard, the wife of Lord Nivelon I of Fréteval, gave the church of St. Lubin along with its lands to the same abbey. The charter clearly states that the grant was made for Ermengard's soul alone and that the church and its appurtenances came from "her patrimony," which she inherited from her natal family.⁵⁵ Ermengard had the independent financial means to make a generous donation for her personal benefit. These two examples suggest that some women enjoyed a significant amount of autonomy and the capacity to act in their own self-interest.

Along with making gifts for their own spiritual benefit and their families', women independently arranged life estates with the monasteries of the region.

52. Orderic, *History*, 3: 138.

53. *CSPDC*, no. 63, pp. 313-4: Recitatione hujus scripti legitimi et testimonio, universis tam presentis quam futuri evi fidelibus, ego Eustachius abbas veritatis certitudinem volo innotescere, quod quedam matrona, Ermengardis nomine, decubans in lecto egritudinis, quandam terram, quam a nobis censivam tenebat, que habetur juxta Portam Morardi, sancto Petro, pro remedio anime sue, dono indissolubili dimisit.

54. The charter in question is dated in *CSPDC* as c. 950. It is, however, a pancarte and contains acts of a later date. Since Ermengard and Nivelon lived in the eleventh century, I would date the section of the charter that pertains to this couple and their children as c. 1030 to 1050.

55. *CSPDC*, no. 1, pp. 24-25; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 2, p. 69, note 225.

Between 1032 and 1037 Agnes of Montigny bought land held from the monks of Marmoutier and arranged a post obit gift consisting of certain vines and constructions that she alone possessed. She designated that these properties pass to the monks after her death for the remedy of her and her husband's soul. Agnes acted completely independently in reaching this agreement; but, like noblemen, Agnes was bound by noble family custom and, thus, secured the consent of her husband. The participation of Count Eudes II, his wife and sons also bears witness to the importance of Agnes' grant and illustrates that the count was her feudal lord as well as her husband's.⁵⁶ In 1069 Bertha, the daughter of Count Eudes II, negotiated a similar transaction with the abbey of St. Père. Bertha desired to buy some vines from Ralph, who held this property in benefice from St. Père. Abbot Landric and Bertha agreed that she would hold the vines for her lifetime but that upon her death the vines would revert to the monks.⁵⁷ The reversion of the vines was to serve as a donation for the souls of Bertha's mother, father, brother and herself. Once again members of Bertha's family, specifically her brother Count Thibaut III, consented to this accord, further substantiating that noblewomen's possessions were subject to the rights of kin. The

56. *CMPD*, no. 97, pp. 90-1: Noscant cuncti successores nostri cum domna Agnete, domni Wanilonis tesaraii uxore, nos talem convenientiam habuisse ob amorem sui senioris suumque, quantum ipsa vixerit. Concessimus illam emptionem quam fecit in terra nostra de vineis Dagfridi clerici, hac autem ratione, ut ipsae vineae et quicquid alterius aedificii in terra nostra fecerit, pro redemptione animae senioris sui ac suae, post obitum suum in Sancti Martini revertatur dominium. Comitem vero Odonem, hujus elemosinae, favente suo seniore Guanilone, fecit participem, Ermengardim quoque comitissam, ac filios eorum Teobaldum scilicet et Stephanum, quorum potentia si forte quod absit, aliqua surrexerit calumnia, animarum suarum defendantur elemosinae dona.

57. *CSPDC*, no. 86, pp. 210-1: Notum sit omnibus, quod quasdam vineas Radulfus, praenomine Calculus, in territorio comitis, ex beneficio nostro tenens, nobiscum tradicentibus comitis Tedbaldi sorori, nomine Berte, vendere voluit. Verum, quia fas non erat, adiit Landrici abbatis praesentiam comitissa, ut eo pacto sibi concederent, ut, quandiu viveret, eas teneret, ac, post mortem ejus, nobis dimitteret. Quod pactum postea ante fratrem suum comitem Tetbaldum recognoscens, et jam, per deprecationem ejusdem fratris, firmavit, pro anima patris, matris, fratris et suae, III idus maii, praesentibus his....

ability of Agnes and Bertha to orchestrate these transactions with the Church testifies their control of property and their role as landlords.

Another role assumed by noblewomen was that of patron of the local ecclesiastical foundations. Between 1042 and 1051 Emmeline of Châteaudun gave Marmoutier her portion of the church of Morée, which included half a carrucate of land, tithes, burial rights and half of four arpents of land.⁵⁸ Another noblewoman, named Bertha, gave to the monks of St. Père the church of Chapelle Royale and two mills for the benefit of her soul and those of her children.⁵⁹ During the eleventh century, the clergy became particularly eager to expunge noble domination of local churches.⁶⁰ Noblewomen like Emmeline, Ermengard, Mahild of Alluyes and Ermengard of Fréteval restored local churches and tithes to the abbeys of Marmoutier and St. Père. Noblemen were similarly motivated to grant ecclesiastical property. The infiltration of the reformers' ideology and rhetoric is apparent in the charters themselves. Pertinent biblical quotes were included in the charters recording the restorations of noblemen and noblewomen. Noble wives, daughters and sisters were as affected by the ideas of reform as were their male counterparts. As the examples that follow demonstrate, noblewomen were not outside of the mainstream of eleventh

58. *CMPD*, no. 35, p. 33: Notum fiat fidelibus universis et maxime successoribus nostris, quod Emelina de Castro Duno dedit Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii medietatem ecclesiae Sancti Leobini de Moreis et eorum omnium quae ad ecclesiam pertinent, medietatem videlicet terrae unius carruca, quae pertinet ad altare, et omnimodae decimae, sepulturae quoque et offerendae, necnon et IV arpennium [*sic*] pratorum et combrorum [*sic*], in aqua Ledo consistentium; insuper medietatem caeterorum omnium, quae ad jus predictae pertinent ecclesiae.

59. *CSPDC*, no. 1, p. 122: Notum esse volumus presentibus atque futuris, quia adivimus presentiam domnae Bertae matronae et filiorum ejus, Walterii clerici, Hervei, Hugonis, Tedbaldi, Sigebodi, Engucia; deprecantes ut, pro redemptione animae suae et filiorum filiarumque suarum, terra de Regia Capella, quae proxima est terrae nostrae de Bosco Medio, nobis concederet, cum aecclesia et duabus areis molendinorum omnibusque rebus quae ibi pertinent.

60. For further discussion of the impact of reform on the region of Blois-Chartres, see Chapter 5, pp. 279-93.

century events. Rather, they took an active part in important developments and in shaping their society.

The nobility of Blois-Chartres was encouraged by local clerics to make donations to the Church. When Melisend made a donation for her dead husband, the charter states that Geoffrey the monk exhorted her to do this.⁶¹ Similarly when Adelina gave "all that she possesses in the temporal world" to St. Père she says that she was inspired by a specific biblical passage: "He who loves mother or father or wife or sons more than I is not worthy of me."⁶² In a charter datable about 1020 Viscountess Hildegard of Châteaudun was "instructed and admonished by Holy Scripture and the words of holy men" to give her allod of Beaumont-sur-Loire to the monks of "most holy Peter of Chartres."⁶³ This charter intimates that Hildegard was influenced by the clergy to give this gift.⁶⁴ Gertrude, who gave the allod of Aigacourt for her soul and her husband's, was also encouraged by scriptural passages to make her donation. Most telling is the passage: "Give and he will give to you," which is followed by "Whoever gives only a cup of cold water in my name, I say amen to you, and he will

61. *CSPDC*, no. 18, p. 141; for this passage, see this Chapter, p. 195, note 32.

62. *CSPDC*, no. 38, pp. 165-6: Ego Adelina....notum esse volumus omnibus sanctae Dei....divini verbi non immemor dicentis: "Qui amat patrem aut matrem aut uxorem aut filios, plusquam me, non est me dignus;" omnia quae in mundo temporaliter possidebat derelinquens....

63. *CSPDC*, no. 6, pp. 117-8: Hanc Christus supra fidem quam confessus est fidelissimus Petrus fundavit, dum Domino dixit: "Tu es Christus, filius Dei vivi." Fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere, praeter id quod positum est, quod est Christus Jhesus. Sunt vero beati qui catholice vivendo habitant ibi, ut David cecinit: "Beati qui habitant in domo tua! Domine; in secula seculorum laudabunt te." His aliisque dictis quampluribus, sanctorum dictis ac sacrae scripturae mysteriis edocta et ammonita, ego Hildegardis, vicecomitissa Castridunis, do sanctissimo Petro Carnotensis coenobii alodum meum de Bello Monte, cum terris cultis et incultis, et silvis piscatoriisque ibidem pertinentibus, assentiente et annuente filio meo Hugone, archiepiscopo Turonorum; videlicet eo tenore quo, post exitum meum....

64. Hildegard's son, Hugh, was the archbishop of Tours, which certainly provided her with personal contact with the clergy.

not lack reward."⁶⁵ Perhaps as a result of her generosity to the Church, Gertrude was buried at the cell of St. Père at *Gesiacum*. The quotation of biblical passages indicates that these women were not only motivated by the teachings of the Church, but also that they were familiar with Church scripture.

The theme of receiving grace for pious gifts apparent in these donations is also discernible in a gift by a daughter and son-in-law of a noblewoman named Havisa, who built a church of stone and cement at Châteauvilliers. Havisa, who became a nun later in life, consented to the gift to St. Père by her daughter Agnes and her son-in-law Robert *Fossatensis* of this church and its bordering lands.⁶⁶ These patrons were praised for their generosity. Their souls, the charter states, will rest in the bosom of the Patriarch Abraham and will receive the gift of eternal life from Jesus Christ.⁶⁷ The church that Havisa constructed could have remained under family control, but she chose instead to allow it to be granted it to the Church. The donations of these

65. *CSPDC*, no. 58, pp. 183-4: *Dominicum quoque praeceptum est, ut sua quisque, pro Dei amore, largiatur; ait enim: "Date et dabitur vobis;" et "quicumque dederit calicem aquae frigidae tantum in nomine meo, amen dico vobis, non perdet mercedem suam."* His et aliis Dei omnipotentis dictis, ego peccatrix, Gertrudis nomine....

For the rest of this passage, see p. 200, note 45 of this Chapter.

66. *CSPDC*, no. 15, p. 138: *Omnibus sanctae Dei aecclesiae filiis notum esse volumus, ego Hubertus abbas et monachorum conventus Sancti Petri, coenobii Carnotensis quia quidam miles, nomine Rodbertus Fossatensis, atque Agnes, ejus venerabilis conjunx, pro remedio suarum suorumque parentem animarum, in honore beati Petri apostoli, in Pertico, non longe a Mori Villare, Castellariorum aecclesiam, coemento et lapide constructam a sanctimoniali feminae, nomine Hadvisa, matre videlicet praefatae Agnetis, cum assensu et prompto affectu istius sanctimonialis, pariter et filiorum filiarumque suarum, nostro loco contulerunt; et ne sola videretur esse haec eorum largitio, in eodem loco addiderunt, ad excolendum, terram unius aratri et duos aripenos prati. Quorum animae, in gremio Abrahae patriarchae collocatae, accipiant a Christo praemium aeternae vitae.*

The fact that Havisa's other children consented to the gift confirms that noblewomen's property was subject to the claims of kin.

67. Like noblemen, noblewomen were concerned for their mortal souls. This preoccupation is evident in the settlement between Adela the wife of Hugh the knight of Mantes, who renounced her claim to lands given to St. Père by her father-in-law because she was an old woman and feared death. For the text of this charter, see Chapter 3, p. 121-2, note 59.

noblewomen indicate devotion and commitment to the Church as members of the faithful, as patrons and sponsors.

Claims Brought by Noblewomen

In contrast to the support given by some noblewomen to the local Church, others incurred the wrath of the monks by falsely holding or claiming ecclesiastical lands. Guitberg, the wife of Robert Parvus, was accused by the monks of Marmoutier of possessing unjustly one-sixth of the church of St. Hilaire.⁶⁸ Between 1069 and 1072 the monks of Marmoutier alleged that Girogia, the wife of Henri of Beaugency, falsely claimed the mill of Cholet.⁶⁹ They argued that, when her husband had granted the mill to the abbey, she had agreed to the arrangement and had received an ounce of gold. Girogia did give up claim to the mill for 100 *solidi*.

Noblewomen also disputed grants that had been made by relatives other than their husbands. Hildeburg and her husband Rainald laid claim to lands donated to St. Père by Hildeburg's aunt Gertrude.⁷⁰ Sisters also contested their brothers' gifts. Osilid, the sister of Eudes and Herlebald of Dangeau, was involved in a claim brought against the half of the church that Eudes had given to Marmoutier so that he could

68. *CMPD*, no. 71, p. 64: Noverint posteri nostri, monachi videlicet Majoris Monasterii, quod Guidburgis, uxor Rotberti Parvi, tenebat injuste sextam partem ecclesiae Sancti Hilarii, quam etiam nostri juris esse affirmantes, reclamabamus.

69. *CMPD*, no. 79, pp. 72-3: Notum sit fratribus nostris, scilicet monachis Majoris Monasterii, quod molendinum de Choletto, qui est in Mortua Aqua, apud Camarcium, calumniata est nobis Girogia, uxor Hainrici de Balgentiaco, quamvis ipsa prius cum viro suo Hainrico illium nobis auctorisasset, unde etiam unciam auri habuerat. Quod cum postea negaret, rursum dedimus ei C solidos.

70. *CSPDC*, no. 53, pp. 183-4; for the text of this charter and further discussion of this family, see this Chapter p. 198, note 40.

join the monks' order.⁷¹ Similar trouble was caused by Adelaide, the sister of Raher, who claimed she had not consented to Raher's grant, even though she had authorized the original donation. This conflict with the monks must have been intense since the monks were outspoken in their condemnation of this woman. She is described in the charter as "younger but more cunning [than her sisters or her brother Raher]."⁷²

Adelaide and her husband Rainald of Espiers reluctantly reached an accord with the monks of Marmoutier and ten *denarii* were granted to the couple by the monks to abandon their claim. The monks complained about the injustice of this dispute and the violence that Adelaide and Rainald were committing against the Church. This was not the first time that the monks had had to deal with a contestation over this gift. Before Adelaide's suit, a unnamed knight lay claim to the donated lands. The monks were understandably irritated that a woman would contest the grant just after they had settled with this knight. Adelaide's determination and the monks' eventual capitulation attest that women's claims to familial lands were strong indeed.

One noblewoman even successfully seized and controlled property that her father-in-law had given to the Church. Adela, wife of Hugh, a knight of the castle of Mantes, unjustly held Genainvilliers and, for this presumption, had suffered the "chains of anathema" for twenty years after the death of her husband.⁷³ Even though Hugh had died, this noblewoman continued to withhold from the monks land that had

71. *CMPD*, no. 26, pp. 26-28. Osilid and her husband Ernald of Beaugency soon recognized the error of their ways, however, and allowed the grant to stand. For the text of this dispute and further information, see Chapter 3, pp. 111-3, notes 40 and 41.

72. *CMPD*, no. 116, p. 110; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 3, p. 109-11, notes 37 and 38.

73. *CSPDC*, no. 59, pp. 184-6; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 3, p. 121, note 59.

originally belonged to her affinal family.⁷⁴ No mention is made in the charter of any children of Adela and Hugh's union, so Adela was probably not claiming these possessions as part of her children's rightful patrimony or inheritance. In 1066 when Adela was an old woman and feared death, she renounced her claim. Noblewomen, just like noblemen, caused the Church endless trouble by successfully challenging donations made by their male and female relatives, natal and affinal. Such claims may have infuriated the monks, but they attest to the parity that existed between noblemen and noblewomen in regard to their right to family possessions.

Noblewomen as Guardians

When Count Geoffrey II of Perche fell ill while his son Rotrou was on crusade, he instructed his wife and vassals to "keep the peace and protect his castles" until Rotrou's return.⁷⁵ This count trusted his wife to consult with their loyal supporters to act in the best interest of the family and the patrimony. He believed in her ability to fulfill these responsibilities. Rotrou II returned several years later to find the county intact and thriving.

The autonomy of noblewomen is evident in the above example. Other women were able to act as guardians for their minor children or grandchildren.⁷⁶ If women were truly unempowered and patrilineage firmly in place, once a woman became a

74. It is possible that the land in dispute had been granted as Adela's dower. However, the charter does not refer to the property as such.

75. Orderic, *History*, 6: 395.

76. The experience of children in the medieval period has recently received considerable attention. See, for example, Mary McLaughlin, "Survivors and Surrogates: Children and Parents from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Centuries," in *The History of Childhood*, ed. by Lloyd de Mause, (New York: 1974), pp. 101-82; J. Betischer, "'As the Twig is Bent'....Children and their Parents in Aristocratic Society," *Journal of Medieval History*, 2 (1986), 181-92; John Boswell, "Expositio et oblatio: The Abandonment of Children in the Ancient and Medieval Family," *AHR*, 89 (1984), 10-33; idem, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York: 1988).

widow she would have fallen under the supervision of her husband's family, her natal kin or her children. In a patrilineal system, widows were not allowed power over their husband's patrimony and authority over their children reverted either to their husband's family or to the feudal lord.⁷⁷ In a charter datable before 1080, Hildegard Franca,⁷⁸ the wife of Geoffrey Nigrus, made a donation to the monks of St. Père for the benefit of her soul and those of her relatives. Sometime before this transaction Geoffrey had "given up all that was secular," including his wife and sons, and had become a monk. Hildegard and Geoffrey had two sons who were "aetas in adolescentiae flore." The two boys eventually ended up in Apulia, where one of them, Fulco, fathered a bastard son. Hildegard made arrangements for his illegitimate offspring: she gave him to the Church where his grandfather and one of his relatives were currently serving God. At the same time Hildegard made a very generous donation of lands she possessed in Blois and the Dunois for her soul and those of her relatives.⁷⁹ The concurrence of Fulco's son's entrance into the monastery with

77. For discussion of feudal wardship in England, see Susan Sheridan Walker, "Violence and the Exercise of Feudal Guardianship: The Action of *ejectio custodia*," *American Journal of Legal History*, 16 (1972), 320-33; eadem, "Widow and Ward: The Feudal Law of Child Custody in Medieval England," *Feminist Studies*, 3 (1976), 104-16; eadem, "Free Consent and the Marriage of Feudal Wards in Medieval England," *Journal of Medieval History*, 8 (1982), 123-34.

78. It is significant that Geoffrey's wife used her own cognomen, suggesting that she came from an illustrious family and enjoyed a certain amount of prestige by using that cognomen.

79. *CSPDC*, no. 99, pp. 221-2: Notum esse volo cunctis fidelibus, tam praesentibus quam futuris, quia ego Hildegardis, praenomine Franca, quondam uxor cujusdam militis, vocabulo Gausfridi Nigri, qui spernens omnia hujus seculi caduca atque peritura, Deo devote militaturus, in sacrosancto coenobio beati apostoli Petri Carnotensis, militarem balteum deposuit, et, secundum Domini, praeceptum, uxorem et filios, agros, domos et omnia quae habuit in mundo reliquens, obedientiae gresibus ipsum Christum sequens, ad etheris aulam anhelat tendere; sic itaque ab eo viduata, duos filios, quos ei peperit, dum aetas in adolescentiae flore proveheret, orbatam [*sic*] incognitas terras Apuliae adeuntes; quorum unus, Fulco nomine, de quadam puella filium parvulum eundem in cunis michi dimisit, quem loco filii tenere nutriens, in pueruli aetate sacris inbuendum litteris tradidi; deinde jam octennem in supradicto coenobio, in quo et avus ejus et consanguineus, nomine Fulco, Deo deserviunt, ibi,

Hildegard's gift indicates that the lands were to provide the son with entry into the Church. Indeed, it was normal and expected that some sort of grant would accompany the acceptance of a postulant.⁸⁰ Information contained in this charter bears witness to the lack of a patrilineal family organization. Hildegard employed a different cognomen from her husband, Geoffrey Nigrus, suggesting that her line was worthy of recognition. In a patrilineal system cognomina were used exclusively by men of the line of the first born son. Furthermore, this charter records provisions made for illegitimate progeny. If primogeniture and patrilineage had prevailed in this family, illegitimate offspring would have received no such support. The goal of both primogeniture and patrilineage was to limit heirs. It could be argued that Fulco's son's entrance into the Church would have precluded him from being an heir. This was not the case, however, since many clerics continued to receive inheritances and exercise a right to family lands. In this family, where an open, collateral configuration dominated, women were valued and participated in family affairs. Hildegard acted completely independently in making arrangements for her grandson. Her son's natal and affinal kin did not interfere in the grant, nor was there any attempt to usurp Hildegard's custody over her grandson. As head of her family, she acted autonomously, which testifies to the influence that noblewomen could exert in eleventh-century noble society.

In 1042 two monks of Marmoutier bought one carrucate of land at Malvoisins from Fulcher, a boy. In return, Fulcher received a horse and half a measure of oats,

Continued....

cum consensu Rotberti prioris ceterorumque monachorum, pro anima mea et omnium parentum meorum deprecaturum, ut sub norma monachili Deo serviat mancipari; dans pro eo in Belsia, in villa quae Pantaginis Villa dicitur, terram quandam olim datam in manu firma duobus fratribus Frogerio et Fulconi et uni heredi eorum....item in territorio Dunensi....

80. For a discussion of this practice, see Joseph Lynch, *Simoniackal Entry into Religious Life from 1000-1260* (Columbus: 1976), pp. 4-16.

an exchange particularly fitting for a young man on the brink of knighthood.⁸¹ The participation of Fulcher's mother Richild suggests that he was under her guardianship. While Nivelon, Fulcher's feudal superior, also acted in the charter he did so only in his capacity of feudal lord, not as guardian. Combined with the evidence of Fulcher's immaturity, Richild's participation in the charter suggests that he had not yet reached maturity.⁸² In the decade of the 1090's Gila of Perche made a donation to the abbey of St. Père so that one of her sons, Wido, could become a monk. Gila was married twice and had two sons from her first marriage. Her sons are labeled "boys" in the charter, so they had not reached their majority. Gila, their mother, acted as their guardian and made provision for the younger one to enter the monastery.⁸³ The family of the boys' father did not participate in the charter in any way nor did Gila's second husband. She acted entirely on her own and had complete dominion over her

81. *CMPD*, no. 147, p. 135: Notem esse volumus presentibus et futuris quod Gaufredus et Hato, Majoris Monasterii monachi, dum apud Merliacum quondam castrum morarentur, emerunt terram a Fulcherio puero, culture unius carruce sufficientem, apud locum qui dicitur Malus Vicinus. Fuit vero ejus precium equus unus et dimidius modius avene. Hanc autem venditionem Nivelon de cujus fevo erat concessit, et Hamlinus frater ejus et Richildis mater jam dicit Fulcherii cum duabus filiabus suis, Milsende et Sizilia, quae inde dimidium frumenti modium et xii denarios habuerunt....Item sciendum quod emptionem terrae de Malo Vicino quam Gaufredus et Hato, monachi Sancti Martini, fecerunt de Fulcherio infante de Merlaico concesserunt Nivelon et Hamelinus frater ejus.

If the reference to "boy" was a cognomen, then one term should have been used consistently. Fulcher was called both *puer* and *infante*, suggesting this was a description of him immaturity, not a cognomen.

If Fulcher was in training to become a knight or a squire, he would have had need of a horse. The oats were provided, probably, as sustenance for the same horse.

82. Fulcher's sisters consented to the donation, reinforcing the claim that female progeny had on the patrimony. Daughters, as well as other female kin, had a right to a share in the familial lands.

83. *CSPDC*, no. 2, p. 228: Ego Eustachius abbas et omnis congregatio monachorum sancti Petri coenobii Carnotensis, notum esse volumus tam presentibus quam futuris sanctae Dei ecclesiae fidelibus, quia adiit nostram presentiam quaedam matrona bigama, nomine Gila de Pertico, habens pueros duos de Huberto, primo seniori suo, Vivianum scilicet et Widonem; quorum juniorem obtulit Deo et sancto Petro, ad serviendum ibi, quamdiu viveret, in sanctae religionis propositio et habitu monachili; atque de rebus sui juris largita est sancto Petro medietatem saltus de Bustello, et agripennos de duos prati.....

children. Philippa of Courville, the wife of Gerogius the lord of Courville, also found herself widowed in the last decade of the eleventh century. She and her husband had at least one son, Ivo, and Philippa acted as guardian during his minority. In a charter datable from 1094, it is clear that Philippa had assumed many of her husband's duties and responsibilities.⁸⁴ She states in the charter that she and her son gave the *ban* over the village of Pomerae that their predecessors Ivo and Gerogius had passed down to them. Philippa with her minor son Ivo exercised the same power as had the two previous lords of Courville, Philippa's father-in-law and husband respectively. As in the other examples of mothers acting as guardians, there is no evidence that members of Ivo's paternal kin attempted to assume guardianship or that they challenged Philippa's right to act for her son, the heir to the lordship.⁸⁵ The authority of these widows over their children was not challenged by either their affinal or their natal kin. They acted on behalf of their children and did so without objection.

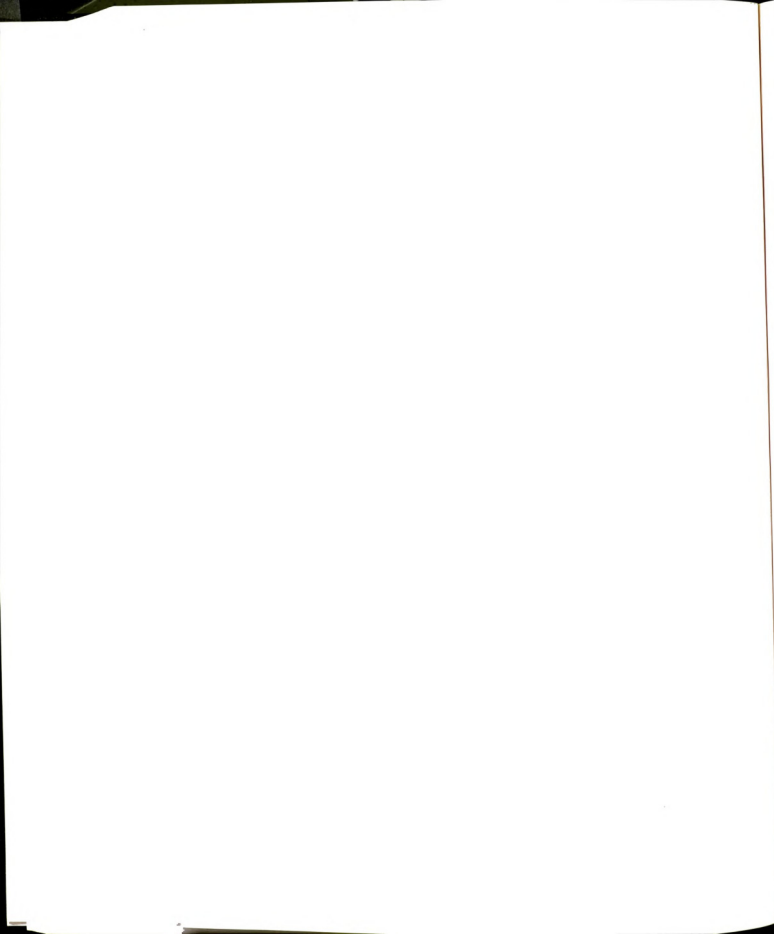
Noblewomen and Justice

Women appeared in ecclesiastical and feudal courts in other capacities besides bringing claims to ecclesiastical donations. In just under ten per cent of eleventh-century charters from Blois-Chartres noblewomen witnessed the charters of their kin, lords, and vassals (see Table 6, p. 181). Adelaide, the wife of Rainald of Espiers, even witnessed, with her husband, a charter for Ganelon of Montigny drafted at the

84. *CSPDC*, no. 43, pp. 499-500: In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Ego Philippa Curvavillensis et Ivo, filius meus, presentium posterorumque memorie, hujus carte testimonio, assignamus, quia bannum quod a predecessoribus nostris, Ivone scilicet et Gerogio, in villa que Pomeriata dicitur, habebamus, pro eorundem et nostris animabus, concedente domino et patrono nostro Nivelone, domno Eustachio, abbati Carnotensis cenobii, et monachis ibidem in honore beatissimorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli Deo militantibus, pro tenoribus nostris, omni inquietudine absolutum dedimus.

In *CSPDC*, no. 24, pp. 417-21, Philippa is referred to as the *domna* of Courville, further substantiating her role as lord during her son's minority.

85. Gerogius, Philippa's husband, had four brothers who could easily have assumed this responsibility as guardian.



court of King Henri I.⁸⁶ The king himself consented to the charter and many of the most illustrious and powerful men of the region also participated: the counts of Blois-Chartres, of Soissons, and of Beaumont-sur-Loire; the viscount of Melun; the vidame of Chartres, along with many powerful Chartrain lords, such as those of Courville, Fréteval and Montigny. Adelaide had her own separate list of witnesses. The ability of women to act as witnesses and consenters raises the issue of the validity of their oaths in legal proceedings. Their swearing of oaths and role as witnesses demonstrates that women were qualified to participate in legal matters. A letter from the correspondence of Bishop Fulbert also provides some insight on the issue of women's oaths.

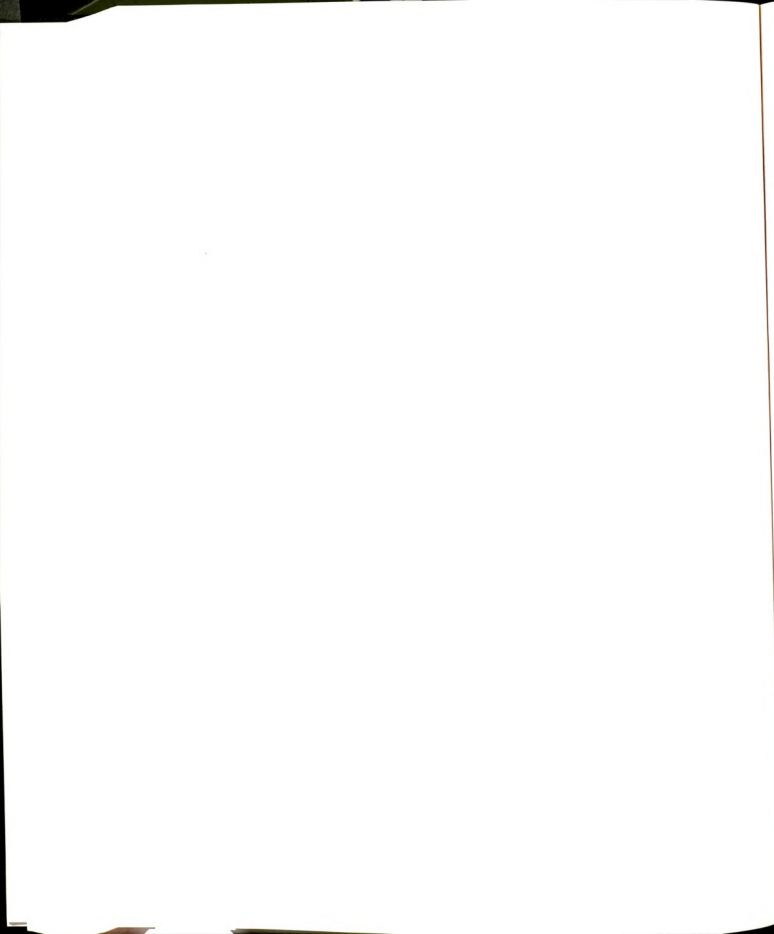
Sometime in 1023 or 1024 Fulbert wrote to a fellow bishop who had inquired about the bond of a woman's oath. He asserts that a woman cannot contract a marriage to one man if she has given her oath of betrothal to another.⁸⁷ If she does so, she will be committing perjury.

The ability of noblewomen to act in judicial proceedings is further supported by the role that Viscountess Melisend of Blois played in solving a dispute that had arisen between Marmoutier and her son Viscount Robert II. Between 1060 and 1064 the monks consulted the Viscountess over the matter of the freedom of a family of serfs and ownership of their lands. Melisend's husband Viscount Robert I had granted one of their serfs, Hilducia, her freedom.⁸⁸ Hilducia had been granted by Robert I to one of his vassals, Herebald, who consented to her liberation. However, after the deaths of Robert I and Herebald, their sons refused to let the lands that pertained to Hilducia and her children pass to the Church. Viscountess Melisend had participated

86. See *CMPD*, no. 22, pp. 22-4; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 3, p. 144, note 118.

87. Beherends, *Letters*, no. 84, pp. 150-1.

88. *CMPD*, no. 14, pp. 14-6; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 3, p. 156, notes 147 and 148.



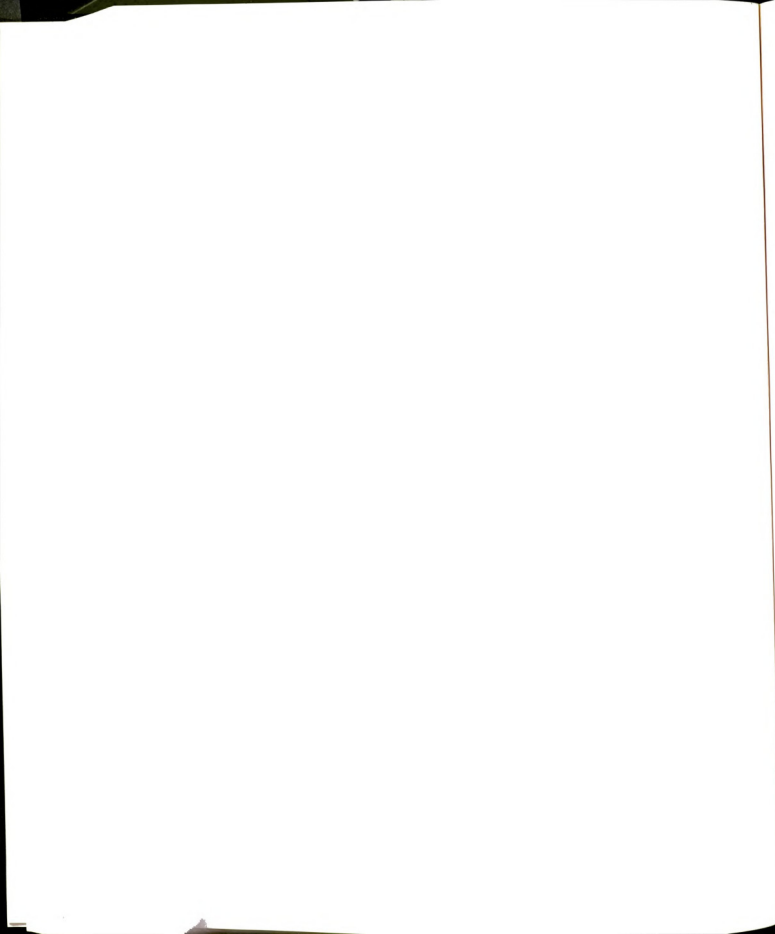
in the original donation and was asked by the monks of Marmoutier to verify that the lands had been granted to them. The monks trusted Melisend and relied upon her aid in their pursuit of justice. She confirmed that these serfs had been donated, which facilitated settlement of this dispute.

Other noblewomen took part in justice in other ways. During the absence of Count Thibaut III, first on campaign and then during his imprisonment, his mother Countess Ermengard provided comital justice. In either 1038 or 1039 she held a court to settle the dispute between one of her knights and the monks of Marmoutier.⁸⁹ Ermengard also acted to prevent claims by her vassals against the Church. When Viscount Gelduin of Chartres donated certain of his properties to the Church, he established a penalty of four pounds of gold for anyone who challenged the gift.⁹⁰ The viscount stated that he set this fine through the "counsel and order of Countess Ermengard, the wife of his feudal lord." Ermengard clearly sought to protect this gift and prevent any future actions or claims. Another woman was involved in a judicial ordeal. After the death of Robert Corneus, the monks of St. Père tried to gain control of part of his lands. His wife, however, protested and stated that her husband had promised her possession of the land for her lifetime. To prove her right to the land, she had a surrogate, either a champion or a serf, endure a judicial ordeal. She won her case and enjoyed the use of the land for the duration of her life, even after she remarried.⁹¹ The participation of women in so many dimensions of justice demonstrates the respect they were accorded and the influence they commanded.

89. *CMPD*, no. 99, p. 92; for further discussion of this and the text of this charter, see this Chapter, p. 200, note 106.

90. *CMPD*, no. 21, pp. 21-22; for the text of this charter, see, Chapter 3, p. 158, note 151.

91. *CSPDC*, no. 33, pp. 160-1; for the text of this charter, see this Chapter, p. 192, note 28.



Noblewomen in the Feudal and Political Arenas

Perhaps the most persuasive evidence of noblewomen's autonomy in noble society was their active participation in the feudal and political realms. Women from various sectors of the Chartrain nobility took part in feudal relationships both with their husbands and independently. The countesses of Blois-Chartres continued to enjoy the influence as wives and widows that their tenth-century predecessors had had.⁹² Countess Bertha, the wife of Eudes I and then of King Robert II of France, participated in many charters with her husbands, confirming gifts made by their feudal vassals.⁹³ In one charter her role as joint feudal lord is explicit. In 985, a nobleman named Robert donated a benefice to the abbey of St. Père. His lord, Count Eudes I, as well as his feudal lady, Countess Bertha, consented. Eudes' mother Letgard also approved the grant.⁹⁴ Robert clearly believed that Bertha and Eudes were both his feudal superiors. In the same year Bertha appeared in a royal charter with her

92. The experiences of noblewomen in the tenth century was referred to earlier in this chapter and discussed in detail in Chapter 3, pp. 104-106. Countess Letgard of Blois-Chartres enjoyed independence and influence in the county and even in regional or national affairs.

93. In addition to the charters discussed here, see *CSPDC*, no. 2, pp. 84-6, and no. 3, p. 94.

94. *CSPDC*, no. 18, pp. 77-9: Quocirca universalis aecclesiae Dei presens utique necne futura per succedentis aevi perpetuitatem perpenderit milicia, qualiter vel quibus facultatibus ego indignus Rodbertus....quem ex beneficio senioris mei comitis Odonis, cum aliis multo amplioribus, tenere videor....desudaverim....Complacuit ergo aeterno et incommutabili omnipotentis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi consilio dominium meum, utique Odonem, simul cum sua matre Ledgarde, pariterque dominam meam Bertam, ipsius aequae conjugem, huic voluntati vel deliberationi meae favorabiliter consentiendo, concurrere; eosdemque etiam mecum praefati loci Haurion oratorium, jam praescripto xenodochio, summi privilegii apostolorum perhenni ditione, subjugasse et subjugando concessisse.

husband, reflecting once again her involvement in feudal and political matters.⁹⁵

After Eudes I's death, Bertha acted independently for a brief time before her marriage to King Robert. In a royal act, Robert I and his father Hugh Capet, at the request of Countess Bertha and her sons, confirmed the foundation of the abbey of Bourgeuil.⁹⁶ As queen, Bertha continued to appear in acts with her husband, although not very frequently.⁹⁷ After she was set aside by Robert II, Bertha still acted as guardian for her two sons by Eudes and attended to the business of the county. In 1004 Gislebert the prévôt and his wife Ingutia gave three arpents of vines to Marmoutier in the presence of Queen Bertha.⁹⁸ Her sons were still minors at this time and she had assumed responsibility for administering the county.⁹⁹ After Eudes

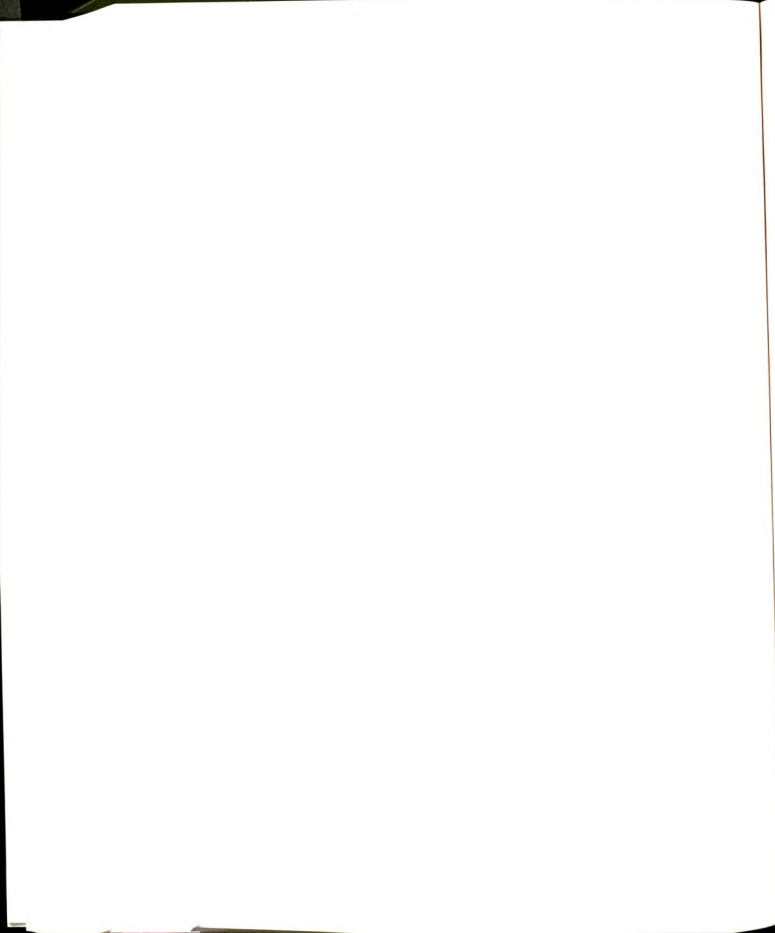
95. *CSPDC*, no. 1, pp. 81-3: Clotharius, propicia divinitate rex....Quapropter universalis Dei aecclesiae omnium fidelium nostrorumque, tam praesentium quam succedenti saeculo futurorum, noverit pia sagacitas; quia fideles nostri regni, Odo scilicet Carnotensium praesul, atque illustrissimus comes fidelis noster ac inter alios magis dilectus Odo, cum sua aequae conjuge Berta nepte utique nostra dulcissima, magnificentiae nostrae genua suppliciter adierunt, accedente quoque etiam in hoc incliti ducis fidelis nostri Ugonis favorabili obsecratione, ut quoddam monasterium quod in suburbio praenotatae videlicet Carnotinae civitatis in honore beatissimorum duodeni apicis principum Petri et Pauli, Deo propicio, constat nobiliter fundatum, non minimo grege ibidem opniabiliter redolente monachorum, contemplativae vitae institutione probabiliter retractantium, nostrae serenitatis aliquo munere sublimius dignaremur decorare.

96. Newman, *Robert*, no. 119, pp. 148-9.

97. I attribute Bertha's lack of participation to the political tensions and ecclesiastical dispute caused by her "incestuous" marriage to Robert II. She does appear in several of Robert's acts. See Newman, *Robert*, no. 9, pp. 9-12, no. 13, pp. 14-5, no. 119, pp. 148-9, and no. 125, pp. 155-7.

98. *CMPD*, no. 3, pp. 4-5: Noticia rei gestae, qualiter anno incarnationis dominicae M IIII, accessit ante presentiam reginae Bertae, Gislebertus prepositus, humiliter deprecans domnum abbatem Gausbertum, pariterque congregationem Sancti Martini Majoris Monasterii, uti in alodo Carmarciaco arpennos IIII vineae sibi, uxoriue Ingutiae nomine, concederent....Signum Bertae reginae, signum Odonis comitis filii ejus....

99. Thibaut, one of Bertha and Eudes I's sons, died by 1004. His brother Eudes II became count shortly after this charter was issued.



II became count, Bertha continued to act in charters with her son.¹⁰⁰ As both wife and widow Bertha exercised significant influence within the county, indeed the kingdom, and enjoyed a politically important role.

Bertha's daughter-in-law Ermengard enjoyed a similarly powerful role in the county. She, too, appeared with both her husband and her sons in matters concerning their feudal dependents. Between 1032 and 1037 she acted with her husband as feudal lord of Agnes of Montigny to affirm Agnes' grant for the souls of herself and her husband.¹⁰¹ She played the same role in an act of King Philippe I, in which she, her husband and sons confirmed a gift made by one of their vassals, Gelduin of Saumur.¹⁰² Such activity continued during her son Thibaut III's tenure as count. Sometime between 1050 and 1060, the countess acted with her son to support a donation made by another of their vassals, Raher the knight.¹⁰³ She participated with her sons in providing a gift for their souls which is recorded in an act of King Henri I.¹⁰⁴ While Ermengard was active with her husband and sons in confirming gifts made by their vassals, she became particularly influential around 1038 or 1039 when Thibaut III began a campaign against the Angevins. In 1044, at the same time Tours

100. See *CMPD*, no. 14, p. 14, and *CSPDC*, no. 5, pp. 96-8.

101. *CMPD*, no. 97, pp. 90-1; for the text of this charter, see this Chapter, p. 204, note 56.

102. Prou, *Philippe*, no. 74, pp. 186-7.

103. *CMPD*, no. 116, pp. 109-110: comite Theobaldo matreque ejus Ermengarde comitissa, auctoramento suo corroborantis.

Ermengard also signed the original grant that Raher made during his life time (see *CMPD*, no. 100, pp. 92-3).

104. Soehnée, *Henri*, no. 51, pp. 47-8.

fell to the Angevins, Thibaut III was captured by the count of Anjou.¹⁰⁵ During her son's military expeditions and imprisonment, Countess Ermengard assumed responsibility for administering the county. In 1038 or 1039 Raher the knight and Abbot Albert of Marmoutier were engaged in a dispute over an allod at Mersante. They brought their complaint to the court of Countess Ermengard and Viscount Gelduin, who had assembled their "good men" or vassals.¹⁰⁶ Raher agreed to allow the property to pass to the monks at his death. Abbot Albert, by the counsel of Ermengard and her feudal retainers, granted Raher a *mulam* of ten *librae*.¹⁰⁷ Raher and Abbot Albert appealed to Countess Ermengard for justice, demonstrating that during the absence of the count, business proceeded as usual under the direction of the countess.

Mahild of Alluyes also acted as a feudal lord with her second husband and in her own right during her two periods of widowhood. Throughout her lifetime Mahild was called as "Mahild of Alluyes," which affirms not only her heritage, but also her

105. Two charters from the mid eleventh century contain information that pertains to Thibaut's III's capture. One dated 1040x1043 states peace negotiations were taking place between Thibaut III and the count of Anjou (see *CMPD*, no. 102, pp. 94-5). Another dated 1046 states that this was the second year of his imprisonment (see *CSPDC*, no. 34, p. 161).

106. *CMPD*, no. 99, p. 92: Presentium atque futurorum memoriae commendare volumus convenientiam, quam domnus Albertus abbas cepit cum Raherio, Raherii carnotensis filio coram comitissa Ermengardi et Gelduino vicecomite Carnoti. Habebat quippe predictus Raherius in pago Dunensi in loco qui appellatur Matersenta unum alodum, quem pro redemptione animae parentum suorum ac suae suique senioris Odonis, scilicet comitis, dedit Sancto Martino. Hac autem convenientia, ut ad presens habeat Sanctus Martinus investitura terram unius dominicae carrucae et duas mensuras quae meliores visae fuerint, cum servis et ancillis.

Post obitum vero ipsius Raherii, totus alodus veniet in dominium Sancti Martini. Eo ut haec convenientia in perpetuum maneat firma, dedit ei domnus Albertus abbas unam mulam decem librarum consilio comitissae Ermengardis, et Gelduini ceterorumque bonorum virorum, quorum pro testimonio nomina subtus habentur scripta.

107. I am not sure what a *mulam* is exactly. Niermeyer says it is a "hay-cock," which I presume resembles a haystack. Whatever it was, it was worth ten pounds, a considerable sum.



control of the fiefs associated with the lordship of Alluyes.¹⁰⁸ In 1059 Eudes son of Wazzo gave the church of Villevillon¹⁰⁹ to St. Père with the consent of his "most noble lady Mahild."¹¹⁰ Ten years later Walter Infans granted to St. Père the priest's portion of St. Mary at Alluyes and Mahild again gave her permission as feudal lord for the gift.¹¹¹ When she was married to Geoffrey of Mayenne, Mahild maintained feudal domination not only over the vassals she brought to the marriage but also over those from the patrimony of her first husband. Before 1070 two knights, Airard of Bullou and Landric of Tourielle, obtained the consent of their feudal lords, Geoffrey and Mahild, to their donation to the same abbey.¹¹² Walter of Montmirail and Bernard of Bullou also secured the consent of this couple, their feudal lords, to their

108. See *CMPD*, no. 37, pp. 34-5; *CSPDC*, no. 68, p. 194, and no. 5, pp. 403-4.

109. Lucien Merlet in *Dictionnaire*, p. 192, states that this village was eventually placed under the jurisdiction of Brou. Villevillon was, thus, part of the fief of Brou that Mahild brought to her first marriage. Her authority over Villevillon stemmed from her role as lord of the castle of Brou and its dependencies (see also *CSPDC*, no. 87, pp. 211-2).

110. *CSPDC*, no. 36, pp. 163-4: Ego Odo, filius Guazzonis, notum esse volo....ex beneficiis, quae denique temporaliter possidere videor, aecclesiam, quae olim quidem sita est in loco qui vocatur Villa Villonis....Agoberto, venerabili episcopo, annuente, necnon nobilissima domna mea Mahilde atque ejus filio Willelmo, de quibus id possideo.

111. *CSPDC*, no. 87, p. 211: Gualterius, praenomine Infans, sancto Petro apostolorum principi, pro anima sua et conjugis ac parentum dominorumque suorum, presbiterium aecclesiae sanctae Mariae, quae non longe sita est a flumine Allogiae villae...per assensum domnae suae Mahildae, de qua id beneficium tenebat, super altare sancti Romani martiris posuit, qui non longe a Braiao castro....Actum est hoc publice, Braiao castro, intra horreum Sancti Romani....

112. *CSPDC*, no. 25, pp. 148-9: ego Airadus de Buslo et Landricus de Toriello....Unde quod divinio instinctu fecimus, domno nostro Gaufredo et Mahildi domnae nostrae verbis munstravimus....Nomina testium. Gaufredus domnus, cujus assensu actum est hoc. Mahildis ejus conjunx.

transaction.¹¹³ In a charter datable after Geoffrey's death, Hugh a knight from Brou made a donation to Marmoutier for the souls of his wife, himself, their children and relatives, of all he possessed at a place called Chapelle Guillaume. Mahild, exercising her prerogative as *domina*, allowed Hugh to make this gift.¹¹⁴ The charter was drafted in her presence in the chapter house at Marmoutier, which reinforces Mahild's role as feudal lord. Mahild's control of these knights clearly demonstrates her participation in the feudal realm as a lord in her own right.

Noblewomen besides Mahild of Alluyes had jurisdiction over knights' fees. When Roscelina made a donation to Marmoutier of part of her dower, the gift included three knights' fees, illustrating that she had the ability and authority to possess knights.¹¹⁵ A charter from Marmoutier dated between 1070 and 1084 records Agnes' possession of a knight's fee. She donated all the land she held at Rodon, with the exception of a knight's fee, for the soul of her dead son.¹¹⁶ Agnes

113. *CSPDC*, no. 66, pp. 192-3; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 3, p. 150, note 134.

The geographic cognomina of these two knights is important. Montmirail was a fief of William I Gouet, Mahild's first husband, and Bullou is located in the canton of Brou, which was part of the Allueys-Gouet patrimony.

114. *CMPD*, no. 37, pp. 34-5; for this passage, see Chapter 3, p. 115, note 46.

115. *CMPD*, no. 38, pp. 35-6; for the text of this charter and further discussion, see this Chapter, p. 194, note 30.

116. *CMPD*, no. 132, pp. 122-3: Notum sit omnibus presentibus et futuris nostris quod Agnes de Malliaco, mortuo filio suo Gausberto, donaverit beato Martino et monachis Majoris Monasterii pro ejus anima quicquid in Rosdonio habebat, boscum et planum, excepto fevo militum. Hoc fuit factum in capitulo Majoris Monasterii tempore abbatis Bartholomei, concedentibus duobus filiis suis Harduino et Hugone et Agnete filia sua....Postea accepit ipsa Agnes maritum Mainnerium de Gaseranno et habitavit cum eo apud Gaserannum. Post multos vero dies placuit Mainnerio ire Romam, quod et fecit, venitque Agnes uxor ejus cum illo usque ad monasterium, rogavitque Agnes monachos ut quatuor libras denariorum Pictavensium donarent viro suo, quos Romam portaret, et ipsa daret Sancto Martino et monachis ejus fevum Militum [*sic*] de Rosdonio quod in manu sua retinuerat quando donavit eis omne dominium suum quod ibi habebat pro anima Gausberti filii sui, sicut supra scriptum est. Quo audito, abbas Bartholomeus jussit dari Mainnerio quatuor libras de Pictavinis, et Agnes donavit beato Martino et monachis Majoris Monasterii fevum Militum [*sic*] de Rosdonio, jure perpetuo possidendum.

eventually remarried and after their marriage her husband, Mainer of *Gaserannum*, expressed the desire to go to Rome, presumably on pilgrimage. To fund his journey Agnes sold her knight's fee at Rodon to the monks of Marmoutier for four pounds from Poitou. Agnes had possessed this knight's fee before her marriage to Mainer and it remained under her sole jurisdiction. This fief *was not* Mainer's to grant away.

Other noblewomen of varying status took part in the feudal world as vassals. Sometime before 1070, a noble lady named Bertha with her children made a donation to St. Père of the church and two mills at Chapelle Royale. Count Thibaut III gave his permission for this grant because the properties were part of his benefice. Bertha held these lands from the count's benefice, attesting that she was a his vassal.¹¹⁷ When, between 1042 and 1051, Emmeline of Châteaudun gave Marmoutier her half of the church at Morée and its appurtenances, Vidame Hugh of Chartres, from whom Emmeline held the property, affirmed the grant as did his lord Count Thibaut III.¹¹⁸ Emmeline of Châteaudun was, therefore, a direct vassal of Vidame Hugh and an indirect vassal of Count Thibaut III. It has been postulated that feudal custom

117. *CSPDC*, no. 1, p. 122: Quae libentissime cum filiis et filiabus suis annuit: ea conventionem, ut domno nostro comiti Tedbaldo, ex cujus beneficio esse videtur, annuere facerent, et ex omnibus calumniis quae inibi orirentur liberam facerent.

For the rest of this charter, see this Chapter, p. 205, note 59.

118. *CMFD*, no. 35, p. 33: Hoc autem auctorisavit Herbertus, filius ejus, et filia ejus Rotrudis, cum filio suo Herveo nomine, necnon et Guillelmus, frater ejusdem Emelineae, cum filia sua Rotrude. Hugo quoque vicedominus Carnotensis, de quo eandem ecclesiam predictat Emelina tenebat, necnon et comes Tetbaldus de cujus fevo erat, libenter annuerent et auctoramento suo firmaverunt (for the text of the gift itself, see this Chapter, p. 205, note 58).

It is interesting to note that Adela, the wife of Vidame Hugh, also acted as witness for this charter. This illustrates the important role that women played within feudal society and is further proof that women's testimony and oath were valid.

technically excluded noblewomen from participation in the feudal realm.¹¹⁹ The evidence from Blois-Chartres challenges this position, however. Noblewomen of this region were active in feudal relationships as lords and vassals. Some even possessed knight's fees, which involved the very essence of feudal tenure, the provision and control of warriors. The feudal custom of Blois-Chartres, hence, did not exclude women. Rather their involvement in feudal relationships was necessitated by their possession of fiefs. It is also apparent that women were able to maintain control of their fiefs during their marriages and were not at the mercy of their affinal or natal families. Such evidence contradicts the standard interpretation of subjugation and demonstrates that during the eleventh century noblewomen exercised power and influence in a variety of ways.

The charters from the monasteries of Blois-Chartres prove that noblewomen participated in virtually every dimension of noble life. The correspondence of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres records noblewomen's involvement in the less savory aspects of medieval noble society. In two letters datable between 1018 and 1020 Bishop Fulbert addresses the horrendous behavior of Bishop Ralph of Senlis and his family. Fulbert writes that Bishop Ralph requested that the office of subdeacon of Chartres be given either to himself or his brother.¹²⁰ Fulbert rejected the two brothers' candidacy on the grounds that it would not be suitable for a bishop to hold such an office and that Ralph's brother was "still [of an] immature age and character."¹²¹ When another cleric was chosen for this office, Bishop Ralph, his brother Gui and his mother were outraged and made numerous threats against the priest. Their anger and frustration

119. McNamara and Wemple, "The Power of Women," 132-6; Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Chaya Galai, (New York and London: 1983), pp. 11-21, 126-174; Jean Verdon, "La femme dans la société en France aux Xe et XIe siècles, (Thèse du troisième cycle, Paris X, 1974), 345-53.

120. Behrends, *Letters*, no. 29, pp. 53-5.

121. Behrends, *Letters*, no. 29, p. 55

soon led to violence.

This aroused R(alph), his mother, and his brother to such vindictiveness that they uttered terrible threats against that saintly man in the presence of many who can testify to it, and what they threatened came to pass. Some of their servants who were so important that their absence could not go unnoticed even for one day came from the city of Senlis to Chartres. During the day they remained in hiding; going out in the dark of night, they butchered in the very forecourt of the cathedral that holy priest, who was coming to the church as usual, with spears, falcons and swords, as if he were a fierce wolf.¹²²

Fulbert excommunicated this family for their "slaying of [this] most holy priest."

Bishop Ralph's mother was intimately involved in planning the murder and was an active participant in all events that concerned her family, even the most grisly.

Noblewomen clearly were *not* isolated from noble society; rather they participated in the violence that surrounded them.¹²³

Yet another letter of Bishop Fulbert proves that noblewomen actively contributed to the instability of the eleventh century. In the year 1023, Fulbert wrote to Bishop Franco of Paris about a certain "noblewoman of Lâon" who was ravaging Franco's church's possessions.¹²⁴ Bishop Franco had requested that Fulbert excommunicate her for such activity, but the bishop of Chartres was reluctant to do -----

122. Behrends, *Letters*, no. 29, pp. 53-5.

123. In two succeeding letters, Fulbert responds to attempts to remove the sentence of excommunication that had been placed upon this family (see nos. 30, p. 57, and 36, pp. 65-7). In both letters, which were written to Archbishop Leothericus of Sens, Fulbert did *not* favor lifting the sentence. Leothericus lobbied for Gui's exception, which is interesting since it implies that he was less guilty of the crime than his mother or brother. No suggestion was made that Gui's mother be pardoned because of her sex, nor was there any attempt to bargain along the lines of her being merely a woman.

Given Ralph's behavior and attempt to secure ecclesiastical offices for his family, it seems more than likely that he was of the nobility. Most eleventh-century bishops were noble, with a few exceptions, most notably Bishop Fulbert himself.

124. While this woman did not live in Blois-Chartres proper, her activities demonstrate that such behavior was not out of the ordinary for women since Bishop Fulbert did not express shock or outrage over this problem.

this and lists three reasons for his decision.¹²⁵ His primary justification was that no one would dare notify her that she had been excommunicated.¹²⁶ This woman was to be feared, indeed, since she had intimidated the bishop of Chartres to such an extent that excommunication was not possible. These examples from the letters of Fulbert of Chartres demonstrate that noblewomen were involved in virtually every aspect of noble society, including murder, raiding and other acts of violence.

Conclusion

The evidence from Chartres indicates that in the eleventh century noblewomen, ranging in status from countesses to the wives of simple knights, enjoyed significant autonomy within both the family and noble society. Women were able to participate in virtually every activity open to men, with the exception of actual warfare. They inherited land, controlled their inheritance, dowers and dowries, made individual and independent donations to the Church for their souls and those of their loved ones, were guardians of their children, held fiefs and acted as feudal lords and vassals, and were included in matters of justice. The supposition that noble families adopted primogeniture, and with it patrilineal family structure, has long governed our approach to the nobility of this century. Yet these findings establish that the subjugation and restriction of female kin characteristic of patrilineage is simply not apparent among the noblewomen of Blois-Chartres as late as the eleventh century. Noblewomen were part of the noble family and as such they were bound by the same

125. For a discussion of excommunication in the medieval period, see Elizabeth Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: 1986).

126. Behrends, *Letters*, no. 79, pp. 139-41. Fulbert also argues that it would be of no use to the bishop of Paris to have her excommunicated without her knowing of it. He also believed that the sentence of excommunication would be "done to better advantage" if decided in a provincial council of bishops.

customs and rights as their male kin. The rights of noblewomen did not supersede those of other family members nor were they at the complete mercy of male relatives. Instead, the eleventh-century Chartrain noble family honored the claims of nuclear and extended kin and conformed to a horizontal configuration. Noblewomen, moreover, were powerful and recognized members of this family and took part in virtually all actions and decisions that concerned noble family interests.

The first section of this thesis has served to outline the inheritance patterns and family structure of the nobility of eleventh-century Blois-Chartres. It is clear that the eventual transformation from partible to impartible inheritance and from a horizontal to a vertical reckoning of lineage did not occur in Blois-Chartres in the eleventh century. Signs of impending change do become apparent at the end of the century and would eventually lead to this expected transformation sometime in the twelfth century.

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**THE NOBILITY OF BLOIS-CHARTRES:
FAMILY AND INHERITANCE, 980-1140**

VOLUME II

By

Amy Livingstone Thompson

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CHAPTER FIVE

CHANGES AND CHALLENGES OF THE LATE ELEVENTH AND EARLY TWELFTH CENTURIES

The first four chapters of this study have sought to determine the structure of the noble families of Blois-Chartres between 980 and 1080. I have argued that inheritance was not rigidly fixed in one pattern and that families were not dominated by patrilineage. Instead extended kin played a decisive role in the noble family, which is evident in their participation in family transactions and reception of counter gifts. Noblewomen took an active part in their families' affairs and enjoyed significant autonomy in medieval society in general. Individual families adjusted their inheritance strategies and family patterns in response to their particular economic, social or political circumstances. This was the state of the Chartrain nobility for the first eight decades of the eleventh century. Beginning in the 1080's and continuing far into the twelfth century, subtle changes occurred within these families, so much so that by the mid twelfth century the above description would no longer accurately reflect the family organization of many Chartrain noble families.

Between 1080 and 1140 some noble families visibly altered their family structure, inheritance patterns, and marriage practices. What caused such a transformation to take place? In the decades spanning 1080 to 1140 Western Europe experienced significant economic, political, religious and intellectual transformation. The nobles of the county of Blois-Chartres were deeply affected by these developments. The changes in the economic, political and religious spheres challenged the nobility, causing its members to create innovative responses to the new realities of the twelfth century. Noble family structure and inheritance strategies were adjusted and modified to cope with a new economic and political order. Before these alterations are examined, it is necessary to address how medieval society evolved and

changed in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

During the eleventh century, economic pursuit was centered around agriculture. Towns and trade continued to be a part of medieval life, but commercial activity generally took place on a regional or local rather than an international level. Beginning in the second half of the eleventh century, however, a revitalization in commerce occurred. By the end of this century, new trade routes developed, while urban centers grew and prospered. Like many other towns, Chartres and the surrounding region experienced this vitality. In the twelfth century, pilgrimages to the cathedral of Chartres spurred commercial activity by bringing pilgrims from all over Europe with money to spend. Subsequently an economy that favored revenue over barter or the possession of property emerged in the Chartrain. During the previous century, noble wealth and power had been based on the control of land and its dependents. As the economy began to diversify in the twelfth century, nobles became interested in obtaining revenue. This general evolution to a cash economy was compounded by the crusades. Many Chartrain noblemen went on crusade and were exposed to novel luxury items. Once they returned from the East, these nobles continued to desire products such as silk and spices. These luxuries could only be purchased with cash, which encouraged nobles to secure sources of revenue and diversify their holdings. These changes in the economic structure and vitality of medieval Europe resulted in the transformation from an economy where land was the premium to one that favored the possession or control of cash.¹

The social order of Western Europe stabilized in the twelfth century. Where strong men and over-mighty subjects had once ruled France, effective monarchs now

1. For consideration of these economic trends, see Robert Latouche, *The Birth of the Western Economy* trans. E. M. Wilkinson (New York: 1961); Robert Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350* (Cambridge: 1976); Robert Fossier, *Enfance de L'Europe: Aspects économiques et sociaux*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1982); Georges Duby, *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West; The Early Growth of the European Economy*, trans. by Howard Clarke (Ithaca: 1984).

provided a degree of security and stability. At the end of the eleventh century, the king of France was little more than a figurehead who commanded no real authority over the nobility. Indeed the ineffectiveness of Philippe I's rule is evident in the Chartrain in Hugh II of Le Puiset's successful rebellion against him in the 1070's. The character of monarchical power changed perceptibly in the early twelfth century when Louis VI ascended to the throne. This capable king struck at the heart of noble feudal power and successfully subdued such obstreperous nobles as Thomas of Marle and Hugh III of Le Puiset. As the French kings expanded and solidified their authority, royal government and bureaucratization became more complex. By the end of the twelfth century, branches and offices of the royal government came to fulfill the functions that noble families had in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. While royal government and authority became more effective in the early twelfth century, the ascendancy of the king and his government had yet to displace completely noble families as the power brokers of the kingdom. Indeed, under Louis VI and Louis VII, certain noble families became royal favorites and came to exert tremendous control over the politics of the realm.²

Medieval society stabilized in other ways as well. The violence that had characterized the tenth and eleventh centuries declined in the twelfth. External threats that had plagued Western Europe ceased to be a threat in the eleventh century, only to be replaced with internal chaos as strong men competed to carve out their own fiefdoms. The Church undertook to limit this violence and its efforts are evident in the Peace and Truce of God legislation. The launching of the First Crusade also helped

2. For discussion of the evolution of royal power and the French government, see Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France, Monarchy and Nation, 987-1328*, trans. by Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam (London: 1960); Dunbabin, *France, 843-1180*; Elizabeth Hallam, *Capetian France, 987-1328* (London: 1983); John Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: 1986).

by channeling the aggressive and violent behavior of the warriors away from Western Europe. The availability of resources also stabilized in this period. In earlier centuries, the possibility of attaining more land through clearance and cultivation had existed in Blois-Chartres. Yet, by the end of the eleventh century, this was no longer the case.³ Large, unclaimed tracts of land no longer existed in the county. The settlement of this region meant that noble families could no longer expect to expand their holdings by sponsoring or initiating the clearance of land. By the twelfth century, nobles had to resort to conquest, usurpation or contestation to supplement family patrimonies.

Starting in the eleventh century and lasting far into the twelfth, the medieval Church underwent a period of reform. After the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire, the Church and secular political organization fell under the control and protection of the feudal aristocracy. Certain abuses, such as simony and a decline in the moral and intellectual caliber of the clergy, developed as a result. In the tenth century attempts were made to respond to these problems, specifically the development of Cluniac monasticism, but the call for reform grew louder in the eleventh century and dedicated clerics set about reforming the Church. Reform was aimed at ridding the Church of secular noble influence and defining ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the face of secular authority. Various aspects of this reform had an appreciable impact on noble families. The Church's insistence that noble possession of ecclesiastical property was against God's law caused noble families to restore churches, tithes, etc. to the local religious institutions. Moreover, the reformed

3. Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, pp. 148-9. The Perche was settled later than the county of Blois-Chartres, due mostly to presence of the extensive forests in this region.

Church defined noble kin relations and sought to regulate marriage practices.⁴ The Gregorian reform movement profoundly affected the medieval nobility and contributed to the reshaping of the noble family. The Chartrain also experienced revitalization of the Church in the twelfth century. Early in this century, new religious institutions were founded or reformed in the county. The abbey of Tiron was established in Perche and the abbey of Notre Dame de Josaphat was founded near Lèves. The older foundation of St. Jean-en-Vallée was reformed by Bishop Ivo of Chartres in the first decade of the twelfth century.

Like social, economic and political order, intellectual life also experienced revitalization in the county of Blois-Chartres. The cathedral school at Chartres was an important center for scholastic activity although during the course of the twelfth century it was somewhat eclipsed by the university of Paris. The court of Countess

4. The Church took an active part in the regulation of marriage in the Middle Ages. For examination of the Church's position on certain issues surrounding marriage and its attempts to enforce its regulations see, for example, C. E. Smith, *Papal Enforcement of Some Medieval Marriage Laws* (Baton Rouge: 1951); S. P. Heany, *The Development of the Sacramentality of Marriage from Anselm of Lâon to Thomas Aquinas* (Washington: 1963); Michael Sheehan, "The Influence of Canon Law on the Property Rights of Married Women in England," *Mediaeval Studies*, 33 (1971), 109-204; idem, "Marriage and Family in English Conciliar and Synodal Legislation," in *Essays in Honor of Anton Charles Pegis*, ed. by J. Reginald O'Donnell (Toronto: 1974); idem, "Marriage Theory and Practice in the Conciliar Legislation and Diocesan Statutes of Medieval England," *Mediaeval Studies*, 40 (1978), 408-60; Richard Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England* (London: 1974); Charles Donahue, Jr., "The Policy of Alexander the Third's Consent Theory of Marriage," *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. by Stephen Kuttner (Vatican City: 1976); Elizabeth Makowski, "The Conjugal Debt and the Medieval Canon Law," *Journal of Medieval History*, 3 (1977), 99-114; Duby, *Medieval Marriage*; idem, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest*; Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*.

Like marriage, sexual conduct was another area where the Church tried to enforce its policies. See, for example, J. T. Noonan, *Contraception: A History of its Treatment by Catholic Theologians and Canonists* (Cambridge: 1965); James Brundage, "Rape and Marriage in Medieval Canon Law," *Revue de droit canonique*, 28 (1978), 62-75; idem, "Concubinage and Marriage in Medieval Canon Law," *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1978), 1-17; idem, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*; Pierre Payer, *Sex and Penitentials: The Development of a Sexual Code, 550-1150*, (Toronto: 1984); idem, "Early Medieval Regulations Concerning Marital Sexual Relations," *Journal of Medieval History*, 4 (1980), 353-76;

Adela, like that of Marie of Champagne and Eleanor of Aquitaine later in the twelfth century, attracted gifted scholars and literary figures. Chartres cathedral underwent reconstruction during the twelfth century and became a celebrated example of Gothic architecture. The forces and changes that transformed medieval society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were clearly felt in the county of Blois-Chartres. Like the majority of Western Europeans, the residents of the Chartrain experienced significant economic, social, political, religious and intellectual metamorphosis.

The nobility of Blois-Chartres altered family mechanisms to cope with the many new challenges that emerged in these decades. Innovative responses were created to deal with economic pressures brought about by church reform and the diversification of the regional economy. One of the goals of this study is to determine how such broad historical developments affected individual noble families. To understand fully the nexus between family mechanisms and the historical trends of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, I will focus on a detailed examination of church reform. Other stimuli certainly acted in conjunction with the Gregorian reform movement to compel nobles to reshape their families, but intense scrutiny of one such factor will provide a better understanding of the intricacies and complexities of noble family dynamics.

Before the interaction between the ideas of the Gregorian reform movement and changes in noble society can be evaluated, it is necessary to consider the essence of reform and determine when and how it was absorbed into the ecclesiastical and secular communities of Blois-Chartres. An objective of this chapter will be to provide such a discussion and assay the state of the Church and religious life in eleventh- and early twelfth-century Blois-Chartres.

THE GREGORIAN REFORM MOVEMENT:
IDEALS, ABUSE AND RESPONSE

While this reform movement took its name from Pope Gregory VII, the label of "Gregorian" reform is in many ways misleading. Attempts to reform the Church predated Gregory's accession to the papal office in 1072 by several decades. Popes such as Leo IX (1049-1054) Nicholas II (1059-1061) and Alexander II (1061-1073) were compelled to address abuses within the Church and Gregory's successors similarly assumed the mantle of "Gregorian" reform.⁵ Reformers of the tenth and early eleventh centuries had realized that there were serious and deep-seated problems within the Western Church. Augustin Fliche has identified two strains of what he labels "pre-Gregorian" reform, which evolved in separate geographical areas, Lorraine and Italy.⁶ Bishops in these regions responded to the problems of simony, clerical marriage and lay investiture.⁷ In addition, secular rulers of the tenth and eleventh centuries were committed to expunging abuses. Imperial reform within Germany began in the mid tenth century under Otto the Great and continued under Henry II.⁸ In France, King Robert the Pious supported measures against clerical marriage although any strides made toward reform were nullified upon the accession of his son Henri I.⁹ While secular leaders were dedicated to rehabilitating clerical

5. Gregory's successors, among them Urban II, Pascal II and Innocent II, were dedicated reformers and continued the reform into the twelfth century.

6. Augustin Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, 2 vols. (Louvain and Paris: 1924), 2: 113-5, 186-8 (hereafter, Fliche, *La réforme*).

7. Fliche emphasizes the contributions of two clerics in particular, Cardinal Humbert of Lorraine and Peter Damian, Bishop of Ostia.

8. Fliche, *La réforme*, 1:94-9.

9. Fliche, *La réforme*, 2:101, calls Henry I a "tyrant of God." Reform undertaken by the kings and emperors depended entirely on the predilections of the individual. If a monarch supported reform, progress was made; if not, abuse could run rampant.

morals, they avoided addressing the issue of simony or lay investiture since an alteration in these practices would undermine their own power. The monastic movement at Cluny constituted yet another attempt at "pre-Gregorian" reform.¹⁰ Monasteries, like other parts of the Church, suffered from abuse and corruption. In the tenth century the monks at Cluny, with the support of Duke William of Aquitaine, created a new form of monasticism designed to avoid many of the problems that plagued other monasteries. Cluniac reform was based upon the unique relationship between the monks and the pope: Cluny was under the direct authority of the pope and thus free from local episcopal authority. These monks depended upon the pope for immunity and perhaps out of necessity forged a strong relationship with many popes.¹¹ Pope Gregory VII, for instance, relied upon the abbots and monks of Cluny to aid him in carrying out his program of reform.¹²

In spite of these early attempts to redress the problems of the tenth- and early eleventh-century Church, abuse and corruption remained. Lay control of church offices, investiture, and infiltration of a secular lifestyle continued to undermine ecclesiastical authority and the quality of religious life. When the Carolingian Empire crumbled in the tenth century, the last vestiges of central authority also vanished. In its place, local strong men assumed responsibility for providing social or political stability. A disintegration of the centralized Church accompanied this breakdown in central political power in what had once been the western portion of the Carolingian Empire. Authority, both political and religious, became increasingly localized and personalized. In theory, the lords of France owed obedience and fealty to the king,

10. Bouchard examines the relationship between reform and lay leaders. See, eadem, "Laymen and Church Reform around the year 1000: The Case of Otto-William, the Count of Burgundy," *Journal of Medieval History*, 5 (1979), 1-10.

11. H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, (Oxford:1970), p, 155 (hereafter, Cowdrey, *Cluniacs...Gregorian Reform*).

12. Cowdrey, *Cluniacs...Gregorian Reform*, p. 163.

but in reality they were the true powers. Similarly, while all churches were part of the seamless garment of the holy Catholic Church, in actuality they also fell under the domination of powerful lords. Modern scholars have labeled these noble-dominated churches *Eigenkirche*.¹³ To eliminate noble influence from the Church, the reformers targeted several practices for cessation or alteration. In essence the Gregorian reform movement was a contest between secular and ecclesiastical authority: Popes and bishops challenged the right of kings and lords to control and grant church offices and properties while seeking a remedy to the decline in secular and clerical morals.

The Gregorian reformers were interested in putting a stop to five specific abuses: lay investiture, simony, the moral and spiritual decline of the clergy, lay control of church property, and consanguineous marriages. The intrusion of lay influence into the Church began under the Carolingians and rapidly accelerated as central political and ecclesiastical authority disintegrated. The interference of lay, indeed royal, influence was most apparent in the selection and investiture of bishops. In theory, bishops were to be elected by the local clergy and to have the approval of the people. In the first half of the eleventh century, however, kings and lords forced their candidates on reluctant clerics.¹⁴ Most royal or noble candidates received their office through purchase or family influence. The control of important ecclesiastical offices by local noble families increased along with their power. Local power brokers actively sought these offices for their kin as a way of expanding their familys'

13. Indeed it is virtually impossible to refer to "the Church" until the mid-twelfth century when canon law was codified and structure of the Church centralized. For a discussion of the creation of the *Eigenkirche* see F. Kempf, *The Church in the Age of Feudalism* (New York: 1969), vol. 3 of *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 25 vols., ed. by Hubert Jedin; and Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Controversy* (Oxford: 1970).

14. For example, Mainard the treasurer at Sens was elected by the canons as bishop. Henry I, however, imposed his own candidate, Gelduin, who had purchased this office from the king. See Fliche, *La réforme*, 1: 29.

influence. While medieval society may have perceived itself as consisting of three orders¹⁵, recent research has proven just how blurred the line between the noble and clerical orders was during this period.¹⁶ To gain back possession of the Church, reformers attempted to prevent nobles and kings from selecting church officials and attaining ecclesiastical offices.¹⁷ Pope Leo IX was committed to putting an end to simony and called many church councils that outlawed this practice.¹⁸ By expunging simony it was hoped that noble control of church offices would be lessened and so, too, abuse.¹⁹

Clerical morals also suffered from the penetration of nobles into the Church. Reformers became distressed because clerics were married or kept concubines. Commonly priests and other lower clerics were married; but beginning in the tenth century when the laity began to assume more church offices, bishops and other members of the higher clergy were often married. The marriage of clerics was -----

15. For a discussion of this, see Duby, *The Three Orders*.

16. See Bouchard, *Sword, Miter and Cloister*, pp. 46-86; eadem, "The Geographical, Social and Ecclesiastical Origins of the Bishops of Auxerre and Sens in the Central Middle Ages," *Church History*, 46 (1977), 277-95; eadem, *Spirituality and Administration and the Role of the Bishop in Twelfth-century Auxerre* (Cambridge, MA: 1979). Alexander Murray also sees a lack of distinction between the nobility and the Church of this period; see *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford; 1978), p. 319.

17. In addition to their concern with the outright buying of offices, reformers had some concern with donations made by nobles upon entrance to an order or in provision for the entry of a relative. For a discussion of this practice, see Joseph Lynch, *Simoniack Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1200* (Columbus: 1976).

18. In this period secular lords often invested priests with both their spiritual symbols and the lands which provided their support. Kings did the same with bishops. Reformers sought to break secular control of offices, since it was believed, and often rightly so, that they often made simoniack appointments.

19. In 1049 two councils were held at Lorraine and Reims. The canons against simony enacted at these councils were essentially a reaffirmation of legislation undertaken under Pope Clement II. See Philipp Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab Conditis Ecclesia ad annum post Christum Natum MCXVIII*, second edition and correction, William Wattenbach, S. Loewenfeld, F. Kattenbrunner, P. Ewald (Leipzig: 1885, 1888), p. 530 (hereafter: Jaffé, *Regesta*).

troubling not only because of the question of clerical celibacy, but also because of the families that resulted. Offices and their corresponding property could be inherited by children, leading to ecclesiastical dynasties and the further debasement of the clergy. As prevention the Gregorian reformers not only prohibited clerical marriage but declared the children of such unions illegitimate, thereby denying them the ability to inherit their fathers' office.²⁰

The disintegration of central authority and the increasing domination of church offices by the nobility also resulted in noble control and possession of churches and their revenues. To eradicate lay ownership of ecclesiastical property, the reformers asserted that it was no longer permissible for nobles to possess churches, tithes, or various other dues. Other reforms were aimed at purifying noble society. For example, the reformers insisted that nobles could not marry within seven degrees of kinship and tried to prevent such alliances.²¹ At the same time, the indissolubility of marriage was made sacrosanct. Recently some scholars have argued that the reformers' attempt to legislate noble marriage, combined with regaining church property, were not only aimed at controlling the nobility but at increasing the holdings of the Church.²² It is

20. Also central to the reformer's concern on clerical marriage was the purely economic fact that it cost the Church much more to support a priest and his family. Peter Damian in particular argued that a married priest cost more. See Fliche, *La réforme*, 1: 207.

21. For a discussion of the conflict between "noble" and "ecclesiastical" models of marriage, see Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest*, and idem, *Medieval Marriage*. Bouchard examines noble conformity to the Church's regulations on consanguinity in the ninth to eleventh centuries. See, Constance Bouchard, "Consanguinity and Noble Marriages in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *Speculum*, 56 (1981), 268-87.

22. Goody and Herlihy have both asserted that by limiting noble marriages the Church increased the likelihood that there would be no heirs to claim the land, which would devolve to the church. For a discussion of the various theses surrounding the impact of the Gregorian Reform Movement on the nobility, see the Introduction, pp. 10-15, and pp. 96-9 in Chapter 3.

not certain that this was indeed the motivation for the legislation, but it is clear that these rulings did have a decisive impact upon noble patrimonies and donation practices.

What reform would entail, essentially, was the reorganization of the Church. The first priority was to reestablish the supremacy of ecclesiastical authority over secular power. This was necessary at all levels. Papal jurisdiction needed reassertion over royal authority, as well as episcopal jurisdiction over comital or ducal power.²³ Economic recovery was one of the first priorities of the reformers. The papal see, indeed the entire Western Church, was in desperate financial condition. As Demetrius Zema states: "Economic reformation was the condition of moral reform."²⁴ During the tenth century the Church had lost many important properties to the secular nobility, reversing the trend of territorial expansion of the Merovingian and Carolingian

23. Karl F. Morrison, *Tradition and Authority in the Western Church, 300-1140* (Princeton: 1969), pp. 279-80 (hereafter, Morrison, *Tradition and Authority*). Morrison has argued that this quest for the resurgence in papal power was "untraditional." Even though the reformers asserted that they were trying to reinstate the traditional power of the pope, Morrison believes there was no basis in antiquity for this type of papal supremacy. By the end of the eleventh century the popes were commanding more power and respect than they had previously. Whether or not this was actually a return to a traditional relationship between the papacy and Christian society is somewhat moot. Morrison may be correct; the Gregorians may have had a "contempt for antiquity." Nevertheless the popes of the late eleventh and early twelfth century enjoyed political power and status to which their predecessors could not have aspired. While the popes of the late eleventh and early twelfth century could not command the power of thirteenth-century popes such as Innocent III, the fact remains that they were considerable more powerful than their eleventh-century predecessors.

Even though issue of investiture was not satisfactorily solved until 1122, and the Church continued to be troubled by some abuses, the Church of *circa* 1100 was in far better condition than it had been a half of a century earlier. Papal authority had been reestablished, councils were held regularly to enforce papal decrees and the law of the Church, and the Church was restored economically. Some particular abuses, such as investiture and clerical marriage, remained, but over all the Church and the papacy had recovered. This recovery is perhaps best exemplified by Urban II's calling of the First Crusade. It reflects the extent of papal authority and the respect the pope was able to command.

24. Demetrius Zema, "Reform Legislation in the Eleventh Century and its Economic Impact," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 27 (1941), 17.

periods.²⁵ As central authority fragmented in the tenth century, church property was increasingly secularized. The papal see, like other ecclesiastical entities, was susceptible to noble acquisitiveness and by the decade of the 1040's was for all purposes bankrupt.²⁶ The reorganization of the Roman See began under Hildebrand during his tenure as archdeacon of the See, when he was responsible for the management of papal revenues.²⁷ A campaign to regain papal, and later all ecclesiastical, property from the grasp of the medieval nobility was initiated. The popes and their supporters tried to determine what possessions could be legally claimed from noble families and how to wrest church property from noble domination.²⁸ The process of restoration took decades to come to complete fruition.²⁹

To spread and enforce the ideas of the reform, both spiritual and economic, the pope relied upon his legates and church councils. Ensuring conformity to church

25. David Herlihy, "Church Property on the European Continent, 701-1200," *Speculum*, 36 (1961), 87-93 (hereafter, Herlihy, "Church Property..."). Herlihy has found that during the tenth and eleventh century church control of land declined, as compared to the Merovingian and Carolingian periods, when, he estimates church ownership of land doubled in the north of France.

26. Demetrius Zema, "Economic Reorganization of the Roman See during the Gregorian Reform," *Studi Gregoriani*, 1 (1947), 139-40 (hereafter, Zema, "Economic Reorganization"). For example, positions in the papal see had become hereditary and fallen under the control of noble families.

27. Hildebrand, of course, eventually became Pope Gregory VII.

28. Zema, "Economic Reorganization," 143-6.

29. Zema, "Reform Legislation," 23-4: The reformers began by denouncing lay appropriation of tithes, absorption of ecclesiastical estates into lay possession and outright usurpation of church property by the nobility. Church councils, held throughout western Europe, propagated these new rulings on lay control of church property. In 1055, for example, Pope Victor II held a synod at Florence where the alienation of church property was forbidden. Councils followed at Toulouse (1056), Vienne and Tours (both 1060), and Poitiers (1078) that dealt with lay usurpation of church resources and demanded restitution of these possessions (Zema, "Reform Legislation," pp. 24-5). This problem remained unresolved as late as 1100 when Pope Pascal II called a council at Poitiers which addressed secular proprietorship of church land. While general economic restoration took many pontificates, the financial condition of the papal see, which was essential for the success of the reform movement, was dramatically improved by the accession of Gregory VII.

laws and decrees had always been difficult but became increasingly so with the fragmentation of secular and clerical authority of the tenth century. In the eleventh century legates were appointed to specific regions to address local problems and insure that papal decrees were enforced. Hugh of Die served as papal legate to France during the pontificate of Gregory VII. He held councils to deal with local problems and the universal abuses of simony and nicolaism. Hugh of Die was tireless in his assertion of papal authority. On occasion he was even overzealous, and Gregory VII had to adjust some of his decisions.³⁰ Nonetheless, Hugh, like his fellow legates, was instrumental in centralizing the disparate body of the Church and in asserting papal authority.

One of the casualties of the disintegration of central political and religious authority was the church council. The Carolingians had used councils and synods to govern the Church. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, when churches were controlled by the nobility, synods and councils fell into disuse. The Gregorian reformers realized the utility of the council as a conduit for papal legislation and for the enforcement of canon law. Councils were, thus, slated to meet regularly. Every Easter, for instance, a council was to be held at Rome.³¹ The frequency with which councils were called has caused one scholar to label the Gregorian period the "renaissance of the [church] council."³² Evidence provided by Demetrius Zema supports this characterization. Zema estimates that between 1049 and 1122 one hundred church councils were held to restore discipline and aid in reform.³³ Church councils not only became more frequent, but also were regularized. Odette Pontal finds that during the -----

30. For example, Hugh of Die excommunicated Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres for simony and other crimes. Gregory VII, however, did not find Geoffrey guilty and restored him to his see. See Fliche, *La réforme*, 2: 248.

31. Fliche, *La réforme*, 2: 209.

32. Odette Pontal, ed. and trans., *Les statuts synodaux français du XIIe siècle: Les statuts de Paris et le synode de l'ouest* (Paris: 1971), p. li.

33. Zema, "Reform Legislation," 22.

twelfth century the diocesan synod became geographically fixed and chronologically regularized.³⁴

The combination of economic restoration, the policing done by papal legates and the revival of the church council or local synod aided the Gregorians in their quest for reform.³⁵ Eventually, through the persistence of local councils and synods, the abuses that had plagued the Church were addressed and noble influence diminished.

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH IN BLOIS-CHARTRES

Like political structure and feudal custom, the severity of abuse and corruption within the Church differed among the various regions of France. Recent research has also indicated that corruption was not as widespread as the reformers would lead us to believe.³⁶ Scholars examining particular regions of France have demonstrated how irregular secular corruption of the quality of religion was. In Anjou, for example, the bishoprics of Anjou and, particularly, Le Mans were firmly in the grasp of certain

34. Pontal, *Les statues....l'ouest*, p. lvii.

35. In addition to these, the Gregorian reformers also restructured the church hierarchy. Primates and metropolitans were reestablished (see Fliche, *La réforme*, 2: 132-135). The hierarchy of offices was also of concern. For example, the reformers insisted that a priest must first be a deacon, and an archdeacon a deacon. One of the problems within the Church was a lack in quality of church officers. By setting up a *cursus honorum* the reformers hoped to insure that the quality of the clergy would improve. These practices also discouraged the outright sale of offices. If one had to follow a hierarchy of promotions, it would be more difficult for someone to assume an office who did not have the proper qualifications.

36. See, for example, Augustin Fliche, "Premiers résultats d'un enquête sur la réforme grégorienne dans le diocèse français de Narbonne," in *Académie des inscriptions et de belles-lettres. Comptes Rendues*, 1944, pp. 162-80 (hereafter, Fliche, "Premiers résultats..."). Also Jacques Choux, *L'épiscopat de Pibon (1064-1107): Recherches sur le diocèse de Toul au temps de la réforme grégorienne* (Paris: 1952) (hereafter, Choux, *Pibon*).

noble families.³⁷ The research of Léopold Génicot has similarly demonstrated that the church offices in Liège were assumed by nobles, although he warns that noble domination of ecclesiastical positions varied in Picardy from church to church.³⁸ The Gregorian reform was delayed in reaching Brittany. Gui Devailly has found that hereditary bishoprics were firmly entrenched in this remote part of France and that the reform did not begin to have an impact until the thirteenth century.³⁹ A similar situation occurred in other sees throughout France. In Bourges, Sens and Clermont eccle-

37. Research on the Angevin bishoprics has been carried out mostly by Steven Fanning. See the following works: *A Bishop and His World before the Gregorian Reform: Hubert of Angers, 1006-1047*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 78, part 1, (Philadelphia: 1988); idem, "From *miles* to *episcopus*: The Influence of the Family on the Career of Vulgrinus of Vendôme (ca. 1000-65)," *Medieval Prosopography*, 4 (1983), 9-30; idem, "Family and Episcopal Election 900-1050 and the Case of Hubert of Angers (1006-47)," *Medieval Prosopography*, 7 (1986), 39-56; idem, "Les origines familiales de Vulgrin; Abbé de Saint-Serge d'Angers (1046-56) et évêque du Mans (1065 + 1065), petit-fils de vicomte Fulcrade de Vendôme," *La province du Maine*, 82 (1980), 243-55; "La lutte entre Hubert de Vendôme, évêque d'Angers, et l'archevêque de Tours en 1016," *Bulletin de la société archéologique, scientifique et littéraire du Vendômois*, (1980), 31-33.

William Ziezulewicz has done research on the abbots of the region. See "Abbatial Elections at Saint-Florent de Saumur (ca. 950-1118)," *Church History*, 57 (1988), 289-97, and idem, "From Serf to Abbot: The Role of the *Familia* in the Career of Frederick of Tours," *The American Benedictine Review*, 36 (1985), 278-91. For an in depth study of a particular abbot and reasons for his election, see Bernard Bachrach, "Robert of Blois: Abbot of St. Florent de Saumur and St. Mesmin de Micy (985-1011): A Study in Small Power Politics," *Revue bénédictine* 99 (1978), 123-46.

Scholars have also examined abbots and reformers in other regions. See, for example, Herbert Claude, "Nouvelles recherches sur la légation de Gérard d'Angoulême en Aquitaine: Contribution à l'étude de la réforme grégorienne," (thèse du troisième cycle, Poitiers, 1974); Constance Bouchard, "Changing Abbatial Tenure Patterns in Burgundian Monasteries during the Twelfth Century," *Revue bénédictine*, 90 (1980), 249-62.

38. See the following works by Léopold Génicot: "L'évolution des dons aux abbayes dans le comté de Namur du Xe au XIVe siècle," *XXXe Congrès de la Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique*, (Brussels: 1935), pp. 133-48; "Haute clergé et noblesse dans le diocèse de Liège du XI au XV siècle," in *Adel und Kirche*, ed. Josef Fleckstein and Karl Schmid, (Freiburg: 1968), pp. 237-58; "Aristocratie et dynasties ecclésiastiques en Picardie aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 67 (1972), 436-42.

39. Gui Devailly, "Une enquête en cours: L'application de la réforme grégorienne en Bretagne," *Annales de Bretagne* 75 (1968), 293-316.

siastical dynasties were still prevalent even after the Gregorian reform.⁴⁰ The success of reform depended in large part on the political situation of the region. Frederick Kempf, for instance, suggests that reform was more difficult to pursue in the north of France since it was under the control of the French monarchs and powerful noble families, who were both averse to reform. In contrast, he believes the rulers of the south of France were more receptive.⁴¹ In the case of Narbonne, corruption and noble control were not as troublesome due to the lack of hostility to reform on the part of secular and ecclesiastical powers. The conclusions drawn by scholars studying the condition of the Church in eleventh-century France support Kempf's thesis that the degree to which noble families controlled the local Church determined if and how reform would be welcomed or implemented.

The Church in the Loire valley suffered from the same abuses that plagued other regions of Europe. In the ninth century priests were not educated and many were married or living with concubines.⁴² The diocese of Bourges, in particular, experienced these problems, which may be attributed to the domination of ecclesiastical offices by the Déols family for over ninety-six years.⁴³ The bishopric of Anjou was similarly used by noble families to assert their power and aid their political agendas.⁴⁴ Unlike other areas, however, in the county of Blois-Chartres high eccle-

40. J. Gaudemet, "Recherches sur l'épiscopat médiévale en France," in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Stephen Kuttner and J. Joseph Ryan (Vatican City: 1965), pp. 139-54.

41. Kempf, *The Church...Feudalism*, p. 378.

42. Gui Devailly, "La vie religieuse dans les pays de la Loire au cours du IXe siècle," *Bulletin philologique et historique*, 1966, 645 (hereafter, Devailly, "La vie religieuse....").

43. Gaudamet, "Recherche sur l'épiscopat...", p. 142.

44. Gui Devailly, "Les grandes familles et l'épiscopat dans l'ouest de la France et les pays de la Loire," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 27 (1966), 50 (hereafter, Devailly, "Les grandes familles"). See also the articles by Steven Fanning, William Ziezulewicz and Bernard Bachrach listed in this chapter in note 37.

siastical offices such as those of bishop, abbot and archdeacon did not fall under the exclusive control of one family. Not even the comital family was able to monopolize them. In the tenth century two brothers did consecutively become bishop of Chartres, but little is known about their family background so it is impossible to determine if their control of this office was politically motivated.⁴⁵ As reform began to penetrate the area in the second half of the eleventh century the character of the clergy changed for the region in general as clerics with different goals assumed ecclesiastical offices.

Churches in the county of Blois-Chartres were troubled by many of the same problems and abuses characteristic of the eleventh-century French Church as a whole. Noble corruption and abuse was probably not as severe in Blois-Chartres as it was in other dioceses, such as Bourges or Anger, for example. In the spectrum of ecclesiastical abuse, the county of Blois-Chartres should be placed squarely in the middle. The diocese may not have been as free from corruption as those in the south of France, but neither was it dominated completely by greedy or power-hungry nobles families.

I. The Cathedral School at Chartres and its Impact

While the dioceses of the region of the Loire were undoubtedly troubled by many of the abuses of the tenth and eleventh century, the cathedral school at Chartres remained a center of learning and intellectual pursuit. Under the leadership of Bishop Fulbert (1006-1028) the cathedral school became one of the educational centers of France. The school at Chartres was of a similar caliber to the school of Reims in the

45. Jacques Boussard, "Les évêques en Neustria avant la réforme grégorienne (950-1050 environ)," *Journal des savants*, 1970, 183 (hereafter, Boussard, "Les évêques"). Bishop Ranfroi was succeeded by his brother Arduin in 954. It has also been suggested the Bishop Eudes (968-1004) was related to the counts of Blois-Chartres. This argument seems to have been based solely on nomenclature. Eudes was a name frequently used by the comital family. I am aware of no other evidence that links this bishop to the counts.

tenth century and that of Paris in the twelfth. Its students and teachers included some of the best scholars of Western Europe. Fulbert was a brilliant teacher and attracted students from all parts of France and even from other countries such as Germany.⁴⁶ The school became particularly respected in the disciplines of music and medicine, although none of Fulbert's most renowned students excelled in either of these disciplines. Berengar of Tours, perhaps Fulbert's most infamous student, was a theologian who was eventually convicted of heresy.⁴⁷ Another, Bernard of Angers, traveled to Conques and was so impressed with the church that he wrote the life of its saint, Foy.⁴⁸ Fulcher, a student at the chapter later in the eleventh century, went on the First Crusade and wrote his own account of this important event.⁴⁹

Some of Fulbert's disciples were active reformers, of whom Albert, abbot of Marmoutier, is perhaps the best example.⁵⁰ Albert had been dean at Chartres under Fulbert. When Fulbert died the chapter elected him bishop, but King Robert the Pious intervened and had his own candidate elevated. Albert left Chartres and became the abbot of one of the most powerful and prestigious houses in France, Marmoutier.

During his tenure as abbot, Albert tried to reform the practices surrounding the elec-

46. Jules Alexander Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au Moyen-Age: de Vè au XVIè siècle* (Paris: 1895), pp. 58, 83, 94 (hereafter, Clerval, *Les écoles*). In addition to the cathedral school, the monastery of St. Père was also a center for learning. This monastic library was particularly rich and a vibrant center for transcription (see Clerval, *Les écoles*, pp. 17-18). Fulbert himself was a student of Gerbert of Aurillac, who eventually became Pope Sylvester II, see David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (New York: 1962), p. 131 (hereafter, Knowles, *Evolution of Medieval Thought*).

47. Clerval, *Les écoles*, p. 62. For a discussion of Berengar's beliefs, see Knowles, *Evolution of Medieval Thought*, pp. 94-7.

48. Clerval, *Les écoles*, p. 74.

49. Clerval, *Les écoles*, p. 70. Clerval suggests that Fulcher may have been a member of the family of the vidames of Chartres, but I have found no evidence to support this assertion.

50. Fliche, *La réform*, 1:39, believes that Fulbert himself was interested and involved in reforming the church in Blois-Chartres. At least two other of Fulbert's students became abbots: Sigo of St. Florent in Saumur and Albert of Gembloux.

tion of abbots. He argued that abbots should be selected by the congregation alone, which would free elections from secular influence.⁵¹ As the number of houses under Marmoutier's jurisdiction increased, Abbot Albert insured that this policy was adopted.⁵² The abbey of Marmoutier was an vibrant center for religious and intellectual pursuit. Because of this reputation, the dependent houses sought their abbots from among the monks of Marmoutier. As a result, the electoral practices instituted by Albert at Marmoutier were disseminated to various other houses in the Loire valley and outside of the region as well. The school of Chartres, through the students of Bishop Fulbert, had a significant impact on monastic organization and policy as well as intellectual pursuits.

The cathedral school of Chartres continued to thrive throughout the eleventh century and into the twelfth. Under Bishop Ivo even more international contacts were forged. Ivo himself was educated at Paris and at the abbey of Bec, where he also taught. While at Bec he was a fellow student with Anselm, who eventually became archbishop of Canterbury. Ivo and Anselm remained friends throughout their lifetimes and many promising English clerics made their way to the school at Chartres.⁵³ For most of the twelfth century Chartres continued to produce scholars of repute. By the second half of the century, however, the schools at Paris began to eclipse this school as well as others throughout Europe. Nevertheless, the twelfth-century school at Chartres claimed many intellectual luminaries. Bernard of Chartres, Gilbert de la Porrée, Thierry of Chartres, William of Conches and John of Salisbury, to name a few,

51. Oliver Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1972), 1: 181 (hereafter, Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*). Guillot also argues that Albert's position on abbatial election practices was influenced by Bishop Fulbert's own position; see 1: 188.

52. For example, Marmoutier had houses and priories throughout France (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, 1: 188).

53. Clerval, *Les écoles*, pp. 145-8.

were trained at Chartres.⁵⁴ The interest in literature, especially translation, remained a strength, as did medicine.⁵⁵ Under Ivo interest in theology and canon law was kindled.⁵⁶ Unlike many other parts of Europe the clergy of the Chartrain had the benefit of having a reputable, indeed a laudable, school in the vicinity which provided education for at least some clerics.

II. The Quality of Religious Officers: The Bishops

From 1000 to 1140 the diocese of Chartres was headed by ten bishops, who varied in quality and ability. Some were dedicated clerics, others the minions of kings or other secular powers. Bishop Fulbert (c.1006-1028) was respected for his piety and intellect. His election was undisputed and, unlike that of many of his contemporaries, free from any suggestion of simony. While Fulbert was appointed because of his abilities, he enjoyed a close relationship with the counts. It has been argued that Fulbert's attempt to establish episcopal authority over the Vendômois was instigated by Count Eudes I.⁵⁷ In 1028 Fulbert was succeeded by Thierry (1028-1048), whose accession to the see was troubled. The clergy of Chartres did not select Thierry; rather they put forward their own candidate, Albert, who had been dean during Fulbert's episcopate. Robert the Pious, however, forced Thierry upon the diocese. This episode highlights the tension between secular and ecclesiastical authority and demon-

54. For a discussion of these men, see Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, pp. 131-41.

55. Clerval, *Les écoles*, pp. 239-40.

56. Clerval, *Les écoles*, p. 267. The abbey of St. Père also remained an active intellectual center during the twelfth century.

57. See the articles by Steven Fanning and Bernard Bachrach, note 37 of this chapter.

strates the control that the laity exercised over the Chartrain Church.⁵⁸ The dispute between the clergy and the king over the election of bishop was fairly typical for its time; while Chartres may have enjoyed the benefits of having a reputable school in the area, the same problems and abuses that other churches in North Central France experienced were also manifest here.⁵⁹

In 1048, when the see was next vacant, the selection of a bishop proceeded smoothly. Agobert was elected and served as bishop until 1060. He had been trained at Chartres during the episcopates of Fulbert and Thierry. After Agobert, however, controversy developed yet again. Hugh/Hildegard, who had been dean of the chapter since 1038, seized the bishopric of Chartres.⁶⁰ The *Regesta Pontificum* makes it clear that Hugh/Hildegard acted with the aid of King Philippe I. Gervase, archbishop of Reims, warned both the bishop and the king that Hugh/Hildegard could not assume the office because he was not "elected" by the clergy and people of Chartres.⁶¹ Henri I, like his father, tried to force this candidate through as bishop. In 1063 Hugh/Hildegard was condemned by Pope Alexander II and in 1065 deposed because he had been a

58. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, p. 175. Albert, who went on to be the abbot of Marmoutier, devoted his energies to preventing secular lords from determining the selection of church officers.

59. In 1032, during the reign of Henri I, a dispute erupted between the king and the clergy over the election of the archbishop of Sens. Prior to 1032 the archepiscopate had had its share of problems, including poor archbishops, one of whom was a knight who got the office because of powerful relatives. He turned out to be a terrible cleric and was replaced with a reformer. In 1032 when the see became vacant yet again, the chapter elected the chapter treasurer, but King Henri I overrode their decision and placed Gelduin on the archepiscopal throne (see Fliche, *La réforme*, 1: 94). As in the incident at Chartres, lay domination or intervention in ecclesiastical matters is apparent.

60. In the records of the popes this individual is called "Hildegair," but Fliche refers to him as "Hugh." This is undoubtedly the same man since the dates and description of the problem are the same.

61. Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 577.

poor bishop and had pillaged the Church.⁶² Robert of Tours was elected bishop after Hugh/Hildegard, and remained in office until his death in 1069. Little is known about Robert. He left no letters, and the sources provide virtually no insight into his character or the events of his episcopate.

Robert's successor was Bishop Arrald (1069-75), about whom much more is known. Like Fulbert, this bishop sought to assert episcopal authority over churches in the Vendômois and met with no success. In 1073 Gregory VII ordered Arrald to restore Isembard as the abbot of St. Lomer of Blois. Isembard had made a trip to the Holy Land and a certain Gui had been appointed to serve as abbot during his absence.⁶³ Gregory instructed that, since Isembard was not a simoniacal appointment, he should resume his post as abbot.⁶⁴ Arrald had been trained at Vendôme Abbey and had gone on to become a monk at Cluny.⁶⁵ In 1063 he had acted as guide for Peter Damian when he visited Cluny.⁶⁶ Arrald maintained contact with Cluny as bishop of Chartres. The connection forged by Arrald with Cluny is significant since it represents a tap into a strain of ecclesiastical reform, which may have brought these ideas into the Chartrain.

The episcopates of the next two bishops of Chartres, Robert of Grandmesnil (1075-77) and Geoffrey of Chartres⁶⁷ (1077-89), were fraught with problems and

62. Clerval, *Les écoles*, p. 44-5.

63. Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 601.

64. Giovanni Domenico Mansi, *Sancorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* 35 vols. (Venice: 1774), 20: 89 (hereafter, Mansi, *Concilia*), and Fliche, *La réforme*, 1: 117.

65. It is very possible that the chapter made a request to Cluny to provide a bishop for the diocese of Chartres.

66. Clerval, *Les écoles*, p. 45.

67. I have designated this Geoffrey "of Chartres" to prevent confusion with the later Bishop Geoffrey of Lèves.

controversy. Robert of Grandmesnil was a knight for many years before he became a monk.⁶⁸ In 1077 he was deposed by Archbishop Richer of Sens acting with his suffragan bishops, and although "newly elected," was placed under the sentence of excommunication along with his brother Hugh. The church of Chartres, however, was freed from this punishment.⁶⁹ Two years before Robert's removal, King Philippe I had been warned by the archbishop at a synod in Rome to stop "ravaging" the Church.⁷⁰ It seems likely that Robert was Philippe's candidate for the office, which would explain the taint of simony surrounding his election and his speedy removal. In an attempt to save himself, Robert swore an oath to the pope promising that he had not obtained his office by fraud or simony and pledged to uphold his office. The oath was to no avail, and he was deposed in either 1077 or 1078.⁷¹

The election of Geoffrey as bishop of Chartres was affirmed in 1078 at a Roman synod. Geoffrey was personally selected by Pope Gregory VII. In spite of this recommendation, some suggestion of simony tainted his episcopacy. In 1081 Geoffrey was accused of this crime by the papal legate Hugh of Die, who removed him from office and pronounced a sentence of excommunication. Geoffrey appealed his case to Rome, where he found a more sympathetic audience. Gregory supported him and in 1082 cleared him of all charges of simony and restored him to the office, upon the approval of the clergy and people of his diocese.⁷² The reprieve from scandal was brief, however, for in 1090 Pope Urban II once again accused Geoffrey of simony

68. Clerval, *Les écoles*, pp. 45-6. Clerval labels Robert an "inferior" bishop.

69. Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 621.

70. Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 609.

71. Legate Hugh of Die approved of and supported Robert's removal from office. See Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 624.

72. Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 641.

and removed him from office.⁷³ This pope supported one of his reformers, Ivo, as Geoffrey's successor. Urban II wrote to Archbishop Roger of Sens to inform him of Geoffrey's deposition and to instruct Roger to excommunicate him if he attempted to question this decision.⁷⁴

The election of Ivo (1090-1115) as bishop of Chartres represents a watershed in the religious life of the county and in the type of bishop elevated. Ivo was very much a part of the papal reform movement and had spent part of his career in Rome.⁷⁵ As bishop, he maintained contact with other reformers and with reformed monasteries throughout Europe.⁷⁶ Ivo also contributed to the reform effort. One purpose of papal reform was to provide uniformity within the Church. An area beset with inconsistency was the canon law, which was made up of many authorities with diverse opinions. Ivo attempted to rationalize these opinions in his *Decretum*.⁷⁷ He contributed to two areas of reform in particular: the investiture question and marriage policy. In regard to investiture, Ivo asserted that the secular and sacred symbols and powers with which each bishop was invested should be conferred separately. In other words, the religious authority would invest the bishop with the sacred attributes of the office, and the temporal power with the secular.⁷⁸ Ivo also codified church rulings on marriage and attempted to enforce them among the nobility. The indissolubility of

73. This took place at a Council in Capua. See Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 667.

74. Mansi, *Concilia*, 20: 650.

75. Clerval, *Les écoles*, p. 146.

76. For example, Ivo and Anselm of Bec were in constant contact. For the specifics of this relationship, see this Chapter, pp. 257-8; Clerval, *Les écoles*, p. 148.

77. Ivo was also the author of the *Panormia* and other works.

78. See Fliche, *La réforme*, 2: 181; Paul Fournier, "Yves de Chartres et le droit canonique," *Revue des questions historiques*, 63 (1898), 51-98 (hereafter, Fournier "Le droit canonique"). For a discussion of Ivo's theory on the separation of powers, see Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 747.

marriage was made sacrosanct as well as the prohibitions governing marriage within seven degrees.⁷⁹ Ivo also addressed the question of what constituted a legitimate marriage and he argued that the consent to marry, not the consummation of the marriage, made the union valid.⁸⁰ These opinions had a significant impact on the body of canon law and were alternately disputed and adopted by later canonists.⁸¹

Besides contributing to the general reform of the Church, Ivo also significantly influenced the quality of religion in the county of Blois-Chartres. In order to bring the rulings of the reform to the region, Ivo ensured that councils were called. In her study of synods in the west of France, Odette Pontal argues that Ivo was instrumental in establishing councils and insuring their frequency.⁸² Along with supporting councils, Ivo also tried to implement the ideas of the reform in the county. Like his predecessors, he attempted to expand episcopal control into Vendôme, but he had no more success in establishing authority over this region than had previous bishops.⁸³ Ivo also defended the canons of Chartres cathedral against Count Thibaut IV and his supporters at sometime between 1100 and 1115.⁸⁴ He warned that if the count tried to infringe upon the power of the canons he would be excommunicated. Like other reformers, Ivo struggled against secular interference in spiritual matters and lay domination of ecclesiastical property. In 1101 he confirmed that members of the laity

79. Fournier, "Le droit canonique," pp. 91-3.

80. Fournier, "Le droit canonique," p. 91.

81. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, pp. 176-243.

82. Pontal, "Les synods...de l'ouest de France," pp. li-lviii.

83. Jaffè, *Regesta*, p. 673 and 700. There is profound difference between Ivo's conflict and his predecessors, however. Ivo sought control over Vendôme not at the behest or suggestion of the counts of Blois-Chartres. Rather he believed that his spiritual authority had been usurped. His motivations were those of a reformer, not guided by political machinations.

84. Jaffè, *Regesta*, p. 755.

were unable to possess any part of a church once it was donated to the Church, and he used his episcopal prerogatives to enforce his position.⁸⁵ At sometime between 1102 and 1115 Ivo excommunicated Ursio and Nivelon of Fréteval for their "malefactions" against the abbey of Vendôme. This bishop also tried to make the secular nobility conform to the ideals of reform. Ivo was instrumental in forcing King Philippe I to put aside his "concubine" Bertrada and return to his rightful wife.⁸⁶ In 1105 a church council was held at Paris with the archbishop of Reims and the other suffragan bishops in attendance where Ivo argued heatedly for the separation.⁸⁷ This bishop of Chartres was an active participant in the Gregorian reform movement. He received his bishopric because of the respect Pope Urban II had for his abilities and he was dedicated to implementing ideas of reform in the county during his episcopacy.

Geoffrey of Lèves succeeded Ivo as bishop of Chartres in 1115 and remained in office until his death in 1148. His family controlled the lordship of Lèves and other properties; but, more important, the family was known for its control of several important ecclesiastical offices. Geoffrey had relatives in many clerical positions in the Chartrain, among them the abbot of St. Jean-en-Vallée. Such family connections may have contributed to the perception that Geoffrey became bishop through his family's influence, but the shadow of simony was finally expunged in 1119 when he was cleared by the pope of any implication of impropriety.⁸⁸ Geoffrey went on to be a capable bishop and well respected by some of the most celebrated intellectuals of his time. The future bishop was educated at Paris and may have had Abelard as one of his

85. Jaffè, *Regesta*, p. 704.

86. Jaffè, *Regesta*, p. 670. See also Mansi, *Concilia*, 20: 1193-4. For a narrative of these events, see Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest*, pp. 3-23.

87. While the clerics were successful in getting Philippe to put Bertrade aside, he soon left his wife Bertha and took up with Bertrade again. He had done this before in 1097. See Jaffè, *Regesta*, p. 699 and p. 680.

88. Jaffè, *Regesta*, p. 789.

teachers. Geoffrey was known for his eloquence, and used this ability to speak on Abelard's behalf at the council of Soissons in 1121.⁸⁹ During this decade he became a papal legate and assisted at approximately ten councils. These activities earned Geoffrey the respect of Bernard of Clairvaux, with whom he maintained contact throughout the rest of his life.⁹⁰ In the previous century, conflict between the king and the Chartrain clergy over the selection of the bishop erupted several times. Under Geoffrey the question of the right of election was finally resolved. In 1117 King Louis VI conceded the prerogative of electing the bishop to the Church of Chartres, bringing to fruition attempts by many reformers.⁹¹ Geoffrey, like Ivo, also defended the Church against lay incursions. In 1120 he warned three knights that they must return the land they had usurped from the Church of Vendôme.⁹² In spite of his family connections and the initial taint of simony, Geoffrey continued the legacy of reform left to him by Bishop Ivo. His episcopacy represents a turning point in many ways. Strides toward reform had been made during Ivo's tenure, but whether reform would continue after his death was not a certainty. Geoffrey capably assumed the mantle of reform and insured the quality of episcopal officers for the twelfth century.⁹³

89. Clerval, *Les écoles*, p. 153.

90. Clerval, *Les écoles*, p. 154.

91. Jaffè, *Regesta*, p. 765. The clergy then confirmed that they wanted Geoffrey of Lèves to serve as bishop.

92. Jaffè, *Regesta*, p. 797.

93. Geoffrey was succeeded by his nephew, Gauslen of Lèves. The succession of two bishops from the same family suggest an attempt to create an ecclesiastical dynasty. While the Lèves family certainly did constitute an ecclesiastical dynasty, the members who assumed the office of bishop were qualified and well trained. In the eleventh century when noble families controlled church offices, their members assumed positions to benefit the family. In many cases, these men were not clerically trained or qualified in any way for the post. After reform was initiated a change occurred in these ecclesiastical dynasties. Some families continued to control church offices, but the men who assumed these offices were educated and officers of the church. For a discussion of the persistence of such dynasties in France, see Gaudamet, "Recherches

The eleventh-century bishops of Chartres varied in religious dedication and spiritual quality. Bishops of questionable motivation and qualification, such as Robert of Grandmesnil and Geoffrey of Chartres, ascended to the episcopal throne. Yet the bishopric of Chartres, unlike other sees, was not controlled by one noble family. While the chapter did not have to deal with noble family machinations, it did face royal interference. The absence of noble domination meant that clerics of a high caliber were frequently elevated to the episcopacy. By the end of the eleventh century the independence and the quality of the Chartrain episcopal see was assured. In the twelfth century only bishops of appropriate religious and education background assumed this office. In comparison with their peers in other parts of France, the eleventh-century bishops of Chartres as a group were not as corrupt as many, but not as spiritually motivated as others.

III. Noble control of the Chartrain Church

The abuses that the Gregorian reformers sought to extinguish all stemmed from one source: lay control of the Church. Noble domination is perhaps most apparent in the creation of noble ecclesiastical dynasties that controlled bishoprics for several generations.⁹⁴ Chartres, unlike most other regions of north and central France, did not suffer seriously from this malady. Indeed only three families in the

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sur l'épiscopat...", 42-53, and Joseph Balon, "L'église de France au haut moyen age dans le centre et l'ouest et spécialement à Bourges," *RHD*, fourth series, 47 (1967), 1-33. Gauslen of Lèves is a prime example of this. He may have been considered for the office of bishop because of his family's influence, but he was more than qualified to take on such a responsibility. Gauslen was educated in Paris and had a reputation as a good teacher (Clerval, *Les écoles*, p. 155).

94. For a discussion of this see: Bouchard, *The Sword, Miter and Cloister*, pp. 46-86; Génicot, "Haute clergé et noblesse dans le diocèse de Liege du XIe au XIVe siècle;" and Boussard, "Les évêques en Neustria...."

region had members assume episcopal office, and two of these to bishoprics outside of Chartres.

The family of the viscounts of Châteaudun and counts of Perche dominated the office of archbishop of Tours for part of the eleventh century. At the beginning of the century, Hugh of Châteaudun assumed the office of archbishop. Prior to his elevation he had been the viscount of Châteaudun, and this honor passed to his nephew Geoffrey once he became archbishop.⁹⁵ Hugh may have been married when he became archbishop, since he had at least one son, Helgaud, who participated in an act with his father after he assumed office.⁹⁶ In the next generation, Hugh's nephew Arnulf was elevated to the archbishopric of Tours.⁹⁷ Arnulf was the son of an unidentified sister who may have been married to Abbot Albert of Micy.⁹⁸ Since Abbot Albert's mother was Ivo of Bellême's daughter, if this were indeed the case, then the vicecomital family of Châteaudun was related by marriage to the Bellême family and subsequently to the bishops of Le Mans and Séez. Together these two families would have controlled some of the most important ecclesiastical offices in the region of the Loire, among them the abbacy of Micy, the archbishopric of Tours, and the bishopric of Le Mans. The pat-

95. His sister Melisend married Geoffrey of Perche, thus joining these two families.

96. See *CSPDC*, no. 6, pp. 117-8.

97. The passing of an ecclesiastical office to a nephew is hardly unusual with noble ecclesiastical dynasties. Bouchard, for example, has found it to be fairly typical among the Burgundian nobility (see *Sword, Miter and Cloister*, pp. 46-86).

98. Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints in the Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge: 1990), pp. 226-9 (hereafter, Head, *Hagiography*). Head believes that Abbot Albert of Micy married into the vicecomital family of Châteaudun. I have yet to find any evidence of this alliance in the charters, however. Furthermore, Head's reconstruction of the genealogy of the counts of Perche is inaccurate. He believes that Hugh's sister Melisend married Guarin of Domfront and not Geoffrey of Perche. He realizes that the vicecomital family did control lands in Perche, but does not explain how this came to pass. Apparently he believes that the Perche holdings were brought into the family by Hildegard, who married Viscount Hugh of Châteaudun sometime at the end of the tenth century. He provides no evidence for this configuration, however.

tern of nephews succeeding uncles was common among the ecclesiastical dynasties of France and evident in this family. Arnulf succeeded his uncle Hugh as archbishop, as his father Abbot Albert of Micy had followed his father, Abbot Anno of Micy.

Viscount Geoffrey I of Châteaudun, the son of Melisend and Geoffrey of Perche, also married into a powerful ecclesiastical dynasty. He married Heloise of Pithiviers, whose father, according to Thomas Head, was Rainard of Pithiviers and whose brother Odolric was the bishop of Orléans. Odolric eventually passed his office on to his nephew Isembard, whose nephew Haderic subsequently succeeded him.⁹⁹ The Pithiviers family thus dominated the bishopric of Orléans for three generations. While the vicecomital family of Châteaudun allied itself with two mighty ecclesiastical dynasties, this family only controlled one office, which was typical among the eleventh-century nobility of Blois-Chartres. A family might have one member assume an important clerical office, but seldom did the family go on to preside over the office for succeeding generations. In this regard the viscounts of Châteaudun are unique for, if Head is correct, they controlled the archbishopric of Tours for two generations.

As their counterparts at Châteaudun, a member of the vicecomital family of Chartres attained episcopal office. Bishop Hugh of Langres was either a son of Viscount Gelduin or a cousin of the viscounts of Chartres.¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately, Hugh

 99. Head's identification of Geoffrey of Châteaudun's wife Heloise as that of Heloise of Pithiviers seems quite probable. I have established that Geoffrey married a woman named Heloise/Helvisa. Regrettably, virtually nothing is extant from the Chartrain sources about her.

100. Jean-Charles Didier, "Hugues de Breteuil, évêque de Langres (+1050)," *Recherches augustiniennes*, 16 (1981), 293-331 (hereafter, Didier, "Hugues de Breteuil"). The genealogy of the viscounts of Chartres is difficult to reconstruct and has been configured many different ways (For my discussion of this see Chapter 2, pp. 55-6; Chapter 5, p. 158, note 151). Didier believes that this Hugh was the son of Viscount Gelduin of Chartres, and the brother to Harduin, Evrard and Galeran. It was from Hugh I of Le Puiset that all eventual viscounts were descended. *CMPD*, no. 21, pp. 21-2, does refer to a Bishop Hugh as a son of Gelduin, yet this was not the Hugh who eventually succeed to the viscounty. This charter could be wrong in its identification of Bishop Hugh as Gelduin' son, since no other references to this son

was an unsavory character and was eventually accused of simony, sodomy, torture and murder. He was excommunicated and deposed in 1049 at the council of Reims. In 1050 he appealed his case to Rome, where he admitted to the crime of simony. Hugh, however, took an oath and was restored to the bishopric by Pope Leo IX.¹⁰¹

Other noble families undoubtedly placed members in the Church, some of whom went on to attain significant offices. Yet none created dynasties that dominated ecclesiastical offices for generations. Even the counts of Chartres exerted remarkably little domination over local ecclesiastical offices.¹⁰² It was not until late in the twelfth century that a member of the comital family assumed the position of bishop of Chartres.¹⁰³ William Blanches-Mains, the son of Thibaut IV, ascended to this office.

Some earlier sons of counts had attained important ecclesiastical offices, however.

....Continued....

are extant in the Chartrain charters. It is also possible that Bishop Hugh of Langres was Gelduin's nephew or cousin. The disputes over this vicecomital genealogy stem, I think, from a confusion between the viscounts of Chartres and their relatives at Breteuil. Gelduin, the first viscount, came from the Beauvaisis and controlled the seigneurie of Breteuil, but unlike other scholars I am not convinced he was the count of Breteuil. After Gelduin died his youngest son Galeran became the seigneur of Breteuil and it was from him that subsequent seigneurs were descended. I would assert that Hugh, the bishop of Langres, could very well have been a relative of Gelduin, rather than his son. Constance Bouchard also assigns a Beauvaisis not Chartrain origin to Hugh of Langres. For a discussion of the origins of the seigneurs of Breteuil, see A. de Dion, "Les seigneurs de Breteuil en Beauvaisis," *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et l'Île de France*, 10 (1883), 191-242. While de Dion believes that Bishop Hugh is the son of Viscount Gelduin, the article does provide useful information on the seigneurial family of Breteuil.

101. Jaffé, *Regesta*, pp. 532-3. It is ironic that the same branch of this family that produced such a corrupt bishop, could also claim a saint as a relative. St. Gelduin of St. Vanne was either Hugh's brother or nephew.

102. Bernard Bachrach suggests in his article, "Robert of Blois: Abbot of St. Florent de Saumur and St. Mesmin de Micy (995-1011)," p. 127, that this Robert was a member of the vicecomital family of Blois. The only evidence that Bachrach offers is that the abbot of St. Florent and Micy was from the Blésois nobility and that the only family that employed the name "Robert" was that of the viscounts, Robert of St. Florent must be from this family. I find this unpersuasive at best.

103. Clerval speculates that Bishop Eudes could be related, but admits there is no evidence except that he shared the name "Eudes" with the comital family (see *Les Ecoles*, p. 71).

