

THE NEW MIDDLE AGES

WOMEN'S NETWORKS *in*  
MEDIEVAL FRANCE

---

GENDER *and* COMMUNITY *in*  
MONTPELLIER, 1300-1350

---

Kathryn L. Reyerson



# The New Middle Ages

Series Editor

Bonnie Wheeler

English & Medieval Studies  
Southern Methodist University  
Dallas, Texas, USA

The New Middle Ages is a series dedicated to pluridisciplinary studies of medieval cultures, with particular emphasis on recuperating women's history and on feminist and gender analyses. This peer-reviewed series includes both scholarly monographs and essay collections.

More information about this series at  
<http://www.springer.com/series/14239>

Kathryn L. Reyerson

# Women's Networks in Medieval France

Gender and Community in Montpellier, 1300-1350

palgrave  
macmillan

Kathryn L. Reyerson  
Department of History  
University of Minnesota  
Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA

The New Middle Ages  
ISBN 978-3-319-38941-7      ISBN 978-3-319-38942-4 (eBook)  
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-38942-4

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016942914

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Cover illustration © P. Eoche / Getty Images

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature  
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG Switzerland

*This book is dedicated to Allison Reyerson, Brittany Wenzel, and women of the future.*



## PREFACE

I am grateful to the University of Minnesota and the Department of History for a single-semester leave in spring 2015 and for earlier leaves that provided me with time to write, as well as for McKnight and McMillan fellowships. I thank the Archives municipales de Montpellier and the Archives départementales de l'Hérault for support in my research over many years. I also wish to thank the University of Minnesota Interlibrary Loan services for assistance.

I am grateful for the many audiences who listened to earlier versions of parts of this study in France, Italy, and Spain, at the Sorbonne in the seminar of Claude Gauvard and Robert Jacob, at the École Normale in the seminar of François Menant, at the École française de Rome, and at the Casa de Velásquez in Madrid.

I am indebted to colleagues Marguerite Ragnow and Ruth Karras for reading earlier versions of this book. To Maggie in particular, a special thanks for all the invaluable criticism and suggestions over the years. Remaining errors are my responsibility alone.





## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Some material included here, now considerably reworked, was originally published in:

“The Adolescent Apprentice/Worker in Medieval Montpellier,” *The Journal of Family History: The Evolution of Adolescence in Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt, 17 (1992): 353–370.

“Prostitution in Medieval Montpellier: The Ladies of Campus Polverel,” *Medieval Prosopography* 18 (1997): 209–228.

“Public and Private Space in Medieval Montpellier: The Bon Amic Square,” *Journal of Urban History*, 24 (1997): 3–27.

Thanks are due the Cartography Laboratory of the Geography Department of the University of Minnesota for drawing the maps.



# CONTENTS

1	Agnes de Bossones's Origins, Marriage, and Litigation	1
2	Agnes's Family Networks	19
3	Agnes's Networks of Property	29
4	Marriage	41
5	Apprenticeship	67
6	Urban–Rural Connections	91
7	Women of the Marketplace: Horizontal and Vertical Links	111
8	A Community of Prostitutes in Campus Polverel	129

<b>9 Agnes's Networks of Philanthropy</b>	147
<b>Conclusion</b>	175
<b>Appendix 1: Women Market Sellers</b>	181
<b>Appendix 2: Prostitutes</b>	183
<b>Appendix 3: Burial Requests to the Dominican House</b>	189
<b>Appendix 4: Burial Requests to the Franciscan House</b>	191
<b>Appendix 5: Transcription and Translation of the Will of Agnes des Bossones</b>	193
<b>Bibliography</b>	217
<b>Index</b>	239

## LIST OF MAPS

Intro. Map. 1	Montpellier and its region	xxviii
Map. 3.1	Montpellier, its gates and suburbs. Inset of the Herbaria Square	32
Map. 4.1	Immigration according to the marriage contracts	50
Map. 5.1	Geographic origins of apprentices and workers	71
Map. 7.1	Central Montpellier: The Herbaria Square	112



## LIST OF CHARTS

Chart 2.1	Agnes and Petrus's children and grandchildren	24
Chart 3.1	Agnes's testamentary gifts to her family members	31
Chart 4.1	Montpellier consulate	44
Chart 9.1	Bequests to individual women religious	157
Chart 9.2	Donations to women's orders	157





## NOTE ON MONEY

The coinage mentioned in this study is that of Tours (*livres tournois*). One *livre* (pound) was worth 20 *sous* (shillings), and one *sous* was worth 12 *deniers* (pennies). Coinage citations are abbreviated as *livre* (*l.*), *sous* (*s.*), and *denier* (*d.*) In rare instances where “current money” was mentioned, the fact is noted. For a detailed discussion of monetary problems in the first half of the fourteenth century, see *Business, Banking and Finance in Medieval Montpellier* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985), Appendix 2.



## ARCHIVAL CITATIONS

I have been guided throughout this book in my citation of notarial folios by the archivists' renumbering in pencil of otherwise older inconsistent folio numbering of the surviving registers. Any questionable citation can always be verified by the date of the notarial act.



## INTRODUCTION

There are few book-length studies of urban women's actions within the patriarchal society of the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> The life and experiences of Agnes de Bossones offer an entry into the world of medieval Montpellier in the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup> I have chosen to pursue networks and communities, particularly among women, with Agnes as my narrative thread, in order to address the question of what women could and did do in the patriarchal society of the Middle Ages. Connections between women and men were also important and will be treated when pertinent. My focus is on those networks in medieval Montpellier, a large urban center in southern France in the region of Languedoc, for which I have sources, that is, on the society, the economy, and urban philanthropy.

The archival materials of Montpellier—notarial registers, charters, urban statutes—provide the evidence and reveal the contexts in which women interacted, in business, in finance, in the marketplace, in philanthropic settings, and, of course, in the family. Absent from this study is a focus on networks among religious women, which could be the subject of another

<sup>1</sup>The most effective recent statement on patriarchy is that of Judith M. Bennett, *History Matters. Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

<sup>2</sup>My most recent publications addressing the issue of women's agency are "La participation des femmes de l'élite marchande à l'économie: trois exemples montpelliéraines de la première moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> s." in *Études Roussillonaises XXV, sous la direction de Christiane Klapisch-Zuber* (2013): 129–135, and "Urban Economies," in Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras, eds. *Oxford Handbook on Medieval Women and Gender* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 195–210.

book.<sup>3</sup> Networks were present in family relations, in marriage, in apprenticeship, in urban–rural relations, in market activities, among prostitutes, and in urban charity. Concepts of neighborhood, affines, patronage, kinship, household, and hangers-on have been studied, but the operation of vertical and horizontal ties can still offer insights regarding the experiences of medieval urban women in a particular urban environment.<sup>4</sup> Setting the history of women in a specific historical context—medieval Montpellier—and introducing comparisons with that of men permit a clearer understanding of how women navigated in a medieval urban setting where legal norms reflecting the patriarchal society were often at odds with actual life experiences. Too often in the past, historians have focused on the prescriptive and legal sources and not on documents of practice. The picture we have from the latter is very different from that of normative sources.

As a general rule, neither wills nor marriage contracts are extant for most of the people encountered in the notarial and charter evidence, although there might be considerable other information about their activities. The survival of Agnes's will is fortuitous in light of the other information extant on her behalf, extending over 40 years.<sup>5</sup> It permits a glimpse into her charitable and philanthropic orientation, allowing us to trace her support for the Ladies of Wednesday, a charitable women's group that collected alms, and to detect philanthropic networks in the town. It furnishes information on her large family and on her property holdings. Agnes's life

<sup>3</sup> Marthe Moreau, *L'Âge d'or des religieuses. Monastères féminins du Languedoc méditerranéen au moyen âge* (Montpellier: Presses du Languedoc/Max Chaleil éditeur, 1988), has written a general history of traditional religious houses for women in Languedoc. There has been focus on Cathar women by Anne Brenon, *Les femmes cathares* (Paris: Perrin 1992), and John Hine Mundy, *Men and Women at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), though clearly not all Toulousaines were Cathar. Louisa A. Burnham, *So Great a Light, So Great a Smoke. The Beguin Heretics of Languedoc* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008) focused mostly on men. See also the very interesting collection of articles in *Cahiers de Fanjeaux 23: La Femme dans la vie religieuse du Languedoc (XIIIe–XIVe s)* (Toulouse: Privat, 1988). No monograph on networks of religious women for the region of Languedoc exists.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Diane Owen Hughes, "Urban Growth and Family Structure in Medieval Genoa." *Past and Present* 66 (1975): 3–28; David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *The Tuscans and Their Families. A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); and David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1985).

<sup>5</sup> Archives municipales de Montpellier (hereafter A.M. Montpellier), BB 3, J. Laurentii, f. 13rff. See the transcription and the translation of Agnes's will in Appendix 5.

offers a lens through which to view women's networks and the operation of gender and community in medieval Montpellier.

Although the work that follows is an empirical study, informed by archival evidence, some consideration of the theoretical underpinning of women's networks is useful by way of introduction. New ways of envisioning the medieval city have come from critical theory, sociology, anthropology, and geography. Sociologists have made of network theory a sophisticated form of analysis with formulae, the data for which are often absent in the Middle Ages. While acknowledging the usefulness of social network analysis for studying society, given the problems of medieval data, I have chosen to privilege individuals, particularly Agnes, and their stories as a means of discovering linkages, a more informal term than networks that is perhaps better suited to medieval social and economic history.<sup>6</sup> I will still use the term "network" but in nontechnical ways.

Today, it is "who you know" and the kind of support networks you enjoy that are a good gauge to success or failure in business, society, and life in general.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, the Middle Ages were rife with networks that underpinned the society and permitted it to function.<sup>8</sup> A network of friends and family to sustain one, at all levels of society, was important, particularly among the poor and sick in a large medieval city.<sup>9</sup> Networks in medieval society provided the basis for social, capital, political, and symbolic capital.

<sup>6</sup> See the interesting new collection, *Commercial Networks and European Cities, 1400–1800*, ed. by Andrea Caracausi and Christof Jeggle, no. 32 of Series Perspectives in Economic and Social History (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014). For caveats regarding the use of the term "network," see Mike Burkhardt, "Networks as Social Structures in Late Medieval and Early Modern Towns: A Theoretical Approach to Historical Network Analysis," 13–45; according to Burkhardt, each actor has to have at least two ties to others in the network in social network analysis (15).

<sup>7</sup> Social media facilitate a whole host of networking possibilities now available on Facebook, Twitter, listservs, email, and so on.

<sup>8</sup> Connections based on political, social, economic, and symbolic capital provide a framework that can be useful for the Middle Ages in its possibilities for the study of networks. See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990). Also useful for the study of medieval networks are Michel de Certeau's relational networks or systems of operational combination (*combinatoires d'opérations*) in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), xi–xii.

<sup>9</sup> Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris. Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2002).



The concept of social capital has a long history preceding its emergence as a central concept in the work of Pierre Bourdieu.<sup>10</sup> As Alain Degenne and Michel Forsé stated in 1999:

The idea goes back to Hobbes (1651) who says in *Leviathan*, ‘to have friends is power.’ Here he establishes a distinction between an individual’s social and political resources and implies that a person’s living standard depends on the resources at her disposal. Weber [Max Weber] uses this last idea in his analysis of social inequalities. He asserts individuals can improve living standards with three types of resources: economic, political and symbolic. Economic resources govern her chances of access to wealth and assets...Symbolic resources govern access to social distinctions, i.e. prestige...Political resources govern access to power.<sup>11</sup>

Degenne and Forsé go on to comment, “Ever distinct from other forms, social capital consists of an individual’s personal network and her chances of accessing whatever is circulating there, e. g. information.”<sup>12</sup> In the present book, various forms of capital—social, economic, and symbolic—can be viewed in the networks operating among women and between women and men in medieval Montpellier.<sup>13</sup>

Scholarly interest in networks is closely linked with an interest in urban space, how it was used and what kinds of human interactions it promoted. In a recent collection, *Cities, Texts and Social Networks 400–1500. Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space*, the editors Caroline Goodson, Anne E. Lester, and Carol Symes discussed critical theory and postmodern critique, arguing that the work of Walter Benjamin, Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, and Michel de Certeau “profoundly reshaped conceptions of the city as a place of lived and living interaction.”<sup>14</sup> While this is a very positive trend, there exists a tendency

<sup>10</sup>Pierre Bourdieu, “Le capital social,” *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 31 (1980): 2–3, and *The Logic of Practice* (London: B. Blackwell, 1990).

<sup>11</sup>Alain Degenne and Michel Forsé, *Introducing Social Networks*, trans. by Arthur Borges (London: Sage Publications, 1999), 115–116.

<sup>12</sup>Degenne and Forsé, *Introducing Social Networks*, 116.

<sup>13</sup>Women were not formal participants in politics in medieval Montpellier. They may have operated behind the scenes.

<sup>14</sup>Caroline Goodson, Anne E. Lester, and Carol Symes, eds. *Cities, Texts and Social Networks 400–1500. Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), 12. This volume reflects welcome diversity in its inclusion of studies of southern Europe and the Islamic world along with articles on northern Europe.

for theorists to dismiss medieval experience or to use “‘the medieval’ as a marker of difference” that Goodson, Lester, and Symes wish to overcome with new visions of the medieval city, informed by critical theory.<sup>15</sup> The exploration of networks in this volume will contribute to this revision with a geographic focus on southern France.<sup>16</sup>

The historiography on women and gender in southern Europe and the continent provides an essential context for this study. The Low Countries and Germany have benefitted from several monographs by Martha Howell, exploring women in the economy and marriage.<sup>17</sup> Other significant contributions include James Murray on Bruges and, more recently, Shennan Hutton on Ghent, skillfully revising the earlier work of David Nicholas.<sup>18</sup> In these same decades, southern Europe has seen the appearance of numerous articles and books on the role of women. Francine Michaud and Andrée Courtemanche on Provence, Marseille and Manosque, respectively, Christiane Klapisch-Zuber on Florence, and Stanley Chojnacki on Venice inaugurated a historiographic bonanza that now includes Isabelle Chabot on Florence, Rebecca Winer on Perpignan, Marie Kelleher and Dana Wessell Lightfoot on the Crown of Aragon, Stephen Bensch on Barcelona, Cécile Béghin-LeGourriérec on women and the economy in Languedoc (Montpellier, Alès, and Mende), Susan McDonough on witness testimony in Marseille that reveals much about women, and, most recently, Lucie Laumonier on many dimensions of the late medieval family and solitude in Montpellier that treat women.<sup>19</sup> I have written articles as well, includ-

<sup>15</sup> Goodson, Lester, and Symes, *Cities, Texts and Social Networks*, 13.

<sup>16</sup> For another insightful discussion of urban space in northern Europe, see Peter J. Arnade, Martha C. Howell, and Walter Simons, “Fertile spaces: The Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32 (2002): 515–548.

<sup>17</sup> Martha C. Howell, *The Marriage Exchange. Property, Social Place, and Gender in Cities of the Low Countries, 1300–1550*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998, and *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

<sup>18</sup> Shennan Hutton, *Women and Economic Activities in Late Medieval Ghent* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011).

<sup>19</sup> Studies of women in the south of France include Rebecca Lynn Winer *Women, Wealth, and Community in Perpignan, c. 1250–1300* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Andrée Courtemanche, *La richesse des femmes. Patrimoines et gestion à Manosque au XIVe siècle* (Paris: Vrin; Montréal: Bellarmin, 1993); Francine Michaud, *Un signe des temps. Accroissement des crises familiales autour du patrimoine à Marseille à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1994); Cécile Béghin-LeGourriérec, “Le rôle économique des femmes dans les villes de la Sénéchaussée de Beaucaire à la fin du moyen âge (XIVe-XVe siècles),” 3 vols. (Diss.: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales-Paris, 2000); Susan Alice

ing my recently co-authored *History Compass* article on lower-status and marginal women in the western Mediterranean basin and my contribution “Urban Economies” to the *Oxford Handbook on Women and Gender*.<sup>20</sup> This scholarship on women and gender allows for much comparison and occasional distinctions on the operation of kinship and networks. Insights from these scholars will be discussed at pertinent moments in the text.

By networks and linkages, I am referring to connections between individuals, ties of various kinds that include kinship links and could take the form of actual communities within the urban environment. Women in medieval Montpellier formed several types of lay communities.<sup>21</sup> There were links of a philanthropic nature that united elite women in charitable work, such as that of the Ladies of Wednesday. There were ties among prostitutes and perhaps between prostitutes and these same charitable ladies. Some of the same elite women were significant market property holders in Montpellier. The presence of a community of market resellers on one of the central urban squares can be traced in considerable detail. Here horizontal and vertical networks are evident. Financing by women of modest borrowers’ needs through loans can also be documented, raising the question of motive, whether pious, entrepreneurial/capitalist, perhaps even the reflection of a kind of microcredit. Further, new communities were created, and ties were solidified through immigration, marriage, and apprenticeship.

I have found horizontal ties that reached throughout a particular social stratum. There were also vertical connections that linked strata and may well have been responsible for the existence of a stable, mature economy

McDonough, *Witnesses, Neighbors, and Community in Late Medieval Marseille* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Lucie Laumonier, *Solitudes et solidarités en ville. Montpellier, mi XIIIe-fin XVe siècles* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015). See also Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Isabelle Chabot, “Lineage Strategies and the Control of Widows in Renaissance Florence,” in Sandra Cavallo and Lyndan Warner, eds. *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York: Longman, 1991), 127–144; Stanley Chojnacki, *Women and Men in Renaissance Venice: Twelve Essays on Patrician Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); Dana Wessell Lightfoot, “The Projects of Marriage: Spousal Choice, Dowries, and Domestic Service in Early Fifteenth-Century Valencia,” *Viator* 40 (2009): 333–353; Stephen P. Besch, *Barcelona and Its Rulers, 1096–1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Marie Kelleher, *The Measure of women. Law and Female Identity in the Crown of Aragon* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

<sup>20</sup>“Whose city is this? Hucksters, Domestic Servants, Wet-Nurses, Prostitutes, and Slaves in Late Medieval Western Mediterranean Urban Society,” Co-authored with Kevin Mammey, *History Compass*, 9/12 (2011): 910–922.

<sup>21</sup>As noted, my focus is on laywomen, not on women religious.

in Montpellier right up to the time of the 1348 plague. For women and for men, communities and connections in economic networks were particularly important and permitted their success or at least their survival. I wrote earlier about the intermediaries of trade that were essential to the functioning of international merchants, who were, in the majority, men.<sup>22</sup> I now take this interest in connections to the world of women where links between modest strata and higher strata yielded a positive economic synergy across a broad spectrum of the female inhabitants of Montpellier.<sup>23</sup> I have found the connections between elite women and middling or lower-strata women empowering to the latter groups and perhaps to the elite women themselves.

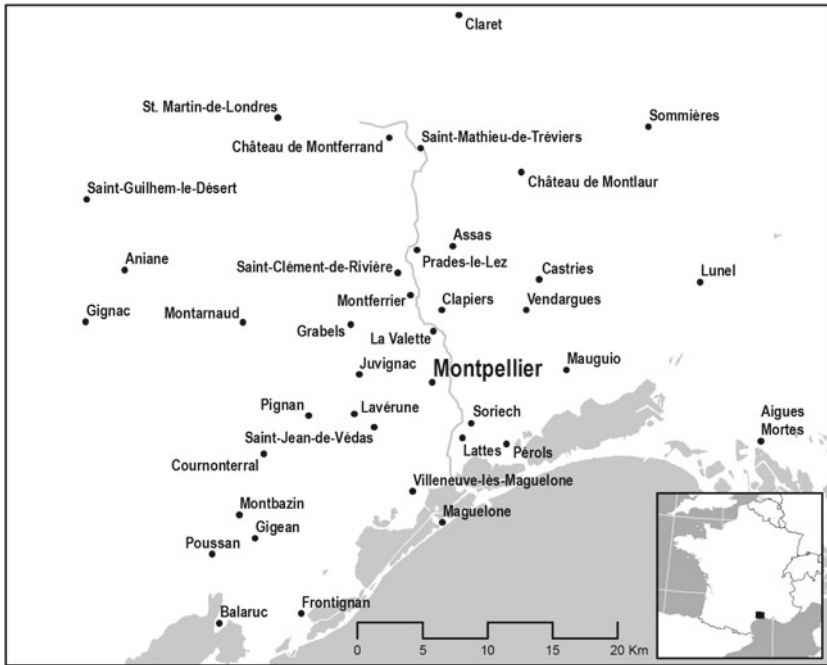
From its recent beginnings as a medieval foundation in the late tenth century, Montpellier had expanded in size and prominence by the early fourteenth century (Map 1). The Guilhem lords of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were replaced by the king of Aragon in 1204, and Montpellier was ruled by the Aragonese and then from 1276 by the Majorcan dynasty until the purchase of Montpellier from James III of Majorca by the king of France, Philip of Valois, in 1349.<sup>24</sup> The French king Philip the Fair had already acquired the episcopal quarter of Montpellier (Montpelliéret) in 1293. Steady growth of the urban population from about 6000–9000 inhabitants in 1200 to 35,000–40,000 by 1300 made Montpellier the largest town on the Languedocian coast of southern France.<sup>25</sup> The heyday of Montpellier's growth had been in the thirteenth century, but there remained a mature and still prosperous urban economy in the first half of

<sup>22</sup>See my book, *The Art of the Deal: Intermediaries of Trade in Medieval Montpellier* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002).

<sup>23</sup>Most of my scholarship on Montpellier in the last 30 years has addressed the experience of men in business, banking, and trade, though I have treated women directly in a number of articles. See, for example, "Women in Business in Medieval Montpellier," *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt (Indiana U Press, 1986): 117–144; "La participation des femmes de l'élite marchande à l'économie." See also "Urban Economies" and my book manuscript, "Mother and Sons, Inc.: Martha de Cabanis in Medieval Montpellier."

<sup>24</sup>On the political history of Montpellier, see Bernardin Gaillard, "La condition féodale de Montpelliéret," *Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Montpellier*, 2nd ser. 8 (1922): 344–64, and Louis J. Thomas, "Montpellier entre la France et l'Aragon pendant la première moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Monspeliensia, mémoires et documents relatifs à Montpellier et à la région montpelliéraine* 1, fasc. 1 (Montpellier, 1928–1929): 1–56.

<sup>25</sup>See my article, "Patterns of Population Attraction and Mobility: The Case of Montpellier, 1293–1348," *Viator* 10 (1979): 257–281.



**Map 1** Montpellier and its region

the fourteenth century. Greater economic uncertainty created population pressure and perhaps a tight job market, but the continued influx of foreign apprentices into the town casts doubt upon the magnitude of this pressure.<sup>26</sup> The participation of women in an impressive variety of economic sectors is worth underscoring in light of these social and economic conditions.<sup>27</sup>

In an era when collective data are often lacking, a study of medieval networks has to have illustrative case studies. To adapt to the constraints of research in the Middle Ages, the individual case must be, in some instances, illustrative of the whole. The story of Agnes, widow of Petrus de Bossones, changer, merchant, and bourgeois (*burgensis*), and a member of the urban elite, acts as the connecting thread of this book. Agnes's detailed experi-

<sup>26</sup> For a discussion of the Montpellier economy, see my monograph, *Business, Banking and Finance in Medieval Montpellier* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985) and *The Art of the Deal*.

<sup>27</sup> Northern European studies have also demonstrated women's participation in a variety of economic sectors. See Hutton, *Women and Economic Activities in Late Medieval Ghent*.

ences provide insights into women's networks. Her life offers a unique perspective on the connections among women and between women and men. Many other women across the social spectrum, from market seller and prostitute to artisan to elite woman, are also featured in my study.<sup>28</sup>

I begin with an introduction to the protagonist Agnes and her husband Petrus. Agnes's origins and her linkages in the broader community underpin a discussion of her marriage and litigation in her widowhood. Agnes and Petrus's children and grandchildren, enlarge family networks, the subject of Chap. 2. Agnes's testamentary bequests to her large progeny, particularly the multiple real property holdings she left to her family, are treated in a third chapter. Family ties were reinforced by the distribution of these holdings to her descendants. The focus then broadens in the next two chapters to look at marriage and apprenticeship as mechanisms of network and community building, in which immigration played a large role. Following on apprenticeship, I investigate urban–rural connections among women and between women and men, with a case study of the mercer Bernarda de Cabanis's operations. The next chapter explores vertical and horizontal ties among women from an examination of the Herbaria Square marketplace in central Montpellier where Agnes and her family held property. The stability and modest success of a community of resellers over more than 50 years may well have been the result of women property holders' involvement at several levels on the square. Close by the city walls on the road to the little port of Lattes and the Mediterranean was a prostitute community in Campus Polverel, the focus of the following chapter. This was a marginal community that was well connected in Montpellier, where prostitution was regulated but tolerated in the later Middle Ages. In the final chapter, Agnes's last will and testament and her charitable activities allow insights into the philanthropic networks of Montpellier that provided a safety net for the poor and marginals in Montpellier society in the decades prior to the Black Death. A conclusion summarizes the findings of this study. There has been no specific attempt to date to examine horizontal and vertical ties of an economic, social, and philanthropic nature within urban society in Montpellier. This book offers a new perspective on women's experience prior to the Black Death.

<sup>28</sup> The networks of women in medieval England, Germany, Spain, France, and Italy were different, reflecting a diversity of experiences of women in communities across medieval Europe and within specific regions. See Bennett and Karras, *The Oxford Handbook*, *passim*.

## Agnes de Bossones's Origins, Marriage, and Litigation

Agnes de Bossones or Na Bossonesa, for the Occitan *Ena*, the abbreviated form for *Domina* (Latin), was a member of the mercantile and financial elite of Montpellier.<sup>1</sup> This book is an investigation of her experiences as they reveal networks and communities in medieval Montpellier. Agnes was visible at several intervals over 40 years (1301–1342), in both notarial and charter evidence, as the active administrator of her late husband's estate early on, as the owner of houses around a central urban square, as a leader in urban philanthropy, and as the testator (*testatrix*) of a complex will at the end of her life. A dense tapestry can be woven from the story of Agnes. We can begin with an investigation of Agnes's family ties and the network they created. Family was the first platform for networks, and marriage an important mechanism in the construction/enlargement of connections among families.

We first meet Agnes in 1301 in connection with her defense of her late husband's estate. Agnes identified herself as the daughter of the late Raymundus Peyrerie, merchant, and as the wife of the late Petrus de Bossonesio (Petrus de Bossones).<sup>2</sup> Besides her father, there was likely

<sup>1</sup>Agnes was part of the urban elite in Montpellier, but the title “Na” was used across the social spectrum by Montpellier notaries.

<sup>2</sup>The spelling of Agnes's father's given name is problematic. The paleography is ambiguous. The name appears as Raynaudus or Raymundus, and I have chosen the latter spelling given the popularity of the name Raimond (Raymundus) in the south of France. See Agnes's will in A.M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, ff. 13rff. It is also the case that one finds the form Bossonesio as well as Bossones in the documents. I have chosen to use the latter form of Bossones in this book.

in her natal family a relative and contemporary, Guillelma Peyrerie, mentioned together with Agnes in 1328 in connection with urban philanthropic activity.<sup>3</sup> Agnes never mentioned her mother, nor did she make reference to siblings in her will.

She married Petrus at an unknown date in the later thirteenth century. Marriage was one of the most important institutions affecting the status and life experience of women in the Middle Ages and one of the most important constituents of networks. A woman's status in any premodern historical era was informed first by her family of origin and then by the family into which she married. There is no doubt that her husband's position was dominant in the majority of cases, though her status, if it were higher at the outset, could have potentially assisted him in elevating his.<sup>4</sup> The status of men is usually available in the surviving documentation as the notary chose almost always to designate men by occupation or honorific title. Women were generally designated by reference to their fathers and/or husbands, without specific occupational identification. Property, one basis of status, was passed through both male and female lines.<sup>5</sup> Women and men could inherit from their fathers, their mothers, and their children, as well as from family members on both sides.