Thibaut I's son Hugh, for example, was the archbishop of Bourges and his grandson Roger, the bishop of Beauvais. Yet instead of viewing ecclesiastical offices as means to bolster family influence, the eleventh-century counts of Chartres supported reform. In 962 Marmoutier was destroyed by the Normans. Count Eudes I, who at the time dominated a large part of the Touraine, restored the monastery.¹⁰⁴ Due to his generosity, Count Eudes was elevated to lay abbot. He did not, however, take advantage of his position by placing his relatives in important positions. On the contrary, Eudes I was in favor of reform and may have introduced reforming influences from Cluny.¹⁰⁵ As lay abbot Eudes I insisted on the right to insure the abbot's adherence to proper religious beliefs but did not attempt to exploit his power.¹⁰⁶ His son Eudes II maintained this tradition and sought Albert as abbot of Marmoutier after he was denied the see of Chartres.¹⁰⁷ As discussed previously, Albert had been influenced by Bishop Fulbert's view on reform and initiated his own program of reform to expunge secular influence in the selection of church officers. Eudes II must have been aware of Albert's views and the elevation of this cleric as abbot of Marmoutier demonstrates the count's commitment to or at least tolerance of reform. When the counts of Chartres lost portions of the Touraine in the mid eleventh century, they continued to favor Marmoutier, but the abbots became increasingly independent, and the counts never enjoyed the leadership they had in the first half of the century.

104. Odile Gantier, "Recherches sur les possessions et les prieuriés de l' abbaye de Marmoutier," *Revue Mabillon*, 53 (1963), 93 (hereafter, Gantier, "Marmoutier").

105. Eudes I was married to Bertha of Burgundy and it is very possible that it was through her that he was exposed to Cluniac reform. His son Eudes II similarly married a woman from the south of France, Ermengard of Auvergne, and contact with Cluny may have again been forged through his wife.

106. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, 1: 173-4.

107. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, 1: 175.



IV. Clerical Marriage and Lay Possession of Church Property:

Throughout the eleventh century the abuses of clerical marriage and lay possession of church property were evident within the county of Blois-Chartres. In some charters there are references to priests being married and having children.¹⁰⁸ Lay possession of churches and tithes is also documentable. In the late Carolingian period, families ranging in status from knight to viscount had made churches and their dues part of their patrimonies.¹⁰⁹ Nobles did not come to control churches by usurpation or violation alone. Often noble families constructed churches and assumed jurisdiction over them.¹¹⁰ The Gregorian reformers condemned lay possession of churches in a further attempt to rid the Church of secular control. As nobles were affected by the preaching of reform, they restored these properties to the Church. In many cases the donors adopted the reformer's language and believed their ownership of ecclesiastical property to be illicit. In return for their gifts, donors requested that they be granted the "society" of the monks.¹¹¹

Unlike other regions, ecclesiastical offices and institutions of Blois-Chartres were not dominated by the nobility. While members of vicecomital families of Châteaudun and Chartres were elevated as bishops, none ascended to the see of Chartres. Many of the abuses targeted by reformers existed in the region, yet noble abuse

108. In the charters there are no instances of concubines. It is possible that the women listed in the charters with priests could have been clerical concubines, but this is not ascertainable.

109. Madeline Dillay, "Le régime de l'église privée du XIe du XIIIe siècle dans l'Anjou, le Maine, la Touraine; Les restitutions d'églises par les laïques," *RHD*, fourth series, 4 (1925), 253-94 (hereafter, Dillay, "L'église privée").

110. Dillay, "L'église privée," p. 253.

111. Dillay, "L'église privée," p. 256. For a discussion of *societas* and funerary gifts see "Consorting with Saints" by Molly Megan McLaughlin (Ph. D Dissertation, Stanford University, 1985).

and corruption of the Church was not as rampant as in neighboring dioceses.

THE INFILTRATION OF REFORM INTO BLOIS-CHARTRES

The previous review has shown that while reform arrived in Chartres in mature form with the accession of Ivo as bishop, tentacles of reform in the region stretched back decades before his arrival. Abbot Albert of Marmoutier had tried to eradicate secular influence from the election of monastic officers. Bishop Arrald had been trained at Cluny and had been in contact with one of the earliest and profound voices for reform, Peter Damian. To assume that the county had to wait for reform until 1090 when Ivo became bishop would be erroneous. In addition to these earlier eleventh-century reformers, the attitudes of the reforming popes had been expressed in church councils held in areas contiguous to Blois-Chartres. The bishops, abbots and other ecclesiastical officers of the diocese undoubtedly attended these meetings and brought these ideas home to their own flocks long before the end of the eleventh century.

I. Church Councils and the Articulation of Reform

Simony:

Simony was a particular concern of Pope Leo IX, and it was during his pontificate that legislation was enacted to repress this abuse.¹¹² In 1049 at a council held at Reims, the papal position against simony was outlined and several simoniacal church

112. Fliche, *La réforme*, 1:138-50.

officers were excommunicated.¹¹³ The severity of a charge of simony was brought home acutely to the clerics of the region of the Loire, for one of the bishops deposed was Hugh of Langres.¹¹⁴ Hugh was related to one of the most powerful families of Blois-Chartres, the viscounts of Chartres, and his ordeal undoubtedly left an impression on the nobility of the region.

The campaign against simony continued under Leo IX's successors. Sometime between 1056 and 1060 Pope Nicholas II issued a decree forbidding the sale of churches or tithes by laymen. This offense was to be punished by excommunication.¹¹⁵ At the council of Tours held in 1060 a canon was drafted confirming this decree, insuring that the papal ruling would be enforced among the clergy and local churches of the region of the Loire.¹¹⁶ Gregory VII was also dedicated to abolishing lay possession of churches. In a letter to the French bishops, he warned against the passing of churches between family members and against lay control of the Church and he reiterated the sentence of interdict for these crimes.¹¹⁷ In 1096 Urban II traveled to France, where he preached the First Crusade.¹¹⁸ At the same time he made a tour of various churches and monasteries, among them Tours and

113. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 724-50.

114. Jaffè, *Regesta*, pp. 532-3.

115. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 876.

116. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 926-30.

117. Mansi, *Concilia*, 20: 124-32. At two synods at Rome, for example, in 1074 and 1080 respectively, simony was forbidden and several bishops excommunicated for violation of this canon. See Jaffè, *Regesta*, pp. 604 and 630.

118. In 1096 at the council at Clermont the canons against simony were reaffirmed. Measures to insure an established hierarchy for church offices were also confirmed, which required clerics to hold certain offices before they could advance. This legislation was designed to secure a qualified clergy and to discourage laymen from purchasing offices (see Jaffè, *Regesta*, pp. 681-82).

Marmoutier, where he undoubtedly preached the platform of reform.¹¹⁹ Sometime during his pontificate, Urban II also wrote to the canons of St. Martin of Tours warning them against the dangers of simoniacal appointments.¹²⁰ This letter, like the papal visit and the councils held in the region, brought the ideas of reform to the area. Simony evidently continued to be a problem within the French Church in the twelfth century, for in 1119 a council was again held at Reims and the abuse of simony was included in the agenda.¹²¹

In the diocese of Chartres, simony and the quality of the clergy were problems in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Two bishops of Chartres, Robert and Geoffrey, lost their office because of the taint of simony at the end of the eleventh century.¹²² Indeed Geoffrey of Lèves, although a qualified cleric, was suspected of receiving his office through family influence in the second decade of the twelfth century. Although the official position on simony had been promulgated at the Council of Reims in 1049 and in subsequent councils and papal decrees, this abuse continued to be an issue within the county.

Lay Investiture:

Like simony, the formal rulings against lay investiture arrived north of the Loire at the council of Reims in 1049. The council declared that a bishop received his office not through secular appointment but through election by the clergy and "peo-

119. Like councils, papal visits also insured the papal decrees and reform were being carried out in the provinces.

120. Mansi, *Concilia*, 20: 650.

121. Jaffé, *Regesta*, pp. 787-9.

122. Specifically Bishops Robert and Geoffrey, both at the end of the eleventh century. For the problems concerning the quality of bishops and their elections, see this Chapter, pp. 248-56.

ple" of the diocese.¹²³ In 1060 the council of Tours pronounced that clerics were not able to accept churches from laymen without the consent of the bishop or at least in his presence. In one way this canon represented a compromise: it allowed the laity to provide priests with churches, but not without episcopal approval or participation.¹²⁴ In 1078 at the Council of Poitiers a new position was articulated. Not only was secular investiture of churches strictly forbidden, but clerics were not permitted even to accept the estates that accompanied their office from the laity. Like the office itself, these secular possessions could only be received from a bishop. Laymen who violated this rule were to be excommunicated.¹²⁵ This position was reiterated in 1099 at the Council of Etampes, but the dispute over lay investiture continued into the twelfth century.¹²⁶ In 1107 a synod was held at the Lateran, where it was stated that clergy who received their offices from the laity would suffer excommunication.¹²⁷ At Reims in 1117/18 a synod met and reinforced the prohibitions against lay investiture.¹²⁸ While the popes, bishops and councils took measures to eradicate investiture by the secular authorities, it remained, like simony, a problem into the twelfth century.

Election of the bishops of Chartres was particularly susceptible to lay interference because Chartres was a royal see. Several times in the eleventh century the kings

123. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 724-50. The implementation of this policy is apparent in the controversy surrounding Archbishop Manassas of Reims. In 1080 Manassas was deposed, although it is not entirely clear why. King Philippe I was specifically warned by the bishops and pope not to interfere in this matter. Evidently they believed that the king might try to impose his own candidate on the archdiocese (Jaff , *Regesta*, p. 638). In 1096 Manassas was restored to his office because it was the will of the people and clergy (Jaff , *Regesta*, p. 680).

124. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 926-30.

125. Mansi, *Concilia*, 20: 495-500.

126. Mansi, *Concilia*, 20: 749-52. Indeed the issue of lay versus spiritual investiture would not be solved until the Council of Worms in 1122.

127. Jaff , *Regesta*, p. 740.

128. Jaff , *Regesta*, pp. 787-89.

tried to force their candidates on the chapter, although with mixed success.¹²⁹ At the end of the eleventh century, the principle of episcopal election by the Chartrain people and clergy was established.¹³⁰ The issue of royal intervention in episcopal election was ultimately resolved in 1117 when King Louis VI granted the privilege of electing the bishop to the canons of Chartres.

Lay Possession of Church Property:

Legislation that addressed secular control of ecclesiastical property evolved over the course of the eleventh century. Early in the eleventh century the rulings were aimed at nobles who had unjustly seized or violated church lands, a common practice of the time. In 1030, for instance, the council of Poitiers stated that anyone violently or fraudulently possessing church property would be excommunicated.¹³¹ As the century progressed, however, subtle changes occurred. The council of Rouen, held in 1031, prohibited lay possession of an ecclesiastical benefice, a decision which represents an important change from the position assumed at the council of Poitiers a year earlier. Instead of dealing with usurpations of church land, this council expressly forbade secular possession of land that pertained to an ecclesiastical office. Yet for

129. For discussion of this, see pp. 249-52 of this Chapter.

130. The theory of election of bishop by the clergy and people of the diocese may have been a revival of an ancient practice. It allowed the reformers to prevent the secular nobility or kings from interfering in the placement of bishops. Whether the "people" really had any say in the matter seems debatable. From my reading of the acts of the popes and the councils it seems that the term "by the clergy and people" was no more than a formality that disguised or legitimized the fact that the bishop had been selected by the pope. For example, when Robert of Grandmesnil was finally ousted from office, his successor Geoffrey of Chartres was elected by the pope at the council in Rome. Due to the geographical considerations, it seems unlikely that the "people" of Chartres were consulted before Geoffrey was made bishop. This unlikelihood is compounded by the fact that Geoffrey was chosen by Gregory VII personally.

131. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 495-8.

the next few decades the provision made at Rouen was ignored as subsequent councils continued to address only the seizure of land rather than secular possession of benefices. At the provincial synod of Tours in 1035, for example, Bishop Gervase of Le Mans requested Archbishop Arnulf to assemble the local clergy to place certain "violators" of the Church under anathema.¹³²

As in the cases of simony and lay investiture, the council of Reims in 1049 was pivotal in the articulation of a new attitude toward lay possession of church property. The participants declared it improper, indeed illegal, for secular lords to control tithes.¹³³ Legislation forbidding lay ownership of churches and their dues was not coherently formulated until the council of Toulouse, in 1056, where it was decreed that possession of churches by the laity was unjust and would be characterized as usurpation.¹³⁴ The punishment set for such an offense was excommunication.¹³⁵ Another canon dealt with lay control of church tithes. One-third of the tithes was to remain in the possession of the bishop or clergy. This did not completely outlaw lay domination of tithes but sought to insure that at least part of the dues went to the Church.¹³⁶ Toulouse was certainly geographically removed from Blois-Chartres, but in 1060 a council met at Tours where a similar reform was implemented in the region

132. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 926-30.

133. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 724-50. At this council tithes were referred to as *altaria* which Giles Constable takes to mean tithes, rather than church altars. See *Monastic Tithes: From their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: 1964), p. 92 (hereafter, Constable, *Tithes*).

134. Previous councils had dealt with "usurpation," but at Toulouse there was a subtle difference. Lay ownership of any ecclesiastical property was considered unjust and a usurpation, not just lands that had been violently seized by an obstreperous nobility.

135. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 847-50.

136. Constable, *Tithes*, p. 100. Constable finds that members of the laity often gave a portion of tithes or tithes of a particular kind, such as those that pertained to certain products like sheep, pigs, cows or eggs. He also argues that in the eleventh century tithes were under episcopal authority (see p. 89).

of the Loire. While the council did not enjoin nobles from holding church lands, it attempted to deny them revenue that came from their control, such as dues and tithes.¹³⁷ The council also impressed upon the nobles that their souls were endangered by possession of church property and threatened anathema. Nobles were, thus, encouraged to restore land and revenues to the Church.¹³⁸

After the council of Tours, synods and councils met in the region to address lay usurpation of church land. The rhetoric of the reformers makes it difficult to determine whether these "usurpations" were actually violent seizures of land or instances of nobles owning or controlling ecclesiastical property for a matter of generations, which was now deemed unjust in the context of reform.¹³⁹ Between 1064 and 1067 Archbishop Gervase of Reims excommunicated a man for "invading" church lands. Similarly, the synod of Tours in 1075 warned Hugh of St. Maurus to return goods he had seized to the archbishop of Tours.¹⁴⁰

Clerical insistence on noble alienation of ecclesiastical property was rearticulated at the general church council at Clermont in 1096. Canons drafted at this council ruled against lay possession of tithes.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, if nobles or their heirs usurped church lands or their donations they would be denied sacred offices.¹⁴²

137. Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society*, pp. 122-3.

138. Scholars have found that noble restitutions to the church occurred frequently under the guidance of reforming abbots or bishops. See André Chédeville, "Les restitutions d'églises en faveur de l'abbaye de Saint-Vincent," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 3 (1960), 209-17 (hereafter, Chédeville, "Les restitutions"). I would suggest that the Gregorian attitudes toward secular possession of ecclesiastical property first infiltrated the region of the Loire after the council of Tours in 1060.

139. For discussion of this, see this Chapter pp. 287-9.

140. Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 608.

141. Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 688. This legislation was reiterated at the council of *Neumansi* in the same year. Laity who possessed or inherited a church or tithes were to be excommunicated.

142. Mansi, *Concilia*, 20: 816-9.

Between 1098 and 1100 a synod at the Lateran reaffirmed the prohibitions against lay ownership not only of churches and tithes but also of cemeteries and burial dues. By the end of the eleventh century, any and all lay possession, not merely ownership that was the result of invasion or seizure, came to be considered "usurpation" or unjust.

Blois-Chartres, like the rest of Western Europe, was affected by the prohibitions against lay ownership. The council of Tours brought papal reform to the area. Although legislation designed to prohibit lay control of church property had arrived by the mid eleventh century, there is no evidence that the eleventh-century bishops of Chartres implemented it. In the next century Bishop Ivo and Geoffrey of Lèves, however, did try to protect and restore church property. In 1101 Ivo reaffirmed the inability of laymen to possess any part of a church after they had donated it.¹⁴³ Some of the preliminary decrees against lay ownership, particularly those from the council of Tours, had allowed the noble to retain some authority over the land or dues he had donated, but this compromise had been rejected by the end of the eleventh century and Ivo's position may be seen as an attempt to reinforce the current attitude toward lay domination.¹⁴⁴ This bishop also tried to protect local monasteries from secular domination. Sometime between 1102 and 1115, Ivo placed Nivelon and Ursio of Fréteval under divine interdiction for their "malefactions" against the abbey of Vendôme. Bishop Geoffrey of Lèves came to the defense of the same abbey when he warned Geoffrey Borrellus, Rainald of Turre, Vulgrin and his brother Bartholomew that they had to return possessions that they had taken from this church.¹⁴⁵

143. Jaffè, *Regesta*, p. 704.

144. See Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society*, p. 112, and Dillay, "Le régime d'église privée", 253-60.

145. Jaffè, *Regesta*, p. 797. No sentence was placed upon these men, they were merely warned and seemed have complied since there is no later reference to their interdict or excommunication.

Clerical Morality and Quality of the Clergy:

Legislation prohibiting clerical marriage or cohabitation appeared very early in central France. In 1000 a canon from a council at Poitiers forbade priests or deacons to have wives or cohabit with women. If this code was violated, the cleric was to be deposed from office and denied burial in the Church.¹⁴⁶ Reform of clerical morals was the earliest and most consistent concern of the reformers. Carolingian ecclesiastics had also been dedicated to creating clerical purity, but the repetition of decrees forbidding clerical marriage or concubinage testifies to the continuation of the problem.¹⁴⁷

The council of Bourges in 1031 once again addressed clerical morals, dealing not only with clerical marriage but also with the progeny that resulted from such unions.¹⁴⁸ Priests, deacons and subdeacons were prohibited to marry, and those who did would forfeit their offices and the privilege of celebrating mass.¹⁴⁹ A further requirement for the office of subdeacon was the candidate's oath that he would not marry and, if he already had a wife, that he would renounce her.¹⁵⁰ The sons of priests, deacons and subdeacons were forbidden from succeeding to their fathers'

146. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 826-30.

147. For a discussion of clerical concubinage, particularly in regard to the concubines of canons, see Christopher Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Oxford: 1989), pp. 64-92 (hereafter, Brooke, *Medieval Idea of Marriage*).

148. This is the earliest attempt, to my knowledge, to punish the family for the cleric's indiscretion.

149. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 501-7.

150. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 501-7. In addition to discussing clerical morals, the council issued canons that concerned the ecclesiastical hierarchy. For example, only a deacon could become an archdeacon. The quality of the clergy was also considered. In this instance, the council declared that freed serfs could not become priests, presumably because they were not educated or trained, or because they were too dependent on their former lords.

offices. Furthermore, if a cleric's wife was not "legitimate,"¹⁵¹ the progeny of their union were not able to inherit their father's secular goods. The question of the legitimacy of children of priests is borne out in another canon, which proclaimed that, if a priest left his office, married and had children, his children were to be considered legitimate because they were the offspring of a layman, not a cleric. Children or wives of clerics were also forbidden to marry; anyone who married the wife, son or daughter of a priest, deacon or subdeacon would be placed under anathema.¹⁵² The attempt to stigmatize the clerical family is evident: To prevent clerics from marrying, legislation created by the council of Bourges punished their families.

For the remainder of the eleventh century, conciliar legislation and papal decrees insisted on clerical celibacy but in general did not seek to punish the entire clerical family. The councils of Reims and Toulouse issued prohibitions against clerical marriage and insisted on celibacy.¹⁵³ The following year a synod at the Lateran again decreed that no cleric from subdeacon to bishop was to marry.¹⁵⁴ Nicholas II issued a papal decree reiterating that priests, subdeacons and canons could not marry or keep concubines. Transgressions were to be punished by loss of the office and expulsion from the clerical community.¹⁵⁵ The council of Tours reinforced this papal ruling and proclaimed that, if any priest, deacon or subdeacon took a wife after

151. "Legitimate" presumably meant that they had been married, in contrast to clerical concubines.

152. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 501-7.

153. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19, 847-50. Legislation was also passed at Toulouse that attempted to insure clerical quality by again establishing a *cursus honorum* for ecclesiastical offices.

154. Jaffè, *Regesta*, p. 559.

155. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19:876. In the same decree, Pope Nicholas also forbade priests from bearing arms or taking payment for burials and baptisms. These two acts were aimed again at insuring the quality of the clergy. The first expunged noble behavior from the clergy, and the second prohibited the clergy from lining their pockets by exacting unofficial payment for their clerical duties.

the papal interdiction, he would not be able to celebrate the mass and would be evicted from office.¹⁵⁶ The councils of Rouen (1072) and Poitiers (1078) also issued provisions against clerical marriage or cohabitation.¹⁵⁷

The impulse to punish the clerical family in an attempt to prevent clerical marriage emerged again at the end of the eleventh century. In 1089 Archbishop Rainald of Reims declared that the sons of priests were not eligible for entrance into the higher orders of the clergy, a position which was reinforced at the council of Clermont in 1096, where "clerical fornication" or marriage was forbidden.¹⁵⁸ It was declared that no son of a "concubine" could become a priest or enter a monastic order.¹⁵⁹ In 1104 the policy of the reformed Church on clerical marriage was put into action when four deacons who had taken wives were excommunicated by the bishop of Trèves.¹⁶⁰ The persistence into the twelfth century of legislation designed to combat clerical marriage suggests that it continued to be a concern.¹⁶¹ The clergy of Blois-Chartres, like the rest of Europe, was undoubtedly affected by the attempt at reform, but it is difficult to determine the success of reform. To my knowledge none of the eleventh-century bishops of Chartres were married. Early in the century, Hugh, archbishop of Tours, had been married and had a son, but it is unfortunately impossi-

156. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 926-30. Again the council was used to disseminate the reforming popes' rulings on various matters of reform. This council also reiterated Pope Nicholas' ban on priests bearing arms. If they did, they, too, would forfeit their office.

157. Mansi, *Concilia*, 20: 34-40, 495-500, respectively. A Roman synod of 1072 also forbade clerical marriage.

158. Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 661.

159. It is likely that all wives of clerics were considered "concubines;" therefore this provision excluded all clerical sons from entering the church.

160. Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 718.

161. In 1116 the council of Reims affirmed previous rulings on clerical marriage (see La Fliche, *La réforme*, 1:35).

ble to determine if he remained married when he accepted the office or whether the birth of his son predated his accession. The two bishops of the first half of the twelfth century, Ivo of Chartres and Geoffrey of Lèves, definitely never married. The marital status of the lower clergy is far more difficult to ascertain, but it is likely that they married since the charters are peppered with references to children and wives of priests, deacons and archdeacons. Christopher Brooke has estimated that moral reform of the English clergy was not fully accomplished until the mid twelfth century, and it seems probable that it took equally long in this region of France.¹⁶²

Lay Marriage: Incest and Indissolubility:¹⁶³

Perhaps more than any other reformer, Bishop Ivo of Chartres was dedicated to reforming noble marriage practices. While Ivo's contributions may have been the most renowned of any Chartrain cleric, the insistence that incestuous marriage was wrong and that marriage was indissoluble had been articulated in the region long before Ivo became bishop.

In 1031 the council of Bourges addressed the question of incest and whether or not marriages could be dissolved. It was decreed that marriage within the sixth or seventh degree was incestuous and marriage with affinal kin within these degrees was prohibited. Marriage made the husband and wife one; marriage between in-laws was therefore considered incestuous.¹⁶⁴ In spite of these interdictions, the only grounds

162. Christopher Brooke, "Gregorian Reform in Action: Clerical Marriage in England, 1050 -1200," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 13 (1956), 1-21.

163. The scholar who has shaped this field of inquiry is Georges Duby. In his two books, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest* and *Medieval Marriage*, he argues that there were two conflicting models of marriage in the Middle Ages. He believes that the "ecclesiastical model," as articulated by reformers such as Ivo of Chartres, eventually prevailed over the secular.

164. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 501-7.

for putting aside a wife was adultery. While the adulterous wife could be repudiated, the sanctity of marriage was preserved because neither spouse was permitted to remarry, which the reformers undoubtedly hoped would encourage reconciliation. As early as the 1030's provisions were made that insisted on indissolubility and limited the grounds for repudiation, which were aimed at preventing the nobility from using marriage as a convenient political tool and dissolving marriages carelessly.¹⁶⁵

In 1049 the council of Reims similarly asserted the indissolubility of marriage by decreeing that legitimate wives could not be put aside. More significant, however, was a series of excommunications levied against several nobles who had committed infractions of ecclesiastical marriage policy. Hugh of *Braina* was excommunicated for putting aside his legitimate wife and taking another woman as wife. A certain Count Thibaut¹⁶⁶ was also punished for dismissing his wife. Counts Engleran and Eustache were excommunicated for arranging incestuous marriages for themselves and their children. The marriage of Count Baldwin of Flanders' daughter Mathilda to William the Conqueror was forbidden, presumably on the grounds that they were related within the prohibited degrees.¹⁶⁷ The success of these attempts to prevent consanguineous noble marriages is unfortunately indeterminable. William the Conqueror and Mathilda may have been persuaded to sponsor two religious houses in Caen to lift the presumed papal ban and as penance for their alliance. While they may have regretted the circumstances of their marriage, they were not swayed to dissolve their union. If this example is any indication of the impact of marital reform, it would seem to have had a negligible effect. The proceedings of this council of Reims are important non-

165. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 501-7.

166. It is not stated which Count Thibaut was involved here. It is possible that he could be Count Thibaut III of Blois-Chartres, but I am unaware of any tension between him and his wife Adelaide of Cr py.

167. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 724-50; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 76-7.



etheless because they demonstrate that reformers attempted to control noble marriage practices long before Ivo became bishop of Chartres. Furthermore, since this council met fairly close to Blois-Chartres, many of the Chartrain clergy probably attended, were made aware of this marriage legislation, and became committed to implementing it in their own region.

After Reims, councils continued to warn of the dangers of incestuous marriages and threaten the sentence of excommunication.¹⁶⁸ The popes also issued decrees on this matter. In 1057, for instance, Pope Nicholas II proclaimed that, if a man took a wife related to him within the seventh degree of kinship, the local bishop would be compelled to make him set her aside. If there was a lack of compliance, the couple would be excommunicated. In 1060 the council of Tours brought these proclamations home to the region of Blois-Chartres, and the sentence of excommunication for consanguineous marriage, adultery or dismissal of a wife and taking another spouse, was affirmed. The principles of indissolubility and the reformer's kinship configuration were again enforced as the Church attempted to exert control over noble marriage. The French bishops enforced these policies. Archbishop Gervase of Reims, the archbishop of Sens and the other bishops forcibly reconciled Count Radulf and his wife.¹⁶⁹ Radulf had dismissed his spouse, but these clerics insisted on the indissolubility of marriage and actively brought about this couple's reconciliation.¹⁷⁰ In this case the ecclesiastical conception of noble marriage not only existed in theory but became a reality for this member of the medieval nobility.

168. Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 847-50. In particular, the Council of Toulouse met in 1056 and declared that those who made incestuous marriages would be excommunicated. In 1057 a synod was held at the Lateran and issued legislation against incestuous marriages (See Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 559).

169. This was not the first time that clerics had interfered in noble marriages. At the synod of Goslar in 1018 Count Godeschalk and his wife were forced to separate because they were too closely related. See Mansi, *Concilia*, 19: 381-2.

170. Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 574.



In 1072 and 1074 two councils were held at Rouen which addressed noble marriage practices. To prevent consanguineous alliances, the 1074 council proclaimed that if marriage took place between relatives they would be considered adulterers.¹⁷¹ Previous councils declared that adulterers could never marry, not even after the deaths of their spouses.¹⁷² At the council of Nîmes in 1096 provisions against both marriage and sexual relations with relatives were made stronger. Those who either married or committed adultery within the boundaries of consanguinity would suffer excommunication. The legislation concerning the indissolubility of marriage and the above canons demonstrate that the reformers vigorously pursued their position on lay marriage.

The campaign to enforce ecclesiastical provisions about marriage continued into the last quarter of the eleventh century. In 1074 a provincial council was held at Poitiers to punish those who had ravaged church lands. At this council Count William of Poitiers was praised for putting aside his wife who was one of his relatives, which demonstrates the clerics' encouragement for nobles to adhere to the regulations concerning consanguineous marriages.¹⁷³ All of the nobles either chastised or praised for their marital practices came from the upper echelons of the nobility, mostly from comital ranks. Nothing suggests that members of the lower nobility were affected by these rulings. Perhaps the most renowned dispute over secular marriage practices concerned the marriage of King Philippe I and his wife Bertha of Holland. Philippe was married to Bertha for nearly twenty years before he put her aside and took up with Bertrade of Anjou.¹⁷⁴ The reformers rallied their forces against the king, with

171. Mansi, *Concilia*, 20: 394.

172. Mansi, *Concilia*, 20: 34-40.

173. Jaffè, *Regesta*, p. 605.

174. Jan Dhondt, "Sept femmes et un trio de rois," in *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale*, 3 (1965), 38-70. See also Brooke, *Medieval Idea of Marriage*, pp. 120-3.

Bishop Ivo of Chartres leading the charge. Philippe was warned by the pope and church councils to sever his relationship with Bertrade and return to his legitimate wife. In 1092 Archbishop Rainald of Reims and the bishops of France declared that the king and Bertrade were living adulterously and that they must separate. Ivo argued most heatedly for this separation.¹⁷⁵ Philippe I did not comply and was eventually excommunicated at the council of Clermont in 1096. In the following year, Philippe finally put Bertrade aside and returned to his rightful wife. After Bertha's death in 1104, he resumed relations with Bertrade and the archbishops and bishops of France threatened the king with excommunication again if he did not cease adulterous relations with Bertrade.¹⁷⁶ Ivo again played a decisive role in these negotiations, but in the final outcome the reformers were not victorious. In 1104 Bertrade was recognized as queen, much to Ivo's displeasure.¹⁷⁷ The royal victory was short-lived, however, because Philippe died in 1105 and Bertrade took the veil at Fontevrault in the same year. Duby would have us believe that the ecclesiastical model for noble marriage triumphed over the medieval nobility.¹⁷⁸ Yet the example of Philippe demonstrates that, while the reformers' views were recognized and sometimes adhered to, ultimately the nobility and royalty remained constant to the "noble" conception of marriage.

During the eleventh century the Gregorian position on lay marriage was fully

175. Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 670.

176. Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 717.

177. Dhondt, "Sept femmes...", 69.

178. Christopher Brooke concurs with Duby. He, too, believes that the Church eventually won control of marriage in the twelfth century. He cites ecclesiastical jurisdiction over marriage courts as evidence of this triumph. Yet Brooke is cautious in his estimation of when this occurred. While Duby fixes the date early in the twelfth century, Brooke asserts that only in the mid twelfth century did the "ecclesiastical" model come to dominate marriage. See, Brooke, *Medieval Idea of Marriage*, pp. 120-8. Like Duby, Brundage believes the reformers succeeded quickly in imposing their view of marriage and posits that they achieved a degree of conformity by the early twelfth century (see, Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, pp. 183-6).



articulated. The elements of indissolubility and prohibition of marriage within seven degrees had been introduced into the region of Blois-Chartres decades before Ivo of Chartres became bishop, but the Chartrain nobility had yet to feel the strong arm of reform. Nobles from areas surrounding Blois-Chartres had experienced it, and the noble families of this region were certainly aware of the reformers' attempts to coerce certain nobles to obey ecclesiastical marital regulations. What had yet to occur in Blois-Chartres, however, was a coherent articulation of the diverse pronouncements concerning lay marriage. This was brought to the county by Ivo, who was motivated by a fervent desire to insure that the nobles of his flock obeyed these rules. Perhaps more than any other reformer, Ivo attempted to bend the nobility to his will and actively enforce the ecclesiastical rulings on incest and the indissolubility of marriage.

The beliefs and attitudes that came to characterize the Gregorian reform movement were expressed at councils held in close proximity to Blois-Chartres throughout the eleventh century. Some of these reforming ideas made their appearance early in the century and continued to be reiterated at councils and through papal decrees. Perhaps the most persistent of these abuses was clerical marriage, with conciliar proclamations dating as early as 1000. Legislation concerning other problems, such as lay investiture, episcopal election, lay control of church property, appeared throughout the eleventh century. In order to succeed, the Gregorians had to coalesce the various decrees and legislation into a coherent body of reform. Pope Leo IX was the first to attempt to rationalize the various strands of attempted reform, but he made only a beginning. It would take another couple of decades before a unified nucleus of papal reform was clarified and even longer still before this body of reform reshaped the attitudes and behavior of the medieval nobility.¹⁷⁹

179. Various points of reform began to have an effect in the region of the Loire at different times, due mostly to the commitment and interest of the local clerics. For example, restitution of church property began c.1060 in Le Mans when a reformer

II. The Impact of Gregorian Reform on the Nobility of Blois-Chartres

The aspect of reform that will be of concern for the rest of this chapter is its impact on noble family holdings, specifically the restoration of church property. The goal of reformers to free the Church from secular influence compelled them to forbid lay possession of ecclesiastical lands and dues. Reformers encouraged nobles to donate these properties to the Church.

Several medieval scholars have found a correlation between the Gregorian reform movement and alterations within the noble family. Jack Goody has argued that the Gregorian reform movement was responsible for eroding the rights of kin and putting in place an inheritance practice that favored the first born son. He writes:

The economic effects of the reform movement resulted indirectly in a reorganization of the landed property of laymen and in changes in its transmission, dependent tenures being passed on more frequently to a single heir....The move towards primogeniture involved a reduction in the claims of kin. While the earlier system of tenure was in no sense communal, kin often held subsidiary rights in land which made alienation difficult, as was clear from the history of the alienation of property to the Church and the retention of family rights in ecclesiastical possessions. Partibility was an expression of these interests....¹⁸⁰

The problem with Goody's interpretation is not the force to which he ascribes the change but the chronology. Goody refers to the changes wrought by the Gregorian reform movement as occurring only during Pope Gregory VII's pontificate (1073-1085), but the impact of reform was felt at various times in varying degrees throughout western Europe. Goody has also postulated that Gregorian reform was

....Continued....

became a bishop. Regulations concerning marriage, however, were not implemented until much later in the twelfth century.

180. Goody, *Family and Marriage*, p. 118 and p. 122. Goody equates inheritance by a "single heir" with primogeniture.

instrumental in precipitating transformations within noble family structure. He suggests that the Church wanted to limit the pool of possible heirs to family property to supplement its own coffers. He reasons that if the family became more linearly and narrowly defined, there would be fewer legitimate heirs, which would make the Church more likely to receive the land.¹⁸¹ Restrictions placed on marriage by the reformers were also aimed at breaking the hold of the kinship group on the patrimony. Marriage among family members, especially cousins, allowed family lands and resources to remain in the hands of the family. By insisting that nobles not marry within seven degrees, Goody believes, the reformers sought to acquire noble family lands for the Church.¹⁸²

The interpretation of the role of the Gregorian reform movement offered by James Brundage in *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* is far more convincing than Goody's. Brundage concurs that the Church was trying to narrow family structure but believes the motive was to protect ecclesiastical donations from claims by an extensive kin group.¹⁸³ Considering how frequently noble family members contested gifts, this theory has great appeal and seems to reflect accurately the clerics' intention and concerns.¹⁸⁴ The Chartrain monasteries were constantly involved in disputes over noble donations, most commonly brought by relatives.

181. Goody *Family and Marriage*, pp. 123-45. Goody argues that since there were fewer possible heirs, due to a narrower configuring of kin and enforcement of exogamous marriage, the Church would become the heir. This significantly expanded church territorial domination.

182. Goody, *Family and Marriage*, pp. 133-47. While Goody brings an important anthropological and comparative perspective to the question of the medieval family, his work is fatally flawed by a lack of familiarity with primary source material. His theories are always interesting, and some cases valid (almost by default) but they lack a suitable grounding in the medieval documents.

183. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, pp. 192-3. By limiting kinship, the potential number of claimants would be reduced considerably.

184. Tabuteau, *Transfers*, pp. 113-40, has suggested other modes of assurance for protecting gifts, such as counter gifts and oaths. See also White, *Custom*, pp. 41-52.

Brundage's thesis is particularly applicable to the situation in Blois-Chartres and indicates sensitivity to the problems plaguing the eleventh-century Church.

David Herlihy also believes that the changes in family structure were caused by the Gregorian reform movement. As part of the attempt to reform the Church, the nobility was denied ownership of ecclesiastical properties. This loss, Herlihy argues, compelled noble families to "devise new strategies of preserving and augmenting resources,"¹⁸⁵ measures which resulted in the adoption of primogeniture and an attempt to limit claims by organizing families patrilineally. In other words an agnatic configuration, one that favored male heirs, replaced collateral family structure.¹⁸⁶ Herlihy sets the date for this transformation late in the eleventh century and asserts that primogeniture was solidly in place early in the twelfth century.¹⁸⁷ The arguments of Goody and Herlihy that the restoration of ecclesiastical land triggered a change in noble inheritance patterns is valid. Their insistence that a completely patrilineal and agnatic family structure characterized all families by the early twelfth century does not, however, accurately reflect the experiences of the lesser noble families of Blois-Chartres.

Restoration of churches and other ecclesiastical property to the local monasteries has also been addressed by several scholars, and their findings reflect

185. Herlihy, *Households*, p. 87.

186. Herlihy, *Households*, p. 82.

187. Herlihy states that the transformation occurred in the "post-Carolingian period," a rather nebulous date. He, however, begins his discussion of the creation of lineages with a charter datable between 1080 and 1132, suggesting that it was in this period that the change from collateral family to a linear pattern occurred. Furthermore, while Herlihy believes the Gregorian reform movement was responsible for the development of primogeniture, he is very vague in providing a date for this change. Since he lumps his discussion of the change in family with attempts by reformers to stop lay possession of churches, the date for the adoption of primogeniture must be by default in the second half of the eleventh century.

many of the trends apparent in eleventh and early twelfth-century Blois-Chartres.¹⁸⁸ In his study of the restoration of churches, Guillaume Mollat has determined that it was after the Lateran council of 1059 that nobles began to grant ecclesiastical property back to the Church.¹⁸⁹ At this council Pope Nicholas II pronounced trafficking in churches and tithes against God's law and punishable by excommunication. Mollat points out, however, that while some bishops encouraged such donations others did not, which accounts for the variation among dioceses in the frequency of restorations.¹⁹⁰ This issue was not resolved in the eleventh century and continued to be a matter of clerical legislation into the twelfth.¹⁹¹

Variation in the pace and intensity of restitutions is apparent in regional examinations of this phenomenon. André Chédeville has found that the diocese of Le Mans, like the rest of north central France, experienced many of the abuses common to the eleventh century, such as nicolaism, simony and lay domination of the -----

188. For a discussion of the condition of the Church in the region of the Loire, see the following: M. Dillay, "La régime de l'église privée," 253-94; Odile Gantier, "Recherches sur les possessions et les prieurés de l'abbaye de Marmoutier du Xe au XIIIe siècles," *Revue Mabillon*, 53 (1963), 93-110, 101-61; 54 (1964) 15-24, 56-67, 125-35; 55 (1965), 32-44, 68-79.

189. Guillaume Mollat, "La resitution des églises privées au patrimoine ecclésiastique en France du IXe au XIe siècle" *RHD*, fourth series, 27 (1949) 399-423 (hereafter, Mollat, "Restitutions"); Chédeville, "Les restitutions;" Ziezulewicz, "'Restored' Churches in the Fisc of St. Florent-de-Saumur," *Revue bénédictine*, 96 (1986), 106-17 (hereafter, Ziezulewicz, "Restored Churches"); Jon Sutherland, "The Recovery of Land in the Diocese of Grenoble during the Gregorian Reform Epoch," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 64 (1978), 377-97.

Mollat also considers donations made by nobles before the advent of papal reform. Restitutions of churches and other ecclesiastical property were tricky because nobles could not legitimately possess churches. Exchanges were often arranged in lieu of sales to prevent any taint of simony. Donors also often retained some portion of the donated property and continued to do so even after the Gregorian reform. At many church councils, clerics reiterated that this was not just and that the nobles must renounce control over the entire gift.

190. Mollat, "Restitutions," 412.

191. Mollat, "Restitutions," 420-5.

Eigenkirche. Around 1040, however, Chédeville detects an attempt to restore churches to the diocese and local monasteries.¹⁹² He postulates that the accession of Bishop Gervase precipitated such grants. Gervase was a "compatriot" of Abbot Odo of Cluny and had been greatly influenced by his attempts at reform.¹⁹³ After 1060 Chédeville finds an acceleration in restitutions, a result of papal support. The peak in this activity occurred at the end of the century when Urban II visited after preaching the First Crusade at Clermont-Ferrand. Restorations of churches began so early in Le Mans that Chédeville characterizes them as "precocious."¹⁹⁴ William Ziezulewicz has similarly examined the churches restored to the abbey of St. Florent of Saumur. He has found evidence of reform ideology in the eleventh-century donations made by nobles, indicating they were significantly influenced by the preaching of the Gregorians.¹⁹⁵

The evidence provided by Chédeville and Ziezulewicz from the region of the Loire indicates that nobles were influenced by the ideas of reform and responded by restoring churches and their appurtenances to the Church. The restitutions began in different areas at various times, seemingly dependent upon the presence of local reformers. In Blois-Chartres ecclesiastical restorations began around 1060, when Albert was abbot of Marmoutier. Albert was a pupil of Bishop Fulbert and a dedicated

192. Chédeville, "Les restitutions," 209-17.

193. Chédeville, "Les restitutions," 210.

194. Chédeville, "Les restitutions," 212-3. When nobles donated churches and their appurtenances to the abbey of St. Vincent of Le Mans, they often retained some of the rights over the land. Mollat detected the same practice for the region of the Loire, and Chédeville's research demonstrates it was true on a local level in Le Mans. The retention of rights by nobles suggests to me that they were unwilling or even unable to alienate completely the lands in question. Tabuteau has found in Normandy that nobles wanted to retain some right of possession to their gifts to remind people of their connection with the Church. If the right retained was a yearly tax, then the connection between the noble and the Church would be reiterated every year. See Tabuteau, *Transfers*, pp.140-1.

195. Ziezulewicz, "Restored Churches," 106-17.

reformer; he was instrumental in combating lay investiture in the region. The second, and more significant, wave of restorations took place in the early twelfth century, when Ivo of Chartres was bishop. Ivo was an avid proponent of reform and had been selected by the pope as bishop of Chartres. Chêdeville's and Mollat's suggestion that restorations were precipitated by local reforming church leaders is valid for Blois-Chartres.

Noble Restorations of Church Property:

During the tenth and eleventh centuries ecclesiastical property became part of the patrimonies of noble families. Noble possession of churches and their appurtenances is evident in references to the inheritance of these properties. For instance, when Denis Pagan gave half of the church and tithes of Oinville in 1107, he stated that he held them from his ancestors as if through inheritance.¹⁹⁶ The same situation occurred in regard to possession of tithes alone. In the first quarter of the twelfth century, Hilduin of Alluyes gave tithes from the village of *Mercasius* to the monastery of St. Père with the consent of his feudal lords William II Gouet and his wife Eustachia.¹⁹⁷ Around 1107 Joscelin a knight of Courville gave half of the tithes

196. *CSPDC*, no. 53, pp. 509-10: Ego itaque Dionisius, cognomento Paganus, medietatem ecclesie et decime Oenis Ville, cum toto tractu ejusdem, necnon et consuetudines ipsius atrii, que omnia, peccato exigente, ab antecessoribus meis quasi hereditaria possederam, pro eorundem animabus et mea, Deo, cujus juris erant, dimisi. Propinquorum vero assensu hoc donum faciens, super altare Gisiacensium sanctorum Petri et Pauli, ad usum monachorum inibi Deo militantium, illud dedi.

197. *CSPDC*, no. 36, p. 494: Ego Hilduinus de Alogia, ob scelerum meorum veniam adipiscendam, omnem calumpniam quam monachis sancti Petri Carnotensis hactenus ingessi, de quadam unius carruce terra, quam, apud Novum Mansum, ex dono Ingelgerii Rufi, dudum acceperant, penitus dimitto....Insuper et quartam partem totius decimationis, ad villam que Mercasius dicitur pertinentis, sancto Petro et monachis ejus in perpetuum possidendam concedo; reliquam vero decimam ejusdem villule, cum ista, quocunque voluerint licenter deferant. Et ne de his amplius calumpnia oriretur, hanc cartulam, testimonii causa conscriptam, cum uxore mea et filio, propria manu subterfirmavi, ed domino meo Willelmo et uxori sue Eustachie corroborandam tradidi, coram obtimatibus eorum et certeris quorum nomine subterscripta habentur.

at Les Charmois, which he held through the right of inheritance.¹⁹⁸ Similarly the part of the tithes at Andeville given by Hildeard, the granddaughter of Deacon Zacharias of Chartres, in 1150 belong to her by right of inheritance.¹⁹⁹ Clearly the phenomenon of *Eigenkirche*, or noble control of churches and their resources existed in the county of Blois-Chartres.²⁰⁰

The belief that lay possession of ecclesiastical lands and dues was sinful had long been present in the region of the Loire, but it was only in the decade of the 1070's that such property was alienated with any regularity. This first wave of restorations was rather modest in scope and limited to restorations made by the family of the Gouets, the lords of Alluyes and Brou, and their feudal dependents.²⁰¹ The second wave occurred in the first quarter of the twelfth century and was far more inclusive and substantial. The ecclesiastical restorations were concurrent with the episcopates of two very dedicated reforming bishops: Ivo of Chartres (1090-1115) and -----

198. *CSPDC*, no. 119, p. 344: Tam presentibus quam futuris hujus monasterii fratribus notum sit, quod Jordanis miles de Curvavilla, frater Ivonis monachi nostri, venit in capitulum nostrum, ibique dedit nobis monachis sancti Petri, pro animabus patris sui et matris et sua, partim quoque gratia fratris sui qui erat monachus noster, medietatem decime Carmeti, que sibi hereditate contingebat, post mortem suam habendam aut ante, si ei placeret; ita videlicet ut, quandiu eam teneret, daret nobis, in unoquoque anno, unum sextarium ipsius decime pro recordatione quod eam nobis dederat.

199. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 171, pp. 214-5; for text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 305, note 30.

200. For other examples of the donation of tithes or other appurtenances, see the following: *CSPDC*, no. 47, pp. 300-1; no. 36, p. 494; no. 37, pp. 494-5; no. 6, pp. 510-20; no. 7, p. 520; no. 25, p. 485; *JOSAPHAT*, no. 164, p. 207; no. 238, p. 282.

201. Nobles were motivated by many factors to make donations. For discussion of noble donation practices, see the following: Joel T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485* (London: 1972); Victoria Chandler, "Politics and Piety: Influences on Charitable Donations during the Anglo-Norman Period," *Revue bénédictine*, 90 (1980), 63-71; J. C. Ward, "Fashions in Monastic Endowment: The Foundations of the Clare Family 1066-1314," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 32 (1981), 427-51; Barbara Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of St. Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca: 1989).

Geoffrey of Lèves (1115-1148). The visits of two popes to the region also undoubtedly provided motivation for nobles to restore churches and their appurtenances.²⁰²

Combined with the encouragement provided by popes and bishops, the advent of the crusading movement persuaded many knights and nobles to return ecclesiastical property and dues to the Church. Commonly, noblemen on the brink of departure for the Holy Land donated ecclesiastical property that they believed they held "unjustly."

Nobles donated portions of churches, tithes, cemeteries and other ecclesiastical property to the monasteries of the region, usually to benefit the soul of the donor or his or her relatives. Sometime in the first quarter of the twelfth century, for example, William of *Vicheriis* and his mother gave to the abbey of St. Père the church of St. John the Baptist located in Perche and one ploughland of land not far from it. The gift was made for the soul of William's deceased father as well to benefit his and his mother's souls. Services were no longer being celebrated at St. John the Baptist, so William and his mother undertook to reestablish the church and community. Hamlin, his lord, affirmed the gift of the church at a place called *Lupiniacus* (because it had been infested with wolves) to St. Père.²⁰³ William swore that the monks would possess

202. Urban II visited Marmoutier and other places in the Loire Valley during his tour of France in 1096. Paschal II also came to the region and even celebrated Easter Mass in Chartres cathedral around 1110. Chédeville, "Les resititutions," p. 215, has also found an increase in restitutions in Le Mans occurring in about 1096 when Urban II visited the area.

203. *CSPDC*, no. 32, pp. 491-2: Ego Guillelmus de Vicheriis, ordinis videlicet militaris, omnibus sancte Dei ecclesie fidelibus notum esse volo, una cum matre mea Riscende, quia, pro anima patris mei Ernaldi jam defuncti, sive pro remedio tam mee quam matris anime, per deprecationem Willelmi monachi, sancto Petro apostolorum principi cenobii Carnotensis, quod situm est non longe a menibus urbis, directa donatione libens concedo quandam ecclesiolam in Pertico, ab antiquis temporibus in honore beatissimi Baptiste Johannis constitutam, nunc vero externis atque socialibus bellis ita adnullatam seu in solitudine redactam, ut vix incola in adjacenti parrochia inveniatur, sacerdos nullus qui semel vel bis in anno sacra misteria celebraturus in eadem ecclesia ingrediatur. Unde fit, nisi signum ecclesie daret cubus altaris in ipsa permanens, magis pauperis hominis edicula quam christicolarum ecclesia ab ignotis

this property through the right of inheritance, a specification which he probably hoped would guarantee the gift freedom from dispute. The restoration of a church was a fairly typical example of noble piety of the central Middle Ages and undoubtedly the result of the persuasion of local clerics.²⁰⁴

Evidence of the infiltration of the tenets of the Gregorian reform movement into the donation practices of the nobility is apparent in the preambles of the charters. Around 1102 Landric of Tourielle, a vassal of the Gouets, donated the church, the tithes, the priest's portion and the burial rights at the church of Dampierre. At the beginning of the charter Landric states that he had been influenced by the eulogy: "Give and he will give to you."²⁰⁵ Landric and his sons had been exhorted, no doubt by the local clergy, to donate to the Church, in return for salvation or at least divine benevolence. The teachings of the Church or the "words of holy men" were sometimes cited in eleventh century charters²⁰⁶, and charters from the twelfth century provide even more evidence of this practice. This increase suggests the penetration of reform into the area and the consciousness of the Chartrain nobility. In several documents that record gifts of churches or other ecclesiastical goods, the donors state -----
....Continued....

esse videretur. Pro qua re a domino nostro, nomine Hamelino, persepe deviari, ex cujus beneficio eandem ecclesiam cum aliis rebus, in loco qui, a frequenti luporum infestatione, Lupiniacus vulgi sermone vocitatur, possidere videor, persepe ammonitus, et deprecatus a Willelmo supradicto monacho, sicut jam dixi, beato Petro apostolo ipsam ecclesiam dedi, et donum super altare ipsius posui, ut, ab hac die in antea, monachi in ejus cenobio degentes habeant et possideant hereditario jure. Concedo etiam terram unius aratri, non longe ab ecclesia, et hanc cartulam facere jussi, ut, si quis huic donationi contradicere aliquando voluerit, auctoritate ejus et personarum quorum nomina subscripta sunt convictus et confusus, abscedat.

204. For other examples of the donations of churches for this period see the following: *CMFD*, no. 65, pp. 57-8; no. 58, pp. 51-2; *CSPDC*, no. 8, pp. 234-5; no. 48, pp. 439-41, no. 32, pp. 491-2; no. 53, pp. 509-10.

205. *CSPDC*, no. 17, pp. 242-3; for the text of this charter see Chapter 6, p. 304, note 25.

206. For a discussion of such quotations and the impact of reform on noblewomen, see Chapter 4, pp. 205-8.

that they held these possessions "unjustly." These nobles had probably not usurped or seized these properties, and in many cases the donors themselves state that they received the ecclesiastical property through inheritance. The use of descriptions such as "unjust" to refer to noble ownership of ecclesiastical goods indicates an infiltration of the reformers' rhetoric that all lay possession of churches was against God's law. Sometime in the first decade of the twelfth century Robert and his wife, with the consent of his brothers, gave the church of St. Mary of Chandai, along with the cemetery and tithes pertaining to it. The aforementioned church, Robert states, his maternal aunt Mahild "falsely claimed" by right of inheritance, even though she was a nun.²⁰⁷ Hugh the son of Guinemer used the same characterization to describe his ancestors' possession of ecclesiastical property. Around 1110 Hugh wished to make amends for his sins before he went to the Holy Land on pilgrimage, and, thus, gave the church of Louville and its tithes. This property, he declares, was held unjustly by

207. *CSPDC*, no. 27, pp. 534-6: Hoc ergo presenti scripto tam presentium quam subsequentium notitica fidelium doceatur quod ego, Robertus nomine, cum conjuge mea, pari assensu fratrum meorum Joscelini, Richerii, (et, quia tercius frater, Willelmus nomine, absens est, ego Robertus senior eorum, do me ipsum pro assensu absentis Willelmi fidejussorem;) dono sancto Petro ejusque monachis in cenobio Carnotensi Deo famulantibus, pro redemptione animarum nostrarum, nostrique patris ac matris et parentum; dono, inquam, ecclesiam de Cangeo, in veneratione beatissime Dei genitricis Marie edificatam, cum cimiterio, intus cum ornatu, exterius cum decima ad ipsam pertinente.... Abbas igitur Carnotensis matertere mee sanctimoniali, Mahildi nomine, que predictam ecclesiam jure hereditario calumpniabatur, dedit, pro assensione, XXXV solidos nummorum; et, uno quoque revertente anno, XXX solidos, dum ipsa superstes fuerit, persolvat.

The fact that Robert's grandmother Mahild is referred to as a holy woman provides further doubt that the church was actually usurped. Instead it seems that scribes, monks and nobles alike characterized lay possession in the same way: they referred to noble possession as usurpation or unjust. It would make sense for the monks to use terminology that the nobles were familiar with to condemn lay possession of church property.

his predecessors.²⁰⁸ Like Robert, Hugh or his relatives probably did not actually usurp this property; rather, any lay control of church property was deemed unjust. Solid and indisputable evidence of the penetration of the Gregorian reform into the Chartrain lesser nobility is provided in a charter from the abbey of St. Père. In approximately 1117 Simon of Islou-sur-Dampierre gave half of the church of Aunai-sous-Auneau to the monks. He states that he has listened to the words of many wise men and that God has shown him that they are true, and concludes that it is unjust for the laity to hold the estates of the Church, a practice which jeopardizes the health of souls. For these reasons, Simon restored his portion of this church to the monks.²⁰⁹ In concert with the others, this charter provides incontrovertible evidence that the nobles of Blois-Chartres were encouraged by the preachings of the Gregorian reformers to alienate ecclesiastical property which they now believed they possessed unjustly.²¹⁰

The Crusades were another important aspect of papal reform. The clergy used the Crusades to channel the aggressive and bellicose tendencies of the medieval

208. *JEAN*, no. 10, pp. 7-8: Presentibus et futuris notum sit atque certissimum quad [sic] Hugo, Guinimeri filius, ad emendationem vite sue et malorum suorum remissionem volens peregrinari Jerusalem, ecclesiam de Loovilla et decimam quam et se et predecessores suos eatenus injuste et sacrilege possedisse confessus est, super hoc ipso penitentiam agens satisfactionis et absolutionem querens, Deo et Ivoni, Carnotensi episcopo, liberam reddidit et in capitulo Sancte Marie in manu ipsius penitus dereliquit; certum enim illi erat itineris tanti laborem non sibi profuturum nisi prius omnino dimitteret quod inique et ut rei aliene raptor sacrilegus possederat.

209. *CSPDC*, no. 61, pp. 565-6: Ego Symon de Islo habebam ecclesie Alneti medietatem, omniumque reddituum ad eam pernitentium [sic]. Cumque multotiens a sapientibus viris audissem, tandemque id esse verum, Deo me illuminante, intellexissem, laicos scilicet, injuste et contra animarum suarum salutem res ecclesiasticas tenere, quas nonnisi ecclesie servientibus habere licet, volui etiam dimittere et dare monachis sancti Petri Carnotensis cenobii, pro animabus tam mea quam uxoris mee et filiorum et antecessorum meorum.

210. In addition to churches, nobles also believed their ownership of tithes was unjust. For examples of donations of tithes and the donors' admission that they held them unjustly, see the following: *CSPDC*, no. 75, p. 467; no. 39, p. 496; no. 95, p. 590; no. 7, p. 629; *JOSAPHAT*, no. 133, p. 168, no. 170, pp. 214-5.

nobility away from Europe and toward the enemies of the Church, namely the Muslims.²¹¹ The nobles of Blois-Chartres, like those all over western Europe, took up the cross and went to the Holy Land. Before many left on crusade, they voiced a concern for the state of their souls and made donations to atone for past transgressions. This religious fervor resulted in the granting of significant properties to the Church. The donations made before departure for the East fall into two broad categories: simple donations made out of concern for the donor's soul and restorations of ecclesiastical property.²¹² Between 1131 and 1141 Stephen the son of Guiscard expressed a desire to go to the Holy Land, and before he left he gave two arpents of vines and thirteen *solidi* of *cens* from the bridge at St. Martin for his soul and those of his relatives.²¹³ Most donations made before departure for the East consisted, however, of restorations of property which had been usurped from the Church. About

211. The bibliography on the Crusades is immense. I cite here only a few works that touch upon various points of inquiry. For a general introduction to the crusades, see Stephen Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: 1951); Hans E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. by John Gillingham, second edition (Oxford: 1988); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (New Haven: 1987). For a discussion of the impetus behind the crusading movement see, Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of the Crusade*, trans. by Marshall Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton: 1978), and Jonathan Riley-Smith *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: 1986). For possible demographic factors that played a role in the crusades, see Georges Duby, "The Youth in Aristocratic Society," in *Chiv. Soc.*, pp. 112-22. Edward Peters' *The First Crusade* (Philadelphia: 1971) and *Christian Society and the Crusades* (Philadelphia: 1971) contain translations of the sources pertinent to the crusades. See in particular Urban II's call for the First Crusade and St. Bernard's sermon at Vézelay. Ronald C. Finucane's *Soldiers of the Faith* (New York: 1983) provides a discussion of the logistical difficulties of the Crusades and the motivations of the crusaders. Joshua Prawer's *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, (New York: 1972) examines the establishment of the Crusader States.

212. For examples of other donations made before going on crusade, see *JOSAPHAT*, no. 141, pp. 177-8; *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 82, pp. 101-2; no. 288, vol. II, pp. 56-7; *JEAN*, no. 72, p. 41.

213. *CSPDC*, no. 149, pp. 363-4: Stephanus, filius Guischaridi, Jerusalem proficisci decernens, venit in capitulum nostrum, ibique nobis reliquit duos agri penenos vinee, cum censiva XIII solidorum que est ad pontem sancti Martini, pro salute anima sue et parentum suorum, si tamen eum mori contingeret antequam rediret; sicut et contigit.



1115 Geoffrey of Bero wanted to go to the Holy Land, but feared for his soul because he had usurped his father's previous donation.²¹⁴ To atone for this behavior, he quitclaimed the gift. During the twenty years between 1116 and 1136 Helvisa Legedocta and her son Robert gave the church of St. John of Chaumars to the monks of Marmoutier. Shortly after the donation, Robert left for the Holy Land, which suggests that his journey East and concern for the condition of his soul precipitated this gift.²¹⁵ The now "unjust" possession of this church by his family undoubtedly put Robert's soul in peril.²¹⁶ Two other charters datable roughly from the first quarter of the twelfth century reflect the same concern. Before he left for the Holy Land Eudes Brunellus quitclaimed to the bishop of Chartres the church of Yèvre, which he had inherited. The charter states explicitly that the custom of inheritance of ecclesiastical property is wrong. In other words, while lay custom may have allowed

214. *CSPDC*, no. 114, pp. 603-4: Hujus scripti testimonio noverint omnes tam presentes quam futuri fideles, quod Gaufridus de Bero, cum Jerusalem ire disponderet, timens ne hujus propositi sanctitas alicujus fraudulentie macula fedaretur, concessit nobis, cum benivolentia et caritate, quecunque pater suus Gaufridus dederat ecclesie nostre; sed et conventiones quas nobiscum ille Gaufridus habuit, iste assensu proprio confirmavit.

For another example of a son making restitution for usurping his father's transaction with the monks, see *JOSAPHAT*, no. 29, pp. 43-5.

215. *CPMD*, no. 169, pp. 159-60: Ego, Gaufredus Carnotensium Dei gratia humilis episcopus, omnibus notum esse volo quum [*sic*] adierunt in presentiam nostram, fratres et amici nostri, Majoris Monasterii monachi, pro quadam ecclesia Sancti Johannis Castriduni, quae dicitur de Chamarcio burgo, scilicet ipsorum cujus jam dimidiam partem sub predecessore nostro bonae memoriae, domno Ivone episcopo, dono utique ejus et concessione adepti fuerant, et quiete possidebant, orantes attentius et implorantes ut et reliquam, a Roberto legedocto et ejus matre Heluisa in manu nostra et archidiaconi nostri Dunenesis, Gosleni, dum idem Robertus Jerosolymam pergeret, ut melius ordinaretur, dimissam nostra eis auctoritate concederemus.

The previous charter, *CPMD*, no. 168, pp. 158-9, records the donation of the church by Helvisa and Robert. For the text of the charter, see Chapter 6, p. 333, note 93. Helvisa's other children consented, but there is no mention of Robert's journey to Jerusalem in this charter.

216. The same concern can be seen in a charter dateable just before the First Crusade. In this case a knight named Norman desired to go on pilgrimage rather than crusade to Jerusalem and Spain, presumably to Santiago de Compostella. Before he left he restored what he held from the church of St. Denis of *Ruillo* for the remedy of his soul and those of his parents. See *CSPDC*, no. 6, pp. 628-9.

the transmission of ecclesiastical property by inheritance, it was a clear violation of canon law.²¹⁷ When William of La Ferté took up the cross of the crusader, he gave the church of Vi and its tithes to St. Père and he begged Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres to absolve him of any offense to God or damage to his soul that possession of the church and its appurtenances may have caused.²¹⁸ Crusaders and pilgrims were particularly susceptible to concern over their eternal soul, since they were departing on religious business for unfamiliar lands fraught with danger. Hence, before they left, crusaders wanted to insure the condition of their souls. The clergy had impressed upon the medieval nobility that their possession of ecclesiastical property represented a violation of God's law. Those who left on crusade took this to heart and restored churches, tithes, cemeteries and other church holdings to the local monasteries.

Many nobles in Blois-Chartres were persuaded by the Gregorian reformers that their possession of certain properties was unjust. The inclusion in the charters of Biblical quotations that reflected or reinforced the reformers' position demonstrates individual nobles' exposure to the ideas of this movement. Beginning in the 1070's families restored ecclesiastical property to the monasteries of the region. In many cases, churches and their appurtenances represented a significant portion of noble family resources. Family structure and inheritance strategies were affected by these

 217. *CSPDC*, no. 2, pp. 469-70: Propterea ego Gaufridus de Leugis, Carnotensis ecclesie, gratia Dei, humilis minister, scripti hujus testimonio, omnibus et presentis temporis et sequentis fidelibus notum esse volo, quod miles quidam, Odo Brunellus dictus, ecclesiam de Evorea, quam dudum hereditario quidem sed injurioso jure laicus possederat, guerpō in manu mea posito, sancte ecclesie per me restituit, Jerosolimam non multo post profecturus.

218. *CSPDC*, no. 55, pp. 511-2: Ego Gaufridus de Leugis, nescio vel electione Dei vel permissione, Carnotensis episcopus, presentibus futurisque carte hujus actoritate [sic] testifcor, quod Willelmus de Firmitate, cum jam crucem ad eundem in Jerosolimam accepisset, presentiam nostram adiit, ecclesiamque cujusdam ville sue, vocabulo Vi, que est juxta Montem Fortem, cum dimido decime quod tenebat (nam aliud dimidium alii ab eo tenebant), in manu mea reddidit et dimisit; suppliciter me exorans, quatinus, de hoc quod contra Deum et salutem anime sue diu eam possederat, absolverem.

restorations and were altered to cope with the loss of these lands and revenues.

The Gregorian reform movement had a significant impact on the county of Blois-Chartres. Noble family resources were obviously affected by the restorations of ecclesiastical property to the local monasteries. In some families, the loss of these lands and revenues precipitated an economic crisis and tension over family resources. The eleventh-century reform movement was one of several forces that shaped noble family patterns. The challenge of the alienation of ecclesiastical resources from the patrimony caused some Chartrain noble families, mostly from the lower sectors, to alter their family patterns and inheritance strategies. The remaining chapters will assess the impact of these changes and determine how the twelfth-century noble families of the Chartrain responded. Chapter Six will discuss the inheritance patterns of the vassals and lesser nobles and ascertain how forces such as church reform, economic transformation and monarchical centralization had an impact on these families. Chapter Seven will do the same for the lords and viscounts of the region. Examination in Chapter Eight of the experiences of noblewomen in the twelfth century will conclude consideration of the challenges and changes that the Chartrain nobility confronted in the first half of the twelfth century.

CHAPTER SIX

INHERITANCE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY:

VASSALS AND LESSER NOBLES¹

During the eleventh century most noble families adhered to a family structure that recognized the patrimonial rights and claims of nuclear, extended and affinal kin. Some families actually divided family lands and titles among their progeny. Others viewed the patrimony as belonging to family members as a collective group. Noblewomen assumed important roles within the family and were not subjugated by their male family members. This was the general family pattern upon which the transformations outlined in the previous chapter acted. Economic development, the settlement of the region, the revitalization of monarchical power, and church reform led to important changes in the Chartrain. What remains to be assessed is how these developments had an impact on noble family organization. Many families implemented innovative responses to cope with the challenges of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Others remained constant to the inheritance practices and family structure that had predominated in the eleventh century.

1. For the purposes of the discussion of inheritance, I have divided the Chartrain nobility into two parts. In this chapter the inheritance practices of men and families who are referred to as *miles* in the charters will be examined. In addition, families who were clearly the direct or indirect vassals of the lords of Blois-Chartres will also be considered. Knights and vassals made up the lower echelons of the nobility, although it is sometimes difficult to evaluate the precise status of some of the families. For purposes of organization it will be clearer if the noble families that have been already traced for the eleventh century are discussed in a separate chapter.

The Persistence of Partible or Shared Inheritance and Extended Family Structure

Among the lesser nobility and the knightly families of twelfth-century Blois-Chartres there are few examples of outright partitioning of the patrimony.² What occurs with great frequency, however, is shared inheritance by brothers, siblings and even extended kin. During the eleventh century there were some examples of this sort of allocation of family resources, but its increasing frequency in the twelfth century suggests that it was a strategy employed to preserve the patrimony. While the impetus was essentially the same as that for the adoption of primogeniture, the impact on the family was far less severe. Instead of precluding or denying certain family members a right to the patrimony, the resources of the patrimony were shared, a strategy far more compatible with the open family organization of knights and lesser nobles of the late eleventh century and far less disruptive to family dynamics.

Charters from the monasteries of Blois-Chartres provide many examples of brothers sharing the patrimony. Between 1080 and 1100 three brothers, Rotrou, Eudes and Guitellus gave to the abbey of Marmoutier half of the land that they held together at *Mons Burzal*, with all pertaining customs and estates and with water so the monks

2. The family of Amalric provides evidence of the continuation of the partitioning of the patrimony, however. In 1108 his son Pagan gave the church of Hanches and all that pertained, which he held through inheritance. His brothers all consented to the donation, although the eldest brother was unable to appear in person so he sent his dagger as a sign of his cooperation. Pagan was a younger son, yet possessed this property through inheritance, which demonstrates that the patrimony was divided among all of Amalric's sons. The participation of Pagan's brothers as consenters further attests to the claim that they exercised over family property. See *CSPDC*, no. 99, pp. 593-4. The text of the charter can be found in note 182 of this chapter.

could build a mill on the river Ozanne.³ Their feudal lords, moreover, were also brothers, Radulf and Hilgod. The undivided compensation awarded to Rodulf and Hilgod demonstrates the parity of their claim as lords. A charter from the abbey of Tiron makes it clear that Aimeric of Bouffry⁴ shared the land he was donating with his brother. In 1131 Aimeric and his brother Hugh, who was a monk, gave land from the castle at Bouffry and all wooded and cleared land that pertained to this fief. Six of Aimeric's children, Angot, Gautier, William, Ada, Auberg and Odelina, and his wife consented to the donation. Each child had a right to the donated property, although he or she would share joint possession with his or her siblings instead of enjoying an actual share.⁵ Another charter of a similar date shows two brothers sharing property. Two knights of Tréon, named Matthew and Geoffrey, desired to build a mill, but had to secure the consent of the monks to divert water for it. The brothers agreed to pay

3. *CMPD*, no. 141, pp. 131-2: Notum sit omnibus Majoris Monasterii successoribus nostris, quod quidam miles, nomine Rotocus, filius Rainaldi Brisardi, et fratres ejus Odo et Guitellus, dederunt Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii medietatem terrae quam habebant ad Montem Burzal, cum omnibus consuetudinibus seu rebus ad eandem terram pertinentibus, pro remedio animarum suarum suorumque parentum, et aquam quae vocatur Osanna, ad molendinum faciendum, tali ratione, ut semel molendinum fecissent monachi de suo, semper postea molendinum et omnia instrumenta molendi equaliter faciant. Similiter et dividant fructum molendi, monachi scilicet Sancti Martini et supradicti viri, molendinum ipsum si opus fuerit. Restituat pars illa de suo, pro cujus culpa molendini eversio fuerit facta. Hanc donationem concesserunt Sancto Martino, domini virorum supradictorum, Rodulfus et Hilgodus, filii Giraldi Brunelli, pro Deo, et viginti solidis a monacho Sancti Martini nomine Herberto, acceptis, teste Hugone filio Bernerii.

4. Merlet identifies this man as the lord of Bouffry.

5. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 157, pp. 179-80: Notum sit omnibus tam futuris quam presentibus hominibus quod Haimericus Baufredus et Hugo frater ejus, qui fuit monachus Tyronis, dederunt monachis Tyronis terram de Castellis Baufredi, boscum et totam terram planam sicuti pertinebat ad ipsum feodum, sicuti dividitur a terra Hieremie et a terra Johannis de Secore et a terra Goffredi Normanni. Necnum dederunt monachis Tyroni bugnonem de Acrania et totam illam terram quam habebat juxta ipsum bugnonem et ad Plana-Baufredi, et planam terram et totum boscum sicuti dividitur a terra Odonis Montiniaci et a terra Bartholomei Vindocini, scilicet sex carrucas terre. Concedentibus istis: Margarita Haimerici uxore et filiis suis Angoto, Gauterio, Willelmo et filiabus suis Ada, Auburge, Odelina. Insuper hoc concessit Goffredus, vicecomes Castriduni, et Helois uxor ejus, et filii eorum Hugo et Paganus.

eighteen *denarii* in *cens* each year at the feast of St. John and also gave the tithes from their mill in alms to the Church.⁶ Matthew and Geoffrey acted together in reaching this accord with the monks.

A charter from the cartulary of the abbey of St. Jean-en-Vallée testifies further to the practice of shared or joint inheritance. In 1123 two brothers, Gautier Lohold and Isnard committed for twenty years the *tensamentum*⁷ which they inherited together from their ancestors in the village of Mantarville.⁸ The brothers of Gautier

6. CSPDC, no. 123, p. 612: Quoniam, annorum labente curriculo, multa negligentie seu oblivioni traduntur, nisi scriptis et memorie commendentur, necessarium duximus, tam presentibus quam successuris innotescere, quatinus duos milites de Treione, Matheus de Alneto et Gaufridus, frater ejus, quendam molendinum in terra sua edificare volentes, poposcerunt a nobis, ut eidem molendino aque decursum per quandam terrulam nostram fieri permetteremus. Qua de causa, ipsi venientes in nostrum capitulum, XVIII denarios census de eadem terrula nobis et cuidam militi Ricardo, qui nobiscum terram illam participat, annuatim se daturos ad festum sancti Johannis pepigerunt. Insuper, et pro animarum suarum et antecessorum salute, prefati molendini decimam pure in elemosinam nobis concesserunt, etiam si hoc contingeret, quod non per nostram terram aque decursus fieret.

7. Niermeyer identifies this as a payment in kind due to a lord in return for protection. *Tensamentum* could also be a spelling of *tenementum*.

8. JEAN, no. 34, pp. 20-1: Quorum auctoritatem secuti, nos Sancti Johannis canonici notum esse volumus tam futuris quam presentibus quod Gauterius cognomine Loholdus et Isnardus, frater ejus, tensamentum quod habuerant antecessores eorum et ipsi ac fratres ipsorum in villa que vocatur Hermentarvilla ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Valeia dimiserunt, ita ut singulis annis a predicta ecclesia xx solidos carnotensis monete, ad festum Sancti Remigii, ipsi et successores eorum acciperent. Pepigerunt et fidei sui interpositione firmaverunt [*sic*] se et successores suos pro predicto tensamento nichil amplius exacturos, nec bibere nec comedere nec jacere, nichil omnino ultra xx solidos. Concesserunt etiam ecclesie Sancti Johannis terram ad unam carrucam et quinque hospites de quadrante Hermentarville que Haimericus Canardus, eorum avunculus, tenuerat et ecclesie Sancti Johannis de illo quadrante, terram ad unam carrucam et quinque hospites jam concesserat. Pacti sunt etiam quod fratres suos ac nepotes et omnes ad quos tensamentum et predicta terra pertinere videbatur hoc concedere facerent, quod in tota terra Hermentarville, nichil amplius exigenter preter xx predictos solidos, qui dantur pro tensamento, et preter redditus terre que relictæ est de quadrante unde terra ad unam carrucam et quinque hospites nobis dati sunt, cum pactione idem firmaverunt fidei sue interpositione.... Testes qui affuerunt quando Gersendis cognomine Comitissa et Flandinea, mater Gauterii Loholdi et aliorum, Guerricus et Gaufridus fratres Gauterii, concesserunt ecclesie Sancti Johannis quod Gauterius et Isnardus concesserant apud Hermentarvillam....

Hi affuerunt testes quando Sevinus concessit ecclesie Sancti Johannis tensamentum de Erementarvilla quod prius concesserunt fratres ejus Galterius Loholdus et Isnardus....

and Isnard, their nephews and all others to whom the land and *tensamentum* pertained consented to the gift. They also conceded land of one carrucate and five peasants which belonged to their uncle Aimery Chenard, with his consent. Gautier and Isnard's control of their uncle's fief suggests that the entire family shared authority over family lands. Gautier and Isnard also shared control of the *tensamentum* and presumably the responsibilities of lordship as well. The claim of other relatives is also apparent. Sometime later their other brothers consented to the alienation of the *tensamentum* which their "ancestors" had held at Mantarville.⁹ The specification that these brothers' ancestors possessed this right indicates that it was customary for this family to inherit and control family property collectively. Brothers in another lesser noble family also shared possession of family lands. In 1127 Reginald and Guntard, the sons of Vitalis of *Chailo*, gave to St. Jean-en-Vallée forty arpents of land with houses of the peasants in the village of Aubret. These brothers acted jointly in making this donation, which suggests that they shared control of and right to the property.¹⁰ Guntard's wife, sons and daughters also consented to the gift. These siblings could probably expect to share family property, as their father and uncle had.¹¹ Furthermore,

9. *JEAN*, no. 35, pp. 21-2: Actio sapiens majorum utilis est instructio posterorum; illi namque quod diuturnum esse voluerunt litterarum memorie tradiderunt. Quorum auctoritatem secuti, nos Sancti Johannis canonici notum esse volumus tam futuris quam presentibus quod Robertus Sine Mappa et Galterius Loholdus et Isnardus et Sevinus et Guericus et Gaufridus fratres tensamentum quod habuerant antecessores eorum in villa que vocatur Hermentavilla ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Valeia dimiserunt, ita ut singulis annis a predicta ecclesia xx solidos carnotensis monete, ad festum Sancti Johannis de Decollatione, ipsi et successores eorum acciperent.

10. *JEAN*, no. 40, p. 25: Majores nostri, consilio usi sapienti, que firma esse voluerunt scripti memorie tradere curaverunt. Quorum auctoritatem secuti, nos Sancti Johannis canonici notum esse volumus tam futuris quam presentibus quod Raginaudus et Guntardus, filii Vitalis de Chailo, dederunt ecclesie Sancti Johannis quadraginta arpenta cum mansionibus hospitem in villa que vocatur Albereth et omnes justicias de corpore ville et arpentis....

Hoc donum concessit Raginald et Guntardus et uxor ejus Froolina, et filii ejus Girard et Guido, et filie ejus Heremburgis et Tescea, et hoc in presentia Menerii ad cujus feodum pertinebat....

11. Reginald evidently was not married.

Reginald and Guntard held this land from two brothers, Mener and Gui of Etampes, their feudal lords.

Fraternal shared possession of family lands persisted into the second half of the twelfth century. In 1152 the sons of Fulbert Pagan Vespertilion returned to the abbey of Josaphat the property that all three had unjustly usurped.¹² The brothers had waited until after their father's death to claim the mill and meadow of Lambourray. These sons acted together to seize the mill and meadow and shared the right to and use of the property while it was in their possession.¹³ Garner, however, had clearly done injury to the monks in a way that his brothers had not. Between 1155 and 1164 Nivard of Nonancourt and his brother Hugh made a gift to St. Jean-en-Vallée of half of the tithes from Garnay. Their donation was challenged by Michael of Dreux, who was subsequently excommunicated. Matthew's two brothers, Gervase and Louis, however, succeeded to these tithes even though their brother held them unjustly.¹⁴ These two

12. Fulbert is referred to by the names "Pagan Vespertilion" in various charters. See pp. 356-7 and note 144 of this Chapter.

13. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 211, p. 257: In nomine summe et individue Trinitatis ego Goslenus, Dei gratia Carnotensis ecclesie humilis minister, presentibus et futuris notum fieri volo quod filii Pagani Vespertilionis Garinis, Hugo, Garnerius post ejusdem Pagani decessum, de injuriis quas Garnerius monachis de Josaphat irrogaverat satisfactori, conspectui nostro se presentaverunt, et prout inter eos et monachos convenit satisficientes, quicquid monachis in molendinis et in curte de Lamburredo et in quadam puncta prati callumpniabantur monasterio libere et quiete in perpetuum per manum nostram integerrime concesserunt. Preterea concesserunt quoddam pratum, retento dumtaxat illius censu, id est VI denariis.

14. *JEAN*, no. 71, p. 41: Ego Robertus, Dei gratia, Carnotensis episcopus, veritatem silentio plerumque periclitari sciens, scripto mandare dignum duxi quod Nivardus *de Nonancort* et frater ejus Hugo, pro suis et suorum animabus parentum, per manum venerabilis predecessoris nostri, Gaufridi Carnotensis episcopi, dederunt canonicis Sancti Johannis de Valeia medietatem decime de Garneio, quam postmodum Michael de Drocis violenter eisdem abstulit, et sententiam juste excommunicationis incurrit. Quo ab hostibus suis per Dei judicium interfecto, fratres ejus, Ludovicus et Gervasius, successerunt et per annos aliquot decimam tenuerunt. Sed Gervasius, divino timore compunctus, cum morte urgeretur culpam suam agnovit et partem decime ad se pertinetem, assensu suorum, canonicis dereliquit. Ludovicus autem, post aliquantum temporis spacium, ipse penitentia ductus, decimam quam injuste se tenuisse fatebatur per manum nostram canonicis delagavit, et, de preterito veniam postulans, ut absolveretur obtinuit.

brothers eventually saw the error of their ways and gave their respective portions of the tithes to the Church. In this case Gervase and Louis each inherited part of the tithes. The original grant of the tithes had been made by two brothers, Nivard and Hugh, who held the tithes jointly. These charters reflect the diversity of inheritance patterns practiced by the lesser nobility. The sons of Vitalis shared the inheritance of their father's property, while the brothers of Matthew of Dreux divided the inheritance between them. The sons of Fulbert Pagan Vespertilion acted in solidarity in usurping their father's gift and controlling it.

Evidence of the sharing of inheritance of family lands in lesser noble families is also apparent in series of charters that record sales. In 1096 Robert Machil and his brother Almaric sold property and *cens* to the abbey of Marmoutier for nine marks of silver.¹⁵ In 1140 Herbert and Girard, the sons of Rainold of Ozanneville, sold land which they possessed by right of inheritance.¹⁶ Around 1130 Radulf and Giselbert of Hombières sold Tiron land at Villandon. They and their other brothers, Gautier, Horric and Roger, also sold the fisc from Villandon which they held by right of inheritance. Since a partition of the fisc is not designated, these five brothers presumably held it jointly. The parity of their claim to the fisc is further apparent in the required consent of all of their wives, sons, daughters and grandchildren or nephews. The portion of Villandon that Radulf and Giselbert shared separately may suggest that some parts of

15. *CMPD*, no. 151, pp. 139-40: Notum sit omnibus quod anno dedicationis basilicae Majoris Monasterii ab Urbano papa factae, dederunt beato Martino Majoris Monasterii atque vendiderunt nobis monachis, novem marcis argenti, Rotbertus Michael et Almarus frater ejus, quicquid terrae et aquae et pratorum habebant a castro quod vocatur Fracta Vallis usque ad Vernolletum, et unam aream molendini apud Moreias juxta molendinum, quod jam habebamus ibidem, beatus Martinus et nos ejus, monachi id est in eadem sclusa, et sex denariorum censum de quadam vinea apud Fractam Vallem sita.

16. *JEAN*, no. 52, p. 31: Noticie tam futuri quam presentis evi intimare decrevimus nos Sancti Johannis canonici quod Herebertus, Rainoldi de Osanivilla filius, et Girardus frater ejus vendiderunt nobis terram unius asini quam in Osanivilla hereditario jure possidebant.



property, perhaps patrimonial land, was held by brothers.¹⁷ The alienations made by this family demonstrate the use of shared and partible inheritance but also attest to the complexity of inheritance patterns employed by one family in one generation. Clearly in Blois-Chartres the children of some lesser noble families shared inheritance of family resources.

The charters provide examples of nuclear and extended family members other than brothers holding family resources collectively. About 1127, for instance, Hugh, his mother Maria and his *cognatus* Herbert Guitus arranged to mortgage the land that they possessed in Lièvreville. Of the land given, Hugh held two bovates and Herbert one. Maria's share is not described, so she may not have had a separate share. Her participation, however, indicates that she exercised a right to the property in question. The family land at Lièvreville had clearly been divided between the two branches of this family, yet Hugh, Maria and Herbert collectively gave it to the Church. Such behavior points to a strong sense of family solidarity and underscores both the practice of shared inheritance and the right that kin enjoyed to family possessions.¹⁸ About 1135 an entire family gave the tithes levied on the livestock

 17. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 128, pp. 152-3: Quoniam primi hominis lapsu brevi constat humana natura et ad veritatem pervertendam falsitatemque astruendam cupiditate est prona, memorie futurorum tradere disponimus ut sint rata, videlicet quod Radulfus et Gislebertus de Umbleriis vendiderunt monachis Sancti-Salvatoris de Tyron quandam terram quam apud Vilandon habebant, concedente Rogerio Chanardo, de cujus feodo erat ipsa terra. Item supradictus Radulf de Humblertiis et frater ejus Gislebertus scilicet, et Gauterius, et Horricus et Rogerius vendiderunt eisdem jamdictis monachis omnem fiscum quem jure hereditario apud Vilandum possidebant. Perceperunt autem singuli ex venditione hac X solidos. Concesserunt quippe supradictorum et hoc negotium uxores et filii et filie et nepotes quinque predictorum fratrum.

18. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 86, pp. 106-7: Noverint fideles cuncti presentes ac futuri quod ego Hugo de Levrevilla et Maria mater mea et Herbert Guitum, cognatus meus, in vadimonium tradidimus monachis Tyronensibus totam terram nostram, ego videlicet duas bovatas et Herbertus unam, quas in predicto Levreville feodo habebamus, accipientes inde ab eisdem monachis decem libras carnotensium, de quibus ego Hugo duas partes solvam et Herbertus terciam: debebam etiam eis antea xx solidos quos super ipsum vadimonium solvendo impono. Et sciendum quod si de presenti peregrinatione Jerusalem, pro qua predictas terras in vadimonium tradidimus,

at Cintry that they had usurped unjustly from the monks of Tiron and, in restitution for their transgression, also the tithes on four arpents of land. All family members participated in the usurpation and in its quitclaim and jointly possessed the revenues which they gave in recompense.¹⁹ Shared possession of property by relatives is apparent in another charter from Tiron datable between 1159 and 1170. Froger, the abbot of Sées, conceded to Tiron what William of Blavou and his uncle Naimer gave from the church of St. Jouin of Blavou. William may have inherited his right to this church from his father, who would have shared it with his brother, Naimer.²⁰ These examples, in concert with the other evidence, demonstrate that some knightly and lesser noble families continued to divide the patrimony, while in others, resources were shared among family members.

Consent and Participation

The legitimate right of family members to the patrimony and other family possessions is evident in the presence of kin in the charters as codonors and

....Continued....

non redierimus, vel si sine herede defuncti fuerimus, eas in elemosinam predictis monachis perpetuo habendas concessimus. Si vero reversi fuerimus ante quinquennium, eas redimere non poterimus. Sciendum etiam quod si de sepedictis terris aliqua calumpnia orta fuerit, pro quibus pacificandis monachis necesse fuerit aliqua expendere, nostrum erit totum eis restaurare.

19. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 205, pp. 232-3: Quod memorie posterorum tradere volumus litterarum apicibus commendare satagimus; omnibus igitur sancte ecclesie fidelibus notum sit quod Hugo de Monte-Bernardo, et Roschus de Baugentiaco, et Lebertus de Paveia, gener ejus, et Theodericus Pluisnela, sororius ejus, et uxores eorum, et Garnerius et Goslenus, filii Theoderici, omnem decimam omnium animalium, quam calumpniabant contra monachos Sancti-Salvatoris de Tyron degentes apud Cintriacum, solutam et quietam eis in perpetuum reliquerunt. Insuper autem, pro remedio peccatorum suorum, dederunt eisdem monachis decimam IIII agripennorum terre extra omnia edificia domorum eorum ubicumque monachi eligerent [*sic*].

20. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 313, p. 86: Frogerius, Dei gratia, Sagiensis episcopus, omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis, salutem et Domini benedictionem....Quin etiam ea eidem monasterio concedo que Willelmus de Blavou et ejusdem avunculus Naimerus habebant in ecclesia Sancti-Jovini, et in presencia mea concesserant.

consenters. If an individual did not enjoy a claim to the property being donated, his or her consent would not have been required. It has been argued that the consent of both nuclear and extended kin was an attempt to assure the gift. The monks felt compelled to secure such consent to prevent future challenges to the donations.²¹ Indeed, it is doubtful that assent of family members was a legal requirement; rather, it was in the best interest of the monasteries.²² The charters from late eleventh- and early twelfth-century Blois-Chartres contain many references to kin of varying degrees consenting to donations. Nobles often secured the consent of all progeny, male and female. In 1080 Gervase the knight and his wife sold and gave Marmoutier part of their property in the *pagus* of Blois. All six of their sons consented to this transaction.²³ The participation of these sons establishes the claim of all to these possessions. For example, between 1092 and 1120 Girard Brunellus gave Cluny, with the consent of his wife and four sons, his half of the church to St. Lubin of Brou and tithes. The consent of all four of Girard's sons establishes the claim of each to this church, property and revenues.²⁴ Early in the twelfth century Landric of Tourielle, a vassal of the Gouet family, made a donation to the abbey of St. Père of the priest's portion of the church of Dampierre and other property. Landric's sons, Geoffrey,

21. Tabuteau, *Transfers*, pp 175-179. See also Chapter 3, p. 100, note 12.

22. Stephen White, *Customs*, pp. 44-48; Tabuteau, *Transfers*, p. 173, 175-9. See also Chapter 3, p. 100, note 12.

23. *CMPD*, no. 140, pp. 130-1; for the text of this charter, see p. 334, note 95 of this Chapter.

24. *CSPDC*, no. 43, pp. 504-5: Notum sit cunctis Dei fidelibus, tam presentibus quam futuris, quod ego Girardus Brunellus, cum assensu uxoris mee et filiorum meorum Helgodi et Rodulfi, Ade et Hugonis, necnon et senioris mei domni Guillelmi Goeth, et uxoris ejus Eustachie, atque filiorum ejus Hugonis et Guillelmi, dono et sancto Petro Cluniacensi medietatem ecclesie sancti Leobini Braioli castri, quicquid in ea habebam; medietatem scilicet de omnibus que ad ecclesiam pertinere videntur, id est sepulture, atque decime vini et omnium annonarum, lini et canabi, et rerum omnium deforis ad ecclesiam pertinentium.... Testes hujus doni: Girardus Brunellus et uxor sua Habelina, et filii ejus Helgodus et Rodulfus, Adam et Hugo....

Hugh and Landric, acted with their father in making this gift. Their participation demonstrates the claim that these sons had to the property being given.²⁵ Around 1114 when Jeremias gave extensive property and rights to the monks of Tiron, his wife Arvis and his six sons, Raginaud, Philip, Bartholomew, Hugh, Hamlin and Fulcher, also consented.²⁶ Around 1127 when Girard Diabolus made a gift to the monastery of Tiron, his brother and his sons consented. The inclusion of Girard's sons in the act substantiates the claim of all sons to the property.²⁷ Robert of

25. *CSPDC*, no. 17, pp. 242-3: In Christi nomine. Notum esse volumus omnibus successoribus nostris, quod ego Landricus, una cum filiis meis, ipsius eulogii dicentis: *Date et dabitur vobis*, non surdi auditores, se quantum paupertas nostra permittit, pro animabus nostris parentumque nostrorum necnon pro incolumitate Willelmi, senioris nostri, matris quoque ejus Mahilde, cum eorum assensu, jam olim presbiterium aecclesiae de Domno Petro et terram pertinentem ad altare, sancto Petro, coenobii videlicet Carnotensis, dedimus, per deprecationem quidem patris Rainaldi decani, qui in praefato coenobio sub habitu monachili Deo militare in senectute maluit. Nunc quoque damus medietatem decimae praefatae aecclesiae quae in dominicatu nostro aecclesiae esse videtur, necnon et medietatem archadii atque sepulturae. Tribuimus quoque res quae ad altare pertinent, et terram Ernaldi mediatoris quam pater meus Teduinus vivens concessit, pratumque desuper, vivarium quoque de Mota liberum.... Hoc donum III kalendas Martii egimus, ego Landricus de Toriello, et filii mei, Gausfridus, Hugo et Landricus, publice, donumque miserunt sancto Petro per Eustachium abbatem regnante Philippo rege. Volumus etiam omnes scire quod, quando opus fuerit, filii mei pro vicario XX solidos dabunt....Hanc autem cartam si aliquis prophanus contraire voluerit, nisi respuerit satisfaciens, sicut Dathan et Abiron, terra vivum absorbeat, et in inferno inferiori cum diabolo poenas luat. Volumus etiam sciri in fine hujus cartae, quod, sicut dedimus praefatas res, ita etiam dedimus viridiarium ex integro, quod situm est juxta capitium aecclesiae.

26. *TIRON*, vol. I no. 5, p. 16: Notum sit omnibus quod ego Jeremias dono Deo et donno Bernardo, abbati Tyronensi, et monachis Deo ibi servantibus sex carrucatas terre apud Melereiz et omnia prata que inter sex carrucatas illius terre poterunt edificari, et insuper omnia mea propria prata de Arrou, et unam area ad molendinum faciendum, et aquam ad piscandum. Dono insuper predictis monachis omnia nemora mea, mortuum ad ardendum et vivum ad edificandum et suis [*sic*] hominibus, et pasturam animalium suorum et pecorum, et pasnagium porcorum suorum et hominum suorum sine additamento aliorum, Arvis uxore mea cognomine Sacracerra concedente, et filiis meis concentibus Raginaudo, Philippo, Bartholomeo, Hugone, Hamelino, Fulcherio.

27. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 87, pp. 107-8: Hoc precipue aliisque quamplurimis excitatus preceptis, Girardus Diabolus dedit monachis Tyronis terram suam de Choudre et de Orviler, istud quidem sub hac conditione disponens ut singulis annis daret eis ad semiandum in eadem terra unum modium frumenti et XVIII sextarios avenae, hoc pacto ut quartam partem exinde quotannis ipse et heres ejus acciperent....Propter

Courtalain's wife, sons and daughter-in-law consented to his gift, datable around 1122, to Tiron.²⁸ Some families continued to require the consent of all sons to donations into the mid twelfth century and beyond. Around the year 1140, for instance, Gauslen Borrellus also made a donation to Tiron and his sons Eudes and Hugh consented in the presence of Count Thibaut IV.²⁹ In 1180, when Hildeard, the granddaughter or niece of Zacharias the deacon of Chartres, donated the minor tithes of Andeville, she had the consent of all three of her sons.³⁰ The persistence of the consent of all sons to gifts indicates that noble sons each exercised a right or claim to

....Continued....

cujus doni pactique confirmationem fidem suam dedit eisdem monachis, sub cujus fidei confirmatione etiam posuit ut vicecomiti Gaufrido et uxori ejusdem Helvis, et omnibus filiis ejus, et Pagano, fratri ejusdem Girardi Diaboli, et omnibus filiis ejus concedere faceret, adjungens etiam sub eadem fide quod ab omni calumpnia immune hoc donum faceret.

28. *TIRON*, vol. I., no. 51, pp. 72-3: Notum sit omnibus hominibus quod ego Robertus de Curtolino dono Sancto-Salvatori et monachis Tyronis decimam molendini de Mairoliis, et decimam omnium reddituum nemoris de Mairoliis, uxore mea Juliana concedente, filiis meis Drogone et Gaufrido concedentibus, et Haïos uxore Drogonis concedente. Signum Roberti +. Signum Juliane+. Signum Drogonis+. Signum Haïos+. Signum Gaufridi+.

29. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 234, pp. 7-8: Notum sit omnibus hominibus tam futuris quam presentibus quod Goscelinus Borrel dedit Deo et monachi de Tyron...omnem terram suam quam justa Pertas habebat....

Deinceps vero, quadam die, venit Goscelinus Borrel apud Castridunum, cum duobus filiis suis, Odone videlicet et Hugone, et que prius dederat, sicut superius dictum est, tunc concedentibus supranominatus filiis suis, in presentia domni comitis Theobaudi, per manum ejusdem comitis, firmiter stabilivit.

30. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 171, pp. 214-5: Noverint fideles universi tam presentes quam futuri seculi quod Hildeardis neptis Zacharie, decani Carnotensis ecclesie, eam partem minutarum decimarum de Andeville, quam jure seculari tenuerat, domino Gaufrido Carnotensi episcopo reddidit, quatenus eam monasterio largiretur. Qui votis ejus grater assentiens, misit eam Josaphat, quatenus ipsa de prefata decima eidem cenobio donum faceret. Quod et ipsa continuo fecit, concedentibus filiis suis Roberto, Gisleberto, et Hugone.

Hugo later contested the donation, even though he had consented, demonstrating that consent did not guarantee that the gift would not be disputed. See p. 352, note 135 of this Chapter.

family resources far into the twelfth century.³¹

The placement of a symbol of the donation on the altar was designed to guarantee the gift and confirm the assent of the donors. The participation of all sons in this act demonstrates the parity of their claim to family possessions. In 1118 when Eudes Rufus of Chartres, with his wife and his sons Raderan and Eustace, gave the chapel of Osanne and pertaining lands to the monks of St. Père, he and both of his sons swore upon the altar to uphold the gift and defend it.³² Raderan and Eustace shared the same right to the property, as well as responsibility for it. The same practice is evident in the family of Robert Aculeus. Between 1101 and 1129 Robert Aculeus consented to a gift made by a vassal. All three of his sons consented to the transaction

31. For other examples of all sons consenting to charters see the following: *CMFD*, no. 148, p. 136; *CSPDC*, no. 21, pp. 531-2, and no. 90, p. 330; *JOSAPHAT*, no. 209, pp. 254-5; *JEAN*, no. 8, pp. 7-8.

32. *CSPDC*, no. 48, pp 439-41: Omnibus notum sit christianis, quod, tercio episcopatus Gaufridi de Leugis anno, veni ego Odo Rufus Carnotum, in capitulum sancti Petri, ibique illam dimidiam partem quam in capella Osanne tenebam, que est in pago Dunensi, prefato guerpivi episcopo in manu Gauslini Dunensis archidiaconi, qui pro hoc ipso in capitulum sancti Petri jussus ab episcopo venerat....Dedi igitur beato Petro eique servientibus monachis medietatem omnium que circa capellam habebam ad eam pertinentium; videlicet terrarum, fevorum, decime et campipartis. Atrium vero, quam magnum unquam fuerat vel esse debet, proprium eis et absque parte mei, similiter et agripennos, quam plures villa antiquitus habuit, proprios et sine ulla mecum communitate concessi; ita ut neque ego neque heres meus aliquid unquam in agripennis vel in atrio cujusquam consuetudinis habeat....Hoc donum, sicut est expositum et divisum, fecimus ego Odo Rufus et duo filii mei mecum Raderannus et Eustachius, et uxor mea, et concessimus ante altare sancti Leobini de Castro Duni. Ego vero et filii mei predicti super ipsum altare juravimus, ipsum donum, sicut divisum est, nos conservaturos et contra omnem calumpniam, si qua forte emergerit, per justiciam ubicunque opus fuerit, defensuros, uxore mea idipsum fide firmante. Robertus etiam de Menbrerolis et fratres ejus, nepotes mei, de quibus tenebam quicquid ad capellam habebam, donum ibidem concesserunt; Roberto, qui major erat quique terram patris sui tenebat, per fidem suam pollicente se donum monachis conservaturum, et contra omnes homines, si opus fuerit, excepto comite, per justiciam defensurum....Hec conventio, sicut supra dixi, concessa est et firmata a me et ab uxore mea et a filiis meis predictis et a nepotibus meis; a me quidam et a filiis meis jurejurando, ab uxore mea et a Roberto nepote meo per fidem.

For further discussion of this charter, see pp. 366-7 of this chapter.

and swore with their father to defend the gift against challenges.³³ In 1159 when Robert of Bullo was nearing death and became a monk, he made a gift in alms of all he held at the mill of Fouteaux concurrently.³⁴ Acting with Robert in placing a symbol of the gift upon the altar were his wife and his four sons, attesting to their shared claim to the property being granted. No one son was favored above the others in any way or designated as heir.

Some noble families deemed the consent of both sons and daughters necessary to transactions involving family possessions. Between 1130 and 1150 Ivo of *Porta Morardi*³⁵ or La Porte Morard gave St. Père the *cens* from some of his estates. His wife Eufemia, his son Henry and his daughters Gile, Hersend and Amaline all gave their consent to the donation.³⁶ Girard *Ensaïelana* and his wife Amelina also secured

33. *CSPDC*, no. 65, pp.459-60: Hoc donum concessit Robertus Aculeus, a quo predictus Alcherius tenebat. Concesserunt quoque tres filii ejus, Robertus, Willelmus, Nivelus....Pro hac autem concessione, habuit ipse Robertus X solidos; et notandum quod ipse et tres filii ejus promiserunt nobis defensionem suam, secundum justiciam, contra omnem calumpniam que nobis inter fieret.

34. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 312, pp. 85-6: Notum sit omnibus quod Robertus de Bullo, infirmitate detentus qua et mortuus est, postulavit monachus Tyronenses qui apud Footellos habitabant ut eum monachum facerent: qui ejus petitioni benigne assencientes desiderio illius satisfecerunt. Ipse vero, pro sua suorumque salute, dedit predictis monachis in elemosinam quicquid habebat dominii in uno molendinorum de Bullo, ita ut monachi libere et quiete deinceps possiderent quicquid ipse in molendino illo antea possederat, ita etiam ut molendinarius de monachis amodo teneret quicquid ibidem de Roberto tenuerat, eisdemque singulis annis redderet duos denarios de censu in festo sancti Remigii, sicut et Roberto fecerat. Inde etiam donum super altare Sancti-Nicholai de Footellis fecerunt sepedictus Robertus et Hildeardis uxor sua et filii ipsorum, Robertus scilicet, Hugo, Guillelmus et Goffredus clericus.

35. Merlet identifies *Porta Morardi* in the index of *TIRON*, vol. II, p. 293, as one of the gates in the city of Chartres.

36. *CSPDC*, no. 172, pp. 387-8: Omnibus quibus opportuerit litteris istis fieri notum volumus, nos sancti Petri Carnotensis cenobii monachi, quod, eo tempore quo domnus Udo abbas huic nostro presidebat monasterio, Ivo de Porta Morardi ad nos ad monachatum veniens, consilio et assensu uxoris sue Eufemie filiique sui Henrici et filiarum suarum Gile, Hersendis et Ameline, V solidos census et unum denarium in elemosinam nobis donavit, de quibus Gaufridus de Grandi Ponte debet III solidos et tres denarios, reliquos vero XXII scilicet, debet Agnes uxor Theobaldi Claronis.

the consent of their sons and daughter to their donation to Tiron.³⁷ During the first half of the twelfth century Pagan donated the fiefs he held at Merlay and the *cens* on the house of Hugh of Besville to the monks of St. Père. His wife Agnes, his sons Ansold, Stephen, Pagan, Otrann, Warin, his daughters, Odelina, Ismania, and Agatha, and his brother Eudes consented to the alienation and acted with Pagan in making the gift.³⁸ Evidence of family solidarity in alienating property is also apparent in the family of Pagan's feudal lord, Gervase, the son of Gradulf. Gervase's wife, his sons and his daughter assented to Pagan's grant. Like Pagan and Gervase, Hugh of Baugny's wife Osanna and his children Eudes, Leiardis, Beatrix, Odelina, Hildeburg and Odelina³⁹ acted with him to give the monks of Tiron an arpent of pasture and

37. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 36, p. 57: In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis, noverint omnes christiane religionis quod Girardus Ensaielana et Amelina uxor ejus dederunt se ecclesie Tyronis, quatinus, si vellent, monachi fierent, necnon partes suas ecclesie Tyronis concesserunt et quoddam arpentum terre quod erat circa ecclesiam Sancti-Ispani monachis Tyronis dederunt, et unam domum que erat supra arpentum, et habuerunt inde IIII libras et decem solidos de caritate, filiis eorum concedentibus; Carbonello et Auberto, Gauterio et Lijarde illorum filia....

Necnon idem Girardus supradictus dedit monachis Tyronis aliud arpentum terre quod erat justa supradictum arpentum, et habuit inde quinquaginta solidos et unum sexatarium frumenti de caritate, uxore sua Amelina et filiis Carbonello, Hauberto, Gauterio, et Lijarde illorum filia concedentibus.

38. *CSPDC*, no. 129, pp. 350-1: Legentibus has litteras certum sit, quod Paganus, filius Ansoldi, filii Morini, dedit ecclesie nostre in elemosinam quicquid feodi ubicunque de ea tenebat: quandam scilicet terram apud Meleriacum, et censum de domo Hugonis de Besvilla, et quicquid habebat in plateis ejusdem Hugonis domui conjunctis vel contiguus. Et, si quid aliud de ecclesia nostra feodaliter tenebat, totum, ut dictum est, tam pro sua quam pro parentum suorum animabus, nobis donavit, concedentibus simul donantibus uxore ipsius Agnete et filiis Ansoldo, Stephano, Pagano, Otranno, Garino et filiabus Odelina, Ismania, Agatha. Concessit hoc et Odo, ipsius frater....Hoc quoque donum concessit Gervasius, filius Gradulfi, qui hoc feodum capitaliter de ecclesia nostra tenebat; ita tamen ut de sola terra de Meleriaco feodaliter retenta ecclesie nostra debitum feodi servitium reddat, ceteris omnibus ecclesie nostre in pace concessis tam ab ipso Gervasio et uxore sua Adelina, quam a filiis suis, Gradulfo, Gilduino, Adelina.

39. It was not unusual for noble families to use the same names for different offspring. The name "Odo" and its female derivations was obviously a significant name for this family.

cens.⁴⁰ Hugh's uncle Geoffrey also gave his approval for the gift, which substantiates not only the right of extended kin, but the persistence of open and extended family organization.⁴¹ The above examples support the existence not only of the right of sons and daughters to family property, but also of a strong sense of family solidarity, suggestive of shared inheritance. These families acted collectively in alienating family property which illustrates that such holdings belonged to the family, not to the individual. Shared inheritance was one response that some noble families adopted in an attempt to keep family resources intact and thereby more viable.

As in many of the examples cited above, siblings consented to and acted in donations made by other families. In 1098, when Oda the wife of Warin sold and donated in alms all of her land in Villetard, her sons and sisters consented to the grant and, more significant, they acted with her in this transaction.⁴² The property sold was referred to as inheritance and possessions, but not dowry. Both of Oda's sons had a right to this property, but so did her sisters. In spite of the presence of several male heirs, Oda's sisters still exercised a right to the property and were

40. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 34, pp. 55-6: Hugo de Boigne et Osanna uxor ejus et Odo filius eorum et Leiardis et Beatrix et Odelina et Hildeburgis et Odelina filie eorum, sorores Odonis, dederunt monachis de Tyron in capitulo arpentum prati et quicquid amplius est inter Praetel et Prata-Comitis, et censum quatuor denariorum et oboli, et omnem calumpniam census, concedente Goffredo de Rivereio, avunculo Hugonis, videntibus et audientibus testibus istis....

41. For other examples of children participating in charters see the following: *CMPD*, no. 168, pp. 158-9; *CSPDC*, no. 170, p. 386, no. 171, p. 387, no. 136, p. 355, no. 65, p. 459; *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 37, p. 58, vol. II, no. 281, p. 50-1; *JEAN*, no. 38, p. 24.

42. *CMPD*, no. 157, pp. 147-8: Notum fiat universis tam futuris quam presentibus quod Oda uxor Garini filii Gradulfi et filii ipsius Gradulfus and Garinus, annuentibus sororibus suis Jerosolia, Roscia, Annete, anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo nonagesimo octavo partim dederunt in elemosina Deo et beato Martino atque nobis Majoris Monasterii monachis, pro anima Garini memoratae Odae mariti, qui apud nos humatus jacet, et pro sua nichilominus incolumitate et salute tam presenti quam futura, partim etiam vendiderunt nobis per manum domini Bernardi cognomento Fragelli [sic] tunc panetarii nostri, acceptis ab eo quatuor libris monetae Blesensis et uno modio frumenti, quicquid omnino haereditatis et possessionis tam in terra et vineis quam in domibus et quibuslibet aliis habebant apud Villam Etardi.



considered possible heirs. Between 1101 and 1121 Walter of Emonville and his mother admitted to claiming unjustly the tithes from this village. They quitclaimed the property and on the following Sunday Walter's brother Eudes and sister Milesend also swore not to reinstate a claim.⁴³ The quitclaim by Walter's brother and sister demonstrates their right to his holdings. Sometime around 1135 William of Soizé and his mother also donated the land at *Insule-Goscelini* to Tiron.⁴⁴ His brother Pagan and two sisters, Agatha and Juliana, consented to the alienation. In addition to honoring the claim of siblings and children, this family also practiced an open, extended family structure. Witnessing this act for William was his *cognatus* Constantin. Robert, Hubert and Ada acted with their mother Agnes to confirm the gift of three *solidi* and eight *denarii* of *cens* that their dying brother Stephen had made to St. Père of Chartres. Their feudal lord and his children also approved the gift.⁴⁵ The presence of brothers and sisters in the charters as consenters establishes that they had

43. *CSPDC*, no. 75, p. 467: Quando Galterius, filius Jerogii de Hemonvilla, cum Hersende, matre sua, in capitulum nostrum veniens, recognovit injuriam quam nobis faciebat calumpniando decime nostre ejusdem ville; et quando satefecit ad eadem injuria pro qua et excommunicatus erat, et quando, per fidam qua christianus erat, pepigit juraturum se super sanctas reliquias apud Alonam, quod et fecit sequenti die dominica, et cum eo frater suus Odo et soror Milesendis, vidente tota parrochia, quod scilicet nunquam eandem repeterent nec repeti facerent calumpniam; quando, inquam, hec ita in capitulo nostro gesta fuerunt, affuerunt, tam ex sua quam ex nostra parte, quorum nomina subscripta sunt testes....

44. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 194, pp. 222-3: Notum sit omnibus hominibus tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego Guillelmus de Sozaico et mater mea Mathea donavimus Sancto-Salvatori et monachis Tironis terram Insule-Goscelini, sicuti est divisa, quem locum vocamus Vadum-Alneti. Terra vero ita terminatur....Hoc donum concesserunt Paganus de Sozaico frater ejus, et Juliana et Agatha sorores ejus.

Necnon post multos dies Guillelmus de Sozaico dedit monachis Tironis unam carrucatam terre in illo loco sicuti termini eam dividunt. Hoc concesserunt Paganus frater ejus, Agatha soror ejus. Hujus rei sunt testes: Constantinus cognatus ejus.

45. *CSPDC*, no. 153, p. 367: Quando Robertus et Hubertus fratres, cum Ada sorore sua et Agnete matre sua, donum quod frater ipsorum Stephanus ecclesie nostre, scilicet sancti Petri Carnoti, moriens fecerat, hoc est IIII solidos et VIII denarios de censu, in capitulo nostro concedentes confirmaverunt, Willelmus quoque Aculeus, de cujus fevo census idem erat, cum filiis suis et filiabus Roberto et Manasse, Margarita, Odelina, hoc ipsum donum concessit, presentibus et audientibus quorum nomina subscripta sunt testibus....

claims to each other's property. Siblings, male and female, were considered potential heirs or claimants to their holdings, which accounts for their presence in the charters. The ability of sisters, like their brothers, to inherit demonstrates that female offspring were not excluded from a claim to family property.

Extended kin also frequently participated in charters. The relatives of Eudes Rufus, William of Soizé, Hugh of Baugny and Robert of Courtalain participated in their various transactions. Two charters from the first quarter of the twelfth century, in particular, provide illustration of cousins, uncles and other extended kin participating in charters with their relatives. Sometime before 1102 Ansold the knight and his wife Hildegard donated to St. Père the rights of *vicaria* and *ban* of Dammarie for the soul of their son William. Ansold's sons corroborated this donation, as did their paternal and maternal uncles, Walter and Geoffrey, and their *consanguineus* Hilbert.⁴⁶ The presence of such relatives demonstrates an extended family structure and indicates that these kin maintained some claim to the prerogatives being alienated. In 1121 Ernald, the son of Mascelin of Reconville, reconfirmed the gift that his father had made to Notre Dame de Josaphat. His brother Ivo consented to the alienation, as well

46. *CSPDC*, no. 16, pp. 241-2: His et aliis multimodis adtestationibus subnixus, ego quidem Ansoldus miles, cum uxore mea carissima, nomine Hildegardi, necnon et omni prole nostra, et assensu domni mei Gunherii, dans concedo concedensque dono vicariam atque banneriam; vel si est alia aliqua exactio, quam ex benefico domini mei supradicti actenus visus sum tenere, in terra sancti Petri quae est in Domna Maria, pro remedio scilicet animae filii mei Willelmi, gladii morte preventi, beatissimo Petro, apostolorum principe, dono jure perpetuo et monachis in coenobio ejusdem nocte dieque famulantibus, quod situm est non longe a moenibus Carnotinae urbis; ut, orationibus eorum absolutus ab omni vinculo delictorum, in dexterea, Domini collocatus, inter sanctos et electos suos in resurrectionis gloria resuscitatus respiret. Donum autem hujus nostrae largitionis III idus Julii super altare beati Petri per hanc cartam ponere maluimus, imprecantes ut si quis umquam huic cartule contraire voluerit, nisi cito ad emendationis, remedium confugerit, cum Juda proditore in infernum trahatur, ignibus aeternae cremandus. Hanc autem cartam ut inconvulsa permaneat, praesenti saeculo permanente, manibus propriis et nominibus caeterorum circumstantium corroborari volumus. Ansoldi, qui hanc donationem fecit. Rainaldi. Gauscelini et Arnulfi, filiorum ejus. Gualteri, avunculi eorum. Gaufreidi patris eorum. Hildeberti, clerici et consanguinei illorum, qui donationem hanc, vice patris et matris, super altare posuit.

as his paternal uncle Robert.⁴⁷ Sometime in the first quarter of the twelfth century Odelina the wife of Geoffrey *Demonem Osculans* gave sixteen *denarii* of annual *cens* to benefit the souls of her deceased husband and son Evrard. Her son Guerric consented to the gift and she and Guerric were jointly granted twenty *solidi* as a countergift. Giving their pledge that the agreement would be fulfilled by Odelina and Guerric were their *propinqui* Thibaut and Chotard.⁴⁸ Similarly when Ivo of La Porte Morard was preparing to go to Jerusalem, he sold a *cens* of thirteen *solidi* to the monks of St. Père. To insure the donation, Ivo had his uncle Chotard and his *cognatus* William give their pledges.⁴⁹ Ivo and Odelina selected their extended kin to uphold their gifts. The presence of such relatives demonstrates that they had not been disassociated from the family or excluded from participation in family matters. Not only did extended kin act in charters, but also they challenged donations. Around

47. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 6, pp. 8-9: Notum sit omnibus tam futuris quam presentibus quod Ernaldus, filius Mascelini de Reconvillario, agripennum terre quem ipse Mascelinus monachis de Josaphat in elemosinam dederat, post mortem patris sui concessit. Hoc factum est in parlatorio ante ostium refectorii, per manum donni G. abbatis. Testes: Ivo frater ejus, Robertus avunculus ejus....

48. *CSPDC*, no. 93, p. 332: Posterorum memorie volumus hoc scripto reservari, quod Odelina, uxor Gaufridi Demonem Osculantis, pro ejusdem Gaufridi defuncti salute et Ebrardi filii sui, dedit nobis XVI denarios census quos per singulos annos in quadam domo nostra habebat, que fuerat Arroldi de Bevilla. Concessit autem hoc donum filius ejus Guerricus. Dederunt etiam nobis uterque, mater et filius, quoniam inde XX solidos acceperant caritative, fidejussores Teobaldum, filium Stephani, et Chotardum propinquiores suos.

49. *CSPDC*, no. 127, p. 349: Ego Ivo de Porta Morardi his litteris posterorum memorie commendo, quod, cum ad eundem in Jerusalem me prepararem, paulo antequam moverem vendidi monachis sancti Petri, in capitulo eorum, quendam censum XIII solidorum, liberum et ab omni calumpnia, sicut ipse emeram diuque tenueram, quietum. Juravi etiam ibidem super sancta, me ab omnibus hominibus, si qua forte calumpnia inde emergeret, ipsum censum illis, ubicunque opus esset, per justiciam adquietaturum; plegios quoque adquietationis dedi eis avunculum meum Chotardum, et cognatum meum Guillelmum, filium Ansoldi, qui se ibidem plegeios inde confessi sunt, et per justiciam ecclesie si forte aliter emendare nollent, ad census adquietatione cogendos concesserunt. Hoc interfuerunt: frater meus Henricus, avunculus meus Chotardus, cognati mei Guillelmus, filius Ansoldi, et Stephanus de Bevilla.

Later on in the charter Henry who evidently was going to go to the Holy land with Ivo also gave the best vines that he held near the gate of St. Martin.

1130 Hubert Pagan made a donation to the abbey of Josaphat before he went on pilgrimage. After his death, however, his donation was disputed by his *consanguineus* Stephen, who had to be brought before the episcopal court. Stephen did not abandon his claim at this point, but stalked out the the chamber making threats. He eventually saw the error of his ways and reached an agreement with these monks.⁵⁰

Extended kin participated in the acts of other donors. In 1101 Denis Pagan gave half of the church of Oinville that he held by right of inheritance from his ancestors. His *propinqui* consented to the gift and witnessed him placing a symbol of the donation on the altar of St. Père. Denis' assertion that he inherited this property from his "ancestors" establishes the persistence of a concept of inheritance that was lateral and collective rather than linear and individual.⁵¹ In 1123 Denis' lord, Robert

50. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 29, pp 43-4: Hubertus quidam qui et Paganus, filius Haudrici de Piceovillari, cum pergere Jerusalem paravisset, cum episcopo Carnotense Gaufrido colloquium habuit...Reliqua quoque que hereditarie possidebat eadem devotione manibus ejus dimisit, quatinus ea pro placito et viso suo quomodo sciret melius et posset, cognito ejus obitu, pro sua salute disponderet. Hoc peracto, Hubertus proposita peregrinationis inter arripuit, et in ea vite finem sortitus est, atque ejus obitus per comperegrinos nuntiatus et divulgatus est. Tunc quidam consanguineus ejus, Stephanus de Bordenido vocatus, rebus suprataxis, quas jure prescripto ecclesia Josaphat per donum episcopi obtinuerat, calumpniam injicere non est veritus; unde justitia summonitus ecclesiastica, tam ipse quam abbas Josaphat ante episcopum adfuerunt, tanquam excepturi quod ecclesiasticum sibi daret judicium, sed dicta ratione partis utriusque oblatum ab episcopo judicium jamque paratem a iudicibus proferri, Stephanus audire renuit, se subsannationis et minarum plenus inde dicessit...Stephanus...longe post prestitutum terminum, Josaphat venit et fraternitatis benivolentiam postulans in eorum capitulum adductus, omnem calumpniam deposuit, in societatem spiritualis illorum beneficii susceptus est, ibidemque censivam XL solidorum que sibi post obitum jam dicti Huberti hereditarie exiciderat, illis concessit...

51. *CSPDC*, no. 53, pp. 509-10: Ego itaque Dionisius, cognomento Paganus, medietatem ecclesie et decime Oenis Villa, cum toto tractu ejusdem, necnon et consuetudines ipsius atrii, que omnia, peccato exigente, ab antecessoribus meis quasi hereditaria possederam, pro eorundem animabus et mea, Deo, cujus juris erant, dimisi. Propinquorum vero assensu hoc donum faciens, super altare Gisiacensium sanctorum Petri et Pauli, ad usum monachorum inibi Deo militantium, illud dedi.

Later Denis made another donation of land he held in Mellent. His lord Robert Calvus, and his sisters and brothers-in-law and a nephew consented to the gift. It is possible these are the people he refers to earlier as *propinqui*, but it seems unlikely since this term usually designates extended kin, such as distant cousins, instead of sisters or affinal relatives.

Calvus, desired to become a monk before his death and made a donation of a quarter of the land at Mantarville to the abbey of Morigny. His wife, children and "other relatives" gave their approval for his donation.⁵² Later when Robert's wife Heloise reconfirmed this gift, "other relatives" attested to the grant. While these "other" kin are unfortunately not identified, their participation indicates that kin of various degrees maintained a right to family possessions and that their consent was required for the gift to be stable. Extended kin fulfilled other important roles in the charters. Sometime between 1123 and 1128 John of Etampes⁵³ made a gift of his part of Mantarville for his father's soul. John himself vowed to defend the gift against any usurpations or challenges, as did his brothers Anselm and Geoffrey, and his *cognati* Mener and Gui. These *cognati* also swore to uphold the pact between John, his brothers, and the Church.⁵⁴ Extended relatives played a vital role in this charter,

52. *JEAN*, no. 31, p. 18: Ego Thomas, ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis cenobii Moriniaci minister, notum esse volo tam futuris quam presentibus Robertum Calvum ad nos venisse et vestem monasticam ante obitum suum a nobis accepisse. Hic dedit nobis quartam partem terre que Ermentarvilla vocatur, sed quoniam doni ejus concessionem a Pagano Anselmi filio, a quo Robertus predictam terram tenebat, nec ab ecclesia Sancti Johannis de Valeia, de cujus feodo tota Ermentarvilla erat, habere nequivimus, iccirco de caritate ecclesie Sancti Johannis accepimus, et donum sicut nobis Robertus, uxor ejus, filius et filie ac alii parentes ejus fecerant, fratribus capituli nostri assentientibus supradicte ecclesie Sancti Johannis concessimus.

JEAN, no. 32 p. 18: Hoc donum concessit nobis Helvis, uxor Roberti, ac Petrus filius ejus; unde eos in beneficium nostrum recepimus, et Roberti nomen in martirologio nostro scripsimus. Roberus etiam et Bartholomeus, sororii Roberti, fidei sue interpositione, promiserunt quod hanc concessionem filius et fials tenere facerent cum ad etatem maturiorum venirent.

53. John was probably the son of Robert Calvus' lord Pagan. He gave all of the property he possessed in Mantarville, presumably the three-quarters of the land which was left over after Robert's gift of a quarter of Mantarville.

54. *JEAN*, no. 36, pp. 22-3: Nos Sancti Johannis canonici notum esse volumus omnibus sancte Dei ecclesie fidelibus tam futuris quam presentibus quod Johannes de Stanpis, filius Pagani, dimisit ecclesie Sancti Johannis, pro anima patris sui et majorum suorum, sine aliqua retentione, quicquid in proprietate et in feodo habebat in villa que vocatur Hermentarvilla. Hujus rei se defensorum contra omnem calumniam, si aliquando calumnia de hac terra mota fuerit, fore promisit et fidei sue interpositione firmavit. Hoc idem fratres sui, Anselmus et Gaufridus, et cognati sui, Menerius et Guido, fecerunt. Isti etiam Menerius et Guido per fidem fidejussores fuerunt quod hec

one that is reflective of their claim and their importance in the family. Such examples prove that some families did not attempt to limit the right of extended kin. On the contrary, their presence was welcomed and required.

Like cousins and other extended kin, nieces and nephews also appear in some twelfth-century charters. In 1122 the monks of Marmoutier wanted to construct an oratory at Villeberfol, but a knight named Gauslen tried to prevent its foundation by claiming that it would be detrimental to his own parish. The monk's eventually prevailed, however, and in return for abandoning his claim Gauslen was given thirteen *librae*. Gauslen's brother Bartholomew, his sister Hamelina, his mother Mathilda, and his son Fulcrad conceded the agreement. His nieces and nephews, the children of his sister Hamelina, also assented, which indicates their claim to the property as well as their mother's.⁵⁵ In 1130, when Rainaud confirmed the gift made to Tiron by Ivo of Courville of his ancestors' land in Prunay virtually his entire nuclear and extended family consented to the gift: his mother, his brother, his sisters

....Continued....

pactio tenebitur a Johanne et fratribus ejus....Pro supradicta concessione habuit Johannes xx libras stampensis monete; uxor ejus Eustachia LX solidos pruvignensis monete; fratres Johannis unusquisque duos solidos; filia ejus duos solidos. S. Johannis +. S. Eustachie+.

55.*CMPD*, no. 174, pp. 166-7: Cum autem oratorium jam pene perfectum esset, tum invidia instigante, tum avaritia suadente, ut plerumque moris est, ceptis adversari bonis, quidam miles Goscelinus nomine, timens suae parochiae de Conamfort detrimentum, ne oratorium perficeretur per se et per suos omnino reniti et contra ire et quaecunque mala monachis inferre minitari coepit. Monachi vero quibus pax et quies semper est amica, paci et quiete consulentes, XIII ei libras caritative dederunt, et eum id saniori consilio humiliter rogantem in beneficium capituli Majoris Monasterii susceperunt. Quo circa perfici oratorium quiete permisit, et omnem calumniam illam salvo jure parochiae suae omnino libere et quiete dimisit. Hoc concesserunt Bartholomeus ejus frater, et Hamelina soror eorum, Mathildis mater ipsorum, Fulcradus filius Goscelini; filii Hamelinae Petrus et Willelmus, sorores eorum Vilana et Dangerosa.

and his eleven nieces and nephews.⁵⁶ Likewise when Walter became a monk he had the consent of his wife, brother, sons, daughter, nephew and his brother's grandson to his donation to Tiron of the tithes of St. Lubin. Walter held this land with his brother Robert of Morethia, who was also his lord.⁵⁷ The presence of nieces and nephews points to their rightful claim to family property and demonstrates that many lesser noble and knightly families adhered to an open and extended family pattern.