The union of Agnes and Petrus was an elite marriage in both social and economic terms. Agnes's father, Raymundus Peyrerie, was listed as a town consul in 1273.<sup>6</sup> Petrus would be a consul in 1290.<sup>7</sup> Petrus's occupations as changer and merchant, his achievement of honorific urban noble status as a bourgeois (*burgensis*), his service as town consul, and Agnes's father's occupation as merchant reveal the elite status of this marital union. A likely relative of Petrus, G. de Bossones, probably Guiraudus or Guillelmus de Bossones, was consul in 1281.<sup>8</sup> These men would have been acquainted

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. 9.

<sup>4</sup> See my article, "La mobilité sociale: réflexions sur le rôle de la femme," in Sandro Carocci ed. *La mobilità sociale nel medioevo* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2010), 491–511. The role of marriage as a vehicle of social ascension and the impetus for network formation will also feature in considerations of Agnes's family networks (Chap. 2) and in Chap. 4, "Marriage."

<sup>5</sup> Barbara Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives. Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 4, views the circulation of wealth through the accumulation of dowries by women in London as a significant contribution to capital formation.

<sup>6</sup> Alexandre Germain, *Histoire de la commune de Montpellier* (Montpellier: Imprimerie J. Martel aîné, 1851), I: 392. The name is given as R. Peyrieira.

<sup>7</sup> Germain, *Commune*, 395.

<sup>8</sup> Germain, *Commune*, 393.



as members of the consular elite. It was likely that the marriage match between Agnes and Petrus was established in this context.<sup>9</sup>

Changers were closely allied to the mercantile classes as specialists of finance. They were illustrious in Montpellier, much more in the image of merchant bankers than the simple moneyhandlers or moneychangers of other parts of Europe.<sup>10</sup> They were responsible in part for maintaining the supply of credit necessary to Montpellier's trade. Commerce and finance were closely interrelated. Both banking and international trade demanded considerable capital. The presence of 26 changers at the time of the establishment of the statutes of the changers' guild in 1342 suggests the exclusive nature of this occupation as well as the solid financial base upon which Montpellier's commerce was founded.<sup>11</sup> Agnes and her husband, Petrus de Bossones, were in good company.

A woman's marriage, accompanied by the constitution of her dowry, set her place in the economic and social hierarchy, yet she remained throughout her life closely tied to her father's family, recalling the Roman *gens*.<sup>12</sup> Women of Montpellier were subject to the system of dotal property that provided them with some benefits of safeguard over their property that they would theoretically recover upon the dissolution of the marriage by death or otherwise.<sup>13</sup> The dotal regime, in which a woman brought a dowry to the marriage, emerged in the twelfth century, with the recovery of Roman law institutions, and was in place through the end of the early modern period. In Montpellier, according to the 1204 *consuetudines*, there was no marriage without dowry.<sup>14</sup> The husband also brought to the

<sup>9</sup> See Chap. 4 for further discussion of political service as a possible venue for the construction of marital alliances.

<sup>10</sup> See *Business, Banking and Finance*, Chap. 5, for a detailed discussion of changers.

<sup>11</sup> A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, ff. 52r–55v. The average number of changers mentioned in the surviving notarial registers was 19, as noted in Chap. 1, but this figure rose as high as 42 in 1342. See *Business, Banking and Finance*, 92.

<sup>12</sup> See the arguments of Jean Hilaire, *Le régime des biens entre époux dans la région de Montpellier du début du XIIIe siècle à la fin du XVe siècle* (Montpellier: Imprimerie Causse, Graille et Castelnau, 1957).

<sup>13</sup> The standard treatment of the development of the dowry in southern Europe remains that of Diane Owen Hughes, "From Brideprice to Dowry in Mediterranean Europe," *The Marriage Bargain. Women and Dowries in European History*, ed. Marion A. Kaplan (New York, London: Harrington Park Press, 1985, originally publ. by the Haworth Press, 1985), and in *Women and History* no. 10 (1984): 13–58.

<sup>14</sup> André Gouron, "Coutume et pratique méridionales: une étude du droit des gens mariés," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 116 (1958): 194–209, spoke (p. 198) of a generally

marriage a donation called *propter nuptias* that was later replaced by an augment (*augmentum*), in both instances a form of bride gift. In general, the augment, which would pass to the widow, was much less substantial than the dower assigned a woman according to northern French customary law.<sup>15</sup> There remains no specific information about Agnes's dowry or augment, nor does the will of Petrus survive to inform us of the distribution of his estate.

Agnes's place in the social landscape of Montpellier depended on family connections, her birth family, and the family into which she married. Petrus de Bossones's designation as *burgensis* meant that he was a member of the urban nobility of Montpellier, occupying high status in the town. Membership in the urban elite of Montpellier provided Agnes and women like her with opportunities afforded by wealth and status. Exploration of the social framework of the town will further an understanding of the dynamics of interaction among its inhabitants. Agnes and her family must be situated in the complexities of the social landscape of Montpellier in the early fourteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

The south of France contained an urban aristocracy and a rural aristocracy, the upper echelon of which often ruled towns and villages, as in the case of the Guilhem lords of Montpellier, the viscounts of Narbonne, and the counts of Toulouse.<sup>17</sup> Initially, in the twelfth century, there had

accepted practice of "nullum sine dote fiat conjugum," not "juridiquement sanctionnée." See the 1204 *Consuetudines* in Alexandre Teulet, ed. *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1863), I, for information on marriage. Teulet provided the best edition of the Montpellier *consuetudines* that are also edited in *Le Petit Thalamus de Montpellier*, ed. E. Pégat, E. Thomas, and Desmazes (Montpellier, 1840). See the discussion of dowry in Cécile Béghin, "Dot, patrimoine et solidarité à Montpellier dans les derniers siècles du Moyen-Âge," in *Études Roussillonaises XXV*, *Sous la direction de Christiane Klapisch-Zuber* (2013): 31–40.

<sup>15</sup> On dower, see the articles in Louise Mirrer, ed. *Upon My Husband's Death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), *passim*. On northern French customary law, see the multiple editions of regional customs by F. R. P. Akehurst, beginning with *The Coutumes de Beauvaisis de Philippe de Beaumanoir* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).

<sup>16</sup> Compare Kelleher, *The Measure of Woman*, especially Chap. 2, "The Power to Hold: Women and Property," 48–80. For a treatment of the evolution of women's position in regard to property, see also Stephen P. Bench, *Barcelona and Its Rulers, 1096–1291*, Chap. 6, "Family Structure and the Devolution of Property," 234–276.

<sup>17</sup> On the urban elite of Occitania, see Martin Aurell, "La chevalerie urbaine en Occitanie (fin Xe-début XIIIe siècle)," *Les Élités urbaines au moyen âge*, XXVIIe Congrès de la Société des Historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne,

been social barriers to marriage across strata among the Montpellier elite. In a text of 1113, the local lord (*dominus*) Guilhem V renewed the prohibition of intermarriage and business transactions between *milites* and *burgenses* of the town.<sup>18</sup> This prohibition would cease to apply in the thirteenth century. The *milites* were urban knights in Montpellier, a form of local nobility, to be distinguished from the *domini* of the countryside.<sup>19</sup> *Domicellus* was another term used to designate the urban and rural nobility of Mediterranean France, enjoying currency in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Generally, the twelfth-century *milites* were followers of the Guilhem lords, holding urban or suburban land as a means of support; their vocation was primarily military.<sup>20</sup>

In the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a fusion occurred between the *milites* and the townspeople in Montpellier, a common evolution among Mediterranean urban nobility. As early as 1113, the daughter of the *burgensis*, Faiditus, married a nobleman, Guillelmus Aimoni, the son of Bernardus Guillelmi, *vicarius* (*viguier*) of Montpellier.<sup>21</sup> She received an oven in inheritance from her father Faiditus, who was a landholder in the parish of Saint-Denis, the episcopal quarter of Montpellier. It may have been this marriage that provoked Guilhem V's reiteration of the pro-

1997), 71–118. For background on southern French society, see Archibald R. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718–1050* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965); Frederic Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001). See also Jacqueline Caille, *Medieval Narbonne. A City at the Heart of the Troubadour World*, ed. Kathryn Reyerson (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2005).

<sup>18</sup>See *Liber Instrumentorum Memorialium. Cartulaire des Guilhems de Montpellier*, ed. C. Chabaneau and A. Germain (Montpellier, 1884–1886), act CXXVII.

<sup>19</sup>On the terminology used in the south of France for urban classes, see Paul Dognon, “De quelques mots employés au moyen âge dans le Midi pour désigner des classes d’hommes: Platerii, Platearii,” *Annales du Midi* XI (1899): 348–358. See also his study, *Les institutions politiques et administratives du pays de Languedoc du XIIIe siècle aux guerres de religion* (Toulouse: Privat, 1895).

<sup>20</sup>For a study of southern French urban nobility, see Hubert Richardot, “Le fief roturier à Toulouse aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles,” *Revue historique du droit français et étranger*, 4th ser. XIV (1935): 307–359; 495–569.

<sup>21</sup>P. Laborderie-Boulou, “La viguerie de Montpellier au XIIe siècle,” *Archives de la ville de Montpellier, Inventaires et documents*, IV (Montpellier: Imprimerie Roumégous et Déhan, 1920), and Archibald R. Lewis, “Seigneurial Administration in Twelfth-Century Montpellier,” *Speculum* XXII (1947): 565–569.

hibition of marriage, noted above.<sup>22</sup> If marriage was possible between the powerful Aimoni family and a *burgensis* family in the early twelfth century, such an occurrence was probably not infrequent. By the second half of the twelfth century, the *milites* had lost much of their *raison d'être*, and their fusion with the mercantile elite was well underway.

In Montpellier, there was continued evolution in urban social categories in the course of the thirteenth century, due to economic expansion, the regime change from the Guilhem seigneurial family to the Aragonese royal family in 1202–1204, and to crises such as the Albigensian crusade, though the crusade affected the town less than other parts of Languedoc.<sup>23</sup> In a later period, Agnes's era, the merchant and legal classes of Montpellier married into the traditional nobility (*domini*) of the countryside. The process of members of the regional nobility allying with the Montpellier urban elite—merchant families and doctors and professors of law—continued into the first half of the fourteenth century. Typical was a 1302 alliance in which the lord of La Paillade, just north of Montpellier, married the daughter of Petrus de Belloloco, merchant of Montpellier.<sup>24</sup> A desire to reinforce the noble family fortune may have motivated such alliances. In the Mediterranean world, it was common for impecunious rural nobles to marry daughters of wealthy townspeople whose families aspired to the honorific position of rural landholder and petty lord.

<sup>22</sup> See Martin Aurell's discussion of this alliance in "La chevalerie urbaine en Occitanie," 92.

<sup>23</sup> On twelfth-century Montpellier, see Elizabeth Haluska-Rausch, "Family, Property, and Power: Women in Medieval Montpellier, 985–1213," (Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1998); Henri Vidal, "Aux temps des Guillems (985–1204)," *Histoire de Montpellier*, ed. Gérard Cholvy, (Toulouse: Privat, 1984), 9–38; André Gouron, "Grande bourgeoisie et nouveaux notables: l'aspect social de la révolution montpelliéraine de 1204." *Recueil de mémoires et travaux de la société d'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit*, fasc. 15 (1991): 27–48; Guy Romestan, "Sous les rois d'Aragon et de Majorque (1204–1349)," *Histoire de Montpellier* (Toulouse: Privat, 1984), 39–69. On medieval Cathar heresy see John H. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001). See also Laurence W. Marvin, "The Albigensian Crusade in Anglo-American Historiography, 1888–2013," *History Compass* 11(2013): 1126–1138.

Still useful on the Albigensian crusade are Walter Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100–1250* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), and James B. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society. Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997).

<sup>24</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 678, 26 November 1302. See also A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, f. 37r.

Among the social categories of the south of France, one often finds the dichotomy, in episcopal centers, of a *civitas* (*cit *, the bishop's quarter with a cathedral) and *burg* (*bourg*, a merchant quarter, perhaps dominated by a lay lord). Inhabitants of the *cit * were termed *cives*, with the inhabitants of the market center or *burg* called *burgenses*.<sup>25</sup> In the region of Montpellier, although the cathedral was located on the island of Maguelone about ten kilometers distant, there was a bishop's quarter, MontPELLI RET, but the town's inhabitants of both the merchant quarter of Montpellier and the bishop's quarter of MontPELLI RET were called, in general, *homines* or *habitatores*, not *cives*. There was not a *cit * at Montpellier.

The *boni* or *probi homines*, the urban elite of the south of France, came to be termed *hommes de la place* (*homs de plassa*) or *burgenses*. The *platea* (central square) was a privileged site of urban habitation. In Montpellier, an urban elite of mercantile and legal origin developed.<sup>26</sup> The local urban nobility would be termed *burgenses*.<sup>27</sup> By the time of Agnes, there was considerable interconnection between men holding the distinction of *burgensis* and the major urban occupations in commerce, finance, and law. Although in the 1252 description of the composition of the consulate, the municipal governing body, there was no mention of the category of *burgensis*, lists of consuls contained names of *burgenses*, who were, for political purposes, designated by an occupational label such as changer.<sup>28</sup> Important local Montpellier families such as the Alamandini, the Crusolis, the Bossones, and the Conchis counted *burgenses*, such as Agnes's husband, and members of the prestigious trades among their numbers.<sup>29</sup> The *burgenses* were drawn from the commercial and financial classes, merchants, changers, apothecaries, and drapers, as well as from the university elite. Around the middle of the fourteenth century, *burgenses* as a social category joined the ranks of the *Commune Cl ture* defense organization of Montpellier and

<sup>25</sup> See Jean Combes, "Quelques remarques sur les *burgensis* de Montpellier au moyen  ge," *M langes Pierre Tisset, Recueil de m moires et travaux de la soci t  d'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit  crit*, fasc. VII (1970): 93–132.

<sup>26</sup> Paul Dognon, "De quelques mots."

<sup>27</sup> For a detailed study of the *burgenses*, see Combes, "Quelques remarques," especially 101–102.

<sup>28</sup> Gouron, *La r glementation des m tiers*, Pi ce annexe, II, 386–388.

<sup>29</sup> See my thesis, "Commerce and Society in Montpellier: 1250–1350," 2 vols. (Ph.D. Diss. Yale University, 1974), I: 15–16 for a discussion of the Conchis family. See also Combes, "Quelques remarques," 103–105.

were admitted to the lineup of trades qualified for consular participation, occupying the third consular position.<sup>30</sup>

Urban families, such as the Lamberti and the Atbrandi, whose members held consular office in the first half of the thirteenth century, joined the bourgeoisie and the nobility in the later thirteenth century. In the notarial evidence of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *burgenses*, along with *domini* and *domicelli*, appeared in land transactions but not in the contracts of long-distance maritime trade, at least not with the noble title.<sup>31</sup> While derogation of title through the exercise of a trade does not appear to have operated in Montpellier, the ladder of success meant a gradual withdrawal from mercantile occupations.<sup>32</sup> In Montpellier, one often passed from merchant or changer to *burgensis* to noble. Agnes's husband Petrus de Bossones was a *burgensis*, though also a changer. Agnes's son-in-law Raymundus Grossi held *burgensis* status and served as bailiff of the consuls, a position suggesting legal training.<sup>33</sup> The Conchis family presents a classic example of the rise of merchants to *burgensis* status by the later thirteenth century with ennoblement of the family in the fourteenth century.<sup>34</sup> We do not know the details of Petrus de Bossones's acquisition of *burgensis* status in Montpellier.

The designation of *burgensis* became more complex from the late thirteenth century, with local Montpellier *burgenses* joined by royal *burgenses*, designated by the king of France. From the time of the purchase of the episcopal quarter of Montpelliéret by Philip the Fair in 1293 came the introduction of the title *burgensis parti regis* into local parlance, with *parti regis* designating the French royal sector of Montpelliéret.<sup>35</sup> The frequent dispersal of the property of these *burgenses* in both the French

<sup>30</sup> Combes, "Quelques remarques," 101–102. See the discussion below.

<sup>31</sup> See my article, "Land, Houses and Real Estate Investment in Montpellier: A Study of the Notarial Property Transactions, 1293–1348," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 6 (1983): 39–112.

<sup>32</sup> Montpellier fell between a northern French model and an Italian model in terms of the involvement of those with noble titles in commerce and finance.

<sup>33</sup> See Agnes's will, A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, f. 13rff.

<sup>34</sup> See Combes, "Quelques remarques."

<sup>35</sup> Combes, "Quelques remarques," 103–105. Combes, 107 ff, discussed the emergence of the title of royal *burgensis*, with the purchase of the episcopal quarter of Montpelliéret by Philip IV in 1293.

and Majorcan sectors of the town created conflicts of jurisdiction in the fourteenth century.<sup>36</sup>

From the late thirteenth century, the French royal administrator in Montpellier, called the rector of the Part Antique (*pars antiqua*), conveyed the title of *burgensis* on subjects of the lay and ecclesiastical lordships in the *sénéchaussée* of Beaucaire-Nîmes. Grants of such titles by the king of Majorca were rarely recorded. In the fourteenth century, certain important international merchants with business affairs or commercial branches in several large French towns were doted by the king of France with the title of *burgensis* of the king. They benefited, as a result, from the king's jurisdiction and from special royal protection of their trade. Important Italian merchants also profited from honorific assimilation. In the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the Lucchese financiers Torus, Nicolas, and Parsivallus de Podio and Guillelmus and Puccinus Isbarre, all with Montpellier contacts, held the title of *burgensis*.<sup>37</sup> Tuscans and Lombards were most frequently favored with letters of bourgeoisie. Other examples include Ardussonus Mutonis of Chieri, an immigrant inhabitant of Montpellier, and the Falleti of Alba, the latter never being recorded as residents of Montpellier.<sup>38</sup>

Certain southern French merchants of international stature wore the title of *burgensis* of Montpellier.<sup>39</sup> In the fourteenth century, the most eminent of those so honored were Petrus Austria of Marseille, whose ships were frequently used by Montpelliérains, Raymundus Saralherii of Narbonne, who maintained a commercial entrepôt in Montpellier, and

<sup>36</sup> See my articles "Flight from Prosecution: The Search for Religious Asylum in Medieval Montpellier," *French Historical Studies* 17 (1992): 603–626, and "Public and Private Space in Medieval Montpellier: The Bon Amic Square," *Journal of Urban History*, 24 (1997): 3–27.

<sup>37</sup> Combes, "Quelques remarques," 107–129. This title carried with it special judicial privileges in the king's court.

<sup>38</sup> See my paper, "Italians in the Credit Networks of Fourteenth-Century Languedoc," Medieval Academy of America, Vancouver, CA, April 2008.

<sup>39</sup> See the discussion in my dissertation, "Commerce and Society in Montpellier," I, Chap. 1. The importance of the privileges attached to the title of *burgensis* led some merchants to seek the inclusion in their letters of bourgeoisie of the formula of *burgensis* of all of France so that they could act with the king's protection throughout the kingdom. In this fashion, the Genoese, Gabriele Vent, Ambrotono Grimaldi, and Agnelo Ultramarini, held the title of *burgensis* of Paris, Montpellier, and all of France.

Josephus Sapheti of Cyprus.<sup>40</sup> Agnes's husband Petrus de Bossones was thus part of a privileged group of urban inhabitants and international merchants with attachments to Montpellier's local and royal *burgenses*.

Though there remain few details about Agnes's natal family, the Bossones in-laws have left some trace. In 1302, Dulcia, daughter of the late Guillelmus de Bossones, changer, had as her first husband Raymundus Atbrandi, and as a second husband, Guillelmus Alamandini, apothecary. The Atbrandi were an ancient and prominent family of the Montpellier urban nobility (*burgenses*), whose activities can be traced under the twelfth-century Guilhem lords of Montpellier; the Alamandini were a prestigious commercial and financial family.<sup>41</sup> Other Alamandini family members, Pontius, Hugo, and Petrus, were changers.<sup>42</sup> The sharing of both a last name and the profession of changer makes it likely that Guillelmus de Bossones, father of Dulcia, was related to Agnes's husband Petrus.<sup>43</sup> Dulcia's father Guillelmus de Bossones left a widow Riada (who may or may not have been Dulcia's mother), whose brother-in-law was Marquerius Roclaudus, changer.<sup>44</sup> Petrus de Bossones, Agnes's husband, witnessed Marquerius's will on 26 February 1294.<sup>45</sup> Additional Bossones menfolk included Guiraudus and Arnaudus, against whom Agnes would bring legal action to recover debts in her capacity as guardian of her three daughters after the death of her husband.<sup>46</sup> And there are still other Bossones mentioned in the local notaries in the second half of the fourteenth century. The Bossones were a well-placed mercantile and financial

<sup>40</sup> See Édouard Baratier, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille*, vol. II (Paris: Plon, 1951), and Jean Combes, "Un marchand de Chypre *burgensis* de Montpellier," *Études médiévales offertes à Augustin Fliche* (Montpellier, 1950), 33–39.

<sup>41</sup> A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, f. 65r.

<sup>42</sup> See, for example, A. D. Hérault, II E 95/372, J. Holanie et al., f. 23. Pons and Hugo seem to have used the designation apothecary as well as that of changer, though there is always the possibility of homonyms in a town as large as Montpellier.

<sup>43</sup> See *Archives de la ville de Montpellier, tome XIII, Inventaire analytique, Série BB, Notaires et greffiers du consulat 1293–1387*, inventoried by Maurice de Dainville, Marcel Gouron, and Liberto Valls (Montpellier: Tour des Pins, Boulevard Henri IV, 1984), index *passim*, for multiple references to this family.

<sup>44</sup> A. M. Montpellier, BB 1, J. Grimaudi, f. 30v.

<sup>45</sup> A. M. Montpellier, BB 1, J. Grimaudi, f. 80v, no. 368. Riada sold to her brother-in-law Marquerius Roclaudus, changer, one fourth of a vineyard, co-owned with Bernardus de Balaruc, her brother, and also a brother-in-law of Marquerius. A. M. Montpellier, BB 1, J. Grimaudi, f. 30.

<sup>46</sup> See the discussion of litigation later in this chapter. The brothers were apparently suing the estate of Petrus, though the exact basis of their complaint is unclear.



family of the Montpellier elite, with the changers as a group being relatively small in number.<sup>47</sup> Agnes married into a large and prominent family.

The marriage model for Agnes was likely one of early marriage and early widowhood, the so-called Mediterranean marriage model.<sup>48</sup> Agnes's husband Petrus had been a consul of Montpellier in 1290, as noted earlier. The historian Jan Rogozinski argued that it was unlikely anyone under age 40 be elected consul, based on the complex electoral procedure for the selection of the town government of consuls in Montpellier.<sup>49</sup> When Petrus de Bossones witnessed the will of the fellow changer, Marquerus Roclaudus, in February 1294, this is the last trace we have for him in the documents.<sup>50</sup> Sometime between 1294 and June 1301, when Agnes was mentioned as a widow, he passed away. If he were at least 40 as a consul in 1290, he was between 45 and 50 when he died; he may, of course, have been older. It is, in fact, likely that Petrus de Bossones was considerably older than Agnes, and that he died while his wife was young, setting up a lengthy widowhood for her. Agnes would not remarry.<sup>51</sup> Agnes's death in 1342 capped over 40 years of widowhood.

Agnes and Petrus had at least three daughters before his death: Johanna, Agnes, and Raymunda. Guiraudus and Arnaudus, described as brothers in lawsuits relating to Petrus's estate in 1301 but never as Agnes's sons,

<sup>47</sup>The average number of changers mentioned in the notarial registers was 19, with the number rising as high as 42 in 1342. See A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, ff. 52r-55v for the 1342 changers' statutes. See Jan Rogozinski, *Power, Caste, and Law. Social Conflict in Fourteenth-Century Montpellier* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1982), 40–42, for calculation of the size of the consular elite. See more details below.

<sup>48</sup>The best discussion of patterns of marriage in late medieval Europe and early modern Europe is Maryanne Kowaleski, "Singlewomen in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. The Demographic Perspective," *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 38–81. My former student Tovah Bender, "Negotiating Marriage: Artisan Women in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Society," (Ph.D. Diss. University of Minnesota, 2009), has shown that the marriage model in the artisan community of late medieval Florence departed from that of the urban elite that gave rise to the model.

<sup>49</sup>Rogozinski, *Power, Caste, and Law*, 41, n. 4.

<sup>50</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 1, J. Grimaudi, f. 80v: will of Marquerus Roclaudus.

<sup>51</sup>On remarriage in Montpellier in the late Middle Ages, see Cécile Béghin-Le Gourriérec, "La tentation du veuvage. Patrimoine, gestion et travail des veuves dans les villes du Bas-Languedoc aux XIVe et XVe siècles," in *La famille, les femmes et le quotidien (XIVe-XVIIeI siècle. Textes offerts à Christiane Klapisch-Zuber et rassemblés par Isabelle Chabot, Jérôme Hayez et Didier Lett* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006), 163–180. See also Winer, *Women, Wealth, and Community in Perpignan*, 67–69.

may have been Petrus's sons by an earlier marriage, though they were not noted as his sons in the documents. It is also possible that these Bossones were brothers of Petrus or simply relatives. Agnes was widowed by June of 1301 when she was serving as guardian of her three daughters, who were likely under the age of 14, given Agnes's designation as *tutrix* (guardian of minors, usually under 14 years of age). Somewhat confusing is a procuration of 1301, however, where they termed themselves "wards, of age, although children."<sup>52</sup> This declaration implied that they had reached the practical age of majority for women of at least 12 years of age. Perhaps they were between 12 and 14 in 1301.

By the time Agnes wrote her last will and testament on 5 April 1342, two of her daughters had predeceased her; Agnes died before 9 April, within a few days of dictating her will.<sup>53</sup> By 1342, it seems likely that Agnes was at least in her sixties and possibly older. If she had married very early, at 12 to 15, and had her three daughters before the age of 20, she could have been just shy of 60 in 1342. She could well have been over 70 if her daughters were 12 to 14 in 1301.

The loss of a husband opened the door to guardianship by a mother over the children of the marriage, a role frequently held by women in medieval southern France.<sup>54</sup> Guardianship invited independent economic

<sup>52</sup> See A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, f. 51v: "pupille maiores tamen infantia [*sic*]." On the institution of guardian (*tutrix*) in the region of Montpellier, see Bernardin Gaillard, *La tutelle maternelle* (Montpellier: Firmin et Montane, 1897). See also Gigliola di Renzo Villata, "Dottrina legislation e prassi documentaria in tema di tutela nell' Italia del duecento," in Helmut Coing, Giulio Vismara, and André Gouron, eds. *Confluence des droits savants et des pratiques juridiques, Actes du colloque de Montpellier* (1977) (Milan: Guiffre, 1979), 375–434, and *La tutela, Indagini sulla scuola dei glossatori* (Milan: Guiffre, 1975).

<sup>53</sup> A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, ff. 13rff. The legal history thesis of Louis de Charrin on wills, *Les testaments dans la région de Montpellier au moyen âge* (Ambilly: Coopérative "Les Presses de Savoie," 1961), is valuable, but the actual details of individual testaments deserve systematic exploration. Women and wills would be worthy of a monographic study, and inheritance by women would be another useful focus. Lucie Laumonier in her monograph, *Solitudes et solidarités en ville. Montpellier, mi XIIIe-fin XVe siècles*, relies heavily on the evidence of wills. I have dealt with the wills before 1350 in "Changes in Testamentary Practice at Montpellier on the Eve of the Black Death," *Church History*, 47 (1978): 253–269, and in "Wills of Spouses in Montpellier before 1350: a Case Study of Gender in Testamentary Practice," in Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Kathryn L. Reyerson, eds. *"For the Salvation of my Soul?": Women and Wills in Early Modern France* (University of St. Andrews: Centre for French History and Culture, 2012), 44–60.

<sup>54</sup> See "Mother and Sons, Inc.," Chap. 6, on the widow as guardian. See also Béghin-Le Gourriérec, "La tentation du veuvage," and Winer, *Women, Wealth, and Community in Perpignan*, Chap. 3, "Christian Widowed Mothers and Guardianship," 47–75.

activities conducted by women on behalf of the family fortune. The position of women as guardians of their children was commonplace in Montpellier. When we first meet Agnes, she is serving in this capacity for her daughters. Women in the towns of medieval Languedoc and Provence might be appointed guardians of their children by their husbands' wills. In this capacity, they might need to have recourse to litigation and to dispute resolution.<sup>55</sup> Women could appear before the court to make an inventory of the estate, and they might be asked to make an inventory of the possessions of the ward and report to testamentary executors.<sup>56</sup> There were also cases where mothers were cited for poor administration by their wards once of age. Women themselves might be executors, though this was a rare occurrence.<sup>57</sup> They might be involved in the recovery of a late husband's debts, as in Agnes's case, or in the management of the business of a late husband, on behalf of minor children, or in the payment of debts that infringed on a late husband's estate.<sup>58</sup>

Defense and management of the paternal estate fell to the charge of Agnes. Her high status gave her significant legal connections that she would utilize. She undoubtedly faced the challenge of paying her late husband's debts and of recovering credits, bringing her into contact with the legal system. But the problems faced by a guardian could run much deeper, and legal proceedings were often complicated. The court system of Montpellier was itself complex, a reflection of the town's divided political identity in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Mentioned in Agnes's litigation were the bailiff's court, the *de facto* court of the town consuls but in fact the court of the king of Majorca, the overlord of Montpellier from 1276 to 1349, and from 1293 the rector's court or French royal court in the episcopal quarter of MontPELLIÉRET.<sup>59</sup> According to the statutes of 1204, the bailiff's court had civil, commercial, and

<sup>55</sup> Women's role as guardian would also benefit from a monographic study of the notarial evidence.

<sup>56</sup> De Charrin, *Les testaments*, 120–121.

<sup>57</sup> Gaillard, *La tutelle maternelle*, 93–5. Joëlle Rollo-Koster has confirmed the occasional mention of women in her research in the testaments of Avignon.

<sup>58</sup> For the challenge of managing a late husband's business, see my book project, "Mother and Sons, Inc.," about the experience of Martha de Cabanis.

<sup>59</sup> On the courts of Montpellier, see Rogozinski, *Power, Caste, and Law*, 589–611; "The Counsellors of the Seneschal of Beaucaire and Nîmes, 1250–1350," *Speculum* 44 (1969): 421–439. See also Joseph R. Strayer, *Les gens de justice du Languedoc sous Philippe le Bel* (Toulouse: Association Marc Bloch, 1970).

criminal jurisdiction and was, in essence, the urban court of first instance.<sup>60</sup> The inhabitants of Montpellier, including women, were skilled in the use of both the French and the Majorcan court systems, as Agnes's experience reveals.<sup>61</sup>

Agnes encountered some difficulties at the inception of her role as guardian in the settling of her husband Petrus's estate, but she was well connected to permit successful legal maneuvering. In the capacity of guardian (*tutrix*) of her children, Agnes sent a representative to the bailiff's court on 2 June 1301 to receive the cession of rights by a merchant, Perpignan Roma, in regard to a debt of 345 *l. t.* against Guiraudus de Bossones.<sup>62</sup> Agnes, acting as creditor, was probably desirous of collecting this debt owed Guiraudus for Petrus's estate; the circumstances surrounding Roma's involvement are unknown. Why Agnes herself did not appear in court is unclear. She would do so on other occasions.<sup>63</sup>

In a similar tactic, Agnes came in person before the bailiff's court in Montpellier on 12 June 1301 to try to recover debts owed to the brothers

<sup>60</sup>There was also a commercial court of voluntary jurisdiction in Montpellier from the 1290s. See André Gouron, "L'Origine du Tribunal du Petit-Scel de Montpellier," *Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon*, Mende, 1955 (Montpellier, 1955), 55–70, and Gouron and Jean Hilaire, "Les 'sceaux' rigoureux du Midi de la France," *Recueil de mémoires et travaux publié par la société d'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit*, fasc. 4 (1958): 41–77. As far as ecclesiastical courts were concerned, in addition to the *officialité* of the bishop of Maguelone, there was the parish court of Saint-Firmin. See Gérard Sautel, "Une juridiction paroissiale dans le Midi de la France au Moyen Âge: la cour de Saint-Firmin à Montpellier," *Recueil*, fasc. 2 (Montpellier, 1951), 47–65.

<sup>61</sup>I have studied several types of issues in the context of the courts of Montpellier. See "Commercial Fraud in the Middle Ages: The Case of the Disassembling Pepperer," *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982): 63–73; "Flight from Prosecution," and "Public and Private Space in Medieval Montpellier."

<sup>62</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, ff. 13v.

<sup>63</sup>Hutton, *Women and Economic Activities in Late Medieval Ghent*, 49–57, discussed the legal capacity of women in the Low Countries. There is no doubt that women could act in their own names, but the records do not always record marital status, leaving open the issue of whether widows predominated in such roles; women's legal capacity to come before the alderman in legal matters was clear. In southern Europe, women functioned as witnesses and as litigants. See Susan Alice McDonough, *Witnesses, Neighbors, and Community in Late Medieval Marseille* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), 25ff. for the example of Margarida de Altu. See also Daniel Smail, *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity and Legal Culture in Marseille, 1264–1423* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), and my article, "L'Expérience des plaideuses devant les cours de Montpellier (fin XIIIe-mi-XIVe siècle)," *Un Moyen Âge pour aujourd'hui. Mélanges offerts à Claude Gauvard*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2010, 522–528.

Guiraudus and Arnaudus de Bossones.<sup>64</sup> The situation underlying this move is clarified by another court appearance of 11 July 1301 when Agnes revealed that the Bossones brothers were suing the estate of her husband.<sup>65</sup> It is possible that they wished to participate in the inheritance that Agnes was determined to see devolve on her daughters. Though the documents do not provide details of the basis of the lawsuit, there may have been a dispute over assets or business interests as Agnes tried to settle Petrus's estate. Agnes argued that this suit necessitated a trip outside the city (to France, likely Paris) that she herself could not undertake; she asked that the bailiff name a jurist to travel there on her behalf.

In a court appearance before the court of Majorca on 17 October 1301, the children of Petrus de Bossones (Agnes's three daughters who were her wards) requested that any person in the jurisdiction of the court who had something belonging to Arnaudus and Guiraudus de Bossones make this fact known.<sup>66</sup> This move would seem to be another effort to siphon off payments owed the Bossones brothers for the benefit of Petrus's daughters. Because of the resources at her disposal and the connections she benefited from as a result of the family fortune, Agnes was able to engage both the court system of the king of France and that of the king of Majorca.

One debtor came forward: Raymundus de Ulmis, who owed 610 *l.* 16 *s.* to the Bossones brothers. On the same day (17 October), Ulmis himself stated that he owed an additional 400 *l.*<sup>67</sup> The bailiff (of the Majorcan/Montpellier court) instructed Ulmis to pay Agnes's lawyer. Then, on 19 October 1301, a judge of the French court, the rector's court of the French quarter of the town, informed the bailiff that the sums due the brothers should be paid to Agnes.<sup>68</sup> Both courts thus concurred, and one wonders if the French legal support were not the fruit of the trip that the jurist representing Agnes had taken. Agnes then appeared before the two courts to state that she had received the said sums and that she was not opposed to the deliverance of an acquittal in that regard.<sup>69</sup> Agnes pursued her family interests in both the French and the Majorcan court systems regarding assets that were undoubtedly a part of her late husband's estate.

<sup>64</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, f. 17v. An Arnaut del Bossones was listed as a consul in 1320. See Germain, *Histoire de la commune*, I: 403.

<sup>65</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, f. 21r.

<sup>66</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, f. 42r.

<sup>67</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, f. 42r.

<sup>68</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, f. 42v.

<sup>69</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, ff. 42v–43r.

The sums mentioned in these documents were very large, suggesting high stakes and the significance of Petrus's fortune.

Another notarial appearance of the Bossones family left its record at this time. On 18 November, the Bossones daughters, Agnes, Johanna, and Raymunda, authorized by their mother as guardian, chose a procurator to defend their rights at the court of the king of France, perhaps in regard to further pursuit of the lawsuit brought by the brothers Bossones against Petrus's estate.<sup>70</sup> There was no surviving resolution of the legal actions brought by the brothers. A few years later, on 5 June 1305, the daughters, authorized by their mother, were continuing the management of the family fortune through the appointment of two procurators to deal with a man (Manuel de Grinolfo) to whom a considerable sum (1628 *l.*) was owed by two others, Laurentius Sumena and Petrus de Sancto Clemento.<sup>71</sup> The involvement of the Bossones daughters remains unclear. The only remaining echo of the Bossones brothers occurred in Agnes's will of 5 April 1342.<sup>72</sup> She left legacies of 100 *s.* (5 *l.*) each to the sons of the late Arnaudus de Bossones, deceased by that date.<sup>73</sup> No mention was made of Guiraudus or any offspring. These relatively modest legacies were listed in bequests separate from those to Agnes's grandchildren.

Though not without difficulties in her role as guardian, Agnes had important connections from her family background in the changer, merchant, legal, and burgensis elite and the possibility of navigating between the two court systems of Montpellier. She and other wealthy widows took an active role in preserving the family patrimony until their offspring were able to assume responsibility independently.<sup>74</sup> But problems of indebtedness could plague the widow, who was the guardian of her children.<sup>75</sup> Rebecca Winer tells the story of Raimunda de Camerada, widow of a powerful royal servant, who was still actively dealing with debts of her

<sup>70</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, f. 51v.

<sup>71</sup>A. M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*, Louvet no. 3396, inventoried by M. Oudot de Dainville as DCCCVI of *Documents omis dans l'inventaire du Grand Chartrier of the Inventaires et documents, Archives de la Ville de Montpellier*, t. 2 (Montpellier: Imprimerie "L'Abeille" Coopérative Ouvrière, 1955), 103.

<sup>72</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, f. 13r.

<sup>73</sup>For a discussion of Agnes's testamentary dispositions, see Chaps. 2, 3, and 8.

<sup>74</sup>For a discussion of women's strategies in regard to property in the Crown of Aragon, see Kelleher, *The Measure of Women*, especially Chap. 2: "The Power to Hold: Women and Property."

<sup>75</sup>See "L'Expérience des plaideuses," for a discussion of the fate of one such less fortunate widow, Maria Lamberti.

husband's estate years after his death.<sup>76</sup> As Winer stated, "Raimunda faced financial problems when serving as guardian, but she managed by appealing to the king early on in her office and creating a pool of legal advisers and representative during her later years."<sup>77</sup>

Not all widows were as fortunate as Agnes. Widows could be aggressive, as Agnes demonstrated, at times appearing in court without counsel; one case resolved financial problems via a brokered sale of property rights.<sup>78</sup> Agnes succeeded in preserving the family patrimony through legal action. She appeared in person before the notary and in court but chose to send a representative to France. Widows had property and family patrimony to protect, and some, like Agnes and Raimunda, had the means and connections to participate in the court system. Were legal options available to women of more modest means? Such matters may be resolved as more case studies emerge. According to Daniel Smail, people on the margins of power, the economically disadvantaged, and women used the courts in medieval Marseille.<sup>79</sup> In Marseille, at least, according to Smail, elite men simply took what they felt was their due, bypassing legalities. Susan McDonough sees women's agency in legal proceedings continuing into the late Middle Ages in Marseille, perhaps because of the mobility of the men of the town.<sup>80</sup>

Although many women of the upper bourgeoisie in Montpellier went unobserved in the normal venues of commerce and finance during married life, their absence need not imply inattention to the affairs of their husbands. How else can we explain their ability to function as widows? Through domestic management and informal consultation, these women must have acquired valuable expertise and connections upon which they could draw in widowhood, as guardians of their children, or when they needed to recover their dowries prematurely, in order to preserve the fam-

<sup>76</sup>Winer, *Women, Wealth, and Community in Perpignan*, 58–62.

<sup>77</sup>Winer, *Women, Wealth, and Community in Perpignan*, 62.

<sup>78</sup>See "L'Expérience des plaideuses."

<sup>79</sup>Daniel Lord Smail, *The Consumption of Justice*. See also Smail, "Notaries, Courts, and the Legal Culture of Late Medieval Marseille," in *Medieval Urban and Rural Communities in France: Provence and Languedoc, 1000–1500*, ed. Kathryn L. Reyerson and John Drendel (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 23–50.

<sup>80</sup>See McDonough, *Witnesses, Neighbors, and Community in Late Medieval Marseille*, 39: "Wives of sailors, of merchants, of ship owners, whose husbands were at sea or based in other trading cites, were, when capable, involved in their husband's businesses and ran their homes. This often meant coming to court to defend their assets."

ily fortune or to protect themselves in the face of possible bankruptcy on the part of their husbands.<sup>81</sup> These women defended their own and their families' interests. They may have been able to call on family members and their husbands' colleagues to advise them, and, if wealthy like Agnes, on a whole host of legal and political connections that facilitated their actions.

Agnes's place in the changer and mercantile milieu would have assisted her use of the court system. The business entourage of the major medieval merchant included partners and subordinate personnel who could and would have been founts of expertise, but it is difficult, if not impossible, to ignore the personality and personal legal strategy—extending to her last will and testament—of a figure such as Agnes de Bossones.<sup>82</sup> The remaining evidence from medieval Montpellier suggests that women could manipulate the legal system as well as any man.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>81</sup> See the discussion in Chap. 4.

<sup>82</sup> On the merchant's business entourage, see my monograph, *The Art of the Deal: Intermediaries of Trade in Medieval Montpellier* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002).

<sup>83</sup> "L'Expérience des plaideuses."



## Agnes's Family Networks

Family connections were greatly enhanced by Agnes and Petrus's progeny. Two of Agnes and Petrus's three daughters produced large families. In her will, Agnes mentioned a total of 15 grandchildren.<sup>1</sup> This represented a dramatic expansion in family size that would have greatly increased the linkages the family enjoyed. By the time of her death in 1342, Agnes was the matriarch of a large extended family.

For Agnes, a large family was security for the future of the bloodline and assurance that her memory would live on in the hearts and minds of these descendants. Agnes bound her grandchildren to her memory with her testamentary bequests and by the careful parceling out of real property and monetary gifts. Agnes named three universal heirs, her daughter Raymunda, her grandson Johannes Bon Amic, and her grandsons Raymundus and Petrus Seguerii together; each set was to receive one-third of Agnes's estate. Universal heirs accepted the credits and debts of estates, and an heir could refuse the inheritance because of this responsibility. We have no indication of any such move on the part of Agnes's heirs. As her four executors, Agnes named her sons-in-law Petrus Seguerii and Raymundus Grossi, as well as the guardian of the Friar Minor convent in Montpellier, and the prior of the signature pilgrimage church, Notre-Dame des Tables. In principle, universal heirs, along with executors, were

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix 5 for a transcription and translation of Agnes's will.

charged with the responsibility of dispensing legacies to siblings, offspring, or other beneficiaries.<sup>2</sup>

The complex testamentary document that Agnes dictated takes up ten folios (*recto-verso*) in the 1342 register of the notary of the bailiff, Johannes Laurentii.<sup>3</sup> It contains a wealth of information about Agnes's family, fortune, and spiritual orientation. Formality pervades Agnes's will, and it is clear that she wanted things done with the maximum of legal protection as well as an attention to detail. Agnes chose to make a *testamentum nuncupatum*, the common form of Montpellier will which by statute required at least three witnesses.<sup>4</sup> Agnes's will met the traditional requirements of seven witnesses for the Roman law *testamentum nuncupatum*, whose ancestor under Rome was an oral testament that necessitated seven witnesses.<sup>5</sup>

In the case of this will, the extended form of the document was written down in the notarial register of Laurentii, whereas other contracts might be recorded, most in abbreviated form, as minutes with many abbreviations, according to notarial practice.<sup>6</sup> In both cases, copies of part of the document or the whole document could be made for the parties concerned. Here it appears that portions pertaining to particular heirs or recipients of bequests were copied out (extracted) and given to them. At the end of the will is the notation that pertinent clauses of the will were extracted by mandate of Stephanus de Cabanis, knight (*miles*) and doctor of laws, for Agnes's one surviving daughter, Raymunda Grossi.<sup>7</sup> Additional extracts

<sup>2</sup> See Louis de Charrin, *Les testaments dans la région de Montpellier au moyen âge* (Ambilly: Coopérative "Les Presses de Savoie," 1961).

<sup>3</sup> A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, f. 13r–21v: 5 April 1342.

<sup>4</sup> The Roman *testamentum per nuncupationem*, the predecessor of the medieval instrument, was an oral civil law will before seven witnesses. See Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, 734. The most common form of will after the revival of Roman law was the *testament nuncupatif* that had become a written document. The Montpellier *consuetudines* of 1204 required only three witnesses for such a will. See de Charrin, *Les testaments dans la région de Montpellier*, 42–5. For further details regarding medieval wills, see the case studies in Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Kathryn L. Reyerson, eds. "For the Salvation of My Soul": Women and Wills in Early Modern France (St. Andrews: Centre for French History and Culture, University of St. Andrews, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> Another will referenced later, that of a market reseller, Berengard Martini, also had seven witnesses. Not all Montpellier wills followed Roman law practice. See A, D, Hérault, II E95/377, A. Egidü, 6.43ff.

<sup>6</sup> On notarial practice in Montpellier, see my book, co-authored with Debra Salata, *Medieval Notaries and Their Acts. The 1327–1328 Register of Jean Holanie* (Kalamazoo: The Medieval Institute, 2004). See also my article, "Notaires et crédit à Montpellier au moyen âge," in François Menant and Odile Redon eds. *Notaires et crédit*, (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004, appeared 2005): 241–261.

were made on behalf of Petrus Seguerii's children and others unidentified. The Bon Amic children, survivors of another of Agnes's deceased daughters, Johanna, and deceased son-in-law, Petrus Bon Amic, merchant, were not mentioned specifically in the extracts, though in such cases, family members usually desired documents regarding the disposition of an estate, requiring the notary to produce multiple copies for an additional sum. The Bon Amic children were the only branch of the family without a surviving parent.

At the end of the will, Agnes referred to two earlier wills (neither of these survives), written by the notary Laurentii, that she now stated were null and void. She declared the present instrument to be her last will which she praised, approved, ratified, and confirmed. Had she changed her mind about some details in her earlier wills, altered her bequests, chosen to favor some descendants over others? It is possible that the deaths of two of her three daughters necessitated changes in her earlier wills. There is no way to compare the earlier wills with her extant one. Nor do we know how much time separated the present will from the earlier testaments. The will of April 1342 was witnessed at the request of Agnes by her son-in-law Petrus Seguerii, doctor of laws; priests Bernardus Gaucelini and Bernardus Martileti; the noble Guillelmus Bernardi of Montalto (*domicellus*); Guiraudus Carrerie, cleric of the diocese of Mende; Master P. Cardinalis, notary; and the notary of record, Johannes Laurentii. All the witnesses were men, and it was notarial practice in Montpellier that witnesses to acts before 1350 were male.

Agnes's will illustrates the significant connections she enjoyed with the urban administration. The recorder of Agnes's will, Johannes Laurentii, notary of the municipal bailiff, along with the 12 town consuls, participated in the town government. The bailiff was the chief judicial officer of the consulate. The notary of the bailiff was a very secure choice as recorder. Agnes's selection of Laurentii as notary may also have been due to the fact that her son-in-law, Raymundus Grossi, *burgensis*, was actually the bailiff of record at this time. Her other surviving son-in-law, Petrus Seguerii, doctor of laws, was a witness to the will. It was before another earlier notary of the bailiff, Johannes Grimaudi, that Agnes had passed a series of acts in 1301 regarding her late husband's estate and in her capacity as guardian of her daughters. Given the precedence of the lawsuits associated with her husband's estate and, indeed, the prevalence of litigation in medieval courts, Agnes may have judged it

wise to use the bailiff's notary again as the notary of record for her will some 40 years later. Then, too, using a notary known to members of her family made sense in such a significant undertaking as the disposition of a large estate.

In her will of 1342, she set about making very specific plans for her universal heirs and for her grandchildren, favoring some more than others with her wealth.<sup>8</sup> Raymunda, her one surviving daughter in 1342, was a universal heir for one-third of Agnes's estate. Raymunda and Raymundus Grossi had but one daughter Marta, unmarried. With only one surviving child, it is possible that Raymunda had lost children in childbirth, or that they had died young. Agnes made a bequest to any unborn child of Raymunda. Raymunda would have been at a rather advanced child-bearing age in 1342; she was over 50 as she was alive in 1301 when the three daughters were said to be of age, that is, at least 12, though still under *tutela*.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, Agnes had not given up on the possibility of Raymunda having another child, and perhaps Raymunda was pregnant.

Daughters Johanna and Agnes had both predeceased their mother. We do not know the cause of death for Agnes's daughters; they may have died of disease, injury, or complications from childbirth.<sup>10</sup> Daughter Agnes produced at least six children, and Johanna, the eldest daughter, at least eight children. All these grandchildren were alive at their grandmother's death. Johanna and son-in-law Petrus Bon Amic, merchant, also deceased, had sons Petrus, Pontius, and Johannes, and daughters Agnes, Johanna, and Ermenjardis, along with Caterina and Raymunda, nuns. Deceased

<sup>7</sup>“Grosse” is the feminine form of the name “Grossi.” I have used the masculine forms throughout. Stephanus de Cabanis was likely a relative-in-law of Martha de Cabanis's sons and a colleague of Agnes's son-in-law, Petrus Seguerii, doctor of laws. See my book manuscript, “Mother and Sons, Inc.: Martha de Cabanis in Medieval Montpellier.”

<sup>8</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, f. 13r ff.

<sup>9</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, f. 51v.

<sup>10</sup>On death in childbirth, see Bertrand-Yves Mafart, “Approche de la mortalité maternelle au moyen âge en Provence,” *La femme pendant le moyen âge et l'époque moderne. Dossiers de documentation archéologique* 17 (Nice: Université de Nice, 1994), 207–219. Although death in childbirth in the Middle Ages may not have been as common as once thought, childbirth could prove deadly if there were any complications with the birth. See Barbara A. Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London. The Experience of Childhood in History* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 43–44. See also David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *The Tuscans and Their Families. A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 277.

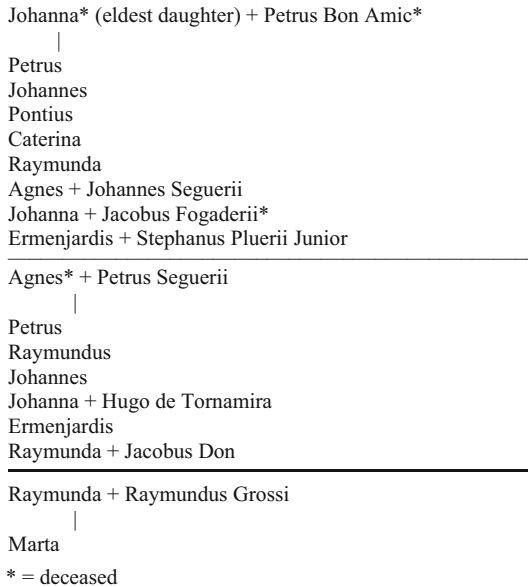
daughter Agnes and her surviving spouse Petrus Seguerii, doctor of laws (*legum doctor*), had sons Petrus, Raymundus, and Johannes, and daughters Johanna, Ermenjardis, and Raymunda. Grandmother Agnes assured that each of her daughters' lines would have a third share in the estate.

Family naming traditions among Agnes's heirs were, in fact, marked, reflecting the likelihood of a close-knit family community. The collective name pool (*Namengut*) for the family comes through quite clearly in the grandchildren's names: Petrus, Johannes, Raymunda, Ermenjardis, and Johanna are names in both the Bon Amic and Seguerii families.<sup>11</sup> Though these were common names, the fact that they repeat in descending generations reinforces family ties. The universal heirs carried family names. Agnes's daughter Raymunda was likely named after Agnes's father Raymundus. Grandson Petrus Seguerii was named after his father and grandfather, and grandson Raymundus Seguerii may have been named after Agnes's father. Grandson Johannes Bon Amic may have been named after Agnes's daughter Johanna. Johanna chose her mother's name, Agnes, for one of her daughters and the name Pontius for one of her sons (a name in the Bon Amic family). Among the grandchildren, the names of Raymunda and Raymundus Seguerii and Raymunda Bon Amic suggest the importance attached to the name of Agnes's father, Raymundus Peyrerie.<sup>12</sup> Granddaughter Caterina Bon Amic, Marta Grossi, Ermenjardis Bon Amic, and Ermenjardis Sequerii were the only grandchildren named outside the identifiable family name pool, and it may just be that limited evidence clouds our view. The following chart, revealing of the complexity of family ties, provides an overview of Agnes's descendants, including those spouses of her daughters and granddaughters that she mentioned in her will (Chart 2.1).

The three Bossones daughters made splendid marriages within the elite of Montpellier that included *burgenses*, the elite mercantile milieu,

<sup>11</sup> See the article by George Beech, "Prosopography," in James M. Powell, ed., *Medieval Studies. An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992), 185–226.

<sup>12</sup> "Bonamique" is the feminine form of the name "Boni Amici" in notarial acts. I am using the vernacular Bon Amic. For the purposes of clarity, women will be noted with the masculine form of the family surname, even though the feminine form appeared in the documents. Grossi and Seguerii daughters would also likely use a feminine form of the family name if they were unmarried.



**Chart 2.1** Agnes and Petrus's children and grandchildren

and the legal community. Networks were created through marriage that enhanced the influence of families on social, economic, and political levels. The Montpellier elite married among themselves, strengthening ties and clout. Merchant, draper, legal specialist, and *burgensis* connections were added to the changer/*burgensis*/merchant base that made up the marriage of Petrus and Agnes. Johanna, the eldest daughter and the only one for whom any dowry information is available, married a prominent member of the commercial elite of the town in Petrus Bon Amic, draper and merchant.<sup>13</sup> Her dowry, provided by Agnes as widow, included prime

<sup>13</sup>Petrus Bon Amic was possibly a consul in 1319 when a P. Bon Amic (Petrus or Pontius) was mentioned. See Germain, *Histoire de la commune*, I: 403. The Bon Amic could also count merchants and changers among their members. The Bon Amic family home near Notre-Dame des Tables was sold in 1361 to the consuls for the establishment of the second town hall of Montpellier. See Louise Guiraud, "Recherches topographiques sur Montpellier au moyen âge," *Mémoires de la société archéologique de Montpellier*, 2nd ser., 2 (1895): 300, note 1, and Bernard Sournia and Jean-Louis Vaysettes, *La demeure médiévale* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1991), 26.

urban real estate, houses on the centrally located Herbaria Square, across from the first town hall.<sup>14</sup> Raymunda's husband, Raymundus Grossi, *burgensis*, was a member of the urban nobility. As noted above, he was bailiff of the consuls' court in Montpellier at the time Agnes made her will and likely had legal training. Finally, daughter Agnes's husband was Petrus Seguerii, doctor of laws (*legum doctor*), a member of the local legal elite. We have no records of the dowries for Raymunda and Agnes. In the generation of grandchildren, marriage again allowed for the expansion of connections. Fifteen grandchildren on their own expanded the family numerically. And several granddaughters made impressive marriages. Of the Bon Amic granddaughters, Agnes married draper Johannes Seguerii, perhaps a distant relative of the Seguerii branch of the family or a homonym.<sup>15</sup> Johanna married pepperer Jacobus Fogaderii, and Ermenjardis married Stephanus Puerii of a family of changers. Dowry constraints could account for the entry into a convent of two of the five daughters in the Bon Amic branch, Caterina and Raymunda. Provision for five dowries would have taxed even the largest fortune. Although monastic entry was also accompanied by a dowry, the level of gift was probably less.<sup>16</sup> In the Seguerii branch, Johanna married the *burgensis* Hugo de Tornamira and Raymunda the merchant Jacobus Don. The spouses of the grandsons, if they had married by the time of Agnes's death, are not known. It is likely the grandsons were unmarried as several were clearly still studying. There remains the likelihood that boys married later than girls in the urban elite, according to the Mediterranean marriage model. Professional designations shifted easily in the period before 1350. Many individuals carried more than one occupational designation during their careers.<sup>17</sup> Agnes's spouse, Petrus de Bossones, was merchant and changer as well as *burgensis*, as

<sup>14</sup>See "Public and Private Space in Medieval Montpellier."