Affinal kin also participated in charters. A charter datable from 1135 reflects this practice. Hugh of Monte Bernard and Roschus of Beaugency acted with Roschus' brother-in-law and son-in-law and the wives and children of these two men to make a donation to Tiron of the tithes that they had unjustly possessed.⁵⁸ Illegitimate kin were also included in the family transactions of some lower noble and knightly families. Guitburg and her son, Richard, and her grandsons Adam, Stephen and another "by a concubine" gave the land at Villandon to the abbey of Tiron. Also participating in the grant were Richard's uncles, Geoffrey and Gauslen, and their wives and sons, proving acceptance of not only illegitimate progeny, but of extended

 56. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 129, pp. 154-5: Scriptum est hic ne oblivisceretur quod Rainaudus, filius Harduini de Andovilla, quamdam terram quam dicebat fuisse suorum parentum in parochia Pruneii, quam dederat Ivo de Curvavilla monachis de Tyron, eisdem monachis, pro salute anime sue suorumque parentum, et pro uno caballo concessit et concedere fecit in eternum matri sue Aelai et fratri sui Berardo, et sororibus suis Tescie et Aelai et Raingardi, et nepotibus et neptis, scilicet Odone, Gaufredo, Radulfo, Ernulfo, Ricardo, Hildeardi, Hersent, Hamelina, Odeline, Tesce, Ermensent.

57. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 96, p. 117: Noscat universalis ecclesia quod Gauterius de Sancto-Leobino, in conversione sua, monachus enim noster fuit, dedit nobis quicquid habebat in decima Sancti-Leobini, et pratum apud Castaneos, et quicquid necessarium fuerit ad edificia construenda in sua parte nemoris Sancti-Leobini, quod habebat cum Roberto suo fratre de Motheia. Hoc enim concesserunt uxor ejus Beatrix et filii eorum Gatho et Gaufridus et Galiena, et Robertus, frater ejusdem, de cujus feodo erat totum, et Gaufridus filius ejus, et Ricardus Theherius ejusdem nepos.

58. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 205, pp. 232-233; for the text of this charter see this Chapter, p. 302, note 19.

kin as well.⁵⁹ The essence of patrilineage was to restrict and preclude the right of kin in favor of the line of the eldest son, so any claim that a bastard might bring to family lands would be dismissed out of hand. Richard, a son "by a concubine," was accepted by this family and indeed participated in this donation, which is indicative of a family structure that honored rights of all heirs to family property.

Uncles, aunts, cousins, nieces and nephews acted as consenters to their relatives' ecclesiastical donations and other transactions. The inclusion of such kin bears witness to the continuation of an open and collateral family pattern in some lesser noble and knightly families. These families were not actively trimming kin from their family trees to adhere to a linear concept of family; rather, collateral and affinal kin appeared in charters throughout the twelfth century.

Counter gifts

In an attempt to prevent later claims or challenges, counter gifts were frequently granted to donors and their relatives. Nuclear, extended and affinal relatives received compensation to limit potential future claims. The awarding of counter gifts to all sons or daughters also substantiates the right or claim that these offspring exercised to the property being donated. In 1107 Lord Hamlin of Montoire gave Marmoutier estates at Fréteval and Froidmantel and promised that his heirs also abandoned their claim. His sons Philip, Peter and Eudes consented and were compensated along with their father. Hamlin was granted ten *librae* from Anjou, Philip six *librae* of the same currency, and Peter and Eudes were given twenty *solidi*

59. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 115, pp. 135-6: Guiburgis et Ricardus filius ejus, et filii Ricardi Adam et Stephanus, et alter filius nomine Robertus ex concubina, et avunculi ejusdem Ricardi Goscelinus atque Gaufridus de Monasteriis, et uxores eorum et filii eorum concesserunt monachis de Tyron terram de Villandon quam Guillelmus de Choes eis dederat, et manibus suis firmaverunt, videntibus et audientibus legitimis testibus.

of coinage from both Vendôme and the Dunois.⁶⁰ Hamlin specified that he and his heirs renounced their claim to the land, which provides proof that he considered all three of his sons to be his heirs. The awarding of counter gifts to all three supports this interpretation. If Philip, Peter and Eudes had not each exercised a right to the land donated, then they would not have been compensated for allowing their inheritance to be alienated from family control. It is important to point out, however, that the sons may not have received equal amounts of compensation, an indication of some discrepancy in the parity of their claims.

During the first half of the twelfth century sons and daughters received counter gifts. This practice establishes the right of both male and female progeny to family holdings. Around 1145 William of Courcerault gave all that he held of the fief at St. Germain to Tiron. His wife Milisent, his sons Hugh and Walter, and his daughters Isabelle and Maria conceded the grant. William was compensated with two hundred *solidi* "from the charity of the monks," and his sons and daughters received seventeen *solidi*.⁶¹ A charter recording a sale from the same period also substantiates

60. *CMPD*, no. 70, pp. 63-4: Noverint presentes et posteris, Majoris videlicet Monasterii monachi, quod Hamelinus, de Monte Aureo dominus, quicquid rectitudinis sibi heredibusque suis reclamabat in rebus illis omnibus, quas prefati monasterii monachi habent a Fracta Valle usque ad Frigidum Mantellum, et usque ad Vallem de Lagueit, citra Lidum fluvium et ultra: hoc est ab utraque ripa, et terram quam Theduinus ad eo apud Magniniacum tenebat; omne illud predictis monachis concedentibus filiis suis Philippo, videlicet Petro et Odone, absque calumnia in perpetuum habendum animo libenti, quiete dimisit. Hujus rei tamen gratia dominus Gausbertus Ludovicus, tunc temporis Majoris Monasterii panetarius, X libras Andegavensis monetae ipsi Hamelino prebuit, et Philippo ejusdem filio, IV libras praedictae monetae, et Petro XX solidos, inter Vindocinenses et Dunenses nummos, et Odonis similiter, xx solidos inter Vindocinenses denarios et Dunenses.

61. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 281, pp. 50-1: Ne oblivione deleatur litterarum memorie tradidimus quod Guillelmus de Cursuado dedit Sancto-Salvatori de Tiro quicquid habebat in dominio in feodo Sancti-Germani, sicut habebat solutum cum vigeria, scilicet terram et nemus et molendinum, concedente uxore sua Milesent, et filiis suis et filiabus Hugone, Gauterio, Ysabele, et Maria. Insuper quicumque voluerit dare aliquid in feodo suo Sancto-Salvatori concessit, sic tamen ut servitium suum non perdat. Unde in caritate dederunt ei monachi ducentos solidos, et filiis et filiabus ejus decem et septem solidos.

the granting of compensation to both sons and daughters. Hugh of Vilecoc sold two *solidi* of *cens* which he held at Villandon and twenty-five from Villecoy to Tiron. Hugh's wife, son, daughters and brother consented and received monetary counter gifts.⁶² Another charter, datable approximately two decades earlier, records the same practice and the inclusion of other kin in the awarding of counter gifts. Gauslen the son of Fulcher sold three arpents of pasture to the monks of Tiron for four *librae* of Dunois coins. Gauslen's wife and children consented and were awarded monetary counter gifts. For her consent, Gauslen's wife was given twelve *denarii*; his son Josbert and his daughters Richelde and Erenberg were granted four *denarii* apiece. Also receiving compensation was his feudal lord Hugh of Baugny, who was given a horse. Gauslen's brothers, Warin and Pagan, also consented to the gift, but did not receive counter gifts.⁶³ Around 1123 Robert of Memberolles finally gave up his claim to land at Limoron.⁶⁴ His wife, children, brothers and a cousin, who

62. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 276, pp. 46-7: Omnibus christianis fidelibus notum sit quod ego Hugo de Vilecoc vendidi duos solidos census quos habebam apud Vilandum et apud Vilecoc monachis Tyronensibus, videlicet XXV solidos, concedente fratre meo Rainaudo, his testibus....Sed et hoc concessit uxor mea Odelina et Enricus filius meus et filie mee Engelguis et Luciana atque Ermengardis, apud Vilecoc, in domo mea, unde caritate receperunt ab eisdem monachis v solidos, Rainaudus frater meus XII denarios, uxor mea xii, filius meus xii, filie unaquaque viii.

63. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 35, p. 56: Notum sit omnibus quod Joslenus, filius Fulcherii, vendidit monachis de Tyron III arpenta prati super ripam Hyenne fluvii, juxta prata de Conte, IIIor libris dunensis monete, concedentibus uxore sua Huelina, que habuit ex concessu XII denarios, et filio suo Josbert qui habuit IIII denarios, et filiabus, scilicet Richelde et Erenburge, que habuerunt singule, IIII denarios, et IIibus [*sic*] fratribus, scilicet Garino et Pagano, et concedente Hugone de Boigne, de cujus feodo erant prata, et habuit unum equum ut concederet, et censum eorumdem pratorum post obitum suum eisdem monachis concessit, scilicet VIII denarios, et Goffredo de Boigne qui habuit V solidos.

Hugh's uncle Geoffrey appeared with him in an earlier charter, further supporting his right to his nephew's property. Hugh's uncle Geoffrey was also given five *solidi* in recognition of the rights of extended kin to their relatives' property

64. Robert of Memberolles and the monks of Notre Dame de Josaphat had been at odds over the ownership of this property for quite some time. Judith of Breteuil, a distant relative of the viscounts of Chartres, had donated this land to the abbey, but Robert had contested the donation.

conceded by "their hand and voice," consented to this alienation of this property and were granted counter gifts for their cooperation.⁶⁵ His son Roscelin was given two *solidi*, his daughters Mahild and Helvise each twelve *denarii*, his cousin Richer seven *denarii*, while Robert and his wife Hildeburg were given twenty *librae*. The granting of counter gifts to male and female kin demonstrates that sons and daughters exercised a right to family possessions. If property was sold or donated, sons and daughters had a legitimate right to expect compensation for the loss of the property. That extended kin also received remuneration attests to the open and collateral structure of this family and the claim that such relatives had to family possessions.

Siblings were also given counter gifts. At the very beginning of the twelfth century, Hervé Grivellus and his mother donated to Marmoutier what they held in the forest of Fréteval. In return, they were granted a counter gift of thirteen *librae* and ten *solidi*. Hervé's brothers and sister also consented to the grant; his brother Raginald received four *solidi* and his brother Hugh and sister Genta were each given two

65. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 8, p. 13: Post paucos dies, apud Castrumdunum, Robertus de Memberolis in domo propria, donum hoc non distulit roborare, sue uxoris et sobolis et fratrum suorum libera concessione. Singuli igitur propria manu et voce terram de Limoiron ecclesie Beate-Marie Josaphat per manum nostram concesserunt, scilicet Hildeburgis uxor Roberti, Roscelinus filius, Mahildis et Helvisis filie, Guillelmus et Gervasius fratres, et Richerius Baderannus cognatus eorum. Distributi sunt autem eis ob recordationem ferme que v solidi, datis Roscelino II solidis, sororibus ejus singulis xii denariis, Richerio vii. Robertus vero, quatinus ab omni parte donum hoc deliberaret, xx libras habuit et uxor ejus. Pacti sumus etiam Roberto et fratribus ejus et uxori ac filio corporum in fine sepulturam in cimiterio nostro sine remunerationis alterius nisi gratuite exactionis, si tamen hoc poposcerint et nobis allati fuerint et excommunicati non sint.

The burial of all consentors and recipients of counter gifts, except Robert's daughters, is intriguing. Their absence suggests that they would not be included with their natal kin but presumably with their husbands or children. This separation of daughters implies a change in family structure that identified them more with their husband's kin than with their own. Nonetheless, it is clear from their compensation that these daughters still maintained a right to their natal family possessions.

solidi.⁶⁶ Between 1123 and 1128 John of Etampes gave to St. Jean-en-Vallée all the land he possessed at Mantarville, with the consent of his brothers, his wife, children, and *cognati*. John's brothers were compensated with two *solidi* apiece.⁶⁷ About 1138 a noblewoman named Oda and her son Raginald consented to a gift by one of her vassals. Her brothers were awarded compensation: Raginald received twenty *solidi* and Jordan five. Oda and her son also received forty *solidi* of Orléans as a countergift.⁶⁸ A charter of approximately the same date also records the granting of compensation to a brother. Around 1135 Eudes the knight, wishing to take the habit of a monk, made a donation to Tiron to which his wife, his future son-in-law⁶⁹ Girard and his brother Peter consented. Peter was given restitution by the monks of four coins, while Girard was promised two *solidi* in annual revenue while he still held the fief. Also participating in the charter were Eudes' uncle Warin of Marray and his son Robert, but they were not awarded compensation. The granting of countergifts in this charter is particularly significant since a line of succession may be deduced.

66. *CMPD*, no. 88, p. 77: Omnibus sanctae Dei ecclesiae rectoribus atque cultoribus tam futuris quam modo viventibus notum fieri volumus, quod Guitburgis, mater Hervei Grivelli et ipse Herveus Grivellus dederunt monachis Sancti Martini, ex parte Silvaelonniae quicquid habebant a Fractavalle usque ad Vermilleth, ita quod nichil retinuerunt. Et monachi dederunt Herveo Grivello et matri ejus, de caritate Sancti Martini XIII libras et X solidos. Concessit hoc donum Raginaldus, frater Hervei Grivelli, qui pro ista concessione IIII solidos habuit. Hoc quoque concessit Hugo Morellus, frater Hervei Grivelli, qui duos solidos pro ista concessione habuit. Concessit hoc etiam, Genta, soror Hervei Grivelli, qui pro ista concessione II solidos habuit.

67. *JEAN*, no. 36, p. 23; for the text of this charter, see p. 314, note 54 of this Chapter.

68. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 220, p. 248: In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis, ego Frogerius de Marulio et Osanna uxor mea dedimus Deo et monachis Tironis totam terram nostram de Mauriolo, concedente domina mea Oda et Raginaldo filio ejus, de quorum feodo erat....

Sciendum vero est quod Oda et filius ejus Raginaudus pro hac concessione receperunt a monachis Tironensibus XL solidos aurelianensium, et Raginaudus frater sepedicte Ode XX solidos, Jordanus frater ejus, v solidos.

69. The name of the daughter to whom Girard was betrothed is missing in the text.

Peter, Eudes' brother, and his daughter, as represented by the gift made to her husband, had a stronger claim to the donated property than Eudes' uncle and cousin. While this may seem obvious, the lack of counter gifts to Warin and Robert indicates that the inheritance of Eudes' land would first go to his daughter and that her right to her father's lands had not yet been usurped by male kin.⁷⁰

A charter from Marmoutier datable from the early twelfth century suggests that in some cases special arrangements had to be made with relatives to secure the stability of the donation. In either 1107 or 1108 William Garardus, the son of Hugh of *Monte Duplici*, gave Marmoutier all the cultivated and uncultivated land that he held at St. Hilaire of Gravelle.⁷¹ In return for the donation, the monks gave William,

70. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 209, pp. 237-8: Notum sit omnibus christianis tam presentibus quam futuris quod scilicet Odo de Aco, quidam de Turneio miles, vitam suam moresque in melius converti cupiens, se suaque dedit monachis Sancti-Salvatoris de Tiron. Quod datum fecit super altare Sancte-Marie-Magdalene de Crucis-Valle, astante Petro fratre suo, et Aales uxore sua, atque Girardo Vanerio, sponso illius, hoc ipsis concendentibus. Dedit itaque predictus Odo monachis de Crucis-Valle totam terram de Fenis usque ad Fossam-Claram, et duas partes omnium decimarum de feodo Chebrineiensis....Ipse etiam Petrus, predicti Odonis frater, pro hac eadem concessione accepit a monachis IIII nummos. Sciendum vero quod predicti monachi prebebunt ipsi Girardo duos solidos in auxilium unoquoque anno quamdiu feodus deservierit. Hujus rei sunt testes: Garinis de Marreio sepedicti Odonis avunculus et Robertus filius...

71. *CMFD*, no. 72, p. 65: Notum sit posteris nostris, monachis videlicet Majoris Monasterii, quod Guillelmus Garardus, filius Hugonis de Monte Duplici, terram et prata culta et inculta omnia, quae habebat apud Sanctum Hylarium de Gravella, dedit Deo et beato Martino et nobis servis suis, pro anima sua et parentum et fratrum suorum. Ut autem hoc donum firmum et auctorisabile in perpetuum consisteret, deliberavit illud nobis tradere, per manum Pagani de Monte Dublelli, de cujus fevo erat. Quod et ipse Paganus pura voluntate approbans, tradidit nobis predictam terram et caetera quae supra determinavimus, in manu domini Gausberti panetarii, monachi nostri, necnon promisit se ejusdem doni nostrum fore auctorem, conservatorem, et contra adversarios, si aliqui in vita sua insurgerent, legalem testem et defensorem. Quapropter domnus Gausbertus revestivit ipsum Guillelmum et parentes ejus et fratres de benefacto nostro, quod ipse habere cupiens petebat et dedit ei centum solidos Cenomannensis monetae. Hujus doni et concessionis sunt isti testes:....Rainaldus vero Garardus [sic], frater jam dicti Willelmi, noluit ea nobis concedere gratis; quapropter dedimus ei XXXVII solidos denariorum et reddimus inde ei v solidos de censu per singulos annos, kalendis januariis, id est die octavarum natalis Domini. Ipse autem requirit eum ad Sanctum Hylarium de Gravella, a monacho, qui illi obedientiae preerit vel a serviente ejus, et si non invenerit eos ibi, requirit etiam ad Francam Villam, quod si tunc habuerit censum illum, portabitur ei

his relatives and his brother one hundred *solidi* of money from Sens. William's brother Rainald Garardus, however, did not wish to consent to the donation, whereupon the monks paid him thirty-seven *denarii* and promised five *solidi* of *cens* each year eight days after Christmas. Rainald's brother-in-law, furthermore, consented and was given three *solidi* in return. The negotiations that the monks undertook to obtain this property reflect the complexity of claims that kin exercised. The grant would not stand without the cooperation of all of William's kin, but especially that of his brother Rainald. The strength and legitimacy of his claim to his brother's land is apparent in the monks' gift of *cens*. The participation, consent and granting of compensation to Rainald's brother-in-law also indicates the claim of female kin to family property. Nuclear, extended and affinal kin all enjoyed a right to this land and the monks had to redress these claims so the donation would remain uncontested.

Like nuclear and affinal kin, extended kin also were granted counter gifts. Sometime about 1129 a noblewoman named Guitberg, her sons, grandsons, brothers or brothers-in-law⁷², sisters-in-law and nephews confirmed one of their vassal's gift. Guitburg, Richard and Gauslen were granted counter gifts amounting to seven *librae*

....Continued....

ad domum suam, ad Montem Dublelli usque ad tertiam diem, et recipiet eum sine occasione. Hoc vidit et audivit Rainaldus, filius Ermenardi, sororgius ejus, et ipse concessit et habuit inde III solidos.

72. These men are simply referred to as the uncles of Guitberg's children, so they could be either maternal or paternal uncles.

and one *solidus* of money from Chartres.⁷³ The participation of uncles, aunts and cousins in the charter as consenters and signers testifies to the continuation of an extended, open family structure. The awarding of counter gifts to some of these relatives into the mid twelfth century demonstrates their legitimate and sustained claim to family possessions, as well as their inclusion in donations and arrangements for compensation. Around 1145 Eudes of Le Verger, his brother-in-law Constantius, and his *cognati* William and Oger donated to Tiron the pasture of Chasseurs, twelve *denarii* of *cens*, and a mill and pond. In return, Eudes and William were given counter gifts of twelve *solidi*, Oger two *solidi* and a pig worth three *solidi*. For their concession of the other half of the pasture, they received thirteen *solidi*. William and his relatives arranged to be able to use the half of the meadow where the pond was located and to keep half of the mill for their lifetimes. In return for the gift of half of the pond and mill, William was given two pigs valued at eight *solidi*. The entire arrangement with the monks netted William, Oger and Constantius forty-nine *solidi*

73. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 115, pp. 135-6: Ricardus et uxor ejus Havis et filius ejus minor concesserunt et firmaverunt in ecclesia Sanctorum Nicholai-et-Leobini de Proevilla, coram testibus istis... + Signum Ricardi. + Signum uxoris ejus Havis. + Signum Stephani, filii ejus.

Goscelinus, avunculus Ricardi, et uxor ejus Helisabet et filii ejus Hugo, Petrus, Amalric, Robertus et filia Juliana concesserunt et firmaverunt in domo ejusdem Goscelini de Freeinvilla. + Signum Goscelini. + Signum uxoris ejus Helisabet. + Signum Hugonis primogenitii. + Signum Petri. + Signum Amalrici. + Signum Roberti. + Signum Juliane...

Guiburgis et Richardus filius ejus, et Goscelinus, avunculus Richardi, habuerunt pro isto consensu septem libras carnotensis monete, Guiburgis quinquaginta solidos, Ricardus, filius ejus, quinquaginta solidos et xii denarios, Goscelinus XL solidos. Tali pacto ut si quis ex parentibus eorum calumpniam intulerit, Ricardus et supradicti liberam et immunem ab omni calumpnia faciant.

The use of *primogenitii* for one of Goscelin's sons suggests that this family was going through a transition in inheritance. This point will be considered later in this chapter. For the opening paragraph of this charter, see p. 317, note 59, of this Chapter.

from Chartres.⁷⁴ The joint donation by extended kin and the awarding of counter gifts of money and goods to them demonstrates that the family acted collectively, which argues against the predomination of a linear concept of family. The claim of extended family members is particularly clear in a charter datable around 1135. Richard of Villiers and his son Radulf abandoned their false claim to land at Mantarville at the court of their feudal lord, Gui of Auneau,⁷⁵ and his son Gauslen. Richard confirmed that his other sons, daughters and grandchildren conceded the quitclaim. He also promised that his brothers and nephews would recognize that the property belonged to St. Jean. To insure the cooperation of such kin, the monks granted Richer one hundred *solidi* with which he was to "pacify or placate his brothers and nephews." Brothers and nephews clearly had a right to the patrimony and their loss of such

74. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 271, pp. 42-3: Noscat universalis ecclesia quod ego Odo de Virgultis et Constantius, sororius meus, et cognati mei Guillelmus et Ogerius de Virgultis dedimus monachis de Tyronio, pro amore Dei, apud locum qui dicitur Daviticaria, pratum Venatorum, sicut chiminum quod venit de foresta dividit, singulis annis nobis in festo sancti Johannis reddendo vii denarios de censu; ab eodem autem chimino inantea usque ad chiminum Lede noas et quicquid in prata converti poterit, et dedimus eis pro octo denariis de censu; tali etiam conditione quod si terram illam in proprio excolere voluerimus, dimidium istud pratum, habebimus, et dimidium cadet inde census, et quia supradictis monachis placuit sibi facere stannum quod de prato illo partem occupat, si, ut diximus, partiri nobis prata placuerit, quod facere poterimus ex quo terra culta fuerit, prius de communi sine parte tantum capiemus quantum stannum illud occupat, et in molendino quod ibi fecerunt sine moltura molemus, Guillelmus et Ogerius et Constancius, quamdiu vixerimus excepta parte molendinarii. Pro concessione vero supradicti prati Venatorum ego Odo et Guillelmus recepimus ab eisdem monachis XII solidos de caritate, et Ogerius, frater Guillelmi, II solidos, quando terram recepit, et porcum trium solidorum; sed pro concessione aliorum pratorum recipimus XIII solidos de caritate. Pro concessione autem stanni atque molendini recepi ego Guillelmus duos porcos VIII solidorum. Ad ultimum vero, cum hoc cyrographum factum fuit, ego et Constantius et Guillelmus atque Ogerius a predictis monachis X solidos carnotensium recepimus. Si vero in his omnibus aliquid insurrexerit calumpnie, nostrum erit defendere.

75. Gui of Auneau was the brother of Hervé II of Gallardon.

property had to be "pacified" to avoid any contestations.⁷⁶ Later in the charter Richer's brothers-in-law with their wives and children also consented; his sisters exercised a similar right to these family lands.

During the twelfth century some lesser noble and knightly families continued to honor the rights of relatives of varying degrees to family possessions, which is evident in the inclusion of such kin in family transactions. In some families property was divided between sons or siblings, but in many cases the family collectively assumed control and possession of family lands. The awarding of countergifts also provides important information on family structure and inheritance patterns. Compensation was granted in money, and sometimes goods, to those relatives who needed to receive remuneration for alienating the property to the Church. Counter gifts were also awarded in an attempt to prevent future contestations or disputes by those most likely to lodge a complaint, family members. The evidence from Blois-Chartres indicates that many lesser noble families adhered to the family and inheritance patterns of the previous century. Yet, other families concurrently exhibited signs of patrilineage and primogeniture. Such nobles were undoubtedly motivated by a crisis in family resources caused by successive partitioning of the patrimony, the loss of

76. *JEAN*, no. 49, pp. 29-30: Nos Sancti Johannis canonici notum esse volumus tam futuris quam presentibus Richerium de Vilers et Radulfum filium ejus, coram Guidone de Alneolo et Goscelino filio ejus, dimisisse calumpniam quam faciebat de terra apud Armentarvillam et majoratu, et fidei sue interpositione firmasse quod hoc fratribus suis concedere faceret et filiis et filiabus et nepotibus. Promisit etiam quod hoc in perpetuum faceret abjurare fratres suos et nepotes qui ad etatem venerant et alios concedere. Pro hac conventionione habuit Richerius centum solidos de quibus pacificaret fratres suos et nepotes; filius ejus vii solidos ad quamdam sellam....

Item, apud Seienvilla [*sic*], in domo Ascelini majoris dum convenissent Hubertus canonicus, Richerius de Vilers, Guillelmus frater ejus, Teardus frater eorum calumpniam quam ipsi, ut predictum est, reliquerant, sacramento abjuravit, istis videntibus et audientibus....

Item, apud Seinvillam Johannes Tres Panes, sororius Richerii, et Sulpicia connomine [*sic*] Belina, Hubertus Januarius et Hildegarius, filii eorum, calumpniam dimiserunt, et quod Richerius fecerat concesserunt....

Item apud Longam Ulmum, Gonterius sororius Richerii, et Haia uxor ejus, Guido et Gauterius filii eorum et filie Odelina et Avelina, dimiserunt calumpniam et quod Richerius fecerat concesserunt....

ecclesiastical property as a result of the Gregorian reform, and the realization that opportunities for extending family resources no longer existed.

Signs of Tension over Resources

The families of lesser nobles faced many changes and challenges at the end of the eleventh century and at the beginning of the twelfth. The economy became more diverse and started to favor monetary wealth over the possession of land. Noble families also had fewer opportunities to expand their holdings through clearance or settlement. Changes within the Church also affected lesser noble family structure. Reformers exhorted nobles to restore ecclesiastical property. Some feudal lords also encouraged their vassals to make restorations. In some families, churches and their appurtenances represented a significant portion of their family possessions and their loss triggered a crisis within the lesser nobility. The family structure of the lesser nobility of Blois-Chartres reacted to these changes. Vassals and their families were compelled to adjust their donation practices to better suit their current economic and territorial holdings. These families also developed innovative ways of handling their remaining possessions. Yet, while many families adapted ingeniously, their new behaviors and organization were nonetheless symptomatic of a tension over the control and allocation of family resources.

Changes in Types of Donations

In the twelfth century nobles more commonly gave *cens*, mills, weirs, ovens and other types of property than was their practice in the previous century.⁷⁷ The

77. Penelope Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago: 1991), pp. 193-5, discusses this change in the property granted in ecclesiastical donations (hereafter, Johnson, *Monastic Profession*).

reluctance of families to alienate land suggests an attempt to preserve what little remained. The *cens* of a particular village or estate became one of the commonest gifts made by lesser nobles.⁷⁸ Between 1101 and 1129 Ivo of Bagnolet gave to St. Père *cens* valued yearly at four *denarii* on the monks' meadow of Tachenville.⁷⁹ Amalric of Levesville with his mother similarly donated to the same abbey two *solidi* of *cens* previously paid by the monks for the souls of his brother and father.⁸⁰ William a knight of Coudray likewise gave ten *solidi* of *cens* from Chaises with the consent of his lord William, his sisters and their husbands.⁸¹ At some point in the first quarter of the twelfth century two brothers, Robert and Hubert, with their sister Agnes and their mother, confirmed the gift of four *solidi* and eight *denarii* of *cens* made by their deceased brother, Stephen, to St. Père. William Aculeus, their feudal

78. Johnson, *Monastic Profession*, pp. 208-210. Johnson has found that in the twelfth century many nunneries converted payments that they received from their dependents in goods to those made in cash. She views this as part of a larger movement in Western Europe from payment made in kind or in labor to rents. It is possible that the nobility of Blois-Chartres had likewise made this transition in their holdings.

79. *CSPDC*, no. 125, pp. 347-8: Ego igitur Ivo de Balneolis dedi monachis sancti Petri census unum IIII denariorum, videlicet quos de quodam prato eorum de Tachenvilla unoquoque anno habere consueveram; et hoc in domini Willelmi abbatis presentia, in totius capituli audientia, domno Willelmo Acuelo, de cujus fevo census erat, assentiente, fratre meo Huberto concedente, factum est.

80. *CSPDC*, no. 99, pp. 334-5: Legentibus hoc scriptum notum sit, quod, mortuo Paulino, filio Ebrardi de Levesvilla, venerunt in capitulum nostrum mater ejus Aaliz et frater ejusdem Amalricus, et dederunt ibi Deo et nobis monachis sancti Petri, pro anima Paulini, quem sepelieramus, et pro anima patris ejus Ebrardi, duos solidos census: XII videlicet denarios quos reddebamus eis de quodam agripennio vinearum in clauso Engibaldi, et XII quos reddebant monachi sancti Leobini de quadam terra que est apud Manu Villare.

81. *CSPDC*, no. 136, p. 348: In nomine Domini nostri Jhesu Christi. Nos monachi sancti Petri posteris nostris litteris istis mandamus, quod Willelmus miles, filius Girardi de Coldreto, in infirmitate sua ad conversionem ad nos veniens, dedit beato Petro et nobis X solidos census ad Casas, annuente domino suo Willelmo, filio Ansoldi, de quo illos tenebat. Hoc ejus donum concesserunt nobis tres sorores ejus et mariti earum, in capitulo nostro.

lord, along with all of his children, consented to the alienation of these revenues.⁸² Lesser nobles from a broad spectrum donated *cens*. Such gifts became common in the twelfth century, and signal a reticence to deplete landed resources further. The frequent gift of *cens* also marks a change in the economic base of the Chartrain nobility from one that was almost exclusively land based to one that favored currency.

Mills and their appurtenant rights were another standard twelfth-century gift. In addition to exploring methods of preserving their lands, noble and monastic landlords also sought to exploit what property they possessed to generate the desired cash. Mills were one method of collecting revenue. The increase from the eleventh to the twelfth century in the number of mills underscores this entrepreneurial practice.⁸³ In a charter datable around 1121 Geoffrey Borrellus made a substantial gift of lands, a mill and half of the fish and meadow to the abbey of Tiron.⁸⁴ In 1123 Robert of Ponceau gave the site for two mills on the Eure River, located not far from the

82. *CSPDC*, no. 153, p. 367: Quando Robertus et Hubertus fratres, cum Ada sorore sua et Agnete matre sua, donum quod frater ipsorum Stephanus ecclesie nostre, scilicet sancti Petri Carnoti, moriens fecerat, hoc est IIII solidos et VIII denarios de censu, in capitulo nostro concedentes confirmaverunt, Willelmus quoque Aculeus, de cujus fevo census idem erat, cum filiis suis et filiabus Roberto et Manasse, Margarita, Odelina hoc ipsum donum concessit, presentibus et audientibus quorum nomina subscripta sunt testibus.

83. Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, pp. 194-5; Chédeville labels the first half of the twelfth century as the "great period of mill construction."

84. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 47, pp. 67-8: Ad memoriam posterorum ne res facte, aliqua prolixitate temporis, oblivioni traderentur, placuit michi Gaufrido Burrello scripture commendare qualiter, pro remedio anime mee, concedente Gaufrido meo filio, monachis Tironensis ecclesie dedi totam illam terram que est inter Sissam et forestam, quam comes Stephanus meo patri Asthoni Burrello dedit, et unum molendinum qui Novus vocatur et medietatem piscature que in longitudine, quantum et terra prescripti doni, durat et omnia prata a Rovercello, insursum existencia, excepto uno dimidio arpenno, annuente comite Theobald, supradicti Stephani filio.

The right to fish or to a portion of the fish caught often accompanied the gift of a mill. The fishing privileges pertained to either the mill pond itself or the sluice.

village of Jouy, in alms to the monks of Notre Dame de Josaphat.⁸⁵ Similarly, sometime around 1164 Engenold of Courdray gave half of the mill of Illiers for his soul and those of his relatives. The monks received the rights of milling, a portion of the milled grain and the fishing rights that pertained to this mill.⁸⁶ Robert of Bullou gave the mill at Bullou in alms to the monks of St. Trinité of Tiron as he was approaching death in 1159. Included in the gift was the *cens* of two *denarii* due to Robert from the mill each year on the feast of St. Remigius.⁸⁷ Lesser nobles and

85. *JOSAPHAT*, no.10, pp. 20-1: Igitur anno MC XX III ab incarnatione Domini, Ludovico Phylippi Galliarum regnum fideliter obtinente, venerabili Gaufrido de Leugis episcopatu Carnotensis ecclesie presidente, miles quidam Robertus de Poncellis vocatus ab episcopo Gaufrido, summonitus est et rogatus ut ecclesie Beate-Marie quam juxta Leugas isdem episopus edificare ceperat de areis duorum molendinorum quas super Auduram fluvium non longe a villa que dicitur Gavisus habebat, talem elemosinam donaret quatinus nobis ejusdem alumpnis ecclesie molendinos inibi facere per donum illius et habere liceret....His intra cameram episcopalem ita gestis, Robertus bene cepta melius proseguere satagens et quieti tenoris ac perhennis perseverantie sui doni cupidus, quicquid impedimenti futuri presagari poterat, impigre precavere studebat; unde non multum post, altera die, primogenitum filium suum Mainerium in eadem episcopali camera ante episcopum adduxit; qui gratanter et donum et pactum quod pater suus ecclesie Josaphat de molendinis Lamburredi fecerat, in manus episcopi et nostras, scilicet abbatis ejusdem loci Girardi, et fecit et concessit....

Tandem sepedictus Robertus, beneficii sui non fictus executor, nostre pacis et quietis undique munimenta roborare satagens, die sancto Cene Domini, residuos filios suos Guidonem, Guillelmum et Amalricum, cum uxore sua Agnete et filia Milesende, Josaphat, in capitulum nostrum adduxit, ibique donum et pactum, quod de molendinis et censu Robertus nobis fecerat, omnes pariter concesserunt.

86. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 247, p. 291: Ego Engenoldus, pro salute anime mee et parentum meorum et heredum, dono in perpetuum et concedo huic sancte ecclesie dimidam partem molendini mei de Illeriis. Sic fratres hujus loci predicti molendini expensas cum opus fuerit, per medium sustinebunt et in omnibus, quicunque erunt molendinarii, et dispositionibus et emolumentis et proficiis et fructibus et piscationibus, tam in ipso molendino quam in toto bero molendini, participes erunt per medium, nichilo illis pro me, nichilo mihi dato.

87. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 312, pp. 85-6: Notum sit omnibus quod Robertus de Bullo, infirmitate detentus qua et mortuus est, postulavit monachos Tyronenses qui apud Footellos habitabant ut eum monachum facerent: qui ejus petitioni benigne assencientes desiderio illius satisfecerunt. Ipse vero, pro sua suorumque salute, dedit predictis monachis in elemosinam quicquid habebat dominii in uno molendinorum de Bullo, ita ut monachi libere et quiete deinceps possiderent quicquid ipse in molendino illo antea possederat, ita etiam molendinarius de monachis amodo teneret quicquid ibidem de Roberto tenuerat, eisdemque singulis annis redderet duos denarios de censu in festo sancti Remigii, sicut et Roberto fecerat.

knights also donated measures of grain from mills. Before Evrard of Villandon departed on the Second Crusade he gave, for the remission of his sins, one measure of grain from the mill of Beleut to be given annually to the monks of Tiron.⁸⁸ Mills were a lucrative source of revenue and valuable resources for the nobles of Blois-Chartres, so much so that they attempted to seize or usurp them. Later in the twelfth century, the sons of Fulbert Pagan Vespertilion usurped a mill and the pasture adjacent to it. They eventually allowed the property to be transferred to the Church but retained the *cens* from the pasture. Their retention of the *cens* suggests a reluctance to alienate the property and its revenues completely.⁸⁹ Gifts of mills and *cens* herald a change in the resource base of the lesser nobility of the Chartrain. Cash revenues and other forms of property besides land had certainly been donated in the eleventh century, but in the twelfth century gifts of this sort became the norm rather than the exception. This change suggests that members of lesser noble families were attempting to conserve what land remained and sought to make gifts that would not further deplete their power base.

88. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 288, pp. 56-7: *Memorie succedentium notificare curavimus quod miles quidam, Erardus videlicet de Villabum nomine, volens ire Jerusalem, dedit monachis Tyronensibus, ob remissionem peccatorum suorum, unum modium frumenti de molendino suo quod vulgariter Belvetum dicitur, ita ut singulis annis sine ulla intermissione illum inde in perpetuum habebant.*

89. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 211, p. 257: *In nomine summe et individue Trinitatis ego Goslenus, Dei gratia Carnotensis ecclesie humilis minister, presentibus et futuris notum fieri volo quod filii Pagani Vespertilionis Garinus, Hugo, Garnerius, post ejusdem Pagani decessum, de injuriis quas Garnerius monachis de Josaphat irrogaverat satisfacturi, conspectui nostro se presentaverunt, et prout inter eos et monachos convenit satisfaciennes, quicquid monachis in molendinis et in curte de Lamburredo et in quadam puncta prati callumpniabantur monasterio libere et quiete in perpetuum per manum nostram integerrime concesserunt. Preterea concesserunt quoddam pratam, retento dumtaxat illius censu, id est vi denariis. Et ut concessionem suam cunctis diebus vite sue intemerato tenore conservarent, fidem sue Xristianitatis interposuerunt quod nil ex illa die adversus monachos preter memoratum censum reclamerent.*

Exchanges and Retention of Rights or Property

Exchanges arranged between lay persons and monks are also symptomatic of the lesser nobility's reticence to alienate resources from the patrimony. Exchanges differed from the counter gifts of cash or sometimes a horse or valuable pelts with which the monks often rewarded donors and their kin. Counter gifts were a method of assurance for the monks, but awards of other property in exchange for gifts suggests that some lesser nobles were economically unable to make gifts without receiving property in return.⁹⁰ Between 1155 and 1164, Rainald the knight gave two carrucates of land and their tithes in alms to the monks of Notre Dame of Josaphat,⁹¹ with the condition that the monks were to pay him ten *solidi* annually in the feast of St. John and send him a third of the grain they grew on the land. Lords also gave their vassals property or revenues in exchange for their consent to donations. Around 1129, for example, when Blanche of Memberolles gave an arpent of vines at *Connia*, the tithes from Marboue and a house at Châteaudun to Tiron, she granted her vassal Engelard, his wife and sons what she had bought from these two properties in return for their

 90. In some instances the gifts of property may have been motivated by the monks' desire to acquire specific properties. In other words, if the monks wished to control certain lands, they may have offered the owners lands in exchange for abandoning their rights to the desired property.

91. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 242, p. 286: Ego Robertus, Dei gratia Carnotensis episcopus, notum fieri volo presentibus et futuris, quod quidam Rainaldus, miles cognomento d'Espiers [*sic*], terram fere duarum carrucarum cum terragio et decima ejusdem terre per manum meam in elemosinam dedit monachis de Josaphat, tali siquidem conditione ut monachi ei annuatim x solidos Dunensium ad festivitatem sancti Johannis persolverent et totam terram illam propriis sumptibus colerent, et de annonis ejus tertiam partem ex integro suis vehiculis, Puteolis vel Villeembluis, que contigue sunt domibus eorum, jam dicto Raynaldo vel cui preciperet ipse, ducerent et traderent. Sciendum quoque est quod si in ductu illo per violenciam aliquid ab aliquo captum fuerit, de eo ablato quod legitimo testimonio suo probare poterunt, monachi liberi erunt.

consent.⁹² These provisions, unlike countergifts, were not intended to provide assurance. Rather they were arranged in an attempt by donors to provide compensation for the loss of property represented by their gifts.

While some nobles arranged exchanges to reduce the strain that donations placed on their resources, others retained part of the property donated. Between 1116 and 1136 Helvisa Legadocta gave the church of St. John of Chaumars with all of its tithes to the monks of Marmoutier, with the exception of the tithes on bread, wine and three arpents of vines in the cemetery. Helvisa and her family presumably continued to enjoy control of these revenues and property.⁹³ A charter datable around 1130 reflects the same practice, but in this case *cens* was excepted from the gift. When William of Saint-Cheron donated to the abbey of Tiron all that he held from the fief of Menchout, his feudal lords retained two solidi of *cens* for service which the monks were to pay them annually on the feast of the Ascension of the Lord.⁹⁴ Withholding revenues or portions of gifts, combined with evidence of exchanges, indicates that some lesser noble families were not willing to alienate property completely from their

92. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 116, pp. 136-7: Noverint fideles cuncti presentes atque futuri quod domina Blanca de Menberolis dedit monachis Tyronis unum agripennum vinee apud Conniam, et decimam suam de Marboe, et domum suam de Castriduno, post mortem Gaufridi nepotis sui. Quod concessit Engelardus de Cavillana-villa et uxor ejus et filii eorum Guillelmus et Robertus atque Gaufridus, et filie eorum Erenburgis et Ascelina; pro qua concessione predicta Blanca concessit supradicto Engelardo et heredibus suis emptiones suas de Connia et de Marboe.

93. *CMPD*, no. 168, pp. 158-9: Noverit itaque omnis posteritas quod Helvisa legisdocta dedit Deo et beato Martino ecclesiam beati Johannis Camartio, quae dicitur de Alba Via, cum omni decima ad eam pertinente, excepto de pane et vino et tres arpenos terrae in cimiterio ejusdem ecclesiae, quod concessit Robertus legisdoctus filius ejus et vice episcopi archidiaconum Carnotensem Goslenum de ecclesia per manum ipsius investivit.

94. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 145, pp. 169-70: Noverit omnium fidelium posteritas quod Guillelmus de Sancto-Carauno dedit omnem feodum quod tenebat de filiis Rogerii de Limeth, scilicet feodum quod vocatur de Curtesia et de Mancheiolo, monachis Sancte-Trinitatis de Tiron. Filii autem predicti Rogerii, scilicet Laurentius et Gislebertus, retinuerunt sibi duos solidos census pro servicio ejusdem terre quos reddent eis prefati monachis annualiter, in die scilicet Ascensionis Domini, et tali pacto concesserunt monachis predictam terram in perpetuum possidere.



grasp. Instead they arranged to maintain part of the gift or received other revenue in exchange.

Sales and Mortgages

Lesser noble families sold and mortgaged property as well as retaining portions of or rights to donated properties. Mortgages, in particular, suggest crisis or decline in family resources. While sales do not necessarily indicate economic desperation, a conscious selling and mortgaging of significant properties within a single family reflects some sort of internal financial difficulty. A practice that became increasingly prominent in the twelfth century among the families of knights and lesser nobles was joint sales and donations. Previously families made pure and uncomplicated donations; but, as the eleventh century drew to a close and the twelfth century advanced, they frequently gave part and sold part of the property in question. Such activity suggests that they could not afford to alienate property without receiving cash reimbursement. Examples of this sort of strategy first appear at the end of the eleventh century. In 1080 Gervase the knight sold part and gave part of the land which he held in the *pagus* of Blois with the consent of his wife and his sons. The monks of Marmoutier, in return, granted Gervase five hundred *solidi* of *denarii* and three and a half ounces of gold.⁹⁵ In 1098 Oda the wife of Warin likewise sold and gave Marmoutier part of the land that she and her children held at Villetard. The donated portion of the land was given in alms for the soul of her husband; Oda and her

95. *CMPD*, no. 140, pp. 130-1: Noverint omnes [presentes et futuri quod] Gervasium militem, filium Lancelini, partim vendidisse, partim donasse noblis scilicet Majoris Monasterii monachis [quandam] terram in Blesensi pago sitam, Buriacum nuncupatam, et in ea consistentem ecclesiolam [unam in honore...] annuente conjuge sua nomine Oschia, et filiis suis Lancelino, Guillelmo, Rodulfo, Bernerio, Gilduino, Matheo, acceptis ab Hugone preposito obedientiae de Cambone denariorum solidis 500 et auri tres unciis atque dimidia [elisions in text].

children received four *librae* of Blésois coins for the sale of the land.⁹⁶ This practice continued into the twelfth century. Some time before 1148 Bernard *Bibit-Cannam* gave and sold two bovates of land that he held at Faverolles to the abbey of Notre Dame de Josaphat. Bernard's wife, son, daughter and brother consented to this arrangement.⁹⁷ Two possible motivations underlie the transactions of the families of Gervase, Oda and Bernard. It may be that their family resources would not permit them to donate land without cash compensation for the loss of these properties. In other words, their family resources could not tolerate the loss of land from an outright donation. The coincidence of partial sale and donation agreements in families that honored the claim of all children to family possessions is particularly significant. In each of these transactions progeny, and in the case of Bernard *Bibit-Cannam* his brother, participated in the charter and approved of the arrangements. A family structure that honored the claims of all children was more susceptible to a diminution of family finances, which may have compelled the family to combine their gifts with sales. Another factor that may have led to the implementation of these sorts of transactions was a preference among the nobility for monetary rather than landed wealth. The economic, social and political changes of the early twelfth century

 96. *CMPD*, no.157, pp. 147-8; for the text of this charter see p. 309, note 42, of this Chapter.

97. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 150, p. 189: Hac descriptione tam futuro quam presenti evo rei veritas innotescat de terra duorum boum quam apud Faberolas, cum Bernardus Bibit-Cannam diu tenuisset, ecclesie Josaphat partim vendidit partim in elemosinam donavit. Preloquente namque super hoc Alberto Bibit-Cannam, quatinus ex caritate Josaphat sex libras acciperet et eidem monasterio terram illam in elemosinam concederet, gratanter hoc accipiens Bernardus, de illa primum apud Hienvillam, in manu Hervei monachi ob hoc illuc premissi, donum fecit, et uxor ejus, et filius Goffredus, et filia Beatris concesserunt.

The arrangements made for Bernard's brother Albert attests to the claim that this brother enjoyed to his possessions.

combined to alter dramatically their resource strategies and preferences.⁹⁸

In addition to the practice of giving and selling parts of their property, many twelfth-century noble families also sold their land outright. It is difficult to ascertain if these sales necessarily represent a crisis or even tension over resources although such activity does indicate an attempt to create or increase cash reserves. Successive sales by individual families, however, are suggestive of financial pressure. Charters involving two lesser noble families record transactions indicative of this economic struggle. At the very beginning of the twelfth century, Matthew of Fréteval arranged two agreements with Marmoutier. In 1107 he donated the land and meadow between Vernouillet and *Chainstra* near Morée. In return, the monks gave him a horse which Matthew sold for thirty *solidi*.⁹⁹ Since horses were valuable commodities, it is likely that Matthew would have parted with this animal only if he were in need of money. The next year Matthew gave part and sold part of his property between Vernouillet and the close of St. Hilaire of La Gravelle to Marmoutier.¹⁰⁰ The donation land was made for Matthew's soul, and he received four *librae* of *denarii* from the sale of this land. The monks specified that Matthew would not be able to retain the annual *cens* of two *solidi* paid on the eighth day of Christmas. A further indication of tension over

98. This desire for cash was undoubtedly triggered by the increasing commercial activity that occurred in the twelfth century. In the eleventh century the nobility's need for cash had been negligible, but as a cash economy developed nobles found they needed cash to buy items of necessity and luxury. The call to go to the Holy Land also increased the nobility's demand for money. To finance a trip to the east required considerable resources and many families were compelled to sell off property to raise the necessary cash. Such activity would have caused considerable changes in the noble resource base.

99. *CMPD*, no. 82, p. 74: Nosse volumus fratres nostros presentes et posteros, quod Matheus de Fracta Valle dedit Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii, pro anima sua, medietatem videlicet terra et pratorum, quae habebat inter Vernoletum et locum qui dicitur Chainstra, soluta et libera omni pactione remota. Unde dedimus ei equum unum, quem ipse vendidit XXX solidos. Hoc donum concessit nobis Odo, filius ejusdem Mathei et dedimus ei sotulares corduamnos.

100. This is also located near Morée.

resources within this family is evident in the contestation brought by Matthew's son-in-law Osmund of La Ferté-Verneuil. When he gave the land to the Church, Hildiarde and her husband protested the loss of this property. Since neither Hildiarde nor Osmund appeared in conjunction with the arrangement between Matthew and the monks, their contestation may have been based on the grounds that they had not consented. A pact was reached with the monks, however, and this couple was compensated with thirty *solidi* for quitclaiming their right to the disputed territory.¹⁰¹ Matthew of Fréteval's landed resources would not permit him to endow his daughter and arrange a joint donation and sale with the Church. The combined evidence of these charters relays a picture of a lesser noble family experiencing difficulty in allocating resources and engaging in successive sales of property in a quest for monetary revenues.

Three generations of the Baugny and Rivray¹⁰² family donated, sold and arranged joint donation-sales with the monks of Ste. Trinité of Tiron over the ten-year

101. *CMPD*, no. 83, pp. 74-5: Ad notitiam posterorum nostrorum Majoris Monasterii successorum tradere huic cartae curavimus, quod Matheus de Fracta Valle, frater Huberti Pielli, monachi nostri, habebat terram et prata inter Vernoliotum et exclusam de La Gravella, quae clauduntur ab una parte fluvio Ledi, ab altera vero parte Silva Lonnia. Hanc terram et haec prata sic terminata, ipsa quoque exclusa, dedit ille Matheus Deo et Beato Martino et nobis Majoris Monasterii monachis, partim pro anima sua, partim propter IIII libras denariorum, quas inde habuit. Nichilque in eis retinuit praeter duos solidos census solvendo annuatim, in octavis natalis Domini. Porro hic Matheus cum dedisset filiam suam Hildiardem nomine, cognomento vero Picam, in uxorem Osmundo de Firmitate de Villa in Oculo, coeperunt nobis calumniari omnia supradicta, ille Osmundus et illa Hildiardis; unde venimus ad placitum atque concordiam apud Monte Foletum, ante supramemoratum Matheum. Deditque domnus Gausbertus Ludovicus, panetarius noster, et monachus pro concordia, Osmundo atque Hildiardi illi XXX solidos Blesensium. Sicque calumniam in perpetuum guerpiverunt. Hoc quoque concesserunt filii saepedicti Mathei. Odo scilicet, qui propter hoc habuit cultellum Hildemari famuli, et Hilgodus et Palestellus atque Piellus. Testibus ex parte Osmundi et Hildiardis:....Concordia cum Hildiarde fuit facta apud Firmitatem; placitum vero sive concordia cum aliis in domo Symonis de Monte Foletum, audientibus atque videntibus....

102. These terms are geographic cognomina, but since they were passed on from generation to generation I have used them here as family names that designate two branches of the same family.

period between 1120 and 1130. In 1120 Hugh of Baugny, his wife, children and uncle gave pasture at Près-Morin, four *denarii* and a half of *cens* and other "unjust" *cens*. The exaction of unjust *cens*, i.e. revenues, betrays a need or desire for cash.¹⁰³ A charter from the same period shows Hugh of Baugny consenting to a sale of land by one of his vassals. In return for his consent, Hugh was given a horse. He also specified that the eight *denarii* of *cens* of the same pasture go to the monks as a post-obit gift. The arrangement of a gift that insured the monks would not enjoy these revenues until after his death may indicate a reluctance to alienate them from family possession during the donor's lifetime.¹⁰⁴ Hugh's uncle Geoffrey also made a donation in alms of the *cens* paid by the monks to him every year of thirteen *denarii* and one *obolum*. For this gift, he and his family were compensated with a total of twenty-two *solidi*.¹⁰⁵ Around 1125 Hugh of Baugny exchanged the two arpents of meadow he held at Près-Morin for three from Condé-sur-Huisne, an attempt most probably to consolidate his landed possessions.¹⁰⁶ These acts reflect a particular interest in preserving this family's territorial base and gaining additional revenues through either exchanges, compensation or usurpations. During the same period this family also arranged a series of sales. Between 1125 and 1130 Hugh's son Eudes and

103. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 34, pp. 55-6; for the text of this charter, see p. 309, note 40 of this Chapter.

104. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 35, p. 56; for the text of this charter see p. 319, note 63 of this Chapter.

105. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 65, pp. 84-5: Notum sit omnibus quod Gaufridus de Boigne dedit Deo Salvatori et monachis de Tyron tredecim denarios et unum obolum quos ei predicti monachi per annum reddere solebant de censu: dedit autem eos in elemosina, et accepit inde ab eis xv solidos, Legardis autem uxor ejus et Ernulfus filius ejus hoc concesserunt, et inde vii solidos habuerunt.

106. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 66, p. 85: Noverint omnes qui vivunt quod Hugo de Boigne commutavit monachis Tyronii duo arpenta prati in Prato-Morini pro tribus que erant in capite pratorum de Conde, Osanna uxore ejus concedente et Odone filio ejus, et Goffredo avunculo Hugonis, et filiabus ipsius Hugonis, Legarde et Beatrice, et Helvisse, Audeburge, Deelina.

his cousin Girard¹⁰⁷ separately sold lands to the monks of Tiron. Girard and his wife sold one arpent of meadow at Près-Morin for twenty-five *solidi*. His wife and sons also received counter-gifts: his wife and eldest son two *denarii* each, his younger son three *obolos*.¹⁰⁸ Hugh's son Eudes and his mother Osanna sold three arpents of meadow from Baugny, not far from the Hynne river, with the consent of his sisters.¹⁰⁹ In the previous generation Hugh and Geoffrey held lands together and consented to each other's donations, made gifts of *cens* and exchanged land. These donations indicate an interest in accruing and preserving their revenues, which is evident in the postponement of alienations of revenues, usurpation of *cens*, and an absence of landed gifts. The only transaction that involved land was an exchange which reflects an attempt to improve their landed holdings rather than alienate them. The need for cash revenue continued to be a concern for their heirs, who resorted to sales to secure the

107. Girard's father Geoffrey is most often referred to as "Geoffrey of Riveray." Girard and his brothers also employed this cognomen, suggesting that the family was beginning to use different cognomina to mark the various branches. Hugh's sons carried the cognomen of Baugny as well, which may indicate that the family used two different cognomen to distinguish the descendants of Hugh's father and his uncle Geoffrey.

Geoffrey's sons Garin and Thibaut continue to appear in the charters as the twelfth century progressed. Garin was frequently a witness for the viscounts of Chateaudun (See *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 78, p. 98, and vol. I, no. 84, p. 103). Thibaut and Garin both appeared as witnesses for William Soxiaco (See *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 194, p. 223).

108. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 75, pp. 94-5: Notum sit omnibus quod Girardus de Rivereio et uxor ejus et duo filii ejus vendiderunt monachis de Tyron unum arpentum prati in Prato-Morini XXV solidos, et habuit inde uxor ejus II denarios, et filius major duos denarios, et minor III obolos. Hoc etiam concesserunt Hugo de Boigne, et inde habuit III nummos, et Gofredus avunculus ejus, de quorum feodo erat pratum.

109. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 120, p. 142: Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris quod Odo, filius Hugonis de Boinne, et mater ejus Osanna vendiderunt monachis de Tyronio III arpenta prati ad Boigne, non longe a fluvio Hyenne. Hoc concesserunt sorores Odonis, Beatrix, et Deelina et Hildeburgis et Ligardis atque Helois [*sic*]. Factum est hoc anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXXX. Hoc concessit Rotrocus comes. Hujus rei testes sunt:...Signum Odonis+. Signum Osanne+. Signum Deelina+. Signum Hildeburgis+. Signum Legardis+. Signum Helosse+ [*sic*].

Unfortunately the charter does not state how much money the family received in return for the land.

necessary funds. The combined evidence from this family demonstrates a change in its resources coinciding with certain difficulties in the management of its finances, evident in the sales and usurpation.

While some lesser noble families sold property, others placed it in mortgage. Sometime before 1102 Landric, his wife, sons and daughters mortgaged their half of the oven at Brézolles for twenty-five *solidi*.¹¹⁰ The family also received individual counter gifts for a subsequent gift: Landric was given fifty *solidi*; his wife a garment worth two *solidi*; his sons Isnard and Radulf each a pair of shoes; his daughter, who received part of the oven as her dowry, a gold ring. The family was motivated to mortgage by a need for revenue and to donate, perhaps, by an inability to pay off the mortgage. Tension over family resources is further apparent in Landric's reiteration that the Church will hold the donated property in perpetuity free from any claims from his family. The singling out in his admonition of his heirs indicates that he believed his children or grandchildren might not have access to adequate resources and would, thus, contest the gift. In addition to the threat of excommunication, Landric also set a

110. *CSPDC*, no. 27, p. 253: Omnibus sanctae Dei aecclesiae fidelibus, tam praesentis quam futuri aevi, notum esse volo ego Landricus, filius Gilsberti, una cum uxore mea Hildeburgi, filiis atque filiabus meis, quia medietatem furni qui situs est in vioc Bruerolensi, quam olim quidem Arnaldo monacho pro XXV solidis nummorum invvadiaveram [*sic*]; nunc, inquam, pro anima mea et antecessorum meorum atque successorum animabus, annuente domino meo Warino de Islo, ex cujus beneficio eandem partem furni tenere videor, necnon et Symone, filio ejus, sancto Petro, apostolorum principi, coenobii Carnotensis, cui praest Eustachius abbas, et sancto Germano concedo jure perpetuo, ut habeant, teneant et possideant, ab hac die in antea, sine ulla calumpnia sancti Petri monachi. Pro hac itaque re a Gaufrido monacho, praenomine Wishcardo, L solidos nummorum accepi; et uxor mea, nomine Hildeburgis, teristrum unum duorum solidorum filiique mei, Isanardus et Radulfus, singuli singulas crepidas; necnon et filia mea Adelina, quam dedi Rainaldo militi, cui etiam praedictam furni partem dederam, anulum aureum; Warinus quoque, domnus meus X solidos, et filius ejus tantumdem. Has autem litteras fieri volui ad memoriam posterorum; atque Drocis castro VIII kalendas aprilis publice corroborando astipulavi; ut, si quis unquam heredum meorum his contradicere conatus fuerit, cogatur prius fisco regis auri libras persolvere XXX, denuo conatus ejus inefficax permaneat; et, si pertinax fuerit, excommunicationis baculo feriat, donec resipiscat. Nosque et parentes nostri, cum domno nostro Guarino, pro hoc facto, fratrum orationibus semper frui mereamur.



penalty of thirty *librae* of gold, an exorbitant amount, as a fine for anyone tempted to disrupt this arrangement.¹¹¹

Families continued to arrange mortgages into the twelfth century. Sometime before his death in 1151 Gilbert the son of Ascelin *Vicarius* mortgaged to the canons of St. Jean-en-Vallée an arable field in return for twenty seven *solidi* and a measure of oats.¹¹² After he died, his wife, children, grandchild, and son-in-law acquitted the mortgaged land for the remedy of the souls of their father and certain of their relatives. The charters provide other information that demonstrates that the mortgage may have been driven by economic necessity. Around 1125 Gilbert acted with the son of Gregory of Chevillon in confirming their fathers' gifts consisting of thirteen arpents of field and woods, one carrucate, as well as the *ban*, *vicaria* and all customs pertaining to these properties. This was a substantial gift and may have contributed to the depletion of resources that led Gilbert to mortgage his property.¹¹³ A motiva-

111. Thirty pounds of gold was a totally unrealistic fine which virtually no noble would be able to pay. Such penalties were frequently established before 1080 but became increasingly rare at the end of the century and into the twelfth. This example, therefore, suggests that Landric particularly suspected that his heirs would dispute this arrangement and attempted to discourage them by setting such a punishing fine.

112. *JEAN*, no. 38, p. 24: De cetero, notum esse volumus quod, defuncto Gilleberto, uxor illius nomine Gila et filius ejus Gaufridus cum fratribus suis et sororibus, quorum subscripta sunt nomina; Ascelinus, Hengenoldus, Ragninaldus, Michael, Isabellis et filius ejus Rogerius, Erenburgis et maritus ejus Maimbertus, Ascelina, Richeldis, campum terre quem, ipsis concendentibus, pater eorum pro viginti septem solidis et modio uno annone nobis invadiaverat, ecclesie Sancti Johannis quietum et ab omni consuetudine liberum, pro redemptione animarum tam Gilleberti quam ceterorum parentum suorum, condonarunt. Adjecerunt etiam paxillum terra vie publice adjacentis. Qua pro re diem obitus ipsius Gilleberti in martirologio nostro perpetuo designatum abemus. Hec, sicut prescripta sunt, Teobaldus de Calciata concessit, et Hugo de Chalet, et Andreas de Choleth et filius ejus Bartholomeus.

113. *JEAN*, no. 38, p. 24: Nos Sancti Johannis canonici notum esse volumus tam futuris quam presentibus Ernaudum, filium Gregorii de Chevillon, et Gillebertum, filium Ascelini Vicarii, concesserunt nobis donum quod fecerant patres eorum ecclesie Sancti Johannis apud Esmervilla, videlicet X agripennes terre et III agripennes luci ad mansionem hospitum, ita quod terra ista soluta et quieta erit a bannearia et viaria et omnibus consuetudinibus. Preterea, dederunt nobis terram ad unam carrucam, de qua tantum campipartem eis reddemus. Concesserunt quoque ut predicta terra a

tion of concern over resources for this mortgage is further substantiated by Gilbert's arrangement to have one of his sons raised by the Church. Walter was to be fed and clothed by the canons of St. Jean-en-Vallée, with the provision that once he became an adult the canons would grant him forty *solidi* in return for Gilbert's *mediatoria* of the village of Aubert.¹¹⁴ Gilbert and his wife had nine children and the provision made for Walter to be reared in the Church indicates that this family could not afford to support him. The mortgage was another attempt to raise cash by a family that was forced to negotiate transactions to their advantage because of their increasingly impoverished state. One of Gilbert's sons assumed a more important place in the family, which may be the beginnings of the precedence of one son over all other offspring, no doubt triggered by stress on the patrimony. While Gilbert's wife and children acted together to acquit the mortgage, one son acted in association with his mother. The other children are referred to as "his brothers and sisters," indicating that this son was in some way, perhaps by order of birth, different from his other siblings. The presence of nuclear and some extended kin in families that arranged mortgages indicates that a multiplicity of claims to family possessions and successive partitioning of them compelled them to make such arrangements.

Mortgages were also arranged between lesser nobles and the Church to finance

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bannenaria et viaria similiter soluta et quieta sit. De eadem terra Ernaudus quidem ad III boves, Gillebertus vero ad unum nobis dederunt; hujus terre campipartem eis reddemus apud Esmervilla.

Ernaudus went on to become a canon and made another gift when he entered the order.

114. *JEAN* no. 37, p. 23: Nos Sancti Johannis canonici notum esse volumus tam futuris quam presentibus quod Gillebertus, habens mediatoriam cum ecclesia Sancti Johannis apud Alberetum, rogavit Hubertum, fratrem nostrum, ut filium suum puerum, nomine Galterium, nutriret et procuraret in cibis et vestibus usque ad tempus quo Galterius quod sibi utile providere posset, et tunc Hubertus xl solidos Galterio daret pro omnibus que apud Alberetum habuerat pater ejus. Quod totum factum est, et puero jam adulto, nummi redditi sunt a Huberto XL solidi predicto Galterio. Juravit predictus Galterius hos XL solidos se nunquam quesitum, neque pro his que pater suus apud Alberetum habuerat calumpniam facturum.

pilgrimages and participation in the crusades.¹¹⁵ Hugh of Lièvreuille, his mother and *cognatus* mortgaged three bovates of land in the same village around 1127. In return they were granted ten *librae* of money from Chartres. Since Hugh and presumably Maria and/or Herbert were presently leaving for Jerusalem, the motivation for the mortgage was probably to secure cash for the journey. They specified that if they did not return from the Holy Land or died without heirs the land was to be conceded to the Church in alms.¹¹⁶

Usurpations and Disputes

Perhaps the most persuasive evidence of a tension over resources in the families of the lesser nobility is their attempts to usurp land given by their relatives to the Church. The Church was the target for noble usurpations for several reasons. First, it could be a matter of the sources. Since the Church kept the records, claims made to its property would have been carefully recorded. Second, the Church was one of the largest landlords, if not the largest, in medieval Europe. Finally, taking land from monks and prelates must have been infinitely easier than from armed and trained warriors. Church lands must have, thus, been fairly easy pickings for land hungry nobles and knights. Seizures of land do not always indicate a crisis in the control or allocation of property, however. Indeed the medieval nobility was an unruly and violent class which indulged in such activities as a result of the absence of central authority and its own obstreperousness. Usurpations and contestations by family

115. There are also several examples of knights or lesser nobles arranging sales before their departure for the Holy Land. Presumably nobles would need cash to meet their expenses while traveling, and many resorted to sales and mortgages to attain it. For some examples of sales, see the following: *CSPDC*, no. 127, p. 349, and no. 156, pp. 368-9; *JEAN*, no. 66, pp. 38-9.

116. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 86, pp. 106-7; for the text of this charter see p. 301, note 18, of this Chapter.

members in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries were driven by other factors than the nobility's generally violent nature. Many forces emerged at this time to challenge the nobility and restrict its territorial base. Actions taken by nobles against their relatives' donations suggest that their possessions no longer met their needs. Given the sense of family solidarity that prevailed among the nobility in these centuries, it is unlikely that nobles would have challenged their relatives' donations simply out of greed or unruliness.

Before 1080 usurpation of church lands by nobles had been quite common and it continued to be a problem into the last decades of the eleventh century, as well as for the entire first half of the twelfth. A charter datable between 1084 and 1100 reflects the violent nature of Chartrain society. In a rage Martin Tirollus stole the monks' horses, pillaged and burned houses that belonged to Marmoutier. Martin eventually regretted his actions and wished to repent. He appeared before the chapter penitent, naked, shaven, barefoot, bearing rods in his hands with which to be beaten and promised to be the faithful servant of the monks.¹¹⁷ He claimed he had been driven to these actions because he was so poor and could not sustain himself. Unruly nobles seized property from the Church in addition to doing violence to ecclesiastical property and persons. In 1092, for example, Hugh the prévôt of Blois falsely claimed

117. *CMPD*, no. 57, p. 51: Notum sit tam presentibus quam futuris quod Martinus cognomento Tirollius, multa quondam mala injuriose fecit rebus beati Martini Majoris Monasterii et monachis suis, sed maxime Villae Belfodii et monachis illius obedientiae. Nam illum qui tunc temporis inde prior erat, Hatonem videlicet monachum, quodam tempore jam quidem vespere facto, cum de peracto suo opere rediret, ex improvise quasi furtim eum invasit, caballos suos ei abstulit et sic illum peditem ire domum necesse fuit. Ad ultimum autem, ad cumulum totius malignitatis suae, in tanto iracundiae furore exarsit, quod domos supradicti sancti, in quibus monachi obedientiae illius habitabant, comburere persuasit, et fecit de quibus tot et tantis malis; tandem penitentiam agens, venit ad Majus Monasterium et nudus, expoliatus, nudisque pedibus, virgas ferens in manibus, taliter se obtulit presentiae domni abbatis Bernardi et aliorum fratrum postulans misericordiam, dicensque se paratum pati quamcunque correctionem, sed cum pauper nimium esset et nullam substantiam haberet, unde tanti dampnum forisfacti recuperare posset, se ipsum pro emendatione illa tradidit domno abbati et fratribus aliis, videlicet homo illorum deveniens, et ulterius fideliter illis servire promittens.

land at Rodon and stole a cow from the monks of Marmoutier. The dispute was brought to the court of Count Stephen at Blois where the abbot was able to prove that the territory in question had belonged to Marmoutier and had been free from claims of ownership. The court, therefore, rendered judgment in favor of the monks.¹¹⁸ While the grounds for Hugh's contestation are not elucidated, the land at Rodon had clearly been in the possession of Marmoutier for some time, which suggests that Hugh was attempting to add to his own holdings by usurping land that belonged to the Church. Hildebert the son of Milo also tried to take church land to supplement his own coffers. Sometime between 1092 and 1101 Hildebert admitted that he had seized land and an orchard at Chaumars unjustly and was repentant. He requested that the monks grant to him the aforementioned land and orchard: in return the building and house from the same property would be transferred to Marmoutier after his death. The monks agreed to this accord.¹¹⁹

Noble usurpations of ecclesiastical land persisted into the twelfth century. In 1111 Giselbert of Brou admitted that he had falsely claimed property at Faverolles as

118. *CMPD*, no. 145, pp. 133-4: Notum sit omnibus quod Hugo prepositus Blesensis calumniabatur nobis terram de Rosdonio. Cumque ad placitum constitutum Blesis in curiam comitis Stephani pariter venissent ipse Hugo et domnus Bernardus abbas Majoris Monasterii cum quibusdam aliis fratribus nostris, audita illius calumnia, respondit domnus abbas nos per multorum annorum curricula illam terram tenuisse sine sua et alicujus calumnia et sine aliquo clamore quem ad ipsum fecisset. Ostendit illum nobis injuste abstulisse unam vaccam nostram. Quo audito, judicavit tota illa curia quod ille debebat nobis reddere vaccam nostram cum emendatione, sed in supradicta terra illum nichil habere justo judicio firmavit. Huic judicio interfuerunt isti testes....

119. *CMPD*, no. 74, p. 66: Notum sit omnibus Majoris Monasterii monachis, quod Hilbertus, Milonis filius, tenuerat apud Camarcium terram et viridiarium supra calumniam monachorum Majoris Monasterii, et contra voluntatem illorum, qui tandem ratione persuadente, se injuste possedisse recognoscens, deprecatus est eosdem monachos ut sic dimitterent eum tenere et habere predictam terram et viridiarium, eo tenore ut quicquid in ea terra aedificaturus erat et etiam quandam domum, quam jure habebat, beato Martino et suis monachis post sui decessum soluta et quietam dimitteret; quod et fecerunt.



well as two *jugera* of land at Tremblai-le-Vicomte from the church of St. Roman.¹²⁰ He made restitution for this action by remitting these properties to the Church. Three charters of the first third of the twelfth century also provide examples of noble usurpations. Hilduin of Alluyes admitted to possessing unjustly a carrucate of land at *Novum Mansum* and a measure of land at Luigny which had been previously donated to St. Père.¹²¹ Pagan of Rémelard with the consent of his wife and sons also remitted the land of *Domnum Germanum*; he, like Hilduin, acknowledged that he had taken it from the Church. He also confirmed that one *aratrum* of land had been donated by Hugh Cauletus.¹²² Hugh Nepos recognized his illegal possession of the land of *Bisart* located next to Oulins. This land had previously been given by Robert of Evreux to the monks, but Hugh had invaded the land and seized it. Fear of the Church and love of his lord William Lupellus motivated Hugh to own up to his crime and restore the lands to the Church.¹²³ Ecclesiastical property was an easy target for nobles who

120. *CSPDC*, no. 19, p. 480: Notum sit omnibus hujus loci presentibus et futuris habitatoribus, quod ego Gislebertus de Braio calumpniam illam, quam injuste faciebam monachis sancti Romani supradicti castri, de terra Favrilium et de duobus jugeribus apud Trembleiam sitis, injuste illatam, ab hodierno die remitto, Deoque [et] sancto Romano rectitudinem facto. Actum est apud Braium, anno MCXI ab incarnatione Domini, indictione IIII. Quod viderunt et audierunt testes hii: domna Eustacia....

121. *CSPDC*, no. 36 p. 494; for the text of this charter see Chapter 5, p. 284, note 197.

122. *CSPDC*, no. 48, p. 553: Presenti scripto memorie succendentium firmiter inhereat, Paganum de Regimalastro calumpniam cujusdam terre, que est apud Domnum Germanum, annuente conjugis sua cum filiis, penitis sancto Petro dimisisse, et terram unius aratri ibidem concessisse, quam jampridem Hugo Cauletus donaverat.

123. *CSPDC*, no. 110, p. 601: Omnibus scriptum hoc legentibus innotescat, quia calumpnia quam Hugo, qui cognominatur Nepos, faciebat nobis, sancti Petri Carnoti videlicet monachis, de terra quadam que dicitur de Bisart, prope Olins sita, atque a Roberto de Ebriaco ecclesie nostre antiquitus donata, taliter extincta fuerit. Postea enim quam eandem terram predictus calumpniator Hugo Nepos invasam nobis diutius abstulisset, tandem aliquando injusticiam suam recognovit, et, tam timore ecclesiastice justicie, quam amore domni Willelmi Lupelli, ipso presente, apud Ebriacum, in portu Teoboldi Belli fabri, eandem calumpniam dimisit, terramque predictam, tam cultam quam incultam, totam quietam nostre ecclesie in perpetuum clamavit. Cui rei

sought to usurp land to bolster their flagging resources or who were merely flexing their muscle.

Contestations brought by the relatives of lesser nobles continued to be prevalent in the twelfth century. Actions brought by siblings and children are particularly suggestive of tension surrounding the allocation of family property. Attempts by sons or brothers to contest or usurp donations are signs that their inheritance did not provide satisfactorily for them or their families.¹²⁴ In 1101, for instance, Salomon of Fréteval seized the fiefs that his brothers Almaric and Michael had given to the abbey of Marmoutier. He did eventually demise his claim to these properties and allow them to be transferred to the Church.¹²⁵ Salomon's wife and children consented to the alienation, and Salomon was granted the *societas* of the monks in return for abandoning his claim. Monetary counter gifts were awarded to -----
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primogenitus filius ejus Isnardus assensit, et calumpniam invasionemque, quam cum patre fecerat, cum patre dimisit. Unde testes sunt quorum nomina subter annotata sunt:....

124. Challenges brought by daughters and sisters will be discussed in the chapter on women in the twelfth century, Chapter 8.

125. *CMPD*, no. 66, pp. 59-60: Proinde utilitati posterorum nostrorum proposse nostro providentes, per presentem carthulam eorum notitiae transmittimus, qualiter amicorum nostrorum et familiarium, quidam, Salomon nomine, dictus de Fracta Valle, calumpniam quam nobis faciebat de quibusdam rebus, ad fevum suum pertinentibus dimiserit, et insuper non solum illa quae primo calumniabatur, sed etiam quaedam alia nobis gratanter concesserit.

Pateat igitur universis quod memoratus Salomon de Fracta Valle calumniabatur nobis, monachis videlicet Majoris Monasterii, totum fevum Almari et Machel, fratris ejus, et nonnulla alia, quae per manum fratrum nostrorum domni Bernardi Panetarii nostri cognomento Flagelli, et domni Gausberti Ludovici, prepositi Camarcii, adquisieramur, circa castrum Fractae Vallis....Promisit enim ei soepedictus frater noster, quod de omnibus quae unquam ecclesiae nostrae forisfecerat, in capitulo nostro faceret eum absolvi et insuper tam ipsum et uxorem ejus et filios, quam parentes suos in benefactum monasterii nostri et societatem faceret recipi, sicut et post modicum fecit, si dimissa calumpnia illa nobis libenter concederet, quae videbatur calumniari....Pro qua sua tam benigna, tamque liberali concessione, memoratus frater noster, domnus Bernardus, non solum id quod prescripsimus ei fecit, verum etiam xl ei solidos, et filio ejus Pagano xxx, uxori ejus v solidos dedit; et insuper xii denarios, quos inibi Salomon, idem dum pranderet cuicunque sibi placuit memoriae gratia distribuit.

Salomon and his family as well, attesting to the right that he had to his brothers' fiefs.¹²⁶ At some point between 1102 and 1144 Stephen the son of Geoffrey of Béville-le-Comte was suffering from a fatal illness and sought succor from the monks of St. Père. He conferred on them those possessions that belonged to him by right of inheritance for the remedy of his soul. Sadly, he died the next day, and his brother Robert contested this donation. After a long and protracted altercation Stephen's brother and the monks finally compromised. Robert allowed fifteen *solidi* of *cens* and three arpents of vines, to pass to the monks, less than what Stephen had given.¹²⁷ Robert, like Salomon of Fréteval, could not allow his brother's gift to be alienated without receiving something in return. The attempts to keep or seize their siblings' lands for their own use implies that these brothers' shares of family resources had diminished or were not adequate. Yet the compensation they received for their actions reveals that they still maintained a right to family property.

Siblings also acted as a group to usurp from the Church land donated by their kin. Such collective actions bear witness to the significant economic strain that some families were experiencing. Sometime in the first third of the twelfth century the sons and daughters of Erchembald the knight confessed to holding the land of Lamerville unjustly. They abandoned their claim, swore not to levy future claims, and pledged to

126. The awarding of counter gifts established Salomon and his family's right as potential heirs to his brothers' fiefs.

127. *CSPDC*, no. 45, p. 299: Et presentibus et futuris notificamus, quod miles quidam, Stephanus nomine, filius Gaufridi de Besvilla, corporis egritudine preventus, ad monachatus remedium in hoc nostro monasterio confugit, et nobis, pro salute anime sue, plurima, de his que jure hereditario se contingebant, contulit. Quo facto, sequenti die, eodem ingravescente incommodo, defunctus est. At vero frater ejus, Robertus nomine....[elison in text] assensum fraterne elemosine denegans, nosque calumpniosius infestationibus diutius defatigans, longa itaque inter nos et ipsum contentione altercatione protracta, tandem Robertus XV sol. censu, et tres agripennos vinearum concordie gratia nobis obtulit...quos... accipere [elison in text] consensimus. Que scilicet concordia in curia comitis Theobaldi, ipsius voluntate et assensu, facta est, presentibus plurimis de proceribus ejus, quorum ex parte nomina subscripta sunt.

defend the gift. For their cooperation these siblings were granted a countergift of sixty *solidi*.¹²⁸ Other families acted as a group to usurp land granted to the Church. The sons and daughter of Radulf of Hombières acted with their father to relinquish their claim to the vines of Eudes of Blerru. They jointly admitted to usurping the property and holding it unjustly. In the court of Ricard Muscosus, who had jurisdiction over the vines, Radulf and his children recognized their unjust possession and promised that neither they nor their heirs would make another claim.¹²⁹ Disputes and usurpation brought by the collective nuclear family signal a strong sense of family solidarity, perhaps created out of the necessity in response to a depletion of resources.

Claims brought by sons to their parents' donations perhaps best reveal tension over the allocation of family possessions. Such actions indicate that family resources were not providing for all male progeny. Not only do these disputes reflect the economic crisis of the family, but they also suggest that the paucity of land in particular had caused some noble families to take steps to preserve the patrimony by restricting heirs. In 1081 Sulpice donated part of the wood at Chaumont-sur-Loire to Marmoutier, and Maurice Erchirpellus, who held the land from him, confirmed the gift with the consent of his son. Some time later, however, Maurice's son seized the -----

128. *CSPDC*, no. 22, pp. 415-6: His litteris recitantibus memoria nobis succendentium subnixa indubitatione recordetur, filios Erchembaldi, Willelmum et Guidonem, assentientibus ceteris fratribus, Radulfo clerico et Adelardo, cum sorore sua, calumpniam illius terre, que dicitur Lemori Villaris, perpetuo dimisisse, et sacramento jurasse nunquam se amplius monachis sancti Petri super hac terra calumpnie querelam suscitare, sed contra omnes querelatores eam terram, placitandi lege vel belli, tenaciter se defendere, et ob hoc monachos sancti Petri LX solidos eis tribuisse.

129. *CSPDC*, no. 170, p. 386: Necessarium duximus nos, sancti Petri Carnotensis cenobii videlicet monachi, cunctis christiane professionis innotescere, qualiter ea terminata sit calumpnia, quam de vineis Odonis Belerrut Radulfus de Humbleris et ejus filii Urso et Johannes et filia Agnes erga nos injuste fecerant. Statuto itaque die, nobis et ipsis in placito sedentibus in curia Ricardi Muscosi, majoris episcopis, in cujus censiva prefate sunt vinee, auditis etiam utriusque partis rationibus, de querela eorum simul et nostra responsione iudicium a legalibus et sapientibus personis factum est. Decretum est simul et definitum ibi, eos et eorum heredes in predictis vineis nichil ulterius posse clamare; quod audientes nec contradixerunt nec falsare potuerunt.



donated lands, betraying a certain urgency in securing resources.¹³⁰ Desperation for land is also apparent in the case of Geoffrey Norman, the son of Hubert the prévôt of Morée. About 1101, Geoffrey laid claim to the donations made by both his father and his father-in-law to Marmoutier. A settlement was finally reached with the monks and he was given ten *solidi* for abandoning his claim.¹³¹ Geoffrey must have been in dire need of land to usurp the gifts of his father and father-in-law. Joscelin of Mongerville also sought to add to his lands by claiming land at Boisville given to his mother by her first husband, Radulf. When his mother was dying, she gave this property to the monks of St. Père for the soul of her first husband. The monks insisted that the land in question did not constitute part of Joscelin's patrimony, but he was not persuaded and persisted in his claim. As a result of perpetrating "many evils" against the Church, Joscelin was excommunicated. Sometime between 1101 and 1129 he repented,

130. *CMPD*, no. 142, p. 132: Nosse volumus fratres nostros presentes et posteros, quod Sulpicius de Calvo Monte donaverit Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii et nobis, monachis ejusdem loci, quandam partem bosci sui Calvi Monte proximi, quam de illo tenuerat miles quidam, nomine Mauricius cognomento Erchirpellus, qui et ipse de eadem re donum nobis in nostro capitulo fecit....[elison in text] de donatione Mauricii Erchirpelli, quam etiam Mauricius filius ejus auctorisavit, Fulcradus de Ruilliac, Gaufredus Ludovici de Rupibus.

Longo autem tempore postea, presidente nobis domno abbate Willelmo, Mauricius donum patris sui inquietare cepit....[elison in text] sed ipse concessit et concedere fecit uxori sue Amelina, et Matheo eorum filio et filiabus Agneti et Maientie.

Unfortunately the charter does not provide the particulars on how this conflict was resolved. It was resolved, however, since his wife and children consented to and conceded to something.

131. *CMPD*, no. 87, pp. 76-7: Noverint omnes Gaufredum Normannum, filium Huberti prepositi, calumniatum nobis fuisse elemosinam patris sui, quam moriens nobis dimiserat pro qua, et cum [*sic*] apud Majus Monasterium tradideramus sepulturae, quicquid etiam Hubertus Magnonis filius, cujus filiam habebat uxorem, dederat nobis sive vendiderat apud Moreias, a loco qui Cainstra cognominatur usque ad ecclesiolam Sancti Cyrici, de quibus videlicet omnibus ita concordavimus cum illo, decem ei denariorum solidos dedimus. Et ita omnem ex integro guerpivit calumniam, quam rebus supradictis immittebat.

recognized the injustice of his claim and confirmed his mother's gift.¹³²

Like Joscelin of Mongerville, many other sons were motivated to abandon their unjust claims to their parents' donations from fear for their souls. Geoffrey of Bero was preparing to go to the Holy Land around the year 1115. Before he left he relinquished his claim to the land his father had donated to the Church and affirmed the gift.¹³³ Geoffrey undoubtedly would encounter many dangers, known and unknown, on his travels and was attempting to make amends for any transgressions that might affect the state of his immortal soul. Gui of St. Piat was driven by the same concern. His father William of St. Piat, a knight of the lords of Gallardon, had donated in alms to the abbey of Notre Dame de Josaphat all of the land he possessed in Saint-Prest. Gui, however, contested the donation and retained possession. He was called to the bishop's court to account for his actions but did not back down. The clergy found they had no other choice but to issue a sentence of excommunication. Gui, heeding the warning and counsel of his friends, repented and remitted to the monks what his father had given.¹³⁴ Children continued to challenge their parents'

132. *CSPDC*, no. 58, p. 453: Mater Joscelini de Mungervilla habebat quandam terram Boesville, a priori viro suo, qui non fuit pater Joscelini, Radulfo nomine, sibi datam et relictam, ad cuicumque ipsa vellet dandum vel vendendum. Quam moriens dedit sancto Petro pro anima viri sui, qui sibi eam dederat, et sua, Joscelino tamen contradicente et calumpniante; unde factum est ut inde placitaret nobiscum; ubi iudicatum est nichil ad eum pertinere de illa terra, eoquod non fuisset de patrimonio suo. Ille tamen, minime ob id ab injusta calumpnia cessans, multa mala pro ea fecit nobis; pro quibus eum excommunicatus esset. Tandem, volente Deo, penitentia ductus, venit nudis pedibus in capitulum nostrum, peccasse se confitens, seque injuste calumpniasse recognoscens. Cumque fecisset nobis rectum in manu Willelmi abbatis, eique rectum esset dimissum, dimisit injustam calumpniam super altare sancti Petri, donumque matris sue concessione sua firmavit.

133. *CSPDC*, no. 114, pp. 603-4; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 5, p. 291, note 214.

134. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 75, pp. 96-7: Hac animatus confidentia quidam miles Galardonensis, dictus Guillelmus de Sancto-Piato, egrotans apud Galardonem infirmitate qua mortuus est, visitanti se cuidam monacho monasterii quod nominatur Josaphat, Fulcherio nomine, ad monachum faciendum et deferendum ad suum monasterium ibique sepeliendum se tradidit, et ob elemosinam et gratiam sue

ecclesiastical donations into the mid twelfth-century. In the year 1150 Hildeard, the niece or granddaughter of the dean of the chapter at Chartres, gave the tithes of Andeville to the monks of Notre Dame of Josaphat with the consent of her sons. After he consented, however, Hugh tried to annul the donation. He violently seized the tithes and received the sentence of excommunication from the bishop for this action, but repented and forfeited the tithes that his mother had given.¹³⁵ The persistence of challenges brought by sons to their parents' donations suggests that they were experiencing a shortage of resources and were searching for ways to supplement their holdings.

The economic motivation behind the challenges brought by children is particularly apparent in charters that both use the term *primogenitus* and record disputes. In 1096 Hugh the prévôt of Blois abandoned his and his sons' claim to the land at Rodon, Bergerioux, Perthuiset and *Villa Trochiae*. The motivation for his quitclaim

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susceptionis totam terram suam de Sancto-Prisco preter hospitem eidem monasterio per manum ejusdem monachi, conjugis sue Hersende et filia Potia vel Parva nomine concedentibus, et secum et per se hoc agentibus donavit....Filius autem ejus Guido patris elemosinam calumniari et retinere veritus non est. Unde per justiciam ecclesiasticam vocatus et perductus ad episcopalem presentiam, oblatum sibi iudicium secundum sua dicta et presentium verba testimoniorum audire renuit et renuendo recessit. Quapropter, ecclesiastica exigente justitia, excommunicatus tanquam parvipendens aliquandiu ita permansit. Postmodum vero monitis et consiliis amicorum suorum in meliorum reductus sententiam, facti penituit, et ut episcopo satisfactorius Carnotum veniens, ad monasterium Josaphat ab eo remissus est ut patris elemosinam sua concessione solidam faceret et quietam. Qui illuc veniens et in capitulum fraternitatis adductus, totam terram de Sancto-Prisco quam pater suus monasterio Josaphat donaverat, concessit et propria donatione iteravit. Quo peracto, in gratiam et societatem fraternitatis est receptus et ad episcopum qui se miserat reversus.

135. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 171, pp. 214-5: Ceterum Hugo, postea concessionem suam faciens irritam, donum et elemosinam matris sue molitus est adnullare. Nam quod ipsa contulerat, ipse violenter abstulit. Qui dum nullis episcopi jussionibus obtemperare vellet, ut monachos ex his que de predicta decima rapuerat resaisiret, sed insuper omnem justiciam super hoc exequi detrectaret, domnus episcopus eum excommunicari [jussit]. Excommunicatus itaque tandem resipuit et eidem sepe memorato pontifici Goffredo satisfactorium se presentavit. Cui promisit quod nil deinceps monachis forisfaceret, sed quod eis mater sua donaverat, quiete solideque possidere permetteret, fidemque suam interponens spopondit quod eis redderet quicquid abstulerat.

For the beginning of this charter, see p. 305, note 30 of this Chapter.

was that he wished to go on crusade with his eldest son. Warin is clearly denominated *senior* in the charter, which indicates that birth order had become important in this family. Peter, one of Hugh's sons, and Warin demised their claim to the land and they and their father were given a countergift of six *librae*.¹³⁶ The charter goes on to state that Peter will assume control of his father's honors until either Hugh or Warin return. The monks insisted that Peter swear that the disputed land would be free of claims by either himself or his other brothers. While Peter would remain in control of the patrimony during the absence of his father and brother, if Warin returned he would take over as head of the family. Certain powers and prerogatives had come to be identified with the eldest son and are evident, for example, in Peter's guarantee that gift would be free from dispute by his siblings. Order of birth had come to confer certain responsibilities. The designation of Warin as the eldest, the fact that the family had usurped land from the monks on several occasions, and Peter's promise that his brothers would not dispute the alienation combine to underscore a family that was experiencing significant economic pressures that contributed to a transition in inheritance. The awarding of a countergift to Peter as well as Warin demonstrates that younger sons still exercised a right to the patrimony. Yet the adoption of an

136. *CMPD*, no. 152, p. 141: Noverint omnes quod Hugo Guernonatus, qui fuit prepositus Blesis, et filius ejus, calumniabantur nobis terram de Rosdone et de Bergerolio, et de Petrapertusi et de Villa Trochiae pertinentes ad obedientiam Villae Berfodii. Anno autem ab incarnatione Domini M XCVI, qui est annus dedicationis basilicae Majoris Monasterii ab Urbano papa factae, cum idem Hugo et filius ejus senior, Guarinus nomine, vellent in Jerusalem cum exercitu Xristianorum ire contra paganos, dimisit Deo et beato Martino atque nobis ejus monachis omnem supradictam calumniam pro anima sua et Prasae, uxoris suae. Duo quoque ex filiis ejus, id est supradictus Guarinus et Petrus, dimiserunt similiter eandem calumniam pro anima Prasae, matris suae, atque pro suis animabus, et inde acceperunt ipsi tres, de caritate beati Martini, vi libras Blesensis monetae a domno Odone tunc temporis Villae Berfodii priore. Qui et promiserunt quod ipsum concedere facerent caeteros fratres suos omnes. Unde etiam fuit fidejussor prefatus Petrus qui in honorem patris sui remanebat et cum servaturus erat donec vel ipse pater vel Guarinus frater ejus redirent ab Jerusalem; quod scilicet ab omni calumnia etiam fratrum suorum terram ipsam nobis adquietaret et quicquid damni pro eadem calumnia nobis ab aliquo deinceps inferretur, ipse totum nobis restauraret, et insuper ceteros fratres suos qui tunc absentes erant, ipsam calumniam faceret dimittere cum redirent.

inheritance system that centered control of the patrimony on the firstborn son or the eldest remaining son reflects an attempt to limit heirs. In 1122 the sons of Andreas Barba contested their father's donation in alms of the land at *Murzellis*. Hervé the *primogenitus* first contested the gift but eventually gave up his claim in return for sixty *solidi*. Geoffrey, a younger son, then brought a claim and was similarly enticed by a counter gift of twenty *solidi* to abandon the suit.¹³⁷ Clearly both Hervé and Geoffrey felt a financial pinch and hoped to supplement their own holdings by usurping their father's gift. The coincidence of the designation of Hervé as eldest son and the contestation suggests that measures were being taken to preserve already weakened resources. The use of *primogenitus* to denominate the firstborn son indicates that this child enjoyed certain prerogatives in the family. The discrepancy of the amount awarded to these two brothers as counter gifts also demonstrates that the rights of the first born were stronger than those of other progeny.

Affinal and extended kin also contested donations made by their relatives. As mentioned previously, Geoffrey Norman tried to usurp land given by his father-in-law. His claim to the property was through his wife. The strength of her right, and subsequently his own, is substantiated by the award of the counter gift of ten *solidi*.¹³⁸ In 1108 Osmund of La Ferté-Verneuil and his wife Hildiarde similarly challenged the donation made by his father-in-law of property between Vernouillet and the sluice of the mill of La Gravelle. Osmund and Hildiarde were granted thirty

137. *CMPD*, no. 176, pp. 168-9: Notum sit cunctis Majoris scilicet Monasterii monachis, quod postquam Andreas cognomento Barba terram quae dicitur de Murzellis Deo et beato Martino et monachis Majoris Monasterii in elemosinam dedit et ipsam postmodum terram major ejus filius Herveus, qui de Bellovidere dicebatur, calumpniatus fuisset et ipsam omnino calumpniam pro LX solidis, quos inde a monachis ipsis habuit, quiete dimisisset, surrexit alius quidam ex filiis ejus nomine Gaufredus, et licet multorum probari posset testimonio nondum illum natum fuisse, quando terra haec a patre ejus monachis data est, cepit tamen eam calumpniari atque inde monachos adversus se in curia Blesensi placitare coegit.

138. *CMPD*, no. 87, pp. 76-7; for the text of this charter, see p. 350, note 131 of this Chapter.

solidi as compensation.¹³⁹ Gunther of Auneau based his contestation of his father-in-law's gift, datable between 1119 and 1129, on the grounds that his wife had not consented to it and that it was part of her dowry.¹⁴⁰ Brothers-in-law also levied challenges to donations. Sometime during the first three decades of the twelfth century, before he left for the Holy Land, Isnard gave the land at Tournoisi with its adjacent wood to the monastery of St. Père.¹⁴¹ Upon hearing of Isnard's death in Jerusalem, his brother-in-law Bardolus usurped the land from the monks. Bardolus was given sixty *solidi* of coins to abandon the claim, which he did with the consent of his wife and his children.¹⁴²

Two charters datable from approximately the same period provide evidence of both challenges made by affinal kin and an evolution toward primogeniture. Anticipating his departure on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Gilo Mansellus gave to the church of St. Roman in Brou property worth twelve *denarii*. Afterward, his brother-in-law Daniel of La Ferté, who was married to Gilo's eldest sister, invaded the

139. *CMPD*, no. 83, pp. 74-5; for the text of this charter, see p. 357, note 101, of this Chapter.

140. *JEAN*, no. 22, p. 14: Nos Sancti Johannis canonici notum esse volumus tam futuris quam presentibus quod Guntherio de Alneto nobis calumniam de terra de Soors facienti et dicenti quod uxor sua donum [de] predicta terra nobis non concesserat et quod socer suus cum filia terram illam sibi dederat, Gatho de Remalath, socer ipsius, in curia Gaufridi episcopi, predictam terram se ei dedisse denegavit et justiciam ipsi pro nobis de terra illa obtulit.

141. In return he was given a horse worth forty *solidi*, which would be particularly useful to Isnard since he was about to depart for Jerusalem.

142. *CSPDC*, no. 2, pp. 516-7: Presentium attestazione litterarum noticia fidelium indubitanter moneatur succedentium, quod Isnardus de Garennia dono perhenni sancto Petro terram illam, que dicitur Torneisa, cum bosco adjacenti attribuit, tempore quo Hubertus quidam, monachus noster apud Bruerolum vicum erat; unde etiam ab eodem Huberto equum XL solidorum, gratia opitulationis, quia tunc temporis Jerusalem ire volebat, accepit....Audito itaque ejus obitu in Jerusalem, Bardolus, qui ejus sororem jure maritali desponsatam tenebat, adversum nos monachos sancti Petri, pro eadem terra, calumpniam excitavit. Cujus demum calumpniam, datis ei LX nummorum solidis, penitus extinximus. Bardolus igitur prefatam terram nobis concessit et uxor ejus Gervisa, soror Isnardi, assentientibus filiis suis Guismundo, Alberto, et filiabus.



property and took possession of it. The reference to Daniel's marriage to "Falcon's eldest daughter," suggests a preference for the first born, indicating that the eldest daughter had special rights and privileges within the family. Exclusive favoring of the eldest child was far from established in this family, however, since *all* of Daniel's children consented to his quitclaim, as well as Gilo's other sister and her husband.¹⁴³ The usurpation implies that there was tension over the allocation and possession of resources, particularly those arrangements that pertained to daughters. Fulbert, the son-in-law of Galeran of Thionville, similarly contested the division of land at Senainville. Part of this property was given to the monks of Notre Dame de Josaphat, and part was granted as a dowry for Galeran's daughter. Peter of Thionville, who was designated in the charter as Galeran's "son and heir," conceded the gift and corroborated this arrangement. Peter, over all other children and kin, was declared the sole heir of his father. He alone consented to the gift and acted with his father in authority over family lands. This evidence of primogeniture puts Fulbert's claim in a new light. The proof of primogeniture and the favoring of one son indicate that the family had restricted heirs to the patrimony. The share allotted to Fulbert as his wife's dowry was evidently insufficient, and he had to resort to usurpation to gain what he

143. *CSPDC*, no. 6, pp. 474-5: Legentibus litteras istas certum sit, quod Gilo Mansellus, Jerosolimam proficisci volens, dimisit ecclesie nostre sancti Romani de Braiolo unas botas XII denariorum, quas pater ipsius Falco Mansellus et avus Gilo, pro aliquantis que ecclesie nostre contulerant donariis, annuatim sibi reddendas, quasi memoriale quoddam, sibi retinuerant. Postmodum autem Daniel de Firmitate, primogenitam Falconis filiam, sororem scilicet Gilonis, uxorem habens, easdem botas quasi ex jure calumpniatus, et aliquantas de rebus nostris, occasione ista, saisiedo invadens, tandem, post multas vexationes et invasiones, facti penitens, coram multis testibus, in presentia domne Eustachie, concessu Hersendis uxoris sue et filiorum Gaufridi, Gilonis atque Roberti, filie quoque Mathee, dimissis omnibus calumpniis, donum botarum ecclesiam nostram quiete habere et possidere concessit, et de injusta calumpnia vel saisina, in manu Huberti tunc prioris, rectum fecit. Testes: ex parte Gilonis, Paganus sororius ejus; Guillelmus Rufus, Rainaldi Fortin...Hoc quoque fecit etiam Gaufridus des Esard, et idem botarum donum, concessu uxoris sue, Brunmatin nomine, predicti Falconis filie, pro anima cujusdam filii sui post ecclesiam nostram sepulti, et ipse concessit.



considered a fair share.¹⁴⁴ The evidence of primogeniture and arrangements of dowry suggest that the claims of daughters, in particular, to the patrimony had become limited to their marriage endowment. The tension over resources evident in Fulbert's contestation was also felt by his sons. Warin, Hugh and Garner, Fulbert's sons, contested his gift of the mill at Lambourray. Their behavior indicates that this family was experiencing a significant crisis in regard to resources.¹⁴⁵ Both father and sons challenged gifts in an attempt to gain adequate support. These examples reveal that husbands of noble daughters and sisters resorted to violence and contestation to secure their once customary portions of family resources. Such actions testify to a change in the strategy employed in dispersing family properties, which was, in part, a response to a restriction in the availability of resources.

Relatives also successfully prosecuted claims against donations made by their "ancestors." In 1084 Drogo Freslavena challenged a gift made by his ancestors to the monks of Marmoutier and took Walter the monk's horse in retaliation, actions

144. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 82, pp. 104-5: *Spei hujus instinctu Galerannus de Theonvilla, vir militaris et inter procures eminentie non ignote, miseratus pauperrima primordia cenobii Beate-Marie quod agnominatur Josaphat, in capitulum ejusdem cenobii se rogavit perducere. Adductus autem donum fecit fratribus de terra sua que dicitur Saxonisvilla, quantum une carruge sufficeret ut per societatem spiritalis illorum beneficii terram viventium perhenni hereditate possideret. Promisit etiam illis eandem terram apto die se designaturum et a reliqua terra sua metis interpositis divisurum. Interveniens vero mora divisionis hujus, Galeranus interim filiam suam Columbam marito tradidit, et illi terram suam de Saxonisvilla in conjugio suo donavit, illa tamen nominatim excepta quam ecclesie Josaphat ante donaverat. Petrus quoque de Theonvilla, Galeranni filius et heres, sua concessione et dono patris donum roboravit in ipsius monasterii capitulo....Post hoc prefatus gener Galeranni, nomine Fulbertus, agnominatus Paganus Vespertilio, summonitus a monachis Josaphat super divisione terre sue, Galeranno quoque et Petro supradictis hoc exigentibus et hinc urgentibus eum, cupiditate ductus non acquiescebat, sed improbe disceptabat. Tandem vero consensit et fecit ut metis determinaretur monachis de terra illa quantum sibi visum est unius carruge labori satis esse, id est LX arvipenni [sic], et habuerunt inde L solidos caritatis, ipse scilicet et uxor ejus et filii....Denique ad confirmationem horum omnium adductus in capitulum Fulbertus qui et Paganus Vespertilio, cum uxore sua Columba et filiis Garnerio et Hugone, recenserunt hec omnia fecerunt et recensita concedendo roboraverunt.*

145. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 211, p. 257; for the text of this charter, see pp. 331, note 89 of this Chapter.

precipitated by his "extreme poverty." Drogo eventually quitclaimed his right to the property, and Ivo the monk, taking into consideration Drogo's poverty, let him keep the horse plus a countergift of twenty *solidi*.¹⁴⁶ This action attests to the impoverishment that many lesser nobles experienced. Drogo's dispute also demonstrates the attempt by kin to use usurpation as a means to attempt to augment insufficient holdings.

Members of the extended family, specifically cousins and nephews, also disputed their relatives' ecclesiastical donations. Sometime during the first three decades of the twelfth century Simon of Montpincon abandoned his claim to land given by his uncle Stephen to the monks of St. Père. He realized his possession was unjust and conceded the property in perpetuity with the consent of all of his sons, for which he was granted forty *solidi*.¹⁴⁷ A charter from the cartulary of Tiron of approximately the same date records a similar action. Robert of Coudray with his wife's approval donated her dowry lands at Coudray to the priory of Casteigneirs for the remedy of his soul and those of his relatives. After his death, Elizabeth's nephew Hugh challenged the gift even though he had consented to it. Eventually Hugh, with the consent of his wife, son and daughter, gave the land himself in alms and was

 146. *CMPD*, no. 143, pp. 132-3: Anno autem ab incarnatione M LXXXIV cepit Drogo Freslavena calumniari monachis Majoris Monasterii quicquid antecessores sui illis donaverant, et abstulit pro hoc Gualterio monacho de Sancto Hilario suum palefridum. Quod Ivo monachus audiens, requisivit illum Drogonem quare hoc faceret. Ille vero post multa ad ultimum respondit se injuste calumniari, sed egestate depressus hoc faciebat. Tunc Ivo monachus, ejus paupertati consulens, concessit ei palefridem quem moancho abstulerat et addidit ei donare XX solidos sicque guerpivit Drogo calumniam illam promittens quod si quis aliquando faceret inde calumniam monachis Sancti Martini ipse acquietaret.

147. *CSPDC*, no. 21, pp. 531-2: Litterarum presentium recitatione et testimonio exurgens per labentis hujus seculi tempora fidelium fulciatur propago, quod Symon de Monte Pinzone illam injustam calumpniam de terra que dicitur Bulfinacus, apud Cruciacum villam, Galterius Palardus, avunculus predicti Symonis, sancto Petro donaverat, ex toto in perpetuum, annuentibus filiis suis Roberto, Radulfo et Guidone, acceptis inde LX solidis nummorum, sancto Petro remisit.

given two *solidi* of *cens* due at Pentecost by the monks.¹⁴⁸ Nephews continued to disrupt donations into the mid twelfth century, as is evident in the challenge made by Walter the knight to his uncle Hugh's donation to Notre Dame de Josaphat.¹⁴⁹

Claims by cousins and extended kin persisted into the twelfth century. Sometime around 1130 Gui of Ormoy and his mother Marie made a gift of three arpents of land at Villandon to Tiron. Gui's *cognatus* Eudes Cratus contested the donation, basing his action on the grounds that he was both a relative, and thus exercised a claim to the patrimony, and their feudal lord. The prior of Villandon did not wish to incur the ire of this important local nobleman, so he gave him twenty *solidi* and a boar to abandon his claim.¹⁵⁰

148. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 47, pp. 77-79: Notum igitur esse volumus tam futuris quam presentibus quatinus Robertus, filius Hervei, terram suam de Coldreio, pro salute anime sue et parentum suorum, monachis Tyronensibus in loco Castaneorum Deo famulantibus, uxore sua Helisabet cujus dotalitium erat, et Agnete sorore sua et nepotibus suis Matheo, Hugone, Roberto concedentibus, dedit atque concessit....

Prefata ergo terra jam a monachis possessa, et predicto Roberto mortuo, calumniatus est eam Hugo de Vovis. Unde convenerunt plures tam ex parte monachorum quam ex parte Hugonis, in curiam Guillelmi Goiheth senioris, ibique tantum egerunt monachi erga Hugonem quod dimisit calumpniam et concessit eandem terram in elemosinam, pro sua atque suorum antecessorum salute, quiete et libere, exceptis duobis solidis quos reddent ei monachi de censu in Penecostem. Hoc concessit uxor ejus Hildeburgis et filius ejus Galterius et Helena filia ejus, que Falca cognominabatur.

149. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 212, pp. 257-8: Instantibus et futuris, ego G., Dei gratia Carnotensis episcopus, notum fieri volo quod miles quidam, Galterius nomine, nonnulla que avunculus ejus Hugo monachis Josaphat apud Buscum contulerat calumpnians et reclamans, ecclesiastica censura coactus, ante nos venit et quam injuste faciebat calumpniam deposuit, in manu nostra concedens ut monachi libere et quiete deinceps possiderent ea que precipue calumpniabatur, videlicet culturam unam, duos arpentos terre et virgultum ab uno capite usque ad aluid, eaque mensura juxta latitudinem seu capacitatem vinee contigue quam predictus Hugo longe ante obitum suum eis donaverat. Hoc ita a prenominato Galterio monasterio Josaphat concessa literis mandanda et impressione sigilli nostri munienda censuimus.

150. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 128, pp. 153-4: Ne posteritatem lateat, stili officio, memorie commendamus quatinus Guido de Ulmeto et mater sua Maria, pro animarum suarum remedio, tres agripennos terre que erat apud Vilandum Tyronensibus monachis tribuerunt. Deinde autem Odo Craton, hinc ut cognatus patrimonium, et hinc ut dominus feodum suum, eis calumpniatus est. Robertus, tunc temporis Villandonensis domus Tyronensium prior existens, nolens malivolentiam et inquietationem supradicte

Gifts arranged prior to journeys to the Holy Land were particularly susceptible to contestation by *cognati*, as is evident in two charters datable from around 1130. Before Hubert Pagan went to the East he gave houses and vines located at St. Maurice and at Poisvilliers to the abbey of Notre Dame de Josaphat. After he departed, his *consanguineus* Stephen challenged the donation. The dispute was eventually resolved and Stephen was given forty *solidi* of *cens* as compensation.¹⁵¹ The same situation occurred in the case of Stephen, the son of Guiscard. In preparation for his trip to the Holy Land Stephen donated two arpents and thirteen *solidi* of *cens* to the Church. Once word was received of his death, Stephen's relatives Ivo of La Porte Morard, Ivo's uncle Chotard and Chotard's son Hubert unjustly seized the donated

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persone habere, XX solidos et verrem pro concessu tribuit. Quare ille, hoc concessu habito, matrem suam Helvis, et uxorem suam Beatrit, et filium suum Goslenum, et filias suas Hermengart et Hudeart, quod concesserat concedere fecit.

151. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 29, pp. 44-5: Hoc agere intendimus dum his describendis insistimus. Hubertus quidam qui et Paganus, filius Haudrici de Piceovillari, cum pergere Jerusalem paravisset, cum episcopo Carnotense Gaufredo colloquium habuit; cui etiam IIII affines suos notos probate sibi fidei viros tanquam testamenti sui testes et pignerarios secum adhibuit....ideoque Jerosalem pergere volens, ob penitentiam et satisfactionem, pro hoc aliisque criminibus suis, in manu episcopi quod ipse male distulerat efficere de patris elemosina perficiendum modo committere se dicebat, scilicet ut ex benefico sui patris et suo monasterium Beate-Marie quod vocatur Josaphat obtineret omnes emptiones Haudrici patris sui, tam in agris quam in domibus et vineis, et libere commodum suum inde faceret, id est III arpentes terre apud Mesnillos, domos et vineam juxta aggerem vici quod vocatur Muretus....Reliqua quoque que hereditarie possidebat eadem devotione manibus ejus dimisit, quatinus ea pro placito et visu suo, quomodo sciret melius et posset, cognito ejus obitu, pro salute disponderet....Tunc quidam consanguineus ejus, Stephanus de Bordenido vocatus, rebus suprataxatis, quas jure prescripto ecclesia Josaphat per donum episcopi obtinuerat, calumpniam injicere non est veritus; unde justitia summonitus ecclesiastica, tam ipse quam abbas Josaphat ante episcopum adfuerunt tanquam excepturi quod ecclesiasticum sibi daret judicium, sed dicta ratione partis utriusque oblatum ab episcopo judicium jamque paratum a iudicibus proferri, Stephanus audire renuit, sed subsannationis et minarum plenus inde discessit.

property.¹⁵² These men and the monks of St. Père eventually agreed to split the contested land. Ivo of La Porte Morard was evidently experiencing considerable economic difficulty since he was accused of unjustly seizing land and other tolls from the monks as well as usurping the property given by Stephen.¹⁵³ Ivo had appeared previously in several charters and the evidence from them indicates that his family honored the rights of all progeny to family holdings and that extended kin played an important role in the family. Before Ivo himself went to the Holy Land, his uncle Chotard and *cognatus* William had pledged to insure his gift.¹⁵⁴ Ivo's uncle's participation in this usurpation demonstrates the persistence of family solidarity, but also that these kinsmen felt they had a right to each other's land.¹⁵⁵ Ivo's frequent attempts to usurp land suggest that the demands of the family inheritance pattern and organization had taken their toll on his resource base and that he, like others, was seeking to revitalize his holdings by usurping land given by his relative to the Church. The actions brought by the extended kin of lesser nobles and knights indicates

152. *CSPDC*, no. 149, pp. 363-4: Stephanus, filius Guischari, Jerusalem proficisci decernens, venit in capitulum nostrum, ibique nobis reliquit duos agripennos vinee, cum censiva XIII solidorum que est ad pontem sancti Martini, pro salute anime sue et parentum suorum, si tamen eum mori contingeret antequam ridiret; sicut et contigit. Parentes ergo illius, Chotardus scilicet et Hubertus, filius ejus, et Ivo de Porta Morardi, cognito ejus obitu, prefatam elemosinam calumpniari ceperunt, et per multa placita nobis eam auferre temptaverunt... Venimus ergo tandem, et nos et ipsi, in capitulum sancte Marie; ibique, pro amore pacis et concordie, dimisimus eas vineas quibus calumpniam imponebant. Ipsi vero dimiserunt nobis, coram Zacaria decano et aliis canonicis, predictam censivam quam nichilominus reclamabant. Que dimissio ita facta est, ut eam ipsi propria donatione confirmaverunt, veraciterque promiserunt quod eam nobis, omni tempore, contra omnes calumpnias defenderent.

153. *CSPDC*, no. 172, pp. 387-8: Teloneum quoque et quadrigarum et aliarum rerum, que in terra sua vendebantur et emebantur, quod eatenus ipse Ivo violenter et injuste supra nos invaserat et retinuerat, culpam et injusticiam suam recognoscendo et accusando, ecclesie nostre quiete et libere possidendum dimisit.

154. *CSPDC*, no. 127, p. 349; for the text of this charter, see p. 312, note 49 of this Chapter.

155. *CSPDC*, no. 172, pp. 387-8; for the text of this charter, see note 153 above, and p. 307, note 36 of this Chapter.

significant economic instability and an attempt to usurp land as the solution to this problem.

The contestations levied by nuclear, affinal and extended kin signal a crisis in the condition of noble family resources. For most of the eleventh century families had sufficient resources to meet their needs. As the century closed and a new one began, however, tension began to develop. Sons, daughters, brothers, extended kin and in-laws lacked the requisite wealth to support their families. Nobles were able to take advantage of the general instability and the power vacuum that existed in the eleventh century to usurp land from one another. The twelfth century witnessed important changes in the political and feudal power structure and these avenues of adding to family possessions were no longer alternatives. As the century progressed, the French monarchs became increasingly powerful, limiting the grasp of the medieval nobility. Society in general became more stable, which sharply restricted nobles' ability to seize land and wreak havoc. Moreover, the possibility of gaining new lands through settlement or conquest that had existed in the eleventh century was sharply curtailed in the twelfth as the area became more densely settled. While nobles' access to land through violence or new cultivation was reduced, one venue for bolstering holdings remained: claims to family lands. As demonstrated previously, the noble family structure of the eleventh century honored the claim of all members to family possessions. Since other more violent options were no longer available, many used their family connections in an attempt to augment their possessions. While most were not successful, many were awarded counter gifts or at the very least were able to enjoy the proceeds of the disputed property for a length of time. These disputes demonstrate that relatives of all degrees could contest donations made by their kin, indicating that these family members still maintained a right to the patrimony and that in the midst of this restriction in resources primogeniture and patrilineage did not automatically prevail.

The economic transformations of the late eleventh century and ecclesiastical restorations made in response to the Gregorian reform movement combined with successive partitioning of the patrimony to create tension within many lesser noble families. The sale and mortgaging of family lands attest to this crisis. The increasingly common gift of property other than land, such as mills and *cens* signals a reluctance to alienate such land from the patrimony. Families created these practices as measures to preserve what land was left or consolidate their resources more effectively. The contestations levied by all types of kin suggest that these responses were not entirely successful in some lesser noble families. Moreover, such actions indicate that the family patrimony could no longer adequately provide for all family members.

The Evidence of the Transition to Primogeniture

As a response to the pressure on their resources, some lesser noble and knightly families adopted increasingly primogenitary and patrilineal forms of inheritance and family structure. One of the most obvious signs of this change was the frequent use of *primogenitus* and other terms, such as *major* and *senior*, to denominate the eldest son.¹⁵⁶ Such labels were virtually non-existent before 1080: only one example of *primogenitus* is extant.¹⁵⁷ An attempt to distinguish eldest sons from other progeny suggests that these children enjoyed special privileges as a result of the position of their birth. When there were no sons, daughters were also referred to by such terms. Certain prerogatives clearly belonged to the firstborn child of either

156. See for example, *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 303, p. 77; *JEAN*, no 66, pp. 38-9; and *CSPDC*, no. 6, p. 628.

157. *CSPDC*, no. 98, p. 221; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 3, p. 132, note 88.

sex.¹⁵⁸ In 1151, for instance, Radulf the knight made a gift of land at Faverolles, to which his *major* daughter and granddaughter consented. While Radulf had another daughter, the consent of his eldest was deemed particularly necessary.¹⁵⁹ When Rainald of Brou made a donation he secured the consent of all of his sisters, and of his eldest sister's husband.¹⁶⁰ In a charter from the abbey of Tiron a lesser noble distinguishes his daughters by the sequence of their births, which suggests that the rights of younger children were being eclipsed by those of their elder siblings.¹⁶¹

Special roles assumed by eldest sons in the twelfth century correspond with the employment of qualifying terms for first-born progeny. Fathers and younger brothers increasingly secured the consent of the *primogenitus*. When William of Poonce relinquished his right of *cens* from the monks of St. Père, his older brother Ivo abandoned his claim upon the altar in the presence of the chapter.¹⁶² Eldest sons often come to be associated with their fathers in authority over family possessions. In 1146 Roger Marescoth arranged an estate for two lives: both he and his firstborn son Stephen would enjoy the use of one bovaté of land in the Beauce for their lifetimes. Further, while the tithes from the land would continue to be paid to the monks, the *cens* of sixty *denarii* would be demised for the lifetimes of the father and son. Stephen

158. See for example, *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 97, pp. 117-8; *CSPDC*, no. 37, pp. 494-5; *JOSAPHAT*, no. 192, p. 234.

159. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 192, p. 234: Concessioni majoris ejus filie Petronille ejusdemque filie ejusdem nominis, apud Stulticiam-Herlebaudi, testes affuerunt....

160. *CSPDC*, no. 37, pp. 494-495: ...concedentibus sororibus suis et Gaufrido de Ermenulfi Villa, marito primogenite.

161. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 97, pp. 117-8: ...et hec sunt nomina filiarum: primogenita Leiaridis, secunda Hersendis, tercia iterum Hersendis, quarta Odelina.

162. *CSPDC*, no. 180, p. 395: Notum sit omnibus hoc scriptum legentibus, quod Guillelmus de Poonce, ad nos ad monachatum veniens, nobis III solidos et VII denarios census, quos ipsi debebamus, fratribus suis concedentibus, reliquit. Quorum fratrum, Ivo, major natu, veniens in capitulum nostrum, nobis censum super altare dimisit.

was clearly designated as his father's heir, at least to this property.¹⁶³ The association of first-born sons with the patrimony as the presumed heir is apparent, moreover, in such sons' roles as guarantors or defenders of their fathers' gifts. Between 1101 and 1106 Hugh Berbellus donated to St. Père land which he held in Gourdez, Chavannes and *Mobili Villa*, with the right of the *ban*, *vicaria* and all other customs that pertained to it. All three of his sons, Geoffrey, Gui and William, consented to the donation, but only the eldest, Geoffrey, swore in the presence of the chapter. The other sons pledged along with Geoffrey to defend the gift against all men or women who tried to lay claim to the property.¹⁶⁴ This family was evidently experiencing a transition in its organization. Consent to and the responsibility for defending the gift were required of all sons, yet only the eldest swore upon the relics,

163. *CSPDC*, no. 176, pp. 390-1: Sciant omnes qui presens scriptum legerint fideles, quod ego frater Udo, Dei gratia, cenobii sancti Petri Carnoti abbas, et totus cui presideo fratrum conventus, unam terre bovatom, quam Rogerius Marescoth de nobis in Belsia tenet quoad vixerit, vel Stephanus filius ejus primogenitus, ab omni consuetudine liberam, preter decimam quam in eadem terre retinuimus, habendam concessimus; ipse autem et idem filius ejus Stephanus, in justitia abbatis et totius capituli tantummodo remanebit. Sexdecim quoque denarios census, quos nobis de duobus terre agripennis annuatim reddebat, ei in suam et predicti filii sui vitam dimisimus....Et quoniam nos hoc Rogerio concessimus, ipse, Stephano filio suo concedente, cellerariam nostram, quam a nobis emerat et quam tunc tenebat, nobis in capitulo nostro dimisit, et quietam omnino clamavit. Rogerius [*sic*] autem, si longius quam Stephanus suus vixerit, omnia que ei sicut hic descripta sunt concessimus, in vita sua quiete tenebit et habebit. Similiter et puer, si, patre defuncto, superstes fuerit, eadem sine contradictione aliqua quoad vixerit possidebit. Post mortem autem illius qui ex duobus ipsis, patre scilicet et filio, longius vixerit, omnia que hic descripta sunt vel nominata, sicut, antequam hec conventio fieret, habuit ecclesia nostra, quieta protinus absque dilatione et sine calumpnia rehabebit, et quicquid in hac conventionem Rogerio et filio ejus quoad vixerint habendum concessimus et possidendum, revertetur ad dominium nostrum.

164. *CSPDC*, no. 71, p. 319: Habebat Hugo Berbellus terram in Gorzeis et in Chavennis et in *Mobili Villa*, quam ipse emerat; eamque sic possidebat, quod et bannaria et vicaria et census et obliviones et omnes consuetudines terre erant sue proprie. Hanc autem terram dedit Deo et Sancto Petro....[elison in text] sicut ipse habebat habendam, id est cum banaria, vicaria, etc: concedentibus filiis suis Gaufrido, Guidone et Guillelmo. Quorum major, id est Gaufridus, juravit in capitulo nostro super sancta [*sic*], et alii, qui juniores erant, concesserunt, quod, si calumpnia nobis inde nasceretur, defenderent nos contra omnes homines et feminas qui illam calumpniam facerent.

a practice indicative of his privileged position that became increasingly common as the twelfth century advanced.

The transition from shared or partible inheritance to an increasingly primogenitary form is apparent in other lesser noble families. Sometime in the first third of the twelfth century, William of Les Châtelliers made a very generous donation to St. Père of land and tithes pertaining to various properties in several villages. His *primogenitus* Geoffrey consented and promised with his father to defend the gift against future contestations. Hugh, William's third son, also consented to the gift. His participation demonstrates that the rights of younger sons had not been completely superseded.¹⁶⁵ The denoting of Hugh as the "third son" and Geoffrey as the first does suggest, however, that birth order was an important consideration in this family. protect the gift. It was arranged that if Bernard's gift was not sufficient, Pagan would supplement it with one of his own. Giselbert, his firstborn son, assented to this agreement and, like his father, swore upon the relics to defend it.¹⁶⁶ Pagan's wife,

165. *CSPDC*, no. 108, pp. 599-600: Hec sunt que huic ecclesie nostre a Willelmo de Castellariis, pro filii sui Radulfi susceptione, donata sunt. In parrochia Puteose dedit, immo reddidit ecclesie nostre totam totius quam inibi habet decimam terre, et decimam cujusdam sui ibidem molendini, et vel terram ad duos boves sufficientum, vel, si maluerimus, quandam occham terre haut longe ab ecclesia ejusdem villa....Hec omnia sicut superius comprehensa sunt, primogenitus ejusdem Willelmi filius, Gaufridus nomine, concessit; et cum eodem patre suo, contra omnes calumpnias, quantam legitime posset, ea se, per fidem qua christianus erat, defendere promisit. Concessit hec etiam tercius filius ejus Hugo.

The labeling of William's son may have to do with the fact that the donation was made on the behalf of one of his sons. Presumably Radulf was the second son, since William was the first and Hugh the third.

166. *CSPDC*, no. 12, p. 524: Legentibus litteras istas notum esse volumus nos sancti Petri Carnoti monachi, quod Bernardus de Vitraico, quando moriebatur, dedit ecclesie nostre in elemosinam quandam terram quam habebat apud Tornesium; que, quia erat de feodo Pagani de Fens, postmodum ipse Paganus in capitulum nostrum venit, et terram a Bernardo datam nobis concessit, quodque eam nobis contra omnes calumpnias legitime defenderet, data fide sua, promisit; addens, sub eodum fidei sacramento, de propria terra quantum ad unam carrucam sufficeret, si terra a Bernardo data ad hoc sufficiens non esset. Sub quo etiam sacramento hoc quoque spondit, quod, si illam carrucatam terre nobis aliquando non posset defendere, de propria quam ibidem habet tantundem nobis commutaret, eamque nobis sub eadem lege

his remaining sons and daughters consented to the transaction as well. As the *primogenitus*, Gilbert played a role in the family which was dictated by his position as his father's future heir. Yet the consent of other offspring was still required. In 1118 Eudes Rufus gave half of the chapel of Osanne and half of the lands and customs that pertained to it to St. Père. Eudes, his wife and two sons, Raderann and Eustace, conceded the gift upon the altar of St. Lubin of Châteaudun. Raderann and Eustace also swore to support the gift and defend it from challenges. In this generation both sons were accountable for insuring the stability of the gift. Among Eudes' nephews, however, only the eldest swore to protect the gift, although all nephews consented.¹⁶⁷ Moreover, Eudes' nephew Robert of Memberolles was his lord, another indication that one line, presumably that of the eldest, had come to dominate other branches of the family. This family demonstrates that inheritance patterns could vary between branches of a family.