<sup>15</sup>The church maintained consanguinity prohibitions, though not to the seventh degree, as had earlier been the case. See Charles Donahue, Jr., *Law, Marriage, and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 27.

<sup>16</sup>Penelope D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 24, on the monastic dowry. The savings from a marital dowry to a monastic dowry cannot be calculated.

<sup>17</sup>The lack of fixed professional identities was a common phenomenon in medieval Europe. See Hutton, *Women and Economic Activities in Late Medieval Ghent*, 113: "Many people in late medieval Ghent did not have fixed occupational identities." Hutton found this true of women and men.

noted in Chap. 1. The merchant classes of Montpellier were numerous in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The term merchant was very open-ended, and included the merchant active in international trade and finance, as well as the more modest merchant whose activities were local or at best regional. Notaries used the term *mercator* frequently to designate inhabitants who might also at times be identified with an organized trade such a pepperer, mercer, silk merchant, linen merchant, or draper, among others. It is not often easy to distinguish fully among the activities of these merchant trades. In general, however, the *mercator* was an international merchant dealing in the procurement of foreign imports, especially in the Levant, and reexporting these goods to northern markets at the Champagne Fairs, Paris, Avignon, western France, and Spain, or disposing of them in the hands of local retailers. These products might run the gamut from silks and spices to grain. In order to acquire exotic international goods, merchants exported European goods, wool cloth, in particular, to Mediterranean markets.<sup>18</sup> Young merchants tended to travel to establish their careers, becoming sedentary investors in their later years. This pattern of mercantile apprenticeship encouraged late marriage among men of the merchant stratum, reflecting the Mediterranean marriage model. The pepperers, mercers, silk merchants, grain merchants, drapers, apothecaries, spice merchants, wood merchants, and linen merchants of Montpellier were both wholesale and retail merchants whose clientele could include locals and foreigners. Women do not appear in Montpellier to have operated in a comparable arena; travel for women was rare for purposes of business. Agnes would use representatives to travel to “France” on her behalf in estate-related matters. She does not appear to have traveled herself. Along with the changers, the above trades were among the most prestigious in the town. Most changers’ families included members who were merchants, apothecaries, pepperers, linen merchants, silk merchants, mercers, and grain merchants. Important local families such as the Alamandini, the de la Manhania, the Bordelis, the Crusolis, the de Sancto Egidio, the de Ruthena, the Felguerrii, the de Salellis, the Bossones (including Petrus and Agnes), the de Sancto Michaeli, the Calvinhaco, and the Valaranga,

<sup>18</sup>For general background on Montpellier economic activity, see *Business, Banking and Finance* and *The Art of the Deal*.



all counted changers and members of at least one of the above commercial trades in their numbers. Marriage alliances linked these families. Using drapers or cloth retailers as an example, drapers allied themselves in marriage with other retail trades such as silk merchants, wood merchants, and linen merchants.<sup>19</sup> Their daughters married pepperers, silk merchants, apothecaries, and silversmiths.<sup>20</sup> Thus, in 1336, Martha, daughter of the late Jacobus Patani, silk merchant, and widow of the draper, Johannes Rotgerii, married another draper, Bernardus Roardi, an example of remarriage within the mercantile milieu.<sup>21</sup> Several observations about family community in this elite urban milieu are of interest. A feature of note in the Bossones family and their in-laws is the persistence of occupational and professional ties across generations. Changers, merchants, legal specialists, and *burgenses* were recurring occupations, along with the occasional presence of drapers and pepperers. These were all prestigious trades, reflecting intermarriage within the upper crust of Montpellier society. The Bossones's descendants formed an impressive network within the urban elite. The fate of the Bossones family also testified to the fragility of life. Over the four decades of Agnes's widowhood, there had been deaths in her family, including two of her three daughters. At least one of her granddaughters was already widowed. We cannot trace the wills or testamentary dispositions of any of these deceased family members. Only Agnes's will has survived. A strong family network emerges for Agnes with alliances to multiple prestigious occupations in Montpellier through her father, husband, sons-in-law, granddaughters, and grandsons. Her family expanded dramatically in the generation of her grandchildren, giving the Bossones descendants considerable political, social, and economic capital. Further workings of family linkages can be observed in the property holdings that Agnes passed on to her heirs, the topic of the following chapter.

<sup>19</sup>See A. D. Hérault, II E 95/370, J, Holanie, f. 23r; A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 780, 17 January 1301; A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, f. 84r; A. D. Hérault, II E 95/371, J, Holanie, f. 146r.

<sup>20</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/372, J, Holanie, ff. 41r and 79v; A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture* EE 687, 24 May 1331; A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, f. 84r.

<sup>21</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/370, J, Holanie, f. 23r.

## Agnes's Networks of Property

Agnes de Bossones's will, along with other information, offers a glimpse of an elite woman's fortune in real property and monetary holdings and how she chose to dispose of her wealth at death. Agnes's testamentary bequests created a clustering of family members' real property holdings that would have reinforced family networks. Her monetary bequests reveal access to liquid wealth as well. Land was the primary source of wealth in the Middle Ages, and elite families such as the Bossones put great stock in holdings in land and houses.<sup>1</sup>

Agnes's real property fortune was urban and suburban, constituted primarily by houses inside and outside the walls of Montpellier. Few agricultural investments per se were mentioned in Agnes's will, with the exception of a suburban compound, comprising courtyard and orchard, perhaps the focus of market gardening.<sup>2</sup> A contrasting portrait of real property holdings can be drawn for the businesswoman Martha de Cabanis's fortune,

<sup>1</sup>“Land, Houses and Real Estate Investment in Montpellier. On women and property in Avignon, see Joëlle Rollo-Koster, “The Boundaries of Affection. Women and Property in Late Medieval Avignon,” *Across the Religious Divide. Women, Property, and Law in the Wider Mediterranean (ca. 1300–1800)* (New York, London: Routledge, 2009), 38–50.

<sup>2</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, f. 13ff, for Agnes's will. Compare the will of Johanna Mercaderii, translated in my volume *Medieval Notaries and Their Acts: The 1327–1328 Register of Jean Holanie*, co-authored with Debra Salata (Kalamazoo: The Medieval Institute, 2004), 63–75, and discussed in my article, “Wills of Spouses in Montpellier before 1350.

including commercial tables and house rentals, on the one hand, and vineyards and other agricultural lands on the other.<sup>3</sup> Martha was divesting herself of rural holdings in the early 1340s in favor of investments in market tables in town, while still retaining her vines. Though the distribution of property holdings differed between Martha and Agnes, Martha's holdings are also sited close to those of her sons. Not all elite real estate holdings reflect similar patterns, but the importance of real property in family fortune is clear.

Matriarch Agnes's three groups of universal heirs for her estate included her one surviving daughter Raymunda for a third part, her grandsons Petrus and Raymundus Seguerii for a third part, and grandson Johannes Bon Amic for another third. These three sets of heirs were the beneficiaries of most of the real estate holdings mentioned in Agnes's will. Agnes was explicit in her will that legacies to each of the three lines of descendants would be paid by that line's universal heir or heirs. Those gifts to the Bon Amic children were to be paid by Johannes Bon Amic, gifts to the Seguerii descendants by Petrus and Raymundus Seguerii, and gifts to Marta and her unborn siblings by her mother Raymunda Grossi. There may have been other assets coming to the universal heirs that were not detailed in the wills. There is no indication that the heirs were expected to sell real property to pay the bequests, though this is not impossible. The pious bequests were to be executed at the initiative of Agnes's executors. In what was perhaps an afterthought, Agnes's second monetary donation to her granddaughters who were nuns appears to have been the responsibility of all the universal heirs (Chart 3.1).

Agnes's family home was left to her grandson Johannes Bon Amic.<sup>4</sup> Agnes's mansion (*hospitium*) was in the vicinity of Notre-Dame des Tables, the renowned pilgrimage church of Montpellier and the site around which the changers and their tables were located.<sup>5</sup> The Bossones thus lived close by the location of Petrus's work (Map 3.1).

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the range of the Cabanis brothers' business, see *The Art of the Deal*, Chap. 4. For Martha, see *Mothers and Sons, Inc.*, Chap. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Sournia and Vayssettes, *La demeure médiévale*. See also Jacques Peyron, "Montpellier médiéval, urbanisme et architecture," *Annales du Midi* 91 (1979): 255–72. The term *hospitium* usually referred to a substantial house that I have chosen to render as "mansion," whereas *domus* was the term for a more modest dwelling.

<sup>5</sup> I am indebted to Jean-Louis Vayssettes for the identification of the topographic description *ad petram*, which was associated with Agnes's mansion. The stone (*petram*) in question was the name of a crossroads of the actual rues Jacques Coeur, Grand'Rue, and rue de la Loge,

Raymunda (Raymundus Grossi), universal heir for 1/3 of the estate, including significant real property  
 Marta Grossi 50 *l.*  
 Unborn child 100 *s.*

Johannes Bon Amic, universal heir for 1/3 of the estate, including significant real property  
 Petrus Bon Amic 50 *l.*  
 Pontius Bon Amic 15 *l.*  
 Caterina Bon Amic 120 *s.* and revenues of one house  
 Raymunda Bon Amic 120 *s.* and revenues of the same house  
 Agnes Bon Amic (Johannes Seguerii) 10 *l.*  
 Johanna Bon Amic (Jacobus Fogaderii\*) 100 *s.*  
 Ermenjardis Bon Amic (Stephanus Pluerii Junior) 100 *s.*

Petrus Seguerii, universal heir with his brother for 1/3 of the estate, including significant real property  
 Raymundus Seguerii, universal heir with his brother for 1/3 of the estate, including significant real property  
 Johannes Seguerii 10 *l.*  
 Johanna Seguerii (Hugo de Tornamira) 10 *l.*  
 Ermenjardis Seguerii 100 *s.*  
 Raymunda Seguerii (Jacobus Don) 100 *s.*

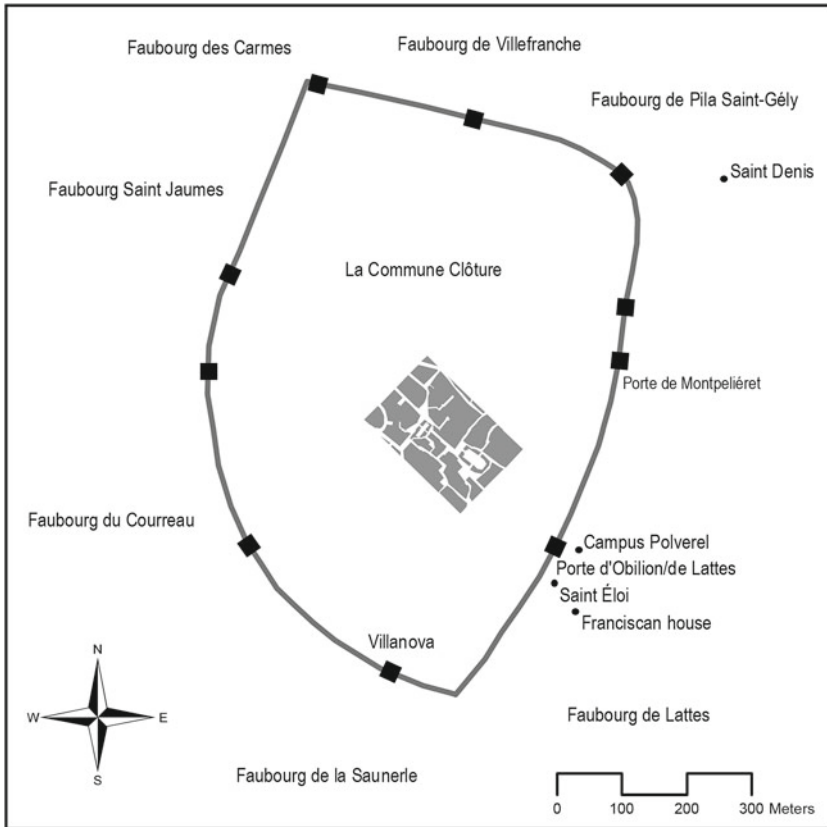
\* deceased

### Chart 3.1 Agnes's testamentary gifts to her family members

Both landmarks, Notre-Dame and the Herbaria Square where Agnes also owned property (see below), were near the east–west axis, the Via Francigena, which led across the town from the northeast and Nîmes to Agde and Béziers in the west. Recent archeology has revealed three-story houses with painted rooms and courtyards.<sup>6</sup> The urban elite clustered in the center of town where the lives of inhabitants were topographically interconnected, though no business deal or other evidence might link them directly. Members of the urban elite were likely acquainted in any number of ways, in part because of the geographic proximity of their elite residences.

near the Place de la Comédie. According to Vayssettes, this crossroads was still called la Peyre in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Agnes's house was thus on an earlier version of the current rue de la Loge, the central thoroughfare through Montpellier's urban nucleus today.

<sup>6</sup> For a detailed discussion elite housing in Montpellier, see "Mother and Sons, Inc." See also Bernard Sornia and Jean-Louis Vayssettes, *L'Ostal des Carcassonne. La maison d'un drapier montpelliérain du XIIIe siècle* (Montpellier: DRAC, 2014).



**Map 3.1** Montpellier, its gates and suburbs. Inset of the Herbaria Square (See also Chap. 7, Map 4.1)

Another area where Agnes held property was on the east side of Montpellier inside and outside the Montpelliéret gate leading to the episcopal quarter of town that became the French royal quarter with the 1293 purchase by Philip the Fair. In this area, Agnes had a cluster of properties, both large and small. To her grandson Johannes Bon Amic, in addition to her mansion near Notre-Dame des Tables, she left two contiguous houses (*domus*) with their appurtenances and rights situated inside the town of Montpellier near the Montpelliéret gate and confronting on one side the house of Bertrandus de Bosco, notary, and on the other side the house

that had been that of B. Gresas, and, behind, the wall of the *Commune Clôture*. The modest dwellings left to grandson Johannes Bon Amic were probably rental properties. Johannes also inherited the Herbaria Square houses that made up his mother's dowry.

The houses given by Agnes in dowry to Johannes's mother Johanna reveal Agnes de Bossones as a real estate rentier, but not a passive one. Rather, she had the makings of a real estate entrepreneur on the Herbaria Square in the central commercial quarter of Montpellier. On one side of the square sat the first town hall, and on another side, Agnes's houses that passed to the Bon Amic family and ultimately to Johannes Bon Amic.<sup>7</sup> There was a lawsuit in 1336 between her grandson Johannes Bon Amic, the then holder of the houses, and the town consuls over the status—whether public or private—of the square.<sup>8</sup> The municipal consuls thought the square was public and wanted to limit congestion. The Bossones/Bon Amic family argued that the square was theirs.

The houses on the square had been purchased by Agnes from a certain Berengarius Roca or Ruffi; she held them for four to five years before giving them in dowry to Johanna. This was a revenue-producing investment. While they were in her possession, Agnes rented out the houses, stalls, and square (*platea*) through her business assistant (*factor*) Guillelmus Dalmas. He was responsible for collecting the rents. Later, Johanna's husband Petrus Bon Amic had his *juvenes* (youths, i.e., assistants) and *factores* (business assistants) collect the rents. Still later, according to Johanna Poitala, a reseller on the square, she and her sister paid 27 *s.* 6 *d.* a term to a *juvenis* of Johannes Bon Amic, Agnes's grandson.<sup>9</sup>

Produce sellers set up the commercial tables and counters for which they paid rent to the Bon Amic family or to the inhabitants of the houses around the square who were, in turn, renters from the Bon Amic. Agnes and the Bon Amic rented their houses on the square to artisans such as Guillelmus Costa, chandler, who paid 32 *l. t.* in rent for one of these. The rental fee was over ten times as much as the retailers paid for their stalls on the square. Costa got rents for the houses, stalls, and square from for-

<sup>7</sup> Guiraud, "Recherches topographiques," 156. See also A. M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*, Louvet nos. 237 and 238 for the 1259 acts of the king of Aragon. See Chap. 7 below.

<sup>8</sup> See "Public and Private Space in Medieval Montpellier."

<sup>9</sup> A.M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*, Louvet no. 234, f. 49v (really 59v).

eigners and private parties, implying that Costa, in turn, sublet property himself that he rented from the Bon Amic.<sup>10</sup>

It is difficult to evaluate real estate gifts in Agnes's will and impossible to determine whether each of the three sets of universal heirs received equal shares by value of the estate. In the monetary bequests, as discussed below, there are divergences in total sums accorded to the different lines, due in part to the variation in numbers of descendants.

Agnes's daughter Raymunda was her heir for a tenancy of houses (*domus*) with appurtenances and rights in the rue Mangol.<sup>11</sup> The rue Mangol seems to have had a section inside and outside the Montpelliéret gate. In one of these houses was a tower of the town walls, the *Commune Clôture* fortifications, confronting part of the property of heirs of the late Colinus Bertrandi, *burgensis*, on one side, and, on the other side, another house of Agnes's. There were three floors (*statgia*) in the houses of this tenancy. In this vicinity over the first half of the fourteenth century, house sale data indicate property in the hands of royal servants, a *burgensis*, a *domicellus* of the royal treasury of Nîmes, a butcher, and merchants.<sup>12</sup> Whether this was investment property or actual residence for these inhabitants is not known.

The mansion (*hospitium*) near Notre-Dame des Tables was one of two houses in Agnes's will to be so termed; all the other houses were called *domus*, suggesting more modest structures.<sup>13</sup> A second *hospitium* was left to her Seguerii grandsons, Petrus and Raymundus, universal heirs for one-third of her property after bequests. She termed this house "my high house," thus a significant residence but not Agnes's principal residence. It was located near the Montpelliéret gate and was contiguous with the tenancy of houses that she had left her daughter Raymunda. This *hospitium* confronted two houses on one side and, on the other, the tenancy of Raymunda and, at the back, the wall of the *Commune Clôture*.

<sup>10</sup> Chapter 7 on "Women of the Marketplace," explores in depth the vertical and horizontal property connections on the Herbaria Square.

<sup>11</sup> This holding was situated next to the property of the heirs of another *burgensis*, Colinus Bertrandi, and another house. For more on the real estate holdings of Agnes, see Chap. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Data were drawn from all house sales in the remaining notarial registers and include bordering properties (confronts). On land and houses in Montpellier, see my article, "Land, Houses and Real Estate Investment in Montpellier."

<sup>13</sup> On the domestic architecture of medieval Montpellier, see Jacques Peyron, "Montpellier médiéval, urbanisme et architecture, *Annales du Midi* 91 (1979): 255–72. See also Fabre and Lochard, *Montpellier. La ville médiévale*.

In addition, Agnes left the Seguerii brothers two houses next to the said *hospitium* in which there were three stories.<sup>14</sup> One house called La Mangol (presumably after the street of that name) confronted on one side the house of Bernardus Cabrespine, notary, and, at the back, the wall of the *Commune Clôture*. The fact that the house had a name and was located near a town gate leaves open the possibility that it might have served as an inn, but there is no other evidence to support such a theory.<sup>15</sup>

Among other holdings left to the Seguerii brothers was a suburban compound, near the church of Saint Denis outside the *Commune Clôture* walls in the bishop's former quarter of Montpelliéret. Agnes's grandsons, Petrus and Raymundus Seguerii, received this massive inheritance of houses, courtyards, cellar, orchard, and well. This compound is complex in topography with multiple sides; it confronted on one side the cemetery of Saint Denis and the houses of the heirs of a Petrus Deodati, on another side the road that led from the church toward the gate of the Arc Saint Denis, on another side the road that led from Montpellier toward the Bridge of Gué Juvenal that crossed the Lez River, on another side the road that led from Montpellier toward the mill of Sant Mileux, and on yet another side the holding that had been that of a cultivator.

Agnes clearly had a kind of compound near the Montpelliéret gate that is revealed in her bequests to her grandson Johannes Bon Amic, to her daughter Raymunda, and to her Seguerii grandsons and a large agglomeration of property near Saint Denis. Such topographical association of family members was not uncommon. Diane Owen Hughes studied the complex *alberghi* holdings of Genoese aristocrats that essentially represented compounds within the town of Genoa.<sup>16</sup> There is no evidence either of the

<sup>14</sup>There are no specifics regarding the shared inheritance of Petrus and Raymundus Seguerii. There was a form of property sharing resulting from inheritance held in common instead of being divided at the death of the father. Called *frèreche* (*friaresque*, *affrèrement*), it reflected a community of goods and life in common. It was often established, as the name implies, by brothers in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in southern France. See Roger Aubenas, "Le contrat d'affragement dans le droit provençal du moyen âge," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4th ser., 12 (Paris, 1933): 477–524.

<sup>15</sup>On inns and innkeepers, see *The Art of the Deal*, Chap. 3. See also "Medieval Hospitality: Innkeepers and the Infrastructure of Trade in Montpellier during the Middle Ages," *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, 4 (1997): 38–51.

<sup>16</sup>Diane Owen Hughes, "Urban Growth and Family Structure in Medieval Genoa," *Past and Present* 66 (1975): 3–28.



tower societies that characterized Tuscan towns like Lucca.<sup>17</sup> While there is no indication that Agnes's properties supported the extended households of family and hangers-on that characterized Genoese and Tuscan holdings, they revealed a close association of family holdings. Agnes's property here may have combined family housing and rental units. She had accumulated a series of holdings at several other sites as well that she willed to family members. We do not know how these properties were managed before her death, but it is possible that some family members already lived in them. Topographic proximity of family members' property holdings reinforced family ties and strengthened the family network, though the town was small in surface area.

Montpellier was a compact space with no location within the walls at any great distance from another. By Agnes's lifetime, the urban fortifications, the *Commune Clôture*, had been in place for over a century. Established at the end of the twelfth century, the walls enclosed an area of about 111 acres. Though only two towers of the medieval fortifications remain, the Tour des Pins and the Tour de la Babotte, the outline of the medieval urban nucleus is defined today by boulevards.<sup>18</sup> One can walk from one end of the town to the other in 15 to 20 minutes. The space within the walls was tight and congested, fostering a bustling urban agglomeration.

The small surface area of the Montpellier urban nucleus would have favored encounters among women of all strata and among women and men. Urban residents would have recognized each other on the street, in the markets, or at church, and they would have known inhabitants of other urban strata and been known to them.<sup>19</sup> Daniel Smail caught the essence of the southern French medieval city, speaking of the geographic template of vicinity in Marseille that could not be mapped graphically: "This is because the vicinity was a space of sociability. When artisans, merchants,

<sup>17</sup>See the articles of Thomas W. Blomquist, *Merchant Families, Banking and Money in Medieval Lucca* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing, 2005). There is no evidence of clans in Montpellier. Jacques Heers, *Le clan familial au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1993), found them in many Italian towns.

<sup>18</sup>See my article, "The Tensions of Walled Space: Urban Development versus Defense," in James D. Tracy, ed. *City Walls: The Urban Enceinte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 88–116.

<sup>19</sup>As Lauro Martines, *Power and Imagination. City-States in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Vintage Books-Random House, 1979), 74, said of the Italian commune, "The same people walked the same streets daily. There was mutual instant recognition...Every neighbor had his or her particular identity associated with a trade, a name, a reputation, a clan or family."

retailers, members of service trades, professionals, laborers, fishermen, and even notaries contemplated the city and talked about its map in ordinary Provençal they often ‘saw’ not a skeletal tracery of streets, much less a collection of islands, but floating knots of residential sociability or centers of production or retailing that extended across several streets, alleys, or intersections.”<sup>20</sup> Informal interactions in such spaces strengthened connections among inhabitants.

Agnes made monetary bequests as well as real property gifts in her will. She had favorites besides the universal heirs. Her granddaughters Raymunda and Caterina were nuns, the one at Saint-Geniès des Mourgues, the other at Le Vignogoul. Saint-Geniès, founded in the early eleventh century, was a Benedictine monastery near Castries, a little more than ten kilometers northeast of Montpellier.<sup>21</sup> Le Vignogoul (Sainte-Marie de Bonlieu), dating from at least the twelfth century, was a Benedictine institution later associated with the Cistercians of Montpellier.<sup>22</sup> It was located near Pignan, about ten kilometers southwest of Montpellier.<sup>23</sup> Agnes gave these nuns the revenues of a house for their lifetime with its rights, pensions, rentals, uses, and commodities and awarded them 20 *s.* each, to which she added further on in her will another 100 *s.* each. She asked that they be content with these gifts. When one of them died, the house would continue to support the remaining sister, and at the death of both of them, the house would come back to their brother Johannes Bon Amic. The house, as noted above, was located next to houses of Johannes.

Agnes was determined that what she gave the nuns would not fall into the hands of their abbesses. Here her voice emerges from the legal formulae. She stated: “Expressly forbidding this, I prohibit the abess of each of them or some other person to intervene regarding the said legacies made by me to the sisters Raymunda and Caterina, my granddaughters; [these are] to be made freely for them alone for the sustenance of their life and

<sup>20</sup> Smail, *Imaginary Cartographies*, 13.

<sup>21</sup> Moreau, *L'Âge d'or des religieuses*, 52. On an inquest of nuns at Saint-Geniès, see my paper, co-authored with my Ph.D. student, Kelly Morris, “Debt among Religious Women in Medieval Southern France,” Center for Medieval Studies, April 2005. See also my article, “Le témoignage des femmes (à partir de quelques enquêtes montpelliéraines du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle),” in Claude Gauvard, ed. *L'Enquête au moyen âge* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2008), 153–68.

<sup>22</sup> Moreau, *L'Âge d'or des religieuses*, 51, chart, and 61.

<sup>23</sup> Moreau, *L'Âge d'or des religieuses*, 46, map.

their necessities.”<sup>24</sup> Agnes’s skepticism about the fate of gifts to nuns is worth noting. She was clearly a devout woman, as her will reveals, but one with a point of view and a willingness to assert her wishes.<sup>25</sup>

Agnes assigned monetary gifts to the majority of her grandchildren. There are always family issues behind the dispersal of wealth in any era. Within each of the branches of her family, Agnes made distinctions. She gave few justifications for the level of her generosity. Aside from her one surviving daughter, how she chose the other universal heirs, Johannes, Petrus, and Raymundus, is unknown. The family naming tradition may have played a role. The birth order of the eight Bon Amic and six Seguerii grandchildren is unknown. In the case of Marta Grossi, the only offspring of her one surviving daughter, Raymunda, Agnes was generous in that she left 50 *l.* to help her marry, presumably as part of a dowry. As noted above, Agnes was hopeful of more children for Raymunda and left 100 *s.* to any unborn child with no information regarding what was to happen to the legacy were there to be no child. Agnes left 50 *l.* to her grandson, Petrus Bon Amic, for reasons unstated. She was relatively generous with grandsons who were students: 15 *l.* to Pontius Bon Amic and 10 *l.* to Johannes Seguerii to buy books. Presence in the family of legal specialists makes their study of the law likely. Montpellier was the site of prestigious universities of law and medicine.<sup>26</sup>

A motive for Agnes’s support of the Bon Amic grandchildren may have been that both parents were dead, whereas in the Seguerii branch, the father survived. Six of the eight Bon Amic grandchildren were rather generously treated. In addition to the nuns, her granddaughter Agnes was recipient of 10 *l.*, perhaps because she shared her grandmother’s name. Johanna, though already a widow, received only 100 *s.*; she may have already received a dowry or inherited from her husband. Ermenjardis, also married, received only 100 *s.*; she was probably already taken care of through her dowry. Among the Seguerii granddaughters, one, Johanna, received 10 *l.* The other two, one married—Raymunda—and the other

<sup>24</sup>Nolens ymo expresse inhibeo quod abbatissa earundem seu altera quemvis persona se interveniat de predictis legatis per me factis dictis sororibus Raymunde et Caterine neptibus meis in ipse sole pro sustentatione vite sue et suis necessitatibus libere faciendis. (f. 16 bis).

<sup>25</sup>See Chap. 9. See also “Le témoignage des femmes,” for the actions of a strong-willed abbess of Saint-Geniès in regard to a debt to a Lucchese immigrant.

<sup>26</sup>On the university of Montpellier, raised to the level of *studium generale* in 1289 by Pope Nicholas IV, see Marcel Borjès, “Les origines de l’université de Montpellier,” *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 5: *Les Universités du Languedoc au XIIIe siècle* (Toulouse: Privat, 1970): 92–107.

presumably single, Ermenjardis, received 100 *s.* each. Here there seems to be no distinction between married and single status. In all, Agnes gave 97 *l.* to the Bon Amic family in monetary bequests, 55 *l.* to her daughter Raymunda's line, and 30 *l.* to the Seguerii branch.

In all cases, Agnes stated that she wished members of her family to be content with their bequests. The recurring phrase is "I order him/her/them to be content concerning all other goods of mine. Also that he/she/they be able to seek nothing more from them." Although this was common phraseology in wills, among her large brood, there may have been tensions. Including such a statement strengthened the testator's wishes; they were to be respected and defended, if necessary, against legal challenges.

In the Middle Ages, land and family were closely intertwined, and real property was the major source of wealth. Agnes would have worked hard over 40 years to maintain and expand the landed fortune she controlled and to pass it on to her heirs. From the early litigation over Petrus's estate in 1301 when she was attempting to get obligations paid as guardian of her daughters, Agnes had, by 1342, amassed or, at the very least, preserved a significant fortune in real property. Family networks such as that of Agnes's might be extended through marriage, and property holdings reinforced the connections among family members. There were close ties between Agnes and her grandchildren, evident in her generosity toward them in her will. All indications point to a tight-knit family community. Agnes lived in a society of many strata. She was part of a well-connected family, sharing representation in many of the prestigious occupations of the town.

Agnes's fortune in real property was considerable, given the specific structures and parcels mentioned in the remaining evidence. There were several significant concentrations of holdings. In her will, Agnes spoke of real estate rentals, rights, uses, commodities, and pensions, representing the techniques used to exploit this urban and suburban real estate fortune, though she provided few details.<sup>27</sup> The data regarding the location of Agnes's properties placed them near holdings of other elite Montpellier families.

Family matters reveal important networks in the world of women in Montpellier. In a broadening of focus to understand better the linkages

<sup>27</sup>For techniques for real estate exploitation, see "Land, Houses and Real Estate Investment."

in multiple urban strata, it is useful to explore the catalysts of marriage and apprenticeship in the creation of new networks and communities. An important influx of population came from immigration through marriage and apprenticeship, with the integration of newcomers into existing networks and the creation of new ones. We can turn first to marriage to explore further the networks established by marital alliances.

## Marriage

The importance of marriage as a means of creating networks was addressed from the standpoint of Agnes de Bossones's large family in the previous three chapters. Agnes's family networks reflect the dense interconnections of the urban elite. This chapter explores marriage as a catalyst for network formation more generally across the whole spectrum of urban society of Montpellier. Our understandings of the mechanisms at work will be deepened through consideration of the venues that permitted the formation of matches and stimulated alliances within trades inside and outside Montpellier.

Municipal government was in the hands of 12 consuls, chosen annually. The consular arena was a prime locus for the establishment of elite marriage, but also marriage at lower ranks. Consuls and ex-consuls knew each other. They may not have formed an exclusive ex-presidents' club, but they carried a certain allure as former participants in municipal government. Agnes and Petrus de Bossones's match may well have been conceived in this political fraternity. Petrus figures in the list of 12 annual consuls for 1290 and Agnes's father for 1273, as noted in Chap. 1. I have found a number of cases in the consular lists where last names of consuls can be linked to spouses' names in marriage contracts.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See "Mother and Sons, Inc.," Chaps. 2 and 3, for a discussion of a similar alliance between Martha de Cabanis and her husband Guiraudus de Cabanis. See also Alexandre Germain, *Histoire de la commune de Montpellier* (Montpellier: Imprimerie J. Martel aîné, 1851), I: 376 ff, for a list of consuls by year.

Less fertile for such linkages was the *échelle* or ladder organization for municipal defense.<sup>2</sup> Montpellier trades were organized into seven ladders, one for each day of the week for urban defense.<sup>3</sup> A certain number of trades were assigned to each of the seven days of weekly defense, probably on the basis of the size of their contingents. Lists of trades for each day of the week have survived, but pursuing the investigation of marital matches among each day's lists of trades in the urban defense organization yielded less obvious correlations than among the consuls. In scrutinizing the extant marriage contracts, I did not find evidence to indicate that service by diverse trades in the same day's ladder for urban defense fostered marital alliances across trades. On the other hand, as a general rule, marriages within trades and across similar social strata were common, as will be shown below.

The political landscape of consular government in Montpellier was fertile ground for linkages and connections. As urban centers developed economically, urban inhabitants involved in trade, industry, and banking became prominent players in towns. The emancipation of municipal governments from the strict control of the ruling aristocracy began in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries in southern France.<sup>4</sup> An early attempt at urban emancipation in Montpellier in 1141–1143 with the ejection of the Guilhem lord was ephemeral, but with the replacement of the seigneurial family by the house of Aragon in 1202–1204, a consulate was established.<sup>5</sup> Beholden to the earlier Italian example, the consulates of the south of France controlled the military, political, and economic prerogatives of the town, while justice remained, at least in principle, in the hands of the lord.<sup>6</sup> As noted in Chap. 1, in Montpellier, the consuls controlled the judicial system *de facto*, at the level of first instance, through the Majorcan bailiff's court.

<sup>2</sup>The use of the term “ladder” (*échelles*) refers perhaps to scaling the walls of the urban fortifications, something a defensive organization would have had to do.

<sup>3</sup>André Gouron, *La réglementation des métiers en Languedoc au moyen âge* (Geneva: Droz, 1958), 386–388.

<sup>4</sup>Gouron, “Diffusion des consulats méridionaux et expansion du droit romain aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles,” *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 121 (1963): 26–76.

<sup>5</sup>On the political history of Montpellier, much has been written. See Louis J. Thomas, “Montpellier entre la France et l'Aragon pendant la première moitié du XIVe siècle,” *Monspeliensia, Mémoires et documents relatifs à Montpellier et à la région montpelliéraine*, 1, fasc. 1: 1–56; Archibald Lewis, “The Development of Town Government in Twelfth-Century Montpellier,” *Speculum* 22 (1947): 51–7; “Seigneurial Administration in Twelfth-Century Montpellier.”

<sup>6</sup>On the spread of consular government, see Gouron, “Diffusion des consulats,” 26–76.

In Montpellier, 12 consuls were chosen yearly for one-year terms through a relatively complex system combining co-optation with choice by lot. The same man could not serve back-to-back terms but could repeat in consular office; supposedly only one man from the same family could serve at a time.<sup>7</sup> These regulations went some distance to prevent the emergence of dominant individuals or the monopoly of prominent families over municipal government. The linkage between fortune and power was nonetheless profound. The consular administration was exclusively male, as was the leadership of the defense organization (*Commune Clôture*) and the governance of the trades (*métiers*).

Precision regarding the election procedures for the consulate emerged in 1252.<sup>8</sup> A nominating body, drawn from the heads of the trades participating in the *Commune Clôture*, designated five men from each of the seven daily defensive units or ladders (*échelles*), as they were called, one for every day of the week. Those designated were not eligible for election that year. Then, this group of 35 was paired down by lot to seven, and these, along with the outgoing consuls, selected a total of 60 candidates for office, five for each consular post, from a set group of occupations. The winners were again selected in a drawing by lot; a child passed colored balls around among the five candidates for each position. One ball was specially marked to designate the winner (Map 4.1).

From 1252 on, the first two consular positions belonged to the changers, with one chance in five for pepperers as candidates for the second consular place. At this time, the scarlet drapers fielded four out of five candidates for the third place.<sup>9</sup> Later, *burgenses* would compete for the third

<sup>7</sup>The earliest regulations governing the selection of consuls, in 1205, stated that they be chosen from separate families for a one-year term. See Alexandre Teulet, ed. *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1863), I: 290, art. 10. Teulet provided the best edition of the Montpellier *consuetudines* that are also edited in *Le Petit Thalamus de Montpellier*, ed. E. Pégat, E. Thomas, and Desmazes (Montpellier 1840), where Article IX of the 1205 Customs, p. 64, is the same as Article 10 in the Teulet edition. According to the 1223 Statutes, the consuls were to be inhabitants of Montpellier and there was very probably a residency requirement. In the case of the bailiff, the subbailiff, and the vicar (*vicarius*), the requirement was either that the person be native of Montpellier or have lived there for at least ten years. See *Layettes*, II: 4–10, 1223 Statutes. In the early years of the consulate, consular names were those of old Montpellier families to be found in the seigneurial cartulary, *Liber Instrumentorum Memorialium*, particularly in the witness list of the will of the last Guilhem lord, Guilhem VIII, Act XCIX. Vincent Challet of the Université Paul Valéry in Montpellier is the director of an online version of the *Petit Thalamus*, based on the nine surviving manuscripts. See <http://thalamus.huma-num.fr/>.

<sup>8</sup>See Gouron, *La réglementation des métiers*, 95–101.

<sup>9</sup>Combes, “Quelques remarques,” 98, n. 41.



<b>Candidates</b>	<b>Positions</b>
changers	1 <sup>st</sup> consul
changers (4) pepperer (1)	2 <sup>nd</sup> consul
drapers drapers of the Red Drapery drapers of the High Drapery	3 <sup>rd</sup> and 4 <sup>th</sup> consuls
furriers (4) saddlers (1)	5 <sup>th</sup> consul
grain merchants	6 <sup>th</sup> consul
hemp/linen merchants (3) merciers (1) spice merchant-apothecaries of Saint Nicolas (1)	7 <sup>th</sup> consul
butchers (4) fish merchants (1)	8 <sup>th</sup> consul
leathersmiths (2) shoemakers (2) blacksmiths (1)	9 <sup>th</sup> consul
tawers (5)	10 <sup>th</sup> consul
wood merchants of the Lattes and Peyrou gates (3) masons (2)	11 <sup>th</sup> consul
agricultural workers (5)	12 <sup>th</sup> consul

**Chart 4.1** Montpellier consulate (Chart drawn from Guy Romestan, “*Sous les Rois d’Aragon et de Majorque (1204–1349)*,” *Histoire de Montpellier*, 2nd ed. (Toulouse: Privat, 1989), 62, and Justin Guillaumot, “Les Élection municipales dans le Midi de la France: Le cas de Montpellier (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles,” *Revue Circe* (12 January 2014), no pages, accessed 1 November 16 at <http://www.revue-circe.uvsq.fr/les-elections-municipales-dans-le-midi-de-la-france-le-cas-de-montpellier-xiii-e-xiv-e-siecles/>)

slot. Different denominations of pepperers (such as the spice merchants of Saint Nicholas) and drapers (the Red Drapery and the High Drapery) as well as wood merchants (the Lattes gate and the Peyrou gate) reflect the multiplication of commercial activities that occurred as the town grew

and developed several market sites.<sup>10</sup> Though the consular election system privileged the urban elite with a graded hierarchy of consular positions from the first to the twelfth consul, participation was broadly distributed across the social spectrum. The involvement of agricultural workers in the last consular slot suggests the breadth of political empowerment.

The preponderant influence of changers and drapers is evident in this election procedure of the mid-thirteenth century. As noted, the first two consuls would have been, in nine out of ten cases, changers. Agnes's husband Petrus was changer, merchant, and *burgensis*, serving as consul in 1290. The hierarchic position of the changers suggests the early financial importance of Montpellier.<sup>11</sup> Petrus de Bossones was thus associated with the cream of Montpellier business society; his children and grandchildren probably crafted their marriages through consular connections. The Bon Amic family had a number of family members as consuls as well.

The description of a parade formation in Montpellier of the mid-fourteenth century placed the silversmiths, scarlet drapers, changers, and pepperers at the front of a procession of town trades.<sup>12</sup> The drapers of the Red Drapery in the next highly ranked consular positions after the changers handled the scarlet-dyed cloths for which Montpellier had international renown.<sup>13</sup> The mercers, spice merchants, and apothecaries were relatively undervalued in this mid-thirteenth-century election pattern. They were certainly trades with a prominent future. The absence of lawyers, doctors, and notaries was not uncommon by medieval standards; however, these three groups participated in the ladder defense organization of the town walls.<sup>14</sup>

There were certain local families that fielded regular participants in town government. Jan Rogozinski has calculated that there were 35 families in Montpellier who could count the presence of three or more consuls in a period extending from 1270 to 1329, leading him to estimate a political elite of perhaps 500 men in all.<sup>15</sup> Analyzing the surnames of consuls between 1270 and 1329, Rogozinski found 153 men, alone in

<sup>10</sup>See *The Art of the Deal*, Chap. 2.

<sup>11</sup>See *Business, Banking and Finance*, Chap. 4, for a detailed discussion of changers.

<sup>12</sup>Gouron, *La réglementation des métiers*, 286. On the power of processions, see my co-edited book *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, with Barbara A. Hanawalt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

<sup>13</sup>On the cloth trade, see "Le rôle de Montpellier dans le commerce des draps."

<sup>14</sup>Gouron, *La réglementation des métiers*, Pièce annexe II, 386–388.

<sup>15</sup>Jan Rogozinski, *Power, Caste, and Law*, 40–42.

their families, occupying a third of the 720 terms, about 50 with two consuls per family and another third of the terms, and a group of 35 families who could count three or more consuls in the last third. The latter group also counted many repeaters in office, as suggested in the figure of 500 for a patriciate. By the same token, political participation was broadly distributed with different surnames numbering 380 among the lists of consuls. When a multiplier of 4 or 5 is added to include family members, the Montpellier elite was perhaps 2500–3000 strong.<sup>16</sup>

The presence of a university at Montpellier, with faculties of law, medicine, and the arts, contributed to the uniqueness of the town's population composition.<sup>17</sup> As noted earlier, it is likely that several of Agnes's grandsons were studying the law. While women were excluded from university education, guild membership, and the legal and medical professions, their fathers, husbands, and sons might enjoy this training and participate in such occupations.<sup>18</sup> Individuals with legal training served as bailiffs of the consuls, as did Raymundus Grossi, Agnes's son-in-law. The legal elite intermarried with the commercial elite as well as with the urban and rural nobility. Marriages of *jurisperiti* (legal specialists) families have been recorded with those of merchants and pepperers.<sup>19</sup> These marriage alliances should not obscure the fact that legal and university professions in the Middle Ages had some members who considered themselves destined for celibacy.

Exploration of ties forged in Montpellier through immigration, marriage, and apprenticeship sheds additional insights on the dynamics of interaction among inhabitants. There were multiple patterns in play. Beyond the political arena and the close interaction of the urban elite, it is possible to trace marriages across trades and professions where immigration often provided a catalyst in network formation.

<sup>16</sup>In my calculations of consular participation over a slightly longer period, 1204–1370, there were 584 different surnames, with 20, including the Bon Amic into whose family Agnes's daughter Johanna married, appearing across this time frame. See *The Art of the Deal*, 114–16, for a chart of turnover in family names in town government. New names would have been introduced after the plague of 1348. For a study of the effects of the plague with the introduction of newcomers, see Geneviève Prat, "Albi et la Peste Noire," *Annales du Midi* 64 (1952): 15–25.

<sup>17</sup>On the university of Montpellier, raised to the level of *studium generale* in 1289 by Pope Nicholas IV, see Borìès, "Les origines de l'université de Montpellier," 92–107.

<sup>18</sup>See Chap. 5, for a discussion of guild organization.

<sup>19</sup>For example, A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 380, 9 June 1350.

Immigration was the major factor in the population growth of the town from the eleventh to the fourteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Marriage of immigrants with Montpellier residents was one of the avenues of assimilation into urban society. As in any preindustrial city, newcomers were necessary to sustain the population, let alone to permit growth.<sup>21</sup> And new arrivals had a significant impact on the population composition. In turn, as time passed, new families rose in the social hierarchy. Economic opportunities and marriage possibilities brought newcomers, both men and women, to Montpellier. They formed new connections linking and expanding existing networks.

Montpellier had, early on, been receptive to the upward mobility of immigrants. And even in the two areas of restricted access—the red dyeing industry and the cloth trade—evolution over time opened the activities to all. Initially, in 1181, the last Guilhem lord, Guilhem VIII, granted to local dyers a monopoly over scarlet dyeing, a prestigious occupation that accounted for Montpellier’s international reputation in the medieval cloth trade; this privilege was reiterated in the 1204 Customs, forbidding foreigners, with the exception of peddlers, to engage in the cloth trade *per se*.<sup>22</sup> By 1226, statutes modified the red dyeing monopoly to allow foreigners to participate after residence of five years, or after two years if they were married to Montpellier women and pledged an oath of loyalty to the king of Aragon, then lord of the town, and to the consuls and communal defense organization. By 1251, another change opened the dyeing trade to foreigners with two years of residence and a fortune of 300 *l. melgoriens* as long as they agreed to remain for ten years in the town.<sup>23</sup> They also needed

<sup>20</sup> On immigration into Montpellier, see “Patterns of Population Attraction and Mobility: The Case of Montpellier, 1293–1348,” *Viator* 10 (1979): 257–281; on population, see 257, n. 2.

<sup>21</sup> By way of background on urban history, see Paul M. Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985). On the medieval city, see David Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City. From Late Antiquity to the Early Fourteenth Century* (New York, London: Longman, 1997). For a new approach to immigration and the integration of new corners into towns see Cédric Quertier, Roxane Chilà et Nicolas Pluchot (dir.). “Arriver” en ville. *Les migrants en milieu urbain au Moyen Âge*. (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2013). The papers have impressive geographic scope and cover a broad chronology (4th to 16th centuries).

<sup>22</sup> See the discussion of these prohibitions in “Population Attraction and Mobility,” 265.

<sup>23</sup> The local seigneurial coinage was that of the county of Melgueil. On southern French coinages, see Mireille Castaing-Sicard, *Monnaies féodales et circulation monétaire en Languedoc (Xe–XIIIe siècles)* (Toulouse: Association Marc Bloch, 1961).

the authorization of the town consuls and the leadership of the trade. The dyers' trade and the retail trade in cloth were, in fact, the only trades that did not offer ease of access to immigrants, according to the 1204 Customs.<sup>24</sup> Montpellier was for the most part a town open to newcomers. In the 1204 statutes, foreigners who married in Montpellier and established residency enjoyed exemption from military service for a year and a day.<sup>25</sup>

Marriage strategy for immigrants could be a powerful avenue of social ascension and integration into a new urban community. In the case of women of Upper Provence, André Courtemanche was able to identify strategies of upward mobility and immigration orchestrated by women of the Dodi family of Barcelonnette in the process of their integration into the society of Manosque in the fifteenth century.<sup>26</sup> The strategy of marrying Manosquins was inaugurated by Rostagne Dodi in the mid-fifteenth century through a series of marriages culminating in her marriage to Elzear Chaberti, who, with his wife Cesterone, had initially adopted Rostagne and her second husband, Antoine, the son of a notary from Sisteron. Rostagne gained an opening, thereby, into the Chatberti networks of relationships as a future heir. Using the insights of Pierre Bourdieu, Courtemanche argued that Rostagne acquired symbolic capital in this fashion. Bourdieu viewed symbolic capital as "the network of affines and relationships that is held through the set of commitments and debts of honour, rights and duties accumulated over the successive generations, which can be mobilized in extra-ordinary circumstances."<sup>27</sup> Rostagne's tactics enabled her to overcome any perception by Manosque inhabitants of her "otherness" due to her foreign origin. After the deaths of Antoine and Cesterone, Rostagne married Elzear and gave him three children, his biological heirs. Other members of the Dodi family followed in immigration to Manosque, benefitting from the links Rostagne had established with the local notables. The Dodi had lost their identification as foreigners by the end of the 1470s. The evidence for Montpellier

<sup>24</sup> On the cloth trade, see my article, "Le rôle de Montpellier dans le commerce des draps de laine avant 1350," *Annales du Midi* 94 (1983): 17–40.

<sup>25</sup> *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, I: 48, art. 110.

<sup>26</sup> André Courtemanche, "Women, Family, and Immigration in Fifteenth-Century Manosque: The Case of the Dodi Family of Barcelonnette," in *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France: Provence and Languedoc, 1000–1500*, ed. Kathryn Reyerson and John Drendel (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998): 101–127.

<sup>27</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (London: B. Blackwell, 1990), 119, as quoted in Courtemanche, "Women, Family, and Immigration," 104, n. 7.

before 1350 is less ample than in the Sisteron case, but the processes were undoubtedly similar.

Marriage between residents of Montpellier and foreigners, individuals from the surrounding countryside or from farther afield, was a community-building exercise. Women and men came to Montpellier from elsewhere, married, established roots and connections, produced heirs, and became integrated into the town. At times, they retained ties with their place of origin.<sup>28</sup> In the 132 extant Montpellier marriage contracts analyzed in this study, 12 cases reveal immigrant brides with the grooms native to Montpellier.<sup>29</sup> Thus, in 1293, a girl from the region of Nîmes married a butcher of Montpellier.<sup>30</sup> In 1339, the daughter of a merchant of Alès married a doctor.<sup>31</sup> In 1343, a girl from Lodève whose late father had been a shoemaker married a fisherman.<sup>32</sup> In ten cases recorded, the woman was a native of Montpellier and the man from elsewhere. In one example, Marquesia, daughter of a late man of Montpellier, and the sister of a mercer, married the son of a man of Sommières in 1336.<sup>33</sup> Were these alliances the result of earlier family connections? Were there business contacts involved? We could speculate that connections made through service or through long-standing family relations brought a Montpellier fisherman and the daughter of a Lodève shoemaker together (Map 4.1).

In addition to new linkages created through immigration, marriages among individuals from similar or disparate occupational backgrounds suggest some social mobility across the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries. While most marriages seemed to reflect horizontal movement, there were occasional instances of upward mobility.<sup>34</sup> Family networks were expanded through marriage, as Agnes's large family

<sup>28</sup> There has been no study for Montpellier on the order of Johan Plesner, *L'Émigration de la campagne à la ville libre de Florence au XIIIe siècle* (Copenhagen: Byldendalske Bochandels-Nordisk, 1934).

<sup>29</sup> A body of 132 marriage contracts were drawn from the same archival *fonds* as the body of 160 wills, also used in this study: A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368–377; A. M. Montpellier, BB 1–3; A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*; A. M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*.

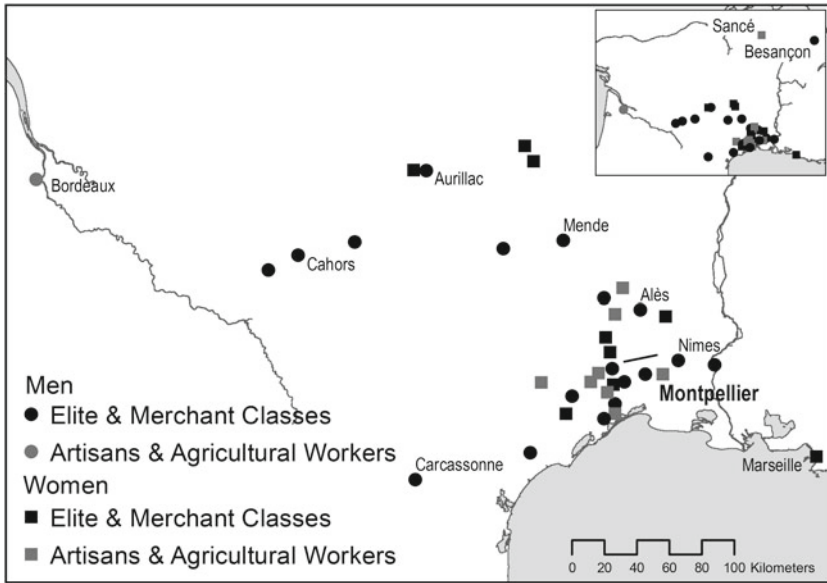
<sup>30</sup> A. M. Montpellier, BB1, J. Grimaudi, f. 75r.

<sup>31</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/ 375, P. de Pena, f. 016v.

<sup>32</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/ 372, J. Holanie et al., f. 38r.

<sup>33</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/370, J. Holanie, f. 45r.

<sup>34</sup> See my article, "La mobilité sociale: réflexions sur le rôle de la femme," in Sandro Carocci ed. *La mobilità sociale nel medioevo* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2010), 491–511.



Map 4.1 Immigration according to the marriage contracts

illustrates. Important information on the nature of the marriage alliances in the urban community can be gleaned from the extant contracts related to marriage.

Marriage alliances created new networks at all social levels. The intermediaries of trade, supporting the international merchants and the prestigious retailer/wholesalers, were numerous on the Montpellier marketplace.<sup>35</sup> The social status of the notary, one of the facilitators of trade, was relatively high. Notaries orchestrated marriages of their daughters with a mercer, a pepperer, and an innkeeper. In 1343, Marquesia, daughter of the late public notary of Montpellier, Bertrandus Boquerii, married Berengarius, son of Berengarius Ferrarii, pepperer; this was a second marriage and a prestigious one for Marquesia.<sup>36</sup> In addition to notaries, innkeepers and brokers furnished essential services to the merchant elite. Frequent contacts of brokers with foreign merchants may account for

<sup>35</sup> On the intermediaries of trade, see *The Art of the Deal*.

<sup>36</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/372, J. Holanie et al., f. 17r.

marriages to women of the dioceses of Nîmes and Mende.<sup>37</sup> Innkeepers, themselves often of foreign extraction, married daughters of merchants, notaries, and silk merchants, suggesting considerable upward mobility and a desire to become integrated into the local society.<sup>38</sup> Innkeepers were anchors for foreigners visiting Montpellier on business. They kept contact with their places of origin and maintained linkages with members of the commercial infrastructure such as brokers and transporters.<sup>39</sup>

Marriages of members of the artisanal milieu have also been recorded. As the town of Montpellier grew, the initial organization of trades by neighborhood or by street multiplied.<sup>40</sup> Topographic associations went beyond family as one finds clustering of trades a common feature in a medieval town.<sup>41</sup> As trades organized, they formed corporations and confraternities.<sup>42</sup> The topographic proximity and the auxiliary organizations would have provided fertile venues for marriage alliances.

Artisans of the trades related to leather and skins married among themselves.<sup>43</sup> They also married foreigners. Thus, in 1342, Mirabella, daughter of the bleacher (*blanquerius*) Pontius de Lunello, married Guillelmus Grimoardi, notary of Mireval.<sup>44</sup> In 1333, the daughter of a butcher, an important urban trade, married a candlemaker.<sup>45</sup> Wood merchants (*fusterii*), whose activities included the building industry, carpentry, long-distance trade in wood, and the production of and trade in wine barrels, made impressive marriage alliances. Daughters of merchants and pepperers married wood merchants, while daughters of wood merchants married drapers, pepperers, and foreign merchants.<sup>46</sup> There was also the occasional

<sup>37</sup> A. D. Hérault II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 125r; II E 95/ 377, B. Edigii, f. 236v.

<sup>38</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/ 372, J. Holanie et al, f. 130v; II E 95/ 373, G. de Podio, f. 24v; II E 95; 375, P. de Pena, f. 54v.