The prerogatives and power enjoyed by the *primogenitus* are evident in several charters from the first three decades of the twelfth century. As Otrann the knight was approaching death, he made a gift to Notre Dame de Josaphat of one bovat of land in Gallardon and half of a mill in Aubeterre. His *filius major* Geoffrey consented to the gift and was the only member of Otrann's nuclear family to do so.¹⁶⁸ Otrann's

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defenderet. Quod etiam filius ejus primogenitus Gislebertus concessit, similique fidei sacramento, tam commutationem quam immunitatem defensionemque promisit. Uxor quoque ipsius Pagani Amelina, et reliqui filii Willelmus et Robertus, et filie Eremburgis et Adalais, hoc concessere.

167. *CSPDC*, no. 48, pp. 439-41; for the text of this charter, p. 306, note 32 of this Chapter.

168. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 36, pp. 52-3: Quidam miles Otrannus nomine ad obitum suum veniens ecclesie Josaphat se ad sepeliendum dedit et quicquid apud Galardonem habebat scilicet ad unius bovi terram, et dimidium molendinum quod dicitur de Alba terra. Hoc donum confirmavit in capitulo ejus filius major nomine Gaufridus. Deinde super altare Beate-Marie Josaphat posuit, presentibus tamen et concedentibus Roberto socero suo et Fulcherio cognato.

brother-in-law Robert¹⁶⁹ and *cognatus* Fulcher, however, witnessed Geoffrey's confirmation on the altar. The participation of such kin demonstrates that they still maintained some claim to the donated land, yet Geoffrey was the sole member of the immediate family to act in the charter which suggests that the *primogenitus* was able to act independently of his siblings and his mother. In other words, as the firstborn son and future heir Geoffrey did not require the consent of other nuclear family members, an indication not only of a change in inheritance but of the emergence of patrilineage as well. This practice is apparent in the family of Hugh Nepos, who usurped the donation made by Robert of Evreux. Acting with Hugh was his first born son Isnard, who had participated with his father in his challenge. Isnard consented to the quitclaim and abandoned his claim with Hugh. Isnard was the only one of Hugh's children or nuclear family to consent, further revealing the uniquely powerful role that the *primogenitus* had assumed.¹⁷⁰ Between 1130 and 1145, Pagan and Robert, sons of Berlay, donated to Tiron two arpents of pasture located above the Yerre river. These two brothers held this land together, and the parity of their control is apparent in their joint placement of a knife as a symbol of the gift upon the altar of Ste. Trinité.¹⁷¹ The wives of Pagan and Robert and their firstborn sons alone consented to this transaction. The absence of other children indicates that the consent of the *primogenitus* alone was required, which reflects a dramatic difference in family

 169. The land in question could be Otran's wife's dowry, which would account for Robert's participation.

170. *CSPDC*, no. 110, p. 601; for the text of this charter, see p. 346, note 123 of this Chapter.

171. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 149, pp. 172-3: Notum sit cunctis fidelibus quod ego Paganus, filius Berlaii, et Robertus frater meus dedimus Deo et monachis Tironis duos arpennos pratorum super aquam que vocatur Herina; quod donum posuimus super altare Crucifixi Tironensis ecclesie cum cultello, in presencia domni Guillelmi abbatis, istis testibus....Hoc vero postea concesserunt uxores nostre Isielis et Amelina, et primogenitii filii nostri, Guillelmus et Gervasius.

structure and inheritance practice between these two generations.¹⁷² While Robert and Pagan shared an equal claim to family lands, their children did not. These charters, therefore, indicate that first-born sons were increasingly associated with their fathers in authority over the patrimony. In some families, younger children and other kin continued to participate in transactions, but in others the *primogenitus* alone acted with the head of the family to make decisions over the allocation of family resources.¹⁷³ The position of the eldest son, future head of the family, gave him special privileges which are evident in his guaranteeing of his father's gifts or quitclaims.

Significant differences in the amount of compensation granted to children provide additional evidence of the favored status of eldest sons. In 1116 Gaston of Brou sold one bovat of land and five arpents of vines at Nottonville to the monks of Marmoutier for one hundred and one *solidi*. Agatha, Gaston's wife, and his four children consented to the sale and were awarded counter gifts. Eudes, who was designated as the eldest son, received twelve *denarii*, while his siblings, Robert, Stacia and Helen, were each given six.¹⁷⁴ Such a discrepancy in counter gifts

172. It is possible, however, that Pagan and Robert had only one son each, but this would make the denomination of firstborn strange. If they each only had one son, why specify first-born?

173. For examples of this, see *JOSAPHAT*, nos. 9 and 36, p. 16 and p. 53 respectively.

174. *CMPD*, no. 166, pp. 156-7: Notum sit omnibus quod Gastho de Braiolo centum solidis et uno vendidit nobis monachis Majoris Monasterii, per manum domni Gualterii monachi, fratris nostri tunc temporis Nantulfi villae prioris, quandam terram uni bovi sufficientem, quam habebat apud eandem Villam Nantulfi ante portam domus nostrae, cum quinque arpennis vinearum, sic solutam et liberam, sicut ipse a domno suo Guillelmo Goito tenebat eam; id est cum universis consuetudinibus suis....Post haec predictus Galterius frater et monachus noster, ut venditio haec firma et stabilis esset, ivit ad Braiolum castrum, et dedit septem solidos Agathae, uxori prefati Gasthonis, ut concederet venditionem, quam idem maritus ejus fecerat nobis; quae libenter hoc fecit. Concesserunt itaque nobis tam ipsa quam filii sui, Odo et Robertus, et filiae, Stacia et Helena, terram sepepredictam, solutam et liberam, una cum prefatis quinque arpennis vinearum solute et libere in perpetuum possidendam cum omnibus

indicates that the claim of the eldest son was stronger and deemed worthy of considerably more compensation than that of his siblings. While all children were consulted and granted compensation, the rights of the eldest son were clearly coming to exceed those of other progeny. In 1125 Girard of Rivray, his wife and two sons sold one arpent of meadow to the monks of Tiron. The *major* son was granted two *denarii* and the *minor* son three *obolos*, the same counter gift given to Girard's cousin, Hugh of Baugny. During the decade from 1120 to 1130 the Baugny-Rivray family consistently sold off land while usurping *cens* from the Church, responses which suggest economic crisis.¹⁷⁵ The coincidence of Girard's denomination of his sons by birth order with such activities indicates that the family assuming a more primogenitary pattern in attempt to preserve the patrimony. The presence and participation of Hugh of Baugny indicate that the rights of extended kin were not denied, but he was present because the land in question was his fief. Family members acting as the feudal lords of other kin are indicative of patrilineage, where the control of all family lands was deferred to the line of the eldest male.¹⁷⁶ Considering the economic condition of the family, primogeniture and patrilineage may have been adopted in response to an already depleted patrimony.

The implementation of primogeniture and the changes that it represented in some families are particularly apparent in three twelfth-century lesser noble families. Sometime in the first quarter of the century the sons of Robert Aculeus, Robert and Manassas, restored to St. Père certain tithes to benefit their father's soul. Their *primo-*

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consuetudinibus et redditibus suis. Pro qua concessione dedit idem monachus Odoni majori filio duodecim denarios, et Roberto sex, Statiae quoque denarios sex, et Helenae alteri filiae totidem.

175. For a discussion of this family and relevant notes, see this Chapter, pp. 337-40.

176. Hugh of Baugny's father and Geoffrey of Riveray were brothers. While the order of their birth is not extant in the charters, Hugh's role as feudal lord with his uncle Geoffrey suggests that his father was the elder brother.

genitus brother William, who added a carrucate of land to the original donation, consented to this transaction. The charter states explicitly that William, like his father, held these lands by the right of inheritance and was, therefore, responsible for defending the gift. As *primogenitus* William was the head of the family and controller of the family patrimony, making his consent necessary.¹⁷⁷ Such a role represents a significant departure from earlier practices. Early in the twelfth century Robert Aculeus and all of his sons consented to a gift made by one of their vassals. The sons also swore to protect the donation from any challenges.¹⁷⁸ Sometime between 1151 and 1178 Robert Aculeus' grandson William of Bena gave the *vicaria* and rights of justice that he held in Ymonville. His eldest brother, Walter, and his uncle William, the *primogenitus* of the preceding generation were present at the donation. Like his uncle Robert, William also explicitly secured the consent of his eldest brother and of his uncle William. Special significance was placed upon the consent of eldest sons and they enjoyed a uniquely powerful role in the Aculeus family.¹⁷⁹ The complexity

177. *CSPDC*, no. 39, p. 496: Noverint omnes et presentis et futuri temporis fideles, quod Robertus atque Manasses, filii Roberti Aculei, eundem patrem suum, tandem, senectutis sue tempore, in hoc nostro sancti Petri monasterio monachum factum, sepius, et maxime in ea defunctus est infirmitate laborantem, visitantes, ejusdem sui patris exhortatione atque instinctu incitati, omnem decimam ejus que Arguentiacus dicitur ville, ad quandam, quam in villa cui nomen Spelttereole habemus, ecclesiam jure ecclesiastico pertinentem, nobis non ut suam dederunt; sed, ut nostre ecclesie, de cujus parrochia est illa quam supranominavimus villa, competentem, guerro super altare propriis manibus posito, diu a se quamvis injuste possessam, restituerunt. Quod primogenitus frater eorum Willelmus concessit, et, in concessionis pignus testimoniumque, omnem decimam proprie in predicto loco carruce addidit. Neque enim de propria ibi carruca eatenus decimam dederat, sed jure hereditario sibi eam sed et pater ejus defendebat.

178. *CSPDC*, no. 65, pp. 459-60; for discussion of this transaction see p. 307, note 33, of this Chapter.

179. *CSPDC*, no. 181, p. 395: Notum sit cunctis audientibus, quoniam Guillelmus de Bena, infirmitate correctus, mandavit domnum Fulcherium abbatem, et vicariam suam et omnem justiciam quam habebat in terra et in homibus nostris apud Ymunvillam, in presentia sua, ecclesie nostre in perpetuum reliquit, fratre suo Galterio majore natu, et Willelmo Aculeo avunuculo suo, et pluribus tam parentibus quam notis astantibus et hoc idem concedentibus et in verba sua confirmantibus.

of inheritance patterns within a single family is further evident in the consent of William Aculeus' children to a gift made by one of the family's vassals.¹⁸⁰ This contrast is puzzling, but the explanation may lie in a difference as to when the charters were drafted. When Robert and William's children were young they were not designated or their claim dictated by their birth. Yet once sons approached their majority, qualifying terms such as *primogenitus* were used and certain prerogatives were assumed by the firstborn sons.

Transformations in inheritance and the increasing precedence shown to the eldest brother are apparent in another family. In 1108 Pagan, the son of Amalric, donated the church of Hanches and all that pertained to it to the abbey of St. Père. Pagan possessed this property through the right of inheritance, which establishes that he had received a share of the family patrimony. All of Pagan's brothers, Raher, Joscelin, Warin and Amalric,¹⁸¹ consented to the donation. This family clearly practiced a system of partible inheritance and honored the right of kin to family holdings. Yet evidence of a change is apparent as well. Raher, Pagan's eldest brother, was not able to consent to the gift in the presence of the chapter. A few days later he did send his dagger to indicate that he consented to the gift, which two monks confirmed.¹⁸² Like the Aculeus family, the consent of the Pagan's eldest brother was

180. *CSPDC*, no. 153, p. 367; for the text of this charter, see page p. 329, note 82 of this Chapter.

181. Presumably, these sons, too, shared in inheritance of the patrimony, although this is not made explicit in the charter.

182. *CSPDC*, no. 99, pp. 593-4: Ego Paganus, Amalric filius, canonicus sancte Marie Dei genitricis, ... ecclesie de Hanchis et totius ad eandem pertinentis, quod ibidem jure hereditario possideo, beatum Petrum, apostolorum principem, ecclesiamque ejus Carnotensis cenobii, annuentibus fratribus meis Raherio, Joscelino, Warino et Amalrico, pro animabus predecessorum nostrorum et nostris, perhenni et indissolubili donatione, post mei obitus occasum, heredem instituo. Donamus etiam ibidem aream ubi monachi, remota dilatione, possint domum sibi convenientem [extruere].... Raherius vero, senior frater meus, quia nobiscum non fuit presens in capitulo ad peractionem hujus doni, paucis diebus elapsis, per suum artavum misit suum assensum

particularly required to insure the stability of the gift. While this family provided all sons with an inheritance, the emphasis placed upon the eldest brother's consent suggests that the family was beginning to conform to a more primogenitary model. Indeed if all of Amalric's sons shared the patrimony, it is likely that the next generation would have to take steps to preserve family holdings.

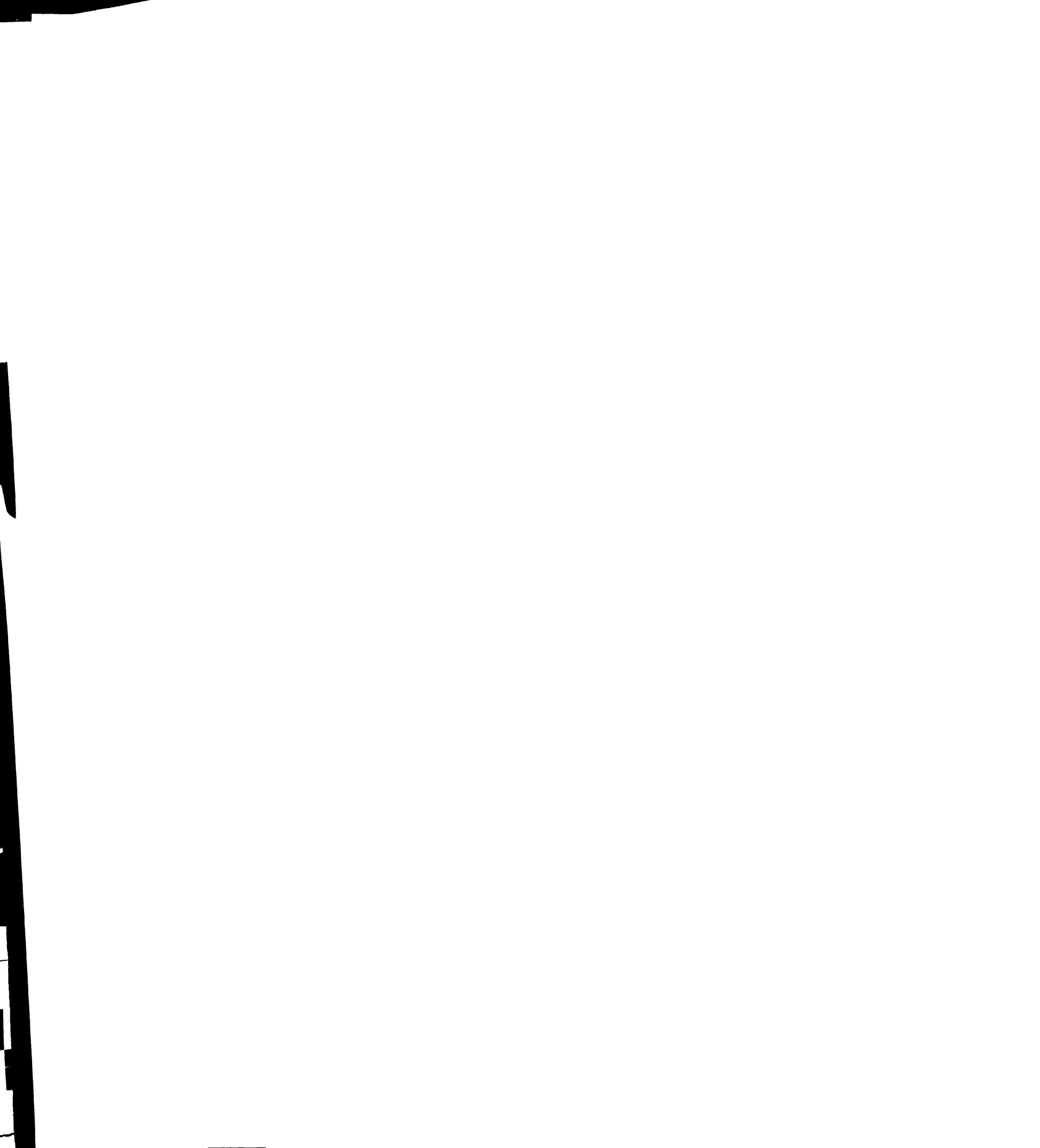
Adherence to primogeniture is also apparent in the family of Robert Ponceau. In 1123 Robert gave to the monks of Notre Dame of Josaphat a mill at Lambourray and land adjacent to it. Not long after he had made the gift, his *primogenitus* Mainner appeared in the bishop's chamber to guarantee the gift and the pact his father had made with the monks. Robert's wife and other children consented to the donation, but Mainner alone assured the donation, a prerogative that reflects his position as his father's heir and future head of the family.¹⁸³ While the rights of his siblings had not been superseded, Mainner clearly enjoyed a more influential role in the family. Between 1137 and 1139 Robert renounced the world and joined the monastery of Josaphat. Concurrently, he and his sons, Philip, Hugh and Amalric, donated the *cens* from the same the mill of Lambourray, which Robert had arranged to retain from his original gift in 1123. Once Robert became a monk, Mainner succeeded him by the "custom by which sons succeeded their father." Like Mainner, Peter of Thionville was designated in a similar way as his father's son and heir.¹⁸⁴ Clearly in some families it had become customary for first-born sons to succeed their fathers. In spite

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super altare sancti Petri, per Rainaldum monetarium et Gaufridum, fratrem ejus, monachos.

183. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 10, pp. 20-3; for the text of this charter, see p. 330, note 85 of this chapter.

184. For the discussion of this family and the text of the charter, see pp. 329-31.



of his position as heir, Mainner contested this gift.¹⁸⁵ Both his desire to keep the *cens* and his father's original agreement with the monks to retain it testify to a reluctance to alienate revenues. Mainner finally allowed the *cens* to be transferred to the monks but reserved the two *denarii* that his father originally stipulated and an additional four *denarii* as well.¹⁸⁶ This family's resistance to alienating revenues combined with primogenitary inheritance, suggests that their economic situation had encouraged them to adopt such a method of inheritance to preserve the patrimony to some degree.

Signs of patrilineage coincide with the evidence of the adoption of primogeniture. In patrilineal families male kin, particularly the eldest son or brother, acted with the parents to determine the fate of family members and resources. Arranging ecclesiastical careers for younger sons was one measure taken by some families to limit the number of claims to the patrimony. In order for a boy named Hugh to join the monastery of St. Père in 1116, his mother and *primogenitus* brother, Gado, gave the land of Bruyères near Faverolles. Hugh's other siblings approved of the gift, but his eldest brother acted with his mother in authority over the patrimony and

185. His contestation could have been due to the fact that he did not participate in the gift, nor does he seem to have consented to it. It is also possible that his challenge was an attempt to test his new position within the family.

186. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 107, pp. 138-9: Robertus de Poncellis, dum adhuc in laicali habitu cum filiis suis Phillippo, Hugone, Almarico, concedente domino so Petro de Teovilla, x solidos census quos ei monachi Josaphat super molendinus Lamburreddi singulis annis reddebant, ob spem divine retributionis, pro II denariis lege census solvendis condonavit. Postquam vero isdem Robertus mundo renuntians monachi habitum sumpsit, filius Mainnerius nomine, jure filiorum in hereditatem ei successit. Qui condonationi census quam pater fecerat, malo deceptus consilio, consentire renuit. Ad ultimum tamen, ne beneficio patris contraire videretur, spiritu pietatis cor illius tangente, concessit, excepto quod duobus denariis, quos sibi pater ob testimonium sue largitionis reservaverat, IIII addens retinuit. Hac igitur causa tam ipse quam mater ejus Anneis et frater ejus Hugo et Mainnerius sororius ejus, Josaphat in capitulum venientes, de jamdicti census concessione donum in manu domini Girardi abbatis fecerunt ac spiritualium bonorum totius congregationis participes effecti super altare ejusdem ecclesie posuerunt.

his younger siblings.¹⁸⁷ A similar situation occurred in approximately 1123 when Erenburg of Auneau gave one of her two sons, Arnulf, to become a monk at Tiron. A gift in alms of all the land of Grandry was coincidental with the boy's entrance into the Church.¹⁸⁸ Her husband did not participate with Erenburg in this grant; he merely consented. Her son Robert also consented to this arrangement and acted in authority over his sibling in determining Arnulf's future. In the first third of the twelfth century Drogo gave his brother Amalric, who was still a youth, to become a postulant at the abbey of St. Père. Drogo was clearly acting as guardian for his younger sibling. The tithes of Saint-Lucien were given to the monks, except for a single measure of grain which Drogo was to retain for his lifetime.¹⁸⁹ In this family, the strategy of placing sons in the Church to reduce claims is particularly evident.

187. *CSPDC*, no. 98, pp. 591-2: Cum adulescens quidam de sancto Piato, Hubertus nomine, ad nos monachatum venisset, non multis post diebus transactis, mater ejus, Richeldis nomine, et primogenitus frater Gado, in capitulum nostrum venientes, tam pro ejusdem filii et fratris sui Huberti gratia et amore, quam pro sua suorumque salute, quandam suam terram, que dicitur de Brueria, et est vicina Faverolis, consentientibus aliis filiis et fratribus suis, Adelelmo, Ganerio atque Garino, totam huic ecclesie nostre in elemosinam contribuerunt.

188. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 176, p. 196: Notum sit omnibus quod ego Erenburgis de Alneio dono Deo Salvatori et ecclesie de Tyrum filium meum Arnulfum ad monachum faciendum. Dono etiam predicte ecclesie in elemosina totam terram nostra de Granri in perpetuum possidendam. Hoc concessit conjux meus Guido Berardus et filius meus Robertus de Alneio.

189. *CSPDC*, no. 96, pp. 590-91: Legentibus hoc scriptum pro certo habeatur, quod, quando Amalricus Sparnonensis juvenis in cenobio sancti Petri monachus factus est, dimidiam ecclesie nostre decimam Calgeti ipse et Drogo, frater ejus, sancto Petro concesserunt; excepto quod unum modium annone inde Drogo in vita sua retinuit, quem nos dare illi per singulos annos de eadem decima, vel aliunde, si mallems, constituimus....Hoc autem in capitulo nostro firmato, Hugo, prior nostri cenobii, predicti Drogonis et Amalrici frater, cujus fraterno ammonitu Amalricus monachus fieri postulaverat, Sparnonem cum duobus monachis, Guaterio de Mernel videlicet et Gislefredo, perrexit, ut concessum filii Drogonis et filiarum ejusdem reciperet. Concessit itaque Sparnoni Bartholomeus, Drogonis filius, et filie Amelina, Milsendis, Hermensilidis et Odelina, coram subscriptis testibus.

Amalric wished to join the same monastery where his brother Hugh was prior.¹⁹⁰

The charter states that Amalric had been encouraged to become a monk by his brother Hugh, which left only one brother, Drogo, in control of the patrimony. Drogo's retention of part of the donated tithes also testifies to a reluctance to lose these revenues entirely, thus betraying a concern over resources. The entrance of Amalric and Hubert into the Church was undoubtedly a response to the same pressure.

The powerlessness of female kin is another corollary of patrilineage. Instead of enjoying a fair degree of autonomy, as they did in a more open and collateral family structure, women were dominated by their male relatives. During the twelfth century there is some suggestion that widows and children came under the control of male relatives. In approximately 1123 Helvis, the wife of Robert Calvus, confirmed with her son a gift made by her husband at Morigny, in return for which they received the *beneficium* of the monks and Robert's name was recorded in their martyrology.¹⁹¹

While Helvis acted with her son to make the grant, Robert's brothers-in-law guaranteed the consent of her minor children when they reached maturity. These men assumed responsibility for her children, suggesting that once a woman was widowed, she and her children fell under the control of her conjugal or natal family, which may point to a diminution in the autonomy of noblewomen. Yet it is difficult to determine if the presence of women's male natal kin was a result of patrilineage or merely a reflection of an extended family pattern. The example of Marie of Lièvreille is

190. Many scholars have found that family members often selected religious institutions where their relatives had already taken the habit. See, for example, Bouchard, *Sword, Miter and Cloister*, pp. 46-86, and Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession*, pp. 13-36.

191. *JEAN*, no. 32, pp. 18-19: Hoc donum concessit nobis Helvis, uxor Roberti, ac Petrus filius ejus; unde eos in beneficium nostrum recepimus, et Roberti nomen in martirologio nostro scripsimus. Robertus etiam et Bartholomeus, sororii Roberti, fidei sue interpositione, promiserunt quod hanc concessionem filium Roberti et filias tenere facerent cum ad etatem maturiorem venirent.

For the eariler grant, see *JEAN* no. 31, p. 18 on p. 314, note 52 of this Chapter.

particularly useful in providing an example where caution needs to be exercised.¹⁹²

When Marie was widowed, she affirmed a gift made by her son Geoffrey when he became a monk. Her son Hugh and her brother Ansold participated in the charter with her. At first glance the presence of Ansold in particular might suggest that, once she was widowed, Marie fell under the domination of her male natal kin.¹⁹³ Previous charters, however, show that it was common for this family to act collectively.

Ansold's presence may, therefore, be attributed to the extended structure of the family; but further evidence in the charter indicates that a change to patrilineage and primogeniture might be under way. One of Marie's two sons entered the Church, an action often taken to limit heirs in response to a paucity of resources. The economic situation of this family led it to adopt restrictive family organization to preserve its depleted patrimony.

The family of Ursio Garembert incorporated several aspects of patrilineage representative of the transition in family structure which was occurring in many noble families. Sometime between 1156 and 1159 one of Ursio's sons, Thomas, desired to join the Church. His mother Eufemia and his brother Garembert accompanied Thomas when he made his request and petitioned the bishop to allow him to enter the monastery of St. Jean-en-Vallée. Eufemia and Garembert gave the tithes of Roinville to

192. For a discussion of this family and an example of family members acting collectively, see pp. 301-2, and note 18 of this Chapter.

193. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 131, pp. 157-8: Omnibus per orbem fidelibus notum sit quod Maria de Levrevilla et Hugo filius ejus, et Ansoldus frater Marie concesserunt Deo Salvatori et ecclesie et monachis de Tyronio terram quam eis dederat Gaufridus Tyrot, filius predictae Marie, quando eum monachum fecerunt, scilicet duas bovatas terre apud Levrevillam et alias duas bovatas terre, cum eodem vavassore qui illas duas bovatas de eodem Gaufrido tenebat apud predictam villam, qui vocatur Primaudus.

the canons for the benefit of Thomas' soul.¹⁹⁴ Garembert, like the brothers of Gado and the others who entered the Church, was clearly associated with his mother in authority over the patrimony. There is also evidence that, while Eufemia made the donation with her son, she was still dominated by her male natal kin. Acting in the charter were Eufemia's brothers, suggesting that once she was widowed her natal family assumed control of her and her children. Such kin may also have been present because the property in question came from her dowry. In a later grant, Eufemia and Garembert gave the tithes they held unjustly at Ardelu.¹⁹⁵ Consenting to the gift were again Eufemia's brothers, one of whom was designated as the *primogenitus*. Evidently males, especially the first born, played an important role in this family. The use of a distinct name by eldest sons is also suggestive of patrilineage. Eufemia's first-born son was given his father's cognomen of Garembert. Yet the consent of Eufemia's

194. *JEAN*, no. 73, pp. 41-2: Quoniam rerum gestarum memoriam dampnosa plerumque confundit oblivio, decrevi ego Robertus, Dei gratia, Carnotensis episcopus scripto mandare quod adolescens quidam, nomine Thomas, presentiam nostram adiit, multum rogans et obnixe flagitans ut eum in ecclesia Sancti Johannis de Valleia facerem recipi et canonicum fieri, id ipsum mater sua Eufemia et frater suo Garemberto humiliter cum eo postulantibus. Quorum precibus eo quod de pietate descenderent, assensum prebere non distuli, et a canonicis prefate ecclesie ut juvenem illum in sue fraternitatis societatem colligerent impetravi. Quod utique factum mater ejus gratanter accepit, frater plurimum collaudavit; dederunt ambo per manum nostram canonicis de Valleia partem illam decime quam habebant apud Roenvillam ut in usus eorum perpetuo cedat et pro suis atque suorum animabus memorialis oblatio semper existat. Hanc donationem approbaverunt et concesserunt filie Eufemie, Eremburgis, Aaliz et Ermengaris, fratres quoque ipsius Eufemie, Hugo, Gauterius et Matheus.

195. *JEAN*, no. 74, pp. 41-2: Ego Robertus, Dei gratia, Carnotensis episcopus, veritatem silentio plerumque periclitari sciens, scripto mandare dignum duxi quod Eufemia, uxor Ursionis cognomento Garemberti, et filius ejus Garembertus miles, multo tempore excommunicati pro decima de Ardelu, quam canonicis Sancti Johannis de Valeia violenter, auferebant, tandem resipiscentes, nostram ex consulto presenciam adierunt, culpam confessi, absolutionem quesierunt, et prefatam prefatis canonicis decimam, sine ulla de cetero sua suorumve reclamazione, per manum nostram resignantes, reddiderunt. Huic facto primogenitus Eufemie frater, Hugo scilicet de Giroltvesin, et tres reliqui Godefredus, Gauterius et Mathias, sed et soror eorum nomine Felicia, voluntarium prebuerunt assensum et ne quis superesset qui calumniam aut litem in posterum movere posset, reliqui filii Eufemie, Bartholomeus et Thomas, et tres ejus filie, Aaliz, Ermengardis, et Erenburgis, id ipsum unanimiter concesserunt.

other brothers and sister demonstrates the claim that they exercised to her possessions. The coincidence of evidence of patrilineage and of the right of siblings to each other's holdings represents a transitional stage between shared inheritance combined with an open family structure to primogeniture and patrilineage. While a few persuasive examples of domination by male kin are extant, the evidence as a whole indicates that most noblewomen were not subjugated by their fathers, sons or brothers.

Families of knights and lesser nobles were plagued by the problem of inadequate resources throughout the twelfth century. Economic tension was the result of successive partitioning of the patrimony and was exacerbated by the alienation of ecclesiastical property. The difficulty that some families experienced in maintaining resources sufficient to meet their needs motivated them to adjust their family patterns better to preserve the properties they had left. That some families were experiencing a shortage of land and, in response, restricting claims to the patrimony is apparent in the challenges raised and outright usurpations perpetrated by nuclear, extended and affinal family members. The importance placed on denominating eldest progeny also points to a change in the concept of family as well as inheritance. The role allotted to firstborn sons as guarantors of their fathers' gifts and the preference shown for their consent indicate that a transition in these familial mechanisms was indeed in progress. Yet it is equally clear that other lesser noble families continued to honor the rights of progeny and kin to their possessions.

The participation of relatives in charters as codonors and consenters and the granting of compensation to them testify to the persistence of an open, shared system of inheritance and family from the eleventh century into the twelfth. Shared inheritance of family lands was implemented in an attempt similar to the adoption of primogeniture: the preservation of the patrimony. In other families, the patrimony was divided among heirs. The thesis, therefore, that the change from partible inheritance

to primogeniture was completely in place before the twelfth century is not applicable to the lesser nobility of Blois-Chartres. Inheritance and family structures were not static; rather, they changed from generation to generation. Some noble families did begin to adopt certain characteristics of primogeniture and patrilineage, but others continued to divide or at least share rights to the patrimony. While the transformation in noble family dynamics had certainly begun, it was by no means complete by the mid twelfth century. Siblings and other relatives still maintained a right to the patrimony, and many women continued to enjoy significant autonomy. The evidence from Blois-Chartres cautions us not to underestimate the complexity of noble inheritance and suggests that each segment of the nobility, indeed individual families, need to be examined carefully to comprehend fully the forces that determined the allocation of noble resources and the structure of the noble family.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

INHERITANCE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY:

THE LORDS OF BLOIS-CHARTRES

Many lesser noble families were compelled by economic considerations to alter their family structure. Evidence of the adoption of primogeniture, and to a lesser degree patrilineage, is apparent in the first half of the twelfth century. What remains to be determined is whether nobles of a more elevated status were similarly affected by such economic imperatives. The greater lords and the viscounts of Blois-Chartres may have felt certain political and feudal pressures that knights and lesser nobles did not. It has been suggested, for example, that primogeniture was implemented by feudal lords in an attempt to organize their vassals more effectively. Others have found a link between changes in family structure and the tide of royal centralization.¹ The objective of this chapter will be to consider the inheritance practices of the lords, viscounts and counts of the region of Blois-Chartres and evaluate what forces led them to change or to remain constant in matters pertaining to their family structure and inheritance pattern.

THE LORDS

The Vidames of Chartres

During the eleventh century the family of the vidames of Chartres enjoyed moderate power. The influence of the vidames stemmed initially from their function as the secular officers of the bishop of Chartres. By mid century, however, the

1. For a discussion of these approaches, see the Introduction, pp. 10-15.

vidames had accrued enough territorial power to become influential in their own right.

The prosperity of this family allowed all sons a share of the patrimony and titles.

Around 1080 Gueric was the vidame of Chartres although his brothers Hugh and Albert had also held this title (see Figure 1).² The shared right of brothers to family lands is apparent in a charter datable before 1103. Vidame Gueric gave to St. Père the church of St. Mary of Tréon, a third of the minor tithes, land next to the church and a quarter of two mills with the consent and participation of his brother Albert.³ The family of the vidames of Chartres became very powerful in succeeding generations. One of Gueric's sons, Stephen, became the abbot of St. Jean-en-Vallée⁴ and the family became one of its principal patrons. His other sons and widow also frequently appeared with other powerful families as witnesses for Countess Adela. The claim of all progeny to family lands continued among Gueric's children. In 1103 his widow Helisend, her sons Vidame Hugh and Stephen and her daughter Elizabeth⁵ made a gift

2. See Chapter 3, pp. 134-6.

3. *CSPDC*, no. 55, p. 561: Scripture sacre auctoritate reus convincitur non solum is qui aliena rapuerit, sed et is qui de propriis, pro Dei amore, nichil largiri voluerit. Quod utrumque videlicet periculum Guericus, hujus Carnotensis civitatis vicedominus, volens evadere, consensu et concessu fratris sui Alberti, dedit nostro, sancti Petri Carnoti scilicet monasterio, ecclesiam sancte Marie de Treione, cum tercia minutarum decimarum portione, pro remedio scilicet anime sue et patris sui H., qui hoc ipsum donum et voluerat facere et voverat, si, morte surripiente, non perfecerat. Dedit autem eam, sicut et ipse possidebat, liberam, ab omni ecclesiastica exactione, salvo tamen pontificali jure. Adjecit insuper in hoc dono etiam locum, juxta eandem ecclesiam, officinis monachorum construendis et orto faciendo sufficientem; terram quoque ad unam carrucam, cum molendino de Spina libero et integro; sed et quadrantem molendini de Dexaia totum et integrum, cum dimidio vinee clauso. Concessit etiam, cum predicto fratre suo Alberto, ut cunctis in ejusdem ville fevatis, quicquid vellent et ipsis ecclesie nostre dare liceret et nobis accipere. Quorum omnium testes sunt quorum nomine subter sunt annotata.

4. Stephen is referred to as the abbot of St. Jean-en-Vallée in *CSPDC*, no. 55, p. 562. See also *JEAN*, p. 3, note 3.

5. The daughter of Helisend and Gueric appears in the charter as both Elizabeth and Isabel. While there is some confusion over her name, it is clear that there were not two daughters. Elizabeth-Isabel was married to William of Ferrières and had at least two sons. Since she more frequently appears as Elizabeth, she will be referred to by this name in the following discussion.

to the monks of St. Père to establish the anniversary of Gueric's death. They donated the customs from the church of St. Mary of Tréon which they had heretofore retained.⁶ The consent of all children demonstrates that the right of all progeny to the patrimony continued into the following generation.

Gueric's son Hugh succeeded him as vidame sometime during the 1090's. Before 1099 Vidame Hugh made an extensive donation, including a church and *vicaria*, to St. Jean-en-Vallée in response to the reforming efforts of the local clergy. Ivo of Chartres became bishop in 1090, and during his episcopate the abbey of St. Jean-en-Vallée was reformed.⁷ Hugh's brother Stephen was the abbot of this institution and may have influenced his brother to give the church of Ardelu as well as the *vicaria* at Vallée.⁸ While Hugh acted as vidame for about a decade, few of his acts are extant; he appears in only three other charters. Between 1100 and 1104 Hugh III and his wife Agnes of Montigny gave to Marmoutier what land they held that pertained to the lordship of Montigny.⁹ In return for the donation, they were awarded

6. *CSPDC*, no. 56, p. 563: Evoluto denique prolixi temporis excursu, consuetudines quas prefati donatores memorate ecclesie sibi retinuerant, Helisendis vicedomina, annuentibus filiis suis Hugone vicedominio et Stephano, et sorore eorum Elisabeth, pro salute animarum suarum, et ut dies anniversarius Guericci vicedomini et prenominatae uxoris ejus Helisendis annuatim ageretur, istas consuetudines omnino sancto Petro dimiserunt; et ipsam ecclesiam, cum domibus monachorum ibidem Deo famulantium, liberam, ab omni consuetudinum exactione, nobis monachis sancti Petri, anno dominice incarnationis MCIII, VII kalendendas marci, coram subscriptis testibus, tradiderunt.

7. *JEAN*, no. 3, pp. 2-3: Ego itaque Ivo, sanctae Dei matris ecclesiae Carnotensis, divina gratia, episcopus, communi consilio et assensu totius Capituli primatumque nostrorum, in pretaxata Sancti Joannis ecclesia canonicos tales esse decernimus, qui proprietate posthabita canonicam haberent vitam juxta beati Augustini institutionem.

8. In 1107 Pope Pascal II confirmed all property belonging to the abbey of St. Jean-en-Vallée. See *JEAN*, no. 6, p. 5: Donum quoque vigeriae de Valeia et totius terrae de Moncellis, cum omnibus consuetudinibus, actum ab Ugone vicedominio Carnotensi; item donum totius terrae Eddevillae, cum omnibus consuetudinibus et feodis, et ecclesiae Aredeluth, cum omnibus hospitibus et cum terra ad duas carrucas.

9. *CMPD*, no. 160, pp. 149-50.

countergifts. Hugh received sixty *solidi* of money from the Dunois and Agnes twenty. In the other charter Hugh is merely described as the feudal lord of Hugh son of Lambert.¹⁰

Vidame Hugh III died sometime before 1108, when his mother, sister and brother-in-law made a donation for his soul.¹¹ While his tenure had been fairly uneventful, there are some possible indications of a mounting tension over resources. Sometime before 1099 Hugh III made a very generous donation to the abbey of St. Jean-en-Vallée. Concurrent with this grant, however, was an attempt by Hugh to usurp a gift made by his mother. Helisend had given the oven of Tréon and tithes in alms to St. Père. Hugh protested the donation and usurped control of the oven. After his death, Helisend redonated the oven and made an additional gift of tithes and lands for the souls of her husband, her deceased son, herself and all of her ancestors.¹² The donations made by this generation of vidames betray a certain reluctance to alienate

10. *CSPDC*, no. 58, p. 564: Hugo etiam, filius Lamberti, unum agripennum terre apud Molendinum Spine, cum decima terra sue de fevo Hugonis vicedomini, quam nobis auferens in propria revocaverat, concedentibus conjuge sua Hildegardē, filiisque Guidone, Garino, Ansoldo, necnon et filiabus Adelina et Legarde, satisfaciendo coram his testibus.

11. *JEAN*, no. 7, p. 6; for the text of this charter see p. 387, note 17, of this Chapter.

12. *CSPDC*, no. 55, p. 562: Postmodum autem, prefato eorum que supradicta sunt datore defuncto, Guerrico scilicet vicedomino, uxor ipsius, nomine Helisendis, ecclesie de Treione, immo omnium que suprascripta sunt donum, pro ejusdem viri sui et sua salute, concessit et confirmavit; et insuper in elemosinam furnum ejusdem ville et totius agriculture sue decimam adjecit. At vero filius ejus Hugo, solius furni de Treione donum dicens se nunquam concessisse ecclesie nostre, violenter eum abstulit, ablatumque tota vita sua sibi detinuit. Verum eo, gravi nimis et dolendo casu, postmodum extincto, predicta mater ejus Helisendis ablatum nobis a filio suo furnum reddidit ecclesie nostre, ne videlicet ejus injusta ablatio ablatis anime posset obesse. Preterea capellam sancti Martini, quam dicebat nunquam antea nobis fuisse datam, et aream quandam filiorum Cochardi, quam ipsa adquisierat, et terre eorum decimam et dimidium agripennum vinee, ad serviendum altari in ecclesia sancte Marie, que est apud eandem villam, pro remedio anime viri sui et sue et filii sui defuncti et omnium antecessorum suorum, sancto Petro tribuit. Quam videlicet furni redditionem, consilio Ivonis episcopi, et Stephani, filii sui, sancti Johannis de Valeia abbatis, per manum Gaufridi de Leugis, sancte Marie canonici adhuc, postmodum vero episcopi, in monasterio nostro misit et obtulit, presente et vidente, cum aliis pluribus, Roberto de Bello Videre, clerico adhuc, postea vero nostri monasterii monacho.

land. The donation made for the anniversary of Gueric's death consisted of customs which Helisend and her children had retained from his earlier gift, a practice in itself suggestive of a desire for revenue. Hugh's usurpation further signals an unwillingness to allow land to be granted away.

After Hugh III it is difficult to ascertain who assumed the office and responsibilities of vidame. His brother Stephen was an abbot and presumably ineligible. His mother remarried to Bartholomew Bodellus and they had one son, Girard. Bartholomew appears as vidame twice in charters datable contemporaneously with Hugh's tenure as vidame. In one act he witnessed¹³, and in the other he gave the prebend, which he held from the monks of St. Père, and a meadow he had usurped, with the consent of his son Girard.¹⁴ Neither Helisend nor any of her children participated in this charter. Their absence indicates that the property in question may not have pertained to the patrimony of the vidames. Bartholomew ceases to appear in -----

13. *CSPDC*, no. 43, p. 297. Given that Gueric's last act is datable about 1080, he must have died either at the end of this decade or at the beginning of the next. The family's donation for his soul is datable before 1103. Neither Bartholomew nor Girard appear in this act, which could indicate that he and Helisend had yet to marry. It is also possible that, since this donation pertained to the family domains of the vidame, Bartholomew would not need to be consulted. This later interpretation would indicate that the power of vidame rested in Helisend, as the widow of Gueric, and was not transferred to her second husband. Such a practice attests to a considerable amount of autonomy for noblewomen and, considering the influence of Helisend and her daughter Elizabeth, which will be discussed forthwith, one that would not be surprising. The marriage of Helisend and Bartholomew, therefore, would seem to have taken place early in the 1090's. Girard was presumably born shortly after their union, as he appears in charters with his mother and father and independently that are datable from about 1108 or 1110. See *JEAN*, no. 10, pp. 7-8, datable around 1110 in which Girard appears as a witness for the bishop and is described as his standard-bearer, *vexillifer*.

14. *CSPDC*, no. 73, p. 320: Ego Bodellus, Carnotensis vicedominus, ... assentiente filio meo, nomine Girardo, perhenni firmitate dono, ut quicumque ex meis subditis aliquid beneficii ecclesie sancti Petri voluerit conferre, me nesciente meque non interrogato, id secure tribuat; qui patricularem licentiam quam singulis largitoribus esse daturus, nunc omnibus generalem, coram his testibus, super altare sancti Petri prebens offero. Pravas quoque consuetudines, quas in terra sancti Petri, non hereditaria antiquitate, sed tyrannica invasione, obtinueram, quas vulgo gesta dicimus, quia ibi jacere et descendere cum meo equitatu, proficiens in expeditionem vel revertens consueveram.... pariter assentiente filio meo Girardo, sancto Petro in perpetuum relinquo [elison in text].

the charters after approximately 1108, which presumably signals his death sometime around this date. Helisend then assumed the responsibilities of the office of vidame. During the tenures of her husbands and son, Helisend had enjoyed considerable power. In charters prior to 1108, she is called *vicedomina*, which denotes her participation in the exercise of power. Helisend controlled land autonomously as well. For example, she donated to St. Père the tithes and oven in the same village where her husband Guerric had given the Church.¹⁵ Toward 1108 Helisend gave vines to St. Jean-en-Vallée for the souls of her sons and husband. Bartholomew, Stephen and Girard acted with Helisend to place a symbol of warranty on the altar in the presence of Bishop Ivo and Bishop Hubert of Senlis.¹⁶ While these men participated in the act, Helisend clearly initiated the donation and controlled the vines she gave. Her seizure of the vines also attests to the autonomy and influence she commanded, as well as suggesting a paucity of resources that led her to usurp this property.

Around 1108, after her son Hugh's death and when she became a widow for the second time, Helisend assumed sole control of the title of vidame. She continued to make generous donations and control substantial territories. Shortly after Hugh's death Helisend donated to St. Jean-en-Vallée the land, with all its customs, and the fiefs she held at Mantarville for the benefit of his soul. The donation was made with the

15. *CSPDC*, no. 55, p. 562; for the text of this charter, see p. 382, note 3 and p. 384, note 12 of this Chapter.

16. *JEAN*, no. 9, p. 7: Ego Helis[endis], Carnotensis vice[domina....debito] religionis ama....ecclesiam Sancti Joh[annis] que in surbur[bio] Carnoti sita est aliquatenus hon[onare] atque reve[rentie] mee erga illam ostendere [...necnon] anime mee necessarium esse cogn[ovi]...duos agri]peunos [sic] vinearum quos ad capud [sic] ejusdem s[...] habebam fratribus loci qui eis foret necessar[ium...] solutos et quietos preter censum dedi, pro anima domini me Bartholomei et mea meorumque filiorum Girardi et Stephani, qui concedentes vadimonium concessionis mecum super altare posuerunt, in presentia Ivonis episcopi et Huberti Silvanecten[is] episcopi [the names of other clerics who witness follow]. Ut vero hujus beneficii donum [in]vio]labiliter per succendentia tempora vigeat litterarum [monim]ento tradidimus.

This charter was evidently severely damaged. All editorial marks, except for the *sics*, are in the text.

consent of Bishop Ivo, from whose benefice *Vicedomina* Helisend held these fiefs. This noblewoman was clearly involved in the feudal world as both a lord and a vassal. Only her daughter Elizabeth and son-in-law William of Ferrières consented to the gift.¹⁷ Helisend and her son Girard also acted as witnesses for Countess Adela at her court.¹⁸ In 1119 Helisend and Girard, who were the "advocates" of the church of St. Maurice, consented to the foundation of the abbey of Notre Dame of Josaphat.¹⁹ In this charter Helisend was designated vidame, not her son. Girard did employ the title of vidame, but only after his mother and half-sister were deceased. Even though she had a son of age, Helisend remained in control of the family and its possessions.

Helisend's daughter Elizabeth assumed the title of *vicedomina* after her mother died. Elizabeth was frequently included in family charters as a witness and consenter.

17. *JEAN*, no. 7, p. 6: Quoniam sapientum moris fuit que firma voluerunt esse litterarum commendare memorie, iccirco fratres in ecclesia Beati Johannis de Valeia Deo servientes scripti diuturnitate notum voluerunt esse etati tam presenti quam successure quod Helessendis vicedomina dedit ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Valeia, pro anima filii sui Hugonis vicedomini, quicquid habebat in villa que dicitur Hermentarville, videlicet medietatem illius terre cum redditibus et consuetudinibus, cum servis et ancillis, feodum etiam militum si fratres ecclesie possent acquirere. Hoc autem factum est in presentia Ivonis, tunc Carnotensis episcopi, ipso concedente donum, a cujus beneficio vicedomina illud habebat feodum. Idem etiam concessit Guillelmus de Ferreriis, cum uxore sua Elisabeht [*sic*], vicedomine filia.

This gift was reconfirmed between 1119 and 1126 by Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres. See *JEAN*, no. 21, p. 14.

18. *CSPDC*, no. 10, p. 408-409.

19. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 2, pp. 2-4: Ego Gaufridus, Dei gratia, Carnotensium episcopus, notum esse volo tam futuris quam presentibus me juxta Leugas quamdam constituisse ecclesiam clericorum Sancti-Mauricii, in quorum parrochia erat, consensu Helisendis etiam vicedomine, et Girardi filii ejus, qui ecclesie Sancti Mauricii advocati erant, voluntate et assensu, eo videlicet tenore ne habitores a me constitute ecclesie quicquam ullo tempore accipiant quod ad ecclesiam Sancto-Mauricii pertineat parrochiale, nec etiam clericum, nec militem, nec servientem in parrochia Sancti-Mauricii consistentem, nisi canonici Sancti-Mauricii consenserint, vel prefate ecclesie ordinem prius receperint, preter Leugarum dominum ejusque uxorem et filios, qui sui juris sunt, et ad quam elegerint parrochiam ire possunt. Quod si aliqui juxta prefatam ecclesiam habitaverint, omnes ad parrochiam Sancti-Mauricii pertinebunt et parrochialia exsolvent preter illos tantummodo qui de cibo predictae ecclesie vivant. In parrochiis autem ceterarum ecclesiarum consistentes in quibus recipiendis jura ipsarum ecclesiarum non offenduntur, ad quodcumque ecclesiasticum officium celebraverint recipere possunt.

At the beginning of the twelfth century she, along with her brothers and mother, made a gift for her father's soul.²⁰ In several of her mother's donations, and subsequent episcopal confirmations, she was the only member of the immediate family to consent.²¹ William of Ferrières, Elizabeth's husband, also participated in the charters of his affinal family. William's claim, through his wife, is made explicit in the charter recording Helisend's grant of the oven to St. Père of Chartres and Hugh's subsequent contestation. William consented to and confirmed the donation because Elizabeth exercised a right to the donated property through the right or custom of inheritance.²² Elizabeth and William's participation in the earlier charters is explained by the fact she was an heiress; her brother Hugh was dead and Stephen was a member of the clergy. Her presence in later charters is not attributable to a lack of male family members, however, because Helisend had a son from her second marriage who eventually took the title of vidame.²³

Even though Elizabeth had an adult half-brother, she succeeded to the position

20. *CSPDC*, no. 56, p. 563; for the text of this charter, see p. 383, note 6 of this Chapter.

21. *JEAN*, no. 7, p. 6; for the text of this charter, see p. 387, note 17 of this Chapter.

22. *CSPDC*, no. 55, p. 562: Nec multo post Willelmus de Ferrariis, gener ejus, ad quem predicta omnia hereditario jure pertinebant ex parte uxoris sue, Treionem venit; et quecumque Guericus vicedominus et Helisendis uxor ejus sancto Petro dederant, ipse et uxore ejus Isabellis, nullum adhuc habens filium, concessit et dedit, et, ad memoriam et confirmationem rei hujus, in predicta ecclesia, super altare beate Marie, obtulit.

23. William and Elizabeth were married sometime between 1090 and 1104. In 1090 William appeared in a charter, but no mention was made of his marriage (see *CSPDC*, no. 18, pp. 529-30). He appears with Elizabeth in the charter mentioned above which is datable before 1104. William was not the lord of Ferrières. In the cartulary of Notre Dame of Josaphat Geoffrey, who was both the lord of Pavée and the viscount of Thouars, is referred to as the lord of Ferrières (see *JOSAPHAT*, nos. 146 and 147, pp. 185-7). William was the brother to Arnaud of La Ferté, which eventually became known as La Ferté-Vidame as a result of William's marriage. Hugh of La Ferté, who may have been William's brother or another relative, became the Archbishop of Tours (see *CSPDC*, no. 121, pp. 610-1).

of *vicedomina*. Girard became vidame only after Elizabeth's death. Nor did Elizabeth's husband William take this title; it belonged to her alone. Like Helisend, her daughter controlled the family lands and acted as a feudal lord. Sometime before 1130 Rainald, on the same day that his mother died and was buried, gave in alms land he had inherited from his father near the abbey of Josaphat. The property belonged to *Vicedomina* Elizabeth in fief and she consented at her house in Chartres.²⁴ Another charter from approximately the same time also records a donation made to the abbey of Josaphat by Elizabeth of her half of the tithes of Andeville and two parts of the minor tithes from the same parish, which belonged to her fiefs through inheritance. Her son Henry, who was also called vidame, gave the other half of the tithes and confirmed his mother's gift.²⁵ Elizabeth shared the authority of vidame with her son,

24. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 31, pp. 47-8: Quoniam veritas dicit in Evangelio: "Date elemosinam et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis," tenere debet inconcusse spes ver fidelium obtineri posse per elemosine beneficium post hujus vite finem vite illius consortium in qua videbitur Deus a beatus oculis mundicordium. Hac spe ductus Rainaldus, filius Guillelmi Rainaldi, ipso die defunctionis matris sue vel inhumationis, donavit in elemosinam monasterio quod appellatur Josaphat, in quo corpus defuncte matris honore debito sepultum erat, ob perhennem patris sui Guillelmi et matris sue Anastasie memoriam, terram quandam sui juris ex hereditate paterna, que eidem monasterio proxima et ob hoc utilior fore videbatur, unde etiam mater sua dum viveret eum rogasse ferebatur. Hanc itaque totam, sicut ab Ingranno quodam tunc ad censum annum xvi solidorum tenebatur, eidem monasterio per manum Girardi abbatis ita liberam donavit ut deinceps nec ab Ingranno illo nec a se ipso nec a suorum quolibet ullatenus reclamaretur, aut extra placitum abbatis vel monachorum aliquid in illa vel de illa fieri quodcumque vel quomodocumque presumeretur... Quia vero terra eadem feodus erat Isabel vicedomine Carnotensis, quesitus est etiam ab illa doni hujus concessus Carnotis in camera sue domus. Que, accersitum ad se Rainaldum super hoc interrogans, cum uxore ejus, donum ita factum audisset, ipsa quoque pro anima fratris sui Hugonis et viri sui Guillelmi defunctorum, suum perfecit assensum, immo ipsum Rainaldum coram se et secum in manum jamdicti abbatis idem donum iterare persuasit, et sic favente et faciente illo, ipsa pariter et filii ejus Willelmus suo dono donum ejus confirmavit.

25. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 37, pp. 53-4: Quod prudenti animo Elisabeth de Ferrariis, vicedomina Carnotensis, perpendens, divino tacta timore pariter et amore, in elemosinam dedit et concessit monachis Sancte-Marie Josaphat medietatem decime de Andevilla, que ad feodum suum jure hereditario pertinebat cum duabus partibus minute decime ejusdem parrochie. Quod ut firmum ac stabile perseveret, nec unquam oblivione deleatur, relegendum posteris litteris mandare decrevimus.

Notum sit omnibus tam futuris quam presentibus quod H. de Ferraris, Carno-

Henry, who had evidently come of age and had been granted a portion of the vicedominal patrimony for his support. Henry's brother William consented to his donation, affirming that he had a right or claim to his brother's portion of the family lands. In 1132 William participated with his mother in another transaction concerning family possessions. Robert of St. Léger gave to St. Père the tithes from his land at Tréon and two arpents of land. *Vicedomina* Elizabeth, who was his feudal lord, and her son William of Ferrières witnessed and consented to the grant.²⁶ William also consented to and witnessed Elizabeth's quitclaim of land and a mill at L'Epinay to the same monastery.²⁷ William and Henry each exercised a right to the family possessions, although their presence as consenters was dictated by what part of the patrimony was involved. These sons would eventually share inheritance of the patrimony, making their consent to donations from their respective portions requisite.

Toward the end of Elizabeth's life signs of strain over resources emerge. Like her brother, this *vicedomina* was guilty of usurping revenues from the Church. Sometime in the 1130's Elizabeth abandoned the customs of *vicaria* and dues from

....Continued....

tensis vicedominus, medietatem decime de Andeville et totam minutam decimam monachis Deo servientibus in loci qui vocatur Josaphat in elemosinam dedit, et donum quod mater ejus, Helisabet nomine, de eadem decima ejusdem monachis fecerat, sua concessione confirmavit. Hoc factum est apud Ferreriam, in domo filii sui, per manum Roberti prioris de Josaphat. Testes Sunt: Willelmus frater ejus...

26. *CSPDC*, no. 129, p. 616: Notum sit omnibus, tam presentibus quam futuris, quod Robertus miles, de Sancto Leodegario, dedit Sancto Petro Carnoti decimam terre sue que est apud Treionem, cum duobus agripennis ejusdem terre, vidente et annunente: Helisabeth vicedomina, de cujus fevo eadem terra erat, et Guillelmo de Ferrariis, filio ejusdem vicedomine....

27. *CSPDC*, no. 130, p. 616; for the text of this charter, see the following note.

justice that she had been exacting unjustly from the mill of L'Epinay.²⁸ The levying of unjust exactions implies a need for cash revenue. In 1140, shortly before her death, Elizabeth arranged for the monks to be freed from customs exacted from the corn, wine and other goods that they sold. In return the monks were to record the anniversary of her death in their martyrology and insure its annual celebration.²⁹ Elizabeth gave immunity from customs to provide for the anniversary of her death while previous generations had given land to insure the health of their souls. Her attempt to gain revenues against custom is further indicative of a preference for other types of resources besides land. This evidence combines to suggest that Elizabeth was reluctant to donate land. The *vicedomina*, and perhaps the monks themselves, preferred other sorts of wealth.

Girard assumed the responsibilities of vidame after his half-sister's death. He had made several donations before he became vidame. Sometime between 1126 and 1134 Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres confirmed the possession of the churches of St. Saturn of Chambourcy and St. Martin of Longy by the canons of St. Jean-en-Vallée,

 28. *CSPDC*, no. 130, p. 616: Quoniam que inter homines geruntur sepe, longa temporis succeseione, oblivione deleri possunt, nisi scripture testimonio confirmentur, iccirco notum fieri volumus omnibus, tam presentibus quam futuris, quod Elisabeth vicedomina, omnes pravos consuetudines, quas in molendino nostro de Spina clamabat, scilicet vicariam et totius justicie exactionem, in capitulo nostro donavit; et eandem libertatem quam sui molendini habent molendino nostro concessit; et molendinariis nostris, tantam libertatem eundi contra molendinantes quantam et sui molendinarii habent, donavit. Hujus libertatis donum manu propria misit super altare beati Petri Carnoti, presente et annuente Guillelmo de Ferrarriis, filio suo.

29. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 110, pp. 141-2: Presentie presentium ac posteritati futurorum nos monachi Josaphat notum fieri volumus quod Helisabeth, Carnotine civitatis vicedomina, eterna libertate, in quantum ad eam pertinebat, pro Dei amore et salute anime sue, firmavit quatenus nulla consuetudo de omnibus propriis rebus quas nos vendidimus, tam de annona quam de vino vel ceteris rebus, ad proprium usum domus nostre pertinentibus, capiatur. Unde concessum est ei ut omnibus annis post obitum suum ejus anniversarium in nostro conventu celebrabitur, sed ut hoc memoriter a posteris perhenniterque teneatur, pactio hec in regula nostra ascribitur, ac deinde quando ejus obitus a nobis audietur, suprascriptum anniversarium in martyrologio nostrorum defunctorum notabitur.

which had been given by Girard Bodellus.³⁰ In the decade of the 1160's Girard made two very humble donations, indicative perhaps of the family's continued economic decline. In 1161 he gave to St. Jean-en-Vallée the cottages and oven that he held at St. Maurice, part of which his mother Helisend had given previously. Girard had then requested that he continue to hold the property for his lifetime; in return he would pay two *solidi* annually. Girard's petition to control the oven and dwellings indicates that he was unable to alienate this income and property from his control. Moreover, most of his acts consisted of reaffirming what had already been given by his mother, which may reflect an inability or unwillingness to grant new properties to the Church. Girard specified that since he had no male heirs, the *cens* which he possessed was to go to the monks in alms.³¹ Evidently he did not consider his daughter an heir, which betrays a significant alteration in family strategy. While Girard's daughter Ledgard was not

30. *JEAN*, no. 39, p. 24: Predictae ville terram tempore Ivonis episcopi nostri predecessoris, dedit Helisendis vicedomina ecclesie Sancti Johannis, concedente filia sua Helizabeth, pro anima Hugonis vicedomini filii sui defuncti et majorum. Concessi etiam predictae ecclesie Sancti Johannis ecclesiam Sancti Saturnini de Camburciaco, que sita est juxta Pynsiacum, ecclesiam quoque Sancti Martini de Loiniaco que sita est in Valle Cuspreii, quam reddidit Girardus Boellus nostro jussu in manu Zacharie nostri subdecani.

Helisend's second husband Bartholomew used the cognomen of Bodellus and their son employed it as well.

31. *JEAN*, no. 76, p. 43: Ego Robertus, Dei gratia, Carnotensis episcopus, veritatem silentio plerumque periclitari sciens, scripto mandare dignum duxi quod Girardus cognomento Boellus, gravissimo tactus incommodo et propter plagam quam erga eum Deus exercuit timore correptus, in capitulum Sancti Johannis de Valeia cum conjugue sua venit, et in nostra ac multorum pariter assistentium presentia, furnum et hospites quos apud Sanctum Mauricium hactenus tenuerat in manu domni Fulcaudi abbatis dimisit. Fatebatur enim et dato nobis insuper juramento verissime testabatur quod mater ipsius, Helisendis vicedomina, plateam quandam cum vineis ab Arnulfo, filio Bernardi, et a quibusdam aliis precio emit, ubi, locatus hospitibus et furno constructo, totum simul ecclesie Sancti Johannis in elemosinam contulit. Affirmabat etiam quod illa postmodum a canonicis impetravit ut idem Girardus predictum furnum cum hospitibus quoad viveret obtineret, ita tamen ut eisdem annuatim duos solidos in signum reversure ad ipsos possessionis persolveret. Illud quoque rogatu matris sue additum memorabat ut si ei masculum Dominus providisset heredem, solus ille sub pretaxata annui census pensione patris successor existeret; quem quia non habuit, veritus ne ecclesia Sancti Johannis dispendium aliquod vel detrimentum incurreret, si quod ecclesie post obitum ipsius debebatur diutius retentaret, eam ulterius jure suo fraudare noluit, sed totum, ut diximus, integrum et absolutum eidem resignavit.

reckoned as an heir by her father, the monks believed she still exercised a right to these properties. In 1169 Ivo of Illiers, Girard's son-in-law, abandoned his claim to these possessions, and Ledgard herself did the same shortly afterward; she did have a claim to her father's property.³² Not only did Girard have a daughter, but also he had surviving nephews. If an extended and open pattern of family structure had still operated, they would have been considered potential heirs. After Girard the title of vidame did not pass to either his daughter or his son-in-law; rather William II of Ferrières, Elizabeth's grandson, assumed the office. He in turn was succeeded by his son Robert.

During the eleventh century, the vidames of Chartres had practiced partible inheritance. This pattern continued into the twelfth century and may have eventually weakened the landed base of this family. Signs of tension appear under Vidame Hugh II and continued into the mid twelfth century. Yet even though the family may have been experiencing a constriction in its resources, it was only late in the century that any attempt was made to limit heirs.³³ The lack of patrilineal orientation in this family for the first half of the twelfth century is evident in the influence of female family members. Helisend and her daughter Elizabeth controlled the family lands for the first four decades of the twelfth century. Even when their sons reached majority, they continued to act as a feudal lords in their own right and in authority over family lands. Moreover, while Girard's daughter probably received part of the family lands,

32. *JEAN*, no. 83, p. 46: Ego Guillelmus, Dei gratia, Senonensis archiepiscopus, apostolice sedis legatus, litteris annotare et presentibus ac posteris insinuare curavimus quod Legardis, uxor Ivonis de Isleriis, calumniam quam canonicis Sancti Johannis fecerat super quodam furno et hospitibus eidem adjacentibus in bona tandem pace dimisit, et, juramento testium quod ad probationem sue cause canonici prodixerant non discredens, quin potius de violentia quam eis intulerat penitens, culpam suam confiteri non erubuit, veniam petiit et obtinuit, atque ecclesie de Valeia jus proprium restituens ejus se orationibus humiliter commendavit.

Ivo of Illiers abandoned his claim in *JEAN*, no. 82, pp. 45-6.

33. Elizabeth may have had a daughter, but little information is extant, so it is difficult to determine if she, too, exercised a claim to the patrimony.

neither she nor her husband ever enjoyed the title of vidame.

The Lords of Gallardon

Even though the lords of Gallardon made up one of the more influential families in the region of Blois-Chartres, few charters provide useful information on the family. Around 1080 the lord of Gallardon was Hervé I, the son of Lord Herbert II (see Figure 3). He was married to Hildeburg and had several sons and one daughter.³⁴ Sometime around 1090 Hervé I's son Hugh succeeded his father as lord of Gallardon. Hugh's tenure lasted for the rest of the eleventh century and the first decade of the twelfth. During these years, he witnessed an act by Pagan of Rémalard, along with the count of Perche, William Gouet, and the vidame of Chartres.³⁵ In 1092 Hugh was present at the court of Count Stephen of Blois-Chartres, where he witnessed the judgment against Prévôt Hugh of Blois.³⁶ Only one of Hugh's personal acts has survived, which makes it difficult to draw any concrete conclusions on family structure during his lifetime. At some point between 1090 and 1101 Hugh witnessed the emancipation of a serf named Warin and his quitclaim of the land that he held from the abbey of St. Père. Hugh himself swore fidelity as a vassal to Abbot Eustace

34. I am able document the existence of three sons: Hervé, Hugh, and Gui. Hervé I may have had two other sons, Milo and Galeran, but their identity remains tenuous. Many men "of Gallardon" appear in the charters, who do not seem to be related to this family.

35. *CSPDC*, no. 63, p. 314. In this charter, Hugh is referred to as a vassal of the viscount of Châteaudun.

36. *CMPD*, no. 146, p. 135.

and all succeeding abbots as long as he lived.³⁷ None of Hugh's family appears in the charter, not his wife, parents or brothers.

Beginning approximately 1115 a new lord of Gallardon emerged: Hervé II, Hugh's brother.³⁸ According to the editor of the cartulary of St. Jean-en-Vallée, Hugh of Gallardon left for the Holy Land in 1102; yet only around 1115 is the next lord of Gallardon recorded in the charters. Hervé II enjoyed a very long tenure and was lord until the 1160's.³⁹ Between 1115 and 1120 Hervé II confirmed two donations made by his vassal Girard *Ensaielea*. Around 1115 Girard sold one quarter of the land surrounding the church of St. Epagne of Ablis to the abbey of Tiron. Hervé II, from whom Girard held this property in fief, consented to the transaction, as well as giving the customs from the same land. Later in the same pancarte, Herve II and Eudes Herlandus conceded the tithes from three arpents next to the same church and the

37. CSPDC, no. 43, p. 297: Ego Eustachius, Dei gratia, sancti Petri Carnotensis abbas....notum esse volumus....[elision in text] quia adiit nostram presentiam quidam servus sancti Petri, Guarinus nomine, de Bermeri Villa, obnixe deprecans, ut eum a nodo servitutis absolveremus. Quod et fecimus una cum consensu domini Ivonis episcopi omniumque monachorum nostrorum. Ipse vero Garinus guerpivit nobis terram quam de sancto Petro tenebat, addens etiam X libras denariorum....[elision in text] Ex parte Garini fuerunt hii testes: Hugo de Galardone, qui, pro hac conventionione et amore illius, noster homo effectus est et fidelitatem nobis juravit, omnibusque successoribus nostris idem facere, quandiu viveret, promisit; Gauslinus, Bartholomeus vicedominus....

38. According to a footnote on page 30 of *JEAN*, Hugh was the lord of Auneau and was succeeded by his younger brother Gui. Gui's son Gauslen, in turn, followed his father as lord of Auneau.

39. It is possible that the Hervé of the later acts was the son of Hervé II, but it is difficult to ascertain this for a fact. If this was indeed the case, than an entire generation would need to be inserted. I have consulted with Kimberly LoPrete on this family, and she believes that the cartulary of Bonneval might contain some useful information. Unfortunately, I have not been able to attain a copy of this cartulary.

tithes from those at *Vallini*.⁴⁰ About five years later Hervé II and his mother reconfirmed the gift to Tiron made by Girard and his wife of one of the Gallardon fiefs.⁴¹ The absence of kin characteristic of Hugh's charters continued. Only Hervé II's mother participated with him in the later charter.⁴² The Gallardon family also controlled Auneau, of which Hervé II's brother Gui was lord. These brothers had shared inheritance of these two family possessions. Yet neither Gui nor Hervé II nor their other siblings participated in each others' charters. Neither siblings nor their children exercised any claim to properties that were controlled by the other lines. Hervé II witnessed several charters around 1130 made by his vassals and his lords alike. As was the case with the two earlier documents, none of his family appeared with him.⁴³

Beginning around 1140 subtle changes in the organization of this family

40. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 8, pp. 19-20: Girardus Ensaielana vendidit monachis Tyronis unum quarterium terre que est circa ecclesiam [Sancti-Ispani], Amelina uxore sua et filiis et filiabus suis concendentibus: et Arveus de Galardum, de cuius feodo erat, hoc concessit, necnon consuetudines illius terre illis dedit.

Harveus de Galardum et Odo Herlandus concesserunt monachis Tyronis decimam trium arpentorum terre que est justa [sic] suam ecclesiam, et decimam arpentis Vallini, episcopo Carnoti concedente.

41. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 36, p. 57: In nomine Sancte et individue Trinitatis, noverint omnes christiane religionis quo Girardus Ensaielana et Amelina uxor ejus dederunt se ecclesie Tyronis, quatinus, si vellent, monachis fierent, necnon partes suas ecclesie Tyronis concesserunt et quoddam arpentum terre quod erat circa ecclesiam Sancti-Ispani monachis Tyronis dederunt...Hoc donum concessit Harveus Galardonis et mater ejus, de quorum feodo erat.

A footnote in *TIRON*, vol. I, p. 57, erroneously identifies this Hervé as the son of Herbert, who, the author states, appeared frequently in the charters of St. Père between 1115 and 1125. This is obviously a confusion with Hervé II's father Hervé who was the son of Herbert. The editor's confusion between Hervé I and Hervé II is further evident in his assertion that this Hervé had two sons, Hervé and Galeran, and a daughter named Hildeburg who was married to Robert Goël, the lord of Ivry, and who died in the "odor of sanctity" at the monastery of Pontoise.

42. Unfortunately her name is not extant in the charter. If it were, it would be possible to ascertain that this was Hervé II, not his son.

43. See *JOSAPHAT*, no. 68, pp. 88-9; no. 74, pp. 95-6; no. 59, p. 81; and *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 127, p. 149.

emerge. Around 1143 Hervé II of Gallardon and Drogo of Meulan ceded the church at Breuil to the abbey of Notre Dame de Josaphat. These two men had been fighting over which of them should hold the church, so they decided to grant it to the monastery, presumably as some sort of compromise. None of the immediate family of the lord of Gallardon participated in the charter. Their absence suggests that their consent was not requisite.⁴⁴ In approximately 1149 Hervé II made another donation. The charter states he was a man of peace and was inspired by the love of God to give his lands and revenues to the monks of Josaphat. He gave his consent in advance to gifts that his vassals might make and promised that neither he nor his heirs would dispute these concessions.⁴⁵ In spite of this guarantee, none of Hervé's heirs consented to this donation. Herve II was still acting as feudal lord and holding court in 1150, but in 1162 he abandoned the secular world and became a monk at the abbey of

44. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 121, pp. 151-2: Siquidem ecclesiam de Bruelio, que laicorum quorundam, Hervei videlicet de Galardun, et Drogonis de Mellent, per aliquantum temporis sub altercatione utrisque cognoscitur extitisse, respectu divine gratia in unum ita convenerunt ut, quod unusquisque potestate terrena sibi volebat habere in dominium, Deo redderet et monasterio vestro deinceps solutum et liberum.

45. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 161, pp. 201-2: Cum divine bonitatis sit amplitudo ditissima, adeo beneficiis impendere se dignatur humanis, ut nec solius bone voluntatis affectus absque digne renumeratione mercedis omittatur, testantibus nuntiis dominice Nativitatis quod: "In terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis." Quapropter Herveii, domini Galardonensis, bona voluntas quam, solo divini timoris intuitu, monasterio Josaphat sepius exhibuisse cognosciture, nequaquam sperandum est quod digno quandocumque premio vacuetur. Is namque cum de propriis copiis aut terris pro voto non haberet unde monasterii ejusdem redditus augeret, quecumque de suis feuodis illis adjungi quomodocumque contingeret sui favoris assensum sic prebebat tanquam propriis illud commodis accresceret. Denique in capitulum fratrum veniens, cum militum suorum nonnullis, unum simul donum semel fecit eidem monasterio de omnibus feuodis suis, ut quandocumque vel ubicumque aliquid eorum sibi fidelium devotio largiretur, non de singulis singule concessionem a se vel a suis heredibus quererentur, sed hujus doni semel facti simulque de omnibus fidelis descriptio, testibus adhibitis, munita retineretur et oportune profutura temporum vel necessitati debita diligentia servaretur.

Josaphat.⁴⁶ Hervé II made an extensive donation to that monastery upon taking up the habit of a monk. All of the property was alienated without contestation, except for the tithes of Chalou, which were set aside for Hervé II's son Warin the cleric.⁴⁷ It was specified that the tithes would revert to the monks upon Warin's death or "change in life," meaning when he joined a monastery. While the consent of Hervé II's sons and

46. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 172, p. 217: Factum est autem post hoc aliquantum fluxisse temporis ut in curia domini Hervei de Galardone, ob desponsationem filie ejus quam eo die Philippo Britoni tradebat uxorem, conventus fieret procerum magnus.

It was at this court that Hervé II's daughter was betrothed to Philip Breton. Philip consented to a donation made by his father Geoffrey, his mother and his uncle Galeran around 1130. The donation was of the *vicaria* of Oisème where a priory of Tiron was established. The participation of Philip's uncle and mother in the charter demonstrate that in his family members exercised a right to family lands, unlike the Gallardons (see *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 127, pp. 149-52).

47. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 237, pp. 280-1: Ego Robertus, Dei gratia ecclesie Carnotensis episcopus, instantibus et futuris notum fieri volo quod Herveus de Galardone, mundo abrenunciaturus et religionis habitum suscepturus, una cum uxore sua et filiis Hugone, Roberto, Herveo, Gervaiso, presentiam nostram adiit et illis presentibus multis auditibus nobis retulit quod quicquid in decimis magnis et minutis ecclesie Beati-Medardi de Chalou et in granica in qua decima coarctatur, hereditario jure possidebat, in manu predecessoris nostri domini Gaufredi pie recordationis Carnotensis episcopi, sine ulla retencione, ab initio militie sue refutaverat et ut monachis monasterii Beate-Marie Josaphat tam granica quam decime conferentur, fuis precibus, obtinuerat. Omnes nichilominus ecclesias et decimas quas possidebat, eodem modo eisdem monachis indultas asseruit. Preterea recognovit quod eis viatoriam molendinorum de Joiaco, quamdiu eos tenerent dimiserat, quod eis concesserat accipere et possidere feodum suum ubicunque illis daretur, unum ipse servitium vel castelli sui custodiam non amitteret, quod eis redecimum omnium reddituum suorum de Solerrio contulerat. Hec omnia, sine ulla contradicione a diebus prefati episcopi usque ad hanc diem monachi possederunt, excepto quod deciman [*sic*] de Chalo filio ejusdem Hervei, Garino clerico, eo pacto concesserunt ut post obitum vel mutationem vite ejus ad eos reverteretur. Factumque est ita. Garinus seculo abrenuntiavit, ad monachos decima sine calumpnia rediit.

It is interesting to note that even though Warin was a member of the church, he still was able to enjoy support from his family lands. This has important connotations for noble family structure, since it has traditionally been assumed that once a son or daughter joined the Church he or she eschewed their right to the family property and could no longer be considered an heir. Warin must have joined the church somewhat late in life, since he had a son (see *JEAN*, no. 81, p. 45 in note 49).

his wife is explicit, his daughter did not participate in this transaction in any way.⁴⁸

Succession to the lordship after Hervé II is difficult to establish. Hervé II had several sons, and one of them or their descendants presumably became lord of Gallardon. Around 1165 Hervé of Gallardon, the son of Warin, abandoned his claim to the mill of St. Prest, and this quitclaim was confirmed by Count Thibaut IV.⁴⁹ Like the earlier Gallardons, Hervé acted alone in this transaction. The absence of kin is particularly striking because this was a quitclaim. In such cases the monks generally secured the consent of all possible claimants, i.e., relatives, to prevent any further trouble. The absence of family members indicates that this Hervé, like his predecessors, enjoyed absolute control of family properties.

The lords of Gallardon, unlike other Chartrain noble families, did not honor the claim of all children to their possessions. Indeed the absence of nuclear, extended and affinal relatives in their charters indicates that the Gallardons adhered to a more linear and closed configuration of family. In the eleventh century, the participation of a variety of relatives substantiated the practice of an open and horizontal family pattern and shared inheritance. In the twelfth, however, immediate family and other

48. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 112, p. 217, refers to Hervé II's daughter's betrothal, but no mention is made of an endowment. Given the organization of this family, she was presumably given a dowry which represented her sole share of the patrimony. After her marriage she would, thus, have no further claim to her father's lands, which would explain her absence in later charters. However, since Hervé's daughter married Philip the Breton, it is possible that if Philip truly was from Brittany that his wife would not have been in contact with her natal family very often. This might also explain the absence of Hervé's daughter in the family charters.

49. *JEAN*, no. 81, p. 45: Ego Theobaudus, comes Blesensis, notum esse volo omnibus sancte Dei ecclesie fidelibus tam futuris quam presentibus Herveum de Galardone, Garini filium, dimisisse calumniam quam faciebat super molendinum Sancti Johannis qui est apud Santum Priscum, et concessisse ecclesie Sancti Johannis pactionem quam fecerant majores sui de predicto molendino ecclesie Sancti Stephani. Concessit etiam septem sextarios annone quos in eodem molendino habent heredes Garini de Balloleth, si ecclesie Sancti Johannis eos aliquo tempore acquirere poterit, presentiamque meam rogans adivit ut quod de predicto molendino concesserat, quia de meo feodo erat, concederem et signi mei impressione et sigilli mei appositione firmarem. Cujus precibus, eo quod juste erant, adquevi, et quod molendino fecit, prout petierat, ratam esse constitui.

relatives no longer participated in donations. Instead the lord had virtual and complete control of family resources. Due to the paucity of charters, it is difficult to determine what force might have triggered such a change. André Chédeville has described this family as one of the most powerful of the region, which makes economic destitution seem unlikely.⁵⁰ Hervé II made many generous donations to the Church. The charter that records the donation of the church at Breuil by Hervé and Drogo of Meulan labels them as members of the laity, which, given the nature of Gregorian reform, would have made their possession of the church immoral and illegal. Moreover, they gave the church out of respect for "divine grace." At the end of the 1140's Hervé II gave all of his fiefs to the monks of Josaphat, and he abandoned even more of the patrimony when he joined their order in 1162. The only act extant from the next generation is a quitclaim of an unjust usurpation of a mill, which suggests that the lords of Gallardon were experiencing economic strain. The Gallardon lands lay close to the royal demesne in the Île de France. It is, therefore, possible that this family, perhaps more than any other considered here, may have been threatened by the royal centralization undertaken by Louis VI and his successors. Louis VI sought to establish his authority over the feudal nobility. Since control of land and vassals was the essence of power, the king undertook a campaign to expand his holdings, and those nobles whose possessions were close to the royal demesne were especially at risk of royal challenge or annexation. By adopting a more rigidly linear family pattern the lords of Gallardon may have been attempting to preserve their lands, their power and their autonomy from the increasingly powerful presence of the twelfth-century French monarchs.

50. Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, pp. 256-8.

The Lords of Courville

In the eleventh century family members of the lord of Courville, immediate and extended, consented to donations and participated in family charters (see Figure 2). Around 1080 Gerogius, the son of Ivo I, was lord of Courville. In this year he donated the church of St. Nicholas of Courville to the monks of Marmoutier. His brothers Thibaut and Simon consented to the donation.⁵¹ The charter provides proof that Ivo I had divided family possessions among his sons. When Gerogius gave his part of the church of Courville, he also donated the other parts "which his father gave to his other brothers." While Gerogius had become lord, his other brothers were clearly provided with property for their support. The participation of Simon and Thibaut also demonstrates that Lord Gerogius was not completely autonomous. Gerogius' wife Philippa, Simon and Thibaut participated with him in the bishop's confirmation of this gift to Marmoutier.⁵² In spite of Gerogius' power, his brothers maintained their individual right to the patrimony.

51. *CMPD*, no. 138, pp. 127-9: Igitur ego Girogius in Carnotensi territorio castri possessor, quod Curva Villa vocatur, ecclesiam eodem castro habebam ab Ivone meo quondam genitore, in honore Sancti Nicholai constructam, ministeriisque atque ornamentis possessionum denique redditibus decenter sufficienterque ditatam, ac traditam octo numero canonicis administrandam, quorum abbatiam atque integrum totius ejusdem ecclesiae dominatum, cum michi singulariter extra partem scilicet aliquam fratrum meorum, idem genitor dedisset ipseque obisset.... Porro autem huic meae dominationi Philippa conjux, et Tetbaldus, atque Simon germani mei, gratis annuerunt animoque libenti. Ita fecit et Hugh vicecomes Carnotensis, de cujus erant beneficio quae donavi. Horum interim id est meae donationis et conjugis et fratrumque assensionis.

52. *CMPD*, no. 139, pp. 129-30: Omnibus sanctae et universalis ecclesiae fidelibus notum sit et manifestum, quod vir quidam Giroius nomine, Curvae Villae dominus, una cum uxoris suae Philippae necnon et duorum fratrum suorum Tetbaldi videlicet atque Simonis, consensu et voluntate, ecclesiam Sancti Nicolai in eodem Curvae Villae castro sitam, Beato Martino et monachis in ejus Majori Monasterio Domino famulantibus, in quantum sibi pertinere videbatur, dare disponens, id rectius posse fieri aestimavit, si hanc eis Gaufredus Carnontensium tunc temporis episcopus auctoritatis suae dono ejus saltim precibus confirmasset.

The same confirmation is included in the cartulary of St. Jean-en-Vallée. See *JEAN*, no. 2, pp. 1-2.

Gerogius died sometime before 1094, and his wife Philippa assumed responsibility for the lordship and their minor son, Ivo. In a charter dated 1094, Philippa and Ivo II gave the jurisdiction of the *ban* and *vicaria* of the village of Pomeray to the monks of St. Père. Her "fideles feudales" also consented to the donation of the *vicaria*, reflecting Philippa's role as feudal lord and establishing conclusively that she exercised the same power and authority that her husband and father-in-law had.⁵³ Sometime around 1109 Erchembald the knight donated to St. Père the land of *Lemeri Villaris* for the benefit of his soul. He made his donation at the court of Abbot Eustace of St. Père. *Domina* Philippa and her son Ivo were among the witnesses and consented along with several other of Erchembald's feudal lords.⁵⁴ Gerogius had at least two brothers who could have assumed control of the lordship and of Ivo, but Philippa enjoyed undisputed authority over both. The family of the lords of Courville clearly did not yet subscribe to patrilineage.

Philippa continued to have influence when Ivo came of age and assumed the lordship of Courville. Sometime between 1109 and 1129, but after Philippa's death, Ivo quitclaimed customs which he, his mother and father had seized unjustly. Ivo admitted that his mother told him that she and his father had gained the customs by invasion and that she encouraged him to give them back to the Church. After her death he did not abide by her wishes, but "followed the heart of a youth." It was not until Abbot William came to Courville and reminded Ivo of his mother's plea that

53. CSPDC, no. 43, pp. 499-500; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 4, p. 214, note 84.

54. CSPDC, no. 24, pp. 417-21: Quod, sicut obtulit et petivit a domno Eustachio abbate, susceptum est et concessum, et, coram multis testibus quorum nomina subnotata sunt, a Bartholomeo Butello et fratre Fulcherio, et ab uxore ejus Helisendi et filio Girardo, et a domna Philippa de Curva Villa et filio ejus Ivone, et Gradulfo de Ysis et filio ejus Roberto, qui, ordine quo sunt scripti, terre domini erant, concessum et confirmatum.

he finally quitclaimed these customs, with his wife's consent.⁵⁵ Philippa had participated with her husband in usurping these customs; which demonstrates that she was his partner in every way. She enjoyed this role during her son's minority and continued to advise him even when he assumed control of the lordship.

Ivo II of Courville reached maturity sometime around 1110, at which time he consented to a donation to St. Jean-en-Vallée by his vassal Hugh of Louville of the church and tithes of Louville.⁵⁶ In 1115 Ivo II recognized that his ancestors had held the church of St. Nicholas of Courville against the law of the Church and, "inflamed with the Holy Spirit," he conceded the church into the hands of Bishop Ivo, who later

55. *CSPDC*, no. 46, pp. 502-3: In nomine Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, et in honore beatissimi Petri apostolorum principis, ego Ivo de Curvavilla ab omnibus sciri cupio, me omnes consuetudines, quas pater meus Gerogius et Philippa mater mea acceperunt in terra sancti Petri Carnoti, absque ulla retentione in omne tempus dimittere. Cum enim appropinquaret jam morti mater mea, vocato me ad se, michi dixit: "Volo te scire, fili, nos nichil consuetudinis habuisse unquam vel habere in terra sancti Petri. Quicquid enim pater tuus et ego inde accepimus non consuetudo fuit, sed violentia vel rapina; sed et monachi, id non ignorantes, semper conqueruntur de nobis, et, in quantum possunt, contradicunt. Unde te moneo et precor, ut, quicquid nos fecimus, tu tamen illas, non dicam consuetudines sed injustas invasiones, in terra sancti Petri ne capias [sic]." Hec verba matris mee audierunt duo monachi sancti Petri: Gaufridus de Sancto Leobino et Conanus, ibi assistentes; et tres homines nostri, Frodo, famulus noster; et Ivo, filius Herberti, gener ejus; et Hugo, filius Haimerici; qui postea, me hoc ex parte negante, parati fuerunt ad jurandum pro monachis, se, sicut dixi, sic audisse a matre mea. Ego vero, mortua matre mea, cor juvenile sequens, non verbis matris mee obediens, consuetudines quas pater meus habuerat repetii, cumque rustici, monachis sibi prohibentibus, eas reddere nollent, predam eorum in nautum cepi; monachisque inde se clamantibus, recredidi donec, per placitum, vel mea vel illorum justitia comprobaretur. Interim venit domnus abbas sancti Petri Willelmus Curvamvilla ad me, sciendus de placito, an placitarem scilicet, an dimitterem. Tunc dedit michi Deus bonum consilium, ut et placitum et consuetudines pariter dimitterem, hominibus meis idipsum laudantibus. Consuetudines itaque quas pater meus et mater acceperunt in terra sancti Petri, sicut supra dixi, in perpetuum dimitto, et posteris meis dimittendas precipio. Dimissionem hanc feci in manu domini Willelmi, abbatis sancti Petri, apud Curvam Villam.

56. *JEAN*, no. 10, p. 8: Omnia autem que predicta sunt sicut memoravimus, omnium dominorum ad quos ecclesia et decima pertinebat et benevolentia concessit et auctoritas confirmavit, quorum primus Ivo Carnotensis episcopus, Girard Boellus vexillifer secundus, Ivo de Curvavilla tercius, cujus etiam homo erat Hugo [of Louville], Guinmeri filius, et a quo predicta ecclesiam et decimam tenebat.

granted it to the monastery of St. Jean-en-Vallée.⁵⁷ He promised that neither he nor any of his heirs would reclaim the church and donated it for the benefit of his soul and those of his ancestors.

Inheritance of the lordship of Courville is tangled and somewhat tricky to establish after Ivo II.⁵⁸ Because Ivo II and his wife Ermengard had no children, the fate of the lordship was uncertain. At various times Ivo II appointed both his feudal lord Viscount Hugh III of Chartres and Fulk Quercue as his heir, but Robert de Vieuxpont eventually assumed the title of lord of Courville. What is clear, however, is the impact of the Gregorian reform movement on this family. Gerogius donated to Marmoutier the church at Courville, no doubt a result of the reformers' contention that secular possession of churches was against God's law. Sometime later the same church was transferred to the abbey of St. Jean-en-Vallée. In Bishop Ivo's granting of the church of St. Nicholas to the canons of St. Jean-en-Vallée, Ivo II admitted that his ancestors' possession of this church was "against God's law" and, "inflamed by the Holy Spirit," he conceded it to the bishop. Bishop Ivo had undoubtedly impressed upon this lord, and others as well, the illegality of their claims. Ivo II also made extensive donations to the monastery of Tiron, which significantly diminished the

57. *JEAN*, no. 15, p. 10: Ego Ivo, Dei gratia, Carnotensis ecclesie minister, fidelibus sancte Dei ecclesie tam presentibus quam futuris notum fieri volo quod donnus Ivo de Curvavilla nostram adiit presentiam, et, permotus virtute Spritus Sancti, recognovit humiliter et religiose tam se quam suos antecessores injuste et contra legem Dei tenuisse ecclesiam Sancti Nicholai de Curvavilla. Post tam salubrem igitur recognitionem quam Spiritus Sancti gratia cordi ipsius infuderat, eodem Spritu inflammatus, predictam ecclesiam in manu nostra dimisit, ut de cetero nec ipse nec aliquis heredum suorum quicquam inde reclamaret, et, pro remissione peccatorum suorum et animarum antecessorum suorum liberatione, arbitrio nostro ordinandam reliquit....concessimus ipsam ecclesiam fratribus de Sancto Johanne regulariter viventibus, in usum eorum et stipendia perpetualiter habendam.

58. For a detailed discussion of this problem and the supporting evidence, see Appendix One.

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patrimonial lands of the lords of Courville. Since Ivo II had no heirs,⁵⁹ he was able to make such generous donations without concern that the patrimony would adequately provide for the succeeding generations. At the end of the eleventh century, extended kin participated in the charters of the lords of Courville. During the twelfth century, such kin are completely absent. Whether this was the result of a lack of such relatives or by design is virtually impossible to ascertain.

The Lords of Montigny

By 1080 the family of the lords of Montigny was in serious economic straits. Early in the century the family had been one of the more powerful and wealthy in the region. A succession of very generous donations to the Church, however, had considerably weakened the patrimony. Lord Ganelon II of Montigny, by the middle of the eleventh century, controlled far fewer resources and therefore had far less influence than had his uncle Ganelon I. Ganelon II's widow Adela married Hamlin of Fréteval, the brother of lord Nivelon II, and he acted as the lord of Montigny until the early twelfth century. The marriage with the Frétevals was an important alliance for the Montignys and, I believe, contributed to the recovery of the family (see Figure 9).

In the eleventh century, the patrimony of the Montigny family had been impoverished by a series of generous gifts to the Church. Concern over the state of family resources continued into the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Hamlin admitted to taking violently from the men of the monks of Marmoutier the corn which they had brought to his mills. His attempt to supplement the lands of the lordship of

⁵⁹. It is possible that Ivo II did have heirs from his uncles or brothers but was influenced by the Gregorian reformers attempt to narrow his concept of kin and therefore of legitimate heirs. Since reconstruction of Thibaut and Simon's families is not possible, it is difficult to determine Ivo's true conception of what kin constituted legitimate heirs.

Montigny with property seized from the dependents of the Church betrays a need for additional resources. Hamlin and the monks eventually reached an agreement, however, and he made additional gifts, presumably to atone for his earlier behavior.⁶⁰ He transferred the tithes of the right to hunt in the forest. He also confirmed the gift of a sluice, pannage for pigs, the tithes from the collection of honey in his forest and the tithes from the pressing of wine at Pruneville, which his predecessor Lord Ganelon II had given to Marmoutier. Hamlin's donation consisted of tithes and revenues, not land, which signals a hesitancy to alienate land from the patrimony.

Hamlin died around 1107 leaving Agnes, the daughter of Ganelon II, in charge of the lordship.⁶¹ Agnes herself had been recently widowed and enjoyed auto-

60. *CMPD*, no. 61, pp. 53-4: Notum sit omnibus quod Hamelinus dominus Montiniaci castri, filius Fulcherii, filii Nivelonis, cogebat violenter ire ad molendinos suos homines beati Martini Majoris Monasterii de Matresemita, et de Basonis villa, et auferebat nobis molturam nostram, tempore vero quo, domnus Ivo monachus noster preerat obedientiae Sancti Hylarii; saniori usus consilio, reddidit et concessit nobis eam interventu ejusdem fratris nostri, tali pacto ut in arbitrio et potestate eorundem nostrorum rusticorum sit, ire sive ad molendinum nostrum sive ad suum, sine ulla vel nostra vel ipsius calumnia aut contradictione. Quod factum est in domo nostra apud Sanctum Hylarium sita; ubi etiam concessit nobis scusam quandam in Leda fluvio sitam, quae fuerat Rotberti Chinonaci, et per universas forestas suas pastionem ad omnes porcos monachi, prepositi obedientiae ejusdem, id est obedientiae Sancti Hylarii, et omnium qui de familia ipsius erunt, sine ullo pastinatico et decimam omnium tensionum apium quasunque, in omnibus forestibus suis habuerit, et decimam prensionis vini de Prunivilla sicut, Guanilo predecessor ejus, Montiniaci castri dominus ea, id est memoratam scusam et pastionem porcorum ac decimam tensionum apium, sed et decimam prensionis vini de Prunivilla Deo et beato Martino atque nobis, ad opus obedientiae Sancti Hylarii, dederat et concesserat. Simul etiam dedit nobis eodem die atque loco idem Hamelinus per manum memorati fratris nostri, domni Ivonis decimam omnium venationum suarum, quolibet modo captae fuerint, et ad opus obedientiae Sancti Peregrini, ad opus scilicet ecclesiae ipsius et monachorum, qui inibi manserint, et famulorum suorum de forestae, loco ejusdem contigua, quae juvenis cognominatur, quantumcumque opus habuerint ad officinas et domos et ad caetera quaelibet facienda, sine ullo forestagio.

61. In Hamlin's charter of 1096x1101, Adelaide, one of the daughters of Ganelon II, gave her consent. The other daughter, Agnes, had been married to Vidame Hugh III of Chartres and eventually succeeded Hamlin as lord. Neither she nor her mother Adela appeared in Hamlin's donation. Adela's absence could be explained by the fact that she was already dead. Agnes was already married to Vidame Hugh at this time, but this should not have restricted her participation in family grants since she and her sister were heiresses. Her absence could suggest an increased domination by Hamlin,

nomous control of the lordship until her remarriage sometime around 1114. Like her predecessors, Lady Agnes was anxious about the status of her resources. In 1107 she gave Marmoutier a serf named Hildiard, the daughter of Rainald of Montigny and the wife of Balduin of Rodon. In return for the gift, Agnes was granted fifteen *solidi* from the Dunois.⁶² Agnes gave a serf, but no mention was made of lands that were to accompany her. This gift was humble in character and reflects the financial impoverishment of the family. Shortly after this donation, the monks accused Agnes of claiming certain properties, among them a mill, unjustly. She admitted that her possession of certain properties was unjust and quitclaimed them to Marmoutier. To make up for her actions, Agnes promised what pertained to the monks' fiefs at Montigny.⁶³ The claim to the land, mills and other property further demonstrates the

....Continued....

but she could also have been ill or unable to come. Hamlin's control of the lordship was by no means autonomous, as is evident in Adelaide's consent.

62. *CMPD*, no. 76b, p. 68: Ex antiqua discretorum patrum traditione in consuetudinem retinemus, ut ea quae ecclesiis conferuntur, etiam si parva vel pauca sint scripto diligentissime commendemus; ut si forte opus sit, ut fit, contra injustos calumniatores, cum testibus litteras proferamus. Unde nos fratres Majoris Monasterii et nobis et successoribus nostris providentes, cartulae huic tradidimus quod Agnes, Montiniaci castri domina, dedit Deo et beato Martino et nobis, per manum domni Gausberti Ludovici, tunc temporis panetarii, et monachi nostri, pro anima sua et parentum suorum, quandam suam ancillam, filiam Rainaldi de Montiniaco, Hildiardem nomine, uxorem Balduini de Rosdone. Cui tamen Agneti scilicet prefatus Gausbertus, monachus noster, hujus rei gratia, xv solidos Dunensis monetae.

63. *CMPD*, no. 89, pp. 77-8: Proh dolor! Ecce dies mali, ecce tempus illud miserri-mum, in quo refrigesciente caritate in tantum superhabundavit iniquitas, ut elemosinas quas pro animabus suis ecclesiis et pauperibus Christi contulit caritativa patrum antiquitas, eas publice privatimque diripiat et auferat perversa successorum posteritas! Propterea igitur compellente necessitate expedit, ut sit qua ecclesiis sive monasteriis conferuntur, ea scripto cum annotatis testibus commendentur, qui ea quando opus fuerit attestentur. Propter hoc ergo ad memoriam posterum nostrorum, maxime hujus nostri Majoris Monasterii monachorum, scripto tradidimus, quod domina Montiniaci, Agnes nomine, calumniabatur nobis Majoris Monasterii monachis molendinos de Villa Presbiteri et aquam, quae est a sclusa Guinnardi usque ad molendinos Huberti, filii Magnonis. Calumniabatur etiam nobis terram de Molons et Sarmesias parvas et vodogiagium de bosco de Franca Villa, quod comes Stephanus dedit beato Martino et nobis. Postea autem non solum a calumnia rerum predictarum requievit, verum etiam concessit nobis omnia quaecunque et in quocunque loco tenebat beatus Martinus, et nos pertinentia scilicet ad fevum de Montiniaco et insuper promisit.

continued economic decline of this family. Agnes had attempted to supplement her holdings by claiming land from the Church. The charters recording Montigny grants contain discussion of the problem of seizure of ecclesiastical donations and attempts by the monks to prevent them. That the monks evinced such a concern in Agnes' acts suggests they believed that Montigny gifts were particularly susceptible to contestation.

The Montigny women traditionally exercised considerable influence, both in their family and in the society of Blois-Chartres. Agnes, like her mother Adela and great-aunt Agnes, for whom she was undoubtedly named, made donations independent of any male influence. Agnes also usurped land from Marmoutier and acted as a feudal lord in her own right.⁶⁴ About 1115 Agnes married Eudes of Vallières, with whom she had at least three sons and four daughters. Before she was married Agnes made several gifts to the monks of Tiron. After her marriage, Eudes granted from the fief at Montigny, with Agnes' permission, land, woods, tithes, pannage for pigs and the wood for the monks to build their own houses.⁶⁵ Information on inheritance preferences and family structure is apparent in this act. Both sons and daughters

64. *TIRON*, vol. I, nos. 3 and 4, pp. 14-6. These acts are rather incomplete. It is clear, however, that Agnes was the feudal lord of the donors. In number 3, for example: ...possideo de feodo Agnetis de Montiniaco. Hoc concessit predicta Agnes de Montiniaco.

Number 3 also makes it clear that Agnes had not yet remarried when she participated in this charter. She is describe as "nec maritum nec filium nec filiam tunc habebat." Agnes remarried shortly thereafter and had as many as seven children. She must have been quite young when she married Vidame Hugh III for she did not remarry for about seven years after his death and went on to have numerous children.

65. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 10, pp. 22-3: Ego Agnes de Montigneio, antequam Odoni nuberem, monachis Tyronis, super fluvium Yronem dictum, habitacione sufficientem domibus, viridariis, ortis, et terram ad cultum unius carruce caritative donavi. Aliquanto vero tempore post, Odo factus maritus meus quicquid terre nemorisve a valle Cordelle usque ad monachorum predictam habitacionem possidebamus, me volente et omnibus filiis et filiabus nostris huic rei assensum prebentibus, non sine spe divine recompensationis, cum decima predictae terre eidem monachis caritative concessit. Preterea sepefatus Odo totum nemus illud quod ad honorem Montiniaci pertinebat ad edificandas eorum proprias domos et ad pastionem suorum propriorum porcorum, me volente et annuente, eisdem monachis concessit.

consented, indicating that all children exercised a right to the patrimony. Eudes did not make a donation of rights pertaining to the lordship of Montigny but only with his wife's permission.

The marriage between Agnes and Eudes of Vallières represents an important watershed in the history of the lords of Montigny, for when Eudes' patrimony was combined with Agnes', the Montigny family's sagging resources were revitalized. The recovery of the Montigny family is evident in their foundation of a priory at their family seat. In the eleventh century the family had made extensive donations to the Church and had established the priory of St. Hilaire sur Yerre. Yet during the second half of the century the number and size of their gifts decreased dramatically. Eudes of Vallières was from a wealthy family and provided the necessary funds to reverse this situation.⁶⁶ The foundation of priories was one way for a family to demonstrate tangibly its wealth, piety and position. Only those families who commanded vast resources could afford such generosity. Eudes I, Agnes, and their children Raher, Hugh, Eudes, Eustachia, Jacqueline, Hildeard and Galiena gave to Marmoutier a field near the castle of Montigny on which a chapel of wood and a church of stone would be built. Extensive grants of land and tithes accompanied the foundation of the priory.⁶⁷ The need for all progeny to act as consenters substantiates each child's right

66. I believe that Eudes of Vallières had recently attained noble status. To my knowledge, he does not appear in the charters before his alliance with Agnes. It is also possible that he came from outside of Blois-Chartres proper. His son Eudes II brought a claim to tithes of a church in Limoron, which is in the Loiret. Lady Judith of Breteuil gave land from this place as well, which suggests that the family patrimony of Eudes Vallières was located to the northwest of Chartres. If Eudes I was a "new man" the alliance to the well established Montigny family would obviously have been to his social benefit.

67. *CMPD*, no. 184, pp. 174-6: In nomine et in honore sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti, amen. Ego Odo de Montiniaco et Agnes uxor mea, volentes amplificare cultum Dei ob remissionem peccatorum nostrorum et omnium antecessorum sue successorum nostrorum, assensu et voluntate filiorum filiarumve nostrorum, Raherii scilicet, Hugonis, Odonis, Eustachiae, Jaquelineae, Hildeardis, et Galienae, dedimus et concessimus Deo et monachis Beati Martini

claim to the patrimony. Before her marriage to Eudes I, Agnes' sole donation had been of a single serf. After the marriage, the family of Montigny could afford to be generous benefactors of the Church. The political standing of the lords of Montigny also improved under Eudes I. Between the tenures of Ganelon I and Eudes I, the lord of Montigny had seldom appeared at the count's court. When Ganelon I was lord, he participated along with the other most powerful lords of the region in advising the counts of Blois-Chartres. Like his important predecessor, Eudes I was also included in the acts of Count Thibaut IV.

It is difficult to establish which of Eudes I's sons succeeded him to the lordship (see Figure 9). Raier is mentioned first in the extant charters, which implies that he was to succeed to the lordship. He did eventually become lord, appearing as such in the charters dating from the 1160's. It does not seem that Eudes II was ever lord of

....Continued....

Majoris Monasterii, per manum Gaufredi, ejusdem loci tunc prioris, virgultum prope castrum Montiniaci situm, et campum, cujusdam Philippi ejusdem virgulto adjacentem; pro quo campo excambiavimus ipsi Philippo arpentum prati ad Placas de Noa. In quo campo semel facient monachi capellam ligneam; nos autem auxilio Dei et parrochianorum edificabimus ecclesiam lapideam. Hoc autem donum ita liberum fecimus et quietum, ut nichil in eo retineremus, praeter mercedem animarum et ut monachi ibidem hospites et ministeriales, quotquot voluerint recipiant et eorum consuetudines sive redditus, intra terram suam ex integro possideant, furnum etiam edificent. Dedimus etiam decimam molendinorum nostrorum in Lido subtus castrum sitorum et anguillarum, et furnorum qui in eodem castro sunt, piscariam in Lido ad bocellas et vincatas. Quando autem abbas sive prior vel panetarius Montiniacum venerint, quolibet modo poterint, pisces capiant. Dedimus quoque decimam de Andeglo et decimam pedicatorum in forestis nostris. Dedimus etiam noam quandam, quam Ansoldo concesseramus ad custodiendum et aedificandum, ut sicut Ansoldus ex nobis eam tenebat, ita ex monachis teneat. Boscos autem nostros concessimus monachis et hospitibus eorum ad domos edificandas et ad ardendum sicut hominibus Montiniaci, et terram ad sex boves apud villam Enblonii et hospitalitatem convenientem, nichil prorsus in eis retinentes. Si quis vero hominum nostrorum de feodo nostro vel in decimis, vel in caeteris possessionibus praefato loco aliquid dederint, similiter concessimus. Et si forte aliquando mercatum Montiniacum constituere poterimus ejus decimam supradicate elemosinae dono conjunximus. Prior autem suprascriptus, et qui cum eo erant monachi, victui monachorum qui huic loco deservierit medietatem decimae vini vinearum Montinaico concesserunt.

Montigny, however.⁶⁸ Eudes II is referred to in the extant charters not as "lord" of Montigny but as Eudes, son of Eudes of Montigny. It seems that Eudes II did inherit his father's family lands, however. All of the charters in which Eudes II appears concern land not from the traditional Montigny patrimony, but land located to the north. The nomenclatural evidence also supports this belief. Eudes II was obviously named for his father, which would signal that he was slated to inherit from his father's patrimony. In contrast, Raher was named for his mother's family, the lords of Montigny, which indicates that he would have been heir to these lands. The combined Vallières-Montigny patrimony created a viable resource base for this family. But, once divided, these patrimonies could separately provide support for Eudes II, Raher and their families. Evidence of economic strain once again become apparent in this family, particularly in regard to Eudes II.

While Eudes I and Agnes had at least seven children, only Eudes II and Raher continue to appear in the charters of the Chartrain. Sometime before 1130 Eudes II abandoned his unjust claim to the tithes of Limoron, which he had made in his first year as a knight, when he also stole cows from the monks of Notre Dame of Josaphat.⁶⁹ Such violent behavior supports Georges Duby's argument that young

68. Eudes may not have succeeded his father as lord of Montigny, but I have designated him Eudes II to distinguish him from his father.

69. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 32, pp. 48-9: Quicumque tam in futura quam in presenti generatione cartam istam legerit vel audierit, credat, omni ambiguitate remota, Odonem filium Odonis de Montigniaco, deciman [sic] monachorum de Limorone eisdem monachis quiete et absolute concessisse, sed ut clarius rei veritas eluceat, calumpnationis concessionisque ordinem breviter referemus. Prefatus itaque Odo, anno quo prius miles fuit, predictam decimam calumpniavit, et insuper monachorum boves rapuit, et in domum suam duxit. Monachi autem accedentes ad episcopum, demonstraverunt ei cum clamore sibi factum injuriam. Episcopus vero dixit eis ut expectarent et sufferrent. Cum ergo monachi in hac expectatione persisterent, contigit predictum Odonem, causa loquendi de aliis negotiis cum episcopo et Theobaldo consule, Carnotum venire. Quid plura? Dum enim dominus Gaufridus episcopus et Odo mutuo loquerentur, post alia colloquia ad hoc unanimiter deveniunt ut Odo in predicta decima nihil ulterius reclamaret. Tunc episcopis precepit ut ex caritate monachorum Odoni X libre donarentur. Odo vero qui secum parentes suos non

knights or *juvenes* had been disinherited by primogeniture and had to resort to such measures to gain the resources they required for support.⁷⁰ Duby further postulates that many of these disinherited sons enthusiastically responded to the call to crusade. While his argument is correct in detecting and explaining economic stress among younger sons, Duby's thesis does not adequately explain the situation in this generation of the Montigny family. Eudes I was still alive when Eudes II seized this property, so his *primogenitus* had not yet inherited his part of the family patrimony. Nevertheless, the attempt to usurp revenues and property from the Church demonstrates that Eudes II was in need of resources. In return for his quitclaim, Eudes II was granted ten *librae*, which would have been useful for his proposed journey to the Holy Land. His departure on crusade suggests that his economic situation was somewhat desperate. Instead of attributing Eudes II's violent behavior to his disinheritance from the patrimony, which was not in fact the case, a palpable tension between father and son over the control of resources is more accurate. As sons came of age they were frequently in conflict with their fathers over their support. Since most had to wait until their fathers' deaths to inherit, they often resorted to other means to gain their living. Eudes II's usurpation and eventual departure for the East should be cast in this light rather than that of the triumph of primogeniture. Eudes II guaranteed that his family had consented to the restoration of the tithes. His father and mother, his brother Raher and his wife Hodierna, and Eudes II's wife Maria were all

....Continued....

adduxerat, spopondit eos in domo sua concessuros donum decime quod ipse fecerat. Quod et factum est coram Drogone, Willelmo, Gaufredo monachis in festivitatis sancti Hylarii die, quo iturus Jerusalem Odo iter arripuit. Odo et Agnes uxor ejus, Raher et Hodierna uxor ejus, Odo et Maria uxor ejus, Gunherius et Helara uxor ejus....

The couple, Gunher and Helara, I am not able to identify. It is possible that Gunher was Eudes II's other brother Hugh, or that Helara was one of his sisters, most probably Hildeard or Galiena.

70. Duby, *Chiv. Soc.*, pp. 112-22.

present. Raheer's participation indicates the continued claim of brothers to each other's possessions.

Between 1140 and 1154, presumably after his return from the Holy Land, Eudes II appeared in several charters. Around 1143 Eudes II, believing he held the tithes of the church of *Villaenblen* against God's law, was led by penitence to concede them to the abbey of Josaphat in Troyes at the court of Count Thibaut IV.⁷¹ None of Eudes II's kin participated in the charter. About ten years later Eudes II gave the lesser tithes from the same church of *Vilaenblen*, which demonstrates that he had retained part of these revenues. His reluctance to alienate completely the revenues from this church is further indicative of concern over resources.⁷² The threat of anathema was included as an admonition to anyone attempting to usurp the donation. Such warnings were seldom made in twelfth-century charters, and the inclusion here attests to the probability of contestation by Eudes II or his family. In 1154 Eudes II and the monks of Josaphat finally resolved their conflict over the property seized at Limoron. While Eudes had quitclaimed his right to these tithes as a young man, he

71. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 123, pp. 153-4: Ego Gaufredus, Dei gratia Carnotensis episcopus, apostolice sedis legatus, omnibus Dei fidelibus presentibus et futuris notum fieri volo quod Odo de Montiniaco, penitentia ductus de his que male egerat, quamdam decimam ad ecclesiam de Villaenblen pertinentem, quam usque tunc contra Deum tenuerat, Trecis, presentia illustri comite Theobaldo, in manu mea reddidit et absque omni deinceps calumpnia dimisit.

Bishop Geoffrey then transferred possession of this church to the monks of Notre Dame de Josaphat.

72. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 225, p. 267: Ego Goslenus, Dei gratia Carnotensis episcopus, presentibus et futuris notum fieri volo quod Odo, filius de Odonis de Montineo, de anime sua salute sollicitus, nostram presentiam apud Carnotum adiit, et minutam decimam de Vilenblen, quam hactenus more laicali injuste possidebat, concedentibus uxore sua Martha nomine et filiis Poolino, Gunherio, Godeschaldo, Godeferio, Annete, in manum nostram reddidit.... Si aliqua persona in futurum pro predicta decima, monasterium molestare temptaverit, secundo tertiove admonita, nisi satisfactione congrua emendaverit, anathemati subdatur et a liminibus sancte ecclesie sequestretur.

apparently had not allowed them to be transferred to the monks.⁷³ He and his family also abandoned their claim to land; Eudes II probably had also usurped other property from the monks. Once again this branch of the Montigny family was reluctant to surrender precious land to the Church. In spite of the obvious concern of family members over their possessions and of the various attempts to preserve them, the right of all offspring to the patrimony continued to be honored. In both the charters of 1154 Eudes II's and Martha's children, Paulin, Gunher, Godeschald, Geoffrey and Agnes consented to the donations and participated in the charters with their parents. Conspicuously absent from Eudes II's later acts are his siblings, specifically his brother Raher. His absence bears witness to the more linear and closed configuration of this branch of the Montigny family.

Raher succeeded Eudes I of Vallières as lord of Montigny. In 1156 he witnessed a donation made by Count Henry of Troyes to the priory of Notre-Dame-de-l'Arable.⁷⁴ Around 1169 Raher made an exchange with the priory of Tiron at *Planos*. He gave the monks a carrucate and a half of land at Queue-Gannelon in return for the same amount of land at Fonteaux. Raher also restored the *mediatoria* in Pressainville to the monks and gave land at Fontaine-Raoul. His son Eudes was the

73. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 226, pp. 267-8: Ego G., Dei gratia Carnotensis episcopus, presentibus et futuris notum fieri volo quod contencio que pro quadam terra inter monachos Beate Marie Josaphat et Odonem, filium Odonis de Montineio, erat, in presentia nostra terminata est hujusmodi. Odo, non solum pro temporali commodo, verum etiam pro eterna recompensatione, assentientibus uxore sua Martha nomine, et liberis omnibus, Poolino, Gosherio, Gosdelchado [*sic*], Godeferio et eorumdem sorore Agnete terram monachis in perpetuum tenendam dimisit et concessit. Definitam tamen in ea sibi et suis heredibus retinens modiacionem sibi a monachis exsolvendam et Castriduno ducendam, videlicet modium et semimodium de frumento terre illius et totidem de avena.

74. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 310, pp. 83-4.

sole consenter.⁷⁵ The arrangement of an exchange of lands suggests that the family coffers could not tolerate the loss of land without receiving something in return. In 1177 Lord Raher and Abbot Hervé of Marmoutier exchanged vineyards at Montigny. Once again this transaction involved no loss of lands for the lords of Montigny. Raher's son Eudes was again the only member of the family to participate.⁷⁶

The sole inclusion of Eudes, the eldest son, in the last two charters points to a special role assigned to this child. A charter datable between 1180 and 1184 reflects the same trend. Walter wished to exchange meadow for vines. It was agreed that Walter would pay *cens* annually to William Caballarius who possessed the *cens* on the pasture that Walter had exchanged. The monks would pay Raher, who held the *cens* on the vines in question, and his heirs six *denarii* a year. Lord Raher and Lord Eudes

75. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 324, pp. 96-7: Notum sit omnibus presentibus et futuris quod Raherius, Montiniaci dominus, dedit in excambium monachis Tyronensibus apud Planos habitantibus terram que vocatur Cauda-Ganelonis, eadem pace et libertate possidendam qua ipse Raherius eodem tempore possidebat, sicut mensurata fuit coram eodem Raherio et metata, presente Odone ejus filio, preter elemosinariorum elemosniam. Monachi vero in possessione Foetellorum tantum terre Raherio reddiderunt quandtum in prefata Cauda-Ganelonis ab ipso acceperant, que terra in presentia ipsius Raherii mensurata et metat fuit. Et quoniam excambium, illud quod Raherius a monachis accepit de possessione Foetellorum erat, restauraverunt monachi Foetellorum medietariam de Pressenvilla, cum omnibus que ad eam pertinebant, et unam carrucatam terre et dimidiam apud Fontem-Radulfi. Et ut firmitus staret, hec omnia concessit Odo filius ejus.

76. *CMPD*, no. 187, pp. 177-8: Idcirco ego Herveus Majoris Monasterii dictus abbas et Raherius Montiniaci dominus presentis cyrographi annotatione posterorum notitie patefacimus mutuacionem quandam vinearum in Montiniaco a nobis factam, earum videlicet que castro Montinaci de jure Beati Martini Majoris Monasterii contigue erant, et ad incrementum perdicti castri idonee, ab utraque parte vie cymiterii arpennum et dimidium habentes, et earum que de jure domini Montiniaci prope domum monachorum idem castrum inhabitantium sunt, et ipse duo arpenna habentes, favente Odone ad quem hereditas Montiniacensis, interveniente matrimonio, pertinebat, ita quod ille que prope castrum sunt in jus et proprietatem domini Montiniaci, et ille que prope domum monachorum sunt in jus et proprietatem Majoris Monasterii libere et quiete deinceps haberentur...Ex parte domini Raherii, Odo filius ejus qui mutuacionem predictam laudavit....

both consented to this arrangement.⁷⁷ Eudes had clearly been designated his father's heir to the lordship, participated with his father in transactions concerning family property and even employed this title while his father was still living. In 1184 Raher reconfirmed his own gifts, as well as those of his father and mother, to Marmoutier. The combined donations were extensive and included various types of revenues and properties. Raher confirmed the transfer with the assent of his *primogenitus* Eudes, providing conclusive evidence of the practice of primogeniture. In the previous generation, Raher and his brother Eudes had each received a portion of the family patrimony. Yet Raher appeared in association with only the Montigny lands and was clearly labeled lord. Eudes II controlled lands from his father's original patrimony and was never referred to as the lord of Montigny. Moreover, Raher acted in transactions concerning Montigny estates while Eudes was still alive. Yet Raher adopted a new scheme of inheritance. The impetus for this change was undoubtedly economic. None of Raher's transactions involved the complete alienation of property from the patrimony; instead he exchanged lands or confirmed what his parents had already given. While Raher did have two other sons, whose souls as well as those of his parents, his wife, his ancestors and successors, were provided for by his reconfirmation of 1184, they did not participate in the charter as consenters or in any

77. *CMPD*, no. 191, p. 181: Notum sit omnibus, qui litteras istas viderint vel audierint, quod cum monachi Majoris Monasterii apud Montiniacum manentes prata haberent unde sufficienter sibi fenum colligerent, quidam homo nomine Galterius monachus pratum quoddam habebat, eis pro uno arpenno et dimidio vinearum excambiavit, sciendum tamen quod cum pratum memoratum in censive esset Willelmi Caballarii et vineae predictae in censiva domini Raherii de Montiniaco, prefatus Willelmus voluit excambium illud concedere nisi predictus Galterius census qui pro prato debebatur, id est VI d. de vineis quas acceperat in excambium, ei singulis annis persolveret. Concessum est itaque et a monachis et a domino Raherio et Odone filio ejus et prefato Galterio et liberis ejus, ut de vineis illis vi denarii census, a Galterio et heredibus ejus, reddantur singulis annis prenominato Willelmo et successoribus ejus in perpetuum. Monachi vero pro prato quod tenent, domino Raherio et heredibus ejus vi denarios singulis annis de censu, persolvent. Hoc concessit ipse dominus Raherius et dominus Odo filius ejus et Willelmus Caballarius et uxor et filii ejus et uxor predicti Galterii Richildis nomine, Johannes, Willelmus et Willelmus filii eorum et filia eorum Henoldis nomine.

other capacity.⁷⁸ Nor did any of Raher's kin act in any of his other transactions. Eudes, in contrast, acted with his father to guarantee the gifts. Raher's warning to his heirs further illumines not only a tension over resources but also the new inheritance pattern. The coincidence of this admonition with the use of primogeniture suggests that Eudes, as first born son, was invested as Raher's sole heir. Other family members, as well as extended and affinal kin, were precluded from a right to Raher's possessions in an attempt to solidify the patrimony. It is particularly significant that admonitory statements, which were rare in the twelfth century, were included in both Raher's and Eudes II's donations. Their appearance attests to the economic difficulties and impoverishment of this family.

During the eleventh century the financial situation of the lords of Montigny fluctuated between prosperity and scarcity. The same pattern continued into the twelfth century. Between 1115 and 1130 the Montigny family estates were restored through the alliance with Eudes Vallières. Although the combined patrimonies were sufficient to support him and his family, when divided between sons, the properties were no longer adequate, which Eudes II's usurpations of church property substantiate. Lord Raher was similarly constricted by his share of the patrimony. During his tenure he did not alienate land from the patrimony unless he was assured

78. *CMPD*, no. 192, pp. 181-3: Ego Raherius Montiniaci dominus notum facio presentibus et futuris quod cum elemosinam quam Odo pater meus et Agnes mea mater ecclesiae Majoris Monasterii et fratribus prope castrum Montiniaci in loco quem de dono eorum habebant manentibus dederant, Dei amore augere et ampliare vellem. Contigit venerabilem virum Herveum Majoris Monasterii abbatem apud Montiniacum venire. Ad cujus petitionem omnes elemosinas quas pater meus et mater mea predictis fratribus dederant et ea quae superadidi, cum assensu Odonis, primogeniti filii mei, eisdem fratribus confirmavi, videlicet....Et auctoritate sigilli mei cum mera Odonis filii mei voluntate confirmavi, nichil omnino perpetuum ex omnibus redditibus premissis et elemosinis michi vel heredibus meis retinens preter orationes tantummodo et mercedem animarum. Sollicite precavens ne aliquam super omnibus premissis molestiam predicti fratres a successoribus meis patiantur. Sed pro salute mea et animarum patris mei et matris mee necnon uxorum et filiorum meorum Odonis, Hugonis, et Raherii, antecessorum quoque et successorum meorum domini misericordiam libere valeant exorare.

of getting something in return. A new system of inheritance was adopted for the next generation in response to this economic stress. Raher's eldest son was designated as his father's sole heir and was the only child to participate in transactions. Inheritance in this family was, thus, dictated by their current economic situation. By the late twelfth century the lords of Montigny adopted primogeniture as the solution to their resource woes.

The Lords of Fréteval

Through their services to the counts and various marriage alliances, the lords of Fréteval had established themselves as one of the most powerful families in the county during the eleventh century. Due to their position and wealth, this family was able to honor the rights not only of immediate family members but of extended and affinal kin as well.⁷⁹ Several branches of this family are traceable and their members participated in Fréteval family acts.

Around 1080 Fulcher was the lord of Fréteval (see Figure 4), but by about 1090 his son Nivelon II had assumed responsibility for the lordship. During the eleventh century, this family had practiced partible inheritance and recognized the claims of all kin. While the title of lord usually went to the eldest son, his siblings continued to exercise a right to family lands and were included in family transactions. Sometime between 1072 and 1084, for instance, Fulcher donated a serf to the monastery of Marmoutier. Consenting to this humble donation were his sons Nivelon and Hamlin and his daughters Comitissa and Pagana.⁸⁰ Even though both daughters and Hamlin were married at the time of the charter, and the daughters presumably dowried they

79. For discussion of these cadet branches, see Appendix II.

80. *CMPD*, no. 86, p. 76; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 3, note 114, p. 143.

maintained a right to natal family possessions. Moreover, even though Hamlin succeeded in marrying an heiress, he did not eschew his prerogative to his family lands. His continued association with his natal family is particularly evident in a charter dated 1096, when Nivelon II and Hamlin jointly consented to a donation to Marmoutier made by two vassals of the lord of Fréteval. Robert and Almaric gave part and sold part of the land that they held at Fréteval.⁸¹ To determine which lands, water and meadow belonged to these brothers' fief, Nivelon sent for his uncle Girard Pagan who also consented to the donation.⁸² Witnessing for Nivelon II were his relative Warin of Fréteval,⁸³ his nephew Hugh Palestellus, and Girard Pagan's sons, Eudes Pagan and Henry.⁸⁴ The participation of extended kin attests to an open, collateral concept of family organization (see Figures 4-7).