<sup>39</sup> See *The Art of the Deal*, 84–91, and my article, “Medieval Hospitality.”

<sup>40</sup> See the discussion of commercial topography in *The Art of the Deal*, Chap. 2.

<sup>41</sup> See Chap. 5, “Apprenticeship.”

<sup>42</sup> Gouron, *La réglementation des métiers*.

<sup>43</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture* EE 739, 15 February 1222; A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, f. 103v.

<sup>44</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/ 371, J. Holanie, f. 156r.

<sup>45</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/ 369, J. Holanie, f. 101v. On medieval butchers, see Philippe Wolff, “Les bouchers de Toulouse aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles,” *Annales du Midi* 65 (1953): 375–395.

<sup>46</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidii, 3 r and 297r; II E 95/ 371, J. Holanie, ff. 20r and 146r; A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture* EE 600.



modest marriage alliance, as in 1348 between a gardener's daughter and a wood merchant.<sup>47</sup> The prominence of wood merchants was due in part to their role in the construction industries of the town itself during what was probably a building boom in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The importance of the wine industry required the construction of barrels.<sup>48</sup>

Belonging to the artistic community of Montpellier that included local and foreign painters were artists associated with metalwork and precious gems: silversmiths, goldsmiths, jewelers, ringmakers, gold beaters, and silver refiners. These trades working in precious metals were closely associated with the long-distance commerce of Montpellier and with changers and moneyers. Silversmiths married the daughters of wine merchants, while their own daughters married cloth cutters and merchants.<sup>49</sup>

Further down the social scale were the urban agricultural workers, day hands, gardeners, and cultivators. Some were landless, working the land of others; some worked their vineyards and fields close to town.<sup>50</sup> The agricultural population of Montpellier was large, characteristic of Mediterranean towns. As early as 1239, the *Chronicle of James I the Conqueror* stated that there were between 6000 and 7000 agricultural workers in Montpellier.<sup>51</sup> The notarial registers of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries recorded many contracts by agricultural workers, especially the laborers (*laboratores*) and cultivators (*cultores*). Forty percent of marriages recorded for cultivators involved other cultivators' families; in 30 % of the cultivator

<sup>47</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 283v.

<sup>48</sup> On wood merchants, see "Commerce and Society in Montpellier," I: 40–41. In the thirteenth century, they were commissioned for municipal building and were frequently granted part of the ditch of the urban fortifications for their occupational use. See my article, "The Tensions of Walled Space. See also Ghislaine Fabre and Thierry Lochar. *Montpellier: la ville médiévale* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1992), and Sournia and Vayssettes, *La demeure médiévale* and *L'Ostal des Carcassonne*.

<sup>49</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/ 371, J. Holanie, f. 147r; II E 95/368, J. Holanie, ff. 112v and 114v.

<sup>50</sup> On the wine industry, see Roger Dion, *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France des origines au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Clavreuil, 1959; reedition, Paris, Flammarion, 1991, 1993; Paris, CNRS, 2010).

<sup>51</sup> E. Bonnet, "Les séjours à Montpellier de Jacques le Conquérant, roi d'Aragon," *Mémoires de la société archéologique de Montpellier*, 2nd ser., IX (Montpellier, 1927): 176–177.

cases, ties by matrimony were also forged with the humbler trades such as shoemakers and ironsmiths.

Most of the population in Montpellier married, though some men in lesser religious orders may have remained single, reflecting the town's university population. In 160 wills, collected from Montpellier notarial registers and charters, 12 involved single men, four concerned single women.<sup>52</sup> Single inhabitants may have been less well connected than married folk. Nine of the single men were members of mercantile or financial rank, single perhaps because of the late marriage pattern likely in place for this group. Three were professionals, a notary, a doctor of law, and an *approbat* of law.<sup>53</sup> Examples of single women include a thirteenth-century woman, Gaudiosa, daughter of the late Bernardus de Moresio, who had her will drafted on 26 July 1258, and Jausiona, daughter of the draper Petrus Johanini, who wrote her will on 23 May 1348 as a probable plague victim.<sup>54</sup> There is no guarantee that any of these people would have married had they lived, but we catch them single in the evidence as they were planning for their succession upon their death. Of the women whose wills have survived before 1350, in addition to the four single women, there were 29 widows, 20 wives, and, in one case, the woman's status is unclear. Agnes was one of the widows whose will has come down to us.

In the cluster of contracts that retain the trace of a marriage, one finds marriage contracts per se, dowry contracts, acquittals for dowry,

<sup>52</sup>These wills were found in the notarial registers of the Archives Municipales (A. M. Montpellier) BB 1–3, *fonds de la Commune Clôture*, and *Grand Chartier* and in the Archives Départementales de l'Hérault, II E 95/368-377. These data do not include the wills that form part of the Série H, regular clergy, recently made available to the public but unavailable for consultation for the last decades because of the process of inventory, nor do they include wills of local cartularies, such as the *Cartulaire de Maguelone* or the *L.I.M.* See de Charrin, *Les testaments dans la région de Montpellier*.

<sup>53</sup>A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 374 July 4, 1338; EE 412 May 9 1308; EE 534 July 17, 1334; EE 753 Sept. 9, 1320; EE 754 March 27, 1311; EE 793 1330; EE 800 May 4, 1357; *Grand Chartier*, Louvet 605; Louvet 2314, for the merchant classes. For the legal classes: *Commune Clôture*, EE 371 October 3, 1338; *Grand Chartier*, Louvet no. 28; Louvet no. 1119.

<sup>54</sup>A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 214, and *Grand Chartier*, Louvet no. 3089. I am assuming these women were unmarried as the notary would usually note a married state even if the spouse were widowed. He might also identify the woman as someone's daughter, thus X, daughter of Y, wife of Z.

and legal requests regarding the marriage.<sup>55</sup> Marriage had a negotiated contract at its base. The contract concerning marriage might involve the actual giving of the bride in marriage, the assent to the marriage, the advice of those surrounding the bride, and the acquittal for the payment of the dowry. Participation in these contracts extended up and down the social hierarchy. The ceremony of marriage was separate from these written contracts.

At the crux of the marriage alliance was the bride's dowry. As noted earlier, there was no marriage in Montpellier without dowry. Jean Hilaire, legal historian and author of a monograph on marriage in the region of Montpellier, found the richest dowries, whether in real property, mobile wealth, or a combination thereof, in the period before 1350. Dowries were composed of real estate, cash, and mobile wealth, including garments, jewels, and beds.<sup>56</sup> We do not have surviving marriage contracts for either Agnes or her daughters. However, Agnes's houses on the Herbaria Square that were described in other evidence as the dowry she gave her daughter Johanna would be in keeping with elite dowries.<sup>57</sup> After the mid-fourteenth century, money was a more common form of dowry than real property, and the dowry itself gradually evolved into a form of *rente* that functioned much like an annuity.<sup>58</sup>

Until 1350, the dowry in Montpellier, in principle, was to be paid on the day of marriage, regardless of its makeup, but there are examples of payment in installments in the notarial contracts.<sup>59</sup> There is no trace of marriage in the notarial registers without a dowry, though some less formal arrangements of union might have occurred.<sup>60</sup> One has to

<sup>55</sup> Jean Hilaire, *Le régime des biens entre époux*, stated, 29, that the fifteenth-century documentary package for Montpellier spouses included marriage contracts, donations *propter nuptias*, constitutions of a family community, and the renunciation by dowried daughters of parents' succession.

<sup>56</sup> Hilaire, *Le régime des biens entre époux*, 59. For example, A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 746: mobile wealth; EE 620: a shop. Kellerer, *The Measure of Women*, 49, found dowries of both movable and immovable property in the Crown of Aragon, though she found that cash dowries were dominant.

<sup>57</sup> See "Public and Private Space in Medieval Montpellier."

<sup>58</sup> Hilaire, *Le régime des biens entre époux*, 79–80.

<sup>59</sup> Hilaire, *Le régime des biens entre époux*, 66. For a late receipt, see A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, f. 65r.

<sup>60</sup> For other unions, see Ruth Mazo Karras, *Unmarriages. Women, Men, and Sexual Unions in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

wonder, however, what the poorest of the poor did if they wished to marry. Dowried daughters were excluded from further participation in the paternal inheritance, in the case of intestate succession, according to Article 12 of the 1204 Customs of Montpellier.<sup>61</sup> They could still be the beneficiaries of testamentary bequests.<sup>62</sup> The dowry remained the property of the woman, and she had control, as well, over other property, especially mobile wealth, not included in the dowry (termed *paraphernalia*). However, her husband could manage the dotal property and, with his wife's approval, could alienate it. Initially (1205 Customs), the wife's family's consent might be necessary for alienation, but as time went on, the spouses could dispose of property without this step.<sup>63</sup> In addition, a wife might name her husband procurator to administer non-dotal goods.<sup>64</sup> Generally, there was some reluctance to allow a woman to administer her goods without her husband's authorization. A woman could provide her own dowry after the death of her father, and some women worked to acquire sufficient funds on their own to constitute their dowry.<sup>65</sup> An urban charity to assist poor girls in marrying was a frequent destination of testamentary bequests.<sup>66</sup>

In contrast to the experience of some young men, family members surrounded women at the moment of marriage, reinforcing the family tie. Men were probably between ages 18 and 25, while women would likely have been younger.<sup>67</sup> There is very little age data in the documents. According to Article 85 of the 1204 Customs, a girl was not to marry

<sup>61</sup> 1204 Customs, 256. On the exclusion of dowried daughters, see Laurent Mayali, *Droit savant et coutumes. L'Exclusion des filles dotées- XVème siècles* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1987).

<sup>62</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 305, 3 August 1247, for example.

<sup>63</sup> Hilaire, *Le régime des biens entre époux*, 91–95.

<sup>64</sup> Hilaire, *Le régime des biens entre époux*, 104.

<sup>65</sup> Hilaire, *Le régime des biens entre époux*, 48.

<sup>66</sup> See Chap. 9.

<sup>67</sup> The practical age of majority for men was 14 in the south of France, but marriage at that age for a man was unlikely. Under 14, a boy often had a guardian. A boy could still have a curator up to age 18 or later. See Charles Donahue, Jr. *Law, Marriage, and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 20, 99. For an example of an unusually rich documentary record of marriage from Catalonia, see Lluís To Figueras, "Systèmes successoraux et mobilité sociale aux alentours de 1300: les contrats de mariage d'Amer et de Besalú en Vieille Catalogne," in Sandro Carocci, ed. *La mobilità sociale nel medioevo* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2010), 453–490.

without the consent of her parents, her relatives, or executors.<sup>68</sup> The commitment of women in marriage was in the majority of instances undertaken with the consent of both parents, one parent, family members, and/or friends. From the twelfth century (and before), the Church placed emphasis on the necessity of the consent of the spouses to a marriage, introducing some mitigating elements into the earlier pattern of aristocratic marriage.<sup>69</sup> Marriage was to be monogamous and indissoluble.

Family networks were often visible at the time of contraction of a marriage. Parents, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins, grandmothers and grandfathers, brothers-in-law, and/or friends were often involved in the marriage of a young woman. Occasionally, a godfather or a guardian (*tutor*) was mentioned. Thus, on 5 February 1294, Ermenjardis, the daughter of the merchant Martinus Melii, who, along with his wife, was deceased, married Petrus Catalani, the son of a mercer. Her uncles, cousins, and friends consented to the marriage, as did Petrus's father.<sup>70</sup> Her dowry was significant. Ermenjardis received 200 *l. melgoriens* in silver coin and five rural properties, three fields, one in wheat, one in oats, and a third field, and two vineyards in the prestigious locations of Negacatz and Montaubérou.<sup>71</sup>

Both mother and father might be present at the notary at the establishment of the financial details regarding the marriage of a daughter. For example, on 11 February 1294, Ermessendis de Valentia, daughter of a

<sup>68</sup> See the 1204 Customs of Montpellier in A. Teulet, ed. *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, I: 262, art. 85. The practical age of majority for girls was 12.

<sup>69</sup> On marriage, see Theodore Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100–1300*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007) and *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, editor and contributor (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999). Georges Duby first enunciated the distinctions among aristocratic and ecclesiastical marriage models in *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Century France*, trans. Elborg Forster (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978). He elaborated his study of marriage in *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest. The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983). The models suggested by Duby have now been seriously revised, with removal of the dichotomy between aristocratic and ecclesiastical positions. See Sara McDougall, "The Making of Marriage in Medieval France," *Journal of Family History* 38 (2013), 103–121, for a discussion of the complex nature of marriage in the twelfth century.

<sup>70</sup> A. M. Montpellier, BB 1, J. Grimaudi, f. 64v.

<sup>71</sup> On real property in Montpellier, see "Land, Houses and Real Estate Investment." On grain, wine, and vineyards see "Commerce and Society in Montpellier," Chap. 3, Sects. 6 and 8.

shoemaker of Montferrier, a town just north of Montpellier, established a contract with her future husband, Guillelmus de Gignac, son of a late cultivator. The girl's father gave her away in marriage in the contract, and her mother approved.<sup>72</sup> When a girl's father was deceased, however, her mother might be the only one mentioned, or she might be accompanied in the contract by a brother of the bride or another daughter and her son-in-law, or an uncle of the bride, perhaps the mother's brother. On 26 January 1328, the daughter of a late silversmith married a merchant of Montpellier. Offering counsel on this occasion was her mother, who had remarried a blacksmith, along with the bride's uncle, a royal moneyer.<sup>73</sup> On 24 November 1347, Juliana, daughter of a deceased cultivator of Montpellier, saw her mother stand up for her alone in a marriage contract. Juliana married an immigrant from Burgundy who was a resident of Montpellier.<sup>74</sup> The presence of a mother at the establishment before the notary of a contract relating to marriage could also occur higher up on the social scale. Thus, on 17 January 1347, the daughter of a late merchant of Montpellier, with her mother's support, arranged a marriage to a crossbowman, who acted alone.<sup>75</sup> Rebecca Winer finds a similar situation in Perpignan where a mother might be present alone or with other relations.<sup>76</sup> Presumably Agnes de Bossones was present with her daughters at the establishment of their marriage contracts, but whether other family members were also present is unknown. Agnes's parents had likely accompanied her in contracting marriage. Normally, other relatives would have been present if one or the other parent was deceased.

In some few instances, brides acted alone, but the overwhelming majority of contracts show them surrounded by family members at a very important moment in life.<sup>77</sup> In the years 1347 and 1348, crisis and then plague years in Montpellier, the instances of brides acting alone in marriage became more common. Thus, on 27 December 1347, the daughter of a late shoemaker, alone, arranged a marriage contract with her

<sup>72</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 1, J. Grimaudi, f. 71v.

<sup>73</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/ 368, J. Holanie, f. 114v.

<sup>74</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/ 377, B. Egidii, f. 257v.

<sup>75</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/ 377, B. Egidii, f. 1r.

<sup>76</sup>Winer, *Women, Wealth, and Community in Perpignan*, 63.

<sup>77</sup>Dana Wessell Lightfoot's study of working women in fifteenth-century Valencia found many of them acting without parents as they were immigrants. They often had support from contacts within the town such as their employers. See Lightfoot, "The Projects of Marriage."

husband-to-be, a cultivator of Montpellier, also acting alone.<sup>78</sup> The demise of family members may have accounted for this.

Though the majority of grooms acted alone in marriage, fathers might be present when a contract was drawn up with their son as the groom; the age of the groom may well have played a role in the father's engagement, that and the contribution in the form of an augment, made by the groom, perhaps with the help of his father. Mothers do not as a rule appear in marriage documents involving their sons in the case of a deceased father. Whether they were physically present at the notary's atelier during the drafting is unknown. The groom's father could be present at the framing of the contract to contribute an augment to the couple. On 9 February 1302, when a blacksmith Raymundus de Perolis gave his daughter Raymunda in marriage at the notary to Michaelis, the son of the cultivator Petrus de Altaribus, the latter was in attendance.<sup>79</sup> The dowry of Raymunda was of 12 *l.* plus her nuptial clothing, an outfitted bed, and a field at Centrayrargues, a nearby village, along with a house in the suburbs of Montpellier. From the groom's family, the father contributed an augment of 100 *s.* to the marriage itself and gave his son two houses in town, a vineyard in the tithing district (*decimaria*) of Celleneuve, plus 10 *l.* of silver, and the support of his wife and his family in his house for the first two years of marriage, plus half of his acquisitions during this period. The augment was unusually large. The spouses were clearly from well-to-do artisan background, blacksmiths and cultivators who had income-producing property, and the arrangements made for the couple were generous. Agnes surely brought a dowry to her marriage, likely real property; she would also have had luxurious nuptial clothing. Petrus de Bossones undoubtedly contributed an augment to the marriage at the time of his union with Agnes.

In 132 marriage contracts, there were only seven instances of remarriage of women, though wills, among other documents, provide additional examples. Agnes never remarried.<sup>80</sup> Lucie Laumonier maintains

<sup>78</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/ 377, B. Edigii, f. 273v.

<sup>79</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, f. 70v.

<sup>80</sup>As noted above, these marriage contracts come from the notarial collections of the A. M. Montpellier and A. D. Hérault, and from the *Grand Chartrier* and the *fonds de la Commune Clôture* of the A. M. Montpellier.

that remarriage was unlikely for women over 45.<sup>81</sup> It is not possible in the remaining evidence to trace the number of men who remarried, as the notaries did not indicate remarriage for men, but Laumonier finds examples of serial marriage for men. Whether a woman or a man remarried would have depended on connections and may have been a function of the financial viability of single status. Someone without family may have sought to remarry. Agnes was surrounded by family and social networks and never did. The Church offered some opposition to spousal separation during the lifetime of the spouses, throwing up impediments to the dissolution of the married union, but allowing annulments under some circumstances. As time went on, impediments to marriage, discovered or acknowledged after the fact, such as consanguinity, might be pretexts for annulling the marriage and opening the door to remarriage.<sup>82</sup>

Remarriage had consequences for children of the first union. In cities such as Florence, if a woman remarried, she was obliged to abandon her children of the first marriage to their paternal grandparents.<sup>83</sup> Montpellier had no such practice, but the rivalry between children and stepfathers could cause familial conflict.<sup>84</sup> It may be that Agnes's husband Petrus had two sons by a first marriage. The legal disputes over his estate after his

<sup>81</sup> Lucie Laumonier, *Solitudes et solidarités en ville. Montpellier, mi XIIIe-fin XVe siècles*, 225–233. On the consequences of remarriage, see Winer, *Women, Wealth, and Community in Perpignan*, 67–69, and Béghin-LeGourriérec, “La tentation du veuvage.”

<sup>82</sup> On consanguinity, see James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), under “Impediments, Marital,” *passim*. The famous divorces in the seigneurial Guilhem family precede the evidence used in this study. The divorces of Eudoxie Comnena and her daughter Marie de Montpellier are perhaps the most notorious. See Elizabeth Anne Haluska-Rausch, “Unwilling partners: conflict and ambition in the marriage of Peter II of Aragon and Marie de Montpellier,” in Theresa Earenfight ed. *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 3–20. McDougall, “The Making of Marriage,” 116, states that there were always annulments before remarriage took place. See also Henri Vidal, “Les mariages dans la famille des Guillems,” *Revue historique du droit français et étranger* 62 (1984): 231–245.

<sup>83</sup> Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, “The ‘Cruel Mother’: Maternity, Widowhood, and Dowry in Florence in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” in Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 117–131.

<sup>84</sup> See “Wills of Spouses in Montpellier before 1350” for the discussion of the will of Johanna Mercaderii where there is a problem with her son by an earlier marriage. Johanna



death suggest this possibility, but the situation remains ambiguous since a clear identification of the two Bossones brothers in conflict with Agnes has not been possible.<sup>85</sup> In Montpellier, one marriage in a lifetime appears to have been the rule for both women and men, and remarriage the exception. Thus, the ties in marriage were particularly important for the broader community of both women and men.

The size of the family also bears on the general issue of marriage networks and community. Large families meant many connections and an in-house resource of men and women. On the basis of the mentions of children in wills, the average number of children per household, including married and single persons, was slightly over one child, a figure skewed by the population of unmarried inhabitants, university students, faculty, and others, in Montpellier.<sup>86</sup> A larger number of living male children than female children was suggested by the data in the extant wills (101 males to 72 females), but there is no way of controlling whether all living offspring were actually mentioned in a will. Several explanations are possible. Omissions of female children in wills may reflect the fact that dowries paid previously to daughters were viewed as their share of the family inheritance.<sup>87</sup> Then, too, female infanticide occurred in the Middle Ages.<sup>88</sup>

Married couples with children usually had several, though infant mortality and childhood disease may have taken their toll. No direct information is available in the remaining sources concerning the rate of infant mortality or the rate of mortality overall. Occasionally, a will contained the request for burial in the tomb of dead children.<sup>89</sup> Agnes had lost two of her three daughters by the time of her own death in 1342, though she did not mention a desire for burial with them or with her husband in

was very restrictive of what her son could inherit and how he should behave in regard to his inheritance. See also A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 107r, and the translation of Johanna's will in *Medieval Notaries and Their Acts*, 65–77.

<sup>85</sup> See "L'expérience des plaideuses."

<sup>86</sup> Compare Philippe Wolff, *Commerce et marchands de Toulouse (vers 1350-vers 1450)* (Paris: Plon, 1954), 67ff.

<sup>87</sup> See Mayali, *Droit savant et coutumes*. The statutory exclusion of dowried daughters from further claim to paternal inheritance applied only in intestate succession.

<sup>88</sup> See Richard Trexler, "Infanticide in Florence. New Sources and First Results," *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1973): 98–116.

<sup>89</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 82r. For a study of women in the years 985–1213 in Montpellier, see Rausch, "Family, Property, and Power."

her will.<sup>90</sup> It is interesting to note that in six instances wills stipulate the inheritance of as yet unborn children. Agnes made a bequest in her will to the unborn child of her one remaining daughter, Raymunda, if such a child materialized. In another example of 1348, the apothecary Bernardus Castel, son of the grain merchant Petrus, made a will in which he mentioned his children: two boys and a girl, his wife, and their unborn child.<sup>91</sup>

In present-day France, the threshold of “large” families is that of three children.<sup>92</sup> Agnes had three daughters. Using the standard of three surviving children as indicative of a large family, a conservative calculation for the Middle Ages, there were 25 large families mentioned in the 160 extant wills, including Agnes’s family. Hers expanded greatly in the third generation (not calculated in the figures given), with 15 grandchildren named as beneficiaries by Agnes, six in the Seguerii line and eight in the Bon Amic family.<sup>93</sup> Few wills were as detailed as Agnes’s in the inclusion of multiple grandchildren. Twelve out of the 25 large families had three children. The largest family recorded by a testator was that of a spice merchant, Thomas Veziani, who mentioned nine living children, five girls and four boys, in his 1247 will.<sup>94</sup> Families of seven children were noted in 1339 for the merchant Stephanus de Albia and for Johannes Raynaudi of the nearby village of Grabels in 1347.<sup>95</sup> The cultivator Petrus Bogaudi in 1339 had two girls and three boys; the wood merchant Stephanus Moreti had three boys and one girl in 1342.<sup>96</sup> The widow of the butcher, Raymundus Ricardi, mentioned one boy and two girls in her 1347 will.<sup>97</sup> Among the 25 cases of large families in the wills, the whole social gamut was represented, from cultivator to changer, from butcher to spice merchant and draper. Whether those inhabitants too poor to make a will had the resources to

<sup>90</sup> For Agnes’s will, see A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, f. 13rff.

<sup>91</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 415, 15 May 1348. Other examples can be found in EE 840; EE 784; EE 767; EE 383.

<sup>92</sup> So-called “familles nombreuses” enjoy specific benefits of a financial nature in modern France.

<sup>93</sup> Calculations in this paragraph were based on families of testators, not on grandchildren or other recipients of bequests.

<sup>94</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture* EE 305, 3 August 1247.

<sup>95</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/375, P. de Pena, f. 93v; and II E 95/377, B. Edigii, f. 108r.

<sup>96</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/375, P. de Pena, f. 69v; A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, f. 29r.

<sup>97</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 67v.

support large numbers of children is questionable. To raise a family at whatever social stratum, resources were needed, and a woman's dowry and the groom's augment were to provide support for the married couple.

In the case of the dissolution of a marriage, that is, the breakup of a common life, or the death of the husband, a woman could recover her dowry from among the marital assets.<sup>98</sup> One pretext for the recovery of a dowry was the intent on the part of the widow to remarry.<sup>99</sup> At the death of her husband, Agnes may have recovered her dowry or she may have left it in the family estate. At the death of his wife, a husband retained a usufructuary right over the dotal real property.<sup>100</sup> In general, there was no systematic attribution of a woman's personal goods to her husband.<sup>101</sup>

Wills provide another source of evidence regarding the return of the dowry.<sup>102</sup> Since Petrus de Bossones's will does not survive, we do not know whether stipulation to that effect was included. Some testators arranged for the return of the dowry or the augment or the return of both to their surviving wives. There were occasional provisions for the remarriage of the wife or, more likely, penalties if she did remarry. By the same token, wills could contain provisions regarding the support of the widow. In his will of 24 November 1326, the draper Durantus de Gabriac arranged for the return of his wife's dowry of 100 *l. p. t.* He also gave her all his goods.<sup>103</sup> On 26 February 1340, the jurist Firminus de Vouta arranged in his will for the return of the dowry and 20 *l.* from her *paraphernalia* to his wife Saurina.<sup>104</sup> Some wives got usufruct of the husband's property.<sup>105</sup> In September 1305, a wife got a house (*hospitium*), clothes, and jewels.<sup>106</sup> On 29 December 1301, the goldsmith Jacobus Egidii made a return in his will of 325 *l.*, plus the augment, to his wife. In 1303, he made a codicil

<sup>98</sup> Hilaire, *Le régime des biens entre époux*, 125.

<sup>99</sup> Hilaire, *Le régime des biens entre époux*, 150.

<sup>100</sup> Hilaire, *Le régime des biens entre époux*, 83–86.

<sup>101</sup> Hilaire, *Le régime des biens entre époux*, 116.

<sup>102</sup> See the stimulating article of Lightfoot, "The Projects of Marriage," on dowry restitutions initiated by laboring-class women, who often undertook marriage without the help of family and sought the return of their dowries in cases of mismanagement by their husbands.

<sup>103</sup> A, M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 349: 24 November 1326.

<sup>104</sup> A, M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 376: 26 February 1340.

<sup>105</sup> A, M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 415: 17 May 1348.

<sup>106</sup> A, M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 784: 24 September 1305.

recognizing that his wife's dowry was really 400 *l*.<sup>107</sup> In a will of 15 August 1302, Petrus de Piniano, *burgensis*, named his wife Bernarda his universal heir, but if she remarried, his goods were to be sold for poor girls and pious works.<sup>108</sup> In a will of 25 May 1347, Stephanus Salomonis, cultivator, made his wife Johanna his universal heir if she did not remarry. If she did remarry or if she lived dishonestly, his goods were to go to feed poor beggars of a local hospital.<sup>109</sup> In one last example, on 12 March 1348, the royal moneyer Bertrandus Juliani made a will in order to go on a pilgrimage. He made his wife Dulcia universal heir for one half of his goods if she obeyed the stipulations of his will, and his brothers universal heirs for the other half.<sup>110</sup> Testamentary arrangements for a wife and her dowry could result in constraint exercised from the grave by the husband. Death or the dissolution of a marriage might occasion breaks in previous networks, though such connections could also sustain the surviving spouse.

Another phenomenon demonstrating family community was the premature recovery of the dowry. Although we often do not know the ultimate resolution of efforts of premature recovery of dowries, it is possible that they represent a shared family strategy to sequester a fortune in dowries and augments as protection against creditors. In the 1290s, three wives of the Crusolis family of Montpellier, a prominent merchant and changer family with business interests and debts at the Champagne fairs, attempted to recover their dowries during the lifetime of their husbands, perhaps to protect family funds from the heavy debts of their husbands.<sup>111</sup> The Crusolis wives went to court to recover their dowries with the professional assistance of legal specialists as procurators, as did their husbands to contest the dowry return in what may have been a *pro forma* gesture, as in some cases, wives and husbands used the same legal personnel. We do not know whether this litigation led to the separation of the spouses. The overlap of juridical personnel leaves the lingering suspicion of complicity among the parties. One thing is certain: the Crusolis wives were tenacious in the legal pursuit of the return of their dowries.

<sup>107</sup> A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, f. 62r.

<sup>108</sup> A. M. Montpellier, Louvet 3091.

<sup>109</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 67r.

<sup>110</sup> A. D. Hérault II E 95/377, f. 309v; B. Egidii, f. 309v.

<sup>111</sup> See "L'expérience des plaideuses."

Southern French scholars are of two minds about the interpretation of efforts to recover dowries prematurely. Daniel Smail has argued: “In Marseille, the mobility of property between the sexes—from mother to son, from father to daughter—and the legal shelter created by dotal rights was a strategy for *maintaining* property and wealth in family lines. That these lines were both male and female was, according to the evidence, largely irrelevant.”<sup>112</sup> Other students of southern France are more cautious. In her study of late thirteenth-century Marseille, Francine Michaud noted 41 cases of early dowry restitution, of which 26—from all milieux—were for reasons of insolvency, with all requests for restitution honored, though at times with only partial reimbursement.<sup>113</sup> Michaud did not wish to interpret these data as reflective of a strategy for escaping creditors. Andrée Courtemanche found evidence in her study of Manosque in Provence of claims for the return of the dowry because bad management, debts, bad conduct, and penury had imperiled family resources. There was even a statute on the books of Manosque—the *Statuta contra Judeos* of 1261—that prohibited the seizure of a bride’s trousseau for bad debts.<sup>114</sup> Courtemanche stated that her evidence did not reveal whether the restitution of the dowry led to the separation of the spouses or a dissolution of the marriage.<sup>115</sup> Without hesitation, Julius Kirshner, having explored the Roman law background in late medieval Italy for the return of the dowry to the wife, stated: “The husband’s voluntary transfer of ownership was also universally recognized as a strategem for protecting property threatened by his creditors.”<sup>116</sup> In the case of the Crusolis of Montpellier, given their demonstrable debt difficulties, an interpretation of the premature recovery of the dowry as a family strategy for the preservation of the family patrimony seems plausible.

<sup>112</sup> Daniel Lord Smail, “Démanteler le patrimoine: les femmes et les biens dans la Marseille médiévale, 1337–1362,” *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 52 (1997): 343–368, and “Mapping Networks and Knowledge in Medieval Marseille, 1337–1362: Variations on a Theme of Mobility,” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Michigan, 1994), 126.

<sup>113</sup> Michaud, *Un signe des temps*, 125.

<sup>114</sup> Courtemanche, *La richesse des femmes*, 120.

<sup>115</sup> Courtemanche, *La richesse des femmes*, 126.

<sup>116</sup> Julius Kirshner, “Wives’ Claims Against Insolvent Husbands in Late Medieval Italy,” in Julius Kirshner and Suzanne F. Wemple, ed. *Women of the Medieval World, Essays in Honor of John Mundy* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 296.

It was not uncommon in the later medieval centuries for marriage practices to evolve. The nature of the marital regime affected networks and connections. In the region of Montpellier, the dowry system can be opposed to the practice of community of property that emerged first as a so-called universal community, created when the spouses lived with the parents of either the bride or the groom. Essentially, the property of the parents that would come to the spouses in inheritance constituted the dowry of the bride when the spouses lived with her family. Clearly, the life experience of the spouses, married under community of property, differed from that of a neolocal situation where the newlyweds established their own household. In a community of property regime, there were at least two and often more generations under one roof and more than one couple. The development of a regime of community of property was well underway by the time of the first extant notarial register surviving in Montpellier (1293–1294, J. Grimaudi); out of 12 marriage contracts therein, three established a universal community.<sup>117</sup>

The legal structure of marriage also evolved elsewhere in Europe across time. Martha Howell explored changes in marriage practices in Douai, where marriage under customary law came to be replaced by marriage under contract, with significant consequences for the widow.<sup>118</sup> Under customary law, property went to the surviving spouse. Under contract, widows became dowagers, enjoying the income from property, not its ownership. The first system favored an expanding economy and household production involving both husband and wife; the second was concerned more with preserving and passing on wealth to the next generation. A woman's control over property was affected by the change in practice. In the case of Montpellier, as in that of Douai, the economic difficulties of the later fourteenth century encouraged a universal community at marriage, already observable in the late thirteenth century, and the creation of contractual arrangements of brothers, *affrèment*, living under one roof, with an in-division of inheritance. Certainly, the independent activity of

<sup>117</sup> Hilaire, *Le régime des biens entre époux*, 283. See A. M. Montpellier, BB 1, J. Grimaudi. Kellerer, *The Measure of Woman*, 50, noted the existence of common property marriages where spouses shared all marital assets equally. She found this form of marriage less common than marriage with dowry.

<sup>118</sup> Howell, *The Marriage Exchange*.

wives was thereby affected and, subsequently, their formation of networks and communities.

Marriage created new networks for Montpellier women as they acquired in-laws and likely had children. In the case of Agnes, her marriage to Petrus de Bossones had been fruitful, and thanks to the family resources, she was able to assist her daughters in making impressive marriages. Marriage was a strategy of family expansion and alliance. It was also a means for newcomers to become integrated into the urban community. Apprenticeship offered a similar strategy of community formation and integration, as the next chapter will show.

---

## Apprenticeship

Most merchants and artisans in Montpellier trained apprentices. Though we have no specific information on Agnes and Petrus de Bossones in this regard, changers regularly trained apprentices, and it was likely that Petrus had several over his career, young men (because changers were male in Montpellier) with whom Agnes would have interacted and, in the case of immigrants, assisted in assimilating into Montpellier society.<sup>1</sup> Agnes's sons-in-law and grandsons would also have had apprentices. And men in her family would likely have been trained initially as apprentices in their respective occupations. There is no indication that the women in Agnes's family were apprenticed or took apprentices, though this occurred regularly for women in Montpellier. The situation for male apprentices presented similarities and differences from that of female apprentices.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See my article "The Adolescent Apprentice/ Worker in Medieval Montpellier." *The Journal of Family History: The Evolution of Adolescence in Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt 17 (1992): 353–70. On changers, see *Business, Banking and Finance*, Chap. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Lucie Laumonier, "Getting Things Done and Keeping Them in the Family. Crafts and Parenthood in Montpellier (14e–15th c.)," *Trades, guilds, and Specialists: Getting Things Done in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies volume forthcoming). See also the reflections of G. Francine Michaud, "Famille, femmes et travail: patronnes et salariées à Marseille aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles," *Ad libros ! Mélanges d'études médiévales offerts à Denise Angers et Joseph-Claude Poulin*, ed. Martin Gravel, Jean-François Cotter, and Sébastien Rossignol (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2010), 243–263, and "From Apprentices to Wage-Earners: Child Labour



Marriage offered one avenue of social ascension and assimilation into the local society, apprenticeship another. In most marriages and apprenticeships, young people were involved, and the influence of the family was important. In both marriage and apprenticeship, there were important financial arrangements to be agreed on. The fate of young people depended on these terms that affected the nature of the ties forged. Families allied through marriage and apprenticeship.

Most medieval occupations trained young people through hands-on activity. Apprenticeship was an integral part of the guild system that underpinned artisanal industry in the Middle Ages. Guilds have been described as creating a kind of artificial kinship, particularly important when immigration brought young apprentices to a town from elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> The master's family became a kind of surrogate family for the apprentice.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the occupational and professional training, then, apprenticeship could be the catalyst for an artificial family that created a network for the apprentice.

Prestigious occupations in Montpellier included those of medieval finance with changers like Petrus de Bossones, who accepted investments in deposit and participated in foreign exchange transactions that originally involved manual exchange of foreign for local coinage but evolved into international transactions, based on speculation in shifting exchange rates, with repayments in another coinage at another geographic site.<sup>5</sup> Precious metalworkers, goldsmiths and silversmiths, created an international reputation for Montpellier. Pepperers and spice merchants dealt with the myriad spices and drugs that medieval people favored; apothecaries produced powders and potions and were famous for the spiced wines of Montpellier.<sup>6</sup> Textile industry personnel included scarlet dyers, who processed finished cloth creating the scarlet cloths for which Montpellier was known, cloth merchants, silk merchants, and mercers who often dealt in

before and after the Black Death," in *Medieval Childhood*, ed. Joel Rosenthal, Donington (Lincolnshire, U.K.: Shaun Tyas/Paul Watkins Publishing, 2007), 75–92.

<sup>3</sup> Gervase Rosser, "Big Brotherhood: Guilds in Urban Politics in Late Medieval England," in *Guilds and Association in Europe, 900–1900*, ed. I. A. Gadd and P. Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2006), 32.

<sup>4</sup> Caroline Barron, "The London Middle English Guild Certificates of 1388–9, An Historical Introduction," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 39 (1995): 116.

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of Montpellier trades and their activities, see "Population Attraction and Mobility," and *Business, Banking and Finance, passim*.

<sup>6</sup> Dion, *Histoire de la vigne et du vin*.

silks but also in decorative accessories.<sup>7</sup> Artisans working leather and skins enjoyed a thriving business in town. The food trades, butchers specializing in various meats, bakers, and grain merchants, supplied the growing urban population with food, while building industry personnel with wood merchants and masons were important in constructing the urban habitat. Montpellier also had myriad artisanal occupations such as shoemakers and blacksmiths. All of these occupations used apprenticeship training.

Apprenticeship was an important route to career formation and social integration, both for locals and for immigrants. In contrast to the reinforcement of connections and community offered by marriage, family ties might be severed in immigration, which could take a woman from her home and family of origin for work or apprenticeship, even if the distance of their separation was less than 50 kilometers. This break occurred to a lesser degree in local apprenticeship where a woman left her birth family for the household of her master or mistress. When the apprentice's origins were rural, the distance between town and countryside was more than just physical as the city offered much by way of contrast with rural life. New communities of occupation and neighborhood then emerged as the apprentice got acquainted with city life, and in some cases where ties were not severed, the connections with the place of origin may have encouraged additional immigration. The Dodi family of Sisteron, featured in the previous chapter, is a case in point.

Though the patterns of recruitment to Montpellier through apprenticeship for men tended to coincide with the wide-ranging reach of the city's commerce and finance, women apprentices came to Montpellier from a narrower geographic radius. Thirty of 208 surviving contracts of apprenticeship and work involved women, with typical female occupations related to the textile and food industries.<sup>8</sup> Fourteen contracts concerned women immigrants, most coming from within 50 kilometers of Montpellier. At least six contracts involved women training in the baker's trade, with the recruitment of five apprentices from a radius of within 50 kilometers: one from Saint-Jean de Buèges, one from Ganges, and three

<sup>7</sup> See my articles "Medieval Silks in Montpellier: The Silk Market ca. 1250–ca.1350," *Journal of European Economic History*, 11 (1982): 117–140, and "Le rôle de Montpellier dans le commerce des draps de laine avant 1350," *Annales du Midi*, 94 (1982): 17–40.

<sup>8</sup> See "Population Attraction and Mobility," 257, n. 2 and "The Adolescent Apprentice/Worker in Medieval Montpellier."

from the diocese of Nîmes, with the sixth coming from the diocese of Saint-Flour in the Massif Central.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to the food industry, women were recruited to the textile and cloth finishing industries. Another pattern prevailed for men. The prestigious commercial and financial careers were restricted formally to men. Male apprentices were recruited to the trade of changer from as far afield as Tarragona; apothecary apprentices were native to the diocese of Albi and to the towns of Sarlat, Sisteron, and Carpentras in Provence. Pepperers hailed from Alès, Beaucaire, and Narbonne, drapers from Cahors and Alès, with merchant apprentices from Millau and nearerby Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert.<sup>10</sup> Apprenticeship in prestigious trades could lead to economic success and social ascension for men. For women, the opportunities were more limited (Map 5.1).

The activities associated with medieval banking and finance included deposit banking, foreign exchange, moneychanging, and lending. Women were not present at the highest level of financial operation in foreign exchange contracts that seem to have been an exclusive domain of specific men, merchants, changers, and foreigners in Montpellier.<sup>11</sup> However, women were associated through marriage with their husbands' occupations. Agnes was connected through her late husband Petrus with the changers' trade. The changers' occupation was among the most valued in the town, reflected in the hierarchy of town government.<sup>12</sup> The 12 town consuls usually included two changers at the top of the consular hierarchy. Changers' apprenticeship for men left the most evidence of any occupation. Fifteen of the surviving 208 apprenticeship contracts prior to 1350 concern changers.<sup>13</sup> Six of these involve immigrants from Saint-Thibéry, Lunel, Arles, Lyons, Cahors, and Tarragona, the draw of Montpellier training extending thus from Provence to Catalonia. The length of changers' apprenticeship ran from one to six years, with nine of the 15 contracts running two years.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidii, ff. 11v, 37r, 227v, 262r, and II E 95/375, P. de Pena, f. 122r. For Saint-Flour: II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 250v.

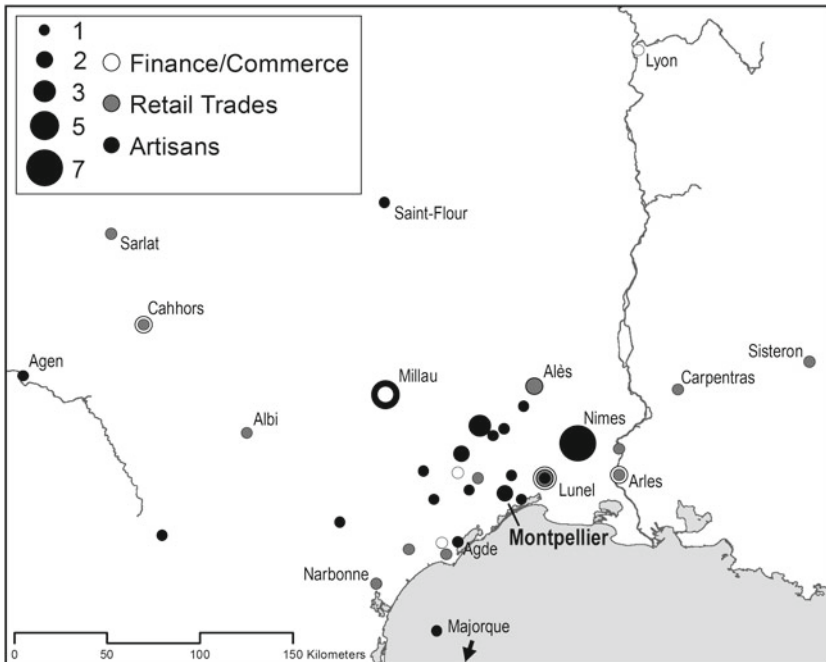
<sup>10</sup>See "Population Attraction and Mobility," 272–3.

<sup>11</sup>For a synopsis of foreign-exchange contracts, see "Commerce and Society in Montpellier," II: 269–78.

<sup>12</sup>See the discussion of changers in *Business, Banking and Finance*, Chap. 4.

<sup>13</sup>See "Population Attraction and Mobility," 272–273. The apprenticeship contracts come from the notarial *fonds*, A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368–377 and A. M. Montpellier, BB 1–3.

<sup>14</sup>See "The Adolescent Apprentice/Worker," 356.



**Map 5.1** Geographic origins of apprentices and workers

There is no evidence for women being trained formally as changers or serving as changers in Montpellier.<sup>15</sup> Certainly, women functioned in banking and finance in Montpellier and in other European cities, and in some such as Bruges women were noted as changers, again informally, by the back door, and never with guild recognition, but there is no direct evidence of this in Montpellier.<sup>16</sup> However, women can be documented in Montpellier as deposit bankers, accepting deposits, though they carried no title associated with banking.<sup>17</sup> For example, a widow in 1343 acknowledged holding a deposit of 50 florins of Florence for a master

<sup>15</sup> Gouron, *La réglementation des métiers*, *passim*.

<sup>16</sup> See James A. Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism, 1280–1390* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), especially Chap. 8 on women. See further discussion in the treatment of women and finance in Chap. 6.

<sup>17</sup> See *Business, Banking and Finance*, Chap. 4.

of medicine.<sup>18</sup> That women can be traced holding deposits is significant, given the relatively limited evidence that survives. Women also confided deposits to others.<sup>19</sup>

There is the tantalizing suggestion given by Agnes in her will that she functioned as a deposit banker, a common function of changers in Montpellier.<sup>20</sup> Agnes's link to her late husband's professions of changer and merchant emerges when we first meet her in 1301 as the guardian of her three daughters. She was attempting to gain payment of debts owed to her husband. At the end of her life, she brought to the attention of her one surviving daughter Raymunda and her son-in-law Petrus Seguerii that all deposits, things, and money that she had in deposit or had written down in her *capsia*—a container of some sort—should be restored to those whose names were recorded in the said *capsia*.<sup>21</sup> Was Agnes herself acting as a deposit banker? Agnes could have been referring to safekeeping deposits, but with the list of items including money, there is the possibility of an investment dimension to these deposits. Though it is unlikely that Agnes would have had formal apprenticeship training in finance, she could have acquired skills from her late husband in the areas of banking and finance.<sup>22</sup> By the same token, it would have been common practice for a wealthy widow to hold valuables for others in safekeeping or deposit.<sup>23</sup>

The trades of medieval Europe offered occupational communities that were enhanced by confraternities with spiritual outlets often under the patronage of a saint. In Montpellier, women were not formally admit-

<sup>18</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/372, J. Holanie et al, f. 36r.

<sup>19</sup>"Women in Business," 133–134.

<sup>20</sup>For an in-depth discussion of changers in Montpellier, see *Business, Banking and Finance*, Chap. 4.

<sup>21</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, Johannes Laurentii, f. 13rff. "Item volo et jubeo quod omnia deposita, res, et pecunie quecumque que et quas apparverit me habere in deposito prout inveneretur scriptum in capsia mea restituatur illi vel illis de quibus invenietur scriptum in dicta capsia mea debere restitui et ea volo restitui noticia et dispositione domini P. Seguerii et Raymunde filie mee predictorum gadiatores et exequutores meos huius mei testamenti qua ad pia legata supradicta facio et instituo dominum P. Seguerii legum doctorem et Raymundam Grossi burgensem generes meos et gardianum fratrum minorum conventus Montispessulani qui pro tempore fuerit et priorem ecclesie Beate Marie de Tabulis." I am grateful to Daniel Lord Smail for an understanding of *capsia*.

<sup>22</sup>Hutton, *Women and Economic Activities in Late Medieval Ghent*, 65, finds clear evidence in Ghent of "marriage as an economic partnership."

<sup>23</sup>See Chap. 4, "Deposit Banking and the Recovery of Debts," and Chap. 5, "Foreign Exchange," of *Business, Banking and Finance* for general background.

ted to guilds that began to be incorporated locally in the mid-thirteenth century, gaining the status of corporate entities, often graced in the later Middle Ages by corporate insignia.<sup>24</sup> Thus, the guildhall and the confraternal dinners that forged informal communities, built on shared occupations, would not have been immediately available to women though they may have labored in the same economic networks.<sup>25</sup> That said, women could have been included in some guild affairs. Did guild members' wives interact as a group? We have no direct evidence of this in Montpellier, yet it seems likely.

Women's roles in the guild system were limited in the Middle Ages. In medieval France, there were some few occupations that admitted women to guilds. The *Livre des métiers*, a compendium of guild statutes of Étienne Boileau, provost of Paris, (ca. 1270) mentions five female guilds in Paris, associated with the silk industry.<sup>26</sup> Tax records of 1292 and 1313 add a few more in which women could achieve master status with a total of about 80 of the approximately 120 guilds with women members, maybe as a result of their association as widows of previous guild members.<sup>27</sup> In other parts of France, women might participate in trades as wives and at the level of master if they succeeded their dead husbands in the occupation, though this was not always the case. In Montpellier, the formal organization of guilds was well underway in the thirteenth century and continued into the fourteenth.<sup>28</sup> There is no evidence for formal integration of women into the guild structures of Montpellier before 1350, as noted, nor is there

<sup>24</sup> On the trades and guilds of Montpellier, see Gouron, *La réglementation des métiers*.

<sup>25</sup> On the culinary feasts of the town consuls, see Lucie Galano, "À table! Festivités et banquets au consulat de Montpellier à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Bulletin historique de la ville de Montpellier* 36 (November 2014), 60–72.

<sup>26</sup> René de Lespinasse and François Bonnardot, *Les métiers et corporations de la Ville de Paris : XIIIe siècle, Le Livre des Métiers d'Etienne Boileau* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1879). On Paris, see the recent work of Sharon Farmer, *The Silk Industries of Medieval Paris: Artisanal Migration, Technological Innovation, and Gendered Experiences in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Tanya Stabler Miller, *The Beguines of Medieval Paris. Gender, Patronage, and Spiritual Authority* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); and Janice Marie Archer, *Working Women in Thirteenth-Century Paris*. (Ph.D. Diss. University of Arizona, 1995).

<sup>27</sup> On women's work, see David Herlihy, *Opera muliebricia. Women and Work in Medieval Europe* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990), 142–150, on Paris. See also Joseph and Frances Gies, *Women in the Middle Ages* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1978), 178–179.

<sup>28</sup> On the guild organization of Languedoc, Gouron, *La réglementation des métiers en Languedoc*, remains invaluable. Compare Béghin-Le Gourrirec on the later Middle Ages, "Le rôle économique des femmes."

evidence that they succeeded their husbands in guild mastership after the latters' deaths.<sup>29</sup> However, women were active in the occupations of the Montpellier economy without the official status and often worked in areas similar, if not identical, to their husbands' specialties.

Though they would not gain official status, Montpellier women did train as apprentices in some of the very trades, such as the mercers, that were organizing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They may, in certain instances, have worked with their husbands in a trade where the husband was a guild member. In other instances, women worked in trades that might be complementary to that of their husbands' or quite different, thereby extending the occupational networks. There was a gender separation in Montpellier; women were present in the food trades and in the textile trades and in trades of adornment but not in the prestigious mercantile enterprises of Montpellier men. There is no evidence of women pepperers, apothecaries, spice merchants, grain merchants, for example, trades that recruited apprentices to Montpellier from long distances. Occupational similarities between spouses would have reinforced connections that might have been community building but could equally have been the cause of rivalries and dissensions.<sup>30</sup> In the case of families and trades, proximity might not always have been a blessing.

In a town like Montpellier that had grown greatly across several centuries, there was a doubling and sometimes tripling of trade locations. There are streets in Montpellier that still carry trade names, the street of the silversmiths (Argenterie), the street of the ovens or bakers (Fournarie), the street of the bleachers (Blanquerie), and so on.<sup>31</sup> As markets multiplied, artisans and merchants moved to new parts of town, dispersing the population.<sup>32</sup> By the fourteenth century, the concentration of a particular trade in an area did not mean that there were no other occupations in the same area. One group of mercers clustered around Arc Saint Nicolas, though

<sup>29</sup> Contrast the findings of Hutton, *Women and Economic Activities in Late Medieval Ghent*, 113, where she finds some occupations, barbers and spice merchants, accommodating women in guilds.

<sup>30</sup> Smail, *Consumption of Justice*, provides many examples of disputes in medieval Marseille.

<sup>31</sup> Jacques Fabre de Morlhon, *Le Montpellier des Guilhem et des rois d' Aragon* (Albi: Ateliers Professionnels de l'Orphelinat Saint-Jean, 1967), 59.

<sup>32</sup> See also Gouron, *La réglementation des métiers*, and Reyerson, *The Art of the Deal*, Chap. 2.

there were actually four groupings of mercers in all.<sup>33</sup> The changers had their tables around Notre-Dame des Tables, but these were not the only occupations in that area. Notre-Dame, the Herbaria Square, and other squares near the first town hall in the south-central part of town were obvious draws for the wealthy<sup>34</sup> (Map 7.1).

Neighborhood ties would have been important for women, who were undoubtedly more homebodies than their husbands, given their household as well as potential business responsibilities. But in a town the size of Montpellier, with population concentrated in the dense central sectors of town, people, regardless of their occupation, would have jostled each other regularly, on the way to market, walking the streets, some on the way to work outside the town in the surrounding fields.<sup>35</sup> There were many opportunities for the creation of informal communities that might have resulted in social and economic ties.

The artisan household represented a community for apprentices and employees who may have lived with the master and his family. The master and his wife may have had one or more apprentices and several more advanced tradespeople as assistants. If Petrus de Bossones apprenticed young men, some would have lived in his household for a significant period of time, allowing Agnes considerable interaction with them. Without sons, at least in his marriage to Agnes, there was all the more reason for Petrus to train young men.

The master's household can be considered a cell within the street of a particular trade or the neighborhood within which members of the same trade clustered. Fraternalization undoubtedly occurred among neighboring households. It may be that in good circumstances apprentices found a surrogate family in the master's household, creating new linkages beyond their family of origin. It is also likely, given the limited number of surviving apprenticeship and work contracts for women, that most girls expe-

<sup>33</sup> Ghislaine Fabre and Thierry Lochard, *Montpellier: la ville médiévale* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1992), 132.

<sup>34</sup> On the fiscal inventories of Montpellier (*compoix*), see Lucie Laumonier, "Exemptions et dégrèvements: les Montpelliérains face à la fiscalité (fin XIVe et XVe siècles)," *Bulletin historique de la ville de Montpellier* 35 (2013): 34–47, and "Les compoix montpelliérains: approche qualitative des archives fiscales médiévales," *Memini. Travaux et documents* 14 (2010): 97–122. See also Anne-Catherine Marin-Rambier, "Montpellier à la fin du Moyen Âge d'après les compoix (1380–1450)," (Thesis, École Nationale des Chartes: 1980).

<sup>35</sup> Lauro Martines, *Power and Imagination. City-States in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Vintage Books-Random House, 1979), 74.



rienced training in their own homes, from their mothers, to acquire the skills necessary to their trade, though the exact means of their technical education cannot be reconstructed.<sup>36</sup> Girls could have helped out in the family business. There is no evidence that husbands taught wives their trades, though this cannot be ruled out as a means for women to acquire skills.

There were many reasons why sending a daughter out of the family home to apprentice would not be a frequent choice. Unless the daughter was betrothed to a male in the family of the master, her virtue would be at risk. If women were apprenticed to relatives, their safety would be, in principle, better guaranteed, and in the latter case, there may not have been a formal contract of apprenticeship drawn up. Yet, some young women left home and family to seek their fortune through apprenticeship. Women's involvement in artisanal industry and the market suggests that they had acquired considerable economic expertise. As is to be expected with the small number of contracts concerning women apprentices and workers, there is more information about men than women, both as masters taking apprentices and employers of workers, as well as in the capacity of apprentices and workers themselves.<sup>37</sup>

Family members were often present at the establishment of apprenticeship. Fathers, mothers, parents, uncles, and brothers, along with other relatives, apprenticed their children, nieces, sisters, and cousins in trade.<sup>38</sup> Widows, at times in keeping with their roles as guardians of their children, regularly apprenticed their sons and daughters, alone or in conjunction with male relatives.<sup>39</sup> But in only three recorded instances did mothers act alone in apprenticing their sons; more often, sons were accompanied by male family members.<sup>40</sup> Young men also apprenticed themselves without any stand-ins, but there are also many instances of fathers apprenticing

<sup>36</sup> Included in the 208 contracts were some few acquittals for previous apprenticeship and work arrangements.

<sup>37</sup> On apprenticeship in Montpellier, see "The Adolescent Apprentice/Worker in Medieval Montpellier." See also Laumonier, "Getting Things Done and Keeping Them in the Family. Crafts and Parenthood in Montpellier (14e–15th c.)."

<sup>38</sup> For a brother apprenticing his sister, see A. D. Hérault, II E 95/ 368, J. Holanie, f. 32v.