By 1096 Nivelon II was the lord of Fréteval. In this year, he left on crusade, presumably with his feudal lord Count Stephen of Blois-Chartres.⁸⁵ Before his departure Nivelon II made several generous ecclesiastical donations. Like many other nobles and knights, Nivelon sought to rectify any injuries he had done to the Church in preparation for his voyage. In one of these transactions he recognized that he held

81. *CMPD*, no. 151, pp. 139-41; for the text of this charter see Chapter 3, p. 123 note 62. See also Chapter 6, p. 300, note 15.

82. Girard was called because he was the last surviving contemporary of Nivelon II's father Fulcher, and as such, able to testify to which lands belonged to his retainers.

83. In *CMPD*, no. 85, p. 75, Nivelon II secured the consent of one of his relatives, Warin Malus Clericus. I believe that Warin of Fréteval was the the same person as Warin Malus Clericus.

84. Since Eudes carries the cognomen of Pagan, I believe him to be Girard's son. In earlier charters Girard was also referred to by the same cognomen.

85. Several of Nivelon II's charters date from 1096. A gap in the evidence occurs until 1102, when I believe he returned home with Count Stephen. It was during this sojourn at home that Orderic Vitalis claims Countess Adela urged Stephen "between conjugal carresses" to return to the Holy Land. She feared he would be branded a coward for abandoning the crusade, which in fact he was until he redeemed himself by going back to the Holy Land. He died in 1104 at the battle of Ramala.

certain customs by the "tyranny of usurpation" and sought to redeem himself by granting them to the Church.⁸⁶ In return for abandoning these revenues, Nivelon was granted ten pounds to help fund his journey. His sister Comitissa, the wife of Viscount Hugh II of Châteaudun, also received three *librae* for her consent and Hamlin was granted forty *solidi*. The awarding of counter gifts to these siblings reflects the claim that they exercised to the natal patrimony. Even though both were married and Hamlin had secured a lordship of his own, their right to family possessions persisted. Nivelon II's son Ursio, his brother-in-law Pagan and "certain of his relatives" consented to this transaction and signed it as well. Nivelon II's only son Ursio participated in the many gifts made in readiness for his father's departure on crusade. In 1096 Nivelon II made an exceedingly generous donation to Marmoutier which

86. *CSPDC*, no. 36, pp. 428-429: Ego igitur Nivelon, generis nobilitate, que in multis ignobilitatem mentis gignit, exortus, oppressionem cujusdam prave consuetudinis, qua, non jure antiquitatis, sed a tempore mei patris, hanc prius in pauperes exagitare parvipendentis, michi tradita, mee deinde atrocitate obtinente tyrannidis usurpata, terram sancti Petri, scilicet Amprainvillam vicinaque loca, eorundem incolas propriis facultatibus attenuando, jam in consuetudine duxeram inclementer atterere, sancto Petro, pro redemptione anime mee et pro pondere ingentis pecunie michi ob hoc impense, in perpetuum remitto. Hec enim erat importunitas hujus consuetudinis. Quotiescunque ferocitatis impetus militaris instigabat, assumpta mei equitatis caterva satellitumque turba, in prefatam villam consueveram descendere, facultatesque hominum sancti Petri meis militibus ad escam prodigialiter tradere. Michi itaque, pro hujus oppressionis remissione, peregre proficiscenti ad Jerusalem, que adhuc servit cum filiis suis, sub obtentu venie facinorum meorum a Deo impetrande, X denariorum libras ad sumptum prepositi itineris dederunt; et sorori mee, Hugonis Dunensis vicecomitis uxori, nomine Comitisse, pro assensu, tres libras; Hamelino fratri meo, XL solidos; anuente filio meo Urseo ceterisque meis propinquis, quorum nomina infra exprimit subjecta descriptio. Quod si quis ex mea progenie, per successionem temporum, hujus concessionis firmitatem cassare temptaverit, subtitulatis convictus testibus, anathematis fulmine perfossus, cum Datan et Abiron gehennali incendio subdatur sine fine cruciandus. Unde, ad confirmationis munitionem, propria manu hic signum crucis facio, et filio meo, Urseo nomine, ceterisque propinquis et testibus sua signa ponentibus corroborandam trado. Et attendendum cunctis, quia de tam detesanda preterite oppressionis injuria sancto Petro satisfacio, ad hujus inquietudinis molestia in eternum sopita desiturus. Signa testium: + Nivelonis. + Hamelini, fratris ejus, + Ursei, filii ejus. + Comitisse. + Pagane sororis ejus. + Hugonis vicecomitis.

demonstrates the wealth of this family.⁸⁷ Several extended family members witnessed the charter for Nivelon II, specifically the sons of Bernard of La Ferté, Nivelon II's nephews through his sister Hildeburg (see Figure 7). One nephew, Bernard, received a pair of scarlet shoes as a countergift. Another, Hugh Palestellus, and his son Geoffrey also participated in the charter.⁸⁸ The awarding of a countergift to a nephew attests to the rights of extended kin to Nivelon's patrimony. The participation of cousins as witnesses moreover reflects adherence to an open and collateral concept of kinship. Because Ursio was an only child, the presence of nephews and cousins is understandable since they were potential heirs to the lordship.

87. *CMPD*, no. 64, pp. 56-7: Notum sti omnibus sanctae ecclesiae fidelibus, quod anno dedicationis basilicae beati Martini Monasterii nostri, a Romano papa Urbano secundo factae, tempore quo exercitus Christianorum ibat in Jerusalem contra paganos, Nivelon, filius Fulcherii dominus castrum, quod dicitur Fractavallis, dedit Deo et beato Martino atque nobis ejus monachis, per manum domni Bernardi panetarii nostri, cognomento Flagelli, et domni Gausberti Ludovici, tunc temporis prepositi de Camartio, concedente filio suo Urseto, qui unam tunicam de scarlata inde habuit, omnes prorsus consuetudines terrae planae atque bosci, pertinentium ad obedientiam, quam comes Stephanus et Adela, uxor ejus, dederunt beato Martino atque nobis, inter Frigidum Mantellum et castrum Fractae Vallis sitam, sicut haia quam ibi fecimus et aqua Lede fluminis undique circumcingunt. Insuper etiam dedit nobis similiter omnem terram, quam in dominicatura sua propria possidebat, infra memoratam haiam atque prefatam aquam. Dedit quoque et concessit nobis similiter quicquid, infra sepe dictos terminos, homines ejus darent et venderent nobis. Donavit etiam nobis ibidem totam aquam suam, a molendinis Huberti filii Maigonis usque ad sclusam Herberti cognomento Guinnardi, sic solutam et liberam, ut si ipsemet vellet piscari in ea, deinceps nunquam hoc facere presumeret, absque gratuita licencia monachi, qui predictam obedientiam nostram custodiret. Dedit insuper et concessit nobis ut universi homines utriusque sexus ipsi obedientiae pertinentes sint liberrimi ab omni prorsus consuetudine apud castrum Fractae Vallis in perpetuum.... Haec omnia juravit Ascelinus prepositus, et ut ostenderet omnibus quam firmiter ab omnibus successoribus suis, haec quae diximus observari vellet, affiduciavit ipse Ascelinus, Nivelon per fidem suam, quod tale jusjurandum faceret jurare praepositum, successorem memorati Ascelini, cujus totius rei testes hi sunt. Ex parte ejus: Guillelmus, filius Frodonis, Hubertus de Hulso, Matheus de Fracta Valle, Hilgodus de Monte Ledene, Guillemus de Villariis, Bernardus, filius Bernardi de Firmatate, qui unas caligas de scarlata inde habuit, Hugo Palestellus et Gausfredus filius ejus, Girbertus ingeniator, Stephanus de Montefoieto, Ascelinus prepositus, qui Sacramentum juravit.

88. For discussion of these kin, see Appendix II.

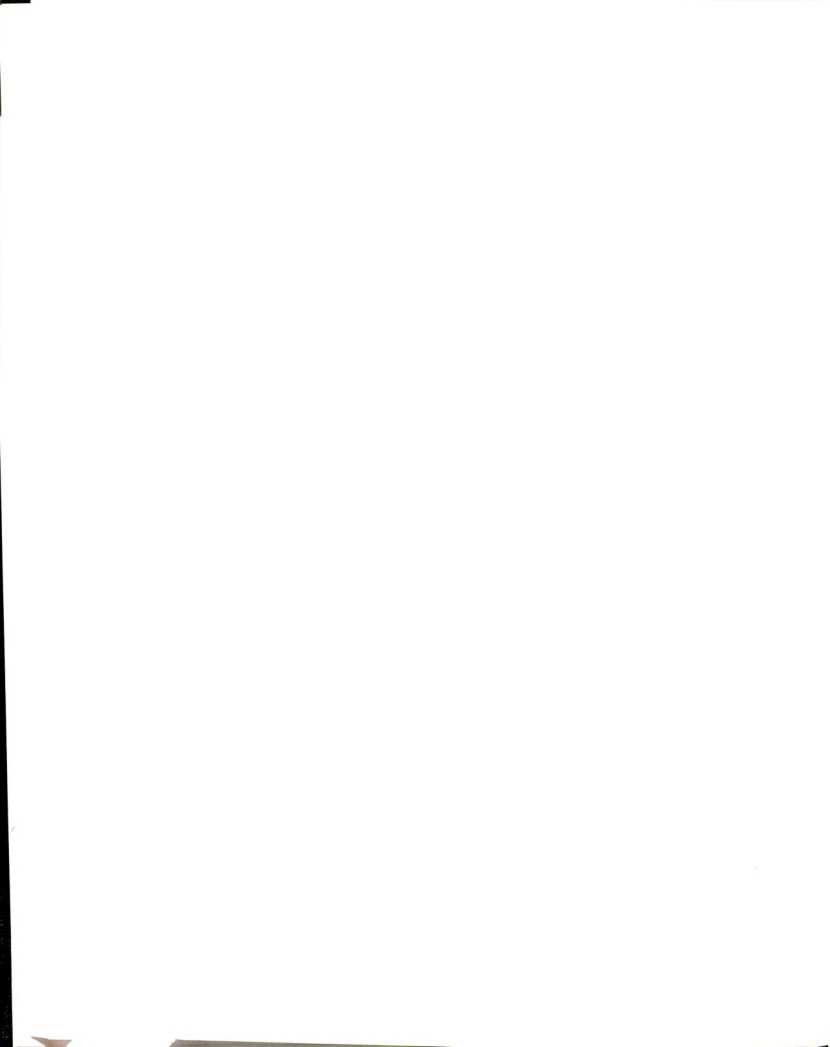
Between 1096 and 1101⁸⁹ Nivelon II made another donation to the abbey of Marmoutier.⁹⁰ Ursio, Hamlin and Comitissa consented. Like Hildeburg, Comitissa exercised a claim to the natal patrimony, which further substantiates the collateral nature of this family and the important place that women enjoyed in this family as legitimate heirs. Acting as witnesses were more extended Fréteval kin: Hugh and Nivelon, the sons of Hildeburg and Bernard La Ferté, as well as their Mondoubleau cousins.⁹¹ Even though he was the lord of Mondoubleau, Pagan often appeared in Fréteval charters, which illustrates that he maintained contact with his father's family. Nivelon II also conferred a humbler gift as he was leaving for the Holy Land. A serf

89. I would date this charter 1096, since Nivelon II was in the Holy Land until 1102. He returned in this year with Count Stephen, but went back shortly after. Nivelon II permanently returned to France about 1110, when he begins to appear once again in the charters with his son.

90. *CMPD*, no. 84, p. 75: Omnibus sanctae Dei ecclesiae rectoribus atque cultoribus tam futuris quam modo viventibus notum fieri volumus, quod Nevelo de Fracta Valle dedit monachis Sancti Martini totum lucum a Fracta Valle usque ad Petram Sigillariam et usque ad lucum comitis et usque ad Montem Gentilem, tali modo ut hospites quotquot monachi herbergarent ibi, essent monachorum, soluti et quieti, et unusquisque illorum hospitum haberet unum arpennum terrea; de quo arpenno, et de hospitibus, monachi haberent omnes consuetudines solutas et quietas. De alia vero terra, quam idem hospites excolerent, haberet Nevelo terragium; acciperent autem hospites illi de bosco illo, ad omnia opera sua facienda, praeter ad vendendum sine forestagio. Quod si forte venderent, forestagium exinde redderent. Hoc donum concessit Ursio filius ejus et Hamelinus frater ejus et Agnes vice comitissa soror sua. Concessit hoc etiam Stephanus de Fracta Valle et Guarinus Malus Clericus. Hujus rei testes sunt ex parte Nevelonis: Jermias, filius Fulcherii de Mota, Paganus Dublellus...Matheus de Fracta Valle...Hugo Bernardi filius de Firmitate, et Nevelo frater ejus.

While I am not at present able to determine the identity or connection to the Fréteval line exercised by Stephan of Fréteval or Warin Malus Clericus, their consent was required in several charters so they may have been distant relatives (see *CMPD*, no. 85, p.76).

91. Nivelon II's uncles Pagan and Nivelon-Pagan both married daughters of Eudes, lord of Mondoubleau. The Pagan who acts in this charter was the son of Pagan, who inherited the lordship of Mondoubleau from his maternal grandfather. Nivelon-Pagan also had a son of the same name, who may have had a son named Pagan. There is a Pagan of Fréteval who appears in the charters from time to time and he may have been Nivelon-Pagan II's son. Since his cousin inherited the lordship of Mondoubleau, this Pagan would have most likely his father's cognomen to differentiate himself from the other Pagan.



named Balduin was donated to Marmoutier.⁹² The witnesses to this act included Nivelon II's great-nephew Geoffrey Palestellus, the grandson of Bernard of La Ferté and Nivelon's sister Hildeburg, and his relatives Stephen of Fréteval and Warin Malus Clericus. The participation of kin from the various lines of the family and the continuity through the generations of participation in family transactions bear witness to both the wealth of this family and to its open, horizontal structure.

After Nivelon II returned from the East at sometime around 1110, Ursio began to act with him in issuing charters.⁹³ After the death of Count Stephen, Nivelon II and Ursio agreed to a donation to Marmoutier made by Countess Adela of lands from their fisc.⁹⁴ Between 1104 and 1115 Nivelon and Ursio abandoned their unjust claim to land at Ver. In return they received one hundred *solidi*.⁹⁵ The attempt by these

92. *CMPD*, no. 85, p. 76: Notum sit omnibus sanctae Dei ecclesiae rectoribus atque cultoribus tam futuris quam modo viventibus, quod quando Nevelo de Fracta Valle debuit pergere Jerosolaniam [*sic*], venit ad eum Gausbertus Ludovicus monachus, pro Balduino Rosdon, quem Sancto Martino dederat, ut sicut ipse dederat, ita Ursio filius ejus concederet. Ursio vero hunc Balduinum et ea quae pater suus Sancto Martino ante dederat, prece patris, libenter concessit. Hugus rei testes sunt ex parte Nevelonis: Gualterius Hildreii filius, Haimericus filius ejus, Paganus de Sancto Leonardo, Gaufrerus Palestellus, Stephanus de Fracta Valle, Guarinis clericus.

93. Unfortunately I am unable to determine who took charge of the lordship of Fréteval during Nivelon II's absence on crusade. No charters are extant that label either Ursio or one of his uncles or great uncles as temporary lord.

94. *CSPDC*, no. 14, pp. 411-2: Succedentium noticie innotescat fidelium, quod Adela, egregia comitissa, uxor Stephani comitis, in expugnatione Jerosolimitane terre jam defuncti, pro ipsius anima et pro sua, dedit sancto Petro, annuentibus suis filiis G. et H., tramitem quendam apud Sanctum Leobinum, qui disternat clausum Sigismundi et vineas Fulconis archidiaconi. Hoc idem annuit Nevelo, ad cujus fiscum predictus trames pertinebat, assentiente Ursone filio suo. Actum est hoc coram subscriptis testibus: Nevelo, Urso, filius ejus...Hugo, nepos ejus....

95. *CSPDC*, no. 54, p. 450: Nam Nevelo terram superius memoratam cepit calumpniari, nosque arcere, ne in eadem aliquid videremur edificare. Qui demum, a nobis ad equitatem justicie invitatus, quia sibi diffidebat, venire recusavit. Qui tandem, ratione veritatis perspecta, sue tortitudinis immanitatem ante mentis oculos statuens, venerunt in nostrum capitulum ipse Nevelo et filius ejus Urso, de premissa infestatione satisfacientes, hanc calumpniam ex toto in perpetuum, acceptis a nobis C denariorum solidis, in presentia auditorum qui hic subscripti tenentur, unanimiter dimiserunt.

lords to usurp land may be indicative of a strain in resources. The Frétevals had a vast kinship network and recognized the rights of such relatives to the patrimony. The multiplicity of claims may have weakened their economic or territorial holdings.

By 1108 Ursio had come of age. A charter that records his concession of both his father's and his fiefs states that Ursio was now a knight.⁹⁶ In return for his affirmation, the monks of Marmoutier gave him a horse which had belonged to Pagan the son of Girbert of Frouville. Pagan was Ursio's uncle and also witnessed for him. Nivelon II died sometime before 1113, when Ursio assumed sole control of the lordship of Fréteval. During his tenure, he was a generous patron to the Church and also confirmed his vassals' donations.⁹⁷ Between 1113 and 1129 Ursio donated extensive properties to St. Père. Ursio did retain half of the tarrage, of *cens* from the meadow and of pannage for pigs in the woods, which may have been an attempt to reaffirm his connection with the Church and remind the community of his generosity.⁹⁸ Beatrix, Ursio's wife, and their son Nivelon consented to the grant.

96. *CMPD*, no. 164, p. 155: Notum presentibus sit et futuris quod anno Dominae incarnationis millesmio centesimo octavo, agentibus nobis Majoris Monasterii monachis sub domno abbate Willelmo anno quarto, Ursio filius Nevelonis, jam miles, venit in domum nostram apud Camartium et ibi concessit Deo et beato Martino et nobis quicquid habebamus de fevo patris sui et de suo. Propter quam concessionem dedit ei domnus Gausbertus Ludovicus monachus, eo tempore panetarius noster, unum equum quem habuit Paganus filius Girberti de Froavilla. Huic rei concedendae interfuerunt testes....Hugo de Fai, Paganus ille prenomminatus, qui equum habuit.

97. For example, in a charter dateable between 1101 and 1129, Ursio affirmed a gift of a life estate made by Alcher of *Medinallo*, one of his vassals. See *CSPDC*, no. 52, pp. 306-7.

98. *CSPDC*, no. 22, pp. 481-3: Notum fieri volumus, nos sancti Petri Carnoti monachi, quia, eo tempore quo domnus Willelmus huic nostro monasterio abbas presidebat, domnus Urso, filius Nivelonis, in capitulum nostrum veniens, ecclesie nostre in elemosinam dedit dominium totius ejus terre que Boscus Rufini appellatur, cum omni bosco; preter duas carrucatas terre, quas domnus Jeremias de Insula, cum sex agripennis ex ipso bosco appratandis, monachis de Tyrone antea dederat. His itaque exceptis, cetera omnia predictus Urso ecclesie nostre ita libere et quiete possidenda donavit, ut et dominatus et justicia ejusdem terre et omnes hospites, quotquot nobis in ea mittere placuerit, cum hospiciis et curtillis, censu quoque ad eadem hospicia et curtillos pertinente, et cum omnibus eorundem exitibus, nostra

Philip the son of Robert Flagellus, another of Nivelon II's nephews, witnessed. His presence establishes continued connection and relationship with extended kin. While Ursio's mother Eustachia was conspicuously absent from Nivelon II's charters, his wife Beatrix participated in virtually every one of his acts.

The gift of the tithes in the charter discussed above is the first case of a restoration of ecclesiastical property made by this family. While Nivelon II had been very generous to the Church, he never donated tithes or churches. This donation, therefore, signals the penetration of the precepts of the Gregorian reform movement into the family of the lords of Fréteval. Two charters datable around 1130 also illumine the impact of reformers on noble donation practices. A priory of the monastery of Tiron was founded at Oisème by one of Ursio's vassals Ansold Godeschal. Ursio, his sons Nivelon and Hamlin, and Pagan of Frouville and his son Robert consented to the donation.⁹⁹ The affirmation of the foundation gifts by both sons indicates that each exercised a claim to Ursio's holdings. One of the donors, Pagan of Frouville, was Ursio's uncle or cousin. Possession of Fréteval family fiefs by their Frouville kin

....Continued....

propria libere et quiete, since retinaculo aliquo vel calumpnia, perpetuo existant. Nam decima, cum omnibus que ad ecclesiam pertinent, juris ecclesie sancti Leobini de Arro ab antiquo fuisse cognoscitur. Unam nichilominus mansionem, qualem et ubi delegerimus, cum terra ad unam carrucam et pratis sufficientibus, ab omni consuetudine liberrimam, nobis in eadem terra predictus dator concessit, alia sibi mansione sequestrata lege consimili; excepto quod eam nec vendere nec dare nec hospites in ea mittere poterit, se suo tantummodo proprio usi habere. His ita determinatus, solummodo in eis que secuntur medietatem sibi domnus Urso retinuit; hoc est in terragio, in censu pratorum, et, quandiu ibi boscus fuerit, in pasnagio porcorum....Ex parte domini Ursonis: Philippus filius Roberti Flagelli...Concessit hoc et apud Fractivallem Beatrix, uxor ipsius Ursonis, et filius amborum Nivelon.

99. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 127, pp. 149-52: Cunctis iterum notificetur quod, prece et petitione Guillelmi, Tyronensis abbatis, Ursio de Fractavalle et filii ejus Nivelon et Amelinus concesserunt Deo et monachis de Tyrum quicquid Ansoldus Godeschal vel quilibet alter dederat eis de feodo suo apud Oysesmum, et Paganus similiter de Frouville, et Robertus filius ejus concesserunt eis quicquid ibidem datum eis fuerat de feodo suo: dicebant enim ibi se habere feodum. De utraque parte testes sunt: Paganus de Frovilla et Robertus filius ejus, Teodericus de Boschet, Almauricus de Firmitate....

suggests that Nivelon II's sister Pagana had received a share of the patrimony either through dowry or inheritance. The monks, however, had their doubts about the Fréteval's claim and stated that this family "said" that they held these fiefs.

Approximately three years later Ursio reconfirmed the gift of the tithes from Autheuil and Bouville, as well as lands, made by two more of his vassals. Beatrix, Nivelon and Hamlin consented to the gift and signed the charter along with Ursio.¹⁰⁰ While Ursio himself did not initiate these gifts of tithes or the foundation of the priory, he allowed the alienation of these revenues; he gave his tacit support of the tenets of the Gregorian reform movement.¹⁰¹

100. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 184, pp. 206-7: Notum sit universis Christi fidelibus quod ego Ursus de Fractavalle concessi monachis de Tyron unam carrucatam terre quam Johannes de Secore dederat eis ad Verrerias, et decimam Guicherii quam prefatus Johannes dederat eis in parrochia de Alteil, et decimam de Bolvilla quam dederat Hugo de Jaland, per manum Goffredi Carnotensis episcopi, et illam terram quam dederat eis Aubertus de Sechervilla ad Viler-Mafre. Hanc concessionem feci in thalamo meo Fractavalle, volente mea uxore Beatrice et filiis meis volentibus et concedentibus Nivelone et Hamelino, anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXXXIII, Theobaldo existente comite Bleseacensium, istis videntibus et testantibus quorum nomina subscripta sunt.....Beatricis signum+. Ursi signum +. Nivelonis signum +. Amelini signum +.

101. Ursio more than any other lord of Fréteval, or in Blois-Chartres for that matter, arranged to retain certain revenues from his gifts. This practice is evident in charters datable between 1130 and 1149. For example, when Ursio gave all exactions from the close of Sigismund and John, and their adjoining lands, he retained the *cens* from the latter (see the charter below). Similarly in the donation of vines, he kept the *cens* from the field next to them (see *CSPDC*, no. 151, pp. 365-6). These arrangements betray a certain concern with reaffirming his connection with the church, but also to remind the church and the community of the generosity of this family, which was considerable and in contrast to the declining status of many in the same region.

CSPDC, no. 150, pp. 364-5: His litteris cunctis fidelibus, innotescat, quod Urso Nivelonis de Melliaco quendam clausum nostrum, qui dicitur clausus Sigismundi, ab omnia prisitina consuetudine seu exactione, quam in eo habuerat vel habebat, liberum nobis ac quietum dimisit, videlicet pro salute anime sue ac parentum suorum; ita quod in eo prorsus nichil sibi retinuit. Nam et latronem et sanguinem et vicariam et minam et omnem justiciam, sed et omnia que in eo habebat vel habere poterat, absque aliqua nobis retentione dimisit ac donavit. Terrulam quoque quandam, eidem clauso contiguam, nobis donavit. Ipsas easdem consuetudines seu exactiones, quas prediximus, habebat predictus Urso in alio quodam clauso nostro, qui dicitur clausus Johannis, quas, eo modo quo supra diximus, donavit ecclesie nostre pro salute anime sue, excepto quod consuetum censum cum justo terciolo in eo sibi retinuit; cetera vero omnia omnino nobis donavit....Postremo, ne donum istud aliquo posset

Affinal and extended kin appeared in virtually every transaction that occurred during Nivelon II's tenure as lord of Fréteval and this practice continued under Ursio. If their initial inclusion was dictated by Nivelon II's lack of heirs, this was certainly not the case under Ursio. At some time between 1130 and 1150, for example, many of Ursio's nuclear, affinal and extended kin participated in his donation of two arpents of vines to Marmoutier. Consenting to this gift were his wife, his two sons and his daughters Hersend and Comitissa. Their presence in this act attests to the persistence of the right of daughters as well as sons to the patrimony.¹⁰² Ursio's cousins Hamlin Flagellus, presumably the brother or son of Robert Flagellus, Nivelon Palestellus and his brother Geoffrey, and Pagan of Frouville (who was probably Ursio's cousin) witnessed the act. Even though Ursio now had four direct heirs, his extended kin continued to play an important role in his charters. A family configuration that was open, extended, collateral and horizontal had been maintained.

In spite of the participation of all of Ursio's children and many of his extended kin, some suggestion of a change in inheritance structure and, consequently, family

....Continued....

calumpniantium impetu concuti vel infirmari, perrexit domnus Udo abbas apud Fractam Vallem, cum quibusdam monachis nostris, Huberto, Rainardo, Stephano; ubi predictis Ursio confirmavit donum quod fecerat, faciens nichilominus illud idem confirmari ab uxore sua Beatrice et a filiis suis Nivelone et Hamelino, sed a filiabus suis Hersende et Comitissa, necnon et ab uxore filii sui prioris natu, Agaza; qui omnes et simul et singulatim concesserunt hoc donum et confirmaverunt....Ex parte Ursonis, Geremias de Insula, Paganus de Froovilla....

The lords of Fréteval were also the lords of Meslay. The family had controlled Meslay as early as 1130 when Ursio I was referred to as the lord of Meslay. As the century progressed, some charters call them the lords of Meslay instead of Fréteval, but the same family controlled both lordships.

102. *CMPD*, no. 182, pp. 172-3: Pateat et ratum sit universis quod ego Ursio dominus Fractae Vallis...[elision in text] monachis Majoris Monasterii in elemosinam dedi quod in tota aqua fluminis Ledi a Villa Presbiteri usque ad molendinos meos, qui Novi dicuntur, nec a me nec ab aliquo heredum meorum molendini, nec eclusa, nec aliud quicquam quod molendinis monachorum noceat, edificabitur....Feci hanc concessionem primitus apud Fractam Vallem, concedentibus filiis meis, Nivelone, Hamelino, Philippo, Fulcherio, Rainaldo, et sororibus eorum Hersende et Comitissa, et uxor primogenitii filii mei nomine Agatha, et Hilgodo Piel....

structure is evident in the charters. In Ursio's donation of immunity of customs to the closes of John and Sigismund, his daughter-in-law was the only affinal relative to consent. Moreover, in this charter and in the gift of the two mills to Marmoutier, she was denominated "the wife of the first born son," implying that the *primogenitus* and his wife enjoyed a special role in the family. It could be that Nivelon was the only son yet married, but if this were the case, the qualifying term of "firstborn son" would not seem necessary; she could have been called the "wife of Nivelon" as most wives were identified. Agatha was included because her children were first in line to inherit and control the lordship of Fréteval. The coincidence of the denomination of the line of the firstborn son with Ursio's retention of the appurtenances of his gift suggests that the family was facing economic difficulty and had begun to implement a new inheritance strategy that would preserve the weakened patrimony. Furthermore, the Fréteval gifts from this time, i.e., 1130 to 1150, consisted mostly of gifts of revenues or exactions rather than land itself. Such donation patterns indicate a reluctance to alienate land from the patrimony and, combined with the importance placed on the wife of the first born son, may signal a change in the health of family resources.

During the 1140's Ursio was approaching old age and his interest in redressing his past indiscretions is apparent. He tried to make amends with the monks of Tiron for his "evil deeds." In one charter, datable between 1141 and 1145, he confirmed the many gifts he or his vassals had made. The grant was extensive and included seemingly new alienations of fiefs. Ursio stated that he hoped that his gift would put an end to "all quarrels and bad feelings" that caused discord between him and the

monks.¹⁰³ His sons Nivelon, Hamlin, Raginald¹⁰⁴, Fulcher, and Philip, consented to this donation, as well as his daughter Hersend. Witnessing the charter were Pagan of Frouville and his son Robert, Ursio's cousins. By 1146 Ursio was ill and nearing death. Driven by his concern for his soul, he abandoned lands which he admittedly usurped from Tiron. His sons consented to the quitclaim and swore that they would cease their "infestation" of these lands.¹⁰⁵ The charter clearly states that both Nivelon

103. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 267, pp. 35-7: Noscat universalis ecclesia quod ego Urso de Fractavalle, pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum, concessi, tempore Guillelmi abbatis, monachis Sancte-Trinitatis de Tyrum quicquid de feodo meo habuerant a retroactis diebus usque ad annum illum quo in bello captus est Stephanus, rex Anglorum, libere et quiete in perpetuum possidendum; scilicet quod habebant de feodo de Malesarium et quicquid habebant apud Oysesmam, et apud Leporisvillam, de custodia mea terre carrucatam, et apud Villarium-Mafredi quicquid de feodo meo habebant, et apud Maisam unam terre carrucatam de terra Petri Regis, et apud Autol duas bovetas terre, et apud Guichereium decimam, et decimam terre Sancte-Marie que est just Ogriam, et decimam terre Harduini, et decimam proprie terre ipsorum monachorum que pertinet ad decimationem Sancti-Severini, et vineas Goffredi Burel de Frigido-Mantello, et unam carrucatam terre liberam et quietam et solutam ab omni viatoria et ab omni consuetudine apud Vitreias. Et omnem querelam et malivolentiam que erat causa discordie inter me et monachos dimisi et condonavi eis, et ipsi michi. Et hoc concesserunt filii mei Nevelo, Hamelinus, Raginaudus. Hujus rei testes sunt:....Paganus de Frovilla et filius ejus Robertus....

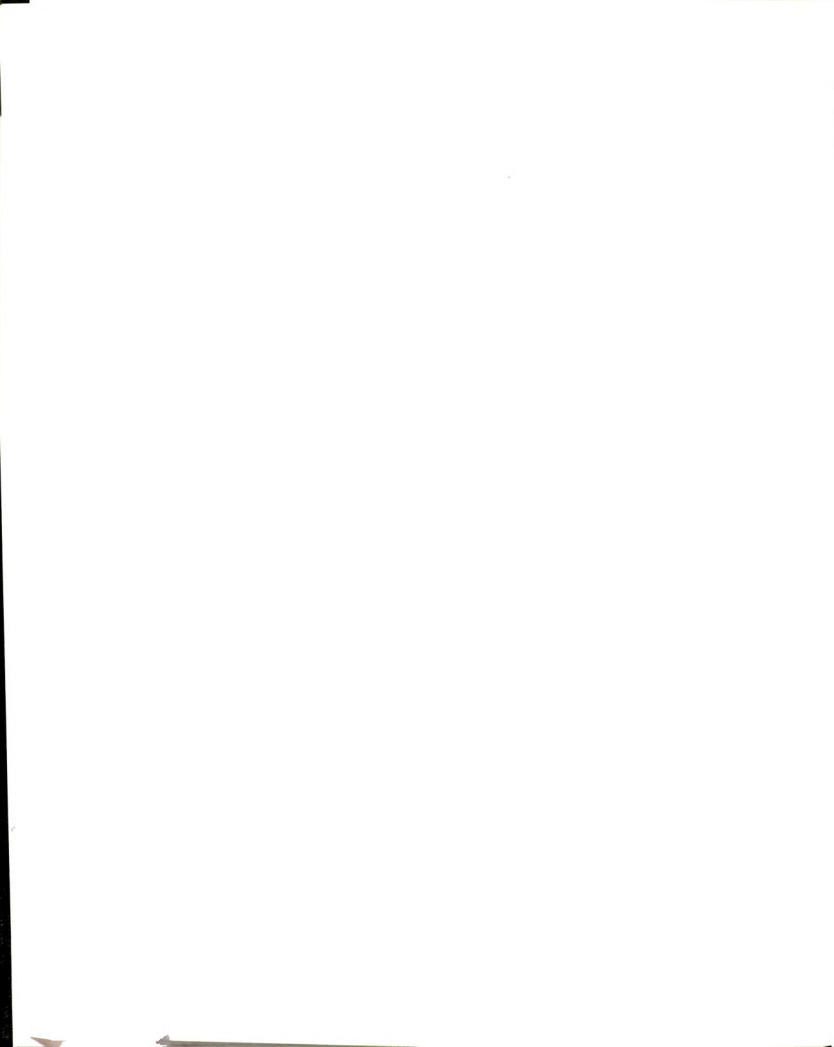
Hoc iterum concessit apud Halou Fulcherius, ipsius Ursionis filius.

Hoc etiam concessit apud Mestenum Phillipus, ejusdem Ursonis filius.

Sed et filia ejus Hersendis concessit apud Fractavalle.

104. Lucien Merlet, the editor of the cartulary of Tiron, argues that this Raginald was one of the assassins of Thomas Becket. Ursio, he believes, was an ardent supporter of Henry Plantagenet, and he thus identifies the Reginald Fitz-Urse as Raginald the son of Ursio of Fréteval. I have encountered no proof that supports or denies this theory.

105. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 290, p. 59: Notum sit omnibus quod Urso de Fractavalle, in infirmitate de qua mortuus est penitentia ductus, de malis que ecclesie Tyronensi multotiens fecerat, in presentia Gaufridi, Carnotensis episcopi, indulgentiam postulans, reddidit inter cetera que de possessionibus ipsius injuste sibi usurpaverat, nominatim ista que subscribuntur: boscum de Pautoneria sicut dividitur cum bosco Johannis de Subcureio, et mansuram de Monte-Dupplelli, et quod occupaverat in mansura de Villa-Nova, metas etiam terre monachorum de Fonte-Radulfi quas transgressus fuerat pro cupiditate sue foreste augende, sicut palam omnibus confessus est, culpam suam recognoscendo, solutas ecclesie reddidit et quietas, et terram pariter Pireii quam monachi emerant de Petro Rege, et sui hominis partim calumpniabantur, partim inquietabant, liberam clamavit, et suos filios jussit ut deinceps ab infestatione illius terra cessarent. Hoc concesserunt filii ejus Nivelon et Hamelinus. Inde sunt testes....Paganus de Frovilla....His interfuerunt de monachis de Tyronensibus: Girardus Diabolus....



and Hamlin possessed this property illegally with their father. Not only did these brothers each exercise a claim to family lands, but also they shared control of them. Ursio's unjust possession of property could be construed as reflective of a strain in resources. Given that his conciliatory grant to St. Père was to make restitution for "all quarrels," this suggests that the lord of Fréteval was guilty of several usurpations or seizures of church property. Ursio made many generous gifts to the Church. Such largesse could have had a detrimental impact on the patrimony and resulted in his attempts to bolster his holdings through other means. In concert with the earlier denomination of the line of the *primogenitus*, Ursio's usurpations may herald a change in inheritance and family structure. Ursio, also, had several children to provide for, which may have compounded the situation and led to weakened resources.

The incipient shift toward primogeniture evident under Ursio came to fruition during the lordship of his son Nivelon III. By 1130 he was married to Agatha, but she died, and he subsequently married Adelia, with whom he had several children. Sometime before 1177¹⁰⁶ Nivelon III abandoned what he had claimed from the new mills on the Loir river. A concern over resources may have caused Nivelon to attempt to bolster his holdings by claiming property from the Church. The reclaiming of mills is also significant and may indicate a shift in the kinds of resources that nobles desired. Mills generated revenue, rather than representing landed wealth. Nivelon III's wife Adelia and his sons Ursio, Hugh and Geoffrey, and daughters Margaret

....Continued....

Pagan of Frouville appears as a witness for Ursio, while Girard Diabolus, either his brother or uncle, was probably a monk and acted for the abbey.

106. A charter from Marmoutier dated 1177 records a donation made by Nivelon III's son Ursio, the lord of Fréteval. Thus by 1177 Ursio had succeeded his father as lord. See *CMPD*, no. 186, pp. 176-7.

and Alice all consented.¹⁰⁷ Yet this charter contains proof of the adoption of primogeniture by this family. At the end of the charter, Nivelon III placed his seal on the grant and his *primogenitus* signed the charter to insure that the pact would remain firm and stable. Ursio II was associated with his father as the future heir to the patrimony and head of the family. His position as eldest son made him particularly powerful within the family. In preceding generations all Fréteval sons acted with their fathers to affirm and guarantee gifts. The economic crisis precipitated by the generous donations made by many of the early twelfth-century lords of Fréteval compelled the family to implement a new form of inheritance to preserve their patrimony. Extended kin are noticeably absent in this charter, which attests that a narrowing of the concept of family and kin had accompanied this transformation in inheritance.

Throughout the eleventh century and for most of the twelfth the Fréteval family honored the right of all relatives to the patrimony. Progeny shared a right to their parents' possessions, and their consent was necessary in order for donations to remain unchallenged. Cousins, uncles, nieces and nephews frequently witnessed the acts of the lords of Fréteval, attesting to an open and extended family configuration. Yet as the twelfth century progressed, signs of a tension over the allocation of resources appear. In response to an impoverished patrimony the lords of Fréteval were compelled to adjust their family mechanisms. A uniquely powerful role was assigned to firstborn sons as their fathers' eventual heirs. Extended family members, who had been so prominent as witnesses and consenters throughout the first five decades of the twelfth

107. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 330, p. 107: Notum sit omnibus qui presentes litteras viderint quod ego Nivelon, dominus de Mellayo, quito in perpetuum et concedo libere et quiete monachis de Buca-Ogrie, assensu et voluntate Aalicie, uxoris mee, et filiorum meorum Ursionis, Hugonis, et Goffredi, et filiarum mearum Margarite et Aalize, quicquid reclamabam in molendinis novis predictorum monachorum super Lidum; ita quod monachi prefati de cetero nullam calumniam vel impedimentum habeant in predictis molendinis a me vel ab heredibus meis: tali pacto quod dominum in Vetri-Vico in prefatis molendinis socium non habebunt. Quod ut firmum sit et stabile in perpetuum, sigilli mei et signi Ursionis, primogeniti mei, testimonio et munimine volui confirmari.



century, ceased to participate in the charters of the Frétevals.

The Lords of Lèves

Unlike many of the other lords of the region of Blois-Chartres, the Lèves family was not a power during the eleventh-century. The lack of charters from the Chartrain, however, makes it difficult to establish the history of this family during the eleventh century with certainty. In the twelfth century this family rose to prominence, partly because of its landed and political influence but also because of its successful manipulation of church offices. Two members of this family, Geoffrey and his nephew Gauslen, became bishops of Chartres, and another was abbot of St. Jean-en-Vallée. While these prelates won their office through their own merit, their position did much to improve the family's status and to provide opportunities for their relatives to gain important ecclesiastical offices.

At the end of the eleventh century, Gauslen was the lord of Lèves. Between 1079 and 1101 Gauslen donated one of his serfs to the abbey of St. Père of Chartres for the benefit of his soul and those of his relatives. His wife Odelina participated with him in making the donation and giving her consent. Their sons Gauslen and Geoffrey also approved the gift, and Gauslen I's brother Dodo witnessed the charter, providing his implicit affirmation of the alienation of this serf and her land. The inclusion of two sons and a brother reflects the claim that they had not only to landed property but also to the appurtenant dependents, rights and possessions.¹⁰⁸ Sometime between

108. *CSPDC*, no. 9, pp. 268-9: Notum sit omnibus et presentibus et futuris fidelibus, quod Gauslenus de Leugis dedit, pro sua et pro parentum suorum salute, quandam ancillam suam, nomine Odelinam, monasterio sancti Petri Carnoti. Que quomodo gesta sit donatio, ecce. Eo namque tempore quo domnus Eustachius predicto sancti Petri monasterio presidebat abbas, prefatus Gauslenus, una cum uxore sua Odelina, in capitulum monachorum venit, et, concedente eadem conjuge sua, necnon et filiis suis Gausleno et Gaufrido presentibus et concendentibus, supradictam ancillam suam

1092 and 1120 Gauslen I or his son Gauslen II abandoned his false claim to the serf which he had usurped from the monks of St. Père.¹⁰⁹ Usurpation of a serf can indicate an attempt to preserve resources, yet, because this family had recently emerged and was still in the process of building its power base, it is more likely that these lords, like other eleventh-century nobles, seized property from the Church in an attempt to expand their territorial domination or were merely flexing their new found power. Such behavior was fairly common among the Chartrain nobility as they carved out their fiefdoms.¹¹⁰

In approximately 1107 Gauslen I's sons, Gauslen II, Geoffrey, who was then a canon of St. Mary of Chartres¹¹¹, and Milo, made a donation to St. Père for their own souls and those of their parents. Like their father, they gave one of their serfs and his

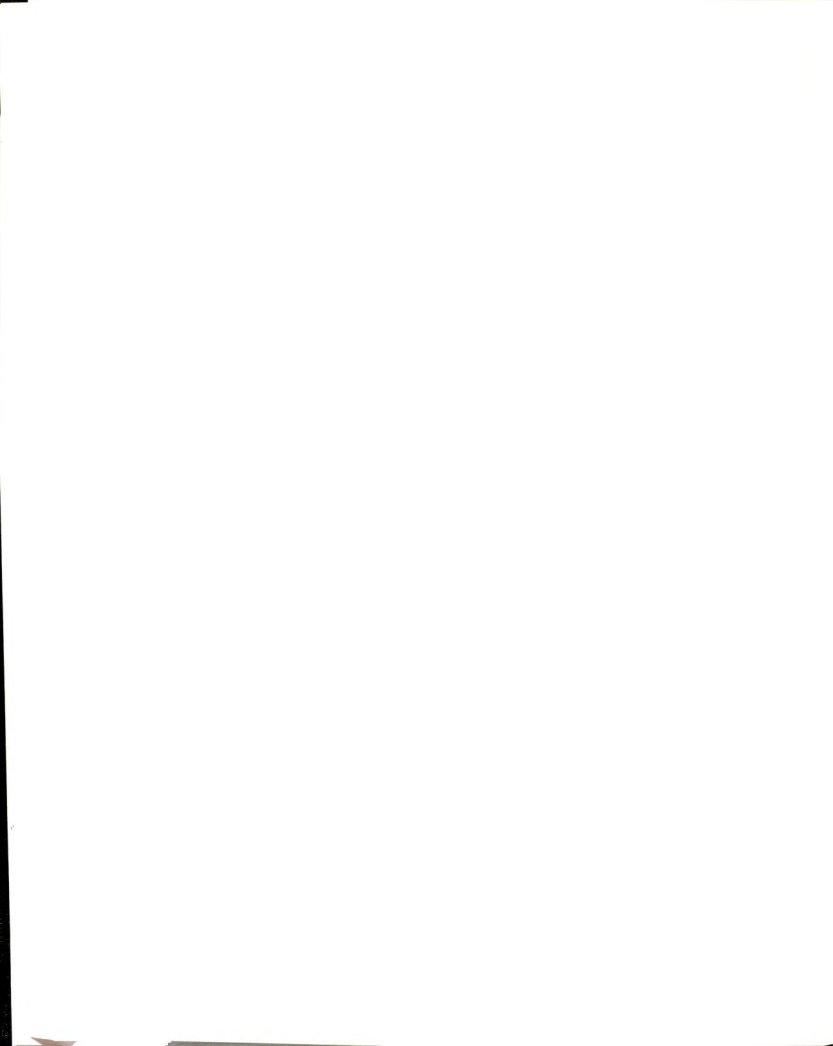
....Continued....

Gausleno et Gaufrido presentibus et concendentibus, supradictam ancillam suam Odelinam, filiam Magenardi, majoris Campi Fauni, ecclesie sancti Petri in elemosinam et prius in eodem capitulo dedit, et postmodum donum ejus super altare sancti Petri posuit, et capitale suum eandem mulierem ibidem super altare reddere fecit; sique eam, cum tota posteritate sua, ex suo dominio in jus ecclesie sancti Petro perpetuo migravit, adeo integre et libere, ut eidem Odeline totam, que se contingebat, totius patrimonii sui portionem quietam et absolutam simul ei concesserit, sicque deinceps ecclesie sancti Petri dominio tam eandem Odelinam quam totam ejus possessionem, jure perpetuo possidendam, delegavit. Cujus rei testes ex utraque parte fuerunt qui subscripti sunt: Dodo, frater ejusdem Gausleni....

109. It is difficult to be absolutely certain that this Gauslen was not Gauslen II. The charter is dated between 1092 to 1102. While Gauslen II first appeared as lord only around 1107, it is possible that this quitclaim could date from his tenure.

110. *CSPDC*, no. 97, p. 334: Firme certitudinis documento supervenientium certificetur propago fidelium, quod Gallinis de Leugis illam calumpniam quam imposuerat in capite cujusdam servi sancti Petri, nomine Hugoïs de Villa Nova, in capitulo sancte Marie, coram subscriptis testibus, in perpetuum missam fecit.

111. Geoffrey went on to become bishop in 1115.



family to the Church.¹¹² To insure that the gift would remain free from the "audacious presumption" of contestation, the three brothers secured the cooperation of their brother-in-law Raher and his brother, their *cognatus* Viscount Arrold¹¹³, and

112. *CSPDC*, no. 17, pp. 274-6: Unde ego Gauslinus de Leugis, fratresque mei Gaufridus, canonicus Sancte Marie, et Milo, pro anima patris nostri et matris, et pro redemptione animarum nostrarum, donamus sancto Petro ejusque ecclesie, perhenni dono, Godescaldum de Campo Fauni, nostrum servum, et uxorem ejus, nomine Milesindim, totamque eorum procreationem filiorum et filiarum, tam habitam quam habendam, et omnes qui ex ipsis nascituri sunt. Damus quoque omnia sunt eorum. Ut igitur nullius audax presumptio hujus doni firmitatem valeat infirmare, ego Gauslinus fratresque mei Gaufridus et Milo, Raherius quoque sororius noster, et Arroldus vicecomes, noster cognatus, et Hugo filius Aimerici noster propinquus, unusquisque nostrum fide sua data, indissolubili conditione affirmavimus hoc donum, contra omnium invidam calumpniantium defensando salvare. Nos quoque omnes, ut prenominati sumus, Godescaldum uxoremque ejus cum filiis et filiabus, eos tenentes propriis manibus, obtulimus ad altare sancti Petri; transferentes eos de nostro jure in potestatem ecclesie, ut ita abbas et congregatio sancti Petri perpetuo eos possideant, acsi de familia sancti Petri, sub vinculo servitutis, ex atavis progeniti essent. Ipsi autem monachi sancti Petri, ob hujus doni gratiam, michi Gauslino, Jerusalem proficiscenti, dederunt XX marchas argenti, fratrique meo Miloni XX solidos....Actum est hoc in capitulo sancti Petri, II idus novembris, anno Dominice incarnationis MCVII, Ivone Carnotis episcopante, Philippo regnante....Ex parte Gauslini: Gausfridus et Milo, fratres ejus; Arroldus vicecomes, Raherius de Drocis, Hugo filius Haimerici; Rainaldus de Posterula. Donum quoque cujusdam terre, que est apud Fresniacum, quam Gauslinus, pater eorum, sancto Petro dederat, prefati tres fratres Gauslinus, Gaufridus, Milo, sui assensus favore confirmaverunt. Berta autem, uxor Raherii, cum filiis suis, suo assensu donum prefatum de Godescaldo, coram subscriptis testibus, solidavit: Johanne, filio Ansoldi, Rainaldo Majoloth, Gauterio, Ursone, fratribus Raherii....Hoc beneficium collatum sancto Petro a fratribus suis Milo puer inprimis cum eisdem concessit; pro qua concessione palefridum de XX solidis ei dare pepigimus. Sed postea, malo consilio ductus ut puer, totum quod promiserant se assecuturum denegavit, hoc dicens quod, eadem die qua factum est pactum, XX solidos habere debuit; et in hac calumnia per spacium trium annorum, usque ad mortem scilicet Hugonis vicedomini, cognati sui, res ista pependit. Sed cum eum prout potuimus, honorifice sepelissemus, et ille, cum aliis amicis ejus, tali casu tanti viri vehementissime doleret, pro ejus anima, totum quod injuste contra nos de hac re, scilicet de Godescaldo, egerat, emendare promisit; veniensque in capitulum nostrum, donum hoc quod fratres sui fecerant, sicut ipse, ex parte sua firmavit.

113. I know of no viscount of this name from Blois-Chartres. Another charter from the cartulary of St. Père contains a reference to an Arrold, viscount of Nogent-le-Rotrou (see *CSPDC*, no. 97, p. 591), presumably the same person. Later in the charter, the quitclaim of Milo is dated by the death of his *cognati* Vidame Hugh; thus the Lèves family was distantly related to the vidames. The reference to Hugh the son of Aimeric may be misinterpretation for Hugh the son of Gueric, who would be Vidame Hugh III. The relationship between the Lèves and vidames is further supported by the participation of Girard Boellus, the son of Vidame Helisend, in the charter as a witness. Her other son Stephen also consented to Gauslein I's charter from the late



their *propinquus* Hugh and promised to defend the gift against any challenge. The inclusion of such extended kin as *cognati* and *propinqui* attests to their claim to family lands but also reflects an open and horizontal configuration of family. Female kin also exercised a right to the natal patrimony. Even though Bertha was married, she participated in the charter with her brothers. Her progeny, too, exercised a claim since they consented to this gift. Although Milo consented to the gift and was promised a countergift of money and a palfrey, he later disputed it. Unlike his brothers, Milo was referred to as *puer*, which indicates that he was still a minor when this transaction occurred. A shortage of resources may have led him to dispute this gift. The participation of all three brothers and their sister demonstrates shared claim to the patrimony, and the coincidence of Milo's attempt to disrupt the gift suggests potential trouble in the allocation of family resources.

Milo's brother, Gauslen II, also quitclaimed certain properties that he had usurped from the Church. Geoffrey of Lèves became bishop of Chartres in 1115, and it is likely that Gauslen II was influenced by his brother to abandon his claims. Gauslen II had attempted to claim the children of the serf Odelina, whom his father had previously donated to St. Père with the assurance that all of her progeny would

....Continued....

eleventh century. Bishop Geoffrey of Lèves confirmed the gift of the church of St. Maurice near Lèves which Vidamess Helisend and her son Girard gave to the monastery of Josaphat. Lord Gauslen II of Lèves also consented to this gift, with his wife and children. This charter, therefore, suggests a feudal relationship between the vidames of Chartres and the lords of Lèves, as well as a family connection (see *JOSAPHAT*, no. 2, pp. 2-4). Considering that both families owed their power to their relationship with the Church, it is not surprising that they were related. The vidames original function was as the secular officers of the bishop, which provided them with their power and resource base. The Lèves family owed its ascent in large part to their control of church offices.

also belong to the monks.¹¹⁴ In contrast to Gauslen II's attempt to keep the children of this serf, the Lèves family enjoyed the financial wherewithal to found an abbey. In 1117 King Louis VI confirmed the donation made by Geoffrey and Gauslen II of extensive properties from "their fiefs" given to found the abbey of Notre Dame de Josaphat.¹¹⁵ Included were the church of St. Arnulf, with all tithes, land and vassals, the church of Orrouer, with tithes and land, and finally enough land near Lèves upon which to build the abbey. Lèves family members were generous patrons of Notre Dame de Josaphat, and they evinced a clear preference for it. Virtually all of the donations made by this family were to this institution. Moreover, members of this family were buried there. Gauslen II's wife Lucia, for example, was interred at Notre Dame de Josaphat in the 1140's. Sponsorship of and continued identification with an

114. *CSPDC*, no. 10, pp. 269-70: Proinde ego Gaufridus, Carnotensis ecclesie Dei gratia episcopus, omnibus, qui litteras istas legerint, fidelibus notum esse volo, taliter esse terminatam in nostra episcopali curia, iudicio christianitatis, calumpniam quandam, quam frater meus Gauslenus de Leugis fecerat ecclesie et monachis sancti Petri Carnoti, de filiis et filiabus Odeline, filie Magenardi, majoris Campi Fauni, Gisleberto atque Chotardo, Milisende atque Burgesia, dicens eos et eas, cum omnibus possessionibus suis, sui potius juris esse debere quam monachorum; ut calumpnia eadem atque invasio injusta prorsus ideoque omnino inefficax et cassa fuerit adjudicata; quodque omnibus quorum nomina infra scripta sunt videntibus atque audientibus, idem germanus meus Gauslenus de injuria, quam calumpniando seu invadendo fecerat, ecclesie sancti Petri Carnoti satisfacit in manum Roberti de Bello Videre, ejusdem monasterii prioris: sicque injustitiam suam recognoscendo, et de ea, sicut dictum est, satisfaciendo, totius predictae familie jus possessionemque eidem sancti Petri ecclesie confirmavit. Testes ex parte Gausleni: Robertus de Tremleio; Hugo de Leugis, prepositus sancte Marie....

115. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 1, pp. 1-2: In Christi nomine, ego Ludovicus, Dei dispensante misericordia, in regem Francorum sublimatus, notum fieri volo tam futuris quam et instantibus quod nostram adierunt presentiam domnus Gaufridus, Carnotensis episcopus, domnusque Goslenus ejus frater, rogantes quod, pro anime nostre remedio, quedam de suis beneficiis sive feodis que pro suis animabus ecclesie Beate-Marie, denominate Josaphat, juxta suam dispositionem contulerant, ecclesiam videlicet Beati-Arnulphi, cum decima, cum omni terra plana, culta vel inculta, preter feodum militum, ecclesiam quoque de Operatorio, in honore sancti Martini sitam, cum decima et cum terra, quantum ad opus atrii necessarium fuerit, et in terra sua quam versus Perticum predictus Goslinus possidet, loca ad edificandas duas villas, et preter hoc in unaquaque villa carrucatam terre unam, et juxta Leugas locum ad edificandum ecclesie atrium, domos et cetera ibi habitantibus necessaria, eidem ecclesie, quantum ad nostram regiam pertineret majestatem, in perpetuum concederemus. Quod ita et fecimus.

ecclesiastical foundation reflect not only the economic power of the family but also its prestigious position within the community. Royal confirmation of the foundation is also indicative of the Lèves' political position.

The foundation charter, as well as other acts, provides information on the inheritance practices of this family. Gauslen II and his brother Bishop Geoffrey both controlled various family fiefs, a practice symptomatic of shared inheritance. In approximately 1120 the monks of Cluny obtained the consent of both Bishop Geoffrey and Gauslen II to the donation of property above the Loir River. Gauslen II made a further gift of two of his fiefs. His wife Lucia consented to this transaction, as well as "his heirs." Although they are not specified, the "heirs'" participation indicates that progeny and kin exercised a right to family lands.¹¹⁶ In the next year Gauslen II and Bishop Geoffrey gave Tiron four carrucates of land near the Loir River, an oven in Lèves, and one measure of grain a year from the mill of Longsault.¹¹⁷ Once again authority over the property donated was shared by these two brothers.

116. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 38, pp. 58-9: In nomine Domini, notum sit omnibus tam futuris quam presentibus quod monachi Beati-Petri Cluniacensis et Beati-Dionisii de Nogiomo concesserunt monachis de Tirone quicquid terre habebant ultra Ledum usque ad viam Carnotensem calciatam, in illa parte scilicet ubi habent Tironenses habitationem suam, et stannum supra predictam fluvium, et molendinum stanni cum ortulo qui est inter aquam molendini et aquam de portis stanni....Et pro hac concessione quam monachi Cluniacenses fecerunt monachis Tironensibus concesserunt dominus Gaufridus, Carnotensis episcopus, et donnus Gollenus de Leugis, frater ejus, prefactis monachis Cluniacensibus in elemosinam quicquid habebant de suo feodo quem Paganaus de Ulmo tenebat ab eo, et Hugo de Reverio a Pagano, quam concessionem etiam concessit uxor prefati Gosleni Luciana. Hujus autem concessionis, predictorum episcopi scilicet et Gosleni et suorum heredum, sunt testes:...

117. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 50, pp. 70-1: Quoniam humanarum rerum oblivione interveniente et morte que via est universe carnis sua jura vindicante atque dominium suum per universum orbem terrarum exercente, que fiunt sine litterarum apicibus custodiri diu nequeunt, ad posterorum memoriam libet scripto annotari quod ego Goffredus, Carnotensium episcopus, et Goslenus, frater meus, donamus Deo et monachis Tyronis quatuor carrucatas terre juxta aquam Ledi sicuti nos terminavimus eas, presentibus domno Willelmo, Tyronensium monachorum abbate....Necnon damus illis monachis supradictis unum furnum in villa Leuvis et illum omni tempore proprium habeant, nec in villa alius furnus fiat nec homines ville illius ad alium furnum eant. Insuper in molendino de Longo-Saltu unum modium annone illis annuatim damus.

While Gauslen II and Geoffrey possessed jointly many family holdings, it is also clear that they controlled others individually. The foundation charter of Notre Dame de Josaphat carefully delineates the difference between the property that Gauslen II and Bishop Geoffrey held together and that which belonged solely to Gauslen II.¹¹⁸ The churches and their lands were joint benefices and fiefs, but the property given near Lèves for the establishment of the monastery was Gauslen II's alone. Either Gauslen II had inherited this part of the patrimony separately or he had obtained it by some other means.

Gauslen II also confirmed donations and made gifts on his own. At some point between 1138 and 1143, he and his children Gauslen, Geoffrey, Milo, Odelina, Lucia and Cecilia confirmed on behalf of the soul of his beloved wife all of the fiefs which either he or his vassals would give to Josaphat. As in the previous generation, all progeny continued to enjoy a right to their father's possessions.¹¹⁹ Female family members assumed important roles. Gauslen II's wife Lucia participated in many donations and even acted as a witness for her brother-in-law Bishop Geoffrey.¹²⁰

118. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 126, p. 159: Sciant universi tam presentes quam postfuturi quorum ad noticiam hec carta proponitur quod ego Goslenus de Leugis, cum filiis meis Gosleno et Gaufrido et Milone, et filiabus Odelina, Lucia, et Cecilia, donamus in elemosinam, pro anima dilectissime conjugis mea Lucie, monasterio Beate-Marie quod est juxta Leugas agnominatum Josaphat, ubi sepulta est, concessionem omnium feuodorum meorum quancumque vel undecumque per curatores vel possessores loci hujus ab hominibus meis quibuslibet crementa valuerint obtinere, quatinus ista concessio modo semel facta a nobis robur habeat omni seculo firme stabilitatis ad omnia crementa quecumque, ubicumque provenerint vel acquista fuerint huic ecclesie de feuodis nostris. Presenti quoque dono confirmamus et concedimus huic ecclesie donum....Milo nepos episcopi....

This Milo could be the same Milo referred to in the following charter. He must have been the son of Milo, the brother of Gauslen II and Geoffrey of Lèves.

119. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 126, p. 159; for the text of this charter, see above, note 118.

120. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 45, p. 63: Ego Gaufridus, Dei gratia Carnotensis episcopus, dignum duxi notum facere omnibus et litterarum munimine confirmare donum cujusdam elemosine factum per manum meam ecclesie Josaphat a duobus fratribus....Testes domina de Leugis Lucia.

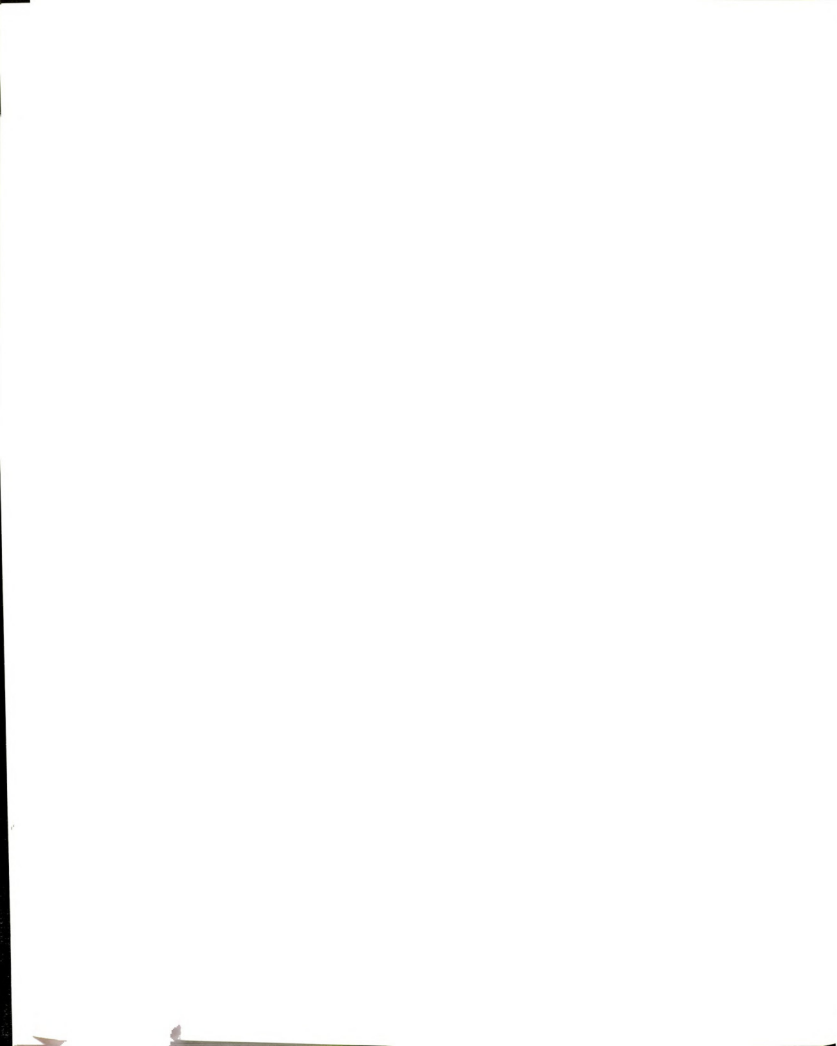
This charter is datable between 1128 and 1130.

While Gauslen II's sister and daughters also acted in charters, the donation which the family made on behalf of Lucia was the last charter in which they appear. Their absence may be attributed to their marriages and the endowment with dowries, which may indicate that they no longer maintained a right to the patrimony, a clear symptom of a trend toward patrilineage. Only Gauslen II's sons were present in later grants. This implies that the rights of females were beginning to be superseded by those of their male kin. About 1141 Gauslen II of Lèves claimed that a house near the Percheronne Gate of Chartres was part of his fief, a claim denied by Zachary, who had given it to the abbey of Josaphat. On the day that Gauslen II departed on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella he conceded the house to the monks in the chamber of his brother the bishop with the consent of his sons Gauslen, Geoffrey and Milo.¹²¹ Sometime later, Gauslen II reconfirmed his quitclaim of this property, once again with the consent and participation of all three of his sons.¹²² In 1145 Gauslen II made a donation to Josaphat on behalf of his son Gauslen who had recently died. He discontinued the *cens* of five measures of wine which the monks of Josaphat had paid on the vines that pertained to the now deceased Gauslen's benefice. Assenting to this

121. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 115, p. 147: Notum fieri volumus per hanc descriptonem tam presentibus quam futuris quod Zacharias dedit monachis Beate-Marie Josaphat domum suam de Porta Perticensi. Quam cum Golsenus de Leugis de feuodo suo fore diceret, et Zacharias decanus hoc denegaret, nulla fuit contentio, quoniam Goslenus quicquid in ea suum esse dicebat, die quo ad Sanctum-Jacobum iter aripuit, monachis quietum liberumque concessit, tam ipse quam filii ejus, videlicet Goslenus, Gaufredus et Milo, Que concessio facta est in thalamo episcopalis aule, presente ipso episcopo Gaufredo, fratre Gosleni ejusdem et aliis quorum nomina sunt hec: Goslenus archidiaconus, Milo prepositus, nepotes episcopi....

These last two witnesses could be the sons of Gauslen II named earlier in the charter, or the sons of one of his siblings, such as Milo.

122. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 114, p. 146



gift in the presence of Bishop Geoffrey, were Gauslen II's sons,¹²³ Geoffrey the prévôt and Milo, who was a canon.¹²⁴ Ecclesiastical careers apparently had been selected for half of Gauslen II's remaining sons. The high incidence of the entrance of sons into the Church provides evidence of a concern over family finances. Placement of as many children as possible in the Church was one way families limited the number of heirs to the patrimony.¹²⁵ While this family had made many extremely generous donations to the Church, by the middle of the decade of the 1140's the Lèves were experiencing some economic stress. The promise made by Gauslen II that his heirs would not expect the monks to pay *cens* suggests that they might try to circumvent this agreement and exact payment. The evidence of the restriction of daughters' right to the patrimony and the placing of half of Gauslen II's male progeny in ecclesiastical offices, along with this guarantee, combine to indicate that family resources could no longer sustain the claims of all progeny. Moreover, under Gauslen I and throughout

123. A Gauslen the archdeacon is also listed, but I do not think he was Gauslen II's son. Only one son named Gauslen appears at any one time in Gauslen II's acts. Gauslen the archdeacon is referred to as a nephew of Bishop Geoffrey and it seems more likely he was Gauslen II's brother Milo's son. This Gauslen is probably the nephew who succeeded his uncle Geoffrey as bishop of Chartres.

124. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 137, pp. 173-4: Omnium inspectorem sermonibus nostris testem adhibentes nos monachi Sancte-Marie Josaphat veraciter et sine fallatia, ut pote scientes quoniam veritatem requirens disperdet, omnes qui loquuntur mendacium, utilitati posterorum providentes, litterarum monimentis tradimus quod Golsenus de Leviis, qui facultatibus suis facultates nostras pluribus modis adauxit, in anno quo filius ejus Golsenus obiit, paucis post obitum ejus evolutis diebus, flens et ejulans venit in capitulum nostrum, et pro filio suo devotas apud Deum preces funderemus suppliciter postulavit, atque ut hoc attentius faceremus quinque cados vini quos ei aliquandiu annis singulis reddideramus, ex quibusdam vineis quas in censiva ejus, ex beneficio quorundam defunctorum, ejus concessione possidebamus, nobis omnino dimisit et concessit. Preterea vero ordinavit ut ex his que tunc habebamus, nullum ei deinceps vel heredibus suis censum redderemus. Hoc autem paulo post Carnoti iteravit in presentia domni Gaufredi episcopi fratris sui astantibus Gosleno archidiacono, Gaufredo preposito, Milone canonico, filiis Gosleni.

125. It is difficult to be certain that in the Lèves family entrance into the church meant that the new cleric eschewed his right to family lands. Considering Bishop Geoffrey still held family lands even when he was bishop, and consented to many of his brother's donations, it is possible that they might have maintained some claim.

the eleventh century extended kin had participated in family transactions. Their absence in later charters lends further support to a change in family structure as a result of a strain in resources.¹²⁶

By 1150 Gauslen II was no longer the lord of Lèves. He had evidently died sometime between 1145 and 1150. Before his death, he became a monk, and he was subsequently buried at Notre Dame de Josaphat, as was his wife. Gauslen II had four sons. Gauslen, who predeceased his father, had been designated as heir to his father's lordship. When Gauslen II quitclaimed his right to the Percheronne gate, all of his sons tacitly consented, yet Gauslen participated in the transaction with his father and was denominated his heir. While his brothers witnessed, Gauslen, who was intended eventually to hold this property by inheritance, was the only son whose consent was required.¹²⁷ Even though Gauslen would one day inherit, he, like Eudes II of Vallières, resorted to usurpation to secure resources before he inherited from his father. Between 1130 and 1145 he quitclaimed what he had usurped from the estates, lands and inhabitants of the monks of St. Père. Tension between the generations over control of family resources occurred when sons had to wait until their fathers' deaths to inherit. Gauslen's actions demonstrate that such tension existed in this family and further testify to mounting concern over family holdings. All of Gauslen II's later gifts, with the exception of the gift of mills for the deceased Gauslen's soul, notably

126. Gauslen II was deeply affected by his son's death, and he approached the monks lamenting and bewailing the death of Gauslen. Sometime in the same year, Gauslen II also gave the mills of Josaphat and Jouy for his son's soul, which King Louis VII confirmed at his castle in Paris. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 138, pp. 174-5: In nomine sancte et individuae Trinitatis, Ludovicus, Dei gratia Franchorum rex et dux Aquitanorum.... Quod nos curiosius attendentes, molendinos infra curiam monachorum Sancte-Marie de Josaphat quos Goslenus de Leugis, pro anima filii sui G., eidem ecclesie contulit, nec non et molendinum de Joi et universa alia que de feodo nostro prescripta tenet ecclesia, in manu nostra suscipimus et presentis pagine munitione sanctimus, atque ut hoc ratum habeatur in posterum, nulloque labentium temporum processu fieri possit incognitum, scripto commendari, sigillii nostri auctoritate muniri, nostrique nominis inscripto caractere fecimus consignari.

127. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 114, p. 146.

consisted of *cens*, measures of grain or wine, or confirmations of earlier gifts. No land was donated to the Church after about 1121, signalling an attempt to preserve land. Such evidence, in concert with other indications, substantiates that this family was experiencing significant strain on its resources and had adopted donation practices, inheritance strategies and a family organization aimed at conserving the patrimony.

Immediately after their father's death Geoffrey and Milo of Lèves reconfirmed all the gifts that he had made to the Church. Both sons acted jointly to make this confirmation.¹²⁸ While at the time of this charter Geoffrey was the lord of Lèves, by 1156 Milo had succeeded him as lord.¹²⁹ In this year Milo reached an accord with the monks of Josaphat over the control of certain mills. The mills in question were those which his father Gauslen II had given, and Milo alleged that the monks' mills cut into his business. He quitclaimed the mills in alms for his soul and offered to

128. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 202, pp. 245-7: Presenti noticia declaratur quomodo Gaufredus de Leugis et Milo frater ejus concesserunt ea que domnus Goslenus de Leugis, pater eorum, monasterio Josaphat donaverat sue concesserat. Cum isdem genitor eorum domnus Goslenus, miles illustris, ultima Leugis decubisset in egritudine et in abbatiā Josaphat, quam in proprio fundaverat fundo, et secundum mediocritatem suam propriis rebus large donaverat transferri se fecit. Quem cum abbas et monachi votivo favore recepissent, domno Gosleno Carnotensi episcopo, nepote illius, qui subsequenter inviserat illum, jubente et presente, predictus abbas Girardus jura monachatus, sicut mos est, ad succurrendum in eum complevit. Qui monachili habitu vestitus, brevi postea tempore transacto, vitam exuit. Ad cujus exequias peragendas cum pretaxatus episcopus occurrisset, monachis in ecclesia in medio chori sui locum quo tumulandus erat propensiori sedulitate preparantibus, convocavit venerabilis episcopus prescriptos fratres Gaufredum et Milonem in capitulum monachorum, et in audientia multorum convenit eos quatifierant, ipsi pro ejus anima concederent.

Gauslen the bishop of Chartres confirmed this donation. He refers to Gauslen II as his uncle, which suggests that he was the son of Gauslen II's brother Milo. In yet another charter Bishop Gauslen refers to his predecessor Bishop Geoffrey as his uncle as well (see *JOSAPHAT*, no. 229, pp. 270-1). This would seem to establish that Bishop Gauslen was the son of Milo of Lèves, the brother of Lord Gauslen II and Bishop Geoffrey.

Bishop Gauslen presided over the quitclaim made by a canon name Gui Galerann. It is possible that this man was a distant relative of Lèves since he attempted to claim property that had been given to the monks by Lord Gauslen II.

129. He had evidently abandoned the religious life (he was called a canon in an earlier charter) and assumed the responsibilities of lord of Lèves.

provide enough land where a third mill could be constructed in the same manner as the other two. The property on which the causeway for the sluice of this mill stood was held by his brother Geoffrey the prévôt. Geoffrey consented to allow the land to be used in this fashion but also assented to the entire arrangement. Gauslen II's property had been divided to furnish an inheritance for his two surviving sons.¹³⁰ While Milo went on to become lord and Geoffrey the prévôt of Chartres, they both possessed part of the patrimony. The generous donations previously made by the family, coupled with providing each son with a patrimony, weakened family resources to such a degree that Lord Milo could not permit donations made by his father to be alienated from family control.

About ten years later Lord Milo of Lèves himself was near the end of his life. To make reparation for the numerous crimes he had committed against the Church, he freed the monks of Josaphat from payment of five measures of wheat in *cens* from the wood of St. Arnulf. After his death, Milo's wife Mabilie and their son Geoffrey

130. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 230, pp. 272-5: Ego Robertus, Dei gratia Carnotensis episcopus, tam presentibus quam futuris notum fieri volumus, quod Milo de Leugis adversus monachos Josaphatensis cenobii diu contenderat pro eo quod molendini in domibus eorum siti suos molendinos, sicut causabatur, gravabant.... Consilio igitur obtinatum nostrorum et amicorum et hominum M. nec non et domini G fratris ejus, prepositi Carnotensis ecclesie, cum benigno utriusque partis assensu, litem eorum concorditer terminavimus in hunc modum: scilicet quod M. in primis concessit monasterio Josaphat omnia que de elemosina et beneficio patris sui Gosleni monachi eatenus possiderant. Et ut ipse quoque ex aliqua propria largitione pio interventu beatissime virginis Marie et beati Johannis evangeliste, in quorum honore monasterium Josaphat fabricatum est, nec non et orationibus monachorum, peccatorum suorum indulgentiam a Domino mereretur, concessit ut ex sua elemosina, juxta duos predictos molendinos, quos favore et assensu memorati patris sui Gosleni monachi in suo cimiterio fecerant, si vellent etiam tertium construerent ad modum duorum, ita scilicet quod omnia molendinorum illorum exclusoria justo modo adaquarentur altitudini cujusdam magni ligni quod in capite calceate, a parte vinearum, quasi pro custode conducte pactionis utriusque patris assensu positum fuit, et deinceps libere et quiete et reciperent ad molendinos quosque vellent et possent, exceptis duntaxat hospitibus et hominibus ipsius M. et molendinorum suorum consuetudinariis. De virgulto vero quod secus calceatam erat, quod dominus G. prepositus tenebat, ipso annuente, prout monachi petierunt et nos volumus, isdem Milo dedit, quatinus nobis visum est necessarium ad dilatandam et corroborandam eandem calceatam, quam nos utriusque assensu metati sumus.

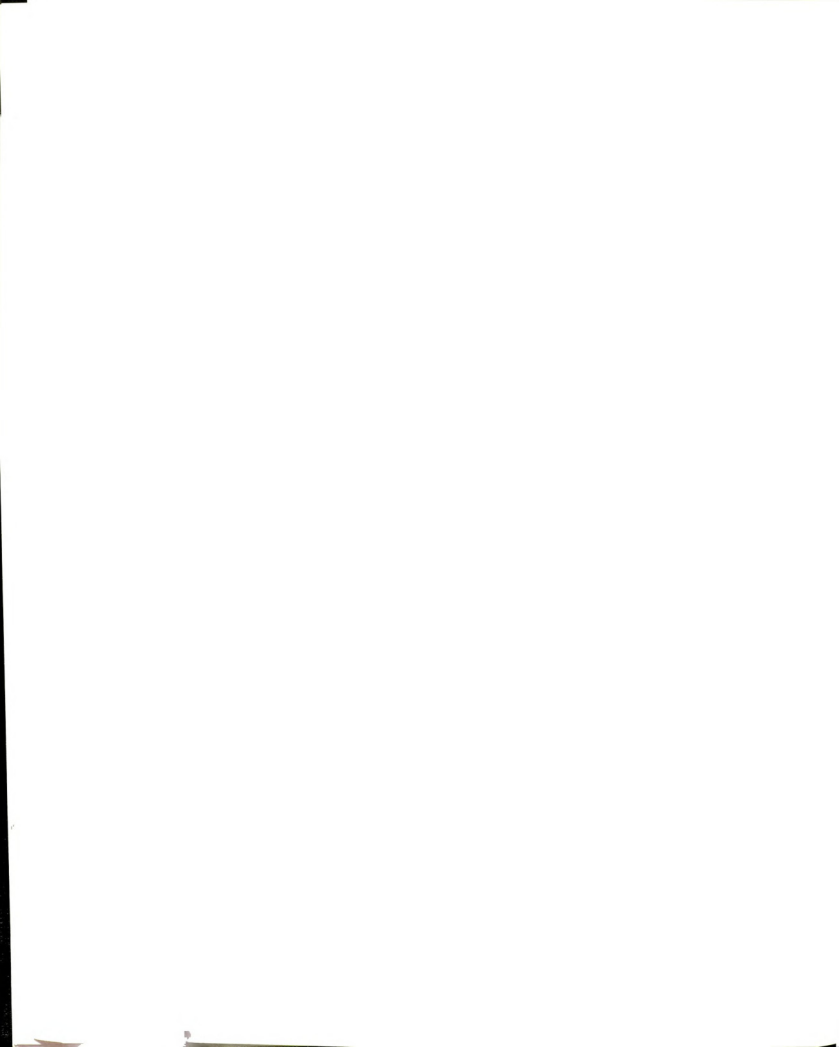
affirmed this concession.¹³¹ Participating with them in the confirmation were some of Milo's affinal kin. His father-in-law Gosbert of Tremblay and his brother-in-law Hugh of La Faye witnessed. The inclusion of male affines indicates that women maintained contact with their families but may also attest to a decrease in the autonomy of women as a result of patrilineage. Milo's affinal kin did not appear in any of his previous acts. Only when his wife was about to become a widow did his father-in-law take part in Lèves family transactions, which suggests that he would assume control of Mabilie and her property once Milo died.¹³² Later charters bear out this interpretation.

Between 1168 and 1175 Mabilie made a donation to the abbey of Josaphat in alms for the soul of her deceased husband consisting of one measure of wheat from the grange

131. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 249, pp. 295-6: Quoniam ea que diu memoranda et a generatione in generationem sunt transferenda, scripto jure tradenda sunt, congruum duximus mandare litteris quendam elemosinam que a Milone de Leugis collata est Josaphat monasterio. Memoratus Milo positus in extremis mortisque timore concussus, ad se rediit, et recordatus est se predicto monasterio nonnullas injurias intulisse, unde plurimum dolens et ab ipsius monasterii monachis sibi carissimis veniam adipisci, eosque deinceps fideles et assiduos apud patrem misericordiarum intercessores habere desiderans, a redditione v modiorum annone, quos eis per aliquot annos pro nemore de Sancto-Arnulfo reddiderant eos absolvit, et nemus in perpetuum quiete et libere possidendum eis dimisit et donavit. Post cujus obitum, Mabilia, uxor cum filio suo, Gaufrido, ingressa capitulum de Josaphat donum mariti sui sua concessione firmavit. Hanc igitur elemosinam in beate Dei genitricis semperque virginis Marie et nostram protectionem suscipientes, presens scriptum impressione sigilli nostri censuimus roborandum....Gosbert de Trembleio...Hugone de Fai....

132. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 250, pp. 296-7: Ego Ludovicus, Dei gratia Francorum rex. Quoniam credimus ad Deum nobis preparari viam dum servorum Dei intendimus sustentationi, procurantes sancto studio ut eorum in pace conserventur possessiones, notum facimus universis presentibus pariter et futuris quod Milo de Leugis, in sua hospitate et vite, ecclesie et fratribus de Josaphat nemus Santi Arnulfi donavit, et ut de monachis v modios annone annuatim haberet, consitutum fuit; ad extrema vero perductus, anime sue sedulus provisor, et jam dicto nemore et de ipsa annona monasterio et fratribus de Josaphat fecit elemosinam, et in perpetuum libere donavit, et quoniam res de feodo nostro constat, inde requisiti a fratribus, interventu Guillelmi reverendi (tunc) electi Carnotensis et rogatu Gaufridi de Leugis, prepositi Carnotensis, elemosinam sicut facta est, amore Dei et causa salutis nostre ecclesie concessimus, quantum ad nos spectat, et pro immobili firmitate sigillo nostro muniri et nominis nostri karactere signari fecimus.

King Louis VII confirmed this donation; while the family may have been becoming increasingly impoverished, they still maintained their political status within the region. Geoffrey the prévôt, Milo's brother, was consulted in this charter. Clearly, he maintained a right to his brother's patrimony.



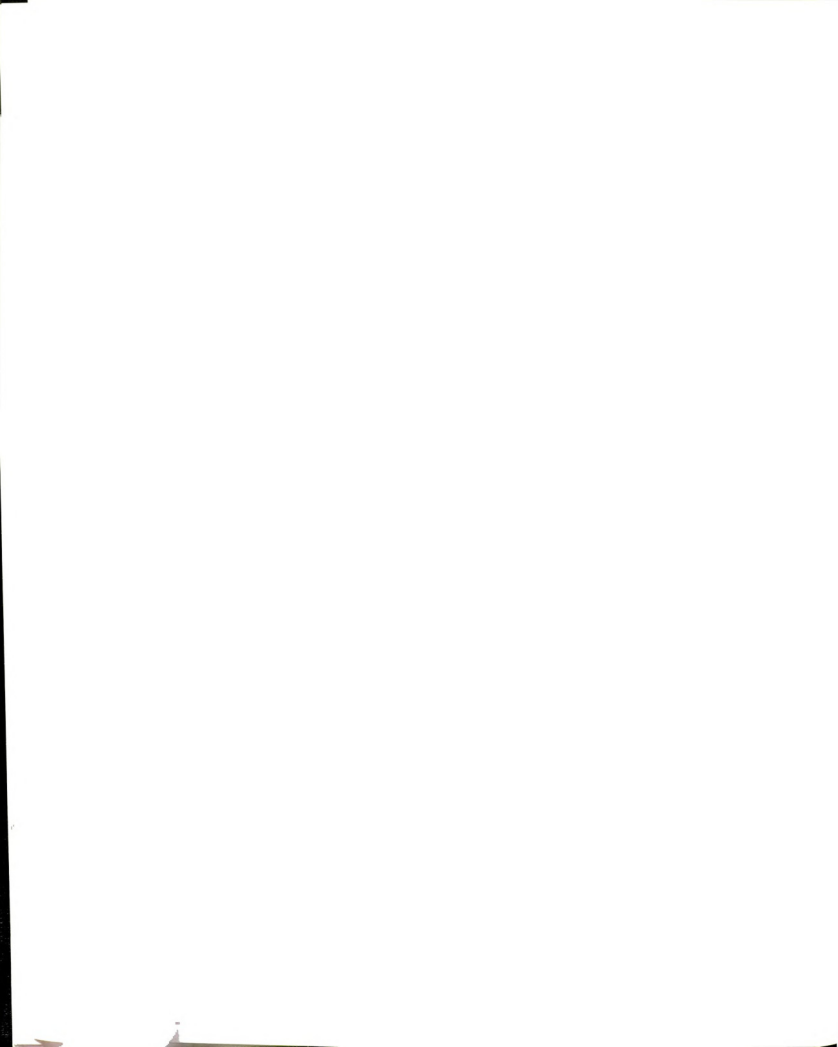
at Boulay. Her father Gosbert and brother Hugh affirmed the gift because it pertained to their dominion.¹³³ Instead of enjoying independent control of her dowry, as other noblewomen did, Mabilie's was partially controlled by her father and brother. Her sons Geoffrey and William also consented, demonstrating that in spite of the tensions the Lèves family experienced over the allocation of resources, male progeny continued to exercise an equal right to their parents' property.¹³⁴

The lords of Lèves appeared as an influential family only late in the eleventh century, but by the twelfth the family was a very powerful presence in the region. Due to their wealth and position, the patrimony of these lords could be divided between sons. Yet by the 1130's tension over the allocation of family resources emerges and is evident in the usurpations by Gauslen II and his son Gauslen. In spite of this

133. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 260, p. 307: Guillelmus, Dei gratia Senonensis archiepiscopus et apostolice Sedis legatus, omnibus ad quos littere iste pervenerint salutem. Notum sit universitati vestre quod Mabili, uxore Milonis de Leugis, pro remedio anime sue, unum modium annone singulis annis persolvendum ecclesie Josaphat in granchia de Booletto in elemosinam dedit. Hoc laudavit Gosberto de Trembleio, pater ejusdem Mabilie, et Hugo filius ejusdem Gosberti, de quorum dominio erat. Quod ut ratam et firmum permaneat, sigilli nostri auctoritate corroborari decrevimus, hoc volentibus ejusdem Mabilie filiis Gaufrido et Guillelmo.

134. Geoffrey succeeded his father as lord of Lèves. He married a woman named Margaret and had two sons, Gauslen and John, and a daughter Agnes. He appears as lord of Lèves in a charter dated 1201 in which he confirms a donation made by his *consanguineus* Milo of Bois. This Milo could be the son of one of Geoffrey I's siblings, or the son of Gui of Lèves, who may have been Geoffrey I's uncle. In 1130 Gui of Lèves and his wife Ermengard donated a manor close to the walls of the abbey of Josaphat. Their children Robert and Maria consented to the donation. Milo of Bois could have been the son of either Robert or Maria. Since Gui is never mentioned as a son of Gauslen II, it seems more likely that he was the son of Gauslen II's uncle Dodo, his brother Milo or one of his sisters, Luciana, Odelina or Cecilia. It has been suggested by other scholars that Gui was Gauslen II's son and that he became the abbot of St. Jean-en-Vallée. I have yet to find evidence to corroborate this.

In addition to Milo of Bois, several other Lèves kin appear in the charters but as members of the Church. For example there is a Hugh of Lèves who appears as both a canon and a prévôt (see *CSPDC*, no. 94, p.332). Other assorted canons, deans, subdeacons and prévôts also bear the geographical cognomen of Lèves. It does not seem likely that they were descended from the direct line, although they may have been kin. For a discussion of the ecclesiastical office assumed by the Lèves family and men "of Lèves," see Lucien and René Merlet, *Dignitaires de l'église de Notre-Dame de Chartres: Listes chronologique* (Paris: 1900).



concern, all sons continued to enjoy a right to the patrimony. However, the rights of extended kin, wives and daughters were becoming restricted, proving that some measures were being taken to limit the number of claims to the patrimony and preserve its resources.

The Gouets: the Lords of Brou and Alluyes

The Gouet family controlled five lordships--those of Brou, Alluyes, Montmirail, Authon, la Bazoches-Gouet--and enjoyed considerable power in both Blois-Chartres and Perche. In the eleventh century William I Gouet married Mahild, the daughter of the lord of Alluyes and Brou, which improved his own position and provided later lords with a strong economic and political base. Since Mahild and William I had only one son, he inherited his father's titles and many of his lands. William II had married by 1071, when he and his wife Eustachia authorized gifts to Marmoutier made by three of their vassals.¹³⁵ His mother Mahild had assumed control of the lordship when William I died and continued to participate with her son in transactions pertaining to the patrimony after he came of age. In 1079 he and Mahild gave their woods in Perche to the monks obedient to the priory of Vieuvicq. Some years later, William II gave his half of the pannage for pigs from the woods and stipulated that the other half would be granted after the death of his mother.

135. *CMPD*, no. 45, pp. 41-2: Notum sit fratribus nostris Majoris scilicet Monasterii monachis quod terram de Sconvilla, quam dedit nobis Girardus Brunellus, auctorisavit nobis Guillelmus Goius totam ex integro, cum omnibus consuetudinibus et redditibus ejus sicut eam tenebat de eo ipse Girardus; eodem loco et in eadem hora simul etiam auctorisavit nobis idem Guillelmus Goius ecclesiam de Dongiolo, quam dederat nobis Herlebaldus, et terram quam dedit nobis Odo, frater Herlebaldi....Haec omnia auctorisavit uxor ipsius Guillelmi, Eustachia, simul cum viro suo et pro his omnibus dedimus ipsi Guillelmo decem solidos, uxori ejus Eustachiae quinque solidos. Factum est hoc in aula Guillelmi, multis audientibus et videntibus, quorum haec nomina sunt.

That Eustachia received a countergift reflects her position in the family and her claim to the donation.

Eustachia and their sons William and Hugh consented to the charter.¹³⁶ William's nuclear family also participated in another charter from the same year in which they approved of a series of transactions that pertained to family fiefs.¹³⁷

The sons of William II frequently consented to donations that pertained to the patrimony, which illustrates their claim to family holdings (see Figure 10). The Gouets controlled extensive lands, and because of the unusual situation of the previous generation, could afford to allow progeny a claim to the patrimony. Unlike that of other noble families, the Gouet patrimony had passed virtually undivided to William II. Only one of his sisters survived to adulthood, thus limiting the claims to two.¹³⁸ Hildeburg married Fulcher of Fréteval and presumably was endowed with a dowry. She continued to participate in the transactions of her natal family, however. Nonetheless, the Gouets had significantly fewer such claimants than other families, which in part accounts for their affluence. The economic power and prosperity of this family are apparent in their foundation of a priory of the abbey of Tiron at Chategniers around 1117. Only the wealthiest noble families could afford to undertake such acts of piety. William II, Eustachia and their sons William, Robert and Matthew donated to Tiron all the property held at Chategniers, including tithes, pasture, *cens*, pannage and land

136. *CMPD*, no. 44, p. 41; see Chapter 3, p. 152, note 141.

137. *CMPD*, no. 46, pp. 42-3: Postea habuerunt inter se guerram tam de illa quam de aliis pluribus terris, propter uxores suas, Herveus de Asciaco et Rainaldus de Spieriis. Sed cum Guanilo de Montiniaco guerpisset totum fevum de Verlena Guillelmo Goeito, et Guillemus Herveo de Asciaco, concedente etiam Rainaldo de Spieriis, venit ad eundem Herveum [*sic*] Fulco, noster monachus, obedientiae tunc supradictae prepositus, et praedictam terram nos habere petiit quietam. Qui respondit quidam illam non se posse ad presens acquietare ab his qui eam se de ipso tenere dicebant, sed dedit nobis excambium de sua ejusdem loci terram videlicet terram Curtesii de Pirario et clausum Gausberti, et quantumcumque habebat in eo loco dominii....Sin autem ipsum perpetuo teneamus excambium in aula de Braio, presente et concedente Guillemo Goieto, atque Eustachia conjugue sua, ac filiis Guillelmo et Hugone.

138. William I had only one son and perhaps as many as two daughters. One of them, Hildeburg, married Lord Fulcher of Fréteval. No information is extant on the other, except her name, which was Mathilda.

so the church could be built.¹³⁹ William II and his family also gave to Tiron land in the valley of Unverre. The family reconfirmed this foundation when the cemetery of the priory was consecrated by Bishop Geoffrey.¹⁴⁰ The participation of the entire family as the donors of this priory attests to their sense of family solidarity and the claim each son had to the patrimony. William was distinguished as junior, however, but this was to distinguish him from his father rather than an attempt to single out the firstborn son. The family also acted as a unit in several other acts. When Hugh of Vovis quitclaimed his unjust possession of his uncle Robert's lands to the priory of Chategniers at the court of William II, he and his family witnessed it.¹⁴¹ Early in the

139. Hugh did not participate because he had died while on crusade with his father.

140. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 12, pp. 24-7: Notum sit presentibus atque futuris quod Guillelmus Goet et uxor ejus Eustachia filiique eorum Guillelmus, Robertus et Matheus, pro peccatorum suorum remissione, locum istum qui dicitur Castaneorum, a vertice montis ubi est grossum nemus usque ad aquam que Suete dicitur, sicut divisiones comportant, sancte memorie venerabili Bernardo abbati monachisque Sancti Salvatoris de Tiron, sicut ipsi possederant omnino liberum concesserunt; in quo etiam loco in honore Dei omnipotentis sancteque Dei genitricis Marie santique Egidii abbatis, pro sua suorumque parentum defunctorum et omnium fidelium salute, proprio censu suisque expensis ecclesiam in qua plurimi fratres regulariter Deo deservirent honorifice fabricaverunt. Preterea nemus ad edificia sua et ad calefaciendum et a pastionem porcorum et ad ceteras necessitates eorum similiter concesserunt....

Sciendum vero est quod decimam illius terre quam dedit jamdictus Guillelmus Goet, necnum duas partes decima totius terre de Corfucram condonavit huic loco Morinus de Claro-Fonte, Ernulfo sacerdote et Haudrico filius ejus concedentibus....

Aliquanto vero tempore post, quando Gaufridus, venerabilis episcopus Carnotensis, cimiterium Castaneorum benedixit, Guillelmus Goiet et Eustachia conjunx ejus monachis de Tiron in prefato loco Deo famulantibus duas meteerias in valle Unverrie, sicut ea die possidebant, filiis eorundem concedentibus, Guillelmo videlicet Goiet juniore, Roberto, Matheo, sicut eas tenuerant Rainaudus de Thirinniaco et Raginaudus Caprarius, in presencia episcopi ejusdem Carnotensis, libere et quiete et absque omni consuetudine, dederunt et concesserunt....

141. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 57, pp. 77-9: Unde convenerunt plures tam ex parte monachorum quam ex parte Hugonis, in curiam Guillelmi Goiheth senioris, ibique tantum egerunt monachi erga Hugonem quod dimisit calumpniam et concessit eandem terram in elemosinam, pro sua atque suorum antecessorum salute, quiete et libere, exceptis duobus solidis quos reddent ei monachi de censu in Pentecostem. Hoc concessit uxor ejus Hildeburgis et filius ejus Galerius et Helena filia ejus, que Falca cognominabatur. Hujus rei testes sunt: Guillelmus Goiheth senior et Eustachia uxor illius, et Guillelmus et Robertus filii ipsorum.

Matthew, however, did not participate in this act or some of the others. His

twelfth century William II donated land consisting of two bovates to the priory of St. Roman in Brou, and Eustachia, William, Robert and Matthew all consented. Two of William II's extended kin, his nephew Lord Nivelon II of Fréteval and Nivelon's son Ursio, also participated as witnesses.¹⁴² These charters testify not only to the generosity of this family but the stability and the large extent of their economic base. The political power that accompanied the territorial wealth of this family is evident in William II's role as a trusted adviser of the counts of both Blois-Chartres and Perche. He participated in comital acts for Countess Adela and Count Rotrou and witnessed various transactions for them.¹⁴³

The lords of Brou and Alluyes enjoyed both influence and wealth. Yet during the first quarter of the twelfth century forces were at work that eventually undermined their financial well-being. The largesse of this family, evident in the foundation of the priory at Chategniers, eroded the economic base of this family and triggered a transformation in inheritance and family organization. Like the other nobles of the region, the Gouet family was profoundly affected by the message of the Gregorian reformers. In response they restored several churches, tithes and other ecclesiastical properties. Their vassals were infected with their lord's generosity and returned churches and their appurtenances to the Church. William II and Eustachia were not the first of the Gouets to be influenced by the rhetoric of reform. William II's mother Mahild restored many ecclesiastical properties in the 1070's and encouraged her vassals to do the same. This family thus had a long tradition of ecclesiastical restorations

....Continued....

absence may be attributed to many factors. He may have gone on crusade himself, have been ill, or perhaps have died sometime before these donations.

142. *CSPDC*, no. 8, pp. 475-6: Quando Moyses monachus erat prior sancti Romani, Guillelmus Goetus, pro remedio anime sue, dedit sancto Romano, de terra sua quam in proprietate habebat, terram ad duos boves, concedentibus uxore sua Eustachia et filiis suis Willelmo, Roberto, Matheo. Affuerunt testes: Nevelon, Urso, filius ejus....

143. See *CSPDC*, no. 10, pp. 408-9, and no. 63, p. 313 respectively.

and largesse. Their generosity, however, resulted ultimately in their impoverishment.

Early in the twelfth century William II restored the church of St. Roman of Brou to the abbey of St. Père. He stated that he had unjustly seized customs and appurtenances from Brou, but wished to return them to the monks. A quotation from the Gospel of Matthew: "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall receive mercy," is incorporated into the charter. William II, like other nobles, had been influenced by the preachings of the Gregorian reform movement. The donation was made on the behalf of Hugh, the son of William II and Eustachia, who was still crusading in the Holy Land.¹⁴⁴ Their other children, William, Robert and Mahild, consented to the grant. At the end of the charter, William II issued a warning to anyone attempting to challenge the donation and threatened excommunication. Considering the right that all children had to his property and the extent of the gift, William II evidently believed it likely that someone, perhaps his children, might be tempted to contest it.¹⁴⁵ Lady

144. It has been suggested that William II also accompanied his son on his voyage to the East, which is likely considering that Eustachia and her other sons appear in several charters without William II. Eustachia presumably assumed responsibility for the family fiefs during her husbands absence. William II had returned to France by 1117.

145. *CSPDC*, no. 4, pp. 471-2: In nomine Salvatoris Domini nostri Jhesu Christi. Audiui fidelium verbis predecessorumque cognovi exemplis, neminem perversis actibus vel aliquibus rapinus deditum, veniam posse promereri, nisi jam dicta vicia correxerit, et bona agere studuerit; ut, sicut aliena rapiendo crudelis extiterat, sic demum, propria largiendo, misericors existat, et impleatur in eo illud evangelicum: "Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur." Quapropter ego Guillelmus, cognomine Goetus, credens meis prodesse sceleribus saltem aliquantisper, ab alienis injuste rapiendis tandem quiescere promitto; et voveo, coram Deo et sanctis ejus, quicquid apud cellulam sancti Romani, sitam in confinio Braiocensis castri, hactenus injuste invaseram, me non amplius exacturum, nec unquam ab alio aliquo consensurum. Insuper, uxore mea, nomine Eustachia, et filiis meis Guillelmo et Roberto, necnon et filia mea, nomine Mahildi, libentissime annuentibus, pro remedio anime Hugonis, dilectissimi filii mei, in Domini peregrinatione retenti, ipsum locum cum appendiciis ejus, seu quicquid ex dono meo vel hominum meorum eidem accreverit, absque alicujus rei calumpnia, remissionem omnium consuetudinum faciens, libere ipsius sancti monachis in perpetuum habere permitto; excepto quod burgenses mei absque nutu meo in eadem terra minime ad habitandum recipiantur. Si quis ver, quod absit! hanc libertatem infringere presumpserit, excommunicatione perpetua, nisi digne emendaverit, inremediabiliter feriat. Et ut hec libertas firmior habeatur ver-

Mahild had already donated the church at Brou to St. Père, but William II retained certain customs and properties, which accounts for his admission of "invading" the church. Like others, William II had been persuaded by the reformers to believe that lay possession of ecclesiastical goods was "unjust."¹⁴⁶

In addition to their own restorations, the Gouet family frequently consented to those made by their vassals. Between 1092 and 1120, for instance, Girard Brunellus, his wife, sons and daughters gave to St. Père their half of the church of St. Lubin of Brou. William II, Eustachia and their sons Hugh and William gave their consent as Girard's lords.¹⁴⁷ The necessity of the cooperation of both Hugh and William

....Continued....

iusque a posteris credatur, presentem inde cartulam, testimonii causa, fieri jussi, quam ego ipse, una cum jam dicta uxore mea et filiis, propria manu subterfirmavi, et obtinuitibus meis qui affuerunt idem agere precepi. S. Guillelmi principis. S. Eustachia uxoris ejus. S. Guillelmi filii ejus. S. Roberti filii ejus. S. Mahildis filie ejus. S. Hugonis Godiscalli. S. Guathonis. S. Hugonis Brugierensis. S. Raherii de Exarto.

146. In a charter datable between 1101 and 1129 Eustachia gave to the monks the rest of the lands which the family held with the church at Brou. It was an extensive donation, including estates, mills, portions of fish, rights to markets, tolls and pannage for pigs. Because the gift was made through the initiative of Eustachia, but with the consent of her husband and sons, it will be discussed in the next Chapter, on noblewomen in the twelfth century. However, this charter does demonstrate that the Gouet family, and perhaps Eustachia most particularly, felt compelled to restore the lands and property pertaining to the church of St. Roman at Brou.

147. CSPDC, no. 48, pp. 504-5: Notum sit cunctis Dei fidelibus, tam presentibus quam futuris, quod ego Girardus Brunellus, cum assensu uxoris mee et filiorum meorum Helgodi et Rodulfi, Ade et Hugonis, necnon et senioris me domini Guillelmi Goeth, et uxoris ejus Eustachie, atque filiorum ejus Hugonis et Guillelmi, dono Deo et Sancto Petro Cluniacensi medietatem ecclesie sancti Leobini Braioli castri, quicquid in ea habebam; medietatem scilicet de omnibus que ad ecclesiam pertinere videntur, id est sepulture, atque decime vini et omnium annonarum, lini et canabi, et rerum omnium deforis ad ecclesiam pertinetium. Medietatem autem decime omnium que ad altare intra ecclesiam pertinent porcorum videlicet ac vitulorum, agnorum atque lanarum, panum et cadelarum, relinquo filio meo tantummodo in vita sua: ita ut nullum donum aut venditionem alicui hominum vel loco alteri faciat, nec in vadimonium alieni mittat.

Since William II's son Hugh appears in this act, I would date the charter late in the eleventh century or early in the first decade of the twelfth for Hugh left on crusade at this time. He died in the Holy Land and, therefore, does not appear in the sources after about 1110. Acting as a witness to the charter was a certain William *nepos* of William of Gouet. The William Gouet referred to here may be William I, and thus this William was his grandson, William III.

substantiates their claim to the patrimony. Neither son was favored or identified as his father's sole heir. In other acts, Eustachia and William II acted jointly to confirm donations of ecclesiastical property made by their vassals. Early in the twelfth century they consented to the restitution of lands and tithes made by Hilduin of Alluyes to St. Père, which was made at their court.¹⁴⁸ Likewise, when Arnulf Malesherbes gave all that he possessed to the same monks, he did so in the presence of the lord and lady of Gouet.¹⁴⁹

At some point in the first decade and a half of the twelfth century, William joined his son Hugh in the Holy Land¹⁵⁰. During his absence, Eustachia assumed control of the family properties and vassals. When Daniel of La Ferté, the husband of Gilo Mansellus' niece, eventually abandoned to St. Père the tax of twelve *denarii* given by Gilo before he left on crusade, which Daniel had seized, he did so in the presence of Lady Eustachia. Her sons William and Robert, as well as several of their vassals, witnessed this transaction.¹⁵¹ A certain Walter and his mother gave St. Père

148. *CSPDC*, no. 36, p. 494; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 5, p. 284, note 197.

149. *CSPDC*, no. 17, p. 479: Ego Arnulfus Maleserbes notum volo fieri universis Dei ecclesie cultoribus, quatinus, pro remedio anime mee et parentum meorum, et pro amore domini mei Landrici, qui apud Carnotum monachilem habitum sumpserat, cui ibi diu usque ad mortem deservivi, donavi beati Petri Carnotensis me in primis et omnia que possidebam, tam in terris quam in censibus et in decimis. Hanc igitur donationem recognovi et affirmavi coram domno Willelmo Goeto et Eustachia, uxore ejus. Audientibus: Hugone de Toriello et Landrico et Goffrido et fulcoio, filiis Landrici prioris....

Landric of Touriello, the lord of Arnulf Malesherbes was a vassal of the Gouets. Arnulf himself was thus an indirect vassal of William II and Eustachia.

150. I would estimate the period of his absence as about five to ten years, approximately 1105 to 1115. Due to the lack of specific dates in the charters it is difficult to determine when exactly William II left and returned.

151. *CSPDC*, no. 6, pp. 474-5; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 356, note 143.

six *denarii* of tax on a bridge in Eustachia's presence.¹⁵² During her tenure as lord, many Gouet vassals restored churches and their appurtenances to the abbey of St. Père. Eudes Hardret gave his portion of the tithes of Moulhard with the consent of his son and his wife, his mother, his sisters Girberga and Ermentrude, his nephews Ernald and Peter, and Peter's wife Cecilia and Ernald's wife Barbota, in the presence of Lady Eustachia.¹⁵³ Similarly when Waldin abandoned his claim to the church and tithes of Estellieux he did so in the presence of Eustachia and her son Robert.¹⁵⁴ Rainald of Brou restored to St. Père half of his tithes from Le Mesnil and those that he held in Forêt with Eustachia and her son William *junior* conceding the gift.¹⁵⁵ Eustachia herself and her immediate family were deeply affected by the reform and may have actively encouraged their vassals to similar acts of piety. The restitutions made by the Gouets, combined with those made by their feudal dependents, had a dramatic

152. *CSPDC*, no. 9, p. 476: Guaterius Garinus, cum matre sua Richelde, pro anima patris sui Goffredi, dedit sancto Romano VI denarios de exclusagio de ponte Frambaldi, audiente Eustachia.

Other feudal dependents also made gifts in Eustachia's presence. For example Ivo made a donation for the soul of his wife of a garden and a mill (*CSPDC*, no. 12, p. 479). Similarly, when Gisbert of Brou quitclaimed his right to land of St. Roman, Lady Eustachia witnessed it (*CSPDC*, no. 19, p. 480).

153. *CSPDC*, no. 27, pp. 486-8: Odo Hardret...decimam de Monte Rahart, quam a corpore ecclesie sancte abscisam, more parentum suorum, quasi proprio jure sibi mancipaverat, pessima violentique proprietate eam se nunc usque possedissee fatetur...Itaque....[elisions in text] non solum prefate decime, sed et omnium rerum que suam partem contingunt, uxoris sue Odeline et Rainaldi filii sui assensu, sanctum Petrum, calumpniosis extinctis incursibus facit heredum....

Sequitur aliud donum de quarta parte hujus decime supranominate ville, scilicet de Montrahart, quod presentibus et videntibus istis, in ecclesia sancti Romani, nobis, matra sua annuente, Ernaldus Puer, filius Roberti Hardrei, dedit: scilicet....Hoc donum, sicut scriptum est, concessit mater pueri Hermentrudeis et soror ejus Girberga. Hoc donum suprascriptum concessit Petrus Cochardus et Cicilia, uxor ejus, et Ernaldus, frater ejusdem Petri, et uxor ejus Barbota, in ecclesia sancti Romani, coram domna Eustachia, et Ivone milite de Brueria....

Also consenting were Joscelin and Gastho of Brou, from whom Ernald held this land and who were Eustachia's vassals.

154. *CSPDC*, no. 30, p. 489; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 8, note 53, p. 525.

155. *CSPDC*, no. 37, pp. 494-5; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 8, note 52.

impact on the family by weakening and impoverishing the patrimony.

Before the departure of their father and brother for the Holy Land and during their absence, both Robert and William witnessed and consented to donations made from the patrimony.¹⁵⁶ When William II returned around 1115, however, subtle changes in family organization occurred. In 1116 Gastho of Brou, a vassal of the Gouets, and his wife and his children gave the tithes from his vines at Nottonville to Marmoutier. Sometime later the monks tried to take the tithes from the grain and new vines which Gastho had not granted. He appealed to his lord William Gouet II, Eustachia and their son William for justice, and the monks were called to their court. It was decreed that Gastho would give the grain tithes in alms, but the tithes from the new vines would remain in his possession.¹⁵⁷ William's sole participation with his parents in matters of justice heralds a new and more important role for the eldest son. Because he was now the heir to the lordship, his presence was required in matters that pertained to his future inheritance. Shortly afterwards Gastho of Brou sold one bovaté of land and five arpents of vines at Nottonville to the monks of Marmoutier. William II Gouet consented to this transaction but later reneged. To persuade him to abandon his claim the monks gave him twenty *solidi* and Eustachia another twenty. Their son William was given five *solidi*; but even though Robert consented, he did not receive

156. While William II was in the Holy Land, his sons Robert and William assisted their mother in managing the family lands and vassals. They participated in family courts, but also appeared as witnesses in their vassals' transactions individually. For example, Robert witnessed Gastho of Brou's donation of his fiefs. He also witnessed for Osmund the miller when he made a gift out of affection for William II (see *CSPDC*, no. 20 p. 480, and no. 28, p. 488 respectively). William and Robert both witnessed Eudes Brunellus' gift of half of the priests portion of the church of *Evorea* and Gilo Mansellus' donation (see *CSPDC*, no. 25, pp. 485-86, and no. 6, p. 475 respectively).

157. *CMPD*, no. 166, pp. 156-7; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 369, note 174.

compensation.¹⁵⁸ While Robert may have exercised a claim to family property, his elder brother's claim was stronger and worthy of compensation.¹⁵⁹ William II's challenge of this sale is suggestive of an increasing reluctance to alienate property. If the eldest Gouet son was not favored to the exclusion of all other progeny, he was coming to have precedence over his siblings.

Two other charters datable after 1115 reflect the increasingly important role of the eldest son and his denomination as firstborn. When Ivo of Rémalard donated to Tiron his land at Sours, Eustachia and William III, who was designated as the eldest son, consented and received sixty *solidi* as a counter gift. William III also acted with Ivo to place the knife, a symbol of his gift, upon the altar of St. Jean-en-Vallée, demonstrating his position as future heir and head of the family. The consent of William II and his other son Robert was secured, and they were granted counter gifts, but Robert's gift was considerably less than that his brother's. William III and Eustachia were given 60 *solidi* together.¹⁶⁰ The discrepancy in their counter gifts

158. *CMPD*, no. 166, pp. 156-7.

159. While the charter states that it was Hugh who received the counter gift, this is not possible since he died in the Holy Land sometime early in the eleventh century. Given the fact that William participated in other transactions concerning Gastho of Brou, the scribe has misidentified William as Hugh.

160. *JEAN*, no. 8, pp. 6-7: Quoniam sapientum hunc fuisse cognoscimus morem ut que firma facere vellent litterarum diuturnitate traderent, nos, horum sequentes auctoritatem tam futuris quam presentibus notum facimus quod [Ivo], filius Gaschonis de Remalast, pro anima tam sua quam majorum suorum, dedit ecclesie Sancti Johannis de Valeia terram quam habebat apud Soors, post mortem filii sui Bernardi, Sancte Marie canonici, uxore sua Beatrice ac filiis, Gaschone scilicet et predicto Bernardo, assentientibus....

Hoc Ivonis filiorumque ejus beneficium, eorumdem rogatu, Eustachia, uxor Guilelmi Goet, et Guilelmus major ejus filius, ab ecclesia inde LX solidos recipiens, quia de eorum feodo erat, in capitulo Sancti Johannis concesserunt, et per quendam cultellum Guilelmus hic et Gascho, Ivonis filius, super altare Sancti Johannis donum posuerunt....

Affuit concessioni quam fecit Guilelmus Goetus pater de terra de Soors ecclesie Beati Johannis, ex parte Guilelmi....

Illi vero concessioni quam fecit Robertus, filius Guilelmi, ex parte ejus....Pro

further reflects the stronger claim of the eldest son. In 1116 William II, Eustachia, William their *primogenitus*, Robert and Matthew conceded all of the gifts and sales made to Marmoutier by Gastho of Brou. The appellation of *primogenitus* was used to underscore William III's uniquely powerful position. The family was again rewarded with counter-gifts: William II was given thirty *solidi*, William III twenty, Robert twelve and Matthew thirty. Eustachia was also given compensation but chose to donate her portion out of love of the monks and her nephew Gelduin the monk.¹⁶¹ In addition to indications of special powers and authority being invested in the eldest son, some signs of patrilineage are also apparent. William III employed the distinct cognomen of Meschinus in several charters. His brothers sometimes used the patronym of Gouet, but William is called "William Meschinus," as well as "junior" to distinguish him from his father. Different cognomina to delineate the sons of William II Gouet suggest an attempt to single out the line of the eldest son.¹⁶²

Another characteristic of patrilineal families is the restriction or supersession of the rights of female kin. Eustachia's position clearly does not exemplify this pattern. She was the partner of her husband and ran the family estates and vassals

....Continued....

hac concessione Guilelmus Goetus pater habuit quadraginta solidos, Robertus filius ejus XX.

161. *CMPD*, no. 167, pp. 157-8: Notum sit omnibus quod Willelmus Goetus senex et uxor ejus Eustachia et eorum filii Willelmus scilicet et Mischinus primogenitus, et Robertus atque Matheus concesserunt, beato Martino et monachis Majoris Monasterii pro sua parentumque suorum salute, omnia quae eis donaverat seu vendiderat Gastho de Braiolo... Sciendum quoque quod pro hac concessione habuerunt de caritate beati Martini, Willelmus pater xxx solidos, Willelmus filius xxx, Rotbertus xii, Matheus xx. Eustachia vero remisit suam partem pro amore monachorum et Gelduini monachi nepotis sui.

162. In *CSPDC*, no. 6, p. 475 the sons of William II and Eustachia witnessed Daniel of La Ferté's quitclaim. They also employed different cognomen: Ex nostra parte: Guilelmus Meschinus, Robertus Goetus....

while he was absent. Nor was her authority over her lands or children challenged.¹⁶³ There is evidence, however, that William II and Eustachia's daughter Mahild did not enjoy the same experience. After William II's departure for the Holy Land, Mahild ceased to appear in family charters. She may have married and received her dowry, which may have precluded any further right to the natal patrimony, or she could have died. Scholars have argued that the provision of dowry indicates a more rigidly patrilineal family structure. The dowry replaced the daughters' usual share of family lands, and once she received it, she would have no further claim to them. Mahild's absence from later family charters suggests that this would have been the case. The signs of patrilineage combined with the privileges bestowed on the eldest son indicate that significant alterations in inheritance and family configuration were taking place in this family.

William III did succeed his father as lord of Brou and Alluyes. Shortly after William II's death, William III made a donation to Tiron for his soul.¹⁶⁴ He gave

163. It is important to point out, however, that William II did not have any brothers or paternal uncles who could have usurped Eustachia's place. His brother-in-law Fulcher of Fréteval or one of his descendants could have tried, but there is no evidence of this. The only other relatives who might exercise a claim were his half brothers Hamelin and Geoffrey, but they were probably occupied with their own lands in Mayenne.

164. William III was married twice. His first wife was Mabilie the illegitimate daughter of King Henry I of England. Through this marriage, the Gouets were allied not only with English royal house but also with their lords the counts of Perche. Count Rotrou III married Mathilda, another of Henry I's illegitimate offspring and, thus, Mabilie's half sister. Mabilie perished in the disaster of the White Ship in 1120. For discussion of these marriages see, G. H. White, "Henry I's Illegitimate Children," in *The Complete Peerage*, vol. 11, Appendix D, pp. 105-21, and Chris Given-Wilson and Alice Curteis, *The Royal Bastards of Medieval England* (London: 1984), pp. 60-9. Shortly thereafter William III married Elizabeth, the daughter of Count Thibaut IV of Blois-Chartres. The marriages of William III reflect the political power and status that he enjoyed in the county. They also suggest a change in political allies. His first marriage would have closely allied him with the Plantagenets and their supporters, the counts of Perche. William must have been aware of the possibility that Stephen of Blois would eventually make an attempt to be king and therefore sought an alliance with his family by marrying his niece.

William III and Elizabeth had two children, William IV and Elizabeth. Wil-

lands next to those his father had earlier given to the same abbey, with the consent of Eustachia and his brothers Robert and Matthew.¹⁶⁵ While his brothers maintained a right to family possessions, the charters prove that William III's claim had precedence over theirs' based solely on his place as firstborn son. The generosity of this family and their vassals in restoring property to the Church had impoverished their resources and compelled them to adopt an inheritance strategy that would preserve their remaining territorial holdings.

THE VISCOUNTS

The Robertian Viscounts of Blois

Three powerful vicecomital families operated in Blois-Chartres in the eleventh century, those of Chartres, Châteaudun and Blois. In the eleventh century the viscounty of Blois had been the weakest of the three, and it was eventually divided between two families (see Figure 11). By the twelfth century only the other two viscounties continue to be traceable in the charters. Information is extant on the Robertian

....Continued....

liam IV died in the Holy Land, so the lands and titles of the Gouet family passed to Elizabeth, who was married to Hervé of Gien. The Gien family assumed these possessions and titles. William III, who died around 1169, also perished in the Holy Land. It is possible that his son had accompanied his father to the east and also died there.

165. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 12, p. 27: Non post multum vero temporis, mortuo Guillelmo Goiet, filius ejus Guillelmus junior, pro salute anime sue, et patris sui suorumque predecessorum, quamdam metheriam [sic] que erat juxta alias duas quas pater suus dederat in valle Inverre sepepredictis monachis, ita libere et quiete et absque omni consuetudine, sicut ea die possidebat et sicut eam Grimaldus de Mortua-Muliere tenuerat, dedit atque concessit. Homines etiam qui predictam meteream obtinerent eisdem monachis ita liberos et quietos dedit atque concessit ut per totam terram suam nullam redderent consuetudinem. Hoc donum Eustachia mater ejus et fratres sui Robertus, Matheus concesserunt.

For the preceding text of this charter, see note 140, p. 448 of this chapter.

viscounts of Blois in other sources, however. The correspondence of Bishop Ivo of Chartres, for example, contains a discussion of one of the family's marital alliances. Mathilda, the widow of Viscount Robert III of Blois and the daughter of Viscount Hugh of Châteaudun and Agnes of Fréteval, wished to marry Count Geoffrey Grisgonelle of Vendôme, but was informed by Ivo that the match was incestuous.¹⁶⁶ Robert II had married Agnes of Beaugency, the sister of Lord Landric of Beaugency, and had only one son, Robert III, who lived until the early twelfth century. Since Robert III and Matilda had no children, the lands and titles of the viscounty passed into the hands of their feudal lord, the count of Blois-Chartres. Robert II had many brothers and sisters, but apparently none of them had any heirs or at least none who wished to or were able to lay claim to the viscounty.

The Viscounts of Chartres

At the end of the eleventh century, the viscounty of Chartres and the lordship of Le Puiset were controlled by Hugh I, the son of Gelduin I. When in 1073 Viscount Evrard I abandoned the secular world and joined a monastery, his brother Hugh, then the lord of Le Puiset, became viscount and remained so until his death around 1095 (see Figure 12). Galeran, the youngest son of Gelduin I, was the lord of Breteuil in the Beauvaisis. Breteuil had been his father's original holding, and Galeran and his descendants continued to control it far into the twelfth century. Each of Viscount Gelduin's sons thus received a portion of the patrimony, which attests to this family's adherence to partible inheritance. In addition to having wealth, the viscount of Chartres was also politically powerful. Viscount Hugh I waged war successfully

166. Ivo claimed that Mathilda and Geoffrey were too closely related, but his configuration of their family trees was inaccurate. See L. Merlet, *Lettres*, pp. 241-3. Mathilda and Geoffrey did marry, however, and they had at least one son, Bartholomew, who became the archbishop of Tours.

against King Philippe I. The tradition of wealth, power and ambition continued into the twelfth century. Hugh I's grandson Hugh III the Younger also rebelled against the king of France, although he did not enjoy the success that his grandfather had.

Viscount Hugh I appeared in several charters between 1075 and his death in 1095. In 1075 King Philippe I confirmed one of his gifts. Hugh I had arranged to establish a chapter of canons in the honor of St. Martin at Le Puiset. He dowered the new chapter with extensive lands for the remedy of his soul and those of his relatives. A fine of one hundred *librae* of gold was set for anyone tempted to lay claim to the gift.¹⁶⁷ The early eleventh-century viscounts of Chartres had customarily set fines for contestations in response to the instability of their times. In this family, the persistence of this practice should be viewed as a continuation of a family tradition rather than a reflection of any suspected or perceptible threat to the gift. The viscount of Chartres likely wanted to make restitution to God and king for his rebellious behavior and was in a position to do so by founding a chapter of canons at his seat of Le Puiset. Very few Chartrain noble families could afford the expense of constructing and founding a priory or chapter of canons. Neither Hugh's wife nor his children or kin witnessed or

167. *CMPD*, no.135, p. 125: In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi et individuae Trinitatis. Ego Philippus, gratia Dei Francorum rex, notum esse volo cunctis fidelibus sanctae Dei ecclesiae tam praesentibus quam futuris morituris, necessario litterarum memoria, quod Hugo, miles de Puteolo, canonicos in ecclesia in honore Sancti Martini constituta, et in supra nominato castello fundata, constituit: partemque suarum rerum quatenus ejus animae parentumque suorum Deus misereri dignetur attribuit, me concedente et juvante. Dotavit scilicet ecclesiam tota de terra domo Alberti, quae est juxta pontem, usque ab domum Hugonis praepositi, et ex illa unam partem in cimiterio concessit; alteram vero ad aedificationem domuum. Hanc equidem liberam et absolutam sine ulla redditione, juxta castellum campi partem decimamque duarum quadrucarum; apud Vilerii Montem campi partem duarum quadrucarum; ante portam castelli, quae est a parte Meridiei, II arpennos in alodo, censum et decimam omnium vinearum, venditionem prebendarum, exceptis quinque solidos quos retinere suum erit in nomine abbatis, cum his omnibus donavit. Haec omnia supra descripta et denominata, canonicos basilicae servientes et assidue ibi Dominum deprecantes, habere dijudicavit. Quod si quis calumniaverit et diminuere tentaverit, centum auri libras purissimi persolvat; et ejus calumnia irrita fiat.

consented to this foundation. The absence of his spouse and children suggests that he had yet to marry.

Two charters datable from the end of Hugh I's life contain pertinent information on inheritance and family finances.¹⁶⁸ In 1096 Hugh and the abbot of St. Père reached an agreement over the possession of the *vicaria* of lands in the Beauce. Under Count Thibaut III the monks had bought *vicaria* over these estates, but when his son Stephen became count, Viscount Hugh reclaimed them on the grounds that they belonged to him by right of inheritance.¹⁶⁹ The monks desired peace and arranged to include Hugh and his immediate family in their prayers. Hugh was thus persuaded to allow these rights to be transferred to the Church.¹⁷⁰ Hugh I's wife Adelaide and

168. Between 1075 and 1095 Viscount Hugh appeared in several charters as a witness and confirming gifts made by his vassals. For example, between 1084 and 1095 Bernard Flagellus donated half of his land at *Ostrulvilla*. His lords Viscount Hugh I and Evrard of Levasville consented to this gift (see *CMPD*, no. 42, p. 40). Sometime before 1091 Hugh witnessed a charter with Simon of Montefort on behalf of Simon's brother Mainer. Hugh's participation in this charter is significant because his son Evrard II married Alix of Corbeil, the daughter of Count Bouchard of Rochefort. The Monteforts also participated with Hugh III in his rebellion against the king (see *CSPDC*, no. 10, pp. 235-6). Similarly, Hugh I witnessed a donation, along with several other important lords of the region, made by Bishop Geoffrey in 1087 (see *CSPDC*, no. 26, pp. 251-2).

169. *CSPDC*, no. 15, p. 240: In Christi nomine. Ego Eustachius, coenobii sancti Petri Carnotensis abbas, et omnis monachorum congregatio michi a Deo commissa, notum esse volumus tam praesentibus quam futuris sancte Dei ecclesiae filiis, quod, tam ab antecessoribus nostris quam a nobis, vicariae quae erant in terra nostra, vel tutelae per Belsiam, omnes quidem sub comite Tedbaldo, ab ipsis ad quos pertinebant, datis justioribus et melioribus rebus, emeramus. Sed, Stephano comite in honore patris succedente, Hugo vicecomes jure hereditario easdem vicarias reclamans, ab eodem comite suscepit. Nos vero ab inquietudine securi vivere cupientes, precibus ad hoc vicecomitem fleximus, ut, in nostris orationibus cum uxore et tribus filiis et filia collectus, easdem vicarias, annuente Stephano comite, sancto Petro, sicut emeramus, concederet: et super principale altare sancti Petri, cum uxore et filiis, donum posuit, videntibus et audientibus his quorum nomina subscripsimus: Adelidis, uxor vicecomitis; filii eorum, Ebrardus, Hugo, Guido et filia Unberga. Fideles eorum....

170. Hugh I's claim must have been legitimate, since the monks made so little fuss. If his claim were false, the monks would have probably brought the matter to the court of the count. In the end they got the *vicariae*, in return for prayers.

their children, three sons and a daughter, consented to this arrangement.¹⁷¹ The necessity of their consent reflects the right that each exercised to the patrimony, i.e., what their father had inherited. All three sons acted with Hugh and Adelaide in placing a symbol of the gift on the main altar of the abbey church. In primogenitary families, only the eldest son was accorded this privilege. Their inclusion, therefore, proves that the practice of partible inheritance persisted in this family into the twelfth century, and these sons, like Hugh I and his brothers, could expect to receive a portion of the patrimony. The right of female heirs, however, may have been restricted. Although Hugh I and Adelaide's daughter Humberg consented, she did not participate in symbolizing the donation. Her right to family property was not equal to that of her brothers. Whether or not this was a continuation of family practice from the last generation is unascertainable because Gelduin had no known female progeny. The participation of Adelaide proves that some women were not excluded or powerless, but the absence of Humberg in the culminating act of the gift implies subtle differences between the patrimonial rights of daughters and those of sons.

Viscount Hugh I's final donation was made in 1096.¹⁷² Just before his death, while he was ill, Hugh made a very generous gift to Marmoutier. He gave the church which he had constructed at Le Puiset in honor of St. Martin, as well as the church of St. Victor in Blois and property at Villepereux. In addition to the church, Hugh I also reconfirmed his brother Evrard's earlier gift of land at Nottonville. For all purposes this charter was Hugh I's last act. He himself was too ill to be able to make the gift in

171. Adelaide was the daughter of the lord of Montlhéry. Her marriage with Hugh I was forged in an attempt by the viscounts of Chartres to make allies with families with holdings close to the king's domain in the Ile de France. Hugh's Montlhéry kin participated with him in his war against Phillippe I.

172. The charter discussed above in note 169 was dated 1096. Therefore this charter must be later in 1096, if Hugh I was too ill to affirm the grant in the presence of the monks. His son Evrard appears in charters beginning around 1096. His first act is dated in *CMPD* as 1095, but it must be after this charter.

person, so the abbot came to him at Le Puiset, where his wife Adelaide and his sons Evrard, Hugh and Gui consented to it. The participation of all sons reconfirms the claim that they had to their father's property. Yet there is some suggestion that the eldest son was gaining prominence in the family. Evrard was denominated *primogenitus* in the charter. While Hugh I's other sons still maintained a right to the patrimony and could expect to inherit, the singling out of the eldest son marks a new place and special privileges for him within the family. The conspicuous absence of Hugh I's daughter Humberg indicates that her claim to the patrimony had been superseded by her brothers.¹⁷³ Since Hugh I was approaching death, the designation of Evrard as *primogenitus* may have been an attempt to establish a clear successor. Indeed, given the parity of the claim of these sons, some question of the order of succession may have existed.

Evrard II did follow his father as viscount of Chartres, but his tenure was not long, for he departed on crusade shortly after his father's death.¹⁷⁴ Before he left Evrard II consented to a donation of land at Lamerville by his vassal Erchembald.¹⁷⁵ He and his uncle Evrard the monk also made a gift to Marmoutier to establish the anniversary of Hugh I's death. In return for celebrating the anniversary, Evrard II gen-

173. *CMPD*, no. 144, p. 133: Notum sit omnibus tam futuris quam praesentibus quod Hugo, Puteoli dominus, Ebrardi monachi frater, Beato Martino Majoris Monasterii ecclesiam Puteoli constructam in honore beati Martini, et ecclesiam Beati Victorii Blesensis, et ea quae obtinere videntur monachi nostri apud locum, Villae Petrosae dictum, pro sua suorumque salute contulit. Hujusmodi autem donum atque illud Nantulvillae donum quod domnus Ebrardus tribuit, Adelesis conjunx supradicti Hugonis, filiusque Ebrardus primogenitus, et Wido ac Hugolinus, in praesentia domni Bernardi abbatis, apud Puteolum auctorisaverunt, tempore illo quo domnum Hugonem infirmitate detentum visitavit.

174. The participation of Viscount Evrard II in the crusade challenges Duby's assertion that the movement was made up of dispossessed younger sons. Indeed, for the families of Blois-Chartres, eldest sons most frequently went on crusade. This was true not only for this family but also for the lords of Gouet and the counts of Perche, as well as lesser noble families.

175. *CSPDC*, no. 23, pp. 416-7. Shortly after, Erchembald's son made a false claim and Evrard II witnessed their quitclaim; see *CSPDC*, no. 24, pp. 417-21.

erously gave all that he held at Marolles and *Periacum*. His mother Adelaide and his brother Hugh consented and authorized everything granted to the Church.¹⁷⁶ Evrard II's brother Gui was notably absent. Gui entered the clergy for a short time, but eventually left and married the daughter of the viscount of Etampes. Also participating in the charter were several of Evrard II's extended kin, testifying to the adherence to an open and horizontal family structure in addition to partible inheritance.

Evrard II never returned from the Holy Land; he died in Antioch in 1097 (see Figure 12). His brother Hugh II assumed responsibility for the viscounty and for

176. *CMPD*, no. 149, pp. 137-8: Noverint omnes quod domnus Ebrardus de Puteolo, monachus noster, assumpto secum domno Bernardo monacho, panetario nostro cognomento Flagello, adiit nepotem suum ejusdem nominis Ebrardum de Puteolo, quando volebat ire in Jerusalem cum exercitu contra paganos; id est anno ante dedicationem Majoris Monasterii, ab Urbano papa factam, hortaturus ipsum ut aliquid ex rebus suis daret beato Martino Majoris Monasterii et nobis ejus monachis, quo facilius posset a nobis impetrare quatenus anniversarium fratris sui secundum carnem Hugonis de Puteolo, patris ejusdem nepotis sui, quod eatenus feceramus solo rogatu et amittit ipsius, ordinaremus et statueremus tam a nobis quam a successoribus nostris, omni anno faciendum; cujus ille adventu praecognito, processit ei obviam cum trius militum suorum, Gausfredo scilicet Britone cognato suo, et Odone Malis Herbis, et Adelardo praeposito suo de Carnoto, et obviat ei in campestribus Blesensis pagi. Cui cum propter quod venerat dixisset, ille reverentia qua debuit admonitionem avunculi sui excepit, et opere complevit. Dedit igitur Deo et beato Martino atque nobis intentione supradicta, id est ut propter ipsius quoque amorem et beneficium facilius impetraret a nobis avunculus suus, qua tenus anniversarium patris sui Hugonis, annis singulis faceremus, quicquid omnino possidebat apud Maierolias et Periacum, in Blesensi pago sitas, tam in servis et ancillis et colibertis quam etiam in terris cultis et incultis, domibus, vineis, redhibitionibus et consuetudinibus atque omnibus aliis ad ipsas villas quolibet modo pertinentibus, nihil inde sibi retinens sed omnia sit libera et quietas sicut ipse ea die ipsa possidebat, nobis possidenda tribuens. Cui dono vineam unam apud Sanctum Victorem sitam atque domum [in fo]ro Blesi, quae fuerat Odonis clerici, quem a servili conditione liberaverat super addidit....

Cui rei interfuerunt testes hi: supradictus Ebrardus filius de Hugonis de Puteolo, ipsius castri post obitum patris dominus, et mater ejus Adelicia nomine, et Hugo frater ipsius Ebrardi, qui totum suprascriptum donum fratris sui ibidem concessit et auctorisavit. Gilduinus quoque Gualerannus, fratres ipsorum, Gaufridus Brito, cognatus eorum, Robertus Normmanus, Berardus filius Bosonis, Albertus siniscalis de Halena, Tetbaldus filius Tedulfi.

The Gilduin and Galeran who appear as witnesses for the family seem to be relatives. They could have belonged to the line of Hugh I's brother Galeran, the lord of Breteuil. The names certainly suggest they were part of the family. Geoffrey Brito is specifically labelled *cognatus*, indicating some continued connection with extended kin. He, too, could be a descendant of Galeran of Breteuil or another of Gelduin's relatives.

guardianship of his young nephew, Hugh III the Younger.¹⁷⁷ No extant charters record any donations made by Hugh II or include him as a participant. This lacuna may be attributed to Hugh II's own departure for the East early in the twelfth century. He and his wife Manilie, the daughter of the count of Roucy, stopped on their way to the Holy Land in Apulia, where a son was born. Hugh II was very successful in the Holy Land. By 1107 he was count of Jaffa, and his son succeeded him in this office. Some scholars have suggested that Hugh the Younger was left in the hands of yet another uncle until he reached his majority sometime before 1109; but, none of the charters refers to Hugh III as a minor or records Gui as the acting viscount, which suggests that Hugh III was already of age when his uncle Hugh II left. Indeed, his coming of age may have provided the impetus for Hugh II's departure: now that Hugh III was an adult, Hugh II would no longer control the viscounty. The earliest charter in which Hugh III appears refers to his war with King Philippe and his imprisonment. It does not seem likely that a barely mature viscount could have prosecuted a revolt against the king. So Hugh III must have reached maturity early in the twelfth century. The behavior of his father's generation of viscounts is somewhat unusual. Even though the family was very wealthy and politically powerful, two of three male heirs of this generation went East while the third entered the Church. Evrard II was undoubtedly caught up in the fervor of the initial call for crusade, but Hugh II's motivations are less obvious. Many second sons went to the Holy Land to carve out their own fiefdoms, but most had little hope of attaining an equivalent of their position back in France. The viscounts of Chartres had a tradition of dividing their lands among all sons. The behavior of Hugh I's sons suggests that the family had either abandoned this practice or that younger sons did not expect their allotments to be adequate. Gui's response indicates that these brothers believed either that they would

177. I know of no charters that refer to Hugh III as a minor or include one of his uncles as his guardian.

not receive a share of the patrimony or that it would not be sufficient. Gui abandoned the clerical profession and gained his own lordship through marriage with the daughter of the viscount of Etampes. He was obviously not disposed to the clerical life; his placement in the Church may have been an attempt by his parents to limit claims to the patrimony. The actions of the sons of Hugh I imply that the family was coming to favor the claims and control of the line of the eldest son and his descendants. Their reactions indicates the belief that they would not be adequately provided for by their share of the family holdings since the bulk of the family wealth and lands was now vested in the line of the *primogenitus* Evrard II.

Hugh III was one of the most powerful, and certainly the most unruly, nobles in the twelfth-century county of Blois-Chartres. He and King Philippe I engaged in several conflicts, which resulted in Hugh III's eventual imprisonment. Sometime between 1101 and 1106 Hugh III demised the "unjust customs" that he exacted from the land from the monks of St. Père in the Beauce. Hugh had just been released from the king's prison and, as ordered, he promised to defend the monks' land as if it were his own. Even though he provided protection, he said he would not exact customs from the monks, which the king corroborated. In return the monks granted Hugh III *fraternitas*, recorded his father's name in their martyrology, and promised to celebrate the anniversary of his death as well as Hugh III's once he died.¹⁷⁸ Aimery Chen-

178. *CSPDC*, no. 57, p. 452: In nomine sancte et individuae Trinitatis. Ego Willelmus, Carnotensis cenobii abbas, scriptum hoc successoribus nostris relinquo de dimissione injustarum consuetudinum quas vicecomes de Puteolo solebat habere in terra nostra de Belsia. Certum sit igitur omni tempore fratribus hujus monasterii, quod Hugo vicecomes, filius Ebrardi de Puteolo, noviter cum exisset de carcere regis, venit in capitulum nostrum, ibique promisit Deo et nobis, per fidem suam in manu nostra, quod ab ea die, quicquid antea fecisset, custodiret terras nostras et a se, sicut regi juraverat, et ab omnibus malefactoribus a quibus posset, tanquam si essent sue proprie; ita tamen, ut, pro hac custodia, nullam consuetudinem vellet ponere in nostris terris, sed in ea libertate, qua regi juraverat, eas custodiret. Nos autem, pro carnalibus spiritualia reddentes, fecimus eum ibidem participem nostre fraternitatis; et promissimus ei quod nomen patris sui Ebrardi, ex quo faceret nos scire terminum obitus ejus, scriberetur in martirologio nostro, et singulis annis faceremus anniversarium ejus;

ard, who appears to be a vassal of Hugh III's uncle Gui of Rochefort, and a certain Hugh of Le Puiset, who may have been Hugh III's son, witness for the viscount.¹⁷⁹ The tone of the charter and the absence of relatives suggests that the king might have strong-armed Hugh III into this agreement. Other transactions were orchestrated without the interference of the king. A charter from approximately the same period, 1101 to 1106, records Hugh III's gift of two *denarii* of *cens* to the monks of St. Père. Once again none of his immediate or extended family consented to or witnessed this gift.¹⁸⁰ Around 1128 Hugh III restored the church of St. Martin in Chuisnes to Marmoutier. Lady Ermengard of Courville, who held this church in benefice from Hugh, assented to the restoration.¹⁸¹ The absence of immediate family or extended kin indicates that the viscount of Chartres was able to alienate customs and property

....Continued....

ipsuis quoque Hugonis nomen, post mortem suam, scriberemus, anniversariumque ejus faceremus. Hoc audierunt et viderunt; ex parte illius, Haimericus Chenardus et Hugo de Puteolo, qui et ipsi, eo precipiente, firmaverunt nobis per fidem suam, in manu Gaufridi monetarii, quod semper essent in consilio, ut quod nobis fideliter promiserat fideliter custodiret, et, si aliquando aliter facere vellet, dissuaderent ei quantum possent.

179. Aimery Chenard and his family often appear in the cartulary of St. Jean-en-Vallée. He also witnessed for the counts of Rochefort, which suggests that he was one of their vassals. It is possible that he was related to the vicecomital family of Chartres. If so, then Hugh III's extended kin participated with him in this agreement.

180. *CSPDC*, no. 71, p. 319: Vicecomes autem habebat ibi in Gorzeis duos denarios census quos Hugo vicecomes, filius Ebrardi de Puteolo, dedit sancto Petro et nobis in capitulo nostro, sub his testibus....

181. *CMFD*, no. 179, p. 170: In nomine sancte et individuae Trinitatis. Ego Gaufridus Dei gratia Carnotensium episcopus volo scire omnes ecclesiae fideles, quod Hugo vicecomes de Puteolo praesentiam nostram adiit et quicquid juris secundum saeculum habere videbatur, in ecclesia Sancti Marini [*sic*] martyris in vico Choinensi sita, quae de ejus feodo erat dispositioni meae commisit, suppliciter petens ut eam monachis Sancti Martini Majoris Monasterii in eodem vico commanentibus concederem. Similiter et Ermensendis, uxor quondam Ivonis Cotella de Curva Villa, quae tunc illam ecclesiam jure terreno possidebat, et fecit et petiit. Eorum itaque petitioni libenter annuens praefatam ecclesiam supradictis monachis concedo et tribuo, quatenus eorum dispositioni a modo sit dedita, salvo tamen jure Carnotensis ecclesiae. Hanc autem donationem sive concessionem ut firma et inconcussa in posterum permaneat, sigillii nostri auctoritate muniri ac roborari facio.

from family resources without the approval of his family.¹⁸²

Hugh III similarly appeared alone when confirming and consenting to gifts made by his vassals. Around 1112 he consented to the donation of land at Sours made by Ivo, son of Gastho, and his sons.¹⁸³ The viscount was granted forty *solidi*, but none of his children, his wife or other relatives were compensated.¹⁸⁴ When Ivo of Courville realized that he would have no heirs, he named Viscount Hugh, his feudal lord, as his heir. The Courvilles were one of the viscount's most important vassals and the disposal of their fiefs would certainly have an impact on the vicecomital family resources. Yet neither Hugh III's sons nor other relatives participated in any capacity in the charter that arranged Ivo II of Courville's heir. Likewise, when Hugh III participated in donations made by Aimery Chenard early in the 1120's, his family was absent. Around 1123 Aimery alienated all the property that he held at Mantarville, and Hugh III was awarded a palfrey by the canons of St. Jean-en-Vallée for his support. Hugh III also acted as a witness for Aimery's nephews when they reaffirmed their uncle's donation. In both instances, the viscount played a special role; he mediated one accord and arranged the other.¹⁸⁵ Although none of Hugh III's nuclear family acted in these transactions, two of his uncles did. Gui of Rochefort,

182. The lords of Courville had long been the vassals of the viscounts of Chartres. Hugh III inherited his control of these fiefs from his father.

183. *JEAN*, no. 14, p. 9: Nos Sancti Johannes canonici tam futuris quam presentibus notum esse volumus quod Hugo vicecomes, Ebrardi filius, terram de Soors, quam Ivo, filius Gaschonis, concendentibus Gaschone et Bernardo filiis suis, ecclesie Sancti Johannis dederat, eidem ecclesie concessit, tum pro sua anima antecessorumque suorum, tum rogatu Adela, Blesensis cometissa [*sic*], ac Helesendis vicedomine; habuit etiam pro hac concessione XL solidos.

184. Aimery Chenard and a certain cleric named Galeran of Le Puiset witnessed this charter. This Galeran may be Gui of Méreville's son.

185. For these acts see, *JEAN*, nos. 33, 34, 35, pp. 19-22.

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Hugh III's maternal uncle, and Gui of Méreville¹⁸⁶ witnessed the renunciation by the nephew of Aimery Chenard of his claim to the property at Mantarville.

Hugh III's wife and children participated in only three of his transactions; a gift, a confirmation and a quitclaim. In 1128, before Hugh III left for the Holy Land, he donated to Tiron two measures of wine from the vineyard at Gordez.¹⁸⁷ The gift was made for the remedy of the soul of his parents and predecessors and also to provide that the monks of Tiron, like those at St. Père, would celebrate the anniversary of his death. The donation was made in the chamber of Bishop Geoffrey. Hugh III's wife Agnes and sons Bouchard and Evrard consented at the castle of Le Puiset and signed the charter. A charter from the cartulary of Notre Dame de Josaphat, datable from roughly the same time, records Viscount Hugh III's confirmation of several of

186. When Gui, the son of Viscount Hugh I and the brother of Evrard II, married the daughter of the viscount of Etampes, he became the lord of Méreville. He and presumably his progeny used the geographic cognomen of Etampes.

187. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 108, pp. 127-8: In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis, ego Hugo, Puteacensis vicecomes, notum fieri volo omnibus sancte ecclesie Dei curam gerentibus quatinus, pro animarum patris mei et matris mee predecessorumque meorum remedio, monachis in ecclesia Tyronibus Deo militantibus duos modios vini quos habebam de terciolo in vinea illorum que apud Gorzeias est dono eosque illis possidendos in perpetuum concedo. Dono hoc ita a me facto et concessio, domnus Guillemus, abbas Tyronis, cujus tempore hoc factum fuit, sicut rogaveram, in plenario capitulo Tyronis, concessit quatinus hoc vinum ita a me datum, in octavis Pentecostes, quando festum ecclesie illorum, scilicet sancte Trinitatis, celebratur, fratribus tunc servitium Deo impendentibus in refectorio daretur, et concessit iterum quod, audito meo obitu, meum anniversarium annuatim facient, et hoc idem vinum quod habebunt fratres in ecclesie sue festivitate in vita mea, post mortem meam illi idem fratres habebunt in meo anniversario. Hec carta lecta et confirmata fuit Carnoti, in thalamo Gaufridi episcopi Carnoti, et in presentia ipsius episcopi et abbatis Sancti-Petri.... Iterum hec fuit lecta et confirmata in Puteacenso castro, in presentia vicecomitis Hugonis, uxore ejus Agnete et filiis scilicet Evrardo, Bucardo concendentibus. Hujus rei testes sunt:...Philippus Brio; tota curia Puteacensis tunc erat plenaria, ipse enim Hugo vicecomes tunc volebat ire Jerusalem, anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXXVIII. +Signum Hugonis vicecomitis. +Signum Agnetis, uxore ejus. +Signum Evrardi. +Signum Bucardi, filiorum vicecomitis.

Philip Brito may be related to the Geoffrey Brito who was referred to as a *cognatus* of this family. If so, then Hugh III's extended family, as well as his nuclear, participated in this charter.

his vassals' gifts to the abbey of Josaphat.¹⁸⁸ Affirming and supporting these grants were Hugh III, his wife Agnes and his *filiis parvuli* Hugh and Evrard. The family was compensated for their cooperation. Each son was granted four *denarii*, while Hugh III and Agnes were awarded sixty and ten *solidi* respectively. Their other son Bouchard did not appear in the charter, and his absence is intriguing. He had not died, for he consented to charters by his brother Evrard. Unfortunately, it is not clear whether Bouchard was the youngest son, in which case he may have simply been too young to participate or not yet born. The parity of the countergifts granted to Hugh and Evrard suggest an equal claim. None of Hugh III's sons, moreover, was identified with their father as viscount or with the viscounty.

Signs of tension over the control of resources became apparent during the tenure of Viscount Hugh III. In the preceding generation two of the three surviving sons had departed for the Holy Land. The third son was placed in the Church but subsequently abandoned the clerical life and obtained his own lordship through marriage. The impetus behind these actions may have been family economics. It would appear that the lion's share of family possessions was invested in the line of Hugh I's eldest son. Consequently, the portion allotted to younger sons might not have been sufficient to meet their needs or those of their families. In addition, Hugh III waged war against King Louis VI several times between about 1109 and 1130, no doubt a

188. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 30, pp. 45-7: Inter alia que de beneficio Haudrici de Piceovillari et Huberti filiis ejus habuit ecclesia Beate-Marie Josaphat, duo agri sunt apud Piceovillare qui de feuodo erant cujusdam militis de Radereto vocati, ex jure uxoris sue Gauslene, et insuper ex feuodo Hugonis de Puteolo, vicecomitis Carnotensis....Hugo quoque vicecomes apud Carnotum ab abbate Girardo requisitus et rogatus quatinus et donum hoc Haudrici de terra Piceivillaris et donum Galterii qui et agnominatus est Urit-Bordam de terra Mundunville sed et donum Tancredi et fratrum ejus de terra Faberolarum ecclesie Josaphat in perpetuum sua concessione confirmaret, grantanter et alacriter assensum prebuit, et apud Nantulvillam se melius et robustius ista cum uxore sua et filiis expleturum quandocumque super hoc expeteretur repromisit....Tam enim ipse quam uxore ejus Agnes et filii parvuli Hugo et Ebrardus supradictus terras quieto jure perpetuo possidendas ecclesie Josaphat concesserunt....Ex caritate vero ecclesie dati sunt Hugoni LX solidi, uxori ejus X, filiis eorum singulis IIII denarii.

costly endeavor. He was imprisoned sometime between 1105 and 1110.¹⁸⁹ A previous viscount of Chartres had battled with other kings, but Louis VI was a formidable opponent and represented the first real threat to the viscounts' autonomy. Unlike his predecessor Philippe I, Louis VI was a good warrior and successful in bringing unruly and power hungry nobles, like Hugh III of Le Puiset, to heel. The rebellions led by Hugh III against the monarchy were motivated partly by power politics but also by economics. Hugh III feared that he would lose important properties to the king, as well as the autonomy which his family had enjoyed in the region for more than a century. Hugh III's gifts themselves signal a reluctance to alienate resources. His grandfather Hugh I had been a particularly generous patron of the Church. He established a chapel at Le Puiset and restored several churches to local monasteries. Yet Hugh III made significantly fewer gifts to the Church. He did abandon the "false customs" he had levied on the monks in the Beauce and gave two measures of wine from his third of the vineyards at Gordez. He also restored the church of Chuisnes, but this donation was not the norm. Hugh's patrimony had been depleted by his grandfather's ecclesiastical largesse and was threatened by royal expansion and possible annexation. His donations thus represent an attempt to consolidate and preserve the vicecomital family holdings.

Hugh III also contested donations made by his predecessors and vassals, sometimes succeeding in usurping property or rights from the Church. Between 1101 and 1129 he abandoned his right to the *vicaria* of the Beauce, specifically the *cens* of twenty *solidi* paid by Warin of *Cepai*, which the monks of St. Père said he had usurped

189. *CSPDC*, no. 57, p. 452, contains a reference to Hugh being in the king's prison. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 46, pp. 64-5, states that Hugh III met with the king.

from them.¹⁹⁰ Hugh III grounded his actions in his claim that neither he nor his predecessors had consented to the donation of the *vicaria* to the Church. The dispute had lasted many years, and the viscount claimed the *vicaria* as his fief. An accord was finally reached: The monks paid Hugh eight *librae*, and he conceded the *vicaria* to them in perpetuity. Agnes and their sons Evrard and Bouchard consented, as well as Count Thibaut IV. That both sons consented to the quitclaim indicates that they exercised a claim to family property. Around 1123 Hugh III also disputed a gift made by Walter the son of Rainald. Walter had given land at Reclainville, as well as property elsewhere, to St. Père. Hugh III, however, claimed this land as coming from his fief, invaded and seized it. He did eventually abandon his claim to this land and conceded it to St. Père.¹⁹¹ While Hugh's challenges and usurpations can be attributed partially to the native obstreperousness of the Le Puisets, when combined with the lack of landed donations they point to a decline in the territorial and financial base of the viscounts of Chartres.

Hugh III's son Evrard succeeded him as viscount and lord of Le Puiset some-

190. CSPDC, no. 15, pp. 412-3: Et presentes et qui futuri sunt fideles, nos monachi sancti Petri Carnoti, nosse et certos esse volumus, quod Hugo vicecomes, calumpniatus est adversum nos vicariam de Belsia, illam quam de Garino, filio Durandi de Cepei, XX solidos census in festo sancti Nicholai annuatim reddendo, tenebamus, dicens nec antecessores suos nec se eandem vicariam aliquando concessisse. Qua videlicet calumpnia diutius nos per multa placita vexavit; de fevo enim suo vicaria eadem erat. Postea vero quam multum nos placitando fatigavit, tandem ad concordiam venimus, eique, in concordie ejusdem federe, VIII libras dedimus. Igitur et quam intulerat calumpniam remisit, et vicariam immunem nobis in perpetuum atque quietam concessit....Hec, inquam, Hugo vicecomes, sicut dictum est, concessit, et uxorem suam Agnetem, et filios Ebrardum atque Buchardum concedere fecit. Facta sunt hec, presente et concedente comite Theobaldo et domno Guillelmo, nostro tunc abbate, et quibusdam ex monachis nostris, cum pluribus de baronibus predicti comitis assistentibus, quorum nomina hec sunt....

191. CSPDC, no. 49, pp. 302-3: Memoria scripti hujus ac testimonio et presentis temporis fidelibus et futuri innotescat, quia Gualterius, filius Rainaldi, ad monachatum veniens, dedit nobis tres agripennos vinearum versus Sanctum Bartholomeum, et tres arpenos pratorum et dimidium in littore Audure, versus Luisantum; et quandam terram apud Reclanvillam, quam videlicet terram Hugo vicecomes, de fevo suo eam esse dicens, prius quidam saisivit et invasit, sed postmodum, videntibus subscriptis testibus, in capitulo nostro concessit.

time between 1130 and 1133. Tension over the control of land and fiefs continued. Around 1133 Evrard III gave up his seizure of the land of Panteville.¹⁹² After the death of Louis VI, Evrard III violated the agreement made between his father and the king and renewed the "evil customs" in the Beauce, an act that was in opposition to the immunity granted by his father.¹⁹³ Like his predecessors, Evrard III did not wish to lose the lands and revenues in the Beauce and resorted to breaking the accord in an attempt to keep them. None of Evrard III's relatives quitclaimed or appeared with him in this transaction. Yet in 1178, when this viscount mediated a dispute between the monks of Marmoutier and Walter Vittin, a cousin and a certain Bouchard the *cancelarius* of Chartres, who may have been Hugh III's brother, participated with him. Walter Vittin had bought and constructed houses and vineyards in the woods of Nottonville without the consent of the monks. In recompense, the monks claimed half of the houses and Walter had to pay them *cens* yearly. Evrard III arranged a compromise: Walter would enjoy the monks' portion of these properties for his lifetime, but if he died without heirs, his part would pass to the Church in alms. Evrard III's cousin John of Méreville, and possibly his brother Bouchard and nephew Henry, witnessed this

192. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 85, p. 110: De liberatione terre Patenvilla, de calumpnia vel saisimento quod de illa fecerat Ebrardus de Puisato. Testes de parte illius: Haimericus Chanardus, Rainaldus monachus, Galterius, Ivo de Porta-Morardi Milardus.

193. *CSPDC*, no. 29, pp. 644-5: Ludovicus ego, Dei gratia rex Francorum et dux Aquitanorum....Cujus [Louis VI] inter cetera beneficia, illud maximum prefata ecclesia recognoscit, quod terras et villas, quas in Belsia possidet, ab omni vexationes et gravamine Putiacensium dominorum, et ab omni prava consuetudine jacendi et comedendi, et ab omni penitus exactione liberavit, et sigilli sui auctoritate communit. Quas injustas consuetudines cum post mortem patris nostri, Ebrardus, Putiacensis dominus, filius scilicet Hugonis, injuriose repeteret, et in predicta terra iterata violentia contra patris nostri privilegium jacuisset, per nos commonitus, injusticiam suam recognoscens, nobis et Udoni, predicti monasterii abbati, in manu ipsius rectitudinem fecit, et factam ibidem expensam gadgiavit.

arrangement.¹⁹⁴ The mediation of Evrard III, the participation of his relatives, and the location of the property suggest that it may have pertained to the family fiefs or holdings. When Hugh III made similar agreements with his vassals, his uncles witnessed and supported these transactions. Likewise his son had his extended male kin participate in this charter. Noticeably absent are Evrard III's nuclear family and female relatives. Evrard himself witnessed for the count of Blois-Chartres.¹⁹⁵ In these charters Evrard was not referred to as viscount; instead, he was merely labeled "of Le Puiset." While his father had successfully waged war against the king and had been the viscount of Chartres, Evrard III did not enjoy the same privileges or prestige.¹⁹⁶

The other branches of the vicecomital family, specifically the descendants of Galeran of Breteuil, also made donations to the religious foundations in the Chartrain and Perche (see Figure 12). Sometime between 1071 and 1080 Gui of Breteuil, who was the son of Galeran and thus the nephew of Hugh I, witnessed a charter with the Gouets.¹⁹⁷ Judith of Breteuil, the wife of Galeran (who was presumably another son of Galeran I of Breteuil or the aforementioned Gui), appeared in several charters dealing with the land at Limoron and the subsequent contestation by Robert of Memberolles. Judith held this property, located in Le Dunois, by right of inheritance.

194. *CMPD*, no. 189, p. 179: Noverit universitas vestra quod contentio quae vertebatur inter monachos Majoris Monasterii et Galterium Vittin super quasdam domos et vineas, quas idem G. apud nemus Nantovillae, sine assensum eorum, emerat et construxerat, hoc modo conquievit....Talis postmodum inter eos, mediante domino Ebrardo de Puteolo, compositio extitit, quod G. partem monachorum vita tantum comite possidebit; [si] eo vero decederet sine erde [sic], ejus pars ad monachos in elemosinam devoluetur....Hanc vero compositionem de partium assensu confirmatam sigilli nostri patrocino fecimus communiri. Hujus rei testes: Ebrardus de Puteolo, Burchardus cancellarius carnotensis, Henricus filius ejus, Johannes de Merevilla, Renaldus de Rovreto, Gaufredus de Lengis, Gelduinus Desreatus.

195. See *CSPDC*, no. 60, p. 662, and *JOSAPHAT*, no. 265, p. 311.

196. See *CSPDC*, no. 60, p. 662, and *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 215, p. 243.

197. *CMPD*, no. 37, p. 35.

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In 1123 she donated it to Notre Dame de Josaphat. Robert of Memberolles, however, claimed that the property had been long abandoned and that the fief thus belonged to him by right of succession and inheritance from his ancestors.¹⁹⁸ An accord was eventually reached when Robert agreed to give the land to the monastery.¹⁹⁹ Judith had a son, Evrard, who would have been a cousin of the twelfth-century viscounts of Chartres. In 1124 King Louis VI confirmed the gift by Robert Memberolles with the consent of his feudal lords, Judith, her husband Galeran of Breteuil and their son Evrard.²⁰⁰ In spite of this reconfirmation, the donation of land at Limoron was later disputed.

Gui, the third son of Hugh I, married the daughter of the viscount of Etampes

198. This indicates that while the Breteuil family did hold land in Chartres, during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries they had concentrated their interest and attention on their lands around their seat of Breteuil. This "abandonment" may merely have been a result of the division of the family of Viscounts of Chartres, and subsequent properties, into two branches: one whose majority of land, *ergo* attention, lay in the north; the other who continued the line as viscounts of Chartres and the lords of Le Puiset.

199. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 8, pp. 10-15: Igitur anno M C XX III ab incarnatione Domini, Ludovico Philippi Galliarum regnum feliciter obtinente, Gaufrido de Leugis episcopatu Carnotensis ecclesie presidente, quedam nobilis femina, Judidta nomine, jure hereditario quandam terram habebat appellatam Limaaurion, in finibus ultimis Dunensis territorii, tam in antiquissimum desertum et vastam solitudinem redactam ob calumpniam cujusdam Roberti de Memberolis, militis Castridunensis, qui pro jure successionis parentum eam tanquam hereditarium sibi feodum ab illa domina reclamabat....Post aliquot dies cum, cujusdam sui negotii causa, sepedicta Judidta Bonamvallem venisset, supradictus etiam reclamator ejusdem terre, Robertus, nobis accersientibus, adfuit. Cui cum feodum suum roganti Juddidta [*sic*] reddidisset, ille sine mora, favente et cooperante ipsius, totum ipsum feodum monasterio per manum nostram largitus est, addens cum protestatione multa promissum se donum hoc omni vita sua tueri et manutenere adversus omnes homines, preter Ebrardum Judidte ex Gallerano de Britullio filium....

Post paucos dies, apud Castrumdunum, Robertus de Memberolis in domo propria, donum hoc non distulit roborare, sue uxoris et sobolis et fratrum suorum libera concessione.

200. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 13, p. 25: In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis, ego Ludovicus, Francorum rex, notum fieri volo cunctis fidelibus tam futuis quam et instantibus, quod Robertus de Memberolis terram de Limoiron monachis de ecclesia Josaphat juxta Leugas sita donavit et concessit, assentientibus et concendentibus Waleranno de Bretuillio et Juveta et Ebrardo eorum filio, de quorum feodo erat.

and became the lord of Méreville. Before his marriage Gui seldom appeared in family charters, and this continued to be the case afterward. He did appear as a witness in his nephew Hugh III's affirmation of Aimery Chenard's gift to St. Jean-en-Vallée.²⁰¹ In 1123 Gui consented to a gift of land at Faverolles made by his vassal Albert *Bibit-Cannam*, a *consanguineus* of Tancred the knight, from whom Albert held the land in question.²⁰² Tancred and Albert made their gift at Gui's court at Méreville and he consented to it. Gui's wife Leticia and sons, Hugh, Evrard and Galeran consented to this transaction and received monetary countergifts. He requested that the monks celebrate the anniversary of his parents' death, as well as his and Leticia's, annually. Gui's sons consented and each received an equal countergift, suggesting that they, like the preceding viscounts of Chartres, each exercised a claim to the family lands.

In 1138 both the Méreville and Breteuil branches of the family of the viscounts of Chartres were included in a royal confirmation. The gifts of Robert of Memberolles and Tancred the knight are listed, and both branches of the vicecomital family consented to their respective vassals' gift: Galeran and his family to Robert Member-

201. *JEAN*, no. 14, p. 9; for the text of this charter, see p. 468, note 183 of this chapter. John of Méreville witnessed a couple of Evrard III's charters, and he was probably either a son or grandson of Gui of Méreville.

202. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 9, pp. 16-8: Quesita est etiam concessio domini Guidonis apud Merarvillam castrum positi; qui, ut homo pie providus utilitatis servorum Dei, ipsos donatores Tancredum et Albertum fecit ante se venire et in sua suorumque militum audientia loqui et narrare donum prout fecerant. A quibus audita publice relatione veritatis ex ore ipsorum, scilicet quod Tancredus et fratres sui totam terram sui juris que est apud prenomatos tres mansionales ecclesie de Josaphat donavissent, nichil prorsus retinentes, preter decimam et feuodos Anselini et Petri fratrum, Albertus vero quod et hoc donum Tancredi concessisset et de parte propria terram duorum boum addidisset, dominus Guido inferens se deinceps non passurum aliquam minorationem vel depravationem doni hujus fieri vel ab ipsis vel ab aliis quibus ipse eque prevaleret, primus ipse suum gratis et dixit et fecit assensum; deinde uxor ejus Leticia et post filii ipsorum Hugo, Ebrardus et Galerannus, quibus ob recordationem XII denari sunt distributi datis singulis IIII denariis. Domno quoque Guidoni hoc petenti concessum est ut anniversarius dies obitus patris sui et matris et suus et uxoris sue, post obitum singulorum, in ecclesia Josaphat omnia anno agatur.

olles' and Gui to Tancred's.²⁰³ The juxtaposition of their gifts in the same royal affirmation is intriguing. Were they simply included by chance, or was it because the families were related? No mention is made of their relationship, but it seems unlikely that these two acts appeared together by pure accident.

At the end of the eleventh century the viscounts of Chartres enjoyed tremendous power in the county and in the nascent kingdom of France. They controlled vast properties, led rebellions against the king, and were able to provide each son with part of the patrimony. Signs of tension over the allocation and control of family resources emerged in the late eleventh century and continued for most of the twelfth. Hugh III and Evrard III tried to usurp property from the Church and dramatically curtailed donations made to the local monasteries. The largesse and rebelliousness of the previous generations had taken their toll, and these actions were compounded by Hugh III's own war with Louis VI. By 1150 the political and economic status of the family had changed significantly. Perhaps the most tangible indication of this decline is the absence of the title of viscount in later charters. Evrard III was lord of Le Puiset, but he was no longer given the title of viscount of Chartres. Louis VI had evidently succeeded in emasculating this once dangerously powerful and willful noble family.

The Viscounts of Châteaudun and the Counts of Perche

The families of the viscounts of Châteaudun and the counts of Perche were united through marriage in the eleventh century (see Figure 13). During the course of the twelfth century, however, the two lines diverged. Geoffrey and Hugh, the sons of

203. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 100, p. 130: Notum fieri volo cunctis fidelibus tam futuris quam instantibus quod Robertus de Memberoliis terram de Limoiron monachis de ecclesia Josaphat juxta Leugas sita donavit et concessit, assentientibus et concedentibus Galeranno de Britolio et Iveta et Ebrardo eorum filio, de quorum feodo erat. Universis preterea innotescere etiam volumus quod quandam aliam terram, de feodo Guidonis de Merervilla, Tancredus eisdem monachis dedit.

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Rotrou I, became the count of Perche and the viscount of Châteaudun respectively.

While the families remained in contact, their inheritance patterns will be considered separately.

At the very end of the eleventh century, Hugh II succeeded his father Rotrou as the viscount of Châteaudun.²⁰⁴ Responding to the call of the Gregorian reforms, Viscount Hugh II restored the church of St. Leonard with all appurtenances sometime between 1095 and 1100. He was granted a counter-gift of forty-five *librae* of *denarii*. Hugh II's brothers Count Geoffrey II and Lord Robert *Manda Guerram* of Montfort, his wife Comitissa and his children Geoffrey and Mathilda consented to the gift. Hugh also secured the pledges of several men to provide surety for his brothers' assent.²⁰⁵ The necessity of his brothers' consent, even though the family titles had been distributed with their corresponding lands, indicates that all sons maintained a right to family possessions. Hugh II's wife, son and daughters also approved the gift, substantiating their claim to the patrimony. As well as including his brothers in their charters, Hugh II and Comitissa remained in contact with her natal family and appeared in their acts. Around 1097 Hugh II participated with Comitissa in a donation by his brother-in-law Nivelon II.²⁰⁶ Around the year 1110 Viscount Hugh II was ill and nearing death. He

²⁰⁴. Rotrou was the son of Geoffrey I and Helvise of Pithiviers. He had only one sibling, a brother Hugh, who acted as viscount for a short time. Rotrou eventually assumed both offices of count and viscount.

²⁰⁵. *CMPD*, no. 150, pp. 138-9: Notum fieri volumus Majoris Monasterii monachis, quod Hugo vicecomes de Castroduno auctorisavit ecclesiam Sancti Leonardi Sancto Martino Majoris Monasterii cum omnibus possessionibus seu rebus ad eandem ecclesiam pertinentibus, acceptis quadraginta quinque libris denariorum Carnotensium a monachis Sancti Martini, scilicet a Gualterio priore Sancti Leonardi et a Gausberto praeposito de Cammarcio, annuentibus istis: Gausfredo comite fratre ejus, Roberto Manda Guerram fratre ejus, Comitissa uxore ejus, Gausfredo filio ejus, Matilde filia ejus....Isti sunt fidejussores quos Hugo vicecomes dedit monachis Sancti Martini, pro patribus suis Gausfredo et Rotroco, tali ratione ut si Gausfredus et Rotroco non annuerint, fidejussores reddant precium monachis sancti Martini....

²⁰⁶. *CSPDC*, no. 36, p. 428; for the text of the charter see this Chapter, p. 420, note 5.

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arranged to become a monk at Marmoutier and made a donation for the remedy of his soul and those of his parents of the *rotaticum* from the allod of Gelduin. To insure the stability of the gift, his son Viscount Geoffrey III²⁰⁷ consented and also gave in alms what he held from the same property. Hugh II's daughter, Viscountess Mathilda of Vendôme, approved the donation, as did his brother, Robert of Montfort.²⁰⁸ The participation of these family members attests to the claim that they enjoyed to Hugh I's lands. Even though Mathilda was married, and presumably dowried, she maintained a right to her natal lands.

When Hugh II retired to Marmoutier, Geoffrey III became viscount. In the act that records Hugh's entrance into the Church, Geoffrey III shared the title of viscount with his father, which indicates that he was identified with the title and may have assumed control of some of the pertaining properties. Inheritance in this generation was straightforward: Hugh and Agnes had only one son.²⁰⁹ The family remained one of the most powerful in the region during Geoffrey III's tenure. In 1114 Geoffrey III appeared with the lords of Fréteval and the Gouets as the *optimates* of Count Thibaut

207. Geoffrey was actually only the second viscount to carry this name. I have denominated him Geoffrey III to prevent any confusion between him and his uncle Geoffrey II of Perche.

208. *CMPD*, no. 165, pp. 155-6: Notum sit praesentibus et futuris maxime successoribus nostris Sancti Martini Majoris Monasterii monachis, quod Hugo vicecomes Castriduni, plurimum aggravatus infirmitate, qua et mortuus est, factus est monachus Sancti Martini, et sollicitus de salute animae suae, cogitabat ut per manus pauperum ante se aliquid beneficii praemitteret. Dedit itaque non solum pro se sed etiam pro salute parentum suorum beato Martino Majoris Monasterii et nobis, monachis ejusdem loci, in perpetuum habendum rotaticum de alodio Gilduini, solutum et quietum, sicut ipse tenebat. Et ut hoc donum firmum et stabile esset, fecit hoc concedere Gaufridum vicecomitem filium suum, qui etiam Gaufredus dedit ei fidem, et in fide osculatus est eum, quod teneret nobis elemosynam istam, et servaret in perpetuum, sicut ipse pater ejus nobis donaverat eam. Hoc quoque concessit Mithildis comitissa Vindocinensis, filia ejusdem Hugonis. Hoc etiam vidit et concessit Rotroldus de Monteforti, frater ejusdem Hugonis.

209. A similar situation had occurred in the second generation, where Mathilda of Châteaudun and Geoffrey of Perche had only one son.

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V.²¹⁰ The economic power and well-being of this family are evident in the many generous donations that Geoffrey III and his family made during the first third of the twelfth century. They restored tithes and gave grants of land to the Church, indicating exposure to the tenets of the Gregorian reform movement. In 1119 Geoffrey III gave the tithes from the major tolls, as well as the tithes from right of fodder, salt and his own money. His wife, his son Hugh and his two daughters Alpasia and Heloise concurred to this donation. Extended kin also participated. Geoffrey III's nephew Geoffrey, the son of the count of Vendôme and Mathilda of Châteaudun, consented to the gift. An affinal relative also witnessed the charter. Heloise, Geoffrey III's wife, was the daughter of the lord of Mondoubleau. One of her kinsmen, Rainbert of Mondoubleau, witnessed for them. Heloise not only consented to the gift but also acted with her husband in placing a symbol of it on the altar of Ste. Trinité of Tiron.²¹¹ Clearly this family honored the claims of wives, all children, and extended kin. Family organization and the corresponding claims were not linear or narrow but horizontal and open. Such a family configuration persisted into the 1120's. In 1125 Viscount Geoffrey III gave the abbey of Marmoutier four arpents of land in the cemetery of St. John and the pertaining tithes and granted immunity from customs. All progeny consented to the restoration of land and tithes, as did as Viscountess Heloise. Geoffrey III's cousin Count Rotrou II witnessed this charter. The claim of

10. *CMPD*, no. 94, pp. 84-5.

11. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 21, pp. 37-8: Libet scripto adnotari quod ego Gaufridus de Castroduno, pro anime mee, patris matrisque, uxoris atque filiorum meorum salute, necnon omnium parentum meorum remedio, dono Deo et monachis Tyroni decimam majorum teloneorum meorum, et decimam paagii quod se tenet cum majore teloneo, et decimam foragii et decimam mee monete proprie, et decimam salis, concedentibus uxore mea, Hugone filio meo et duabus filiabus meis Aupazia et Helvissa, atque nepote meo Gofredo, filio comitis Vindocinensis. Hujus rei sunt testes....Rainbert de Monte-Dubellos....Hanc elemosinam posuimus ego et Havis uxore mea super altare sancti-Salvatoris Tyronensis monasterii, presentibus, Gaufrido Carnotensi episcopo et Guillemo abbate predicti monasterii, et Bernardo capicerio et multis aliis. Hoc donum concessit Teobaudus comes, testibus istis....

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affinal kin and association with the comital branch of the family continued.²¹²

During the 1130's this family made additional gifts to Tiron. For instance, in 1131 Geoffrey III gave Gord and one carrucate of arable land near Gord. His wife, sons and daughters gave their consent to the gift.²¹³ Distant relatives of the Fréteval family, Geoffrey III's mother's family, witnessed this charter. Their presence may testify to the collateral and open nature of this family but may also be attributable to these Fréteval relatives' feudal relationship with the viscount. Similarly in 1133 Geoffrey III and Heloise donated extensive lands, woods, pasture and tithes to Tiron. In total this couple gave nine carrucates of land, all of their land at Bouffry and that next to the castle of Mondoubleau. The last portion of the gift had come into vicecomital family possession through Heloise as part of her dowry from her natal family, the lords of Mondoubleau. Pasturage and foraging were also granted, as well as the half of the tithes on their cash income from Châteaudun.²¹⁴ Geoffrey III and Heloise's

212. *CMPD*, no. 177, p. 169: Hoc etiam memoriae posterorum presenti scripto tradere curavimus quod Gaufredus vicecomes Castriduni dedit Deo et beato Martino quatuor arpenna terrae in cimiterio Beati Johannis, qui dicitur de Alba Via, libere et quiete sine aliqua consuetudine; cui donationi sive concessioni interfuit Gaufredus Carnotensis episcopus et Tetbaldus Blesensis comes, qui hoc ipsum auctoritate sua confirmaverunt. Quod concessit uxor ejus Helvisis, et duo filii ejus, Hugo et Paganus, cum duabus sororibus eorum, Alpasia et Helvisa. Concessit etiam nobis et dedit decimas ad ipsam ecclesiam pertinentes; hoc ipsum uxore et filiis et filiabus ejus supradictis concedentibus, et episcopo et comite auctorizantibus....Ex parte vicecomitis: Rotroudus comes de Pertico....

213. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 153, p. 176: Notum sit cunctis fidelibus quod ego Gaufridus, Castridunensis vicecomes, dedi Deo Salvatori et monachis de Tyron locum de Gorth, et dedi etiam eisdem monachis terram circa eundem locum quantum una carruca arare poterit, concedente uxore mea Helvissa et filiis meis Hugone et Pagano, et filiabus meis Alpes et Helvisa. Factum est hoc apud Castrumdunum, in domo Raginaudi de Spiers, anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXXXI, regnante Ludovico Philipi rege Francorum. Hujus rei testes sunt: Matheus Rufus....Girardus Diabolus....

214. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 185, pp. 207-8: Predictus vicecomes et ejus uxor venerabilis, divine remuneracionis spe et intuitu concitati et de suorum antecessorum salute solliciti, abbatem et conventum predicti monasterii postulaverunt ut in loco suo proprio constitueretur. Cui conventui dederunt predictus vicecomes et uxor ejus ad Fontem-Radulfi quatuor carrucas terre, et ad buinonium Esgrenne fluvii duas carrucas, et ex altera parte ejusdem rivi alias duas carrucas terre et totam terram de Planis-

children all consented to the charter, and his distant cousin Girard Diabolus acted as a witness. The claim of all progeny to their parents' possessions is evident in the required approval of both sons and daughters. In addition, two of Heloise's natal relatives, her sister Agnes and her nephew William of La Porcherie, also witnessed. Because this part of the gift pertained to Heloise's dowry lands near Mondoubleau, the participation and assent of her natal kin was evidently necessary. The donations made by Geoffrey III and Heloise indicate their generosity to the Church and reflect their family wealth.

In addition to having extended kin participate in their charters, Geoffrey III's wife and children also affirmed the transactions of their distant relative Girard Diabolus. Around 1127 he donated to Tiron the lands which he held at Choudri and Auvilliers. Geoffrey III, Heloise and their sons confirmed the gift and promised, along with

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Baufredi, et juxta castrum Montis-Dublelli unam carrucatam terre que vocatur Fossa-Roberti. Et notum sit omnibus hominibus quod istas supradictas terras ita liberas et quietas dederunt sicut prius ipsi tenebant, et concesserunt pasturam nemorum suorum omnibus animalibus habitancium in his locis, excepto defenso suo, et cursum omnium nemorum suorum propriis porcis monachorum absque pasnagio. Et concesserunt omnia nemora sua habitatoribus horum locorum ad edificandum et calefaciendum. Dederunt etiam dimidiam partem decime nummorum redditus Castriduni, quam prius totam Tyronio monasterio dederant. Tali autem condicione ista dedit et concessit supradictus vicecomes et uxor ejus ut ibidem conventus in perpetuum haberetur. Hec autem facta sunt anno ab incarnatione Domini MC tricesimo tercio, Castriduni, in aula sua, filiis et filiabus suis concedentibus Hugone, Huberto, Aupeza, Heloisa, regnante Ludovico rege Francorum, et Goffredo existente consule Andegavensium. Istis videntibus et audientibus quorum nomina subscripta sunt:....Girardus Diabolus....Guillelmus de Porcheria, nepos Heloise vicecomitis....Agnes soror vicecomitis.

In a footnote the editor states that instead of Hubert this child should be labelled Pagan. Since, to my knowlege, Geoffrey II had no son named Hubert this would seem reasonable. Charles Métails states in a footnote in *JOSAPHAT*, p. 65, that Hugh III is labeled *primogenitus* in a charter from St. Trinité of Vendôme. His brother Pagan is also called "Isbertus Paganus" which demonstrates that the Hugh in the above charter was in fact Geoffrey II's son Pagan.

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Girard's brother, to defend it from any false claims.²¹⁵ About two years later, when Girard's brother Pagan of Frouville arranged to exchange his land at Choudri and Auvilliers for that at Lesanville, Viscount Geoffrey III, Heloise, Hugh, Pagan, Alpasia and Heloise all consented to the exchange. Pagan's cousin also participated by pledging his oath.²¹⁶ Geoffrey III is not referred to as Pagan's feudal lord, so his participation and that of his family was probably due to their family relationship to Pagan. Like Ursio of Fréteval, the viscount of Châteaudun was Pagan's cousin and the inclusion of such kin testifies to the breadth of their kin network and the collateral nature of their family.

The family of Viscount Geoffrey III also acted in their vassals' charters.²¹⁷ Around 1128 Rainald of Espiers and his wife Ada gave Tiron all the land they possessed at *Monte Simphoriano*, a mill on the L'Aigre river, with vines, meadow and all that they held at the same place. Geoffrey III consented, along with his wife and all of his children.²¹⁸ About 1131 the viscount, Heloise and their sons consented to a gift

215. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 87, pp. 107-8; for the text of this charter, see Appendix II, p. 577, note 9. It is possible that Viscount Geoffrey III and his family were included because they were Girard Diabolus' feudal lords. Yet they are not labeled as such in this charter.

216. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 109, pp. 129-30; for the text of this charter, see Appendix II, p. 594, note 9.

217. Geoffrey III also witnessed and consented to charters on his own. For example, in 1116 he witnessed the gift by his vassal Helisend Legadocta (*CMPD*, no. 167, pp. 158-9). Around 1130 Robert of Villarcél quitclaimed his dispute in the presence of the viscount (*JOSAPHAT*, no. 57, p. 79). Geoffrey III also witnessed Salmon Pasinets' quitclaim of land at Limoron. Participating in the charter with Geoffrey II were his cousins, Ursio of Freteval, Pagan of Frouville and a Flagellus relative, all relatives from his mother's side of the family (*JOSAPHAT*, no. 93, p. 118).

218. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 98, pp. 118-9: Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego Rainaudus de Spiers et uxor mea Ada damus Deo Salvatori de Tyron et monachis ibi Deo servientibus totam terram illam quam habebamus in Monte-Symphoriano, sicut partitur cum terra Johannis de Secorel, et ex alia parte partitur cum monachis Sancti-Karilefi. Necnon damus eis quoddam molendinum in Egrea, cum omnibus pratis et vineis et viridario et omnia ille que illic habebamus. Hoc donum concessit Goffredus Castriduni vicecomes, et Helvis uxor ejus, et filii ejus,

to Tiron by another vassal, Aimeric of Bouffry, of the land and woods that he held in fief.²¹⁹ Alpasia and Heloise, the daughters of Geoffrey III and Heloise, did not take part in these transactions, which may indicate a restriction in their claim to family's possessions. Moreover, while all of Heloise's and Geoffrey III's children were included in many charters, the eldest was identified increasingly with his parents in authority over the patrimony. For instance, Hugh alone acted with his parents in confirming their vassals' gifts. He eventually succeeded his father to the patrimony. His participation in these charters reflects his position as his father's heir and presumably the eldest son. Around 1130 Geoffrey III, Heloise and Hugh consented to a gift by William of Villarceau to Notre Dame de Josaphat of land at Verdois. Hugh also gave a quadrate of his own land.²²⁰ Around 1143 Hugh was once again the only child to act with his parents the reconfirmation of this gift.²²¹ While he enjoyed a

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Hugo, Paganus et Aupes et Helvis filie.

Rainald of Espiers frequently appeared as a witness for Viscount Geoffrey III and was present at many of his courts, indicating that he was a vassal of Geoffrey III and his family.

219. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 157, pp. 179-80; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 296, note 5.

220. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 47, pp. 65-6: Miles quidam, Guillelmus de Villa-Arcelli vocatus, terram quandam in Dunensi territorio ex jure paterne hereditatis habebat, circa locum qui Fons-Viridis vulgariter appellatur, quam agricolari quiete calumpniatorum quorundam prohibebat improbitas....Hujusmodi prolucutionibus assentiente Guillelmo, quoniam terra de feuodo vicecomitis Castridunensis erat, ipsius primitus visa est expetenda concessio. Itaque cum apud Castrudunum esset Carnotensis episcopus Gaufredus in ecclesia Beate-Marie, loquens cum vicecomite Gaufrede et uxore ejus Helvise, precatus est illos de concessione terre hujus: qui, precibus ejus gratantissime faventes, ibidem coram multitudine tam cleri quam laicorum ad sermonem episcopi convenientium, per manum episcopi et per nostram, Girardi scilicet prefati monasterii abbatis, terram illam de Fonte-Viridi nostro monasterio pariter utique concesserunt; sed et filius eorum puerulus Hugo subsequenter ob suam concessionem arietem unum quadricornem, quem nos habere audierat. sibi transmitti peciit et habuit.

221. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 124, p. 156: Guillelmus de Villarcel dedit totam terram quam habebat apud Fontem-Viridem, Gaufridus vicecomes Castriduni et Helvisis uxor ejus et Hugo filius eorum quicquid ibi sui juris erat, omnino concesserunt.

This charter consists of reconfirmations of many gifts made to the abbey by various nobles.

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special role in the family, his siblings were not completely disenfranchised from the patrimony. Indeed, Pagan, Alpasia and Heloise frequently participated in charters with their parents and kin. It is possible that the absence of Heloise and Alpasia in later charters is attributable to their marriages. Once married and endowed, they might no longer have exercised a right to their natal family possessions. If this was indeed the case, then it represents a departure from custom, for their aunt and mother both continued to have a claim to their natal patrimonies after their marriages. Hugh clearly played a different role in the family, one that accorded him more influence and authority.

Geoffrey III followed the traditional arrangements for the disposition of property and titles. His first son, Hugh, was designated as heir to the viscounty, but his other son was not excluded from a claim to the family lands. The second son, Pagan, inherited the lordship of Mondoubleau through his mother. Geoffrey III's daughters were undoubtedly suitably dowried. Yet indications of tension over resources emerge during the tenure of Viscount Geoffrey III and accelerated during the succeeding generation. In either 1111 or 1112 Geoffrey III falsely claimed the corn rent due from Stephen of *Vetrei Alona*. The monks' plea was taken to the court of Count Thibaut IV, who found in their favor. It was decreed that Geoffrey III had to pay a fine of sixty *librae*.²²² His attempt to claim these rents suggests that the vicecomital

222. *CMPD*, no. 93, pp. 83-4: Poteris nostris notum fieri volumus quod Gaufredus, Dunensis vicecomes, mortuo patre suo, annonam Stephani de Veteri Alona, quae erat in alodio Sancti Martini capere volens, misit famulos suos ad domum, ubi erat archa cum annona, et invenerunt ipsam archam firmatam....Postea vero ipse Gaufredus vicecomes volens iterum annonam ipsam capere, pro qua Furrerius legem suam monacho emendaverat, misit ad monachum ipsum et mandavit ei, ut annonam quae erat in archa pro qua Furrerius legem suam emendaverat, ei reddere faceret. Tunc monachus mandavit ei, quod annonam Stephani de Vetrei Alona neque reddere, neque tradere ei faceret, quia Stephanus annonam suam quiete et pacifice in alodio Sancti Martini posuerat, ideo ipse Stephanus quiete et pacifice annonam suam de alodio Sancti Martini reportaret ubi vellet. Tunc iratus Gaufredus vicecomes misit famulos suos ad domum, ubi annona erat et totam annonam illa de alodio, per vim aportare fecit. Unde clamore facto comiti. Protinus Thetbaudus comes Gaufredum vicecomi-

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family required or desired additional sources of revenue, an indication of impoverishment and also of preference for monetary wealth. Geoffrey III also needed land. Sometime before 1130 he seized a portion of the land of Verdois from Josaphat. The monks, however, petitioned both Count Thibaut IV and Bishop Geoffrey to send the viscount missives stating that the property in dispute belonged to them. When presented with the letters Viscount Geoffrey III admitted his claim was unjust and conceded the property to the monks in perpetuity.²²³ Witnessing the quitclaim were some of his vassals, but also some distant Fréteval cousins. Pagan of Frouville's sons, Pagan, Hugh, William of Plessis, as well as Matthew Rufus, were witnesses.²²⁴ A member

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tem, pro infractione alodii, apud Carnotum de rectitudine facienda submonuit. Die igitur consitutita placitandi, Gaufredus vicecomes apud Carnotum, in curiam comitis venit et auditis utrinque causis iudices, qui astaverunt, judicaverunt quod Gaufredus vicecomes archam ipsam annona plenam restitueret, ac redderet, et pro infractione alodii sexaginta libras comiti atque monacho emendaret. Hoc iudicium Gaufridus vicecomes concedens, sexaginta libras comiti ac monacho emendavit.

223. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 59, pp. 81-2: Tam existentium presentie quam posterorum tradimus noticie quod Gaufredus, vicecomes Castridunensis, instigatus non sano consilio clientum suorum, calumpniatus est de terra Fontis-Verdensis vallem unam ab omni parte relinqua terra circumclusam, dicens se retinuisse eam pro pascuis, cum jam pluribus annis monachi monasterii Josaphat eam pro sua sicut reliquam terram quiete possedissent, et domum in ea et ortos et prata et quecumque visa sunt utilia sine contradictione aliqua edificassent et collegissent. Cum ergo violentia dominationis ejus super hac calumnia que non jure sed injuria fiebat abbas et monachi terrentur et perturbarentur, eligentes apud illum suaviter potius quam fortiter agere, quesierunt apud comitem Teobaldum et apud episcopum Carnotensem Gaufredum ut singuli litteras suas precatorias eidem vicecomiti transmitterent, quatinus beneficium suum ex integro monasterio Josaphat habere et possidere ob suarum precum gratiam concederet et permetteret sicut jam diu possedisset. Quas litteras cum abbas prefati monasterii Girardus apud Castrumdunum illi in cubiculo aule sue presentasset, et ille sibi legi et exponi fecisset mitigatus jus eorum et ecclesie sue recognovit, et coram omnibus qui aderant confessus est, et ne quid ulterius mali de hoc contingeret totam illam vallem quam calumpniando injuste reclamaverat liberam deinceps et quietam abbati et monachis et monasterio Josaphat proclamavit et iterata concessione confirmavit. Testes....Godeschaldus legis-doctus, Paganus de Plessitio, Hugo de Plessitio, Guillelmus de Plessitio, Odo de Plessitio. Guillelmus de Porcheria...Matheus Rufus....

224. Pagan of Frouville's brother was Girard Diabolus, who was lord of Plessis. When he died or entered the Church, Pagan's sons inherited this lordship from him. For further discussion of this family and their connection to the Frétevals and the viscounts of Châteaudun, see Appendix II.

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of the Mondoubleau line, Geoffrey III's wife's nephew William of La Porcherie, was also present. In spite of Geoffrey III's abandonment, his sons Hugh and Pagan continued to dispute the arrangement and claim the land. Both eventually conceded the gift upon a stone before the castle of Châteaudun. These brothers acted jointly in refusing the gift, signaling that Hugh and Pagan were equally threatened by the loss of these properties and that they shared interest in the patrimony. Even though the eldest was the future viscount, the other was not excluded from a share of family holdings.²²⁵

In either 1137 or 1138 Viscount Geoffrey III was imprisoned by Ursio of Fréteval. The circumstances surrounding this incarceration unfortunately are not clear. During his imprisonment, Hugh assumed responsibility for the viscounty. While acting for Geoffrey III, Hugh confirmed all of the gifts that he and "venerable Heloise" had made to the Church.²²⁶ Included were land, meadow, woods, water, and mills. In contrast to this generosity, Viscount Geoffrey III and his sons had usurped property from the Church and contested various donations. Ultimately in 1145 Geoffrey, his sons and their castle were placed under excommunication and Christian

225. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 60, pp. 82-3: Quoniam pravorum nequitia jam plurimum convalescit et justorum simplicitas deridetur et habetur contemptui, ob cavendas subdolorum versutias et terendas impiorum pervicacias, breviter per litteras memorie posterorum commendare disponimus quod Hugo et Paganus qui et Ibertus fratres, qui calumpniabant donum quod pater eorum Gaufridus vicecomes fecerat de Viridi-Fonte, hoc concesserunt ad petram ante turrem castri Dunensis.

226. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 215, pp. 242-3: Noscat universalis ecclesia quod domnus Hugo, venerabilis Gaufridi Castriduni vicecomitis filius, in anno quo pater ipsius, predictus Gaufridus, apud Fracta-Vallem, in carcere Ursionis tenebatur, concessit nobis Tyronii monachis quecumque de feodo patris sui et matris sue venerande Heloyse usque ad tempus illud habueramus, in terris, in pratis, in bosco, in aquis, in molendinis, in redditu et universaliter in omnibus, si qua que in his non contineantur inveniri poterint alia. His videlicet signis quod, quodam die festo Theophanie ipsius anni quo supradictus ejus pater G[aufridis] in captione supradicta custodiebatur, convenerunt apud Tyronium ut de placito suo in medium conferrent iste Hugo, Gaufridi filius, cum matre sua Heloysa, et Vindocini comes Gaufridus, et filius ejus Gaufridus, et Silvester de Sancto-Karilelfo et Hebradus Putisatii dominus, et alii quorum subscribuntur nomina:...

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religious life was sharply restricted. As Geoffrey III was dying, his wife and son Hugh reached a pact with the monks of Tiron. Geoffrey and his sons made restitution for the numerous aggravations and misdeeds that they had inflicted.²²⁷ The malefactions to which the charter refers were undoubtedly the vicecomital seizures and disruptions of church lands. This family paid a steep price for its avariciousness and obstreperousness. The few usurpations and claims made to church lands attest to the power of this vicecomital family. Given the extent of the family's recent ecclesiastical donations, it is possible that economic or territorial preservation was the imperative. Yet it seems more probable that this behavior was not driven by financial desperation, but rather by the general aggressiveness of the medieval nobility. The First Crusade was launched in response to this problem and to channel these bellicose tendencies away from Europe.

Geoffrey III died shortly after 1145 and Hugh III succeeded him as viscount. Pagan inherited the lordship of Mondoubleau from Heloise. In 1166 Hugh III and his wife Margaret affirmed a gift to Tiron made at Mondoubleau by Matthew of Lan-

227. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 269, pp. 38-40: Notum sit omnibus fidelibus quod ego Gaufridus, Dei gratia, Carnotensis epsicopus, et ecclesia nostra, pro multis dampnis que nobis et fratribus nostris monachis Tyronensibus fecerant, excommunicavimus Gaufridum, Castriduni vicecomitem, et filios ejus Hugonem et Paganum et castrum eorum, videlicet tam terribiliter ut nec vivi christianitatem ullam nec mortui haberent sepulturam. Moriente itaque predicto Gaufrido vicecomite apud Carontum et facto Tyronensis ecclesie monacho, uxor ejus Helois vicecomitissa et filius eorum Hugo pacem fecerunt cum prefatis monachis, per manum meam et per manum Richerii Dunensis archidiaconi: hoc videlicet modo ut quia comes Teobaudus suis de causis eos adgravabat et redditus eorum in propria manu retinebat, monachi dampna que sibi continuo deberent restitui in hujusmodi respectum posuerunt, et predictus quamdiu cum monachis pacem veram haberet et omnia que ad ipsos pertinenet fideliter custodiret de fidei quam proinde in manu mea affidere non distulit illesam inviolatamque severaret, ipsi predicta dampna non repeterent....Nec illud silendum est quod predictus Hugo et mater Helois propterea monachos ad faciendam pacem mitiores invenerunt quod semetipsos ad sepulturam Tyronensi ecclesie dederunt, et quicquid de feodo eorum usque ad tempus illud monachi habuerant, quamvis jam multociens concessissent, tunc demum eis quiete et in pace possidere concesserunt.

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geais.²²⁸ In 1175 Hugh gave to Marmoutier woods he possessed in Vendôme with the consent of his second wife Johanna and their son Geoffrey. Each was granted a counter-gift of ten *librae*.²²⁹ Pagan of Mondoubleau also made a donation to the abbey of Tiron. Toward the end of the century he gave the right to fish caught from the Loir River for the remedy of his soul and those of his relatives. Viscount Hugh III approved the gift and sealed the charter.²³⁰ It is significant that Hugh consented to Pagan's donation, but not the reverse. The consent of the eldest son seems to have been particularly necessary, while that of the younger brother was not required to approve gifts made by the viscount. A similar situation had occurred among some of the knightly families of the region, an indication of an increasingly primogenitary form of inheritance. A new strategy of inheritance and control of family property developed which delineated branches in the family more sharply.

For the most of the twelfth century, the family of the viscounts of Châteaudun enjoyed extensive wealth and correspondingly honored many claims to the patrimony.

228. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 321, pp. 93-4: Hec autem omnia, ne aliquis posterorum violare presumeret, sicut in presenti pagina et in litteris cum cyrographo partitis sigillo Capituli Tyronensis sigillatis continentur, ego Hugo, vicecomes Castriduni, concedente Margarita uxore mea, sigilli mei munimine roboravi.

229. *CMPD*, no. 185, p. 176: Notum sit tam futuris quam presentibus quod ego Hugo Castriduni vicecomes in perpetuum dedi et concessi Deo et ecclesiae Beati Martini Majoris Monasterii terram nemoris Vindocinensis, quod venditum est inter Romilliacum et Calviniacum sicut illa dividitur a terris sanctimonialium templariorum et Leprosorum ad costumias et redibitiones quas dominus Montis Doblui et dominis Boscheti et praedicti nemoris participes capiunt in eadem terra de Calviniano.... Ego vero Hugo, vicecomes Castriduni, rogatu supradictorum hoc in manu cepi ad defendendum et protegendum super feodis quos ipsi de me tenent et inde habui tria milia solidorum. Johanna vicecomitissa, uxore mea, et Gaufridus filius noster, pro hoc ipso concedendo habuerunt X libras.

230. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 334, pp. 110-1: Ego Paganus de Monte-Dublelli omnibus notum facio quod, amore Dei et pro remedio anime mee et parentum meorum salute, dedi et concessi in perpetuum monachis de Buca-Ugrie anguillas et minutam in piscatoria mea quam habeo apud Sanctum-Karileppum, scilicet de maceria Jupeelli usque in Ligerum, in qua piscatoria predicti monachi, de dono patris mei, totum album piscem habere tenenter.... Et ut hoc ratum haberetur et firmum, feci H[ugoni] vicecomiti, fratri meo, concedere et sigilli sui impressione et mei pariter communiri.

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Viscount Hugh II and his son Geoffrey III were exceedingly generous to the churches of the region, making large grants of land and restoring churches and tithes. The ultimate result of their piety was unfortunately a weakened resource base. By the generation of Hugh III and Pagan signs of a change in family formation are evident. While the patrimony had been divided, Hugh, as eldest son, assumed a more prominent and powerful role in the family. His consent was required to all donations, but he was able to make donations without consulting his brother. The branches of the family, specifically the comital branch, did not participate in the transactions of either Hugh or Pagan, attesting to a narrowing of family structure as well.

The Counts of Perche

Viscount Hugh II's brother Geoffrey II succeeded their father Rotrou I as count of Perche. His tenure was very brief, and he appears in the charters as count only once, in an act of his brother the viscount of Châteaudun. Since Geoffrey II and Beatrix had only one son, succession was simple. Rotrou II became count and assumed control of his father's patrimony. Like his uncle, Count Rotrou II was a very generous ecclesiastical patron. In 1114 he founded the abbey of St. Trinité at Tiron, a considerable financial undertaking. Bishop Ivo acted together with the count to establish this monastery. Rotrou II was probably influenced by one of the most dedicated of the Gregorian reformers to found this institution. The abbey was originally to be located near the family seat of Nogent-le-Rotrou. His mother, Beatrix, however, insisted that the new abbey not be established so close by. She feared that the new abbey would provide competition for St. Denis of Nogent-le-Rotrou, a Cluniac foundation. Many religious institutions in the county of Perche had extensive ties to the reform movement. St. Denis of Nogent-Le-Rotrou was a Cluniac possession, and Bernard of Tiron was an exceedingly pious cleric who precipitated the

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creation of Tiron abbey. He had come to Perche to flee the secular world and create a pure and uncorrupted religious community. Bernard found in Count Rotrou II a willing sponsor who provided the land, prebends, immunities and other resources to the abbey.²³¹ Four years later in 1118 the count restored to Tiron tithes that he collected on fish, mill ponds, mills, granges and from all of his property.²³² Like his earlier acts, this gift illumines Rotrou II's piety and the impact that the preachings of the reformers had on a member of the nobility.

In these early transactions, none of Rotrou II's family participated, but beginning around 1120 his immediate and extended kin witnessed and consented to dona-

231. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 2, pp. 13-4: Quod ego Ivo, Carnotensis ecclesie humilis minister, pio affectu considerans, scripture monumento notum facio omnibus orthodoxis ecclesie filiis tam presentibus quam futuris quod Rotocus, nobilis et strenuus Mauritanie comes, humilitatis nostre presentiam adierit, postulans ut consecraremus cujusdam cenobii cimiterium quod situm est super rivum qui Tyron vocatur, ad usum quorundam religiosorum monachorum, qui in eodum loco heremiticam vitam ducere elegerant et monasterium ibi pro loci temporis oportunitate construxerant. Nos itaque tanti viri pie petitioni assensum prebentes, pretaxatum locum in usum cimiterii eademtaxat conditione consecravimus ut nulla ibi de cetero secularis potestas aliquas seculares consuetudines accipiat, nullas exactiones extorqueat. Cui conditioni pretaxatus comes benigne assentiens, rem cumulatius quam peteretur exhibuit, predictae libertati addens ut quicquid de feuodo ejus eidem loco concederetur eadem immunitate potiretur. Nos igitur ad conservandam tranquillitatem servorum Dei, prefatam locum cum appenditiis ejus, ad petitionem predicti comitis, in tuitionem sancte Carnotensis ecclesie et nostram paterne suscepimus, et pervasores eorum atque destructores ante tribunal eterni judicis terribiliter condemnandos esse denuntiamus, et in hac temporali ecclesia sine cujus communione ad illam eternam perveniri non potest, eos a corpore et sanguine Christi et ejusdem ecclesie communione sequestramus, donec resipuerint et Christi patrimonium reformare humili satisfactione studuerint. Conservantibus autem et idem Christi patrimonium amplificantibus benedictio et pax a domino Jesu Christo, qui cum esset dives pro nobis pauper factus est ut nos sua paupertate ditaret et sua infirmitate sanaret.

232. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 17, pp. 31-2: Rotocus, comes Perticensis, omnibus ministris meis in comitatu meo Perticensi, salutem; Noveritis me, intuitu pietatis, dedisse monachis Tironensibus dilectissimis meis decimam piscationum omnium stannorum meorum, et decimam etiam utilitatis et obventionum omnium molendinorum meorum, decimam etiam omnium reddituum meorum, ratione totius mei comitatus, tam in granis quam in peccuniis venientium et quarumcumque aliarum obventionum. Quare vobis mando quod ipsas decimas de omnibus, ut premissum est, eis absque quacumque retentione de cetero persolvatis; eas enim per me et successores im perpetuum eis volo solvi; unde has litteras karactere meo communitas eis duxi concedendas.

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tions. About this time Count Rotrou II gave even more property and tithes to the monks of Tiron. The gift, which was made for his soul and those of his relatives, consisted of salt in Mortagne, the tithes from the corn from all of his storehouses, the right of pannage for pigs in his woods, the *mediatoria* of the mill and pond at Arcisses, and land at *Luxvillat* with the chapel and its endowment.²³³ Rotrou II's sister Juliana and her son Richer signed and witnessed the charter, as well as their uncle Robert *Manda Guerram*. The consent of these kin indicate their claim to the patrimony. Juliana, in particular, played an important role in the family. When Rotrou II went to Spain to fight for his cousin King Alphonse IV of Navarre and Aragon, she assumed control of the county.²³⁴ Sometime in the first two decades of the twelfth century Rotrou II married Mathilda, one of King Henry I's illegitimate offspring, who died in the tragedy of the White Ship in 1120. They had only one child, a daughter Philippa, who married Helias of Anjou. Rotrou II did remarry and had several more children, but not until later in the 1120's. At the time of the above act, therefore,

233. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 22, pp. 39-40: Ego Rotroucus, comes Perticensium, dono Deo et monachis Tyronis, pro anima mea et animabus parentum meorum, unam magnam somam salis apud Mauritaniam, in unaquaque ebdomada perpetuo habendam, et decimam annone omnium horreorum meorum. Dono etiam monachis supradictis omnia nemora mea ad domos suas faciendas et ad suum ardere, et cursum porcorum suorum, et pasturam peccorum suorum, et mediteriam de Arsiz, cum stagno et molendino, et vallem que est justa Luxvillat citra quam, et capellam cum viridario. Signum Rotroci + Signum Juliane +. Signum Richerii +. Hoc donum factum fuit in plenario capitulo, Goffredo episcopo Carnotensium presente. Cujus rei testes est ipse. Hujus rei sunt testes: Juliana soror mea, et Richerius filius ejus; Gauterius archidiaconus...Robertus Mandeguerra....

234. Rotrou II's mother, Beatrix, was the daughter of Count Gui of Rochefort. One of her sisters, Felicia, married King Sancho of Aragon. Their son succeeded him and became the king of both Aragon and Navarre (*TIRON*, vol. I, p. 140, note 1).

A footnote in the cartulary of Tiron makes reference to a charter that states: "Juliana, quae tunc temporis terram de Pertico in manu tenebat, comite in Hispania morante" (*TIRON*, vol. I, p. 39, note 1). Rotrou II left for Spain around 1118. Between 1125 and 1130 he confirmed a gift made by one of his vassals who had accompanied him on this crusade (*TIRON*, vol. I, no. 118, pp. 139-40). Juliana was married to Gilbert of Laigle and had several children. Their eldest son Richer was born early in the twelfth century and frequently participated in his uncle Rotrou II's charters.

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Juliana, Robert *Manda Guerram* and Richer would have been Rotrou II's heirs.²³⁵

Philippa appeared in only one of her father's transactions. Around 1120 Rotrou II reconfirmed his very generous gift made previously to the abbey of Arcisses. Extensive land and other properties were granted, including a chapel and all buildings that pertained to it, extensive lands, ponds and mills, ovens, pasture and vines. Philippa and her husband Helias consented to the gift, while Juliana and Robert *Manda Guerram* acted as witnesses.²³⁶ The participation of Philippa and Helias demonstrates her claim to the patrimony. As Rotrou II's only child she could expect to inherit a large portion of her father's lands, if not all. Yet Philippa consented to only one of Rotrou II's many gifts. Given the presence of Richer and Robert in some of these same grants, it is possible that they would have been the preferred heirs. Traditionally the women in this family exercised a legitimate right to family lands, which is evident in the participation of Juliana and her mother Beatrix in the charters. Even though married and dowried, Juliana still played a vital role in determining the future of her natal family's property. Moreover, Juliana ran the county and took charge of her nephew during Rotrou II's absence. There were male kin, specifically their uncle Viscount

235. Around 1130 Richer confirmed a donation by one of his own vassals, William of Fontenil (See *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 138, pp. 163-4).

236. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 33, pp. 53-5: Hoc precipue aliisque preceptis quamplurimus tandem excitatus, ego, Perticensis comes, Rotrocius, quadam forte die, dum apud Nongentum, in aula plenaria, mea circostante curia, residerem omnia que antea monachis Tyronensibus apud Arsitiis commanentibus, pro amore divino et pro salute anime mee meorumque antecessorum, donaveram, assensu generis mei Helie filieque mee Philippe, cum presentium baronum auctoritate totiusque presentis curie, concessi, corroboravi, confirmavi. Hec igitur ut omnium tenatius recondantur memoria, divisim per singula subscribantur capitula; capella videlicet de Arsitiis cum omnibus edificiis eidem capelle pertinentibus; medietaria quoque mea propria sicut dividitur a terra Radulfi de Caritate; terra etiam de Soillato....aqua etiam Dilugie a stagno Brenellie usque ad Auseam....aqua quoque Ausee a molendino de Crononio usque ad molendinum de Margonio; decimaque furni Ferrerie; pastura etiam boum in nemore meo quod Perticus dicitur et ad carrucas faciendas queque necessaria; mortua quoque ligna ejusdem nemoris ad calefaciendum et ad construendum quicquid vineis comprehenditur esse necessarium;....Hujus rei testes sunt: Juliana, soror mea, et Garinus Capreolus; Robertus Mandeguerra....

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Hugh II of Châteaudun, who could have assumed this role. The fact that it passed, seemingly unchallenged, to Juliana is further proof of the power that women enjoyed in this family.

Rotrou II died sometime early in the 1130's. Prior to his death, he confirmed all the donations that he had made in his lifetime to the abbey of Tiron. His mother Beatrix, his second wife Mathilda and sister Juliana consented to the donation and participated in the charter.²³⁷ Rotrou II and Mathilda had evidently yet to have any children, since none are mentioned. Rotrou II promised that none of his future heirs would bring a claim to the gift and corroborated this guarantee with his seal. This act represents the first time such an admonition was included in Perche family charters. Rotrou II had been exceedingly generous to the Church, the abbey of Tiron in particular, which may have significantly weakened the counts' resources. Rotrou II evidently expected or feared that his descendants might attempt to claim these gifts, that they would not be content with the remaining patrimony. The count made explicit reference to heirs in the plural, an indication that more than one person could expect to inherit. Several relatives must have exercised a claim to Rotrou's lands to account for this designation.

237. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 106, pp. 125-6: Quum Scripture Sacre veridica assertione luce clarius constet eos qui terrena pro Christo in presenti largiuntur eterne in futuro beatitudinis gloria remunerari, ego Rotrocus, Perticensium comes, eorum qui tam felici tamque optabili mercede donabuntur consors fieri desiderans, pro salute anime mee antessorumque meorum, matre mea Beatrice et Maltide [*sic*] uxore concedentibus, quedam beneficia, qui divisim per singula subscribuntur capitula, monachis Sancti-Salvatoris de Tyron in perpetuam elemosinam largitus sum. Que ne aliquis heredum meorum falsis calumpniis avellere vel temera improbitate pervertere posset, presenti scripto memorie commendari meique sigilli auctoritate confirmari et corroborari precepi.... Illud quoque non pretereundum qua exaltationi et amplificationi supranominate ecclesie summo cum desiderio, ob spem future remunerationis, ardentem inhians, sepe dicta matre mea et uxore mea Matilde atque sorore mea Juliana id ipsum suadentibus, id ipsum concedentibus, concessi memoratis monachis quicquid in toto feodo meo possent a me vel ab aliis acquirere, dono vel etiam emptione, libere et absolute et absque ulla exactione et seculari consuetudine habere in perpetuum et possidere; et illum similiter liberum qui domos eorum inhabitaret et que ipsorum forent custodiret....

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In addition to his own donations, Count Rotrou II also consented to and confirmed those made by his vassals and kin. Around 1114 Count Gui of Rochefort, Rotrou II's cousin, desired to go to Jerusalem and gave a *mulam* with an annual worth of twenty *solidi*. Count Rotrou II and his mother Beatrix witnessed this donation. Beatrix, like her own daughter Juliana, maintained an association with her natal family and their property.²³⁸ Around 1125 Rotrou, his mother and his wife consented to a donation made by Ernald Malbouvier.²³⁹ The frequent inclusion of Rotrou II's mother, sister and wife in family transactions indicates their importance in the family. They clearly had a right to the family lands and acted with Rotrou II in transactions pertaining to them. His daughter Philippa, however, did not participate in family charters, suggesting a change in family policy. Furthermore, Rotrou II had at least two other sisters who, unlike the eldest, Juliana, never took part in any of these transactions. In 1130 Juliana and Rotrou both consented to a donation made by one of their vassals, Hugh of Baugny, which provides further evidence of her unique and powerful position in the comital family.²⁴⁰ The absence of Philippa and her other aunts is curious.

Succession in the next generations is not as straightforward as was the case

238. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 6, p. 17: In nomine Domini, ego Guido, comes Rocheforti, cum vellem ire Jerosolimis, commendans me ipsum orationibus piissimi patris Bernardi, scilicet abbatis Tyronii, et ejus conventus, dedi illis in capitulo Tyronii unam molam viginti solidorum per singulos annos, quicquid magis vellent vel nummos vel molam, de redditibus Rocheforti. Hujus rei testes: Rotroucus comes Perticensis, et Beatrix comitissa, mater ejusdem....Gauterius Sine-Napis et Robertus frater ejus....

239. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 64, p. 84: Notum sit omnibus quod ego Ernaldus Malboverius, volens esse monachus de Tyron, divisione facta cum uxore mea et filiis de pratis que habebam in lineis Prati-Morini, suscepi ad meam partem III arpenna que contuli monasterio de Tyronio perpetuo possidenda, et Willelmus filius meus, postea monachus factus, dedit eidem monasterio pratum quod est inter Pratellum et laberiam Prati-Morini. Hoc concessit comes Rotroucus, de cujus feudo erat, et mater ejus, et uxor sua Matildis.

240. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 120, p. 142: for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 339, note 109.

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with the preceding counts. Rotrou II and his second wife Mathilda had three sons, Geoffrey, Rotrou and Stephen. A charter from the cartulary of St. Denis of Nogent-le-Rotrou records that Count Rotrou II witnessed a donation with his son Geoffrey.²⁴¹ Yet Geoffrey did not succeed his father to the county; or, if he ever became count, none of his acts are extant. The same cartulary contains a charter from 1160 by "Count Rotrou son of Count Rotrou." Rotrou III married Elizabeth the daughter of Count Thibaut IV of Blois-Chartres and had two sons, Geoffrey and Stephen.²⁴² By 1193 Geoffrey III was count and was referred to as the nephew of Bishop Robert Blanche Mains, further substantiating the marriage alliance between the comital families of Perche and Blois-Chartres.²⁴³ In 1196 Count Geoffrey III quit-claimed his right to the church at Chuisnes. His brother Stephen, wife Mathilda and son Geoffrey consented.²⁴⁴ The custom of honoring the rights of all sons to the patrimony continued into the end of the century.

The counts of Perche, like the vicecomital branch of the family, enjoyed vast wealth and influence. While Geoffrey II and Viscount Hugh II had shared inheritance of the family fiefs, it is not possible to determine if this was the practice for later generations of the counts. Rotrou II succeeded his father, but his eldest sister Juliana managed the county during his absence on the Iberian crusades. Yet since Rotrou II's other sisters were absent in the charters, perhaps only the eldest daughter enjoyed such prerogatives. The family configuration was neither linear nor narrowed. Extended kin's participation attests to an open and horizontal family structure. Furthermore, the counts of Perche and the viscounts of Châteaudun continued to appear in each

241. *DENIS*, no. 64, pp. 145-6.

242. *DENIS*, no. 12, p. 41. This charter refers to him as the brother-in-law of Count Thibaut V, establishing his marriage to Elizabeth.

243. *DENIS*, no. 100, p. 198, no. 93, pp. 188-90, and no. 90, pp. 181-4.

244. *CMPD*, no. 203, pp. 189-90.

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others' charters, establishing persistent association between the two branches. The prominent role accorded to female kin, mothers, wives and sisters in particular, testifies to a family structure that included and valued such members. Finally, the necessity of the participation of Count Geoffrey III's brother Stephen in his quitclaim at the very end of the twelfth century suggests that the family fiefs were not the sole provenance of the eldest son. Indeed, like their eleventh-century predecessors, the sons of the counts of Perche all exercised a right to family possessions.

THE COUNTS OF BLOIS-CHARTRES

The eleventh-century comital family of Blois-Chartres divided the patrimony among all sons. The sons of Eudes II, for example, each inherited a part of the family lands. Stephen became the count of Champagne, which he received through his great-grandmother Letgard, and Thibaut III was granted the lands in the Loire valley, consisting of Blois, Chartres and Tours. The same pattern scheme was followed in the next generation. The eldest son inherited the Champagne property, his younger brother the county of Blois-Chartres, and a third son entered the Church and eventually became the bishop of Châlons. This family adhered to the pattern of providing for land for one or two sons and placing the others in the Church throughout the eleventh century. Daughters of the comital family made politically beneficial marriages but continued to participate in family charters.

At the end of the eleventh century Stephen I was the count of Blois-Chartres. Before 1086 he married Adela, a daughter of King William the Conqueror. Between 1092 and 1096, before Stephen departed on crusade, he and Adela shared authority over the county and made several donations together. In 1092 they adjudicated and witnessed the quitclaim of Hugh the prévôt of Blois to the land of Rodon. Adela's partic-

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ipation in matters of justice attests to her active role in the administration of the county.²⁴⁵ Just before Stephen's departure for the Holy Land, they made two donations to Marmoutier; one exceedingly generous, the other more a token donation. Stephen and Adela gave one of their serfs, named Legard, with all of her children. Included in the charter were excerpts from the scriptures germane to the ideals of the Gregorian reformers; their influence on comital donation practices is evident.²⁴⁶ Adela had her dapifer Godefrid witness for her. Clearly, the countess had her own officers and household officials. Stephen and Adela also made a very generous gift of the woods of *Silvalonnia* to the abbey of Marmoutier. Count Stephen, like other crusaders, was preoccupied with his mortality and the state of his soul. Another quotation from church doctrine, promising that he who gives to the poor, i.e., the monks, will be rewarded one hundred fold and possess eternal life, was inserted in this charter as well. The promise of redemption explicit here strongly appealed to a

245. *CMPD*, no. 145, pp. 133-4: Hoc iudicio interfuerunt isti testes: Stephanus comes et comitissa Adela uxor ejus....(for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 345, note 118)

246. *CSPDC*, no. 39, p. 295: Quicumque obligatum sibi hominem, propter amorem Dei, a debito relaxat servitio, premium sibi ab eo confidat sine dubio in futurum, dicente ipso per prophetam: "Dimitte eos qui confracti sunt liberos, et omne onus disrumpe. Tunc invocabis et Dominus exaudiet; clamabis et dicet; Ecce adsum." Quapropter ego Stephanus, Carnotensis comes, et uxore mea Adela, notum esse volumus tam presenbius quam futuris, quod adiit presentiam nostram Eustachius, abbas sancti Petri Carnotensis, benignissime nos interpellans, ut, in Christi amore, pro remedio animarum nostrarum, sibi et congregatione monachorum ibidem Deo militantium daremus quandam ancillam nostram, nomine Legardem, cum omni sua filiorum procreatione. Quod, quia petitio ejus justa et idonea apud nos videbatur esse, libenti acquievimus. Ut autem hec donatio per succedentia tempora firma et inviolabilis permaneat, propria manu, cum uxore mea signavimus. +Signum Adele comitis. Testes hujus donationis sunt hii: ex parte nostra, Bartholomeus qui cognominatur Bodellus, Hugo vicedominus, Robertus Aculeus et filius ejus; ex parte comitis, Godefridus dapifer ejus, Stephanus prepositus: Guido filius Morini; Theobaldus filius Stephani; Johannes filius Fulconis; Stephanus monetarius.

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man about to embark on a perilous excursion.²⁴⁷ Adela's participation with her husband further underscores the important role she played in the county and the partnership she enjoyed with her husband.

Countess Adela assumed responsibility for both the county and her minor children while Count Stephen was on crusade.²⁴⁸ Between 1096 and 1102, when Stephen returned for a short while, Adela made donations and held court. Like some of her over-mighty vassals, Adela, too, usurped land from the Church. A charter from the cartulary of Marmoutier refers to one such action. Adela was eventually

247. *CMPD*, no. 92, pp. 79-82: In nomine summae et individuae trinitatis, patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Ego Stephanus comes, Tetbaldi incliti comitis palatini filius atque heres, una cum uxore mea Adela nomine, illustris Anglorum regis et Normanorum ducis nobilissimi Willelmi filia, universos ecclesiae sanctae fideles tam futuros quam praesentes scire volumus, qualiter fecerimus elemosinam quandam beato Martino Majoris Monasterii et monachis ejus, ubi comes Odo, avus meus et frater ejus Hugo, Biturgensis archiepiscopus, et eorum mater humati jacent, et quod post eversionem a Danis factam extructum, et amotis canonicis, facultatibus suis auctum, monastico ordini, qui ab initio antiquibus a tempore beati Martini ibi fuerat restituerunt, abbatemque Guillebertum nomine, posuerunt, a Sanctio Maiolo sibi de Clunicao datum; quorum sequens vestigia, pater meus, tum pro reverentia et amore gloriosi confessoris Christi Martini, tum pro religione inhabitantium monachorum, eandem abbatiam de substantia sua honoravit admodum et augmentavit, et quia pater suus, apud eam sepultus erat, in tantum caram habuit ut cum totam Turonicam, cum civitate ipsa traderet Andegavorum comiti Gaufrido Martello, qui eum ceperat in redemptionem sui, ipsam tamen, id est abbatiam Majoris Monasterii nominatim exciperet atque sibi in proprio dominio retineret....Tempore autem illo eram apud castram quod Columbarium vocatur, una cum praefata conjuge mea, volensque ire in Jerusalem, cum exercitu Christianiorum, contra paganos jussu papae Romani, Urbani scilicet secundi, euntium; paravam que necessaria erant itineri meo. Venerunt itaque monachi ad me, sicut mandaveram, per quod dedi Deo et patrono meo beato Martino monachisque Majoris Monasterii, pro anima Tetbaldi, patris mei precipue, et deinde pro animabus mea et Adela, uxoris meae, non solum assensu ejus ammonitione, sed etiam prece pro animabus quoque parentum et antecessorum filiorumque, se et successorum nostrorum...atque Adelam sepredictam conjugem mea liberosque nostros custodiret, quandam partem cujusdam alodii nostri, id est bosci, qui Silva Lonnia dicitur, ab omni prorsus consuetudine solutissimam atque liberrimam, precepi quoque ipsi coniugi meae, quae remanebat, ut ipsam partem facerat determinari, ac metiri per manu cujusdam prepositi nostri, Willelmi scilicet de Villariis....Hoc enim solummodo habet homo ex universis facultatibus et possessionibus suis, quod inde Christo per manus pauperum suorum tribuerit ipso enim dicente: Centuplum illu recipiet et vitam aeternam possidebit.

248. A discussion of Adela's activities and influence will be pursued in the next chapter on women in the twelfth century.

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reconciled with the Church and enjoyed a close relationship with Bishop Ivo. Adela acted as sole ruler of the county until her son Thibaut IV came of age around 1109. Afterward Adela did not fade from the scene but continued to participate in decisions concerning the county. Her position as guardian of the county and her children was never questioned even though Stephen had several male relatives who could have challenged Adela. Such harmony reflects a family structure that was tolerant, indeed supportive, of women assuming strong roles within the family. Moreover, it attests to the power that Adela exercised. Like her predecessors Ermengard and Bertha, Adela was a powerful member of the family and respected by the feudal, political and ecclesiastical communities.

Count Stephen of Blois-Chartres died in 1104 at the battle of Ramala. Adela alone acted as count until 1109, when Thibaut IV assumed the title. She and Stephen had five sons; in order of birth they were William, Eudes, Thibaut, Stephen and Henry. All except Eudes survived to adulthood. In previous generations the patrimonial lands had been divided among sons, but this was not the case with Stephen and Adela's progeny. Around 1104 the eldest son, William married an heiress, Agnes of Sully. Michel Bur has suggested that William made this alliance without support or agreement of his parents, which resulted in a rift between them.²⁴⁹ Kimberly LoPrete, in her recent thesis, has argued that this marriage was not contracted by a renegade William; rather, his mother knew of the marriage and had arranged it. The alliance was, thus, an integral part of Adela's political policy and aspirations.²⁵⁰ It has also been assumed, based on innuendo dating from the Middle Ages, that something was wrong either physically or mentally with William. In order to explain why

 249. Michel Bur, *La formation du comté de Champagne, v. 950-1150* (Nancy: 1977), pp. 470-5.

250. Kimberly LoPrete, "A Female Ruler in Feudal Society: Adela of Blois (c. 1067-c.1137)" (Ph. D Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1991).

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younger son Thibaut inherited the properties in the Chartrain, Bur asserts that he was unfit to assume the title of count.²⁵¹ This interpretation, however, fails to take into account that for four generations the counts of Blois-Chartres had traditionally passed the county to a younger son. Count Stephen's elder brother Eudes became the count of Troyes, while Stephen inherited that of Blois-Chartres. Thibaut IV's generation was somewhat different, however. There were more sons: four survived as compared to two and three in previous generations. Moreover, this generation did not have the luxury of entailing the Champagne properties upon one of their sons, for these possessions had passed to the line of Eudes, Count Stephen's brother.²⁵² One son, Henry, followed the usual route of going into the Church. Other means had to be found to provide for the two remaining sons. The solution was found through two very prestigious marriages that benefited the family both politically and economically. William married Agnes, an heiress and member of the very powerful Sully family. Stephen wed Mathilda, the daughter of the count of Boulougne, another impressive alliance. In this generation, therefore, the reduced patrimony of Blois-Chartres remained undivided in the hands of Thibaut IV. Advantageous marriages or a career in the Church were arranged for the other sons.

Adela and Stephen also had two daughters who both made important marital alliances. Mathilda married Earl Richard of Chester, who was also the viscount of the

251. I believe this supposition was a result of William's violent behavior toward Bishop Ivo. Sometime early in the twelfth century, William attacked the bishop. Scholars have since suggested that he was deranged and incurred the wrath of his parents for his behavior. While William may have been a violent sort, I am not persuaded that he was unfit in any way. Indeed it was early in the twelfth century that Adela herself was at odds with the Church and with Bishop Ivo. While this was ostensibly the result of her unjust possession of property and her unwillingness to prevent one of her kinswomen from indulging in an adulterous liason, William's behavior could have also contributed to this rift. If one assumes that Adela did arrange or at least approve of William's marriage, it is possible that she continued to support her son in spite of his attack on Ivo.

252. These lands eventually passed back into the hands of this family, but not until the next generation when Thibaut IV's son Henry became the count of Champagne.

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Avranchin. Another daughter married Milo II of Montlhéry. The lords of Montlhéry were allied with the viscounts of Chartres and had participated in their rebellion against the king. The lord of Montlhéry was a powerful seigneur, and the comital family gained by having him as an ally. Moreover, a marriage alliance might prevent these lords from turning their aggression against the counts. Marriage with a powerful English family also benefited the family. King Henry I was Adela's brother, and an alliance with one of his lords would buttress the family's English interests. Unfortunately, Countess Mathilda perished, along with her cousins, in the tragedy of the White Ship in 1120. Although these daughters were well provided for by their natal families, neither of them ever appeared in their mother's or brother's transactions. Their absence suggests that female progeny did not have a claim on the patrimony before or after their marriages. Indeed, once married these women were completely associated with their conjugal families, a sign of a narrowing of the configuration of family and kin. During the eleventh century the sisters of the counts often participated in family transactions before, during and after their marriages. Mathilda's absence can be explained by her marriage to an Anglo-Norman earl and presumed residence in England. Yet her sister, who married a local lord and lived close to her natal family, still she did not participate. The powers enjoyed by Countess Adela indicate that the comital family was not strictly patrilineal, but it seems that rights of her daughters to the patrimony were more restricted.

The generation of Thibaut IV was pivotal in shaping the inheritance strategy of the family of the count of Blois-Chartres. Earlier counts had controlled the lands in Champagne to furnish most sons and daughters a claim to the patrimony. Stephen and Adela could not claim these properties, and they had more sons to support. Instead of dividing the patrimony the family elected to invest all patrimonial lands in the line of one son and married the others into important and wealthy families. The rights of female progeny were also limited. The absence of extended and affinal kin also sug-

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gests that the comital family had pared such members from the family tree. Authority over the patrimony was secured in the hands of Adela and Thibaut IV, who, although not the eldest son, exercised the same control and power as the *primogenitus* in other families.

Donations made by Thibaut IV indicate a reluctance to alienate land from the patrimony. Around 1119, for instance, he gave Tiron five *solidi* which he received annually from a gate in Blois.²⁵³ He also guaranteed that his successors would honor this agreement and warned that any challenges would meet with divine censure and excommunication. In 1121 Thibaut IV gave twelve of his serfs from Chartres to the abbey of Tiron, as well as the area of one mill and all customs.²⁵⁴ In the same year he arranged an exchange between the monks of St. Calais and St. Andre-de-la-Forêt-Longue. The measure of the best grain from the lands of Marchenoir, which was granted by him annually to St. Calais, was exchanged for the tithes which the monks had in the land of the other establishment.²⁵⁵ In the decade of the 1120's Thi-

253. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 23, p. 40: Notum sit omnibus hominibus tam futuris quam presentibus quod ego Teobaldus, Blesensis comes, pro remedio anime mee meorumque antecessorum, dedi Tyronensibus monachis et in perpetuum libere concessi v solidos, singulis annis, de redditu mei portus Blesis, ita ut eos deinceps, libere et quiete, me vivente omnibusque meis successoribus, absque omni contradictione possideant, et quicumque eis inde calumpniam fecerit, divine maledictioni et ecclesiastice excommunicationi subiaceat.

254. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 45, pp. 64-5: Notum sit omnibus fidelibus sancte ecclesie tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego Teobaudus, Blesensis comes, pro remedio anime mee antecessorumque meorum, dedi et in perpetuum concessi monachis de Tyron, in civitate Carnoti, VI servientes, scilicet...et alios sex pistoris, scilicet... Preter hoc autem dedi eisdem monachis aream molendini cum omnibus consuetudinibus suis et non tantummodo aree hujus consuetudine prefatis monachis dedi et concessi, sed de supradictis omnibus servientibus similiter, excepta pernoctatione supradictorum servientium. Quod si aliquis eorum clientum interierit, monachi Tyronenses comitem Teobaudum vel heredem ejus de serviente requirent....

255. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 49, pp. 69-70: Notum sit omnibus tam futuris quam presentibus quod Teobaudus, Blesensis comes, pro remedio anime sue et antecessorum suorum, instituit et concessit dare singulis annis [canonicis] Sancti Karileffi, unum modium melioris frumenti sui de terragio Marchesmii ad illam minam qua terragiam suam ibi recipit, in commutationem decime sue quam habebant in terra monachorum Sancti Andree de Sevelonia.

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baut IV reconfirmed his grandfather's donation of the liberties and customs at Chaurmars several times.²⁵⁶ In all of these donations Thibaut IV gave revenues, serfs or liberties, not land. This pattern of donations suggests that he was reluctant to alienate land from the patrimony.

Although Thibaut IV witnessed and consented to donations made by his vassals, the donations made by the count himself to the Church were minimal. Compared to the generosity of his predecessors, Thibaut's lack of patronage is conspicuous. The underlying reason for this discrepancy was his realization that the Chartrain patrimony had to be conserved. Thibaut IV faced a political situation few of his predecessors had, which amplified the concern over resources. The counts of Anjou had always been a thorn in the side of those of Blois-Chartres; but, when the Angevins allied themselves with Empress Mathilda and subsequently the kings of England, they became a real threat to the comital house of Blois-Chartres. To complicate matters, Thibaut IV's brother Stephen became the king of England, and, in doing so, embroiled the family in a long and tumultuous conflict with the Angevins. Not only did Thibaut IV have to deal with the ramifications of his or his brother's royal aspirations, but he also had to contend with a stronger and more capable king of France. Louis VI was an able monarch who used wiles and force to expand the royal demesne and authority. While Louis VI's son and successor may not have been as adept as his father, the monarchy was in far better condition than it had been since the Carolingians. The county of Blois-Chartres, therefore, was surrounded on virtually all sides by aggressors: Anjou to the south and west, Normandy to the northwest, and the Ile de France to the north. Count Thibaut IV was involved in a struggle for survival, so it is perhaps not surprising that he was not willing to grant extensive properties to the Church.

256. See *CMPD*, no. 177, pp. 161-3, no. 94, pp. 84-6, and no. 18, pp. 171-2.

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Whether by accident or through his own cunning, Thibaut IV preserved the county of Blois-Chartres. To secure his position and gain protection from the Angevins, he allied himself closely with the French royal family. His two sons married the daughters of Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine. His son and successor Thibaut V married Eleanor, and Henry of Troyes married her sister Marie. A daughter, Adela of Champagne, was the third wife of King Louis VII. She became queen and provided Louis with his heir, Philippe Augustus. These alliances bound the counts of Blois-Chartres firmly to the royal family. The motivation behind them was to secure an ally and support against the Angevins and eventually the Plantagenet kings of England.

Inheritance among the offspring of Thibaut IV followed the traditional pattern used by the family previous to Stephen and Adela. Around mid century the Champagne lands passed back into the control of this branch of the family. Eudes of Troyes and Meaux had died without heirs and his grandnephew Henry, Thibaut IV's eldest son, assumed these titles and territories. Thibaut V, the next son, became the count of Blois and Chartres.²⁵⁷ William, the third son, entered the Church and became the bishop of Chartres and ultimately the Archbishop of Sens.²⁵⁸ Thibaut IV's daughters made beneficial matches; Adela to Louis VII and Marie to Eudes the duke of Burgundy. The counts of Blois-Chartres divided the patrimony among two of their sons. Those remaining usually went into the Church. The unique situation of the early twelfth century altered the inheritance pattern. When the family had enough

257. By the twelfth century the counts identified themselves more with Blois than Chartres. Thibaut V had a son named Louis who became count. Louis' son Thibaut VI succeeded him, but was sadly afflicted with leprosy and died rather young. Around 1240 his aunts Margrite and Isabelle divided the county and became the countesses of Blois and Chartres respectively around 1240. The lands then passed into the families of their husbands or made their way into the royal demesne.

258. Henry and Thibaut appeared with their father in a charter from Notre dame de Josaphat. They consented, with Thibaut IV, to a donation by one of their vassals (See *JOSAPHAT*, no. 102, pp. 131-2).

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lands to provide for more than one son, the territories were split. Because the sons of Stephen and Adela could not expect to inherit the Champagne territories, only Thibaut IV was designated to succeed to the patrimony. The others were provided for through marriage, rather than with a share of family lands.

During the twelfth century many Chartrain noble families continued to honor the right of all kin to the patrimony. Others, however, were beginning to alter their inheritance strategies and family structure. The impetus underlying these changes was economic. If the family could adequately provide for all heirs, its possessions would be divided. But if the patrimony was impoverished, either by successive partitioning or, as was increasingly the case, by overly great generosity spurred on by the Gregorian reformers, then claims would be limited. While many families were began to adopt attributes of primogeniture or patrilineage, the transition to strict primogeniture and patrilineage was far from complete. Indeed, the twelfth century was pivotal in the change from partible inheritance to an impartible patrimony inherited by the eldest son alone. It was during this century that the characteristics of this transformation first emerged and took hold, causing some families to limit heirs and reduce some kin to powerlessness. Yet the change had just begun and was by no means finished by the end of the century. The evidence from Blois-Chartres suggests that the completion of this transformation in noble families should be pushed into the thirteenth century, when the seeds of change planted in the eleventh and twelfth centuries would come to fruition and yield fully articulated primogeniture and patrilineage.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

NOBLEWOMEN IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

The preceding chapters have examined the family structure and inheritance patterns of the Chartrain nobility, and by implication the status of women in these kin networks. The goal of this chapter will be to evaluate the experiences of women, both within the family and in noble society as a whole. The twelfth century has been portrayed as a period marked by the general decline in the position of women in the post-Carolingian period.¹ Scholars who believe that primogeniture and patrilineage predominated in the noble family by the end of the eleventh century assume that women in the twelfth century suffered from restriction and powerlessness.² The twelfth century, however, is paradoxical in regard to the position of women. Some of the most famous or infamous medieval women lived in this century. Queens such as Eleanor of Aquitaine, Empress Mathilda, and Mathilda of Boulougne determined the course of twelfth-century politics. Mystics such as Hildegard of Bingen and many important abbesses took an active part in the new forms of religious expression and organization. The tragic love affair of Abelard and Heloise is another example of the prominence of women in the events of this century. The assumed powerlessness of women can be attributed, at least in part, to a lack of research on women of the lower echelons of society. Historians have been reluctant to accept that the women of the lower nobility enjoyed the same influence in their families and communities as did

1. McNamara and Wemple, "The Power of Women," pp. 137-9; Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Chaya Galai (London and New York: 1983); Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin* (Chicago: 1985).

2. Duby, *The Knight, Lady and the Priest*; idem, *Medieval Marriage*; Herlihy, *Medieval Households*; Goody, *Family and Marriage*; for further discussion of their positions, see Chapter 1, pp. 10-5.

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queens and countesses.³ The aim of this chapter is to redress the balance by examining the status of women of all levels of the nobility, from the wife of the knight to the countess of Blois-Chartres.

Discussion of the experience of noblewomen will be divided into two parts, women in the family and women in noble society in general. The first part will consider marriage endowments and women's ability to control them. The participation of women in the charters, as consenters and as coactors, will be also be addressed. Women's right to land and the power it bestowed will be evaluated by examining their donations, contestations, and the granting of counter gifts. The relationship between noblewomen and the Church will serve as the nexus between women's role in the family and noble society. Specifically, noblewomen's activity as donors, as intercessors between their families and the Church and as participants in the Gregorian reform movement reflects the powers they commanded not only in the family but also in medieval society. The second part will consider the feudal and political roles enjoyed by twelfth-century noblewomen. Their participation as lords and vassals, as well as their ability to act as guardians of their children and the family patrimony will be examined.

3. Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin*, pp. 116-45; Shulamith, *The Fourth Estate*, pp. 126-140; Labarge, *Small Sound of the Trumpet*, pp 72-96; Robert Hadju, "The Position of Noblewomen in the Pays des Coutumes, 1100-1300," *Journal of Family History*, 5 (1980), 122-44.

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PART ONE: NOBLEWOMEN IN THE FAMILY

Marriage Portions: Dowry and Dower

Dowry and dower were employed by eleventh-century noble families to furnish support for their female kin, and both persisted into the twelfth century. Some scholars maintain that a dowry indicates a limited claim by daughters to the patrimony. They argue that the dowry granted upon marriage represented the daughter's sole share of the patrimony and, after receiving it, she eschewed her further claim to family property.⁴ While dowry may have restricted the claim of women and their kin in some families, the continued participation of daughters and their husbands in family transactions after their marriage demonstrate that such restriction was not true for all.⁵

The bride's natal family arranged the dowry. It might consist of various kinds of property. Sometime in the first three decades of the twelfth century Robert, a knight, decided to abandon the secular world and become a monk. When he entered the Church, he made a gift to the monks of Notre Dame de Josaphat of his wife's *dos*, which consisted of ten *librae* of Chartrain money with the clothes and possessions she

4. Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, pp. 5-10; Goody, *Family and Marriage*, pp. 240-62; Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, pp. 82-98; idem, "The Medieval Marriage Market" *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 6 (1976), 1-27; Diane Owen Hughes, "From Brideprice to Dowry"; J. Hajnal, "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective," in *Population in History*, eds. D. V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversely (London: 1965), pp. 1-35.

5. Some historians attribute the participation of women in the charters to the fact that the transactions involved their dowry or dower. Yet the charters from Blois-Chartres clearly delineate when the property in question pertained to the wife's dowry or dower.

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brought with her to the marriage.⁶ In addition to receiving restitution for the loss of her dowry, Robert also needed his wife's consent to join the Church. At some point around 1130 Galeran of Thionville donated to the same abbey carrucates of land that he held through inheritance at Thionville and Senainville. The remaining land at Senainville that had not already been granted to the Church was to provide his daughter Columba with her dowry.⁷ In this family only Galeran's son and heir Peter consented to these arrangements and supported his father's gift, which may support the association between the granting of dowry and a relatively patrilineal family organization.

While in most cases it is impossible to determine if dowry limited women's right to their natal patrimonies, as some suggest, the charters do provide evidence that

6. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 28, pp. 42-3: Quoniam divina clementia sibi non fecte famulantes nunquam deserit, sed illos et merito frequenter auget et numero, placuit illi juvenem quendam Robertum nomine, secularis milicie vanitati deditum, flagello corporalis incommodi ad suam urgere miliciam. Qui gravissime eodem affictus incommodo, locutus cum abbate monasterii quod appellatur Josaphat in hoc animum suum esse confessus est ut, seculari renunciando milicie, monachilis ordinis arma sub eo celorum regi militaturus votive susciperet, si per assensum proprie conjugis id ullo modo peragi posset. Divini vero potentia circa sue quoque conjugis animum, sic operata est ut super hoc suscitantibus se responderet quod, ipsa quoque sanctimonialis fieri cupiens et solvi conjugium, et de dote sua quicquid vellet vir suus fieri concederet, si decem libras Carnotensis monete pro conjugio suo illi datas cum vestibus et instrumentis secum allatis sibi reddi faceret. Quod juvenis ille gratanter accipiens, abbatem predictum rogavit ut et has X libras conjugi sue et alias decem matri sue persolveret, et se in monachum monasterii sui cum dimidio toto quod apud Tachenvillam habebat susciperet.

Throughout the charter Robert is labeled "juvenis," which is interesting since he was married. This argues against Duby's interpretation of the term and questions his theory that the "juvenes" were younger sons who did not expect to receive an inheritance and resorted to violence and mayhem to gain lands.

7. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 82, pp. 104-5; for the text of this charter see Chapter 6, p. 357, note 144.

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indicates noblewomen maintained control over their dowry.⁸ Sometime before 1102 a lesser noble named Landric, his wife Hildeburg and their children placed the half of the oven which they held in Brézolles in mortgage for twenty-five *solidi*. The family then went on to donate property to St. Père, and they were awarded counter gifts, in addition to the cash awarded in mortgage. A share of the oven had been given to Landric's daughter Adelina as her dowry when she married Rainald the knight. She alone received a gold ring in return for her consent to the gift and presumably the mortgage. Adelina, not her husband, required compensation for the loss of the property.⁹ Between 1116 and 1126 Ansold of Belleville wished to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and gave a house built of stone next to the felt makers to St. Père to benefit his soul in preparation for his departure. Because the property granted pertained in part to his mother Richelde's dowry, her consent and participation were required. Even though Ansold would eventually inherit the house, his mother still retained control and authority over her dowry.¹⁰ Between 1092 and 1120 Girard Brunellus, his wife Habelina and their children donated to St. Père their half of the church of St. Lubin of Brou and all pertaining property. Since part of the gift, specifically the vines granted,

8. The terms used to designate marriage portions can be confusing. *Dos* was used in the eleventh century to refer to endowments made by both the bride's natal family and the groom. In the twelfth century *dotalicium* is frequently employed and seems to indicate clearly dowry rather than dower. The definition of *dos* is no clearer in the twelfth century than it was in the eleventh century, although *dos* would seem to be used most often to refer to dower.

9. *CSPDC*, no. 27, p. 253; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 340, note 110.

10. *CSPDC*, no. 69, pp. 317-8: *Eo tempore quo domnus abbas Willelmus huic nostro sancti Petri monasterio preerat, Ansoldus de Bello Videre, filius Ansoldi Berbelli, Jerosolimam proficisci parans, venit in capitulum nostrum una cum matre sua Richelde, et, tam pro sua quam pro parentum suorum animabus, donavit, ecclesie nostre in elemosinam quandam domum petrinam, feltrarie huic contiguam, que sibi hereditario jure competebat; concedente hoc predicta matre sua et donum cum ipso simul faciente, utpote de re que, partim de dotalico suo partim de emptione, predicti vir sui et sua erat.*

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constituted part of Habelina's dowry, she consented to it.¹¹ Morher of Nogent similarly needed the consent and participation of his wife Ermeniarde in the gift to Tiron of part of the oven at Nèron because it came from her dowry.¹²

In some instances a woman's share of her natal family property granted in dowry could be inadvertently donated to the Church by her relatives. The ability of noblewomen and their husbands to challenge legitimately such transactions reflects the authority that they exercised in the noble family and society. In 1108 Matthew of Fréteval¹³ donated to Marmoutier land and meadow at Vernouillet and a weir at La Gravelle in *Silvalonna*. Part of the donated land, however, had been given in dowry when his daughter Hildiard married Osmund of La Ferté-Verneuil. Hildiard and Osmund contested Matthew's donation, and they were compensated with thirty Blésois *solidi* in return for their quitclaim.¹⁴ When Isnard of *Garennia*'s brother-in-law Bardolus heard of Isnard's death in Jerusalem, he brought a claim against the donation Isnard had made prior to his departure. Bardolus contested the gift on the grounds that the property belonged to him and his wife, Isnard's sister Gervisa. The couple was

11. *CSPDC*, no. 48, pp. 504-5: Concedo et dimidium dotalitium de vineis Habeline, uxoris mee, ipsa libentissime annuente atque laudante, ut, in extremo die iudicii, misereatur Dominus animabus nostris ac filiorum nostrorum atque omnium parentum nostrorum, tam vivorum quam defunctorum (for the beginning portions of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 451, note 147).

12. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 71, pp. 88-90: Notum sit omnibus quod Andreas Cholet et Morherius de Noviomio dederunt monachis de Tiron ecclesiam Sancti-Remigii que est juxta villa que dicitur Neiron et terram trium boum juxta eam, necnon tria arpenta terre secus rivulum. Postea vero predictus Andreas, cum vulneratus esset et attritus gravi infirmitate, concessit predictus monachis partem suam furni de Neiron, alteram vero partem furni concessit Morherius, uxore sua Ermeniarde concedente, de cujus dotalicio erat, item filiis suis Garnerio, Haimérico, Godescaldo.

13. Matthew of Fréteval was related in some way to the lords of Fréteval. Two of his sons, Hugh and Hilgod, bear the cognomen of Palestellus or Piellus, which was a named employed by the La Ferté branch of this family. Matthew could also be a descendant of Milo of Fréteval, Nivelon I's bastard son, or Nivelon-Pagan.

14. *CMPD*, no. 83, pp. 74-5; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 334, note 101.

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granted sixty *solidi* to abandon their claim, which demonstrates the strength and legitimacy of Gervisa's claim to a share in family lands.¹⁵ The husband of Columba of Thionville also disputed his father-in-law's gift of part of his wife's dowry and received compensation of a horse and cash for dismissing his dispute.¹⁶ These claims brought by husbands and wives to dowries substantiate the right that women had to natal family possessions.

The groom or his family also arranged to set aside certain property as a dower for his wife. The disposition of a dower and the wife's control of it are apparent in two charters from the same family. Sometime in the first quarter of the twelfth century, Hildegard, the wife of Ansold of Mongerville, gave to St. Père the land that had been given to her in dower by her first husband, Radulf Bigotus. She made the gift as she was dying, and her son Pagan, his wife and their children, and her lord Viscount Hugh II of Châteaudun, consented to it.¹⁷ Sometime later, another son, Joscelin of Mongerville, disputed the donation of other land that had also been granted to Hildegard in dower by her first husband. The dower lands clearly belonged to Hildegard and were hers to sell or give to whomever she pleased. Joscelin, however, contra-

15. *CSPDC*, no. 2, p. 516: Audito itaque ejus obitu in Jerusalem, Bardolus, qui ejus sororem jure maritali desponsatam tenebat, adversum nos monachos sancti Petri, pro eadem terra, calumpniam excitavit. Cujus demum calumpniam, datis ei LX nummorum solidis, penitus extinximus. Bardolus igitur, prefatam terram nobis concessit et uxor ejus Gervisa, soror Isnardi, assentientibus filiis suis Guismundo, Alberto et filiabus.

16. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 82, pp. 105-6: for the text of this section of the charter, see Chapter 6, p. 357, note 144.

17. *CSPDC*, no. 31, p. 425: Notice tam presentium quam sequentium palam esse volumus, quod Hildegardis, uxor Ansoldi de Mongeri Villa, cum moreretur, reliquit nobis in elemosina terram quam habebat apud Moenvillam, quam vir suus prior Radulfus, qui cognominatus est Bigotus, emerat atque ei propriam ad quicquid vellet faciendum dederat. Et Paganus de Mongeri Villa nobis eam concessit ipse et uxor ejus Adelais, et filii ejus omnes et filie, et Hugo vicecomes Castridunensis, qui supremus dominus erat.

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dicted his mother's donation and claimed it as part of his patrimony.¹⁸ He persisted in his claim even though it was demonstrated that the land was not part of the patrimony. Finally after his excommunication, Joscelin repented and acknowledged the injustice of his claim. Several important points pertaining to the control of dower and the nature of the noble family are evident. First, a woman maintained control of her dower even after she was widowed and remarried. Second, the charter states that the land was Hildegard's to dispose of as she saw fit. Yet, the consent of her son Pagan demonstrates that noblewomen, like family members, usually consulted their relatives when disposing of their property.

Dowers were arranged in other families. When Adela, the daughter of William the Conqueror, married Count Stephen of Blois-Chartres, she was granted certain lands, specifically part of a forest, in the county as her dower.¹⁹ In 1129 Helgod of Memberolles exchanged his lands at Levesville for those held by Pagan of Frouville at Choudri and Auvilliers. Helgod's mother Blanche consented to the alienation of a carrucate of land at Levesville which she held from her dower.²⁰ Since the transaction pertained to lands that had been granted for her support, Blanche's consent and participation were requisite. In 1132 Salomon Dosnellus donated to Tiron half an

18. *CSPDC*, no. 58, p. 453: Mater Joscelini de Mungervilla habebat quandam terram Boesville, a priori viro suo, qui non fuit pater Joscelini, Radulfo nomine, sibi datam et relictam, ad cuicumque ipsa vellet dandum vel vendendum. Quam moriens dedit sancto Petro pro anima viri sui, qui sibi eam dederat, et sua, Joscelino tamen contradicente et calumpniente; unde factum est ut inde placitaret nobiscum; ubi judicatum est nichil ad eum pertinere de illa terra, eoquod non fuisset de patrimonio suo. Ille tamen, minime ob id ad injusta calumpnia cessans, multa mala pro ea fecit nobis; pro quibus cum excommunicatus esset. Tandem, volente Deo, penitentia ductus, venit nudis pedibus in capitulum nostrum, peccasse se confitens, seque injuste calumpniasse recognoscens.

One of the witnesses for Joslin was his brother Pagan, who was now a canon of St. Mary of Chartres.

19. *CMPD*, no. 68, p. 60-2; for the text of this charter, see p. 564, note 156, of this Chapter.

20. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 109, pp. 129-30; for the text of this charter, see Appendix II, p. 595, note 10.

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arpent of land at Montreuil as well as the pertaining tithes. The donated property belonged to his wife's *capite* and she consented to and praised Salomon's gift. While the charter does not make clear to what exact arrangement *capite* referred, it is clear that Salomon's wife had authority over it.²¹ At about the same time, the wife of Raginald Francus, Bruneild, gave the property which she held "jure dotis" to Notre Dame de Josaphat. Bruneild's husband had died and she enjoyed support from and control of her dower.²²

The marital endowments allotted to noblewomen of Blois-Chartres assumed different forms, but most women enjoyed authority over them. The evidence for dowry and dower is regrettably no more plentiful for the twelfth century than it was for the eleventh. Yet it is apparent that most women controlled their marriage portions. Husbands, sons and fathers had to secure the consent of their female kin when making transactions that involved their dowers, dowries and other types of marriage endowments.

21. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 162, pp. 186-7: In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis, notum sit omnibus quod Salomon Dosnellus donavit Deo et monachis de Tyrone dimidium arpentum terre, liberum et quietum et sine ulla prorsus requisitione, apud Mosterolum....Hec omnia concessit atque laudavit uxore ejus, de cujus capite erat, cum infantibus suis.

22. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 83. p. 106: Eam denique parte que fuerat Raginaldi Franci, dum adhuc viveret, quam adhuc ejus uxor Bruneildis nomine jure dotis in vita sua obtinebat aptiorem nobis, utpote terre nostre viciniorem, perpendens sibi vero minus utilem, quippe quam vivente prenominata femina nunquam in proprium erat habiturus, quicquid juris in illa tam ipse quam sui heredes vel habebant vel expectabant, tam in terra quam in luco, ex toto donum faciens in manu nostra nostram ecclesiam in perpetuum fecit heredem.

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The Participation of Noblewomen in the Charters

Noblewomen played many roles in the charters of the Chartrain. Wives, daughters, sisters, mothers and other female relatives appeared as consenters, coactors and recipients of counter gifts. Such activity attests to the influence and autonomy exercised by noblewomen within the noble family and further casts doubt on any interpretation arguing for unilateral repression and powerlessness.

Consent and Participation

The consent of noblewomen to donations that affected their dowers and dowries was required, but wives also participated in transactions that pertained to general family possessions. The previous chapters have argued that noble family structure and inheritance patterns were defined by economic and social standing. Like their male counterparts, noblewomen's place in the family and society was affected by such factors. The activities and participation of noblewomen, therefore, will be considered by social and economic rank.

The wives of the lords of Blois-Chartres frequently consented to family donations. Between 1095 and 1100 Viscount Hugh II of Châteaudun restored the church of St. Leonard of Bellême to Marmoutier with the consent of his wife Comitissa, as well as that of his brothers and their children (see Figures 13-15).²³ In 1129 Viscount Hugh III of Chartres donated to Tiron vines at Gourdez to insure the celebration of the anniversary of the death of his parents and eventually his own. The property given

23. *CMPD*, no. 150, pp. 138-9; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 478, note 205.

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was part of the vicecomital patrimony, and his wife Agnes consented and signed the charter, demonstrating the claim that she exercised to the patrimony.²⁴ Noble ladies also approved donations made by the vassals of their families. Eustachia of Gouet, for example, appeared in 1116 with William II in confirming what their vassal Gastho of Brou had given and sold to the monks of Marmoutier (see Figure 10).²⁵ Wives also exerted control over the inhabitants bound to their lands. Sometime in the last quarter of the eleventh century, Odelina the wife of Lord Gauslen I of Lèves assented to the gift to St. Père of a serf (see Figure 8).²⁶ These few examples summarize the prerogatives that the wives of the lords of Blois-Chartres exercised over family property. Their cooperation and approval were needed for donations made by their husbands.

Like their counterparts in the upper echelons of the Chartrain nobility, the wives of knights and lesser nobles consented to donations. In 1093 Ernald of Dangeau desired to enter the Church and gave customs in Dangeau to Marmoutier. Ernald's wife Officia and his daughter consented to the loss of this property, as well as his entry into the Church.²⁷ Richard of Perche was motivated by his wish to travel to the Holy Land when he made his gift to the abbey of Notre Dame de Josaphat around 1147. The donation was made with the assent of his wife Agnes and their children

24. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 108, pp. 127-9; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 469, note 187.

25. *CMPD*, no. 167, pp. 157-8; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 456, note 161.

26. *CSPDC*, no. 9, pp. 268-9; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 432, note 108.

27. *CMPD*, no. 81, p. 73: Notum sit omnibus quod Ernaldus de Domjolio, quando factus est monachus, donavit beato Martino Majoris Monasterii et monachis ejus omnes consuetudines, praeter pedagium, quas habebat in terra Sancti supradicti, apud Domjolum, laudante, uxore ejus Officia, et filia ejus Havide, et filio ejus Tetbaldo Willelmo. Quod viderunt testes isti....

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Girard, Theoderic and Hillenburg.²⁸ In addition to gifts, noblemen also secured their wives' consent to other transactions. In 1095 Eudes Desredatus and the monks of Marmoutier built a water mill on the Conie. Eudes' wife, Agnes, consented to this agreement, as did their sons Hugh and Gelduin.²⁹ When Robert wished to go to Jerusalem around 1115, he sold land that he held in Ver. His wife Augard, as well as his daughter Isabel, consented to this sale.³⁰ Wives also approved the alienation of family fiefs. When Rainald consented in advance to gifts that any of his tenants from his fief of *Domnum Germanum* might make to St. Père, his wife Rachalde and sons assented.³¹ Similarly, when knights and lesser nobles quitclaimed contestations or -----

28. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 141, pp. 177-8: Notum sit omnibus tam futuris quam presentibus quod Richardus de Percheio, eo die quo Jerusalem porrexit, dedit monachis de Josaphat, concedente Agnete uxore sua et filiis eorum Girardo et Theoderico et Hillenburgi, boscum de Corneleia, et campum de Infalsa-Media et Groas et furnum de Percheio, et plateam de Guccengres ad grancia construendam, et II solidos census apud Screolum qui reddi debent in octabas Pentecostes.

29. *CMPD*, no. 148, p. 136: Notum sit omnibus quod monachi Majoris Monasterii et Odo Desredatus fecerunt unum molendinum in aqua quae dicitur Connia, cujus duae partes erant predicti Odois a parte sua ripae, et tertia monachorum a parte ripae ipsorum. Qui videlicet monachi possidebant omnes consuetudines et justiciam suae tertiae partis, sicut Odo suarum duarum partium. Sed quia ibi non poterat Odo facere molendinum sine monachis, neque monachi sine illo, tandem concordaverunt pariter ut eum facerent a parte ejusdem Odonis communiter, ita scilicet ut monachi haberent sempter medietatem tam molendini quam etiam omnium consuetudinem et totius justicie....Concessit etiam eis idem Odo medietatem totius piscationis molendini ipsius, et bedi et parte, et ante bedum per duas hastatas aque, et ab ipso bedo ante sclusam usque ad ipsorum partem aque, cujus piscatio est eorumdem propria per unam hastatam versus profundum stanni, medietatem totius piscationis. Quod totum concesserunt uxor ejusdem Odonis, Agnes nomine, et duo filii ipsius, Hugo et Gelduinus.

30. *CSPDC*, no. 156, pp. 368-9: Sciant omnes qui litteras istas legerint, quod Robertus, major de Ver, Jerosolimam proficisci parans, vendidit nobis, sancti Petri Carnoti monachis, quandam terram quam habebat apud Ver, in medio terre nostre, vel ad censum tradidit, singulos aripennos pro VIII denariis....Concesserunt autem et uxor Roberti, Augardis nomine, et Isabel, filia amborum, istud videlicet commercium, presentibus pluribus qui et ejusdem venditionis vel ad censum traditionis testes affuerunt, quorum hec sunt nomina....

31. *CSPDC*, no. 47, pp. 552-3: Attestatione scripti presentis noscat subsequendum propago fidelium, quod Rainaldus, filius Gauterii, annuentibus conjuge sua, nomine Rachalde, et filiis suis Willelmo, Walterio, Bernardo, inviolabili dono attribuerit hoc sancto Petro; [sic] ut, si quis aliquid de ejus fevo, quod est apud Domnum Germanum, sancto Petro donare voluerit, ipse Rainaldus tota mentis alacrite concedit.

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claims to donations, their wives often participated and generally consented. Around 1130, with the assent of his wife Biatrit and their four children, Gauslen, Hildiard, Ermengard and Margaret, Eudes Crato abandoned his claim to land donated to the abbey of Josaphat by Guerric Kiss the Devil.³² The participation of noble wives in their husbands' various transactions demonstrates their interest, indeed their right, to various family properties, including land, its inhabitants, mills and the rights, revenues and customs pertaining to them, and the abandonment of claims made to donations.

Daughters, like their mothers, consented to donations and various other transactions that involved family holdings. In 1133 Viscount Geoffrey II of Châteaudun and his wife Heloise donated land at Fontaine-Raoul and Bouffrey to the abbey of Tiron. Their daughters Alpasia and Heloise consented to the donation, as did their sons Hugo and Pagan (see Figure 14).³³ During the eleventh century the ladies of Montigny had enjoyed considerable power and influence, and their twelfth-century peers exercised similar rights (see Figure 9). Around 1140 Agnes of Montigny and her husband Eudes of Vallières founded a priory at Montigny, with the assent and desire of their daughters, Eustachia, Jacqueline, Hildeard and Galiena, and their sons Raher, Hugh and Eudes.³⁴ The inclusion of both sons and daughters substantiates the right of both to the patrimony. The rights of daughters did not supersede those of family members. They, like other kin, were bound by the same custom of shared claim to the patrimo-

32. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 63, pp. 84-5: Notum fiat presenti descriptione tam instantie quam successioni fidelium quod Odo qui Crato cognominatur monachos Josaphat terram incolentes quam de Guerrico Osculatur-Diabolum habebant suis minis turpabat; unde requisitus a monachis calumpniam dereliquit et terram suprascriptam jamdicte ecclesie concessit tam ipse quam ejus uxor Biatrit et IIII pueri Gauslenus, Hildiardis, Ermen-gardis, Margarita.

33. *TIRON*, no. 185, vol. I, pp. 207-8; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 481, note 214.

34. *CMPD*, no. 184, pp. 174-6; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 409, note 67.

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ny. The women of the family of the vidame of Chartres also controlled family property (see Figure 1). Around 1108 *Vicedomina* Helisend made a donation to the abbey of St. Jean-en-Vallée for the soul of her recently deceased son.³⁵ Helisend's daughter Elizabeth, who eventually succeeded her mother as *vicedomina*, consented to the alienation of lands to benefit her dead brother.³⁶

The daughters of knights and lesser nobles also appeared as consenters to family charters. Several examples have already been cited in the discussion of wives' participation, but there are others.³⁷ In the first quarter of the twelfth century, Gislebert Lorin gave to St. Père the fief which he bought hereditarily from Abbot Landric. His daughters, as well as his wife and sons, assented to the donation.³⁸ Around 1120, when Eudes of Ulmo and his wife Aldeburg gave their fief to the abbey of Tiron, their daughter Agnes consented along with her three brothers.³⁹ The inclusion of daughters as consenters to gifts of fiefs establishes their right to this property and their status as potential heirs or claimants. Some scholars have postulated that feudal custom excluded women from participation in such relationships.⁴⁰ Feudal lordship and vassalage entailed the control of fiefs, and noble wives and daughters were clearly

35. He was Hugh, the first husband of Agnes of Montigny.

36. *JEAN*, no. 7, p. 6; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 381, note 17.

37. See for example the cases of Robert and Eudes Crato on the preceding page.

38. *CSPDC*, no. 136, p. 355: Notum sit omnibus quod Gislebertus Lorini, fevum quod ab abbate Landrico hereditabiliter emerat, ex toto sponte sua, annuente conjuge cum filiis et filiabus, sancto Petro dimisit.

39. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 37, p. 58: Notum sit omnibus fidelibus quod Odo de Ulmo et Aldeburgis uxor ejus concesserunt monachis Tyronii terram Ledi que erat de feodo eorum, sicuti eam dividit vallis Ledi et via Carnotensis, concedentibus filiis scilicet Geroio de Ulmo, Guillelmo, Roberto et filia eorum Agnete.

40. McNamara and Wemple, "Power of Women," 137-9; Gold, *Lady and the Virgin*, pp. 116-45; Shulamith, *The Fourth Estate*, pp. 126-40; Christine Fell, Cecily Clark and Elizabeth Williams, *Women in Anglo-Saxon England and the Impact of 1066*, pp. 148-71.

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not prevented from possession of fiefs or inclusion in feudal activities. The claim of daughters to their parents' lands is further evident in a charter datable around 1130 that records a quitclaim by a relative. Gui of Ulmeto and his mother Maria gave Tiron three arpents of land at Villandon, but Eudes Crato challenged the donation both as their *cognatus* and their lord. He realized his error and abandoned his claim, with the consent of his mother Heloise, his wife Biatrit, his son and two daughters, Hermengard and Hildiard, all of whom also signed the charter.⁴¹ The presence of these female kin substantiates their position as possible heirs to or claimants of fiefs. Daughters also participated in sales of family property. Sometime around 1130 Robert Knight sold one arpent of land to the monks of Notre Dame de Josaphat with the approval of his wife Berta and his daughters Adelaide, Maria and Huelina. Huelina, who was married to Albert, obviously continued to participate in her natal family after her marriage.⁴² About ten years later Eudes *Pulsat-Saccum* and his wife Odelina sold an arpent and a half of meadow to the monks of Notre Dame de Josaphat. Their daughters Maria, Constantia and Amelina "freely consented" to this alienation of family property.⁴³

41. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 127, pp. 153-4: Ne posteritatem lateat, stili officio, memorie commendamus quatinus Guido de Ulmeto et mater sua Maria, pro animarum suarum remedio, tres agripennos terre que erat apud Vilandum Tyronensibus monachis tribuerunt. Deinde autem Odo Craton, hinc ut cognatus patrimonium, et hinc ut dominus feodum suum, eis calumpniatus est. Robertus, tunc temporis Villandonensis domus Tyronenesium prior existens, nolens malivolentiam et inquietationem supradicte persone habere, xx solidos et verrem pro concessu tribuit. Quare ille, hoc concessu habito, matrem suam Helvis, et uxorem suam Beatrit, et filium suum Goslenum, et filias suas Hermengart et Hudeart [*sic*], quod concesserat concedere fecit.... + Signum Odonis. + Signum matris sue Helvis. + Signum uxoris sue Beatrit. + Signum Gosleni filii sui. + Signum filiarum suarum Hermengart et Hildeart [*sic*].

42. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 61, p. 83: Robertus, Miles agnominatus, agripennum terre monachis Sancte-Marie Josaphat vendidit; quod concessit Berta prolecti hominis uxor atque filie illorum Adeledis, Maria, Huelina conjux Alberti.

43. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 108, pp. 139-40: Item Odo, qui et Pulsat-Saccum, et uxor ejus Odelina monachis Josaphat unum agripennum prati et dimidium vendiderunt; filie quoque eorum Maria, Constantia et Amelina libenter concesserunt.

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Like wives and daughters, sisters often appeared as consenters to the acts of their parents and relatives. Around 1120 Count Rotrou II of Perche confirmed all of his gifts to the abbey of Arcisses. His sister Juliana witnessed the charter, thus giving her tacit consent (see Figure 15).⁴⁴ Similarly, Comitissa the sister of Lord Nivelon II consented to his donation of woods from Fréteval to the abbey of Marmoutier between the years 1096 and 1101 (see Figure 4).⁴⁵ Between 1147 and 1156 Bartholomew of Vendôme⁴⁶, a distant relative of the Frétevals of a similar social and economic status, founded a priory of Marmoutier at Chauvigny.⁴⁷ His sister Maria and

44. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 33, pp. 53-5; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 493, note 236.

45. *CMPD*, no. 84, p. 75; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 422, note 90. In this charter, Nivelon II's sister is identified as Agnes the viscountess. In other charters she appears as Comitissa, a named derived from her position as wife of the Viscount of Châteaudun.

Comitissa also appeared as consenting to another version of this charter recorded in the cartulary of St. Père (see *CSPDC*, no. 36, pp. 428-9).

46. This noble appears frequently in the cartulary of Marmoutier for the Dunois. He was from a very powerful Vendômois family. His brothers were Vulgrin and Engébaud, the archbishop of Tours (see the next note). He was married to one of the daughters of Pagan of Mondoubleau and, thus, related to the Frétevals through marriage.

47. *CMPD*, no. 183, pp. 173-4: Locus autem ille Calviniacus vocatur. Post aliquantum itaque temporis praedictus Bartholomeus videns praefatos fratres nullius perfectae religionis videlicet nec monachilis, nec canonicalis ordinis professionem tenere, aut sub spiritualis patris providentia militare, sed potius absque jugo ad voluntatem propriam quamlibet in partem declinare nec aedificando praedicto loco, quam oporteret sollicitudinem adhibere fratres illos diligenter admonuit, ut ad Majus Monasterium venirent et nobis loci illius habitatoribus, se et omnia sua conferrent, ibidemque monachilem tam vitam quam habitum acciperent. Nos etiam Majoris Monasterii monachos multa precum instantia per se et amicos suos rogavit, ut loci sepe memorati Calviniaci scilicet curam gerentes, eundem locum cum pertinentiis suis in perpetuum jus et possessionem ecclesiae nostrae auctoritate sua redigeremus, et fratres inibi Deo servientes in monachos susciperemus. Ut autem diligentius petitionem ejus impleremus quaecunque apud Sanctu Geldericum antiquitus habebamus, sicut in scriptis nostris plenius continetur, pacifice nobis in perpetuum obtinere concessit. Ad augmentationem etiam ejusdem loci, dedit dominus Bartholomeus de suo terram ad unam carrucam sufficientem et de boscis suis ad usus monachorum, ad ardendum scilicet et ad aedificandum quantum necesse haberent.... Et quoniam praenominatus Bartholomeus in proximo Jerusalem profecturus erat, et prae accleratione itineris sui votum suum tam festinanter explere non poterat, dominum Engébaudum venerabilem Turonensem

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her husband were among those who consented, and Bartholomew states that Maria was his heir. Around 1140 he conceded a donation made to Tiron by his vassal Rainaud Roboratus of land at *Montem-Luisel*, as well as donating two carrucates of land at Bouffrey for the benefit of his soul and those of his ancestors. His sister, her husband and their children consented to this gift. Maria had married, but she maintained a claim to her natal patrimony and was named her brother's heir.⁴⁸ Maria was designated Bartholomew's heir even though he had a brother who was still living. Female kin were obviously viable heirs and not restricted by patrilineage from inheriting property. It is possible that Vulgrin, like his brother Engebald, was a cleric. The charter does not state this, however.

Sisters and mothers also participated in and consented to donations made by the knightly and lesser nobility. Between 1093 and 1101 Hervé Grivellus acted with his mother Guitburg to donate to Marmoutier what they held in the woods of *Silvalonnia* near Fréteval. His sister Genta consented to the gift.⁴⁹ Between 1116 and 1136 Robert Legedoctus and his mother Helvisa Legedocta gave to the bishop of Chartres the

....Continued....

archiepiscopum et Vulgrinium fratres suos, dominaque Mariam sororem sua, necnon dominum Gosbertum generum suum, qui ei in dominio terrae suae successurus erat amicabiliter conveniendo rogavit.

48. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 227, pp. 1-2: Noverint fideles cuncti presentes atque futuri quod ego Bartholomeus de Vindocino concedo Deo Salvatori et monachis de Tyrum terram quam eis dederat Rainaudus Roboratus apud Montem-Luisel, que erat meo feodo....Dono etiam predictis monachis in elemosina, pro salute anime mee atque antecessorum meorum, duas carrucatas terra juxta Planos-Baufredi, omnia nemora mea ad eandem terram hospitandam et ad certos usus in eadem terra habitancium, et omnem pasturam extra defensum meum....Hoc concesserunt Goffredus [*sic*] sororius meus et soror mea Maria et filius eorum Johannes et filie eorum.

49. *CMPD*, no. 88, p. 77; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 321, note 66.

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church of St. John of Châteaudun.⁵⁰ In about 1135, William of Sorèze and his mother Mathea in concert gave to Tiron the land of L'Ile Gosselin. William's sisters Juliana and Agatha consented to the gift, along with his brother Pagan. Shortly after this gift, William gave another carrucate of land from L'Ile Gosselin, and Agatha again gave her assent.⁵¹ The joint donation by William and his mother demonstrates the claim that Mathea had to family lands and the important role she played in the family. Agatha and Juliana exercised a similar claim as family members and potential heirs, along with their brother Pagan. The right of sisters was part of a multiplicity of claims to a family's possessions.

The claim that sisters exercised to family holdings is evident in their inclusion in the settlement of disputes and contestations. At some point in the first quarter of the twelfth century a knight named Rainald, an indirect vassal of the Gouets, was dying and desired to become a monk at St. Père. He donated the tithes of Le Mesnil and of La Forêt. His sisters, as well as his brother-in-law Geoffrey of Ermenonville-la-Grande, consented. After Rainald died, William Pexus, from whom he directly held

50. *CMPD*, no. 149, pp. 159-60: Ego Gaufredus Carnotensium Dei gratia humilis episcopus, omnibus notum esse volo quum adierunt in presentiam nostram, fratres et amici nostri, Majoris Monasterii monachi, pro quadam ecclesia Sancti Johanni Castri-duni, quae dicitur de Chamarico burgo, scilicet ipsorum cujus jam dimidiam partem sub predecessore nostro bonae memorie, domno Ivone episcopo, dono utique ejus et concessione adepti fuerunt, et quiete possidebant, orantes attentius et implorantes ut et reliquam, a Roberto legodocto [*sic*] et ejus matre Heluisa in manu nostra et archidiaconi nostri Dunensis, Gosleni, dum idem Robertus Jerosolymam pergeret, ut melius ordinaretur, dimissam nostra eis auctoritate concederemus.

51. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 194, pp. 222-3: Notum sit omnibus hominibus tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego Guillelmus de Soziaco et mater mea Mathea donavimus Sancto Salvatori et monachis Tironis terram Insule-Goscelini, sicuti et divisa, quem locum vocamus Vadum-Alneti....Omnia vero que ad locum pertinent cum ipso loco liberaliter damus, scilicet decimam tocius terre, et glandem nemoris nostri ad porcos, et pasturam ad alia animalia, et boscum ad ignem monachorum et ad omnia necessaria. Hoc donum concesserunt Paganus de Soziaco frater ejus, et Juliana et Agatha sorores ejus....

Necnon post multos dies Guillelmus de Soziaco dedit monachis Tironis unam carrucatam terre in illo loco sicuti termini eam dividunt. Hoc concesserunt Paganus frater ejus et Agatha soror ejus.

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these tithes in fief, disputed the donation. He eventually abandoned his claim, with the participation and assent of his wife, son, daughter and sister.⁵² An act of another of the Gouet's vassals, datable from the same approximate period, further substantiates the claim that sisters exerted to their brother's possessions. Waldin, the son of Warin Waldin, gave to the monks of St. Père the church which he unjustly possessed at Estel-lieux, as well as donating other property, such as serfs, woods and ovens. Warin's sister Pagana consented to the alienation of this property.⁵³ Moreover, when one of Waldin's dependents gave an arpent of land which had been seized from the same church, both Waldin and Pagana gave their consent in the presence of their father and uncle Robert *Gurnon*. The consent of sisters and other female relatives to family transactions attests to their claim to family lands, fiefs and contested property.

In addition to granting their consent to donations made by their kin, wives, mothers, sisters and daughters fulfilled other functions in the charters. When Waldin and Pagan consented to Albert's gift, they both placed a symbol of the gift on the

52. *CSPDC*, no. 37, pp. 494-5: Carte hujus testimonio tam presentibus quam futuris monasterii hujus fratribus innotescimus, quod quidam miles de Braiolo, Rainaldus scilicet decanus, ad conversionem ad nos in infirmitate sua, qua et mortuus est, veniens, dedit nobis, pro sua antecessorumque suorum salute, medietatem decime sue de Mesnilio et quicquid habebat in decima de Foresta, concedentibus sororibus suis et Gaufrido de Ermenulfi Villa, marito primogenite. Ubi et quando donum hoc nobis factum fuit, affuit Willelmus Goetus juvenis, qui una cum matre sua domna Eustachia, donum nobis concessit...Has decimas, post mortem Rainaldi, diu calumpniavit nobis Willelmus Pexus, eo quod de fevo suo erant ab eo Rainaldus eas tenuerat; sed postmodum concessit nobis eas, et ipse in capitulo nostro, et filii ejus similiter Willelmus Garinus, et uxore ejus Beatrix, et Legardis filia ejus, et Comitissa soror ejus. Hoc viderunt et audierunt, ex parte ejus: Durandus, gener ejus.

53. *CSPDC*, no. 30, p. 489: Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris, quia ego Gualdinus, filius Guarini Gaudini, calumpniam, quam ego hactenus injuste feci monachus sancti Petri Carnoti de ecclesia Stellionum, omnino dimisi....Concessit etiam hec omnia supradicta Pagana, soror Gaudini, apud Montem Grethan, audiente Moyse monacho et Roberto Gurnum et Gaufrido famulo.

Apud eandem ecclesiam, Albertus quidam, famulus Gaudini, pro anima patris sui, dedit monachis agripennum terre ad caput ecclesie. Hoc donum concessit, immo vero dedit Gaudinus et Pagana, soror ejus, presente patre suo Garino Gaudino et patruo suo Roberto Gurnon, et presentibus monachis Moyse et Fulcherio priore. Donum etiam ipsius agripenni ipse Gaudinus et Pagana, soror ejus, super altare beate Marie in eadem ecclesia posuerunt.

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altar.⁵⁴ In the families of the viscounts of Chartres and Châteaudun, wives also acted with their husbands in placing tokens of gifts upon the altars of the Churches. In 1096 Viscount Hugh II of Chartres abandoned his right of *vicaria* to certain properties in the Beauce which he had claimed by right of inheritance. His wife Adelaide of Montlhéry, along with their sons, placed an attribute of the gift upon the altar of St. Père (see Figure 13).⁵⁵ Viscountess Heloise of Châteaudun performed the same role when she and her husband Geoffrey made a gift in alms to the monks of Tiron in 1119.⁵⁶ The inclusion of wives of viscounts in acts symbolizing the donations demonstrates the control they exerted over the family lands and their important position in the family. Their active participation was required in addition to their consent. Viscountess Heloise was involved in donations as well. In 1133, for instance, Viscount Geoffrey III and his "venerable" wife gave Tiron extensive lands at Fontaine-Raoul and Bouffrey. Inhabitants and tithes were also granted; Heloise enjoyed authority over all types of family property.⁵⁷ Women also assumed important positions in vicecomital families in other areas that made gifts to the abbeys of the Chartrain. Viscount Aimery of Thouars and his wife Agnes, for example, made a donation to the priory of Ste. Trinité at Ferrières of "whatever they held" at Ferrières. Agnes shared authority over family holdings with her husband.⁵⁸

54. *CSPDC*, no. 30, p. 489: for the text of this charter, see the preceding note.

55. *CSPDC*, no. 15, p. 240; for the text of this charter see Chapter 7, p. 461, note 169.

56. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 21, pp. 37-8; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 480, note 211.

57. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 185, pp. 207-8; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 481, note 214.

58. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 147, pp. 171-2: Aimericus, vicecomes Toarcii, Agnesque uxor illius quodcumque Ferrariis habebant, vignalia scilicet et alia, Deo fratribusque Tironis tribuerunt, ac vicecomes quicquid de suis casamentis illis daretur concessit, atque illis quidem fisis est quatinus eos semper in sua tutela haberet, et, sit abesset, in custodia Bernardi Porcini illos esse iussit, Norando Bloio....testibus.

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Wives of lords also acted with their husbands in alienating property from family estates. Eustachia of Gouet often appeared with her husband William II and son William III in donating lands to the various ecclesiastical foundations of the region (see Figure 10). Around 1117 the Gouet family established a priory of Tiron at Chategniers. After William II's death, William III affirmed many gifts made to the priory with the consent and approval of his mother Eustachia.⁵⁹ This noblewoman, too, frequently acted with her husband and son in consenting to and affirming donations made by their vassals. In 1116 Eustachia, along with her husband and sons, confirmed the gift and sale of lands by their feudal dependent Gastho of Brou.⁶⁰ Agnes, the wife of Eudes II of Montigny, similarly participated with her husband in making donations but mostly in quitclaiming land unjustly seized from the Church (see Figure 9). In 1154 Eudes II abandoned his claim to the tithes of *Villaeblen* which his father had given to the abbey of Josaphat. Agnes consented to the alienation, along with their children.⁶¹ In the same year Eudes II and Agnes dismissed their claim to the land at Limoron, which substantiates the rights that wives exercised over property that the family controlled, justly or unjustly.⁶²

Female kin of the lower echelons of the Chartrain nobility likewise acted in family donations. While wives most frequently appeared as coactors and coalienors, sisters, mothers and other female relatives participated as well. Instances of mothers donating property with their sons have been mentioned previously. For example, Gui

59. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 12, pp. 24-7; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 448, note 140.

60. *CMPD*, no. 167, pp. 157-8; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 456, note 161.

61. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 225, p. 267; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 413, note 72.

62. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 226, pp. 267-8; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 414, note 73.

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of Ulmeto and his mother Maria gave the monks of Tiron three arpents of land at Villandon.⁶³ In approximately 1132 the Gauslen family, consisting of brothers and sisters, donated for the redemption of their souls two mills that they held by right of fief. Eldeard and her brothers Albert, Giraud, Airaud, Bonnellus and Rainald held these mills in fief from Geoffrey of Burda and his brother-in-law Helias of Brul. Because she was an partner in authority over family possessions, her consent and participation were required.⁶⁴

As compared to other female relatives, lesser noble wives were typically the most frequent coparticipants in the charters. They acted jointly with their husbands in arranging gifts from family holdings. In approximately 1114 Thibaut Cheron and his wife Elizabeth arranged that nine arpents of land at Cereville with orchards and granges would be transferred to the monks of St. Père in alms once they were dead.⁶⁵ In the next decade, about 1120, Girard *Ensaielana* and his wife Amelina gave to Tiron an arpent of land and a house near the church of St. Epaigne. Their children consented to the donation, and the couple was awarded a counter gift of four *librae* and

63. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 127, pp. 153-4; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 425, note 99.

64. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 180, pp. 199-200: In divina pagina legitur a Domino dictum quia "sicut aqua extinguit ignem, ita elemosinam extinguit peccatum." Quapropter nos fratres Goselenenses sororque nostra, in redemptione animarum nostrarum, damus cuidam monacho et sociis ejus fedum quod in duobus molendinis habemus, quos a dominis nostris, Gaufredo videlicet *la Burda* et *Helia del Brul* [sic], sororis sue conjugis, tenemus....Signum Alberti. +Signum Giraudi. +Signum Airaudi. +Signum Bonelli. +Signum Rainaldi. +Signum Eldeardis.

65. *CSPDC*, no. 31, p. 289: Litteras istas legentibus notum esse volumus, quod homo quidam Teobaldus, cognomine Cheron, et uxor ipsius Elisabeth, post suum utriusque obitum, huic nostro monasterio novem arpennos terre apud Cereris Villam, cum uno viridario et duabus grangiis, in elemosinam contribuerunt.

Elisabeth also gave the close of Thibaut, which her first husband had given. Her second husband, Thibaut Cheron, consented to this gift.

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ten *solidi*.⁶⁶ About 1128, Manassas of Tournan and his wife Beatrix similarly arranged a donation to the same abbey consisting of two mills and other property for the benefit of their souls and those of their relatives. They also provided the monks with thirty *solidi* from the *pagus* of Tournan to provide candles for the monks each year.⁶⁷ Wives also acted with their husbands in arranging sales of family land. Sometime during the first two decades of the twelfth century Fulchard and Hersend, with the assent of their son and daughter, sold their rents of bread, wine and wheat to Christian and his wife for six *librae* and twelve *solidi*.⁶⁸ Wives participated in alienating land from the family holdings. They were their husbands' partners in these transactions, which indicates that they enjoyed considerable control over family lands and had influential positions in the family. Like the viscountesses of Blois-Chartres, some women of the lesser nobility acted to guarantee the stability of their family gifts.

Around 1119 Eudes Rufus made a very generous donation to the abbey of St. Père. He, his wife and his sons conceded the gift, which consisted in part of knights' fees, upon

66. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 36, p. 57: In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis, noverint omnes christiane religionis quod Girardus Ensaielana et Amelina uxor ejus dederunt se ecclesie Tyronis, quatinus, si vellent, monachi fierent, necnon partes suas ecclesie Tyronis concesserunt et quoddam arpentum terre quod erat circa ecclesiam Sancti-Ipsani monachis Tyronis dederunt, et unam donum que erat supra arpentum, et habuerunt inde IIII libras et decem solidos de caritate, filiis eorum concedentibus: Carbonello et Auberto, Guaterio et Lijarde illorum filia.

67. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 99, pp. 119-20: Noverit ergo presens etas omniumque secutura posteritas quod ego Manasse de Tornoio et Beatris uxor mea, pro remedio animarum nostrarum ominumque parentum nostrorum, donamus Deo et monachis Tironis, per manum domini Stephani Parisiensis episcopi, terram quam emimus a Guiboldo, famulo nostro, concedente Hugo de Plaisse de cujus feodo erat....Donamus predictis monachis duo molendina et terram de Glesolis ad molendina pertinentum.....

Dedimus etiam ego Manasses et uxor mea Beatrix monachis Tironis XXX solidos de paagio [*sic*] Tornaii, et hoc annuatim ad lumen ecclesie.

68. *CSPDC*, no. 32, p. 290: Noticie succedentium, presenti scripto, ego Guillelmus abbas ceterique fratres capituli tradimus, quod Fulchardus et Hersendis uxor ejus, annuente Ingelranno filio eorum et Alburge filia et Odelina ejus filia, vendiderunt suum fevum panis et vini et annone, quod a nobis tenebant, Christiano et uxori ejus, VI libris et XII solidis; ad quod fevum pertinebant due mesure vini et unus panis et VIII sextarii annone.

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the altar. They also swore to defend the gift against invasion or false claims. Eudes' wife also gave her oath. Hence, she shared the responsibilities and obligations for the gift with her sons and husband.⁶⁹

Some women shared possession of property with their spouses. At the end of the eleventh century Hugh the prévôt of Blois and his wife Praxede gave Marmoutier the land which they had at Villenam, namely woods and fields.⁷⁰ Late in the 1120's William of Choes and his wife Agnes gave the same abbey all of their land at Villandon for the remedy of their souls, and they received ten pounds as a countergift.⁷¹ As well as holding fiefs jointly, wives also shared control over allods. Around 1127, for instance, Gaston of Vichères and his wife Hodierna gave all of the allods that they held at Thivars in alms to the monastery of Notre Dame de Josaphat.⁷² In approximately 1115 Niellius and his wife Hildeard gave to St. Jean-en-Vallée a house, grange, garden, three quarters of vineyard and five arpents of land at Morancez. They state that the monks will hold the land *jure hereditario*, an attempt no doubt to establish the right of

69. *CSPDC*, no. 48, p. 440; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 306, note 32.

70. *CMPD*, no. 137, pp. 126-7: Noverint nostri praesentes et posterī Hugonem prepositum Blesensem et uxorem ejus Praxedem donasse Sancto Martino et nobis Majoris ejus Monasterii monachis, terram quam habebant apud Villenam sive boscum sive planum, cujus terrae pars una erat de fevo Harduini cognomento Ruilli, qui et ipse eam nobis pariter donavit.

71. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 97, pp. 117-18: In nomine Domini, ego Guillelmus de villa que vocatur Choes et uxor mea Agnes dedimus monachis de Tyron terram nostram totam de Villa-Andon, partim pro remedio animarum nostrarum, partim pro caritate quam nobis fecerunt, decem scilicet librarum carnotensis monete.

72. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 24, p. 38: Igitur notum fiat descriptione presenti tam instantie quam successioni fidelium quod Gastho de Vicheriis et ejus uxor Hodierna cuncta alodia sua que apud Thevas habebant ecclesie Beate-Marie Josaphat juxta Leugas, et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, in elemosinam dederunt.

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the abbey and prevent later claims.⁷³ Such examples illustrate the power and influence that noble wives enjoyed over property and in determining the future of family possessions. Many wives were the true partners of their husbands, which suggests a significant degree of autonomy and underscores their active participation in family matters.

Countergifts

Countergifts were one mode of assurance used by the monks to insure donations. Such awards were customarily granted to those who had a right to the donation and who might potentially dispute it, namely kin, vassals and lords. Therefore, the awarding of countergifts provides further proof of women's claim to family lands.

Among the lordly families of Blois-Chartres, wives, mothers and sisters received countergifts in return for their consent to donations. Around 1130 Gui of Lèves and his wife Ermengard donated a walled garden in alms to the monks of Notre Dame de Josaphat. In return, they shared a countergift of sixty *solidi* (see Figure 8).⁷⁴

When Lady Eustachia and her son William III consented to a donation made by one

73. *JEAN*, no. 17, p. 11: Niellius ego nomine, cum uxore mea Hildeardi, ecclesie Morentiarum parrochiani, timore et amore Dei compuncti, salubri doctrina et crebris persuasionibus pastorum nostrorum affecti, pro salute nostra et parentum nostrorum, necnon et prolis nostre in Christo dormientis, tocius nostre facultatis tam mobilis quam immobilis, quia carnali carebamus herede. Christum et sanctam ecclesiam heredem facere cupientes, unam pre ceteris scilicet Sancti Johannis ecclesiam elegimus, cui et nos et nostra hereditario jure regenda, tuenda et possidenda commisimus, sic tamen ut quamdiu vixerimus tam mobilium quam immobilium domini et procuratores erimus, mobilibus tamen solis ad libitum nostrum utemur, et ea sicut nobis placuerit ex...mus [*sic*, elision in text].

74. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 38, pp. 54-5: Notum sit omnibus tam futuris quam presentibus quod Guido de Leugis et Ermengardis uxor ejus cortilium, quam juxta muros de Josaphat habebant, concedente Roberto filio et Maria filia eorum, monachis monasterii Beate-Marie Josaphat in elemosinam dederunt. Unde monachis eisdem donatoribus, ne tanto dono gravarentur, de caritate sua LX solidos dederunt.

This would seem to be the Gui of Lèves who eventually became the abbot of St. Jean-en-Vallée.

of their vassals to St. Jean-en-Vallée, she was awarded compensation of sixty *solidi*.⁷⁵ Eustachia also was granted a countergift when she, her husband and sons affirmed a gift and sale to Marmoutier by another of their vassals, Gastho of Brou. Her husband William II also was given thirty *solidi*, her sons William III and Matthew twenty *solidi*, and her son Robert twelve (see Figure 10). Instead of keeping the cash award, however, Eustachia returned it to Marmoutier for the benefit of her nephew Gelduin the monk.⁷⁶ In 1096, as he was preparing to go to the Holy Land, Lord Nivelon II of Fréteval abandoned the unjust customs that he had levied on the monks of St. Père. His sister Comitissa assented to this quitclaim, and she and her husband were given three *librae* for their cooperation.⁷⁷ Her brother Hamlin also received compensation of forty *solidi* (see Figure 4).

Wives, daughters and sisters of the knights and lesser nobles received similar countergifts in return for their cooperation. Of all female family members, wives were compensated most frequently. In the last five years of the twelfth century Walter Rabel and Robert the nephew of Auscher abandoned their unjust claim to lands at Chatenay and sold land at Le Puits and a plot of meadow at Courcelle. Their feudal lords, Nivelon Sine Barbe and his wife Isabel, consented to this last transaction and were given a countergift of ten *solidi*. Isabel's partnership with her husband in feudal relations is established by her presence at this transaction and further substantiated by the granting of a countergift to both her and her husband. Robert's wife Raimburg consented and was given twelve *denarii*, as were their daughters Petronilla and Hilde-

75. JEAN, no. 8, pp. 6-7; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 455, note 160.

76. CMPD, no. 167, pp. 157-8; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 456, note 161.

77. CSPDC, no. 36, pp. 428-9; for the complete text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 420, note 86.

burg.⁷⁸ The spouses and daughter of vassals, as well as lords, were granted compensation for the loss of family fiefs. Near the middle of the twelfth century Adam the son of Bouard gave to St. Jean-en-Vallée all that he possessed in fief at Auberet. His wife Mathilda consented to the donation with her husband at Etampes and was given a stone goblet instead of a cash grant for her concession to the gift to the abbey.⁷⁹

Countergifts were often granted to family members in instances of contested donations. A charter from the first third of the twelfth century outlines the monks' motivation in awarding countergifts to certain relatives. Alcher a knight from Alluyes gave to St. Père the stream that ran into the monks' pond and his share of the fish. Alcher and his wife were given twenty-five *solidi* and promised that the gift would remain secure from any claim he had made previously.⁸⁰ When challenges were brought against gifts, countergifts were frequently made to particular family members,

78. *CMPD*, no. 62, pp. 54-5: Notum sit omnibus quod Gaulterus Rabel et Robertus nepos Auscherii calumniabantur nobis, monachis Majoris Monasterii, quandam terram apud Castiniacum sitam. Unde cum eis ad hujusmodi concordiam venimus calumniam illam penitus nobis dimiserunt, et insuper acceptis a nobis XX solidis denariorum et quatuor sextariis avenae, vendiderunt nobis terram quandam apud Puteum Fractatestae sitam, et quoddam frustrum prati apud vadum de Curcellis, quae de Nivelone, filio Guarini, et uxore ejus Isabel tenebant; concedente eodem Nivelone et uxore que ob hoc ipsum habuit a nobis sex solidos et Guarino filio eorum, et quoddam alio fratre ejus, concedentibus, qui ideo VII denarios habuerunt. Quod totum concessit Raimburgis, uxor memorati Rotberti, datis ob hoc sibi XII denariis, et filiae ipsius Petronilla, et Hildeburgis, quae ob hoc ipsum XII denarios acceperunt.

79. *JEAN*, no. 54, p. 32: Nos Sancti Johannis canonici notum esse volumus tam futuris quam presentibus quod Adam, filius Bouardi, apud Stampas concessisse ecclesie Sancti Johannis quicquid de feodo ejus habemus apud Albereth, id est quadraginta arpenta terre, mansuram nostram, terram ad unam quarrucam, terciam partem consuetudineum plane terre, omnes justicias hospitum....Deinde apud Sanctum Heudonem predictus Adam concessit quod apud Stampas concesserat, et uxor ejus Mahildis....Pro hac concessione dedit ecclesia Sancti Johannis centum solidos quos habuit Manerius, et uxor Adam Mahildis cipum macerinum.

Maner is not identified in the charter.

80. *CSPDC*, no. 65, pp. 459-60: Successuris hujus monasterii fratribus omni etate certum sit, quod Galterius monachus, sub abbate Willelmo Alogie prepositus, a quodam milite de Alogia, Alcherio nomine, impetravit ut aquam, que supra stagnum nostrum currit, et pisces sancto Petro perpetuo concederet....Pro hac autem re notandum, quia Alcherius et uxor ejus XXV solidos de caritate habuerunt; et promisit nobis quod ab omnia calumpnia, que fieret nobis pro hac re securos nos faceret.

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among them wives and daughters. Between 1096 and 1101 Hubert the son of Magnon gave his daughter Alburg in marriage to Geoffrey Norman, and he retained all the land at *Chainstra* that pertained to the mill at Morée. Hubert later made a gift of these lands to the monks of Marmoutier for the remedy of his soul and those of his son Eudes, his wife Escelina and their daughters.⁸¹ In return for her consent, Escelina was given ten *solidi*. Alburg and Geoffrey were also granted ten *solidi* in compensation, while Hubert's "minor" daughter Agnes was given two *solidi*. These precautions were to no avail, however, because Geoffrey and Alburg later contested the grant.⁸² In 1116 Gastho of Brou and the monks of Marmoutier were involved in a dispute over what exactly an earlier gift entailed. Gastho claimed he had given the tithes only from the vines at Nottonville, while the monks claimed the tithes on grain and on the newly planted vines.⁸³ The dispute was eventually settled in the court of his lords William II Gouet and Eustachia, who found in Gastho's favor. Later in the same year Gastho sold and gave the monks of Marmoutier more land at Nottonville. To insure that no further disputes emerged, the monks gave countergifts to Gastho, his wife and children. Gastho's wife Agatha was given seven *solidi*, his eldest son Eudes twenty and

81. *CMPD*, no. 90, pp. 78-9: Sciant pro certo posterii nostri quod Hubertus, Magnonis filius, quando dedit filiam suam Gaufredo Normanno, cum quadam parte terrae suae totam terram suam quae est a loco qui dicitur Chainstra usque ad molendinos de Moreiis, ad animam suam hereditandam retinuit. Quod bene et libenter concesserunt supradictus Gaufredus et uxor ejus Alburgis.

Also *CMPD*, no. 91, p. 79: Post aliquantum vero temporis supradictus Hubertus quaecunque habebat ab illo loco, qui dicitur Chainstra, usque ad molendinos de Moreiis, pro remedio animae suae et pro anima Odonis, filii sui, et pro anima uxoris suae Escelinae nomine et pro animabus filiarum suarum monachis Sancti Martini dedit. Monachi vero caritate Sancti Martini XL solidos ipsi Huberto dederunt. Hoc donum fecit Hubertus Sancto Martino in domo Raginaldi de Espiers. Concessit etiam hoc donum Escelina uxor sua, quae pro hac concessione decem solidos habuit. Hoc quoque concessit Gaufredus Normannus et Alburgis uxor sua, quae pro hac concessione decem solidos habuit. Concessit hoc similiter Agnes, minor Huberti filia, quae pro hac concessione duos solidos habuit.

82. *CMPD* no. 87, pp. 76-77; for text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 350, note 131.

83. For a discussion of this dispute, see Chapter 6, pp. 369-70.

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his other sons and daughters each received six *denarii*.⁸⁴ The discrepancy in the amount of money granted in compensation to Gastho's children suggests that the right of the eldest son was coming to predominate. If the rights of other progeny were becoming restricted, female kin may have been prompted to attempt to gain family lands through contestation. To circumvent any attempt by these women to challenge or usurp gifts the monks gave them compensation for their consent and approval of gifts.

Daughters were also awarded cash for their consent to simple gifts. In 1098 Hubert, son of Magnon, made another donation to the monks of Marmoutier; he gave the land which he held in *Silvalonnia* near Fréteval.⁸⁵ His wife Escelina and his daughters Alburg and Agnes were each given five *solidi* as compensation.⁸⁶ Between 1123 and 1128 John of Etampes gave the abbey of St. Jean-en-Vallée all that he possessed at Mantarville. His wife Eustachia, his brother Frederick and his daughter Avelina consented to the gift. In return, John was granted twenty *librae* of money from Etampes, his wife Eustachia was given sixty *solidi*; Avelina along with her uncles each received two *solidi* in return for their consent.⁸⁷ In the mid twelfth century,

84. *CMPD*, no. 166, pp. 156-7; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 369, note 174.

85. Since this charter makes no reference to Alburg's husband Geoffrey, I would postulate that it predates the ones discussed above.

86. *CMPD*, no. 63, p. 55: Notum sit omnibus quod Hubertus, filius Mannonis, dedit nobis, monachis scilicet Majoris Monsterii, terram quandam in silva Lognia propre castellum, quod Fracta Vallis nuncupatur, in loco scilicet ubi quondam extiterat castellum, quod Foliolum vocabatur, dedit autem nobis quicquid illic habebat....Auctorizavit hoc donum Hescelina, uxor ejus, et filiae ejus Auburgis et Agnes, dans scilicet Huberto XXX solidos, Hescelina X, Auburgi V, Agnete, sorori ejus V.

87. *JEAN*, no. 36, pp. 22-3: Nos Sancti Johannis canonici notum esse volumus omnibus sancte Dei ecclesie fidelibus tam futuris quam presentibus quod Johannes de Stanpis, filius Pagani, dimisit ecclesie Sancti Johannis, pro anima patris sui et majorum suorum, sine aliqua retentione, quicquid in proprietate et in feodo habebat in villa que vocatur Hermentarvilla. Hujus rei se defensorem contra omnem calumniam, si aliquando calumnia de hac terra mota fuerit, fore promisit et fidei sue interpositione

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William of Courcerault gave Tiron all that he possessed in fief at Saint-Germain, including orchard, land, woods and a mill, with the consent of his wife and children. William's daughters and sons were given seventeen *solidi* in compensation.⁸⁸ The awarding of these counter gifts attests to the equal right or claim that sons and daughters exercised to this family's possessions.

Sisters also were granted counter gifts to compensate for the loss of potential revenue resulting from the alienation of family property. Around 1123 William the knight, the son of Girard of Coudray, gave to the monks of St. Père ten *solidi* of *cens*. His three sisters and their husbands, who were granted counter gifts of cash in return for their cooperation, consented along with William's feudal lord.⁸⁹ A charter from St. Jean-en-Vallée of the same approximate date reveals the same practice. Bartholomew the knight and his brother-in-law Walter demised the false claim they had made to the meadow given to the Church by Hildegard of Gourdez. Bartholomew's mother and sisters consented to this quitclaim and also received counter gifts as recompense.

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Concessionem predictae pactionis fecit uxor prenominati Johannis, Eustachia, et frater ejus Fredericus et filia ejus Avelina, apud Corbolium. Hic Fredericus fidem interposuit, sicut et alii fratres ejus, se fore defensionem contra omnem calumpniam.... Pro supradicta concessione habuit Johannes XX libras stampensis monete; uxor Eustachia LX solidos pruvigensis monete; fratres Johannis unusquisque duos solidos; filia ejus duos solidos. S. Johannis +. S. Eustachie +.

88. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 281, pp. 50-1: Ne oblivione deleatur litterarum memorie tradidimus quod Guillelmus de Cursesauda dedit Sancto-Salvatori de Tiro quicquid habebat in dominio in feodo Sancti-Germani, sicut habebat solutum cum vigeria, scilicet terram et nemus et molendinum, concedente uxore sua Milisent, et filiis suis, et filiabus Hugone, Gauterio, Ysabele, et Maria.... Unde in caritate dederunt ei monachi ducentos solidos, et filiis et filiabus ejus decem et septem solidos.

89. *CSPDC*, no. 126, p. 348: In nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Nos monachi sancti Petri posteris nostris litteris istis mandamus, quod Willelmus miles, filius Girardi de Coldreto, in infirmitate sua ad conversionem ad nos veniens, dedit beato Petro et nobis X solidos census ad Casas, annuente domino suo Willelmo, filio Ansol-di, de quo illos tenebat. Hoc ejus donum concesserunt nobis tres sorores ejus et mariti earum, in capitulo nostro.... Amelina I denarium; Hildegarius, III denarios; Gaultorius, XVIII denarios obolum.... Arnulfus, IX denarios; Ermengardis, VI denarios, Hildeburgis, XII denarios...

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Eremenburg, Bartholomew's mother, was given six *denarii*, while his sisters Agnes and Ermenburg were given twelve.⁹⁰

Women's participation in the charters as consenters, codonors and recipients of countergifts attests to their authority over the lands of their natal and affinal families. Female kin from the upper and lesser nobility were not restricted from authority over land or, as will be discussed later, from actual possession of it. Such rights and influence of noblewomen prove that many noble families of Blois-Chartres did not adhere to a family structure that reduced female kin to powerlessness or superfluity. Indeed the participation of various female relatives, as well as other family members, indicates that the family and the Church viewed women and other kin as potential heirs and claimants or usurpers of donated lands and revenues.

Noblewomen's Claim to Land: Heirs, Contesters and Usurpers

A reliable indicator of noblewomen's position in the family, and to some degree in noble society in general, was their ability to inherit and control property. Their challenges to ecclesiastical donations individually or with family members also provide evidence of the legitimacy of noblewomen's claim to family possessions. A further mark of a noblewoman's influence was her role as usurper of ecclesiastical property. Many noblewomen were accused of such actions, and the fact that some noblewomen could muster the resources to bring challenges attests to the power they commanded in not only in the family but also in feudal society.

90. *JEAN*, no. 26, p. 16: Nos sancti Johannis canonici notum esse volumus tam futuris quam presentibus quod Bartholomeus, miles, et Galterius sororius ejus dimiserunt calumniam quam faciebant de prato quod Hildegarius de Gurziis dederat Sancto Germano, concedentibus Ermenburgi matre, Agathe sorore, Ermengardi sorore. Inde habuerunt Bartolomeus et Guaterius octo solidos et sex denarios; Ermenburgis VI denarios; Agathes et Hermengardis XII denarios.

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Noblewomen as Heirs

In late eleventh-century and early twelfth-century Blois-Chartres, many noblewomen were heiresses. That is to say, they inherited land when there were no surviving male heirs, which in itself is not unusual for women in even the most rigidly patrilineal societies. The matter which distinguishes the position of women as heiresses is not whether they were eligible to inherit when there was a lack of male heirs but rather whether, once they inherited, they controlled the inheritance or their husbands usurped this right.

At the end of the eleventh century the families of the lord of Montigny and the vidame of Chartres passed the patrimony and fiefs to daughters. After the death of Ganelon II in the 1090's there were apparently no sons to assume the lordship of Montigny.⁹¹ His widow Adela took on responsibility for the family lands and for her minor daughters, Agnes and Adelaide. Shortly after Ganelon II's death, she married Hamlin of Fréteval, who seems to have taken over as lord of Montigny (see Figure 9). Between 1096 and 1101 he donated mills that he had violently usurped from the monks of Marmoutier, as well as other property.⁹² Adela did not participate in the charter in any way. Control of the lordship had evidently fallen to Hamlin, and Adela no longer continued to exert influence over it. It is also possible that Adela had died by the time of this charter, since the practice of rigid patrilineage was not otherwise characteristic of this family. Because Adela was not a blood heir to the lordship, it is possible that her absence might be explained by the coming of age of her children, the heirs to the lordship. Adelaide, the daughter of Adela and Ganelon II, consented and authorized all that Hamlin arranged with the monks. Apparently Hamlin had not

91. For discussion of the Montigny family, see E. Mabille, *CMFD*, pp. xix, xlvi; see also Chapter 2, pp. 71-6.

92. *CMFD*, no. 61, pp. 53-4; for a discussion of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 406, note 60.

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established complete domination of her father's patrimony. Adelaide was also awarded a countergift of cash, which further establishes her right to this land.

It was through Agnes, Adelaide's sister, that the lordship was passed along to a male heir, her son Raher (see Figure 9). Agnes was married twice. Her first husband was Vidame Hugh II of Chartres. Early in the twelfth century Hugh and Agnes quitclaimed possession of lands at Montigny and each was granted monetary compensation. In this marriage Agnes was clearly the partner of her husband and continued to enjoy authority over the property that pertained to the lordship of Montigny. Hugh II died in 1107, and Agnes married Eudes of Vallières around 1115. Her marriage with Eudes was crucial, for it restored family coffers and temporarily rescued the family from a long financial, political and territorial decline. Eudes and Agnes made many gifts and arranged transactions that concerned the Montigny lands. Agnes' participation in these acts indicates that she enjoyed a partnership with her second husband similar to that with her first spouse. Neither Hugh or Eudes was able to assume complete and autonomous control of Agnes' patrimony. The husbands of the ladies of Montigny needed to secure the consent of their wives and female heirs to make the transaction legitimate. The women of Montigny did not exercise control of the lordship to the exclusion of their husbands. Nor did husbands usurp or minimize the rights of their wives. Instead, a partnership prevailed between them.⁹³

The vicedominal family of Chartres similarly faced a lack of male heirs early in the twelfth century (see Figure 1). Sometime in the 1080's Vidame Gueric married Helisend, with whom he had at least three children, Hugh, Stephen and Elizabeth. Hugh succeeded his father as vidame and married Agnes of Montigny, but they had no children and he died around 1107. Gueric's and Helisend's son Stephen entered the Church and eventually became the abbot of St. Jean-en-Vallée. Around 1108, Eliza-

93. For a discussion of this family in the twelfth century, see Chapter 7, pp. 405-10.

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beth, thus, became her father's heir. Helisend did remarry to Bartholomew Bodellus and they had at least one son, Girard. After her mother's death, Elizabeth assumed the title of *vicedomina* and her sons eventually succeeded her (see Figure 9). While Girard Bodellus did style himself vidame late in the twelfth century, he did so only after Elizabeth's death. Elizabeth controlled the patrimony and fiefs as vidame of Chartres. Around 1130 she donated to Notre Dame de Josaphat her half of the tithes of Andeville, which Elizabeth held in fief by right of inheritance. Women in this family did inherit property and fiefs.⁹⁴ Furthermore, Girard Bodellus' sole claim to the title of vidame was through his mother, who had been married to Vidame Gueric. He had to wait for the death of his half-sister Elizabeth, a direct heir of the vidames, before he could employ the title.

Judith of Breteuil, a relative of the viscounts of Chartres, also held land through inheritance (see Figure 12). In 1123, with the consent of her husband Galeran and son Evrard, Judith donated to Notre Dame de Josaphat land at Limoron which she held *jure hereditario*.⁹⁵ A challenge to the gift was brought by Robert of Memberolles, however, with the result that King Louis VI confirmed both Judith's gift and Robert's quitclaim.⁹⁶ While it is not clear from whom Judith had inherited this property, these acts do establish that noblewomen were heirs and that they maintained control over their inheritance even after they were married and had male progeny.

Women of knightly and lesser noble status also inherited family holdings. In the first quarter of the twelfth century, Alburg sold fiefs to the monks of St. Père which

94. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 37, pp. 53-4; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 389, note 25.

95. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 8, pp. 10-5; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 475, note 199.

96. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 13, p. 25; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 475, note 200.

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she had inherited from her father.⁹⁷ Her daughter consented to this sale. Similarly in 1141 Elizens and her husband Walter donated to Notre Dame de Josaphat land that came from "her patrimony."⁹⁸ Elizens clearly exercised control over her inheritance. Like their counterparts in the upper nobility, these women inherited property from their natal families and their consent and participation were required for gifts made from it.

Claims and Contestations brought by Noblewomen

Women were sometimes guilty of usurping property from the Church. When, around 1105, Hugh Berbellus made a donation to St. Père, his sons swore to defend it against all men and *women* who made a claim.⁹⁹ Clearly women, like men, were liable to disrupt ecclesiastical donations. The evidence from Blois-Chartres provides evidence of this behavior. Early in the twelfth century Countess Adela of Blois-Chartres admitted to usurping unjustly vines from the abbey of St. Père. In 1104 Adela restored these vines to the monks.¹⁰⁰ This countess was one of the most powerful women in France, and her usurpation of land indicates that she, like her male coun-

97. *CSPDC*, no. 112, pp. 340-1: Posterorum memorie his litteris commendamus, quod quedam femina nostra, Alburgis, filia Fulchardi, ex parte patris sui Fulchardi, habebat a nobis feodum, et in hac domo in pane et vino et in estiva [*sic*] XVI sextariorum annone, et extra hanc domum in censu aliquantarum domorum. Hoc autem feodum cum vendere voluisset, maluimus ut nobis venderet quam alicui extraneo. Vendidit ergo nobis in capitulo nostro, concedente Oelina filia sua, hoc feodum in manu Roberti Normannigene mariti sui; insuper autem et domum suam que non erat de feodo, XIII libras.

98. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 111, pp. 142-3; for the text of this charter, see p. 581, note 212.

99. *CSPDC*, no. 71, p. 319; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 365, note 164.

100. *CSPDC*, no. 10, pp. 408-9: Testimonio presentis scripti cunctis fidelibus tam futuris quam presentibus fiat manifestum, quod egregia comitissa, nomine Adela, vineas quod injuste diu in propriis usibus retinendo usurpaverat, sancto Petro reddiderit, erubescens et ideo satisfaciens super diutina tanti reatus injuria.

terparts, was able to take land from the Church. Noblewomen from families of the lords of Blois-Chartres also seized property from local monasteries. In approximately 1107 Lady Agnes of Montigny abandoned her false claim to mills belonging to the monks of Marmoutier that Hamlin of Fréteval had previously quitclaimed. Like the countess, Agnes had the wherewithal to challenge gifts and perhaps actually prevent the monks from assuming ownership.¹⁰¹ Around 1132, *Vicedomina* Elizabeth of Chartres admitted to exacting the "evil customs" of *vicaria* and justice from the mill at L'Epinay. She recognized her transgression by granting the monks' mill and millers immunity from these exactions.¹⁰²

Noblewomen from the knightly and lesser noble families were also successful in contesting ecclesiastical donations. Between 1101 and 1112 Robert donated the church of Chandai, as well as a mill and its tithes and land, to the monks of St. Père. Robert's maternal aunt Mahild, who was now a nun, had falsely claimed this church by right of inheritance and was granted a counter gift of thirty-five *solidi* in return for her assent to this donation.¹⁰³ This act not only establishes that women inherited land, but also that they were able to seize property that they believed belonged to them. Like Mahild, Guitburg the wife of Robert Parvus was accused of possessing property that belonged to the Church. In either 1107 or 1108 Guitburg relinquished her control of one-sixth of the church of St. Hilaire to the abbey of Marmoutier.¹⁰⁴ Women also challenged the donation of their kin. Adele Filoche, for instance, disput-

101. *CMPD*, no. 89, pp. 77-8; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 407, note 63.

102. *CSPDC*, no. 130, p. 616; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 391, note 28.

103. *CSPDC*, no. 27, pp. 534-5; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 5, p. 288, note 207.

104. *CMPD*, no. 71, p. 64; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 4, p. 208, note 68.

ed part of the gift that her husband, Robert of Blainville, made when he became a monk at the abbey of Tiron. "Seduced by the spirit of avarice," she falsely claimed the meadow which Robert had given. An accord was reached with the monks: Adela gave up her claim in return for fifty *solidi*, while her children also received a cash gift of six *denarii*.¹⁰⁵ The monks' payment to Adela to allow the gift to stand attests to her claim to her husband's lands and to her ability to challenge the transfer of this property to the Church. Such examples indicate that noblewomen could contest the alienation of family property to the monks.

Claims and Usurpations by Noblewomen and their Families

Noblewomen were a vital part of their families, a role which is particularly evident in their participation with other family members in laying claims to donations or usurping property. In 1104 Girard of *Conomo* and his brother Borellus acted with their mother Aremburg in seizing land at *Jamba*. The dispute was finally settled in the

105. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 257, pp. 27-8: Notum sit universis sancte ecclesie filiis presentibus et futuris quod Robertus de Bellenvilla, in conversione sua cum factus est Tironii monachus, dedit ejusdem loci monachis, pro salute anime sue et antecessorum suorum, quicquid habebat dominii, in terris scilicet et pratis, a chimino Dunenesi usque ad torrentem Tyronii, et a divisione terre sue que terminatur cum bosco Ferrarie usque ad divisionem iterum terre sue et Sancte-Marie....

Post non multum vero temporis, Adeles Filoche, avaricie spiritu seducta, calumpniata est quedam prata que predictus Robertus, maritus ejus, cum ceteris que hic leguntur, monachis dederat et ipse etiam concesserat; sed postquam inter se diu inde placitaverunt tandem in unum convenerunt et quinquaginta solidos illi dederunt ut et calumpnia pacificaretur, et hanc se injuste tenuisse confiteretur, et de his omnibus pax firma deinceps inter se custodiretur. Dederunt etiam duobus ejus infantibus, Machelino scilicet Amelina, cuique sex denarios pro recognitione, quia hoc idem et fecerunt et concesserunt.

court of Countess Adela of Blois-Chartres, who found in favor of the monks.¹⁰⁶

Similarly around 1120 a family of lesser nobles joined together to abandon their claim to the meadow next to *Vadum Alburg*. Bartholomew of Montainville, his mother, his sisters Agatha, Aubuce and Heudeart and his brother-in-law Gautier, conceded this property to the priory of St. German of Morancez.¹⁰⁷ The family also acted in solidarity in placing an oak staff upon the altar as a symbol of the gift. Wives also challenged donations with their husbands. Hildiard and Osmund of La Ferté contested her father's gift to Marmoutier of property.¹⁰⁸ Wives also participated in challenges that were not clearly indicated by the charters as pertaining to natal patrimonies or dowries. At some point in the first three decades of the twelfth century, Mainer of *Insula* and his wife Hermesend abandoned their false claim to the tithes of Villeraï.¹⁰⁹ Later

106. *CMPD*, no. 161, pp. 150-5: Noverint universi tam praesentes quam futuri fratres Majoris Monasterii quod Girardus de Conomo et Borellus frater ejus, una cum Aremburge matre sua, saisiverunt super nos, anno ab incarnatione Domini MCIII, terram de Jamba, tam scilicet hospites, quam cetera omnia terrae ipsius pertinentis ad obedientiam Villae Belfordii, quod ego frater Hilgodus, tunc temporis abbas Majoris Monasterii, ceterique fratres nostri audientes, tamdiu fuimus inde conquesti, donec ad aures dulcissime dominae nostrae Adelaë, Blesensis comitissae, incliti regis Anglorum Willelmi filiae, querela haec nostra pervenit, quae accepto et statuto placito inter illos et nos, tam de hac pervasione quam et de aliis quibusdam, unde ipsi querebantur de nobis utrosque Blesim in praesentiam suam conducto placiti termino venire fecit.... Quae cum audisset comitissa, dixit etiam sibi factam inde esse magnam injuriam, quoniam neque tempore Tetbaldi comitis, neque tempore viri sui comitis Stephani, neque etiam suo inde clamorem audierat, neque ipsa in cujus custodia et tutela res beati Martini sunt jus vel iudicium, inde alicui vetuerat.

107. *JEAN*, no. 25, p. 15: Bartholomeus de Montenvilla et mater et sorores ipsius Agatha, Aubucem et Heudeart, itemque sororius ejus Gauterius, major de Bonce, pratum juxta Vadum Alburgis sitam, quod calumpniabantur, Sancto Germano de Morentiis concesserunt, et in signum concessionis vel donationis baculum quercinum super altare posuerunt.

108. *CMPD*, no. 88, pp. 74-5; for the text of the charter, see Chapter 6, p. 321, note 66.

109. *CSPDC*, no. 95, p. 590: Miles quidam, Mainerius de Insula dictus, cum uxore sua Hermesende, in capitulum nostrum venit, et calumpniam quandam quam injuste nobis intulerat, de decima nostra de Villiriaco, in perpetuum dimisit; et de eadem calumpnia, cum predicta uxore sua, se quod eam nobis intulisset peccasse confitens, Deo et sancto Petro, per manum domni Johannis, qui tunc prior capitulo presidebat, satisfecit.

in the twelfth century, about 1140, Renard of *Artenarios* became a regular canon and made a donation to the abbey of Tiron. Ricard of Augerville and his wife Amelina contested the gift, claiming that the property in question belonged to their patrimony.¹¹⁰

Husbands also frequently brought claims to their wives' portions of their natal lands. During the decade between 1119 and 1129 Gunther of Auneau and his wife abandoned their dispute about her father's donation of land at Sours to St. Jean-en-Vallée. Their contestation was based on the fact that Gunther's wife had not consented to this gift, which consisted of lands that had been given as a dowry.¹¹¹ Isnard of *Garennia's* brother-in-law Bardolus claimed his gift as soon as he heard of his Isnard's death in the Holy Land. The property had been granted as a marriage endowment to Isnard's sister.¹¹² Bernard La Ferté contested a gift by Lord Fulcher of Fréteval to Marmoutier. His only title to this property was through his wife Hildeburg, the daughter of Fulcher. This charter does not intimate that the land in question pertained to Hildeburg's dowry, yet Bernard believed that his wife exercised some right or prerogative to her natal family lands.¹¹³ In 1095, before his departure for the Holy Land, Evrard II of Le Puiset made a gift to Marmoutier to establish the anniversary of his

110. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 231, p. 5: Ne latere queat posteros memorie mandamus quatinus Renardus de Artenario, vitam canonicorum regularium aggrediens, pro anime sue remedio, agripennum vinee que est apud Gallinum-Nidum Tyronensibus monachis tribuit. Deinde, brevi temporis transacto curriculo, Ricardus de Orgeriis et uxor sua Adelina eam de patrimonio suo esse dicentes calumpniati sunt: qui autem sicophante ostensi hujus rei concessores effecti sunt.

111. *JEAN*, no. 22, p. 14: Nos Sancti Johannis canonici notum esse volumus tam futuris quam presentibus quod Guntherio de Alneto nobis calumniam de terra de Soors facienti et dicenti quod uxor sua donum de predicta terra nobis non concesserat, et quod socer suus cum filia terram illam sibi dederat, Gatho de Remalath, socer ipsius, in curia Gaufridi episcopi, predictam terram se ei dedisse denegavit et justiciam ipsi pro nobis de terra illa obtulit.

112. *CSPDC*, no. 2, p. 516; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 355, note 142.

113. *CMPD*, no. 75, p. 67; for the text of this charter, see Appendix II, note 4.

father's death. Hugh the cellarer of Neuvy-en-Beauce claimed a portion of the gift, stating that the property belonged to him through his wife, who had inherited it from her relatives. Evrard denied that either Hubert or his wife had a right to the land and declared the claim unjust.¹¹⁴ The suits initiated by husbands and wives confirm that the woman's right to her dowry and natal lands was still recognized. Moreover, the restitution awarded to such couples verifies that a daughter's right to her family lands was recognized by the monks.

In addition to laying claim to their relatives' donations and lands, husbands and wives contested each other's gifts. In the first third of the twelfth century, for example, Vivian, the second husband of Menelde, contested a gift she had made on behalf of her first husband. To settle the dispute, Menelde stated in public that her husband's claim was unjust and the matter was dropped.¹¹⁵ The legal power of noblewomen is evident in this example: Menelde's oath, along with an absence of witnesses, was sufficient to halt her husband's claim. In 1164 Odelina and her second husband Peter of Rivère claimed a life estate arranged by her first husband with the monks of

114. *CMPD*, no. 149, pp. 137-8: Sciendum praeterea quod Hugo, cellararius de Novo Vico, calumniatus est nobis supradictam domum atque vineam quae fuerant Odonis clerici, reclamans in eis jus ex parte conjugis suae jure propinquitatis. Sed in colloquio quodam apud villam quae Halena dicitur habito, derationatus est domnus Ebrardus de Puteolo monachus noster contra eum, quod nihil juris ipse vel uxor ejus in eis haberet et quod ejus calumnia injusta esset.

For the first paragraph of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 464, note 176.

115. *CSPDC*, no. 16, pp. 273-4: Eo tempore quo domnus Willelmus huic nostro monasterio abbas presidebat, mulier quedam, Meneldis nomine, que Willelmum cauponem maritum habuerat, post mortem ejusdem viri sui, capicerie hujus nostre ecclesie, quam tunc Conanus administrabat, dedit quamdam domum suam et unum curtillum ad illuminanda luminaria. Deinde virum alium duxit, nomine Vivianum, qui, predictum conjugis sue beneficium impedire volens, calumpniatus est, quod, dum sibi eam sumeret in uxorem, ejusdem domus atque curtilli medietatem sibi dedisset. Quamobrem, nos jam a Menelde de domo et curtillo revestiti, ad justiciam nos obtulimus, et, prestituto, placiti die, affuimus. Affuit Vivianus; nec unum ad cause sue probationem testem habens, Meneldis, uxor ejus, publice coram omnibus injustam viri sui calumpniam esse protestans, numquam se ei que calumpniabatur dedisse asseruit.

Marmoutier.¹¹⁶ Like Vivian, Odelina and Peter eventually gave up their claim. The right of spouses to each other's property is apparent in these examples. Even in the instance where a spouse later attempted to circumvent a woman's disposition of property, he met with no success.

The disputes and usurpations pursued by noblewomen or in their behalf testify to the diversity of women's experience. Many noblewomen controlled property. They were heirs to their patrimonies and their husbands' possessions. Others, however, found their dowries co-opted by their natal families and were compelled to bring suit with their husbands. But if women had not exercised a legitimate right to property or were not believed to be viable heirs, then they, their husbands and kin would not have been able to bring such actions against alienations made to the Church. This evidence suggests a transition in the structure of noble families. Some families sought to limit daughters' right to the patrimony, but restrictive patrilineage had not taken hold, for women and their husbands were successful in challenging their natal families' control of this property.

116. *JEAN*, no. 78, p. 44: Ego Robertus, Dei gratia, Carnotensis episcopus, veritatem silentio periclitari posse cognoscens, scripto mandare dignum duxi quod Odelina, uxor Herberti de Menolvillari, post obitum ipsius, canonicos Sancti Johannis de Valeia pro decima de Orrevilla quam tenebant, diu multumque inquietavit, et per Petrum de Riveria, quem maritum acceperat, multimodis illis injurias erogavit. Aiebat enim decimam illam ad se pertinere quoniam prior ille vir suus, scilicet Herbertus, quoad vixerat, eam tenuerat. Econtra canonici Herbertum quidem decimam tenuisse non negabant, sed, productis in medium testibus et cartulis, decimam ad se reverti debere veraciter affirmabant; proferebant etiam cyrographum a venerabili predecessore meo Gosleno, Carnotensi episcopo, factum, quod verbis illorum fidem faciebat et decimam ad ipsos pertinere certissime testabatur. Sed Odelina et prefatus vir ejus Petrus, veritati nullatenus acquiescentes, et in eo quod ceperant persistentes, sententiam excommunicationis exceperunt. Tandem mulier illa, timore Dei compuncta, presentiam nostram adiit, virum suum secum adduxit, recognovit culpam, deprecata est veniam; sed et cyrographum quod hactenus occultatum retentaverat in manus reddidit, in quo plenissime contebatur pretaxatam decimam sine omni reclamazione vel alicujus heredis successione ad canonicos reversuram. Ambo itaque, Petrus scilicet et Odelina, confitentes se peccasse eo quod injustam canonicus intulissent calumpniam et de cetero nichil tale facturos se pollicentes, absolutionem humillime petierunt et obtinuerunt.

Donations Made by Noblewomen

The ability of women to control land is perhaps best illustrated by their individual and independent donations. Women ranging in status from Countess Adela to the wife of a simple knight made gifts to the Church. Members of their families would frequently consent, revealing that women's disposition of land was limited by the same familial constraints as those that affected male kin.

In 1096 Count Stephen of Blois-Chartres went on crusade and Countess Adela assumed charge of the county (see Figure 16). When he died in 1104, she continued her tenure as countess for roughly the first decade of the twelfth century. During this time Adela made several donations. In 1104 she conceded the tithes of her part of the woods of *Silvalonnia* to Marmoutier for the benefit of Stephen and her own soul.¹¹⁷ None of the comital children consented to the donation, nor did any of Adela's natal or affinal kin. Indeed, she made the donation completely independently. Between 1104 and 1122¹¹⁸ this countess donated to St. Père the property bounded or separated by close of Sigismund and the vines of Fulco. This property pertained to the fisc of Lord Nivelon of Fréteval, who consented to the donation along with his son Ursio (see Figure 5). The participation of her sons William and Henry as consenters suggests that they both maintained a right to this land even though Henry was a cleric and

117. *CMPD*, no. 76, pp. 67-8: Ad memoriam posterorum nostrorum, Majoris videlicet Monasterii monachorum, presenti scripto transmittimus, quod canonici Sancti Carlephi Blesensis, quorum haec sunt nomina; Otbertus, Guarinus, filius Richardi, Odo, Gundrannus, rogatu et deprecatione dominae nostrae karissimae Blesensis comitissae Adilae, Guillelmi primi regis Anglorum filiae, Stephanique palatini comitis conjugis, amatissime atque assidue benefactricis nostrae, bis concesserunt Deo, beato Martino atque nobis totam decimationem illius partis Silva Lonniae, quam nobis ipsa, pro viri sui Stephani et pro sua, proque suorum tam predecessorum quam successorum, dedit anno MCIII ab incarnatione Domini.

118. The charter must be dated after 1104, since it makes reference to Count Stephen's death, which occurred in this year.

William was married to the heiress of Sully (see Figure 16).¹¹⁹

Noblewomen from the ranks of viscount and lord also made independent gifts. As has been discussed previously, Judith of Breteuil, a relative of the viscounts of Chartres, donated to the monks of Notre Dame de Josaphat her inherited land at Limoron.¹²⁰ Another kinswoman, related to the viscounts through Evrard II's wife Alix of Corbeil,¹²¹ also made an independent donation to the abbey of Notre Dame de Josaphat (see Figure 12). Around 1150 Alix of Châteaufort donated to the same monastery the meadow at Bouville, but Crispin of Rochefort, whom the editor of the cartulary identifies as her grandson, later disputed the gift. He did eventually permit the meadow to pass to the Church.¹²² None of Alix's kin appeared in the charter as consenters, which implies that she had autonomous control of the property. Crispin's dispute, however, proves that her family thought otherwise.

Like their predecessors in the eleventh century, the twelfth-century ladies of

119. *CSPDC*, no. 14, pp. 411-2: Sucedentium noticie innotescat fidelium, quod Adela, egregia comitissa, uxor Stephani comitis, in expugnatione Jerosolimitane terre jam defuncti, pro ipsius anima et pro sua, dedit sancto Petro, annuentibus suis filiis G. et H., tramitem quendam apud Sanctum Leobinum, qui disternat clausam Sigismundi et vineas Fulconis archidiaconi. Hoc idem annuit Nevelo, ad cujus fiscum predictus trames pertinebat, assentiente Ursone filio suo. Actum est hoc coram subscriptis testibus....

120. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 8, pp. 10-15; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 320, note 65. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 13, p. 25; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 475, note 200.

121. Alix was the sister of Count Gui of Rochefort. The Alix making the donation would seem to be a wife or daughter of the subsequent counts of Rochefort, thus perhaps the grandniece of Alix of Corbeil, wife of Evrard II of Le Puiset.

122. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 172, pp. 216-8: Denique ad omnium volumus transire noticiam quod Haalit de Castello-Forti, matrona utique secundum seculum spectans sublimitatis sed animi generositate nobilior, in domum Beate-Marie Josaphat tale sue liberalitatis munus obtulit, sueque devotionis munimentum dereliquit. Dedit namque prefate ecclesie, per manum domini Girardi, quicquid sui juris erat in pratis Bosvilla, que sibi actenus cum Herveio de Menolvillier fuerant inparciendi equitate communia. Hec autem prata quiete ac libere eadem ecclesia terquinis jam possederat annis, cum tandem surgens Crispinus de Rupeforti titulum propinquitatis opponit et, facta calumpnia, prata ipsa de manu de ecclesie in suum jus, injuste tamen, conferre contendit.

Blois-Chartres also made several independent ecclesiastical gifts. The ladies of Montigny donated property to the Church, but their gifts were of a humbler character due to the economic and territorial strain the family was experiencing (see Figure 9). Between 1107 and her marriage to Eudes of Vallières in about 1115 Lady Agnes of Montigny gave a serf named Hildearde to Marmoutier. She was granted a counter gift of twenty five *solidi* as compensation.¹²³ After the death of Lord Gerogius of Courville, his wife Philippa assumed responsibility for the patrimony and became her son Ivo's guardian (see Figure 2). Sometime after 1100, she and Ivo donated the *vicaria* of Pomeray to the monks of St. Père. While Philippa made the gift with the nominal participation of the eventual heir, she was clearly in control of the lordship and corresponding lands.¹²⁴ *Vicedomina* Helisend also assumed control of her family when she became a widow. In 1103 Helisend and the children from her first marriage made a donation to St. Père of the customs of Tréon to honor the anniversary of the death of her husband, Vidame Gueric.¹²⁵ Approximately five years later, she made another gift, this time to St. Jean-en-Vallée, consisting of what she held in fief at Mantarville, with the consent of her daughter Elizabeth and her son-in-law William of Ferrières (see Figure 1).¹²⁶ A short time later the *vicedomina* made a donation to benefit the soul of her second husband, Bartholomew Bodellus, who had died, and also of her sons Girard and Stephen, who were still living. She gave vines near the

123. *CMPD*, no. 76 b, p. 68; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 407, note 62.

124. *CSPDC*, no. 43, pp. 499-500; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 4, p. 214, note 84.

125. *CSPDC*, no. 56, p. 563; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 383, note 6.

126. *JEAN*, no. 7, p. 6; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 387, note 17.

abbey to St. Jean-en-Vallée.¹²⁷ This gift was made completely independent of children or other kin. Helisend's daughter Elizabeth eventually succeeded her mother as *vicedomina*. Like her mother, she made donations not only with her family but also individually. Around 1130, for instance, Elizabeth gave the monks of Notre Dame de Josaphat half of the tithes at Andeville without the participation of any of her nuclear, extended or conjugal relatives.¹²⁸ The ability of these women to control and administer successfully their family lands reflects the important role that they enjoyed in the noble family. In each of these cases there were male kin who could have usurped these noblewomen's positions, yet this did not occur. Sometimes women from these families made donations autonomously; on other occasions their children or other kin consented, which indicates that territorial dominion of noblewomen, like that of noblemen, was limited by the customary family imperatives.

The wives, daughters and mothers of the lords of Blois-Chartres commanded significant resources and made gifts on their own. Was such activity a luxury afforded to women only of the most powerful and wealthy families? The evidence from the Chartrain charters suggests that such autonomy was characteristic of the entire noble class. At the very end of the eleventh century a lesser noblewoman Oda and her children gave in alms to Marmoutier all that they held from inheritance in lands and vines at Villetard for the soul of her husband, Warin.¹²⁹ This family also sold part

127. *JEAN*, no. 7, p. 6; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 387, note 17, and p. 383, note 21.

128. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 37, pp. 53-4; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 389, note 25.

129. *CMPD*, no. 157, pp. 147-8: Notum fiat universis tam futuris quam presentibus quod Oda uxor Garini filii Gradulfi et filii ipsius Gradulfus et Garinus, annuentibus sororibus suis Jersolia, Roscia, Annete, anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo nonagesimo octavo partim dederunt in elemosina Deo et beato Martino atque nobis Majoris Monasterii monachis, pro anima Garini memoratae Odae mariti, qui apud nos humatus jacet, et pro sua nichilominus incolumitate et salute tam presenti quam futura, partim etiam vendiderunt nobis per manum domini Bernardi cognomento Fragel-

and gave part of this property and received four *librae* in return. Clearly this woman assumed control of family lands after the death of her husband and was in a position to provide a gift to benefit his soul. From the consent of her sisters, it is also possible that the lands came from Oda's natal patrimony. If so, this would further substantiate the continued connection of women with their natal families and possessions. In the first quarter of the twelfth century a noblewoman named Elizabeth made a donations to the abbey of St. Père consisting of a house and an arpent of vines. Elizabeth was counseled and encouraged to make these donations by her two husbands. Her first husband, Robert, consented since the property in question had been partly acquired by him and the donation would revert to the Church only after her death.¹³⁰ While Elizabeth received counsel from her first and second husband, she alone made the gifts from land that she at least partially controlled. Around the same time Eugenie, the wife of Ernald the *vicarius*, made a pact with the monks of St. Père. She confirmed her first husband's post obit gift; in return the monks promised that if she desired to enter the religious life, they would support her in certain ways.¹³¹ Her second

....Continued....

li [*sic*] tunc panetari nostri, acceptis ab eo quatuor libris monetae Blesensis et uno modio frumenti, quicquid omnino haereditatis et possessionis tam in terra et vineis quam in domibus et quibuslibet aliis habebant apud Villam Etardi.

130. *CSPDC*, no. 139, p. 357: His litteris memorie tradimus, quod quedam matrona, nomine Elysabeth, consilio et admonitione Roberti, primi mariti sui, que ejusdem emptoria acquisitione erant parta, pro salute utriusque animarum, post suum obitum dimisit sancto Petro; suam domum in vico vocitato Bello Videre sitam, et unum agripennum vinee et quadratem, consultu secundi viri Theobaldi, cognomine Caraum....Attendendum autem quod Robertus, primus mulieris maritus, de cujus acquisitione hec dona fuerunt, factus est apud nos monachus, et ejus favore hec nobis sunt dimissa.

131. *CSPDC*, no. 81, pp. 325-6: Presentibus igitur litteris ego Guillelmus abbas nostris posteris innotesco, me, assensu totius congregationis, postulationi uxoris Ernaldi vicarii, nomine Eugenie, concessisse, ut, si quando communem seculi conversationem affectaverit relinquere, et ad nostre sobrietatem vite se voluerit transferre, benigna et religiosa familiaritate suscipiatur; et talis et tanta procuratio cotidiani victus et vestitus, de ipsis videlicet cibis qui nobis in refectorio ministrantur, ei impendatur, quanta

husband Ernald witnessed the pact, which indicates his acquiescence to his wife's gift and entrance into the Church. Around 1135, Emma the wife of Robert Alis donated to the priory of St. André land and pasture that she held at the priory of Louie and granted immunity from all secular customs. She made the gift in the presence of the monks and placed a symbol of it on the altar of the church.¹³² In return Emma was received "as a sister" by the monks, and her sons were granted confraternity.¹³³

Noblewomen also commonly arranged for transfers of their possessions to be made to the Church upon their deaths. Sometime during the first quarter of the twelfth century, Mabile of Châteauneuf-en-Thimerais requested that the monks of St. Père grant her for her lifetime a house in Chartres built by Joun the cellarer. Any improvements made to the property would eventually also pass to the monks. In return she willed the monks a third of her possessions that were in the house the day of her

....Continued....

uni ex nobis, et suo muliebri mancipio congrua substantatio prebeatur, unde cum domna, possit honeste vivere eique servire. Ipsa autem, postquam nobis associata fuerit, statim ea bona que vir prior ejus Radulfus, post hujus decessum, statuit nobis relinquenda ex toto nobis in nostro libero arbitrio omnia dimittet. Actum est hoc in capitulo sancti Petri, Vi nonas julii, presentibus his testibus; Ernaldo vicario, marito ejus....

132. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 204, p. 232: Ego Emma, uxor Rogeri Alis, notum fieri volo tam futuris quam presentibus quod dederim monachis Tyronensibus apud Sanctum-Andream de Hamla manentibus, pro salute anime mee et conjugis mei et antecessorum meorum, terram et prata que possident apud Auditonam, libere et quiete et absque ulla seculari consuetudine. Hanc autem donationem dedi ego Emma in capitulo monachorum Sancti Andree et posui super altare, presentibus monachis....Inde sunt testes: Gervasius miles, Ricardus filius meus....Pro hac donatione receperunt me in sororem predicti monachi et filios meos in confratres, et omne genus meum vivorum et mortuorum in Tyronensis ecclesie beneficium.

133. Molly Megan Mclaughlin has examined the question of donations for souls and the granting of *societas* and confraternity; see *Consorting with Saints*, (Ph. D. Dissertation, Stanford University: 1985).

death, undoubtedly for the benefit of her soul.¹³⁴ As the wife of Warin of Poisvilliers was dying, she granted half of the area of a house in St. Martin-en-Vallée, vines and *cens* to the abbey of St. Père for the remedy of her soul.¹³⁵ Her son witnessed the gift, which indicates that she was bound by family custom, but this noblewoman clearly arranged the donation on her own initiative. A woman named Ermengard specified that her vines, lands and house with virgate would pass to the monks of St. Père after her death. Her grandson or nephew Hato witnessed the donation.¹³⁶ Even though these women had heirs, they were moved by piety to insure that the Church would receive substantial gifts after their deaths. A noblewoman named Bertha arranged that the house next to the village oven and seven arpents of land at St. Lubin should be granted to St. Père upon her death. If her sons did not return from the Holy Land, the church of St. Père would get all of her property. If her sons did come back,

134. *CSPDC*, no. 74, pp. 320-1: Ego frater Willelmus, abbas sancti Petri Carnoti, ad memoriam posterorum presenti scripto transferre decrevi, quod domna Mabilia, uxor domini Gervase de Novo Castello, presentiam nostram adiens, rogavit me, ut domum quandam, quam habebamus ante ecclesiam nostram, que fuit Joun cujusdam, cellerarii nostri, ad vitam suam ei prestaremus, ut haberet ubi ea que Carnoti habere vellet reponere posset. Utque facilius que petebat impetraret, pepigit nobis quod, quasi pro conductione ipsius domus, eam secundum voluntatem nostram meliorari faceret sicque melioratam, cum tota etiam supellectili quam in ea haberet, in morte sua nobis relinqueret, sicut rem quam non nisi ad prestitum ad vitam suam habuisset. Illud quoque adjecit, ut omnium rerum quas in domo illa haberet in die mortis sue, terciam partem haberemus; relinquo duas partes, sicut ipsa nobis ordinaret, divideremus.

135. *CSPDC*, no. 91, p. 331: Scire debent monachi hujus monasterii, quod filia Guidonis, filii Morini, uxor Garini de Pilli Villari, dedit nobis monachis sancti Petri in morte sua, pro salute anime sue, dimidiam aream domus apud Sanctum Martinum de Valle, et vinearum retro aream tantum unde simul cum area exhibant XVIII denarii census canonicis sancti Martini....Hoc audierunt et viderunt, ex parte illius, Goscelinus filius ejus....

136. *CSPDC*, no. 117, p. 343: Legentibus has litteras certum sit, quod quedam mulier de Cavennis, Ermengardis nomine, venit in capitulum nostrum, ibique dedit Deo et beato Petro vineas suas et terram suam et domum suam cum virgulto, post mortem habendam....Huic dono testes interfuerunt....Hato, nepos ipsius Ermengardis....

then the monks would have half.¹³⁷ These examples illumine women's independent control of land and their piety. Certainly they were required to consult potential heirs and other family members; nonetheless, they had the necessary resources and autonomy to arrange gifts to benefit their souls.

Noblewomen were bound by the custom that necessitated the consent of all who had a claim to the potential gift. A series of donations datable between 1130 and 1150 reflects this practice. Around 1140 Ysanna the wife of Engolrand of Nocé gave to Tiron four arpents of vines at Châteaudun with the consent of her feudal lords, Geoffrey Legedoctus and his family, as well as her daughter Maria.¹³⁸ Ysanna controlled the donated property, but her daughter had a claim to it which required her consent. About twelve years later, Ascelina the wife of Guimund gave to the priory of St. André a gift that her brother Roaud had made to her. Ascelina's husband and sons consented. Yet Ascelina alone placed a symbol of the gift upon the altar; while her kin maintained a right to the land, she was its principal controller.¹³⁹ At mid century Cecilia of Longpont gave to the monks of Tiron one arpent of meadow in Les Prés-Morin. Her sons, one of whom was designated *primogenitus*, consented to the

137. *CSPDC*, no. 142, p. 358: Notum sit omnibus quod quedam matrona, nomine Berta, reliquit sancto Petro, post suum decessum, si filii ejus non redierint a Jerosolimitana via, domum suam juxta furnum Berte positam, et VII agripennos terre apud Sanctum Leobinum; et, si filii ejus redierint, medietatem domus et predice terre.

138. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 239, p. 12: Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris fidelibus quod Ysanna, uxor Engolrandi de Noce, dedit monachis de Tyron III agripennos vinearum apud Castrumdunum, concendente Maria, filia sua. Hoc donum concedit Goffredus legis-doctus, ex cujus feodo sunt iste vinee, et uxor ejus et filii.

139. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 262, p. 31: Notum sit universis ecclesie fidelibus quod ego Ascelina, uxor Guimundi, dedi Deo et monachis de Tyron apud Sanctum-Andream, coram fratribus ibi manentibus, domum meam quam mihi dedit frater meus Roaudus et quam etiam ab ipsis tenebam monachis, et terram eidem domui pertinentem. Concessi insuper omnia quecumque eis frater meus Roaudus, ad religionem veniens, dederat. Hoc concessit Guimundus, maritus meus, et filii, mei Philippus videlicet et Rannulfus et Gislebertus. Hec autem ut firmitus starent, donum istud super altare Sancti-Andree manu propria posui.

alienation of this property.¹⁴⁰ While the wives of knights and lesser nobles enjoyed authority over and possession of land, their relatives also exercised a claim. Thus it was in the best interest of noblewomen, as it was for other donors, to secure their family consent to their alienations. The broad and open kin network that characterized these families made approval of donations by relatives imperative to prevent any future claims or disputes.

In addition to controlling land, noblewomen also possessed revenue and paid certain dues, specifically *cens*. As in the case of land and other sorts of property, the alienation of revenue also required the consent of nuclear and extended kin. Between 1090 and 1100 Ermengard gave to St. Père the land next to La Porte Morard for which she paid *cens*.¹⁴¹ In the first quarter of the twelfth century Odelina gave to the same abbey for the souls of her husband Geoffrey Kiss-the-Devil and her dead son Evrard sixteen *denarii* of *cens*. Her son Gueric acted with his mother in making the donation and was awarded, in tandem with Odelina, twenty *solidi* in charity from the monks. Her *propinqui* Thibaut and Chotard witnessed this transaction, thus providing their tacit consent.¹⁴² About 1140, Amelina the wife of Heldimar gave fourteen *denarii* of

140. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 303, p. 77: Cecilia de Longo-Ponte dedit monachis de Tirun unum arpennum prati de Longo-Prato, filiis suis concedentibus Hugone primogenito, et Radulfo, et Gervasio, et Guillelmo, et aliis.

141. *CSPDC*, no. 63, p. 313: Recitatione hujus scripti legitimi et testimonio, universis tam presentis quam futuri evi fidelibus, ego Eustachius abbas veritatis certitudinem volo innotescere, quod quedam matrona, Ermengardis nomine, decubans in lecto egritudinis, quendam terram, quam a nobis censivam tenebat, que habetur juxta Portam Morardi, sancto Petro, pro remedio anime sue, dono indissolubili dimisit.

142. *CSPDC*, no. 93, p. 332: Posterorum memorie volumus hoc scripto reservari, quod Odelina, uxor Gaufridi Demonem Osculantis, pro ejusdem Gaufridi defuncti salute et Ebrardi filii sui, dedit nobis XVI denarios census quos per singulos annos in quadam domo nostra habebat, que fuerat Arroldi de Bevilla. Concessit autem hoc donum filius ejus Guericus. Dederunt etiam uterque, mater et filius, quoniam inde XX solidos acceperant caritative, fidejussores Teobaldum, filium Stephani, et Chotardum propinquiores suos.

cens in alms to Notre Dame de Josaphat.¹⁴³ Her son Geoffrey consented to the gift, which substantiates the claim that potential heirs exercised to both their mother's and father's possessions. Amelina herself possessed actual *cens*, which demonstrates that women independently controlled and possessed all types of property.

Noblewomen of varying status made generous ecclesiastical donations. They acted in authority over land and revenues although their kin continued to exercise a claim or right to it. The noblewomen of Blois-Chartres were not restricted from controlling all sorts of property. Male kin did not either usurp the right of women to possess property or curtail the autonomy of women. Many of the women considered above were widows, but some were still married. Husbands acted as consenters and witnesses, but their wives acted independently in determining the future of their possessions.

Other Roles of Women within the Family

Scholars have designated several characteristics that they believe to be indicative of a patrilineal family structure.¹⁴⁴ Two are the entrance of "extraneous" sons into the Church and the use of cognomina. These markers have been discussed previously in regard to men. Here, they will be examined as they pertain to noblewomen and their status in the family.

Noblewomen of all ranks within the Chartrain nobility controlled family lands and exercised authority over their children as both widows and wives. The evidence extant on marriage practice often refers to the daughter being "given in marriage" by

143. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 108, p. 139: Item Amelina, uxor Heldimaris, concedente filio suo Gaufredo, ecclesie Josaphat dedit in elemosinam XIII denarios quos apud Gorjart de censu habebat.

144. Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest*, pp. 189-253; R. H. Bloch, *Etymologies*, pp. 66-9; John Freed, *The Counts of Falkenstein*, pp. 50-68.

her father and is usually included in charters pertaining to the arrangement of the daughter's marriage portion. In most cases the wife or mother consented to these transactions, and this demonstrates that authority over her children was shared by the husband and wife. Some time after 1113, for instance, Simon Saxon betrothed his daughter to Thibaut's unnamed son, and his wife participated with him in the charter.¹⁴⁵ In addition to providing marriages for daughters, noble families also arranged ecclesiastical careers for them. As was true for noble sons, daughters were also granted a "dower" or gift for their entrance into the religious life. In the first quarter of the twelfth century, Robert of Gallardon had a daughter named Agnes who wished to become a nun. Robert made a gift to St. Père of the tithes from *Absconsi Villa*, which he held by right of inheritance. His wife and sons consented to the gift.¹⁴⁶ Even though the couple had several sons, only one of whom was a cleric, this family still provided part of the patrimony for Agnes, attesting to the right and share that daughters enjoyed to the patrimony.

In addition to consenting to their daughter's marriages, wives and mothers were required to approve when sons or husbands became monks. In 1073 Viscount Evrard I desired to join the Church. His wife did not approve of this arrangement and

145. *CSPDC*, no.17, p. 529; Post non multum vero temporis, Symon senior, pater scilicet Symonis hujus de quo ista premissa sunt, quandam filiam suam uxorem dedit filio Theobaldi, filii Stephani. Cumque, ad eorundem juvenum desponsationem, plurimi convenissent in quadam ecclesia monachorum Tironensium....Quorum precibus, licet, diu substomachans, tandem adquevit, et una cum uxore sua et filio Burchardo, coram omnibus aderant,decimas de quibus agitur concessit.

146. *CSPDC*, no. 11, p. 409: Ego Robertus de Galardone, filius Wathonis, volo ut hujus scripti veridica narratione succedens per labilitatem temporum muniatur fidelium propago, quod ego, pro filia mea, Agnete nomine, que caros amplexus, cui jam legitime conjugationis copula adherebat, pro amore celestis sponsi, spernens, superne patrie desiderio afflata, ad contemplative vite quietem dulcissimam, quatinus ibidem scintilla divini amoris jam exhausta uberius ignesceret, convolvavit, et pro refrigerio anime mee et antecessorum meorum, a quibus mihi est collata, inviolabili dono, decimam quam in Absconsi Villa jure hereditario solidissime teneo, celestis regni beato Petro janitori, mente alacri, assentibus conjuge mea filiique Hugone, Roberto, Symone, Gauterio clerico, Willelmo, Ivone, attribuo.

caused some difficulties (see Figure 12). Evrard's brother Viscount Hugh I was able to smooth over the matter, although the charter regrettably provides no indication of exactly what or why Humberg was protesting or what Hugh's conciliatory actions were.¹⁴⁷ Wives consented to their husbands' entrance into the Church in the twelfth century as well. In 1162, when Hervé of Gallardon decided to join a monastery, he did so in the presence of his wife and all of his sons (see Figure 3).¹⁴⁸ Wives thus, had certain rights in a marriage. Entrance into the clerical order precipitated a radical change in family and conjugal life.¹⁴⁹ Hence canon law required spousal consent for such an event. Mothers also exerted control over their sons' entrance into the Church and acted independently of conjugal or natal kin in arranging ecclesiastical careers for their sons. Around 1116 Richelde and her eldest son Gado gave her minor son named Hubert to the monastery of St. Père. A gift consisting of land in Bruyères by Richelde and Gado coincided with Hubert's entrance into the Church.¹⁵⁰ The denomination of Gado as *primogenitus* and his special role in the charter implies that the family was assuming an increasingly patrilineal form. Families experiencing impoverishment often secured ecclesiastical careers for sons in an attempt to reduce the number of claims on the family property. This may have been the underlying motivation for Hubert's entrance into the Church. Another charter datable from approximately 1132

147. *CMPD*, no. 41, pp. 38-40; for a discussion of this charter, see Chapter 3, pp. 159-62.

148. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 237, pp. 280-1: Ego Robertus, Dei gratia ecclesie Carnotensis episcopus, instantibus et futuris notum fieri volo quod Herveus de Galardone, mundo abrenunciaturus et religionis habitum suscepturus, una cum uxore sua et filiis Hugone, Roberto, Herveo, Gervasio, presentiam nostram adiit et illis presentibus multis audientibus nobis retulit quod quicquid in decimis magnis et minutis ecclesie....

149. For discussion of this, see Brundage, *Law Sex and Christian Society*, pp. 176-200; idem, "The Crusader's Wife: A Canonistic Quandary," *Studia Gratiana*, 12 (1967), 425-41; idem, "The Crusader's Wife Revisited," *Studia Gratiana*, 14 (1967), 241-51.

150. *CSPDC*, no. 98, pp. 591-2; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 375, note 187.

establishes that not all noblewomen were threatened by their male kin. Erenburg of Auneau gave her son Arnulf to the monastery of Tiron as a postulant. She donated in alms, all of "our" land from Grandry as an entrance gift. Consenting to this transaction were Erenburg's husband Gui Berard and her son Robert of Auneau. The consent of family was required for Arnulf to become a monk and for the alienation of the property. Yet it is evident that Erenburg was the primary donor, could make gifts of family lands, and exercised authority over her children.¹⁵¹ These two charters provide illustration of the authority that noblewomen exercised over the members and possessions of their families.

Conclusion: Roles of Noblewomen in the Family

Noblewomen of varying feudal, economic and social status within the Chartrain nobility assumed important roles within the family. They participated in charters as consenters, which reflects the right that they exercised to their affinal and natal family holdings. The granting of compensation to wives, daughters, sisters and mothers further establishes their claim. Women also made donations independently, actions indicative of their share in inheritance and authority over family property. Noble widows assumed control of their late husbands' lands and their children. The autonomy and influence that characterized the experience of noblewomen in the eleventh century continued into the twelfth. Yet amidst this evidence of power and independence are indications that some noble families were adopting patrilineage and primogeniture, which adversely affected the status of women. Eldest sons were

151. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 176, pp. 196-7: Notum sit omnibus quod ego Erenburgis de Alneio dono Deo Salvatori et ecclesie de Tyrum filium meum Arnulfum ad monachum faciendum. Dono etiam predictae ecclesie in elemosina totam terram nostram de Granri in perpetuum possidendam. Hoc concessit conjux meus Guido Berardus et filius meus Robertus de Alneio.

assuming an increasingly dominant role, particularly in lesser noble and knightly families but also in some vicecomital and seigneurial families. When Eufemia the wife of Garembert made donations as a widow, her father and brothers consented and participated. The presence of such kin in the transaction suggests that widows were no longer autonomous but were placed under the authority of their male natal kin.¹⁵² Women, like men, were also designated by terms denoting their position of birth. In some charters the first born daughter¹⁵³ or eldest sister were singled out, indicating that they like the *primogenitus* enjoyed a special place in the family.¹⁵⁴ Both noblemen and noblewomen were affected by the changes occurring in their families. Birth order was becoming increasingly important in determining influence and roles within the noble family. But to assert that all women were powerless and dominated by their male kin would not be accurate. On the contrary, the evidence suggests that most women continued to experience the independence characteristic of their peers in the eleventh century.

PART TWO: WOMEN IN NOBLE SOCIETY

To a very real degree, the activities and the power that women enjoyed in the family overlap their position in noble society on the whole. To determine if noblewomen were able to participate in the political and feudal realms, as well as in -----

152. *JEAN*, nos. 32 and 74, p. 18 and p. 42 respectively; for the text of these charters, see Chapter 6, p. 314, note 52, and p. 378, note 195.

153. *CSPDC*, no. 37, p. 495; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 364, note 160.

154. *CSDPC*, no. 6, p. 474; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 356, note 143.

family matters, their activity in several areas will be evaluated. The relationship between women and the Church provides a bridge between the experiences of women in the family and in the wider society since ecclesiastical donations and sponsorship were usually determined by family and economic status. Likewise the role of women as guardians also provides intersection between their autonomy in the private and public spheres. Assumption of guardian responsibilities entailed control of family lands and the corresponding feudal and political powers. Finally, the participation of women in the feudal realm will be studied to determine if they, like their eleventh-century counterparts, were active as both lords and vassals.

Noblewomen as Ecclesiastical Patrons and Sponsors

Like the nobility of the preceding century noblemen and noblewomen of the twelfth were also affected by the call for reform. Women of a range of statuses within the Chartrain nobility made pious donations and restorations. Countess Adela was an adept politician, as well as a patron of the local monasteries. She enjoyed a long and friendly relationship with Bishop Ivo of Chartres, a dedicated reformer. The preachings of the reformers on the wickedness of lay possession of tithes and churches had an impact on Adela, for in 1104 she gave to Marmoutier part of the woods of *Silvalonnia* to benefit her soul, those of her ancestors and that of her husband who had just died in the Holy Land.¹⁵⁵ The importance of gifts in alms is made explicit in

155. *CMPD*, no. 77, pp. 68-70: Bene etenim facit animae suae vir misericors, qui cum pauperis miseretur, foenerat Deo; unde et alibi Christus ait: "Date elemosinam et omnia munda erunt vobis," qui cum ad iudicium venerit, non tam arguet impios peccatorum quam quod ea non deleverint per opera misericordiam.... Ego Adela Blesensium comitissa et Willelmi gloriosi regis Anglorum filia, Stephanique palatini comitis quondam uxor karissima, peccatorum meorum vinculis multipliciter irretita, et per Dei misericordiam liberari ab illis desiderabiliter sollicita, ad augendam elemosinam quandam, quam vir meus comes Stephanus, cum prima vice Jerusalem ire vellet, fecerat, optimo cuidam generi pauperum, fratribus videlicet qui in Majori Monasterio

the charter which quotes scripture; "Give alms and all the world will be yours." The inclusion of the quotation indicates noble exposure to the rhetoric evoked by the reformers to encourage noble patrons to make pious donations and restorations.

Adela's close and respected relationship with the Church is also evident in her role as mediator between the monks of Marmoutier and those of St. Calais.¹⁵⁶ In 1101 the monks of Marmoutier charged that the canons of St. Calais had falsely claimed tithes which pertained to an earlier gift by the countess. Adela, whom the monks of Marmoutier labeled *virago*, settled the dispute by giving them all the property and tithes that the monks of St. Calais had claimed. The appellation of *virago* was a term employed to praise Adela as a wise and capable ruler. The abbey of Marmoutier turned to Adela to resolve this disagreement, which she did. Adela later made several

....Continued....

Deo sub habitu monachili militare regulariter comprobantur, dedi et concessi Deo et beato Martino fratribusque prefatis, pro anima ejusdem viri mei, quem jam obiisse in secundo suo itinere Jerusalem contigerat, necnon et pro mea, proque nostrorum antecessorum animabus, sed et pro salute atque statu prolis nostrae, partem quandam bosci, qui Silvalonnia dicitur, obedientiae memoratae contiguam sicut in sequentibus terminatur.

156. *CMPD*, no. 68, p. 62: Notum sit universis posteris nostris, scilicet monachis beati Martini Majoris Monasterii, quod memorabilis comitissa nomine Ada dederat beato Martino et nobis ejus monachis de foresta sua partem non modicam, quantum ei placuit, ubi constituimus obedientiam quandam, quam ipsa Francam Villam appellavit, eo quod quicquid habebat in ea, hoc est totum, quia dos ejus erat liberaliter nobis donavit. Cujus doni decimam calumniabantur nobis canonici Sancti Carileffi, sed predicta Virago dedit eis tantum de rebus suis quod ipsi clamaverunt ei, et nobis praedictam calumniam decimam totam quietam et solutam in capitulo suo. Huic adquieta; mento affuit ipsa comitissa in capitulo canonicorum, affuerunt monachi....

Also *CMPD* no. 67, pp. 60-2: Igitur sequentes salutiferum institutum presenti scripto posteris nostris intimamus, qualiter illustrissima comitissa Adila, Guillelmi senioris Anglorum regis filia, conjunx autem Stephani incliti comitis palatini, et Majoris Monasterii amatrix ferventissima, adquietaverit nobis de canonicis Sancti Carileffi Blesensis decimationem parrochiae Francae Villae, quam una cum viro suo nobis monachis Majoris Monasterii donaverat. Cum ergo nobilissimus comes Stephanus, vir ejus, isset secunda vice in Jerusalem, anno videlicet ab incarnatione Domini M C I, venit eadem illustrissima comitissa, domina et soror nostra Blesim, et inter memoratos canonicos atque nos hujusmodi concordiam de prefata decimatione fecit.

generous gifts to the abbey.¹⁵⁷ The countess' relationship with Bishop Ivo also attests to her dedication to the Church. Early in the twelfth century Ivo solicited Adela's support and sponsorship of the new abbey of St. Jean-en-Vallée, one of several founded in response to the spirit of reform.¹⁵⁸ Ivo's invitation demonstrates Adela's commitment to the Church and her support and participation in the reform movement.

Later counts and countesses of Blois-Chartres were patrons and defenders of the Church (see Figures 16 and 17). In 1165, Count Thibaut V was so affected by the psalm, "What can I give back to God for what he has given to me?" that he donated a house at Yron with vines, a fountain, a mill stream and pond, pasture and woods.¹⁵⁹ Noblewomen and noblemen were affected by the teachings of the Church. They reacted by making donations and restorations. Viscountesses also played the role of mediator between their family and the Church. In 1145 Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres excommunicated Viscount Geoffrey III of Châteaudun, his sons Hugh and Pagan, and their "castle" for their actions against the monks of Tiron (see Figure 14). After Geoffrey died, his widow Heloise and his son Hugh appealed to the monks for peace. They promised to restore all that had been usurped by Geoffrey, with the *proviso* that if any later claims were made the sentence of excommunication would be

157. *CMPSD*, no. 77, pp. 68-9; for the text of this charter, see this chapter, p. 562, note 155.

158. Merlet, *Lettres*, no. 93, pp. 188-9.

159. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 319, pp. 91-2: Dicit Psalmista: "Quid retribuam Deo pro omnibus que retribuit michi?" Hiis verbis Dei precibusque Adelicie uxoris mee motus, ego Theobaldus, Blesensis, Dunensis, Carnotensis, comes Francieque senecallus, ipsa comitissa, filiis quoque et filiabus meis, Theobaldo et Ludovico, Margarita, et Ysabella, laudatibus et concendentibus, dedi Deo et monachis Sancti Salvatoris Tyronensis domum meam de Yronio, cum clauso vinee, fonte, rivo, molendinis stanno, pratis, terris et nemoribus ad ipsam cameram meam pertinentibus, vallem quoque Yronii, michi altam jurisdictionem retinens, exceptis ipsa domo et manentibus in ea, quos omni libertate et immunitate gaudere volo.

reinstated.¹⁶⁰ Viscountess Heloise interceded between the Church and her family, which testifies to her concern for her family as well as the influence she enjoyed both within her family and noble society.

Women of the families of lords also responded to the Gregorian reform by making donations themselves, and they incited their vassals and male relatives to similar acts of piety. In the eleventh century Mahild of Alluyes restored many churches and tithes to the monasteries of the region. In the following century, her son William II Gouet and his wife Eustachia gave more ecclesiastical properties and also supported restorations by their vassals. Many of these restitutions occurred during Eustachia's control of the lordship when William II was in the Holy Land (see Figure 10). Like her mother-in-law, Eustachia was influenced by the preachings of reformers. In addition to making her own gifts she also persuaded her vassals to donate.¹⁶¹ She witnessed and approved many restorations of tithes and churches by her vassals. Sometime in the first quarter of the twelfth century, for instance, Waldin gave the church and tithes of Estellieux to the monks of St. Père, along with other property. The donation was made in the presence of Lady Eustachia, one of his feudal lords.¹⁶² In addition to witnessing such acts of piety, Eustachia was also a generous ecclesiastical patron. Between 1101 and 1129 she asked the abbot of St. Père if she could give part of the estates that she held at St. Roman of Brou to establish a community of monks. The abbot assented, as long as her husband and sons were in

160. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 269, pp. 38-40; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 488, note 227.

161. Eustachia's piety and interest in the church may have been a result of her natal family connections. A charter from the cartulary of St. Père refers to Eustachia as the kinswoman of the abbot of St. Père. Furthermore, when her family received counter-gifts in return for a donation, she gave her award money back to the monastery to benefit her nephew Gelduin a monk (*CMPD*, no. 167, pp. 157-8).

162. *CSPDC*, no. 30, p. 489; for the text of this charter, see this Chapter, p. 525, note 53.

agreement, and consented to the arrangement. William II and their sons did consent and many properties, including land, two *meditariae*, a mill, tithes from a mill, fishing, marketing rights and pannage, were furnished to support the brothers.¹⁶³ Eustachia, like her husband, secured the consent of her family to transactions that affected family estates. Her donations were subject to the customs and claims of all family members. Although William II and his sons consented, the gift was clearly initiated by Eustachia. Eustachia's foundation of a priory demonstrates that she possessed the incentive and resources necessary to express her piety.

Women from other lordly families of Blois-Chartres undertook similar acts of piety and interceded to persuade their male kin to make donations. Between 1101 and 1129 Ivo II of Courville refused to abandon certain customs that his father and mother had levied on the abbey of St. Père (see Figure 2). As she was dying, his mother Philippa called him to her and exhorted him to cease these customs. She confessed that these customs had not been granted to her and her husband but that they had usurped them. The family's possession of these customs was hence unjust. Ivo, however, had a "heart of a youth" and did not follow his mother's advice.¹⁶⁴

163. *CSPDC*, no. 5, pp. 472-74: Quoniam scriptura vera conservatrix est memorie rerum gestarum, ego frater Guillelmus, abbas sancti Petri Carnotensis cenobii, ad memoriam posterorum presenti scripto transferre decrevi, quod Eustachia, uxor Guillelmi Goeti, sepius me rogavit, ut ecclesie sancti Romani, quam Braioli habebamus, res nostras, quas in partibus illis ecclesia nostra possidebat, dicarem, ut ibi plures monachi in Dei servicio vivere possent et monasticum ordinem conservare. Quod cum longo tempore distulissem, tandem communi consilio fratrum nostrorum, hac conditione concessi, ut ipsa, per concessionem viri sui Guillelmi Goeti, et filiorum suorum Guillelmi, Roberti et Mathei, de rebus suis attribueret eidem ecclesie quod nobis placere debuisset. Quod illa libenter suscipiens, conducto die venit in capitulum nostrum cum predicto viro suo Guillelmo et Roberto filio suo, et quibusdam familiaribus suis; ibique, sicut presens scriptum designat, determinatum est quid ipsi, quid nos ecclesie predictae concederemus. Concesserunt igitur duas meditarias et medietatem unius molendini apud Unverram, et decimam molendinorum suorum in stagno, et tribus vicibus piscationes in eodem stagno per annum consuetudinarie, et quotienscunque illuc veniret abbas, quandiu maneret, et dimiserunt quicquid sui juris esse dicebant, et que juste vel injuste....

164. *CSPDC*, no. 46, pp. 502-3; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 403, note 55.

Although Ivo ignored Philippa's counsel, it is clear that Philippa tried to intercede between her son and the Church in much the same way that Viscountess Heloise of Châteaudun had. That Ivo did not adhere to his mother's advice was due not to its lack of value but to his own bad judgment. Indeed, Ivo's self criticism is apparent in the charter, and it is clear that he should have followed his mother's counsel. The ladies of Courville also restored churches and their appurtenances. When Viscount Hugh III of Chartres gave the church of St. Martin of Chuisnes in 1128, Lady Ermengard approved the gift.¹⁶⁵ The church belonged to this noblewoman by secular right, which establishes that women, like men, controlled churches and that they were similarly motivated to restore them to the Church.

The *vicedominae* of Chartres likewise possessed and returned ecclesiastical properties to local monasteries (see Figure 1). Between 1126 and 1134 *Vicedomina* Helisend gave to the abbey of St. Jean-en-Vallée the churches of St. Saturnin of Chambourcy and St. Martin of Longny. Her daughter Elizabeth consented to this gift.¹⁶⁶ Like Ermengard of Courville, Helisend exercised authority over these churches and was moved to restore them to the Church. In the next generation, *Vicedomina* Elizabeth gave the tithes of Andeville to the monastery of Notre Dame de Josaphat. Elizabeth also possessed ecclesiastical property and was eventually persuaded to restore them to the Church.¹⁶⁷

Women of the lesser noble and knightly sectors of the nobility were also influenced by the Gregorian reform movement. Wives and husbands sometimes made donations together; in other instances women acted as sole donors. Between 1095 and

165. *CMPD*, no. 179, p. 170; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 467, note 181.

166. *JEAN*, no. 39, p. 24; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 392, note 30.

167. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 37, pp. 53-4; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 389, note 25.

1098 Eudes and his wife Hersend gave their half of the church of St. Avit to Marmoutier.¹⁶⁸ In the first quarter of the twelfth century Walter of Marcheville and his wife Hadvisa made St. Père heir to all of their property.¹⁶⁹ Noblewomen acting individually also made ecclesiastical restorations. Helvisa Legedocta, for example, gave the church of St. John of Chaumars and its tithes to the monks of Marmoutier.¹⁷⁰ Sometime around 1116 Osana, the daughter of Fulbert of Billancelles, gave to St. Père the tithes that pertained to the church of Billancelles and Les Yys to benefit her soul and that of her father. While her husband assented to the donation, Osanna clearly initiated the gift and was the principal donor. Given the geographic cognomen of her father, it would appear that the tithes of Billancelles pertained to Fulbert's patrimony.¹⁷¹ Osanna, therefore, inherited this property from her natal kin and maintained control of her inheritance during her marriage. Yet she was bound by the same custom of securing family consent as were her male peers. Noblewomen continued to restore ecclesiastical property throughout the first half of the twelfth century. In 1150 after the deaths of her sons Simon, Terric and Hugh

168. *CMPD*, no. 58, pp. 51-2: Noverint presentes et futuri Odonem, filium Gundradae, et uxorem ejus Hersendem donasse Sancto Martino et nobis, monachis Majoris scilicet Monasterii, medietatem ecclesiae Sancti Aviti, quae est super Ledum, inter Islares et Macerias, ita ut totius ipsius ecclesiae dominatio sit nostra.

169. *CSPDC*, no. 61, pp. 311-2: Ne qua occasione hoc prepediatur in futurum, ego Guillelmus abbas et tota congregatio fratrum Carnotensis cenobii, noticie plurimorum palam esse curavimus, quod quidam homo, Galterius nomine, de Marchesvilla, adiit nostram presentiam cum uxore sua, nomine Hadvisa. Qui cum essent [sine] prole, Deum et sanctum Petrum omnium bonorum suorum heredem fecerunt; ita quod quicquid possessionis haberent, post obitum utriusque, totum haberemus, reimpertientes eis suffragia orationum et alia benefacta que in ecclesia deinceps fierent, et sepulturam in die mortis eorum. Affuere cum eis Frobertus, frater ipsius, et Martinus nepos ejus.

170. *CMPD*, no. 168, pp. 158-9; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 333, note 93.

171. *CSPDC*, no. 125, pp. 613-4: Nos monachi Sancti Petri Carnoti, presenti scripto, presentium et sequentium tradimus memorie, qualiter Osana, filia Fulberti de Billuncellis, pro remedio anime patris sui et sue, assensu viri sui Gaufridi, concessit et dedit nobis quicquid decimarum ad eam pertinebat in ecclesia de Billuncellis, sine ullo retinaculo, et in ecclesia de Isis, que et ipse ecclesie erant et sunt nostri juris.

Bullie, Hadvisa confirmed the gift to Notre Dame de Josaphat of half of the tithes at Boinville. Her sons had been forced to make the gift by the sentence of excommunication.¹⁷² The wife of Thibaut made the monks of St. Père heir to all of her possessions on behalf of the souls of her husband, sons and herself.¹⁷³ She stipulated that some property would pass to the monastery only after her daughter-in-law was dead. Like Walter and Hadvisa this woman made the Church her heir, yet her concept of family was not as linear and closed as Duby, Herlihy and Goody have postulated. This woman made provision for her daughter-in-law, an affinal female relative. Nevertheless, this woman did make the Church her heir, which reflects her piety and commitment to the Church.

Noblewomen and noblemen alike were inspired by the preachings of the Gregorian reform movement to restore tithes and churches individually, and also with their spouses. While those from the upper echelons of the nobility perhaps enjoyed the most contact with the clerics and reformers, women of lesser rank returned ecclesiastical revenues and property to the local monasteries as well. Noblewomen also attempted to intercede between the monks and their families to lift sentences of excommunication or acted on the behalf of their families in other ways. These activities underscore the influence and autonomy that women from all ranks of the nobility enjoyed in the twelfth century.

172. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 170, pp. 213-4: Ego, Goslenus, Dei gratia Carnotensis episcopus, omnibus ad quorum notitiam presens scriptum venerit, notum esse volo quod mulier quedam, que uxor Gervasii Potagii fuerat, Hadvisis nomine, post mortem filiorum suorum Symonis, Terrici et Hugonis Bullie, venit ad nos et medietatem decime de Boenvilla, quam ipsi anathematis coactione ecclesie Sancti-Medardi de Chalou reliquerant antequam morerentur, nobis reddidit, nilque deinceps in ea reclamaturam fideliter repromisit.

173. *CSPDC*, no. 146, p. 361: Unde ego, uxor Theobaldi, Remendantis Saccum cognomine, sanctum Petrum monachosque ejus, pro anima mariti mei et filiorum atque mea, possessionis mee, post mei obitus occasum, heredes instituo: hec eis relinquens II agripennos vinee apud Luciacum cum domo mea, exceptis duabus cameris eidem inherentibus, et aliam vineam triliatam que est in Vacheria, post uxoris filii mei decessum.

Noblewomen and Political Power

During the High Middle Ages, control of land was synonymous with political and feudal influence, and its possession compelled participation in these matters. In the twelfth century noblewomen enjoyed domination of land and fiefs, which necessitated their inclusion in feudal relationships. In the region of Blois-Chartres noblewomen shared control of family fiefs with their husbands and also participated in the feudal realm individually as vassals and lords. Noblewomen, moreover, assumed responsibility for children and fiefs when their husbands, brothers and fathers were absent or dead.

Noblewomen as Guardians of Children and Lands

Perhaps the most illustrious example of a noblewoman acting as a guardian and assuming her husband's political or feudal position is provided by the case of Countess Adela of Blois-Chartres. During Count Stephen's absence on crusade and after his death in 1104 Adela acted as count and determined the future of comital fiefs and her children.¹⁷⁴

Adela enjoyed a true partnership in her marriage with Count Stephen. Before his departure for the Holy Land, Stephen and Adela made several donations together; he never acted without her.¹⁷⁵ In 1096, for example, Stephen and Adela made a

174. Sharon Farmer, "Persuasive Voices: Clerical Images of Medieval Wives," *Speculum*, 61 (1986), 521-26.

175. Kimberly LoPrete, "A Female Ruler in Feudal Society: Adela of Blois (c. 1067-c.1137)," (Ph. D Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1991); eadem, "The Anglo-Norman Card of Adela of Blois," *Albion*, 22 (1990), 569-89.

generous donation to the monks of Marmoutier of the forest of *Silvalonna*.¹⁷⁶ Adela also participated in comital justice. In 1092 Hugh the prévôt of Blois abandoned his claim to the land of Rodon. The dispute had been settled in the comital court, and both Adela and Stephen witnessed the judgment and the quitclaim.¹⁷⁷ Countess Adela was a strong woman and the true partner of her husband in both family and comital concerns.¹⁷⁸

During Stephen's absences and as a widow, Adela enjoyed immense influence and power within the region.¹⁷⁹ She was an important patron of the Church, as is evident in her gifts to the Church made during her children's minority and after they came of age (see Figure 17).¹⁸⁰ Perhaps even more significant, Adela held comital courts and settled disputes that concerned her vassals, which indicates that women were not excluded from participation in the feudal realm and that they commanded the same powers as men. Indeed, when Adela settled the dispute between the monks of Marmoutier and St. Calais, she was referred to as *virago*, an appellation that described a woman who exercised the same powers as a man. While the term has come to have pejorative connotations, it was originally devised to celebrate a woman who wisely and judiciously exercised power, i.e., in the same manner as a man. In either 1097 or 1098 Viscount Hugh II of Châteaudun falsely claimed from the monks of

176. *CMPD*, no. 92, pp. 79-81; for text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 499, note 247.

177. *CMPD*, no. 145, pp. 133-4; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 345, note 118.

178. James Brundage, "Stephen of Blois: An Errant Crusader," *Traditio*, 16 (1960), 380-95.

179. Jean Truax argued in "Mommie Dearest," a paper presented to the annual Haskins Society meetings in November, 1991, that Adela caused Thibaut IV no end of trouble once he became count.

180. *CMPD*, nos. 68 and 72, pp. 60-2 and p. 67 respectively. Also *CSPDC* no. 14, p. 411; no. 57, p. 309; no. 66, pp. 454-5.

Marmoutier a gift made by Geoffrey Freslavena. The quarrel was brought to the court of Countess Adela where the monks were able to prove that they had controlled the land for over forty years without contest, thus forcing Hugh to dismiss his claim. In 1104 a noblewoman named Aremburg and her sons were accused of seizing the land of *Jamba* from Marmoutier.¹⁸¹ An accord was reached in the court of Countess Adela. In addition to holding feudal courts like her male peers, the countess had her own officers. The charter recording the end of the controversy between Viscount Hugh and Marmoutier was witnessed by Godefred the "seneschal of the countess."¹⁸² Adela was also consulted in a royal confirmation. In 1109 King Louis VI confirmed the gift of the land of Nids. The confirmation was made in the presence of Countess Adela in the king's palace in Paris.¹⁸³

The correspondence of Bishop Ivo of Chartres gives evidence of Adela's influence and power.¹⁸⁴ Ivo's letters indicate not only the great respect that he had for the countess, but also the power she commanded, formally and informally. Early in the twelfth century, he wrote to Adela to ask her to persuade her kinswoman to

181. *CMPD*, no. 161, pp. 150-2; for the text of this charter, see this chapter, p. 544, note 106.

182. *CMPD*, no. 156, pp. 146-7.

183. *CSPDC*, no. 66, pp. 460-1: In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis. Ludovicus, Dei gratia, Francorum rex....Universis igitur sancte Dei ecclesie cultoribus, tam posteris quam presentibus, notum fieri volumus ac certum haberi, quia frater Willelmus, abbas sancti Petri Carnotensis cenobii, nostram serenitatem adiit, postulans, ut, pro Dei amore et pro redemptione anime domini Philippi, patris mei regis Francorum, Deo et prefate ecclesie quandam desertam terram, Niz videlicet, cum toto territorio sibi attinente, donaremus....Actum Parisius in palatio publice, presente Adela, comitissa Blesensi, anno ab incarnatione Deomini MCIX, anno vero nostre consecrationis II.

184. For discussion of the relationship between Bishop Ivo and Adela, see Kimberly LoPrete, "Adela of Blois and Ivo of Chartres: Piety, Politics and the Peace in the Diocese of Chartres," *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 14 (1992).

cease an adulterous affair.¹⁸⁵ The woman in question was Agnes of Breteuil who, the editor speculates, was related to the countess through her mother, Queen Mathilda. The bishop presumed that the countess had considerable influence over her relatives, an indication of her informal power. Ivo's correspondence also reveals Adela's political influence within the county and region. When the new abbey of St. Jean-en-Vallée was established, Ivo appealed to Adela not only as sponsor but also as protector. Blois-Chartres, like all of France, was plagued by noble violence. The Chartrain nobility successfully seized and usurped land from various ecclesiastical foundations. Adela's protection would undoubtedly limit or prevent such actions.¹⁸⁶ Ivo had appealed earlier to Count Stephen to punish his men for menacing the clerics and disrupting the peace of God. He urged Stephen to make reparation and abide by the statutes of peace.¹⁸⁷ The instability of the region is further evident in a letter that the bishop wrote to Pope Paschal asking for the power to excommunicate anyone who attempted to ravish or take land away from the Church.¹⁸⁸

The relationship between Ivo and Adela was far from smooth. Indeed, they fell out several times although they always reconciled. Early in the twelfth century, the countess and the bishop clashed over the issue of jurisdiction. Adela exercised certain judicial and legal prerogatives of the county, including settling her vassals' disputes with the Church and among themselves. In one instance Ivo charged that she exceeded her jurisdiction when she attempted to judge a cleric named Raoul. Raoul's offense is not entirely clear; it appears he was either a heretic or from a "false" religious house. Ivo's response was decisive, however. He argued that clerics must be tried under

185. Dom. Jean Leclercq, *Le Correspondence de Yves, eveque de Chartres*. no. 5, pp. 15-7.

186. Merlet, *Lettres*, no. 93, pp. 188-9.

187. Merlet, *Lettres*, no. 88, pp. 178-9.

188. Merlet, *Lettres*, no. 96, pp. 192-4.

ecclesiastical law, except in cases of capital punishment, and warned Adela to cease pursuit of this matter because he did not want to lose affection for her.¹⁸⁹ The significance of this dispute is obvious: it foreshadows the celebrated clash between Adela's grand-nephew King Henry II and Thomas Becket. The situation between Ivo and the countess was not as grave, but the clash indicates that Adela along with many of her peers was faced with the reformed Church's dedication to delimiting ecclesiastical authority and expunging secular influence over clerics and Church matters.

A rather cryptic letter datable around 1102 provides evidence of another altercation, perhaps also over the issue of jurisdiction. Ivo admonished Adela not to listen to her sergeants and warned that the people of Chartres would suffer if she did.¹⁹⁰ This letter could also be in response to the violence of Adela's vassals against the monks of Bonneval and their provisions. In the letter, Ivo threatened interdiction and demanded that she make reparation. Adela evidently remained unmoved because Ivo wrote to Archbishop Daimbert of Sens to request that he write and encourage her to provide restitution.¹⁹¹ The situation remained unresolved, and Ivo wrote again to the countess to complain of her men's injustice to the monks. He also warned she was being unjust and was in danger of losing her reputation for wisdom because she had kept the disputed provisions and not punished her men.¹⁹² Both Ivo and Adela were finally called before the king to settle their dispute. The countess agreed to make reparation and was restored to the bishop's good graces.¹⁹³ In addition to marking an

189. Merlet, *Lettres*, no. 103, pp. 204-5.

190. Merlet, *Lettres*, no. 119, pp. 226-7.

191. Merlet, *Lettres*, no. 129, p. 238.

192. Merlet, *Lettres*, no. 189, pp. 337-8.

193. Merlet, *Lettres*, no. 130, p. 239.

end to this long conflict, the settlement signals a very important change in the political balance of power in the region: The conflict between the countess and the bishop of Chartres was settled at the king's instigation and at his court. The French monarch clearly commanded new power. Louis VI's predecessors did not have the power necessary to summon a count to court and, in effect, impose their will on a situation. In contrast, Louis VI was a strong and able king, who could enforce royal justice and will upon the most powerful of the counts of France.

Between about 1104 and 1115, the year of Ivo's death, he and Adela were embroiled in another serious dispute. This conflict struck closer to home, however, for the chief protagonist was Adela's eldest son, William. William was accused by the Church of injuring the burghers of Chartres and of trying to kill certain clerics as well. Ivo himself has been suggested as the potential victim.¹⁹⁴ Ivo declined to place William under malediction out of affection for Adela.¹⁹⁵ He did write to the archbishop of Sens, however, and asked for permission to excommunicate William.¹⁹⁶ The resolution to this conflict unfortunately is not contained in Ivo's correspondence, but it seems that William escaped excommunication. He probably was required to make restitution.

Adela's participation as feudal lord and judge is also recorded in Ivo's letters. Sometime before 1115 the viscounts of Chartres and the count of Perche were

194. Bur, *La formation du comté du Champagne*, p. 472.

195. Merlet, *Lettres* no. 139, p. 252.

196. In the same letter the bishop discussed the issue of parental consent to marriages. Traditionally scholars have postulated that William arranged his marriage to Agnes of Sully on his own, without benefit of parental consent or guidance. The coincidence of Ivo's discussion on consent with his complaint about William may have caused the separate issues to be confused and led scholars to this conclusion. (See Bur, *La Formation du comté de Champagne*, p. 472; Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Baillage of Troyes under the Counts of Champagne* (Baltimore: 1975); R. Pernoud, *La femme au temps des cathedrales* (Paris: 1980), pp. 215-22.

involved in a dispute over the possession of Pontgouin.¹⁹⁷ The viscount of Chartres had invested his vassal Ivo II of Courville with this fief. Count Rotrou II of Perche purchased allods at Pontgouin, bordering on the county of Perche, and began to raise fortifications there. Understandably neither Ivo of Courville nor Viscount Hugh II of Chartres were pleased with this situation, so they took the case to Countess Adela's court. Viscount Hugh II initiated his appeal based on the prerogatives set out for the protection of crusaders departing for the Holy Land. Hugh himself was preparing to depart for the East. Since the dispute could not be solved by hand-to-hand combat, for whatever reason, the complaint was placed before Adela, and she found in favor of the viscount of Chartres and Ivo of Courville. Count Rotrou II did not abide by the ruling, however, and war broke out between him and Ivo of Courville. One day as Ivo was on patrol with his knights, Rotrou captured and imprisoned him. Bishop Ivo wrote to his superior, Archbishop Daimbert of Sens, to ask him to decide if Rotrou should be excommunicated. This letter, combined with the charter evidence, proves that Adela was involved in running the county and providing comital justice for her vassals, one of the primary duties of a feudal lord.

The correspondence of Bishop Ivo provides unusually rich detail on the powers employed by Countess Adela. Their relationship was at times affectionate, always respectful. Perhaps the most touching evidence of friendship is contained in one of Ivo's last letters, in which he writes to ask Adela for her support and participation in restoring the monastery of St. Martin-au-Val. In the letter, he warns Adela of the approach of the "enemy of old age" which had undoubtedly slowed down this vibrant and committed cleric.¹⁹⁸

Noblewomen from the ranks of the lords also took on responsibility for their

197. For discussion of this conflict, see Chapter 2, pp. 89-90.

198. Merlet, *Lettres*, no. 280, pp. 502-3.

children and family lands in the absence or on the deaths of their husbands. Eustachia Gouet was an important member of her family, which is reflected in her partnership with her husband in making donations, affirming gifts made by their vassals, and judging disputes. Lord William II Gouet and Eustachia affirmed Hilduin of Alluyes' quitclaim of land and tithes at *Novo Manso* and Luigni at their court.¹⁹⁹ Early in the twelfth century, William II Gouet and his eldest son, Hugh, went to the Holy Land. During his absence, which lasted anywhere from one to five years, Eustachia assumed feudal and family responsibilities. At the outset of her tenure as lord, Eustachia witnessed Daniel of La Ferté's quitclaim of what his brother-in-law Gilo Mansellus had donated to St. Roman of Brou. The abandonment was made "at court in front of many witnesses, in the presence of Lady Eustachia."²⁰⁰ Similarly, when the tithes of Mont-Richard were falsely claimed and then returned to the Church, the guilty parties quitclaimed in the presence of Lady Eustachia.²⁰¹ Eustachia's sons William and Robert participated as witnesses in these acts, as well as making their own donations. While these sons participated in matters of justice, they did so in association with their mother. It was clearly Lady Eustachia's court, which demonstrates that even though they were of age, their mother maintained control of family vassals and lands (see Figure 10). One of Eustachia's sons would occasionally witness a gift by a vassal with his mother, but Eustachia's authority over the lordship was never usurped or

199. *CSPDC*, no 36, p. 494; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 5, p. 284, note 197.

200. *CSPDC*, no. 6, p. 474-5; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 356, note 143.

201. *CSPDC*, no. 27, pp. 486-8; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 453, note 153.

challenged by either of her sons.²⁰²

Both *Vicedomina* Helisend and Lady Agnes of Montigny assumed authority over their respective lordships upon the deaths of their husbands (see Figures 1 and 9). These women continued to exercise control over these properties and vassals even after they remarried. Helisend used the title of *vicedomina* for her lifetime. She was widowed early in the twelfth century, but the three children from her first marriage frequently acted with her in making donations from the patrimony. When Helisend married to Bartholomew Bodellus, she continued to act as *vicedomina* and her new husband also occasionally employed the title of vidame. Their son Girard also eventually used the title of vidame, even though his only claim to it was through his mother, the widow of Vidame Gueric. Lady Agnes of Montigny was married to Helisend's son Hugh, who died around 1107. After his death, Agnes enjoyed responsibility for the lordship of Montigny, her inheritance. Around 1114, before she married Eudes of Vallières, Reginald of Perche made a gift to the monastery of Tiron with the consent of Agnes of Montigny, from whom he held this fief.²⁰³ This noblewoman not only controlled her inheritance but also participated in the feudal world as a lord. After Agnes' marriage to Eudes of Vallières, they made and affirmed gifts that pertained to both of their patrimonies. The examples of *Vicedomina* Helisend and Lady Agnes reflect the partnership that many women enjoyed in their marriages and their ability as widows to assume control of property, vassals and their children without fear of interference from male kin or their feudal superiors.

202. For example, Robert participated with his mother in witnessing the quitclaim of Waldin to the church and tithes of Estilleux (see *CSPDC*, no. 30, p. 489). William and Eustachia also affirmed a gift by Rainald the deacon, although it is difficult to determine if this charter dates from Eustachia's tenure as lord or William III's.

203. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 3, pp. 14-5: ...libet scripto annotari quod ego Reginaldus Perceae dono Deo et donno Bernardo abbati at...cumque possideo de feodo Agnetis de Montiniaco. Hoc concessit predicta Agnes de Montiniaco....

This charter has been heavily damaged and only bits of it are legible.

Noblewomen as Feudal Lords and Vassals

Modern historians have argued that noblewomen were excluded from participation in feudal relationships because they were unable to satisfy the essence of lordship and vassalage: the provision of military service.²⁰⁴ This thesis did not hold true for eleventh-century Blois-Chartres, for noblewomen fulfilled feudal duties as both vassals and lords. In short, they exercised the same prerogatives and powers as noblemen in the feudal realm. What remains to be determined is whether the noblewomen of the twelfth century continued to take part in such relations or whether they came to be excluded from lordship or vassalage.

Women acted in concert with their husbands as feudal lords, signaling their inclusion in these obligations. Ladies of all ranks were considered the feudal partners of their husbands. Count Stephen and Countess Adela acted together in making gifts, mediating their vassals' disputes and confirming their gifts.²⁰⁵ Lady Eustachia of Gouet acted with her husband William II in matters that pertained to their feudal holdings. Similarly, wives of knights and lesser nobles held fiefs with their husbands. Around 1128, for example, Rainald of Espiers and his wife Ada gave to Tiron all of the land which they held together at *Monte Simphoriano*, as well as a mill on the L'Aigre river. Their feudal lord Viscount Geoffrey III of Châteaudun affirmed the gift, and his wife Heloise also consented. Heloise and Ada's inclusion attests to the feudal partnership enjoyed by the wives of lords and vassals.²⁰⁶ Similarly, when Hugh of -----

204. McNamara and Wemple, "The Power of Women," 137-9; Shulamith, *The Fourth Estate*, pp. 126-40; F. L. Ganshof, "Le statut de la femme dans la monarchie franque," *Receuil de la Société Jean Bodin*, 2 (1962), pp. 1-58.

205. See Kimberly LoPrete, "A Female Ruler in Feudal Society: Adela of Blois (c.1067-c.1137)" (Ph. D Dissertation, the University of Chicago, 1991).

206. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 98, pp. 118-9; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 483, note 218.

Levreville, his mother and *cognatus* arranged to place certain of their lands in mortgage, they did so with the consent of their feudal lords Bardulf of Gallardon and his wife Helvise "from whom they held this fief."²⁰⁷

Other noblewomen also acted as feudal lords and vassals. Around 1109 Abbot William of St. Père confirmed a gift that had been given to St. Père during his predecessor's abbacy. Property at Levesville-le-Chenard was donated by Erchembald the knight, and the feudal lords of this land consented to and witnessed the transaction. Philippa of Courville, who had assumed control of the lordship of Courville after the death of her husband Gerogius, was listed as one of the lords of this property.²⁰⁸ Her son Ivo appeared with her, but he was still a minor, and Philippa was lord of Courville until he came of age. In 1128 Gautier Pagan gave to Tiron the land of Malaise, which he held in fief from Lady Auberia and Robert of Blainville.²⁰⁹ Like women from the upper echelons of the nobility, this noblewoman controlled a vassal and his fief. Another charter from approximately the same time further substantiates this role. Lady Blanche of Memberolles gave to Tiron an arpent of vines at Conie, tithes at Marboué and a house at Châteaudun. Before the gift could stand, however, Lady Blanche secured the consent of Engelard and his family. In

207. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 86, pp. 106-7; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 301, note 18.

208. *CSPDC*, no. 24, p. 418: Quod, sicut obtulit et petivit a domno Eustachio abbate, susceptum est et concessum, et, coram multis testibus quorum nomina subnota sunt, a Bartholomo Butello et frater Fulcherio, et ab uxore ejus Helisendi et filio Girardo, et a domna Philippa de Curva Villa et filio ejus Ivone, et Gradulf de Ysis et filio ejus Roberto, qui, ordine quo sunt scripti, terre domini erant, concessum et confirmatum.

209. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 91, pp. 113-4: Noverint omnes homines quod Gauterius qui vocabatur Paganus, filius Richerii, dedit monachis Tyronis omnem terram de Maleseis, quam tenebat a domina Aubereia et a Roberto de Bellainvilla, filio suo Goffredo et uxore sua Aalesde, et Amelina filia Aalesdis concendentibus.

return, Blanche rewarded them with her purchases from Conie and Marboué.²¹⁰ Like all lords, Blanche was required to have the consent of her vassals to transactions that pertained to their holdings. She was also able to grant compensation to her retainers for their assent and loss of this property. Noblewomen continued to exercise the prerogatives of a feudal lord into the mid twelfth-century. Sometime between 1130 and 1145 Pagan and his brother Robert gave to Tiron two arpents of meadow, with the consent and participation of their lady Juliana.²¹¹ About 1141 Elizens and her husband Gautier Pointellus gave to Notre Dame de Josaphat all of the fiefs and lordships which she held at Osmoy. Hilduin, who held this fief from Elizens, consented to the gift.²¹² The fiefs in question belonged to Elizens' patrimony; women possessed lands, inherited individually and maintained control over them during their marriages.

In contrast to these examples of feudal autonomy, a charter datable about 1138 suggests that some noblewomen's control of fiefs was being undermined by their male kin. Froger of Mareau and his wife Osanna gave all of the land that they held together

210. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 114, pp. 136-7: Noverint fideles cuncti presentes atque futuri quod domina Blanca de Menberolis dedit monachis de Tyronis unum agripennum vinee apud Conniam, et decimam suam de Marboe, et domum suam de Castriduno, post mortem Gaufridi nepotis sui. Quod concessit Engelardus de Cavilana-villa et uxor ejus et filii eorum Guillelmus et Robertus atque Gaufridus, et filie eorum Erenburgis et Ascelina; pro qua concessione predicta Blanca concessit supradicto Engelardo et heredibus suis emptiones suas de Connia et de Marboe.

211. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 148, pp. 172-3. This Juliana could be the sister of Count Rotrou II of Perche.

212. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 111, pp. 142-3: Anno ab incarnatione Domini M C XL I, Rome papa existente Innocentio, in Galliis regnante Ludovico, Ludovici filio, cathedre Carnotensis ecclesie presidente Gaufrido de Leugis, Elizens, uxor Gauterii Pointelli, et ipse Gauterius dederunt ecclesie Sancte-Marie Josaphat que sita est juxta Leugas, per manum domini Girardi abbatis, totum feuodum suum et dominicum suum de Ulmeio, quod factum fuit apud eandem villam, et ita quod ipsa supradicta Elisent, de cujus patrimonio erant hec omnia...de granchia et de toto feuodo suo et dominico per clavem ipsus granchie, et insuper de feuodo quem Hilduinus de ipsa Elisent tenebat, quem Hilduinus de predicto abbate et de monachis predictae abbacie teneret, quicquid de predicta muliere et de viro ejus tenere solebat....

at Mareau to the abbey of Tiron. Lady Oda and her son, from whom they held this fief, consented to the gift.²¹³ In return for their cooperation, Oda and Raginaud were granted forty *solidi* from Orléans by the monks. The absence of reference to a husband in the charter suggests that Oda was a widow acting as guardian for her son. Three of Oda's brothers and her son-in-law also participated in the charter. One brother who witnessed the grant was awarded a countergift. Another brother, not listed as a witness, also received compensation. The presence of her conjugal and natal male kin implies that once Oda was widowed her brothers and son-in-law came to play a more dominant role in the lives of their sister and nephew, a symptom of patrilineage. Yet patrilineage had not come to dominate Oda completely, for she clearly initiated the donation and controlled these fiefs.

Noblewomen were also vassals. Around 1128 Viscount Hugh III of Chartres gave the church of St. Martin in Chuisnes to Marmoutier. Ermengard of Courville, who held this church from him, assented and allowed her lord to restore the church.²¹⁴ The lords of Courville had long been the vassals of the viscounts of Chartres, and Hugh needed to have his vassal Ermengard's consent (see Figure 2). *Vicedomina* Helisend, likewise, held a fief from Bishop Ivo (see Figure 1). Around 1108 Helisend donated half of the land at Mantarville for the soul of her late husband Hugh II. Bishop Ivo was present for the donation because the *vicedomina* held this land in fief from his benefice. Helisend, a vassal of the bishop, was also a lord in her

213. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 220, p. 248: In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis, ego Frogerius de Marulio et Osanna uxor mea dedimus Deo et monachis Tironis totam terram nostram de Mauriolo, concedente domina mea Oda et Raginaldo filio ejus, de quorum feodo erat....Testes....ex parte vero domine Ode et Raginaudi filii ejus: Raginaudus et Tescelinus fratres domine Odo....Pinellus gener Ode.....

Sciendum vero est quod Oda et filius ejus Raginaudus pro hac concessione receperunt a monachis Tironensibus XL solidos aurelianensium, et Raginaudus frater sepedicte Ode XX solidos, Jordanus frater ejus v solidos.

214. *CMPD*, no. 177, p. 170; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 471, note 212.

own right. Included in the above gift were fees of certain knights, which establishes that Helisend was involved in the very essence of feudal lordship.²¹⁵ Noblewomen from the lesser nobility were also vassals. Between 1116 and 1136 Helvisa Legedocta gave the church of St. John of Chaumars to Marmoutier. Like *Vicedomina* Helisend, she made this gift in the presence of her feudal lord Viscount Geoffrey II, to whom the church belonged in fief. Heloise held this church from the viscount and needed his consent for her donation to be stable and legitimate.²¹⁶

Conclusion: Noblewomen and Society

The ability of women to possess and control land facilitated, indeed even compelled, their inclusion in the feudal realm. By the twelfth century, most property consisted of fiefs; few families had allodial land. Thus, if women controlled property they were inevitably feudal lords or vassals. Women's authority over and claim to family resources insured them a certain degree of respect from their family and noble society. For example, when Ivo of La Porte Morard made a gift to St. Père of five *solidi* of *cens*, he did so with the counsel of his wife Eufemia. Clearly Ivo respected her opinion on the disposition of family properties.²¹⁷ The participation of noblewomen in feudal relationships continued from the eleventh century. The evidence from the twelfth century, however, reveals certain alterations in noblewomen's activities. Allocation of resources among many twelfth-century

215. *JEAN*, no. 7, p. 6; for the text of the charter, see Chapter 7, p. 387, note 17.

216. *CMPD*, no. 168, pp. 158-9: Haec omnia concesserunt Ivo clericus, Gaufridus de Montiniaco et Godetus, tres scilicet filii Helvisae et filia ejus cognomine Burda. Haec concessio facta fuit in domo ejusdem Helvisae, ipsa vidente et hoc donum iterum confirmante, in praesentia Gaufridi vicecomitis de cujus fevo ecclesia illa erat.

For the complete text of the charter, see Chapter 6, p. 333, note 93.

217. *CSPDC*, no. 172, p. 387; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 307, note 36.

noblewomen's activities. Allocation of resources among many twelfth-century knightly and lesser noble families was approaching a state of crisis. Some families adopted new forms of family structure and inheritance to reduce strain on their resources. A consequence of this response was a decline in noblewomen's control of resources, which sharply limited their participation in feudal relationships and their ability to make independent donations. Yet some women continued to be able to behave like their counterparts in the previous century. Others found influence through partnership with their husbands. While the autonomy of some noblewomen may have been restricted, the twelfth century saw many noblewomen assume influential and powerful positions. Countess Adela of Blois-Chartres ran the county for a number of years, made politically strategic marriages for her children and enjoyed the respect and affection of one of the most important clerics of the age. The wives and daughters of the Chartrain viscounts participated in family donations, which indicates their claim and right to family lands, but they did not individually control family possessions. Some of the wives of the lords of Blois-Chartres enjoyed independent dominance and authority during their husbands' absence or after their death: The ladies of Courville, Montigny and Gouet, and the *vicedominae* of Chartres were particularly influential and powerful. Other ladies of this rank of the nobility, as well as those of the level of knights and the lesser nobles, maintained a position of significance, evident in their roles as consenters, codonors and witnesses. While more women from all sectors of the nobility were having their powers and rights curtailed, most continued to enjoy positions of influence, wealth and autonomy.

Conclusion: Noblewomen in the Twelfth Century

Scholars of the history of women warn of the dangers of extrapolating from the experiences of queens and countesses to conclusions pertaining to women of all

levels of medieval society. Yet in the case of Blois-Chartres, Countess Adela symbolizes the position of many Chartrain noblewomen. Adela exercised not only informal power but also political influence and control. She ran the county for many years and continued to play an active role even after her son Thibaut IV came of age. She was also influenced by the reform of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries and sponsored new foundations in the region. Like Adela, Eustachia of Gouet was a generous ecclesiastical patron and restored many churches to local monasteries. Women such as Viscountess Heloise and Philippa of Courville tried to use their influence to intervene in conflicts between the Church and their families. Countess Adela was guilty of the abuse of power characteristic of many medieval lords. She usurped land from the Church and was called to task when some of her men did violence to the abbey of Bonneval. Women from all sectors of the nobility usurped land from the Church and challenged donations made by their kin. Adela also functioned as a feudal lord. The noble ladies of Blois-Chartres likewise exercised these powers and acted in the feudal world as both lords and vassals. Others participated in feudal matters as partners of their husbands. The comital court of Blois-Chartres was run by the countess and she meted out justice. Eustachia of Gouet also affirmed her vassals' gifts and witnessed their quitclaims. Adela confirmed and witnessed donations for her vassals, as did noblewomen from all levels of the nobility. Countess Adela was clearly not an anomaly; rather, she was a reflection of the power that many women of the region had enjoyed in the eleventh century and continued to command into the twelfth.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

The Chartrain nobility was affected by many historical trends in the period from 980 to 1140. Forces such as the Gregorian reform movement and royal centralization had an impact on the most private dimensions of noble medieval life. At the outset of this period, the nobility was a power unto itself, with few checks on its power or actions. By 1140 both monarchical revitalization and the reformed Church had come to challenge this autonomy. The French nobility of the mid twelfth century was no longer independent or a threat to the king's authority. Similarly, noble private lives were regulated by Church law. The decades spanning 980 to 1140 represents the high point of noble power and the very beginning of its decline.

Various arguments have been offered about the origins of the medieval nobility, its family structure, inheritance strategies and the position of women in both the noble family and society. The evidence from Blois-Chartres conforms to some of these theories but challenges others. For example, the assertion that the nobility of the high Middle Ages was a combination of new men and families with Carolingian descent is accurate. The comital family of Blois-Chartres is representative of this pattern, as are the families of the viscount of Châteaudun and the viscount of Blois. The lords of the Chartrain, however, were all new men who gained power through their own abilities as warriors and loyal vassals.

The general arguments offered by scholars such as Georges Duby, David Herlihy and Jack Goody on the character and structure of the noble family do not accurately reflect the selected noble families of Blois-Chartres. The idea that one, static family pattern that prevailed at any one time is not borne out in the evidence

from this county. While most noble families adhered to an open, collateral family structure that recognized the rights of family members to the patrimony, not all families assumed the same form. Some families, like the Frétevals or the viscounts of Chartres, passed the title and certain honors to the eldest son, but other heirs were not precluded from a claim or share of the patrimony. Others, such as the vicedominal family of Chartres, allowed all sons to employ the title and provided each with a portion of the patrimony. In contrast the seigneurial family of Courville vested control of the patrimony in the hands of the eldest son, but other siblings had to be consulted before alienations were made. The few families selected for this study illuminate the diversity of noble family patterns, in one county, in any one century.

The presumed general transformation from an open and extended family that practiced shared or partible inheritance to one that was primogenitary and organized patrilinearly did not occur in the county of Blois-Chartres between 980 and 1140. Certain economic factors did emerge in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries that caused some families to adopt new forms of inheritance and family structure. Yet no one system of inheritance or family organization prevailed. Many noble families continued to share or divide the patrimony although perhaps more families began to adopt a more primogenitary or patrilinear form in the twelfth century. The family of the lord of Montigny certainly changed its shape from one that was extended to one that was more linear in this period. The vicecomital family of Chartres, likewise, seems to have stopped providing all sons with a share of the patrimony and vested control of the traditional family lands in the line of the eldest son. While the twelfth century witnessed certain alterations in the family patterns of nobles of all economic and social status, no one system of inheritance or family structure was any more prevalent in this century than it was in the eleventh. Indeed, if anything, the family structure of the Chartrain nobility became more diverse in the twelfth century.

The noblewomen of these Chartrain noble families enjoyed influence and

power, both within their families and in society in general. The assertion that the eleventh and twelfth centuries represent a decline in the status and activities of noblewomen is thus not substantiated by the evidence from Blois-Chartres. These women controlled land and its dependents and were important members of their families, as well as generous ecclesiastical patrons and participants in the feudal realm as both lords and vassals. Some women may have experienced restriction in the twelfth century, but the majority of noblewomen continued to command the same power and respect that they had in the previous century.

The conclusions reached in this study are limited by its geographic focus and examination of only a dozen representational families. Nevertheless, these findings suggest that many of the theories and models proposed for the medieval nobility are in need of revision. To comprehend the complexities of noble family structure, examination of individual families from various regions is required. The evidence from Blois-Chartres certainly suggests this and further research on other areas and families, I would suggest, will prove that inheritance and family structure within the medieval nobility was not as static or monolithic as we have been led to believe.

APPENDIX I

Succession to the Lordship of Courville After Ivo II

By the beginning of the 1120's the lord of Courville was facing a crisis: he had no heirs. In the confirmation of 1115 Ivo clearly had children or expected to have them since he promised that his heirs would not disrupt the donation.¹ By approximately 1118 his heir(s) had either died or failed to materialize. A charter datable from about this time records a very extensive donation by Ivo II to the monks of Tiron. Included in the gift was property at *Ogerii Villa* in Blois, which he had given earlier, with the exception of two carrucates of land which he had given to the monks of the priory of Chuisnes and the leprosarium of Beaulieu. Ivo II also donated to Tiron a mill and forge at Courville, with twelve *solidi* of *cens* from the oven, a sluice, a mill pond and a portion of fish from it given at the feast of St. Michael, a salt pan, and the right to pasture pigs and to collect herbs in the forest of Courville.² Ivo's lord

1. It is possible that who Ivo II was referring to here were possible future heirs, i.e. children that had yet to be born. Ivo also may have been influenced by the Gregorian reformers' concept of kin. It seems likely that descendants of Ivo's uncles or brothers were still living. But since reconstruction of Ivo brothers' families is not possible, Ivo's conception of which relatives he considered a legitimate heir is not determinable.

2. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 18, pp. 32-5: In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus-Sancti, ego Ivo de Curvavilla, sciens et mecum revolvens quia qui, in presenti, terrena pro Christo largitur, ei in futuro gloria celestis, qua nichil felicius, recondensabitur, monachis Tyronensibus quedam beneficia contuli, que quidem presenti cartula denotari volui et futurorum memorie reservari. Quoniam igitur apud Tyron locum eorum noviter advenerant et ibi pauperrime sed secundum Deum degentes, totam terram meam quam apud Ogerii-Villam in Blesia habebam eis donavi, excepto quod terram unius carruce monachis de Choina longe ante jam dederam, et infirmis de Bello-Loco similiter aliam; et quoniam eadem terra de feodo domini Puteolensis erat, Hugo, filius Ebrardi, tunc heres, pro Deo et meo rogatu, donum quod feceram ipse concessit et suo loco firmavit. Apud Curvavillam castrum meum eis quoddam molendinum quod dicitur de Porta qua itur ad Choniam tribui, et furnum quem in eodem castro habebam, cum xii solidis census ad eundem furnum pertinentibus. Concessi etiam eis stagnum meum et clusam de Charruel, ad piscandum semel in anno ad festum sancti Michaelis. Apud Forestam villam meam iterum eis viii solidos census donavi, nemus totum ad hospitandum et ad pastum porcorum suorum, et ejusdem nemoris saltum ad fenum faciendum; quibusdam vero fratribus eorum apud Climart commorantibus totam terram sicut

Viscount Hugh of Chartres and Fulk Querceu, both of whom he refers to as his heir, consented. This charter, I believe, either records gifts at two different times or was a copy of the original charter with the scribe's interpolations. In the portion recording Ivo II's gift of the revenues from the forest of Courville, Fulk of Querceu witnessed and was designated as Ivo's successor to the lordship. Earlier in the charter Ivo stated that his feudal lord, the viscount of Chartres, would be his heir. This section of the act must either have been a later donation after Ivo had selected Fulk as his heir, or a copy of the donation made by a scribe who knew that Fulk had succeeded Ivo. Sometime after 1135³, Ivo II abandoned the secular world and became a monk.⁴ All of the fiefs which the lord of Courville held from the Viscount of Chartres or the Count were demised to Thibaut IV. In return he was given two hundred marks of silver, which were set aside for alms. In this act Ivo names Robert of Vieuxpont as heir to the lordship.⁵ Yet during the decade of the 1120's Fulk of Querceu was referred to in many charters as the lord of Courville.⁶ Evidently sometime after his donation of 1118 Ivo had named Fulk his heir, and he had used the title lord of

....Continued....

rivus et fossata eam dividunt usque ad forestam. Ad hoc donum adfuerunt....

Preter hec supradicta dedit nobis idem Ivo omnes redditus quos habebat in foro de Curvavilla ex minutis rebus, scilicet de pane, de sale, de opere fictili, de alliis et de omnibus herbis que in hortis plantantur, et hoc in presentia Goffredi Carnotensis episcopi, concedente Fulco de Quercu, qui Ivoni successit in hereditate Curveville, testibus istis:....

3. The editor of the cartulary of Tiron dates this act around 1127. I believe this is wrong, since when Ivo II entered the church he abandoned all his land to the count and Robert Vieuxpont. Count Thibaut IV's brother Stephen participated in the act and is titled both count and king of England. The charter, therefore, must be after 1135 when King Henry II died and Stephen assumed the throne.

4. It is possible he entered Tiron, in which cartulary his gift is recorded, but this is not certain.

5. The Vieuxpont family controlled the lordship of Courville until the end of the fifteenth century.

6. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 33, pp. 53-5, no. 35, p. 56, and no. 104, p. 124.

Courville in expectation of attaining it.⁷ Ivo II had not, however, abandoned his family lordship, as is apparent in a charter datable around 1130 in which he confirmed a donation made by one of his vassals.⁸ Ivo II's wife Ermengard maintained control of part of the family property as late as 1128. At this time she made a gift of the church at Chuisnes, which had been founded by Ivo I, her husband's grandfather.⁹ Fulk of Querceu's son William was also lord of Courville. William's brother-in-law Robert of Vieuxpont eventually succeeded him as lord of Courville.¹⁰

7. To have himself labeled as the lord of Courville was a solid strategy on the part of Fulk. Because the fate of the lordship was fairly uncertain (Ivo had changed his mind once), by being known and recorded as the lord, Fulk safeguarded his right to succeed Ivo II as lord.

8. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 129, pp. 154-5: Scriptum est hic ne oblivisceretur quod Rainaudus, filius Harduini de Andovilla, quamdam terram quam dicebat fuisse suorum parentum in parochia Pruneii, quam dederat Ivo de Curvavilla monachis de Tyron, eisdem monachis, pro salute anime sue suorumque parentum, et pro uno caballo concessit et concedere fecit in eternum matri sue Aelai et fratri Berardo, et sororibus suis Tescie et Aelai et Raingardi, et nepotibus suis et neptis scilicet Odone, Gaufredo, Radulfo, Ernulfo, Ricardo, Hildeardi, Hersent, Hameiline, Odelina, Tesce, Ermensent.

9. *CMPD*, no. 179, p. 170; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 467, note 181.

10. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 167, p. 211: William is referred to as the lord of Courville in this charter. Ego Goslenus, Dei gratia Carnotensis ecclesie humilis episcopus, presentibus et futuris notum fieri volo quod Willelmus, dominus de Curvavilla, concessit per manum meam monachis Sancte-Marie de Josaphat ex integro decimam quam ex dono Odonis de Loisvilla habuerant.

APPENDIX II

The Extended Family of the Lords of Fréteval

Several branches of the Fréteval family are traceable. The cousins, nephews, uncles, etc., who appear in the charters of the lords of Fréteval were all the descendants of the children of Fulcher I: Hamlin, Comitissa, Hildeburg and Pagana. Hamlin married the widow of Lord Ganelon II of Montigny and assumed the rights and responsibilities of lord. As previously discussed, Hamlin continued to participate in his natal family's transactions.¹ Fréteval kin also participated in Hamlin's acts. Between 1096 and 1101 Hamlin abandoned his claim to two mills that belonged to the monks of Marmoutier. Robert Flagellus, his cousin, acted on his behalf as a witness.² Like Hamlin, Nivelon II's sister Comitissa also consented to many of her brother's donations and her Fréteval relatives also appeared in the transactions of her conjugal family. In approximately 1136, Comitissa's son Viscount Geoffrey III of Châteaudun witnessed a charter of Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres, along with several of his Fréteval cousins: Lord Ursio of Fréteval, Pagan II of Frouville, Hamlin and Philip Flagellus.³ These children of Fréteval clearly maintained contact with their natal family and interest in the dispersal of its properties.

1. *CMPD* no. 151, pp. 139-40; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 6, p. 300, note 15.

2. *CMPD*, no. 61, pp. 53-4; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 406, note 60.

3. *JOSAPHAT*, no. 93, p. 118: Quapropter ego Gaufredus, Dei gratia Carnotensis episcopus, notum facio tam futuris quam presentibus quod Salomon Doisnebs, qui calumpniabatur in decima de Limoiron, penitentia ductus, locum qui Olere dicitur adiit, ubi ipse eram ibique quicquid in supradicta decima calumpniabatur in manus nostras exposuit ac dimisit et in perpetuum eam quiete habendam ecclesie Sancte-Marie Josaphat concessit. Testes: abbas Tyronis....Gaufredus vicecomes Castridunensis; Ursus de Fractavalle, Matheus Rufus, Paganus de Floovilla, Hamelinus Flagellum; Phylippus Flagellum....

Nivelon II's sister Hildeburg married Bernard of La Ferté and had several children. It is possible that Bernard was the lord of La Ferté, although in the charters he is usually not called lord. The La Fertés were of a lesser economic and feudal status than the Frétevals. Hildeburg's continued right to her natal patrimony is substantiated by her husband's attempt to lay claim to a portion of it. At the end of the eleventh century, Bernard tried to usurp property near Chaumars that his father-in-law Fulcher had donated to Marmoutier for the remedy of his soul. In return for his quitclaim, Bernard was granted a palfrey. Bernard's sons, Bernard and Hugh, his grandsons Nivelon, Pagan and Geoffrey, and his granddaughter Hildeburg consented to this transaction.⁴ The legitimacy of Hildeburg's right to her natal patrimony is apparent in the awarding of a horse as a countergift to Bernard. Even though this family could ill afford a multiplicity of claims, all children and grandchildren exercised a claim to family property, as did their rich cousins. The La Ferté kin also appeared in Lord Nivelon II's donation to Marmoutier of all customs, lands and inhabitants that pertained to his fiefs between Fréteval and Froidmantel.⁵ Hildeburg and Bernard's sons and grandsons witnessed for their uncle Nivelon II. One son, Bernard, even received a pair of scarlet shoes in compensation, and his brother Hugh Palestellus and nephew Geoffrey also witnessed this charter as well as several others.⁶ Because Nivelon II

4. *CMPD*, no. 75, p. 67: Omnibus sanctae Dei ecclesiae rectoribus atque cultoribus, tam futuris quam modo viventibus, notum fieri volumus quod burgum, qui est inter domum Hugonis, Ebrardi filii, et domum Gisleberti bannarii, et vineas quae sunt juxta Camaricum, in loco qui dicitur Montiniacus; haec omnia quae Fulcherius, Nivelonis filius, pro remedio suae animae, monachis Sancti Martini tribuit, Bernardus de Firmitate, qui ea calumniabatur, ab omni calumnia libera atque soluta, clamavit, et pro hac concessione de caritate Sancti Martini palefridum candidum a monachis habuit. Hoc quoque concessit Bernardus filius ejus et Hugo filius ejus, et Nivelon, et Paganus, et Gaufredus filii ejus, et Hildeburgis filia ejus.

5. *CMPD*, no. 64, pp. 56-7; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 421, note 87.

6. Hugh Palestellus witnessed in several other charters. See *CMPD*, no. 64, pp. 56-7, no. 151, pp. 139-40, and no. 155, pp. 143-6. He also witnessed for the lords of Gouet; see *CSPDC*, no. 84, p. 209.

had only one son, the offspring of his sister Hildeburg were viewed as potential heirs. Their participation in family charters under Ursio, however, demonstrates that their inclusion was not merely dictated by their position as possible heirs but rather testifies to the extended and horizontal kinship structure of this family.

Pagana, another of Fulcher's daughters, married Pagan of Frouville, the brother of Girard Diabolus.⁷ Pagan frequently witnessed charters for Lord Ursio I.⁸ Information on the family structure and inheritance patterns of Pagan's natal family is also extant. About 1127 Girard Diabolus donated to Tiron his land at Choudre and Orville, as well as tithes.⁹ Pagan of Frouville and all of his sons consented to this gift, reflecting their claim to his lands. Pagan also swore to protect the donated property from any false claims or contestations. A charter dated 1129 provides additional evidence of an extended family pattern and also of partible inheritance. Pagan of Frouville arranged an exchange with the monks of Tiron of his three carrucates of land in Choudri and Auvillers in return for those given in alms by Robert of Boufigni and Helgod of Memberolles. Pagan's brother Girard Diabolus had previously donated his portion of the land in both Choudri and Auvillers. That each

7. Lucien Merlet, *TIRON*, vol. I, p. 108, note 1, states that Girard Diabolus was the lord of Plessis-Maillé. The descendants of Pagan of Frouville inherited this lordship from their uncle.

8. *CMPS*, no. 164, p. 155; for the text of this charter, see Chapter 7, p. 424, note 96.

9. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 87, pp. 107-8: Hoc precipue aliisque quamplurimis excitatus preceptis, Girardus Diabolus dedit monachis Tyronis terram suam de Choudre et de Orviler, istud quidem sub hac conditione disponens ut singulis annis daret eis ad seminandum in eadem terra unum modium frumenti et xviii sexatrios avene, hoc pacto ut quartam partem exinde quotannis ipse et heres ejus acciperent. Insuper etiam isdem eisdem decimam totam de Orviler quam multociens surripuerat concessit. Propter ejus doni pactique confirmationem fidem suam dedit eisdem monachis, sub cujus fidei confirmatione etiam posuit ut vicecomiti Gaufrido et uxori ejusdem Helvis, et omnibus filiis ejus, et Pagano fratri ejusdem Girardi Diaboli, et omnibus filiis ejus concedere faceret, adjungens etiam sub eadem fide quod ab omni calumpnia immune hoc donum faceret....Hujus itaque pacti utrorumque fuit fidejussor Paganus de Froovilla et testis.

brother held a share of this property demonstrates that they had each inherited part of it. Pagan also promised that he and his heirs would protect the gift from any challenges.¹⁰ The oath of Ursio of Fréteval was promised to guarantee the gift further. Sometime in the same year, Ursio swore that if Pagan died and his sons were still minors, he would insure that his sons and heirs defended the gift against all claims. Clearly, all of Pagan's sons were considered his heirs. Girard similarly affirmed Pagan's exchange of lands. Pagan's sons Frodo and Eudes¹¹, his daughter Godeheld and his wife Pagana consented to these donations and arrangements. All children received one *denarii* apiece for their cooperation, attesting to the parity of their claim to their father's lands.¹² The provisions made in Pagan of Frouville's charters for -----

10. *TIRON*, vol. I, no. 109, pp. 129-30: Monachi vero de Tyrum dederunt Pagano de Froovilla predictas terras, quas acceperant a predicto Helgodo atque predicto Roberto Bofignon, pro tribus carrucatis terre quas isdem Paganus commutavit eis in Orviler et Choldre....Et hec commutatio terrarum facta est hoc modo ut Paganus vel heredes ejus tres carrucatas terre predictas monachis in perpetuum ab omnibus calumpniis defenderent atque tutarent. Et Paganus predictus de his rebus Ursonem de Fractavalle fidejussorem dedit. Hec autem omnia concessit Gaufridus, vicecomes Castriduni, et Helvisa uxor ejus, et Hugo et Paganus filii ejus, et due filie ejus Alpes et Helvisa.

11. In addition to these two sons, Pagan may have had several others. He appeared quite often with his son Robert in the charters of the Lords of Fréteval. There is also another son Nivelon. Robert, who often used the cognomen of Flagellus, had a son named Phillip, and perhaps a brother Bernard.

12. *TIRON*, vol. I no. 117, pp. 137-9: Notificetur omnibus quia Paganus de Froovilla tres carrucatas terre ad Orviler et ad Cheldrei monachis Tyronensibus mutuavit pro elemosina Helgonis de Menberolis, pro terra videlicet unius carruce quam habebant ad Leisenvilla et pro terra Roberti Bofigni de feodo et de proprio quam habebant ab illo ad Leisenvilla, et pro quadrante furni domine Candide quem eis dederat in elemosinam, libere fideliterque defensurus contra omnes invasores, fidejussore Ursone de Fractavalle ut, si Paganus mortuus fuerit, pueri ejus, id est heredes, ejus garentabunt terram contra omnes calumpniatores, atque omnia dampna restauranda promittente....

Et ubi Paganus de Frodevilla tradebat abbati Tyronensi et monachis terram de Cheldri et Orviler affuit Girardus Diabolus, qui concessit eam monachis sine calumpnia, scilicet medietatem de Orviler et medietatem de Cheldri, excepto uno ostez apud Cheldri et tanto terre quod tribus modis seminari possit apud Orviler de terra communi; hec enim plus habet monachis....

Hoc idem mutuum concesserunt Frodo et Odo, filii ejusdem Pagani de Frovilla, et filia ejus Godeheldis, atque Pagana ejusdem uxor, cujus conjugii erat, apud Fractamvalle. Infantes vero illius Pagani habuerunt inde unum denarium, quem dederunt eis monachi propter intersignum ad nuces emendas.

defense against false claims imply that he was concerned that his gifts might be disputed. Considering his extended network of kin, it is quite possible that he suspected that some relative was likely to contest one of his donations. Pagan's and Pagana's sons inherited both lordships of Frouville and possibly that of Plessis.¹³ In two charters datable around 1130 his sons witnessed the acts of a vassal of the viscount of Châteaudun and for the viscount himself. In these transactions they were referred to as Pagan, Hugh, William and Eudes of Plessis.¹⁴ Around 1140 William of Plessis donated the land he held in fief at Choudri and Auvillers which he had inherited from his uncle Girard, since his only surviving son had entered the Church. William gave the land in alms for the souls of himself and his ancestors and was granted fifty *solidi* by the monks. His father Pagan, his brothers Hugh and Eudes, consented, which demonstrates that brothers continued to exercise a right each other's lands in this generation as well.¹⁵

The lords of Fréteval were also related to the Flagellus family. In a charter datable between 1101 and 1129 Philip, the son of Robert Flagellus who was the nephew of Lord Nivelon II, abandoned his claim to the tithes and lands in Ymonville.

13. Girard Diabolus had at least one son Robert, who eventually became a canon. He witnessed for Gui of Etampes, a member of the minor branch of the family of the viscounts of Chartres. Girard frequently witnessed for many lords of the region of Blois-Chartres, among them his brother's affinal kin the Frétevals and the Viscounts of Châteaudun. Girard was the lord of Plessis, to which his brother Pagan's sons succeeded.

14. *JOSAPHAT*, nos. 57 and 59, pp. 79-80 and pp. 82-1 respectively.

15. *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 238, pp. 11-2: Noverint fideles cuncti presentes atque futuri quod ego Guillelmus de Plessio quicquid habebam in feodo de Cheldri et de Orviler, que videlicet mihi contigerant a Girardo avunculo meo, qui, cum sine herede esset, me in predictis feodis heredem suum constituerat, partim pro remedio anime mee et antecessorum meorum, partim pro nummis quos inde habui monachis Tyronensibus in elemosinam dedi; habui enim quingentos ab eisdem monachis solidos. Hanc autem elemosinam non solum concesserunt Paganus pater meus, et Hugo et Odo fratres mei, sed etiam mecum fide sua firmaverunt predictam elemosinam ab omnibus calumpniis liberam et quietam reddere....

Viscount Hugh of Châteaudun and his family also consented to this donation.

The Flagelli were thus the descendants of one of Fulcher's children. Since Pagan of Frouville had a son named Robert, it would seem that the Flagelli were part of the Frouville line.¹⁶ Philip had inherited the property in Ymonville from his uncle Stephen.¹⁷ Because Nivelon II was Philip's lord, this family controlled part of certain Fréteval family fiefs, which they had presumably received through inheritance. Further evidence of Robert Flagellus' connection with the Frouvilles is apparent in another charter. Between 1101 and 1129 a knight from *Leni Villa* donated two serfs who were later claimed falsely. Robert Flagellus witnessed the quitclaim. Part of the land that Pagan of Frouville had received in exchange with the monks of Tiron was located in *Leni Villa*. Pagan did have a son named Robert, and Robert Flagellus' participation in

16. Originally I believed that the Flagelli were descended from Bernard of La Ferté. One of the most prominent of the Flagelli family was Bernard Flagellus, the *panetarius* of Marmoutier. Given the nomenclatural evidence, it seemed most likely that he belonged to the La Ferté branch of the family. Bernard Flagellus was probably not the son of Bernard of La Ferté. In a charter Marmoutier Bernard the son of Bernard of La Ferté appeared as a witness for his Fréteval kin and Bernard Flagellus appeared in the same act in his role as *panetarius*.

It is also possible that *nepos* means grandson, thereby Philip Flagellus would have been the grandson of Nivelon I. In this case he could have been the son of Nivelon-Pagan, Girard-Pagan or even Milo, Nivelon I's bastard. This configuration does not seem as likely as the one outlined above, however. Another possibility is that the Stephen referred to here as Philip Flagellus' uncle could have been the same Stephen of Fréteval who consented to many of Nivelon II and Hamelin's acts. Finally, it is possible that Flagellus and Palestellus, the cognomen used by some of the descendants of Bernard La Ferté, were different forms of the same name. In this case Bernard Flagellus the *panetarius* must have been Bernard La Ferté's cousin or relative.

While it is difficult to establish precisely the place of the Flagellus family in the family tree of the lords of Fréteval, their participation in the charters and the reference in the charter discussed above make it clear that they were related to the main Fréteval line in some way.

17. CSPDC, no. 101, pp. 335-6: In horum qui subscripti sunt testium presentia et audientia, recognovit, in capitulo nostro, Philippus, filius Roberti Flagelli, nepos domni Nivelonis, injustam se calumpniam nobis fecisse de tractu decime Haimonis Ville, de forisfacto quod pro ea nobis fecerat satisfaciens, et rectum in manu domini Willelmi abbatis ponens. Terram quam domnus Stephanus de Haimonis Villa, avunculus ejus, nobis dederat, que de fevo ejus erat et ad ipsum hereditario jure pertinebat, quamque, fratribus ejus nobis concedentibus, ipse non concesserat, tunc etiam nobis concessit. Domnus quoque Nivelon, a quo et Philippus tenebat, idem ibidem fecit.

the above transaction suggests that he indeed was the son of Pagan of Frouville.¹⁸ The connection between the Flagelli and the Frouville-Frêteval line is established, moreover, in two charters that record gifts made by Bernard Flagellus. Between 1084 and 1100 Bernard Flagellus gave his half of the land of *Ostrulvilla*, with the exception of the tithes, to Marmoutier. His uncle Stephen, and his brothers Hugh and Robert consented to the gift.¹⁹ He like Robert Flagellus and Ursio had an uncle Stephen who participated in this act. Another charter from the same time demonstrates that Bernard and Robert had shared inheritance of these lands. In this charter, Bernard reaffirmed the gift of his half of the lands, and his brothers, uncle and lords consented to this alienation. At the end of the charter, Bernard's brother Robert, after he had married Ermentrude, gave his half of these lands with the consent of his lords, their wives and sons.²⁰

Along with the La Ferté, Frouville, and Flagellus kin, it is also possible to trace, albeit somewhat incompletely, the family descended from Lord Nivelon I's son Pagan, who had married one of the daughters of Lord Eudes of Mondoubleau. They

18. *CSPDC*, no. 21, p. 415.

19. *CMPD*, no. 42, p. 40: Nosse debebitis si qui eritis posterī nostri, Majoris scilicet hujus habitatores Monasterii Sancti Martini, militem quendam nomine Bernardum, cognomine Flagellum, devenientem ad suscipiendum apud nos monachatum, donasse nobis dimidium terrae ut applleatur Ostrulvillae, decima excepta, concedentibus dominis, de quibus illam tenebat, Hugone videlicet de Putaciolo, vicecomite Carnotensi, atque Ebrard de Levaisvilla, annuente quoque Stephano avunculo suo, et fratribus duobus, Hugone atque Rotberto testibus istis.

20. *CMPD*, no. 51, pp. 46-47: Quadam alia vice supradictus Rotbertus, antequam duceret Hermentrudim uxorem suam, dedit aliam medietatem Ostrulvillae beato Martino et nobis, monachis ejus, in manu domni Bernardi abbatis per deprecationem domni Bernardi fratris sui, et per deprecationem domni Gausberti Ludovici monachi nostri. Hoc donum concesserunt supradicti domini qui et aliud donum concesserunt, cum uxoribus eorum et filiis.

Other men bearing the cognomen of Flagellus appear in the charters from the Chartrain. Philip Flagellus who was either the son or grandson of Robert, around 1150 became the chaplain of Hervé of Gallardon (see *JOSAPHAT*, no. 172, pp. 216-8). A Hamlin Flagellus also participated in the charters of the Frêteval lords. He may have been the brother of Philip Flagellus or the son of Philip or Hugh Flagellus.

had at least one son, Pagan, who became lord of Mondoubleau and often witnessed charters for Nivelon II and Ursio I. Sometime between 1108 and 1112 Pagan of Mondoubleau made a very generous donation Marmoutier of his lands of Saint-Hilaire-la-Gravelle, including woods and inhabitants. In return Pagan was given fifty *solidi* from Chartres by the monks. His son-in-law Bartholomew of Vendôme²¹ and his daughter Guitberg consented to this donation. His daughter received a fur as a countergift.²² Pagan had another daughter who eventually married Pagan the son of Viscount Geoffrey and his wife Heloise. This was a clearly incestuous match since Pagan would have been his wife's second cousin. The lordship of Mondoubleau

21. Bartholomew came from a very powerful family from the Vendômois. He made two very generous gifts to the monks of Marmoutier during the first four decades of the twelfth century. Between 1116 and 1136 he founded the chapel of *Clariniaci* in the Perche. His brothers, Vulgrin and Engebald, who was the archbishop of Tours, his sister Mary and her husband Geoffrey, his son John and his daughters confirmed the gift (see *CMPD*, no. 183, pp. 173-4). A charter from around 1140 records Bartholomew's gift of land at *Monte Leisnel* and eight *denarii* of *cens*. His sister and brother-in-law consented, and a certain Pagan of Fréteval, who may have been a very distant affinal relative, witnessed the charter.

I would speculate that Bartholomew was related to the Dives family of the Vendôme. Vulgrin was a very common name for this family and they had a tradition of dominating important ecclesiastical offices. For a discussion of this family, see Stephen Fanning, "From *Miles* to *Episcopus*: the Influence of the Family on the Career of Vulgrinus of Vendôme (ca. 1000-1065)," *Medieval Prosopography*, 4 (1983), 9-20.

22. *CMPD*, no. 69, pp. 62-3: Notum igitur sit Sanctae Matris ecclesiae fidelibus, nostrisque Majoris Monasterii successoribus, quod Paganus de Monte Dubllo Deo beatoque Martino Majoris Monasterii et nobis, ejusdem Sancti monachis pro salute et remedio animae suae dedit quicquid ad faciendum habebat apud Sanctum Hylarium de la Gravelle. Concessit etiam nobis ac dedit quicquid ad faciendum in praedicto loco homines sui darent nobis vel vendent, necnon liberam nobis potestatem dedit faciendi haias et firmitates in boscis suis, juxta voluntatem nostram, ubicunque melius velle-mus et eligeremus, et concessit habitatoribus prefati Sancti omnibus boscum suum ad capiendum ad quicquid eis opus esset, excepto hoc quod nulli vendere presumerent....Hujus rei tamen gracia ipse Gausbertus Ludovicus qui tunc Majoris Monasterii panetarius erat, sepedicto Pagano L solidos Carnotensium caritative pre-buit....

Sciendum est etiam Bartholomeum, Gaufridi Pagani filium et uxorem suam, Guitburgim, filiam Pagani de Monte Dubllo, illud donum sicut Paganus de Monte Dubllo fecerat, ita beato Martino Majoris Monasterii concessisse. Quopropter illa Guitburgis predicta quendam renonem catinum habuit....Signum Bartholomei, signum Guitburgis.

passed to Pagan and his successors.²³

The Fréteval family forged an extensive network of kin. They were allied with many of the most powerful families of Blois-Chartres proper, the Viscounts of Châteaudun and the Lords of Montigny and those at Mondoubleau. For most of the twelfth century the lords of Fréteval honored the claim of all progeny to the patrimony and even included their extended kin in their transactions. Like the Frétevals many of the lesser branches of the family allowed all sons a right to the patrimony and to each other's lands. In some, particularly those of the Frouvilles and Flagelli, sons divide possession of family lands. They also included their lordly extended relations in their acts. As the century progressed, however, signs of concern over once abundant patrimony emerged. Their family coffers had been depleted by a long succession of very generous gifts to the church, as well as the claims of nuclear and extended kin. In response, the late twelfth-century lord of Fréteval adopted primogeniture as his inheritance strategy and pruned extraneous kin from his family tree. The impetus for the change in inheritance and family structure of the lords of Fréteval was essentially the same as that of the knights and lesser nobles, primarily economic.

23. A charter from the cartulary of Tiron records a donation by Lord Pagan of Mondoubleau, the brother of Viscount Hugh of Châteaudun. See *TIRON*, vol. II, no. 334, pp. 111-2, which is datable from around 1190.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

Figure 1: The Vidames of Chartres

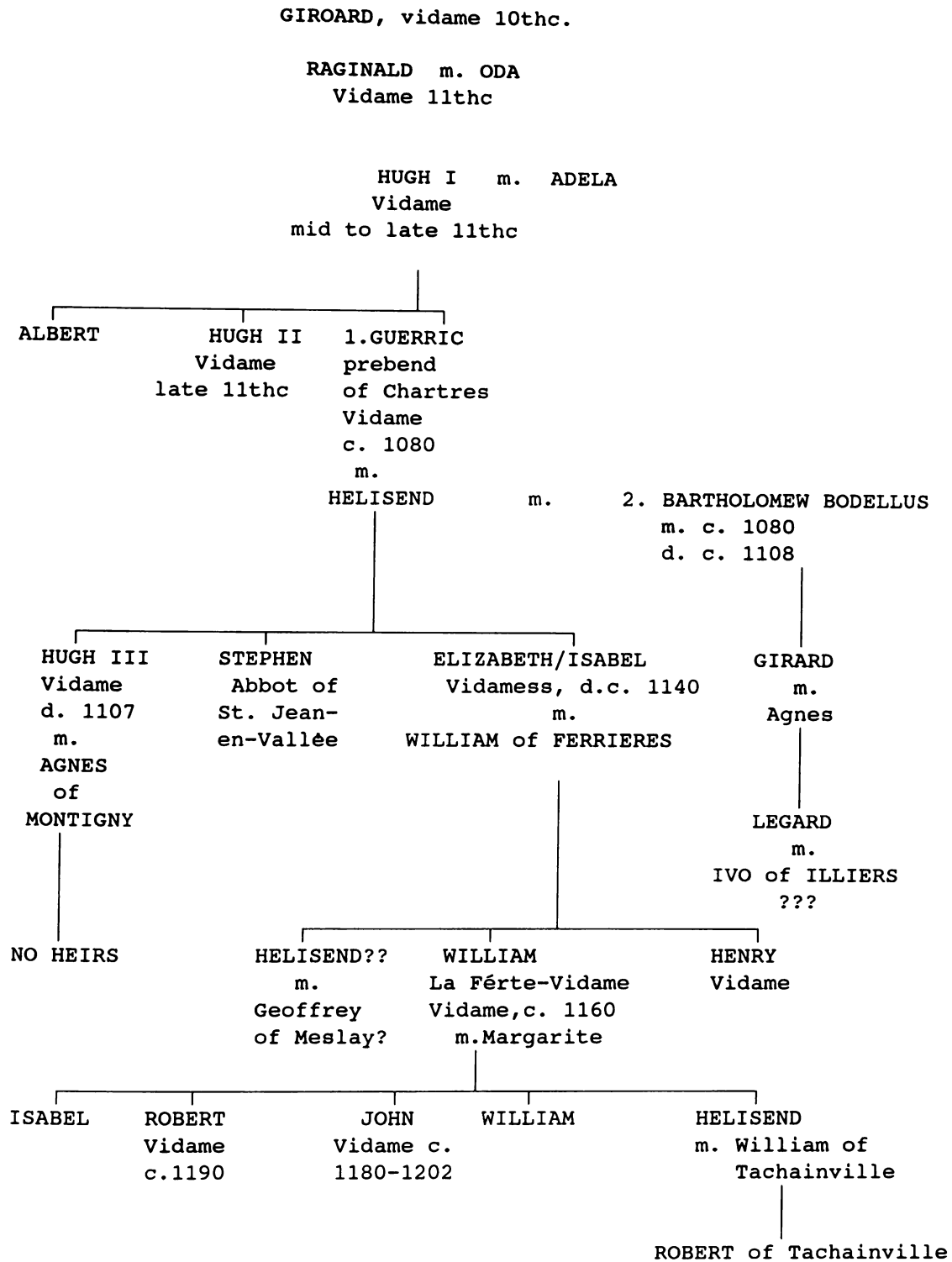
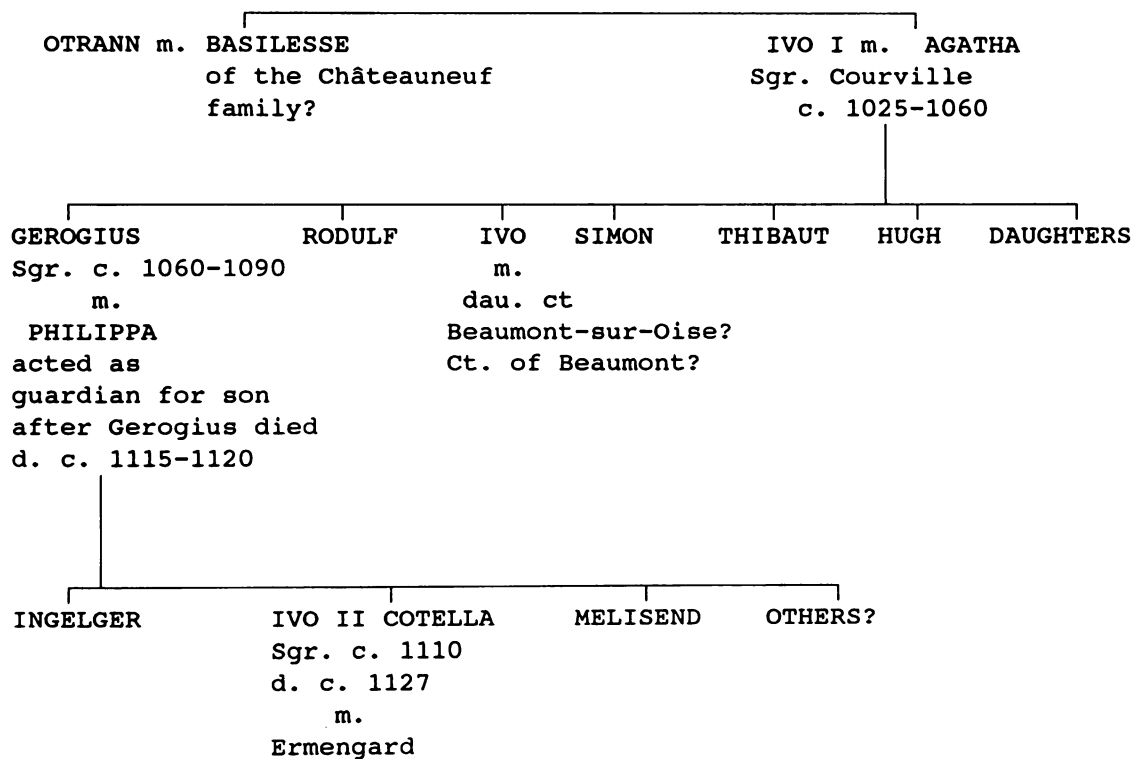


Figure 2: The Lords of Courville



NO CHILDREN PASSED TO FAMILY OF VIEUXPONT IN TWELFTH CENTURY

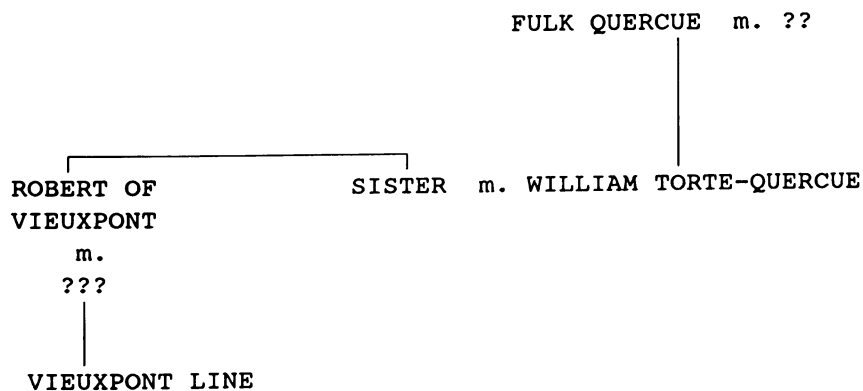


Figure 3: The Lords of Gallardon

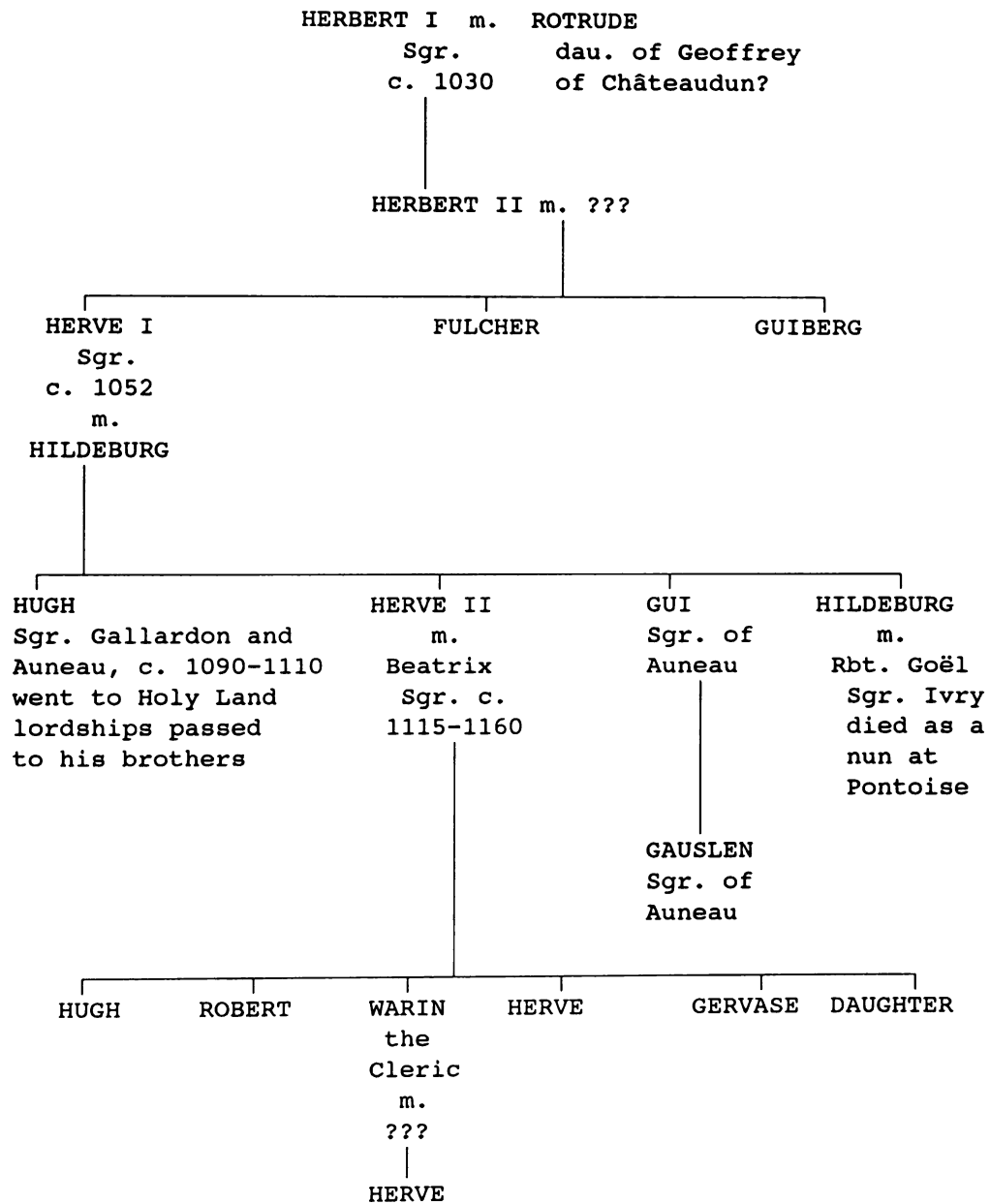


Figure 4: The Lords of Fréteval

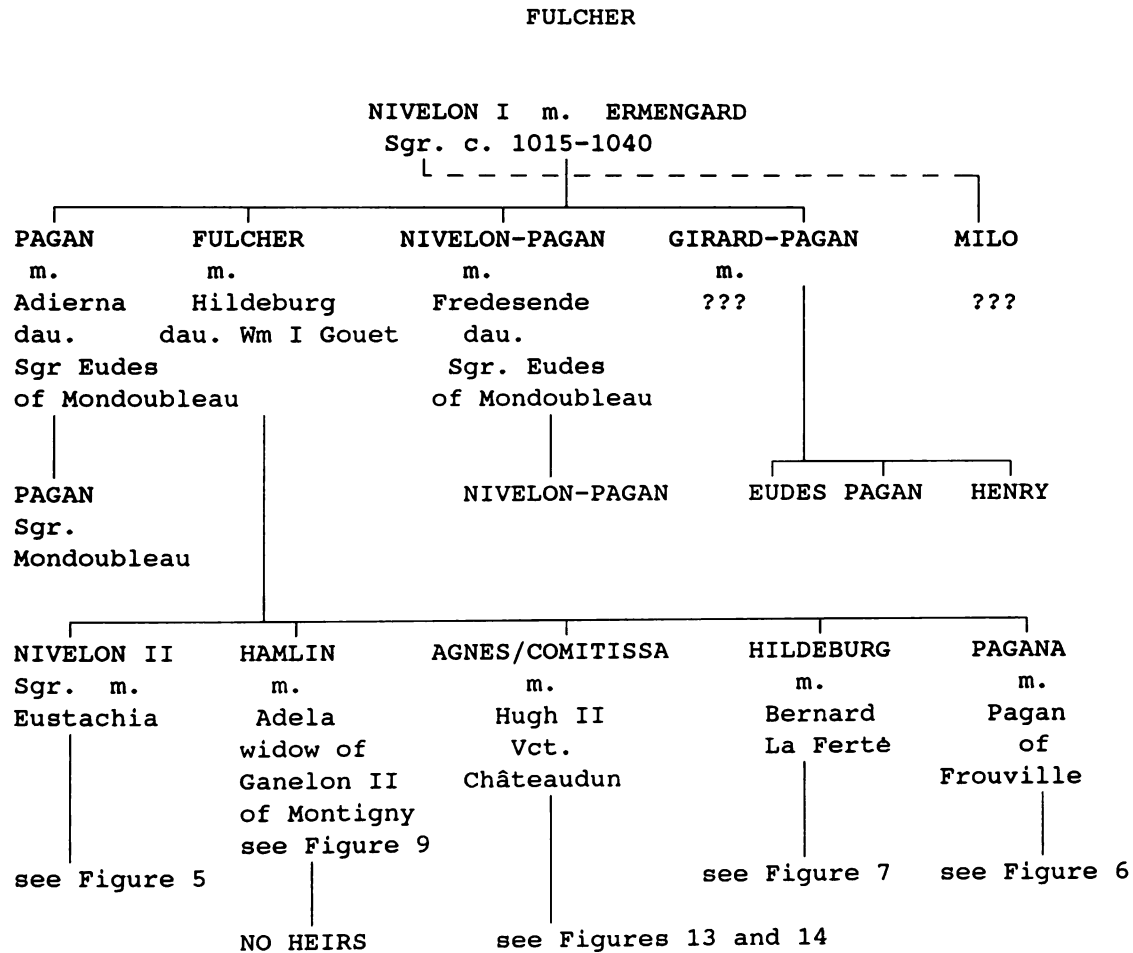


Figure 5: Fulcher's Children

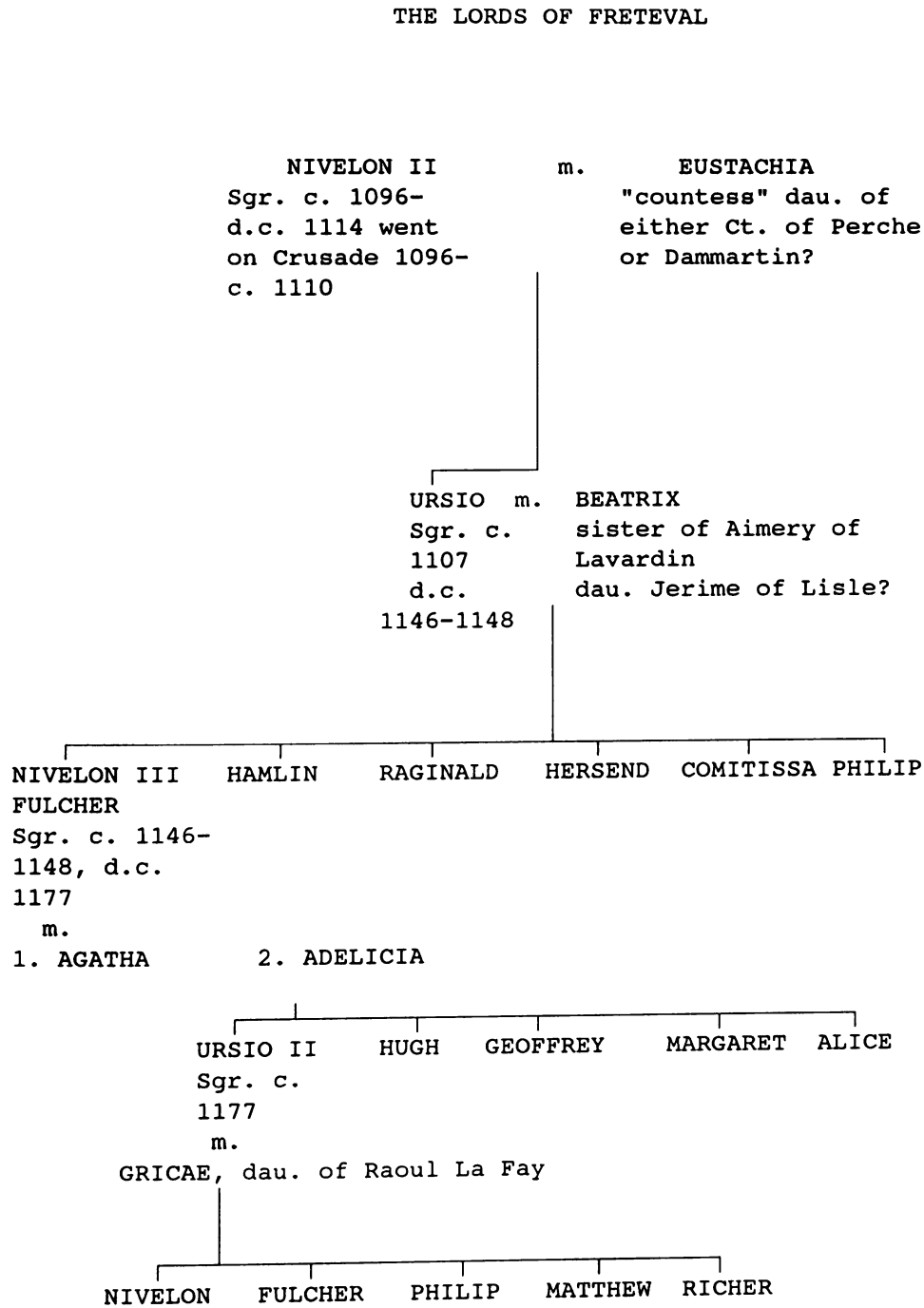


Figure 6: The Frouville Line

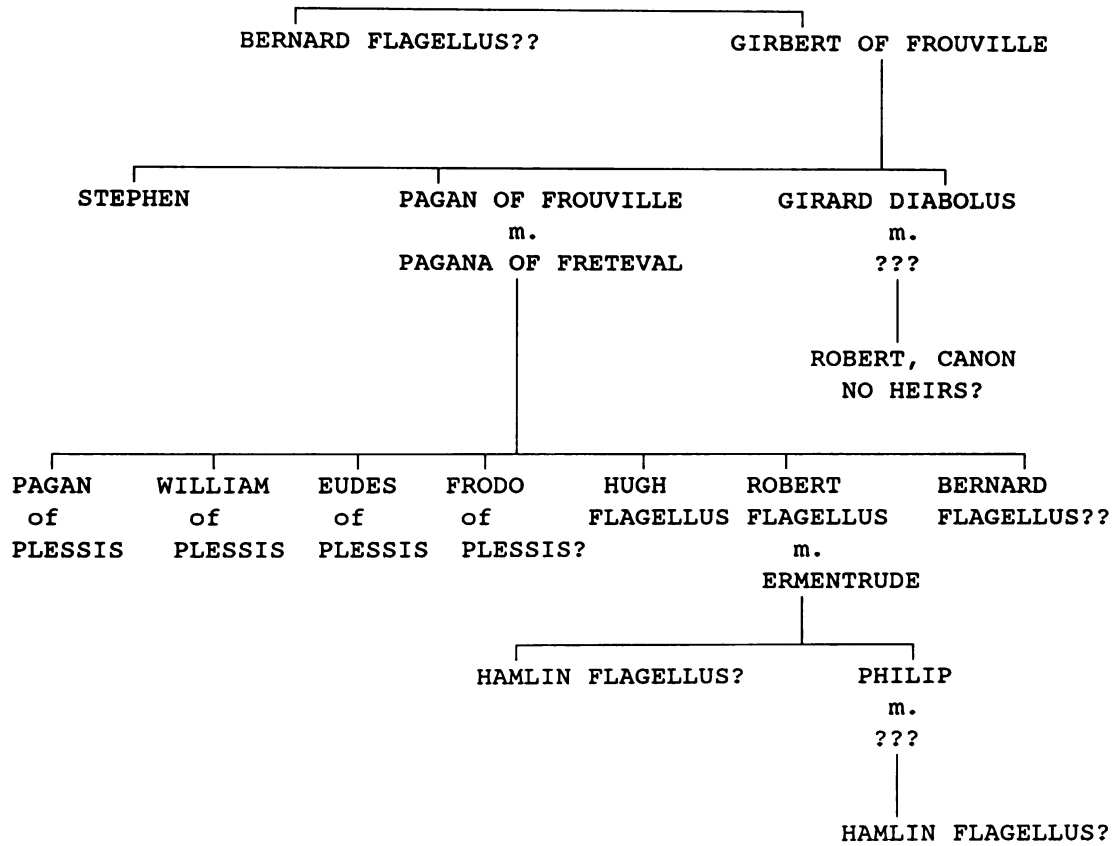
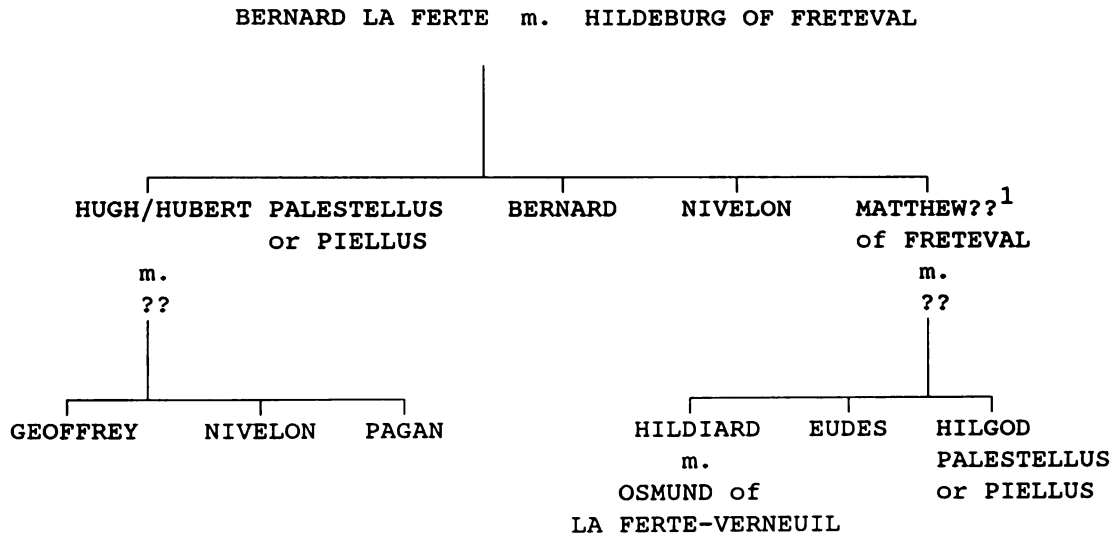


Figure 7: The La Ferté Line



1. A charter from *CMPD* states that a certain Matthew of Fréteval had a brother Hubert Piellus or Palestellus who was a monk and a son named Hilgod who bore this cognomen. I think Hubert and Hugh are the same person and that he entered the church late in life, which would account for his children (see *CMPD*, p. 75).

Figure 8: The Lords of Lèves

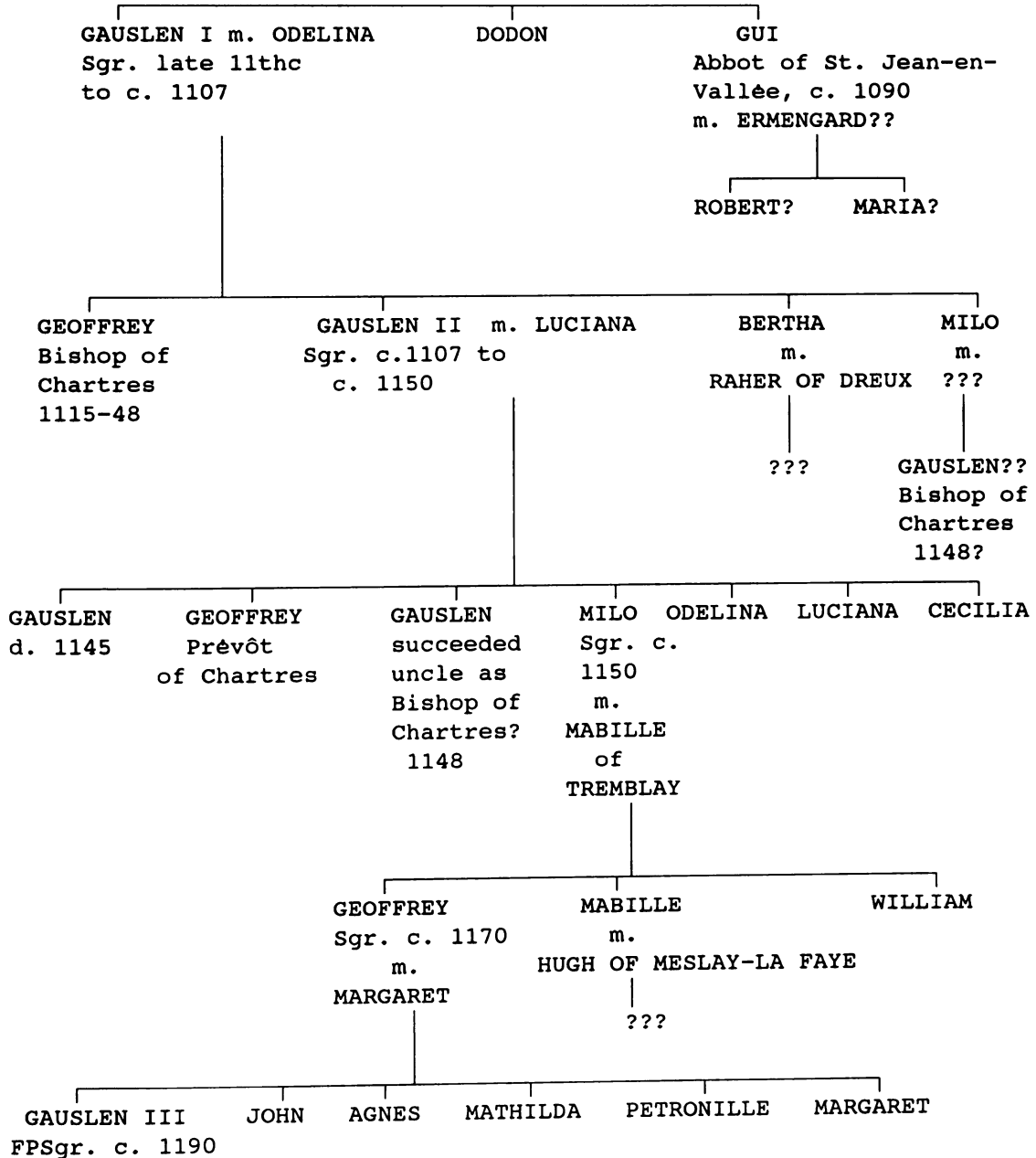
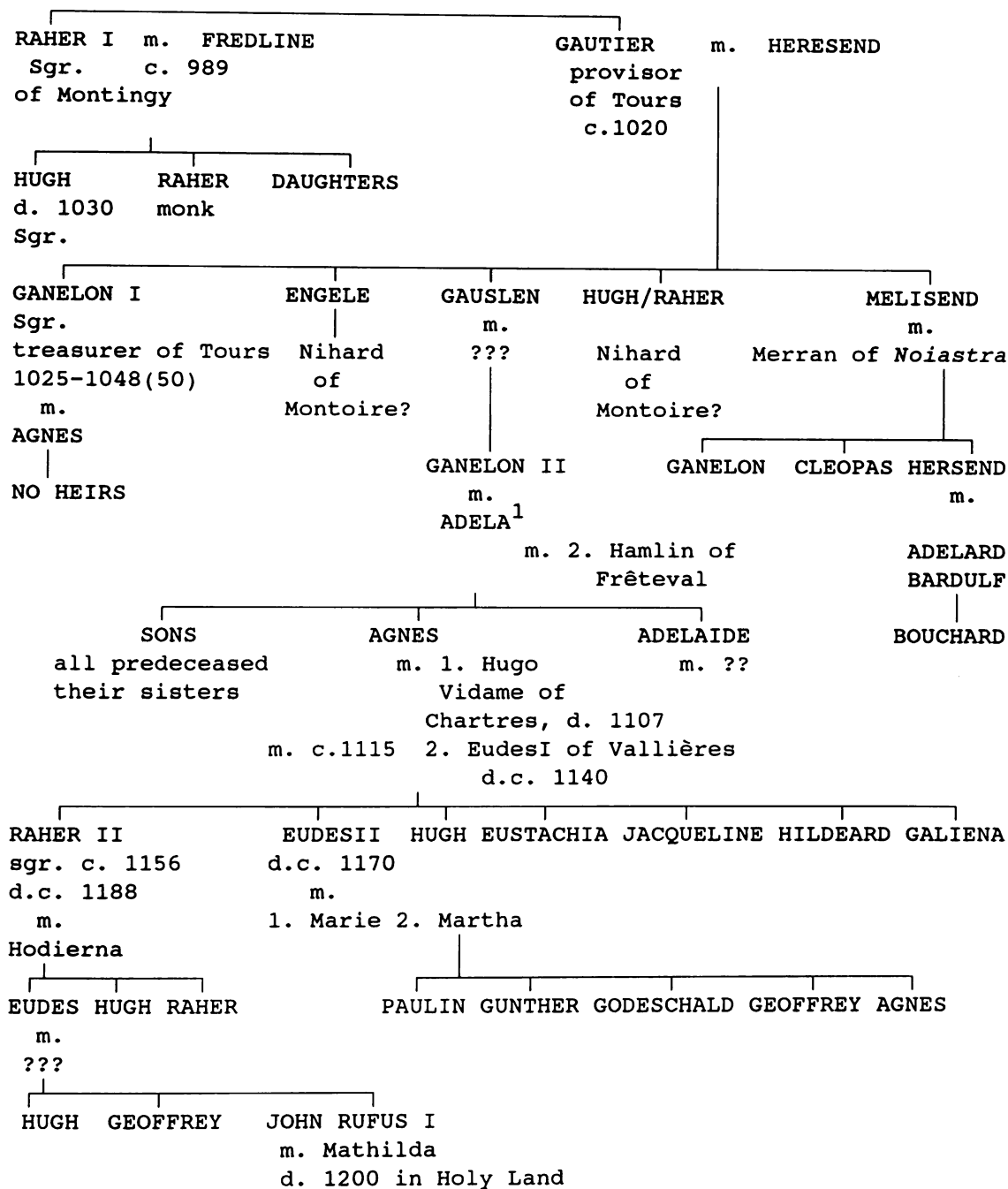


Figure 9: The Lords of Montigny



1. Adela is erroneously identified in a charter from Marmoutier as "Comitissa." This is the only instance of this denomination and for this reason I believe it was a confusion of Adele wife of Hamlin of Fréteval with her sister-in-law Comitissa, the wife of Viscount Hugh II of Châteaudun (see Figure 4).

Figure 10: The Gouets and Lords of Alluyes and Brou

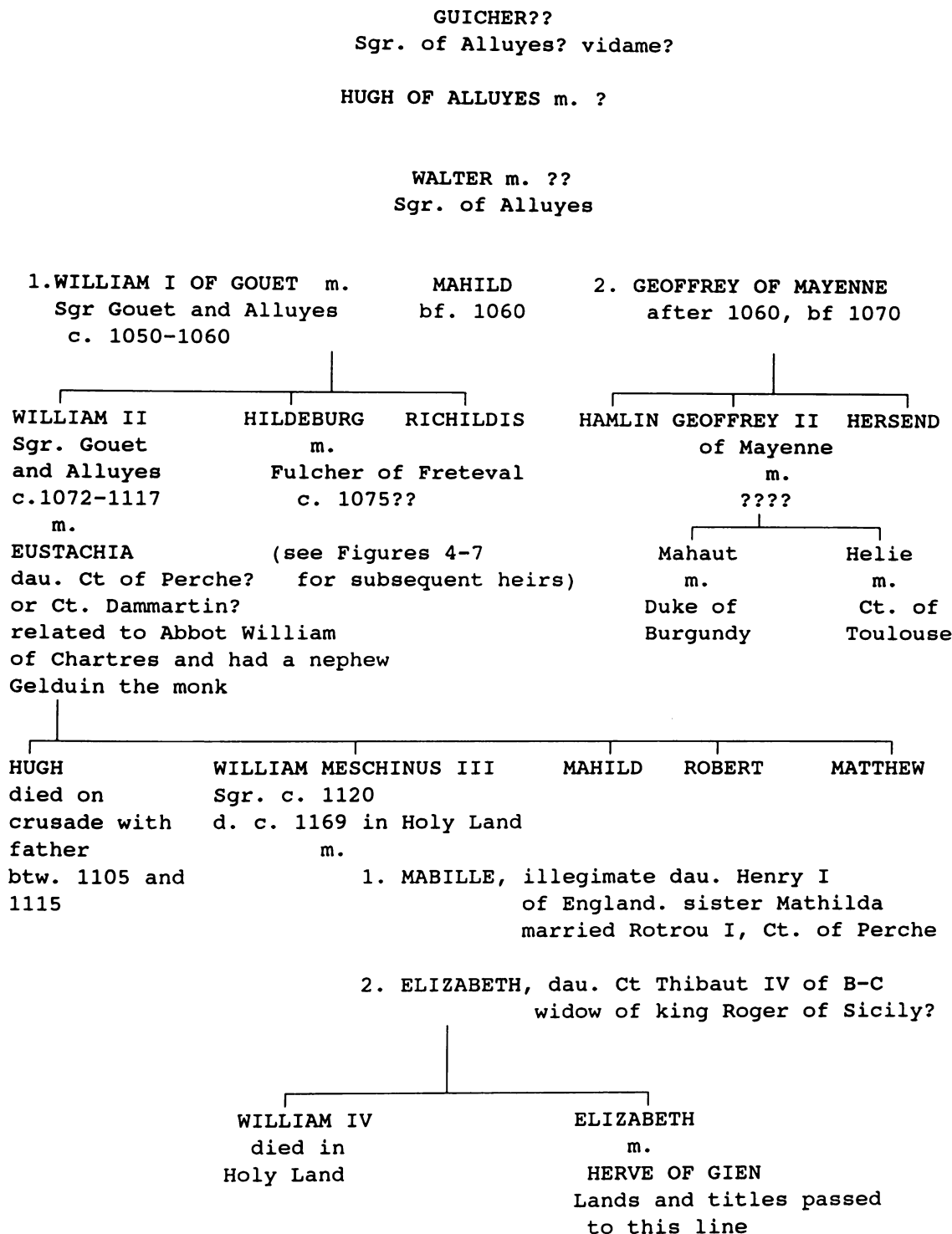
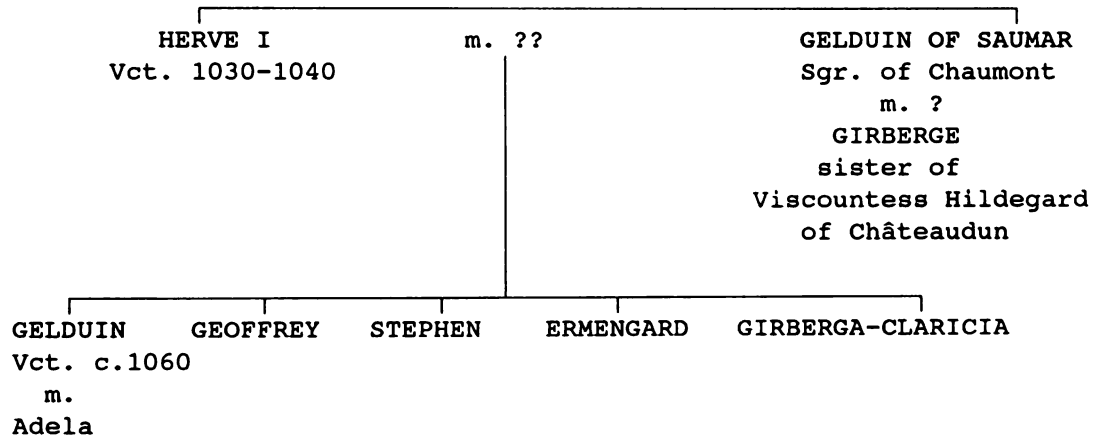
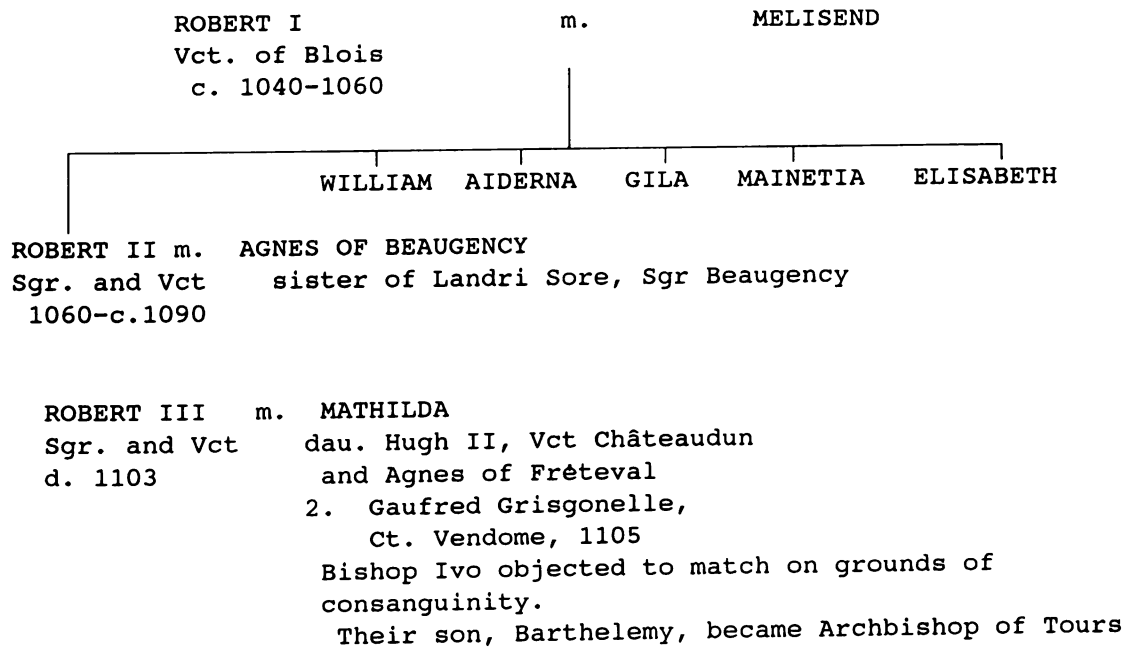


Figure 11: The Viscounts of Blois



THE LORDS OF LA FERTE-VILLENEUIL:
THE ROBERTIAN VISCOUNTS OF BLOIS



NO HEIRS, LANDS PASSED INTO HANDS OF COUNTS OF BLOIS-CHARTRES

Figure 12: The Viscounts of Chartres

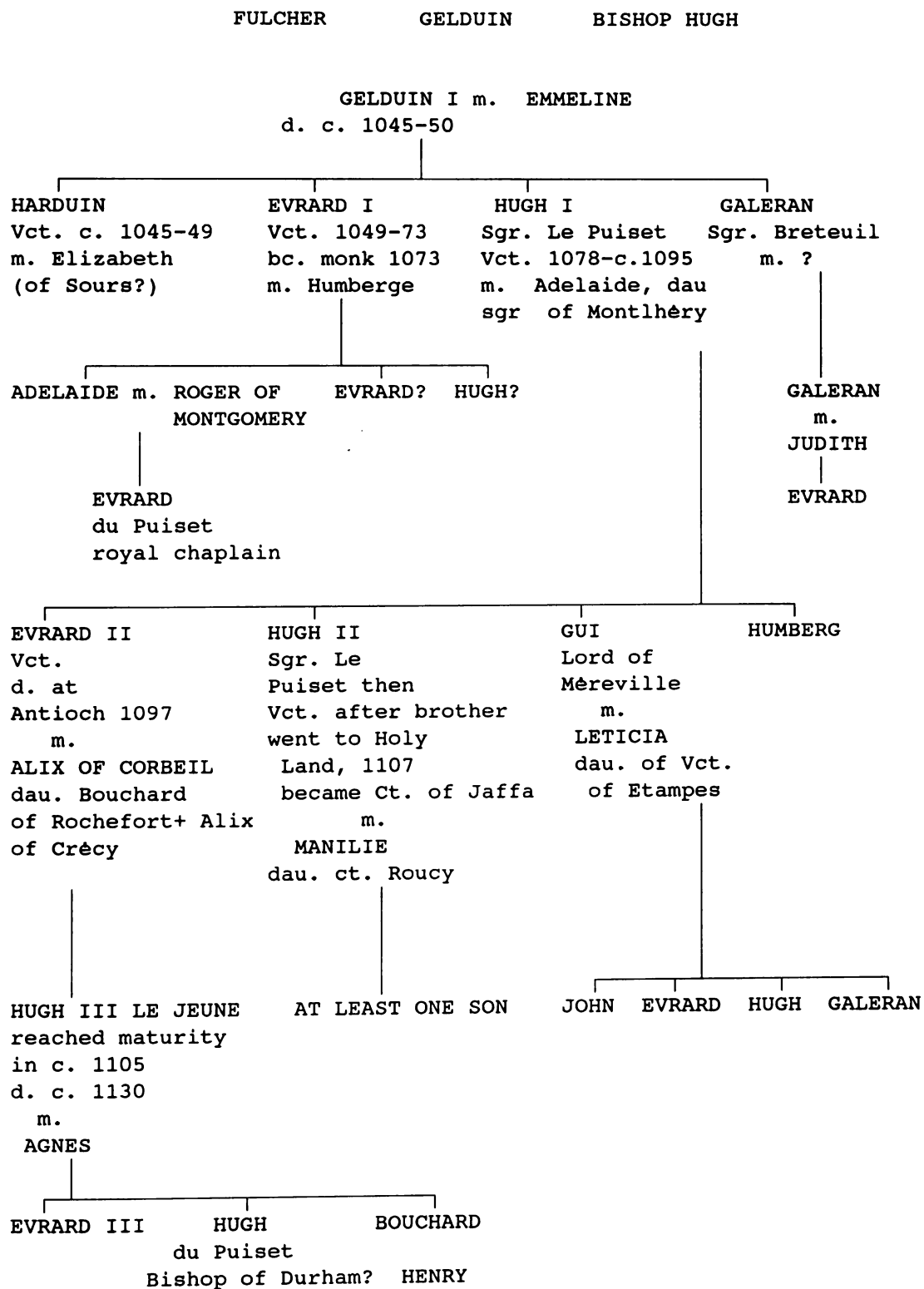
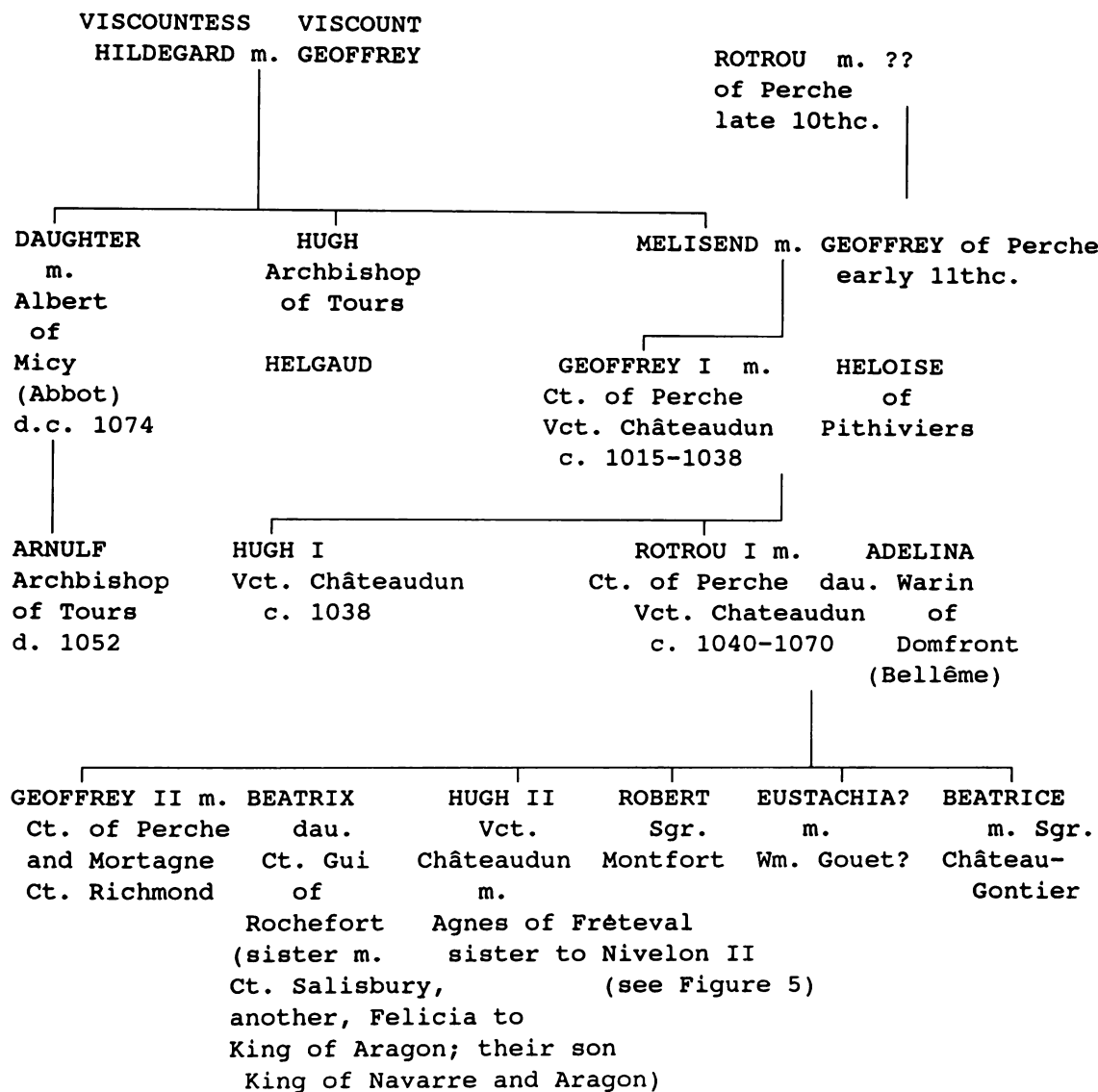


Figure 13: The Counts of Perche and Viscounts of Châteaudun



FOR THE SUBSEQUENT BRANCHES SEE FIGURES 14 AND 15

Figure 14: The Viscounts of Châteaudun

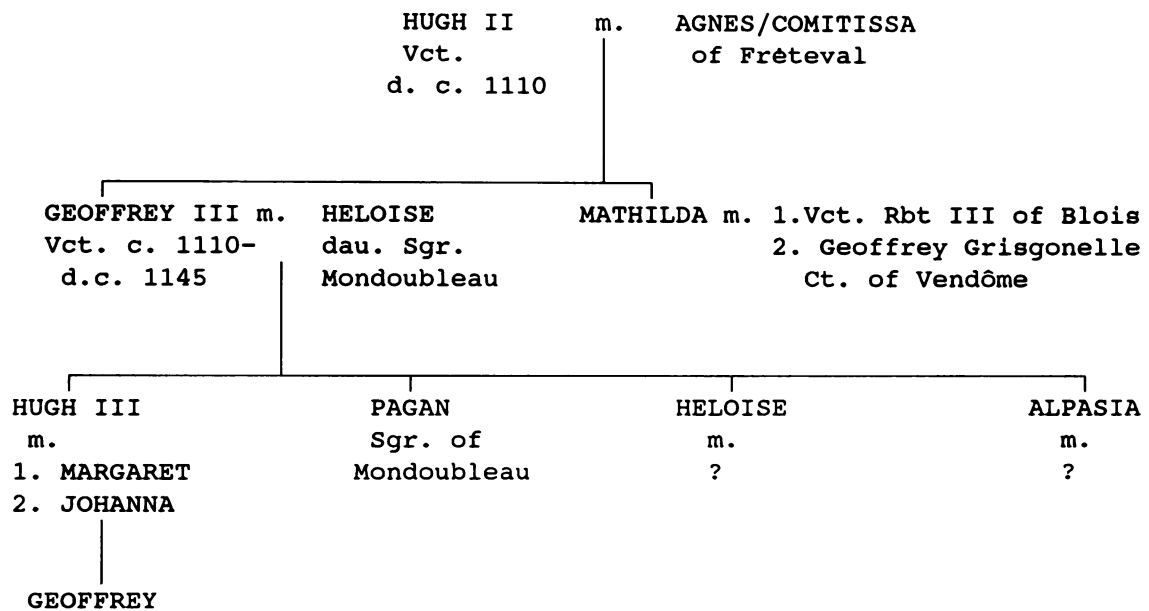


Figure 15: The Counts of Perche

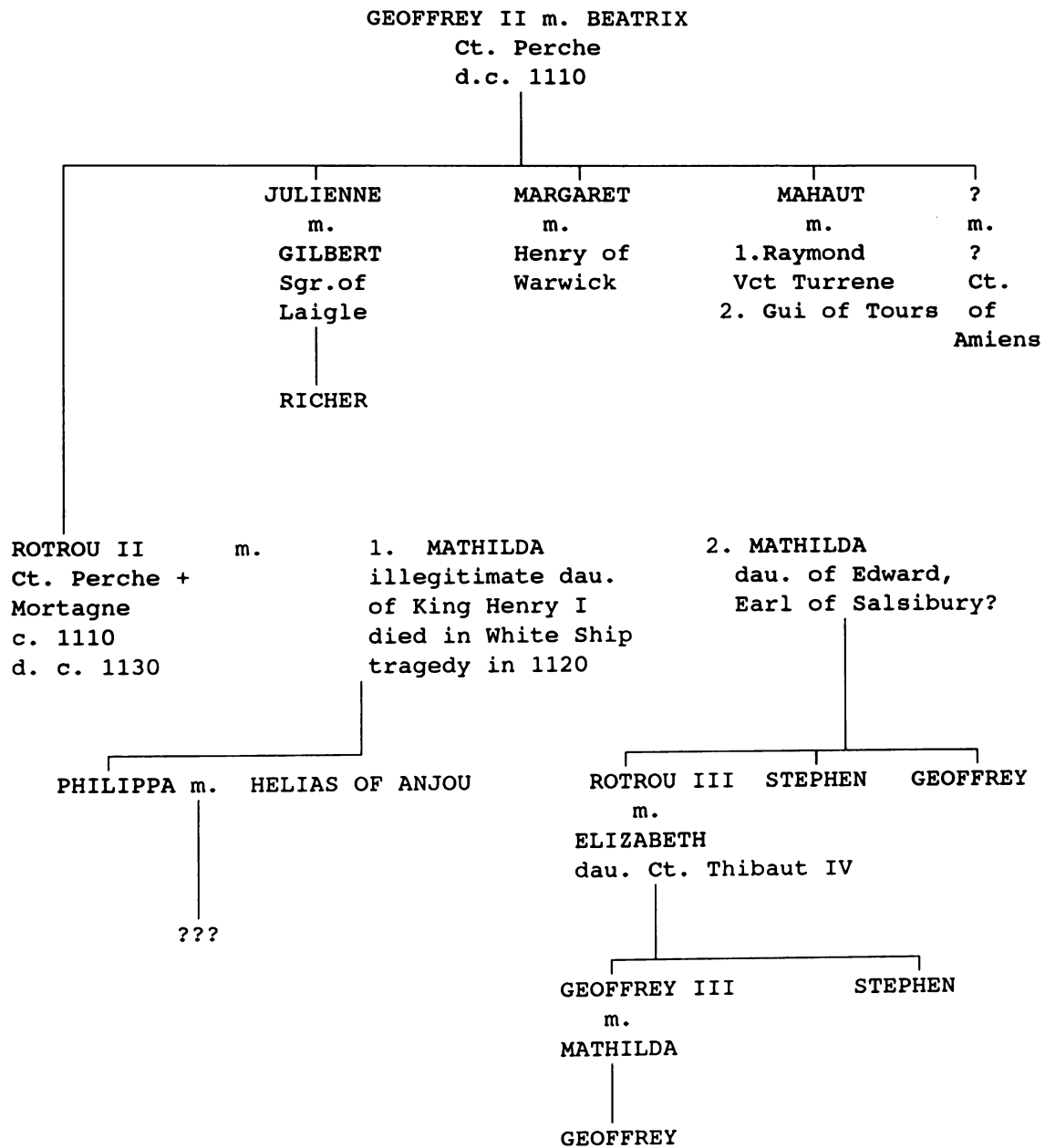
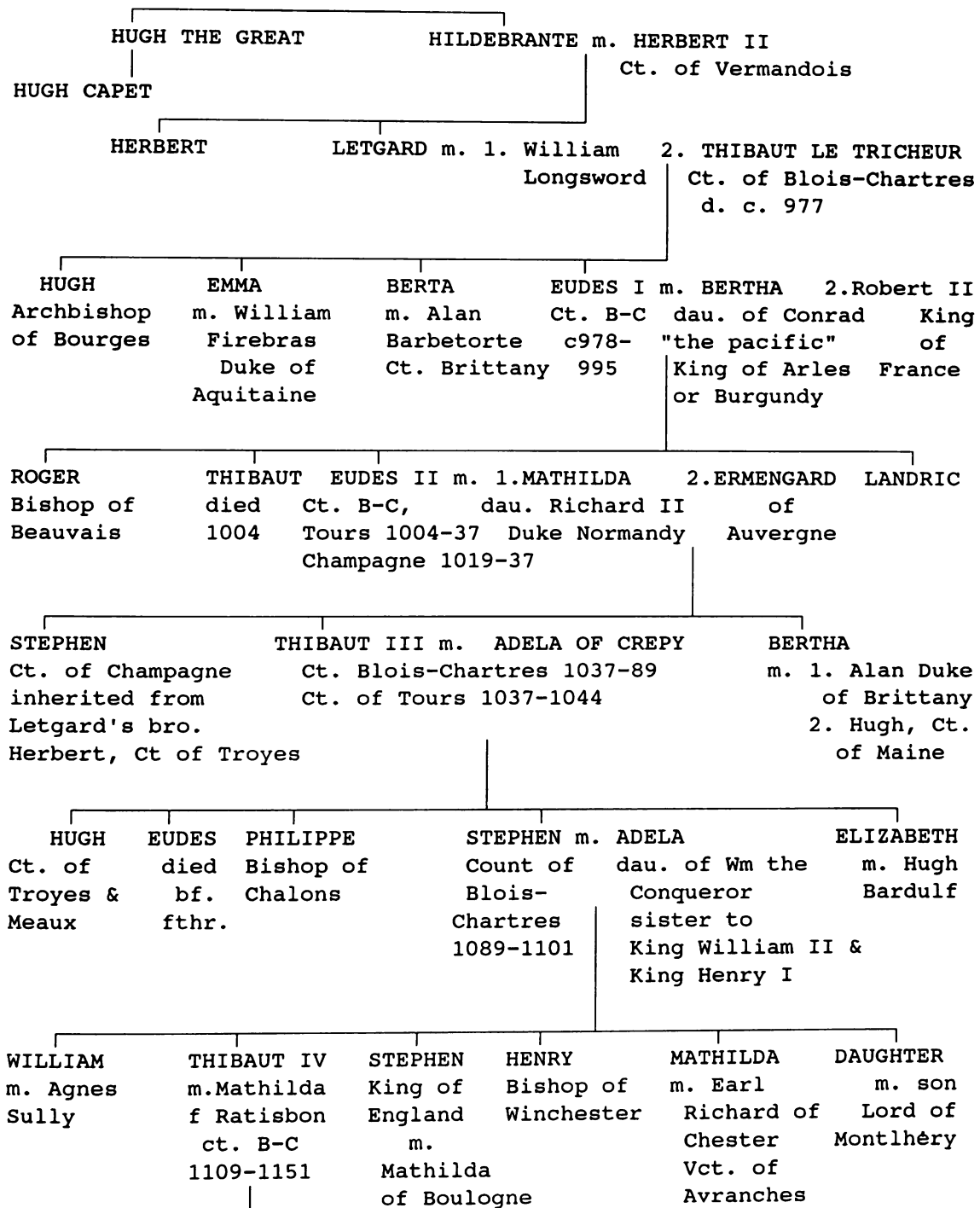
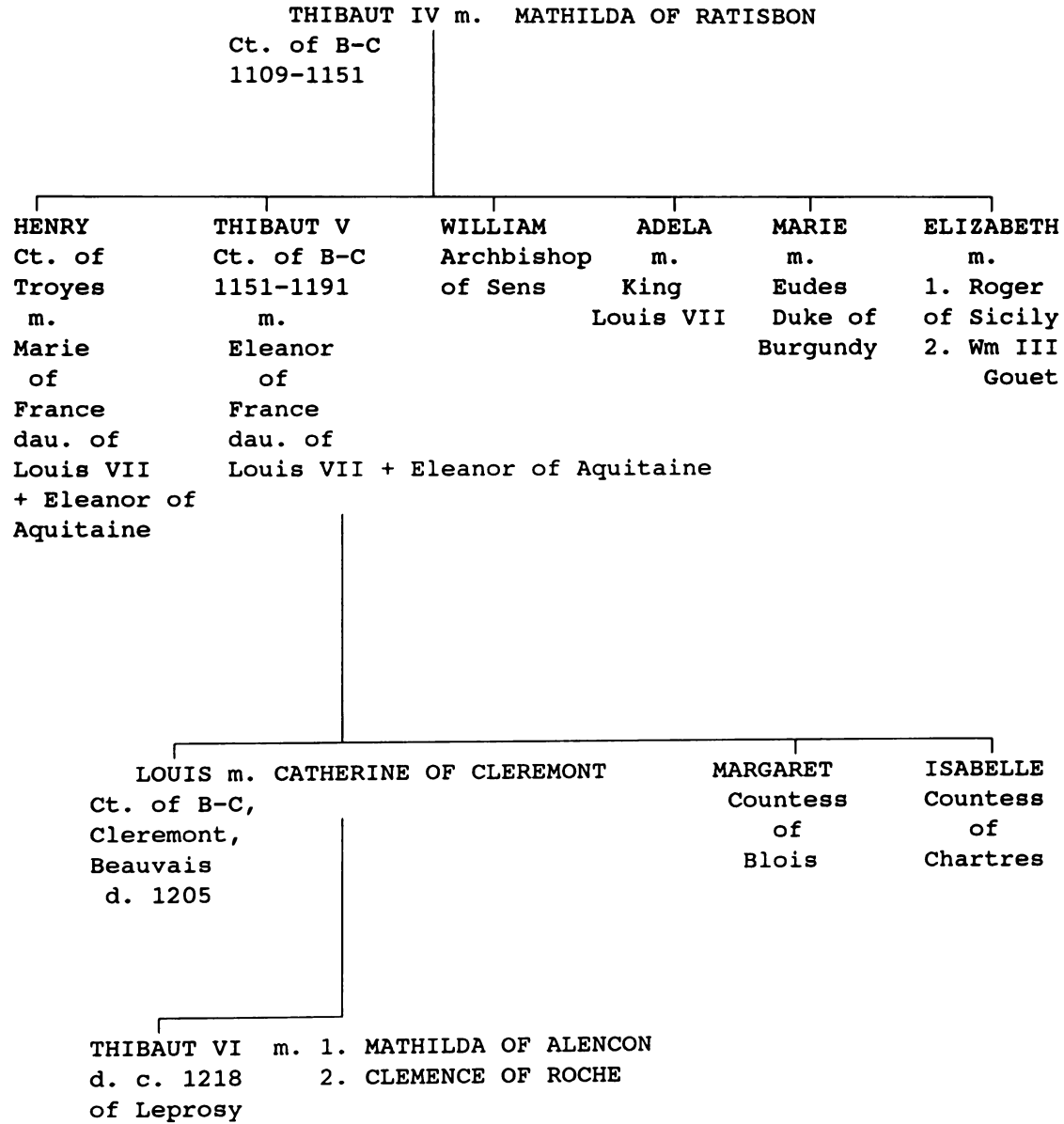


Figure 16: Counts of Chartres



See Figure 17

Figure 17: The Counts of Blois-Chartres



NO HEIRS, PASSED TO HIS AUNTS

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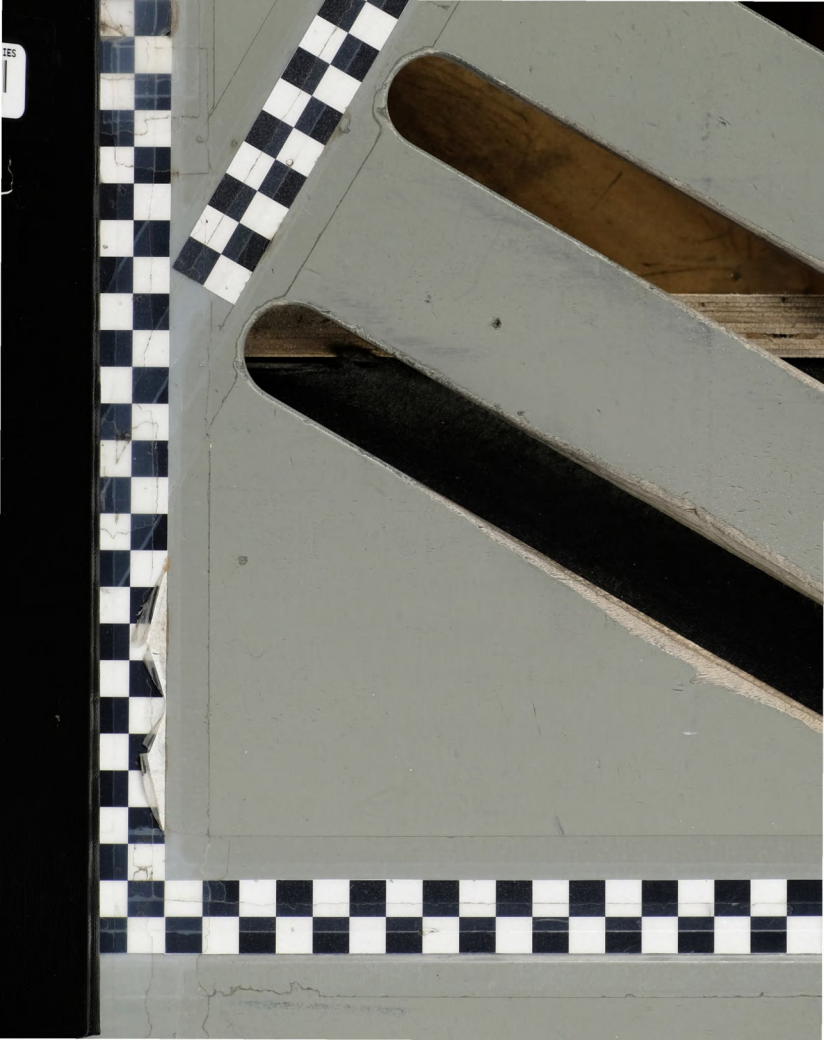
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