<sup>39</sup> For the example of the apprenticeship of a son of a first marriage by the wife of a merchant and a cousin, see A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 127v.

<sup>40</sup> Françoise Michaud-Fréjaville, "Contrats d'apprentissage en Orléanais, les enfants au travail, (1380–1450)," *L'Enfant au Moyen-Âge: littérature et civilisation* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1980), 61–71, remarked on the high percentage in the Orléanais (about 50 % for males) of orphans appearing in apprenticeship contracts.

their sons. There is no evidence that young women engaged themselves in apprenticeship without relatives' participation. However, in the case of orphans, women could well have done so. The evidence simply does not preserve examples. Women did appear alone in work contracts.

Relatives, particularly in the case of young women, were intimately involved in the contractual arrangements with concerns for health, training, and support. Negotiation and diplomacy played a part in placing a child or adolescent in apprenticeship. Ties within and without the family were at work in the apprenticeship process whether the process was initiated by one or the other parent or by both, by another relative, by a formal guardian, by a seemingly unattached individual, or by the individual him- or herself.<sup>41</sup> While young men alone often called upon guarantors (*fideiussores*) to vouch for them in apprenticeship contracts, no sureties were recorded in female contracts, for the young women were not acting alone.<sup>42</sup> In some contracts, daughters apprenticed themselves with their mothers' consent alone.<sup>43</sup> Mothers, with the support of family members, also apprenticed daughters. On 20 September 1347, Marita Fesquesta, a woman of Ganges, who was identified as a wife, not a widow, along with her cousin of Montpellier, apprenticed her daughter Guillelma to the widow of a Montpellier cultivator, who was herself a baker, for four years to learn baking.<sup>44</sup> The presence of a cousin in the large urban center would have reassured the woman from Ganges about letting her daughter train in Montpellier. This type of connection was important.

The family circle might be more complex, as in the instance where a widowed mother acted with her brother's advice (the apprentice's mater-

<sup>41</sup> Susan Duxbury, "The Medieval Artisan Household in Montpellier. An Economic Unit as Viewed through Apprentice and Work Contracts." (Master's Plan B paper, University of Minnesota, 1986).

<sup>42</sup> At times, at age 14, the lack of curator was mentioned, as in the case of a boy and his widowed mother, who apprenticed him to a goldsmith. See A. D. Hérault, II E 95/371, J. Holanie, f. 105v. For the presence of a tutor, see II E 95/371, J. Holanie, f. 55v. For an uncle who was curator of a boy, see II E 95/371, J. Holanie, f. 63r. On guardianship in Montpellier, see Gaillard, *La tutelle maternelle*, and de Charrin, *Les testaments dans la région de Montpellier au moyen âge*.

<sup>43</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 136r. Winer, *Women, Wealth, and Community in Perpignan*, 65–66, found widowed Christian mothers appearing in about half of the apprenticeship contracts for their children. In contrast to Christian practice, Jewish legal traditions in Perpignan encouraged panels of guardians. See 115.

<sup>44</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 227v.

nal uncle) and with that of friends, to apprentice her daughter.<sup>45</sup> Parents might apprentice their daughters together, and fathers might initiate the process alone. Daughters apprenticed themselves with their fathers' approval. Further intervention by male relatives and advisors reveals the influence of a paternal uncle, a guardian, and a brother. Thus, young women were surrounded, first by broadly construed paternal authority and then by an extended network of family members. Once in apprenticeship, the young woman was under the master's authority.

Work contracts paint a somewhat different picture of engagement. The terminology used in apprenticeship and work contracts was at times ambiguous. Some contracts contained both training and remunerated work. The apprentice/worker already probably had experience in the trade, gained in his/her family of origin or in an earlier apprenticeship. There were three instances in which women placed themselves alone in work relationships; one of these was a country girl from Posquières near Nîmes, identified as over 13 with no *curator*. She engaged herself to become a domestic servant or *ancilla* in the household of a silversmith.<sup>46</sup> Since her dead father was mentioned in the contract, the girl may have been an orphan, but she was very young to act alone before the notary. Her need of a stable household as well as for a trade would have occasioned her apprenticeship. She could have received on-the-job training in domestic service in her new household. Finally, spouses participated at times in the work contract of their marital partners, suggesting the strength of the marriage bond.<sup>47</sup> In contrast, men, in general, engaged themselves alone in work contracts.

By and large, apprentices, male or female, were joining an artisan household as a participant and member, expanding potentially the economic networks of connections. In most instances, once the apprentices were placed in the masters' households, masters assumed responsibility for the moral and technical education of the children or adolescents apprenticed to them. They were also to maintain the apprentices' health and furnish necessities for life. Contracts placed considerable emphasis on apprentices working only at the masters' bidding and not at that of other individuals. The apprentices were expected to be obedient and willing to serve. For an adolescent apprentice, male or female, the master became, in essence, a surrogate father. Masters in Montpellier were endowed with legal com-

<sup>45</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 262r.

<sup>46</sup> A D II E 95/371, J. Holanie, f. 50r.

<sup>47</sup> Duxbury, "The Medieval Artisan Household," 18.

petence to police the apprentices in their households.<sup>48</sup> Specific types of punishment for misbehavior were not mentioned in the contracts, but the expectation of apprentices remaining with masters was noted in numerous contracts.<sup>49</sup> In the case of the hiring of work, the situation was different, with the likelihood that the worker, with the exception of domestic service, remained in his or her own household. Workers would have maintained a more independent position vis-à-vis their employers. For those in apprenticeship/work contracts, some may have lived in the master's household.

For the family of the young person, there were positive consequences from the apprenticeship system. The family of origin would have fewer mouths to feed if the apprentice lived with his or her new master. The downside of apprenticeship for the family of origin was the loss of the female or male child's labor and the obligation of the fee owed to the master for taking the young apprentice on. However, apprenticeship was a means of assuring sons' or daughters' skills leading to a livelihood and an opportunity to establish households of their own if they perfected the trade into which they had been apprenticed. The ties with the family of the master could be strengthened were the apprentice to work out well in the master's household.

The effects of apprenticeship on medieval women (and men) were many. Marriage was delayed until after adolescence for most apprentices, male and female.<sup>50</sup> The age at marriage is difficult to establish in the Montpellier contracts; few cite age, as noted earlier. Lucie Laumonier estimates marriage age in the early twenties, based on data drawn from

<sup>48</sup> See Gouron, *La réglementation des métiers*, 275. See also the edition of the *consuetudines* (customs) of Montpellier in Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, I: 277, art. 65.

<sup>49</sup> Sixteen premature cancellations of contracts can be identified out of a total of 154 work and apprenticeship contracts written by the notary Johannes Holanie (in five surviving registers) or approximately 10 % of Holanie's contracts. All of the premature cancellations concerned males, suggesting that medieval adolescence may have been more turbulent for young men than for young women, as it was in the early modern era. Early cancellations could be indicative of conflict between master and apprentice, but contractual practice allowed for some flexibility in annulation of a contract. See Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Reasons of Misrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France," *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975) 97–123, and Stephen R. Smith, "The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents," *Past and Present* 61 (1973): 149–161.

<sup>50</sup> Diane Owen Hughes, "Urban Growth and Family Structure in Medieval Genoa," *Past and Present* 66 (1975): 23.

a broad range of social strata.<sup>51</sup> In the Mediterranean marriage model, applicable for elite women like Agnes, women likely married earlier.<sup>52</sup> The acquisition of skills in an apprenticeship situation became a very human process, not depersonalized as education may be in modern society. Discipline was undoubtedly strict, but the master's control may have provided useful guidance in a city offering multiple temptations to the young and naïve.<sup>53</sup> Medieval apprenticeship contracts demonstrate close contacts between youths and adults in the workplace, but they also reveal a program of growing and learning for the apprentice, suited to and consistent with a transitional phase between childhood and adulthood. In the hands of an understanding master, apprentice training for the adolescent must have been very rewarding.

The age of apprenticeship and marriage had other possible consequences. On the downside, late marriage had demographic consequences for the artisanal groups of medieval towns as fertility declines with age. Apprenticeship at 12 to 14, the age when individual identity was beginning to form, may have enhanced the individual's self-doubt through the departure of the youth from an accustomed family context. Elite girls, married off young, may also have experienced this. Whatever the individual case, the female or male apprentice embarked on a formative transition that would permit the establishment of contacts for the remainder of a career in trade.

Only 21 of the 208 contracts actually quote the age of apprentices and workers.<sup>54</sup> With one exception where the male apprentice was

<sup>51</sup> Lucie Laumonier, *Solitudes et solidarités en ville* and "Vivre seul à Montpellier à la fin du Moyen Âge," (Diss. Université de Sherbrooke (QC) and Université de Montpellier, 2013).

<sup>52</sup> Bender, "Negotiating Marriage," found the artisan groups of late medieval Florence, visible in the *catasto* evidence of the 1420s, departed from the Mediterranean marriage model in later marriages for women and less age separation between the spouses.

<sup>53</sup> For the temptations offered by city life, see *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, ed. John T. Appleby (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1963), or *Les poésies des Goliards*, ed. Olga Dobiache-Rojdestvensky (Paris: Les Editions Rieder, 1931). See also my article "Urban Sensations: The Medieval City Imagined," *A Cultural History of the Senses*, ed. Richard Newhauser (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2014), 45–65.

<sup>54</sup> See, for example, A. D. Hérault, II E 95/371, J. Holanie, f. 103v. The age data for Montpellier are much less full than those of Françoise Michaud-Fréjaville, "Bons et loyaux services: Les contrats d'apprentissage en Orléanais (1380–1480)," *Les Entrées dans la vie, initiations et apprentissage* (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1982), 183–208, and "Contrats d'apprentissage en Orléanais, les enfants au travail," *L'Enfant au Moyen-Age: lit-*

specifically described as under 14, there is no evidence that young children were apprenticed. Rather, the rule was that girls were apprenticed at 12 and over and boys at age 14 and older.<sup>55</sup> In southern Europe, as noted earlier, 12 was the practical age of majority for girls, 14 for boys.<sup>56</sup> Apprentices swore oaths of engagement, something they could not have done if they were under age; they also swore that they were of age, either alone or in the company of one or more parents or other adults.<sup>57</sup> The length of apprenticeship suggests apprentices' youth, nonetheless.

The absence of precise age data makes it impossible to gauge the most appropriate or most common age at which the learning process in specific trades began. However, the number of years spent in apprenticeship offers some suggestion of age and maturity. Six years or more of training probably involved adolescents near the age of practical majority. For girls, apprenticeship ranged from two years to learn basket making or second-hand clothes marketing to six years to learn tailoring and eight years to learn the mercer's trade, to ten years to learn the baking trade.<sup>58</sup> In the latter case, the apprentice was a 12 year old, likely inexperienced. But one must acknowledge that the length of apprenticeship for young people varied considerably, even within specific occupations. The slim data for age at

*térature et civilisation* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1980), 61–71. Michaud-Fréjaville found contracts involving individuals from three years to 24 years, with most in the range of age seven to 20. For boys, she was certain of their minority at age 13 and their majority at age 16; for girls, majority came at 12. Compare Steven A. Epstein, "Labour in Thirteenth-Century Genoa," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3 (1988): 128, who suggested that 17 or 18 was a more common age for swearing oaths. The youngest apprentices appeared to be between ten and 12 in Genoa. See also Steven A. Epstein, *Wage, Labor and Guilds in Medieval Europe* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

<sup>55</sup>A. D. Héroult, II E 95/371, J. Holanie, f. 103v. Michaud-Fréjaville, "Bons et loyaux services," 190, 193, found that only one-fourth of the contracts were without mention of age. She also found evidence that "14 years is not the normal age of entry into the world of work; is in not even the average age (15½ years)."

<sup>56</sup>Gouron, *La réglementation des métiers*, 268–269, spoke of the ages of 14 to 25 as those of pubescent minority.

<sup>57</sup>See A. D. Héroult, II E 95/371, J. Holanie, f.50r and 103v for examples. See also Michaud-Fréjaville, "Bons et loyaux services," 191, and Philippe Didier, "Le contrat d'apprentissage en Bourgogne aux XIVe et XVe siècles," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 54 (1976): 38.

<sup>58</sup>See "The Adolescent Apprentice/Worker," 120–121.

exit from apprenticeship arrangements run from 17 to 26.<sup>59</sup> Presumably by 25, the official age of majority in Roman law, most apprentices would have finished training.

There were slight distinctions in the length of apprenticeship between local apprentices and immigrants. Immigrant apprentices had slightly longer apprenticeships. Local girls at the beginning of their training were apprenticed on average for 4.3 years and nonlocal girls for 5.4 years. Local boys averaged 3.3 years of apprenticeship, while nonlocal boys contracted, on average, for 6 years.<sup>60</sup> Those women who came to Montpellier to learn a trade came from a shorter distance overall than did men entering the prestigious trades of commerce and finance, as noted earlier. Distance of displacement and type of occupation correlated with the prestige of the occupation. Less prestigious trades drew from lesser distances than commerce and finance.<sup>61</sup>

There is only one case where there was close verifiable correlation between a girl's family and her chosen occupation in apprenticeship, and even here, the connection was simply within precious metalwork. On 9 March 1328, the silversmith Johannes Rigaudi apprenticed his daughter Bonaffasia to the goldsmith Petrus Berengarii for four years to learn the trade of the latter's wife in spinning gold and to do her bidding.<sup>62</sup> It is worth noting that the 14 female contracts of work and apprenticeship involving immigrants gave no indication of family occupation, only family geographic origin. Formal apprenticeship data from surviving contracts show few sons following their fathers in the same trade—only 11 formal contracts show sons following fathers in the same trade—but this did not preclude their being taught at home by their fathers or by family members where there was no formal contract of apprenticeship. Indeed, most sons would have been trained at home.<sup>63</sup> However, in addition to the limited apprenticeship data before 1350, the witness lists of occupa-

<sup>59</sup>For a female apprentice who would have finished at a later age, see A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidi, f. 262r: a girl of Pompignan near Nîmes, over 12, engaged for ten years to bakers, and II E 95/372, J. Holanie et al, f. 101r: the son of a mercer, over 14, engaged for 12 years to a silversmith. For the youngest, see, for example, A. M. Montpellier, II 1, B. Grimaudi, 36r, for a male of Arles who engaged himself at 15 to a Montpellier changer for two years.

<sup>60</sup>See "Population Attraction and Mobility," 272, n. 77.

<sup>61</sup>"Population Attraction and Mobility," 266–270.

<sup>62</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 135v.

<sup>63</sup>Laumonier, "Getting Things Done and Keeping Them in the Family."

tions establishing trade statutes as a part of their formal organization and the groupings in charity organizations related to specific trades show few fathers and sons. Of 54 wood merchants/carpenters witnessing statutes in 1304, there were three pairs of fathers and sons.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, in statutes of shoemakers of 1320, of 84 signers, no fathers and sons were mentioned.<sup>65</sup> The 23 mercers who composed their statutes in 1328 were also without father and son combinations, as were 37 dyers in 1340.<sup>66</sup> In the case of men and women, the surviving documentation simply cannot capture the familial traditions of occupational or professional training over several generations.

The departure of a young woman (or man) from her home of birth to her master's or mistress's house presented a break with her family, but by the same token, a potential expansion of contacts and the opportunity for new connections. Certainly, new sets of ties must have resulted from association with a trade. There emerged new communities of employment for women and men practicing skilled occupations, reinforced by the emergence of organized trades and the charitable activities attached to them. With the marriage of skilled artisans of similar or different trades, the circles would only have grown larger.

Apprenticeship offered opportunity for social ascension or for reinforcement of social position. While women in Montpellier did not have formal guild membership, they were still players in the arena of apprenticeship and could use it to their advantage. Marriage across social strata and immigration in the course of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries encouraged social mobility and introduced newcomers to the town. Immigration was the engine of change, along with training in lucrative occupations, leading to apprenticeship, marriage, or both. All premodern cities depended on immigration to sustain their population size, let alone to grow.<sup>67</sup> Montpellier's artisanal industry, financial specialties, and com-

<sup>64</sup>A. M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*, C II: "la quarta dels escolas de la Carita." See Gouron, *La réglementation des métiers*, 99 and table, 108, for membership numbers in various guilds.

<sup>65</sup>Germain, *Histoire de la commune de Montpellier*, III: 469–71. Gouron, *La réglementation des métiers*, stated that there were over 100 members of this trade.

<sup>66</sup>The statutes of the mercers are found in A. M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*, Louvet no. 1117. The dyers' statutes can be found in Germain, *Histoire du commerce de Montpellier*, II: 179–182.

<sup>67</sup>Premodern cities devoured their inhabitants. See the classic study by Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City. Past and Present* (New York: The Free Press, 1960), 84. See also



mercial expertise were all beholden to newcomers as well as indigenous inhabitants. The town was open to newcomers and indeed dependent on immigrants for survival and urban success.

Apprenticeship had many implications for business and artisan households. The atelier could gain in productivity and efficiency as well as product quality were the apprentice able to assume some of the unskilled tasks related to the trade, leaving the master and journeymen time to tackle the more complex operations associated with a particular occupation. Masters had expenses in taking on apprentices. In comparison to young men entering an apprenticeship, who often paid for the privilege of being trained, young women were more often offered support and required to make little material contribution to the apprenticeship process. For example, on 18 May 1333, a messenger of Montpellier, Berengarius of Millau, apprenticed his daughter Johanna for three years to a local silversmith to learn the latter's wife's trade of polishing/burnishing silver and to do her bidding.<sup>68</sup> For this training and the service the apprentice would provide, the master was to see to her good morals, to teach her, and to provide food, drink, clothing, shoes, and all other necessities. In another instance, on 14 October 1327, a furrier, Johannes Petri, apprenticed his daughter Cecilia in work and apprenticeship for four years to the widow of a grain merchant to learn her trade of spinning gold and to do her bidding.<sup>69</sup> In this arrangement, Cecilia received training, and her father got 10 *s. t.* per year. The grain merchant's widow may have needed assistance and support and was willing to pay for it as well as to train her apprentice. However, masters may have been reluctant to support large numbers of female trainees, given the level of financial commitment necessary.

Female apprenticeship in mercery and related activities was quite common in Montpellier. Mercery is a catchall term to describe textiles and their adornments, but particularly silks. Mercery also included what we would term "notions": ribbons, decorations of all kinds, tassels, and gold threads, used to decorate fabrics.<sup>70</sup> There are multiple examples of apprenticeship in the mercery trade for women, some of them rural inhabitants.<sup>71</sup> A shoemaker and his wife took a female apprentice in the wife's trade of

Keith Lilley, *Urban Life in the Middle Ages, 1000–1450* (London: Palgrave, 2002).

<sup>68</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/369, J. Holanie, ff. 37r–ff. 38r.

<sup>69</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 56v.

<sup>70</sup>See Sharon Farmer, "Medieval Paris and the Mediterranean: The Evidence from the Silk Industry," *French Historical Studies* 37/3 (Summer, 2014): 383–419.

<sup>71</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/ 369, J. Holanie, f. 13v for mercery.

mercery.<sup>72</sup> An inhabitant of Montpellier apprenticed her daughter Ylarda to a mercer of Montpellier, to learn the mercery trade over a period of eight years.<sup>73</sup> The widow of a cultivator placed her daughter in apprenticeship for three years with the wife of a wood merchant to learn gold embroidery.<sup>74</sup> The widow of a changer trained the daughter of a cultivator in corduroy making.<sup>75</sup> Finally, a mercer and his wife agreed to train a girl from the diocese of Nîmes to make silk for three years.<sup>76</sup>

The presence of an important metalwork industry in Montpellier facilitated the production of gold thread that was part of the adornment of luxury fabrics. The involvement of the wives of metalwork personnel was key, and their husbands' specialty of metalwork would have supplied the raw material. Several contracts for the spinning of gold thread, beyond that of the widow of the grain merchant mentioned above, survive. The wives of goldsmiths were often engaged in the spinning of gold thread.<sup>77</sup> The daughter of a silversmith was apprenticed to a gilder for four years to learn the spinning of gold from his wife.<sup>78</sup> In a work contract, an oil merchant hired his wife out to the wife of a gilder for a year at the rate of 4 *s. t.* per ounce of spun gold she produced.<sup>79</sup> Part of this arrangement was a loan of 40 *s. t.* granted the oil merchant and his wife, with 12 *d.* to be deducted in repayment from the salary for each ounce spun.<sup>80</sup> Women

<sup>72</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 32v.

<sup>73</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 138v. The mother was Beatrix, wife of Raymundus de Elquerio; the mercer was Petrus de Chatnaco of Montpellier.

<sup>74</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Edigii, f. 227r.

<sup>75</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 50r; II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 136r; II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 56v.

<sup>76</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 1, J. Grimaudi, f. 80v; AD Hérault, II E 95/370 – baker?, J. Holanie, f. 25v; II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 262r; II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 32v. A secondhand clothes dealer and his wife apprenticed the daughter of a shoemaker for two years to learn his trade of secondhand clothes marketing. When spouses undertook apprenticeship jointly, there were times when there was a coincidence of occupation between husband and wife. At other times, the occupations were diverse, but presumably still housed in the artisan household. The occupational networks would have broadened when husband and wife were not in the same trade.

<sup>77</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, ff. 56v, 131v, 135v.

<sup>78</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 135v. The term for gilder is *deaurator*; an alternative translation is goldsmith.

<sup>79</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 131v.

<sup>80</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 50r, for basket weaving; II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 28r, for painting; II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 30r, for old clothes; II E (5/369, J. Holanie, f. 38r, for silver polishing.

elsewhere in the Mediterranean world can be noted in these activities.<sup>81</sup> In particular, the spinning of gold thread used in embroidery and cloth trimming, and in the making of brocade was a recurring female activity in Montpellier and in other parts of Europe.<sup>82</sup>

In contrast to most towns in Languedoc by the year 1300, Montpellier had no substantial wool cloth industry. The town's international reputation resided in the production of scarlet cloths, imported and dyed locally; these were exported in the Mediterranean world and sold in cloth marketing at home. Many of the traditional female trades of the cloth industry, such as spinning, may have been practiced on a more informal, familial level in Montpellier, whereas elsewhere in the south of France, there existed significant cloth industries.<sup>83</sup> Domestic cloth production for private, family use undoubtedly involved instruction within the family without the formality of apprenticeship contracts drawn up by a notary.<sup>84</sup>

In the 30 remaining contracts involving women workers and apprentices, women apprenticed and/or hired young women in 13 cases. They were acting as masters *de facto*, without the title. Five of these contracts, according to the notarial formulae, appear to be work contracts, and two others involved work as well as training. Distinctions among contract types are often difficult to make, as contracts seem to be molded to the individual needs of the contractants. In seven of the apprenticeships, the women hiring were widows: a baker who was the widow of a tailor, the widow of an innkeeper who taught basket weaving, the widow of a wood merchant who taught embroidery, the widow of a cultivator who was a baker, the widow of a cultivator who taught tailoring, the widow of a changer who taught linen embroidery, and the widow of a grain merchant who taught the spinning of gold, just noted.<sup>85</sup> Further, the widow of a silversmith

<sup>81</sup> See William N. Bonds, "Genoese Noblewomen and Gold Thread Manufacturing," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, fasc. 19 (1966): 79–81.

<sup>82</sup> See Farmer, *The Silk Industries of Medieval Paris*, and Miller, *The Beguines of Medieval Paris*, Chap. 3.

<sup>83</sup> See "Le rôle de Montpellier dans le commerce des draps de laine avant 1350."

<sup>84</sup> Additional skills taught to girls in formal apprenticeship included basket weaving, painting, the marketing of old clothes, and the polishing of silver cups.

See A. D. Hérault, II E 95 /368, J. Holanie, f. 50r, for basket weaving; II E 95/ 377, B. Egidii, f. 28r, for painting; II E 95/ 368, J. Holanie, f. 30r, for old clothes; II E (5/ 369, J. Holanie, f. 38r, for silver polishing.

<sup>85</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/375, P. de Pena, f. 122r; II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 50r; II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 227r; II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 227v; II E 95/371, J. Holanie, f. 38v; II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 136r; II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 56v.

acquitted a girl from Pompignan for payment for a training period of two years in activities that are not described in the act.<sup>86</sup> There was thus considerable diversity of expertise among Montpellier women artisans.

Generally, the notary merely indicated the type of training that would be offered the female apprentice. In rare instances, he was more specific. For the trade of baker, exceptionally, the notary provided the feminine form of the word baker (*pistorissa* or *pistrix*), thereby labeling the experienced woman's artisanal position.<sup>87</sup> In one case, the wife apprenticing worked in the same occupation as her husband. Thus, the wife of a tailor apprenticed the daughter of a fisherman's wife to learn tailoring over four years.<sup>88</sup> This female tailor and her husband may have shared a tailor's workshop.<sup>89</sup> Bernarda de Cabanis, wife of the draper Jacobus, apprenticed a young woman to learn the mercery trade.<sup>90</sup> Here, trades of husband and wife were in the textile industry. The wife of a goldsmith hired the wife of an oil merchant to spin gold by the ounce, a closely related activity, though not identical to that of her husband.<sup>91</sup> Often, the occupations of husband and wife were very different, as in the case of the innkeeper's widow who apprenticed the niece of a glassmaker to learn basket weaving, or the widow of a changer who trained the daughter of a cultivator in corduroy making, or the grain merchant's widow who agreed to train and pay the daughter of a furrier in the spinning of gold.<sup>92</sup>

Girls were usually apprenticed to women, occasionally to men, couples might take apprentices, and the rare exception saw a young male apprenticed to a woman. In such a case on 24 March 1328 Johanna, widow of the late Johannes de Montus [*sic*], bridle maker, and their son Johannes Montus and Petrus Fabri, candlemaker all these, apprenticed Johannes to Astruga, widow of the late Raymundus Chanlenq, mercer, for five years to learn Astruga's trade, which was likely that of mercer.<sup>93</sup> Though men

<sup>86</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/369, J. Holanie, f. 46r (or 57r because of dual numbering by archivists).

<sup>87</sup>For example, A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 227v.

<sup>88</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 37r.

<sup>89</sup>A very useful study of the artisan household as workshop remains Martha C. Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

<sup>90</sup>See the case study of Bernarda de Cabanis in the next chapter.

<sup>91</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 131v.

<sup>92</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 50r; II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 136r; II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 56v.

<sup>93</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 146r: a woman takes a male apprentice.

might hire female domestics, for the most part, women trained young women in apprenticeship, thus reinforcing a community of skill and occupation and the unofficial master's status of the women.

Husbands and wives took women as apprentices together in four cases, and in the general pool of contracts involving men, spouses were at times mentioned apprenticing men. Here, marriage may reflect the economic partnership that Shennan Hutton observes in late medieval Ghent.<sup>94</sup> A mercer and his wife agreed to train the daughter of a man from the diocese of Nîmes to make silk corduroy for three years, a secondhand clothes dealer and his wife apprenticed the daughter of a shoemaker for two years to learn his trade of secondhand clothes marketing, a baker and his wife apprenticed the daughter of a widow of Pompignan for ten years to learn to bake, and the sister of a man of Montpellier was apprenticed by her brother to a shoemaker and his wife to learn the mercery trade.<sup>95</sup> In the last example, the shoemaker's wife was likely the mercer who would do the training. When spouses undertook apprenticeship jointly, there were times, but not always, when there was a coincidence of occupation between husband and wife. At other times, the occupations were diverse, but presumably still housed in the artisan household. Girls were apprenticed to both men and women and to couples, where the understanding was that the apprentice was to learn the wife's trade. Men accepted women apprentices in other cases. Outside a formal apprenticeship structure, in many other instances, girls undoubtedly learned the skills of their mothers without leaving home, as noted above.<sup>96</sup>

The situation could at times be complicated. Apprenticeship of Alazassia, daughter of a man of Montarnaud, to a baker of Montarnaud resulted from a compromise between her father and her maternal grandfather, over her late mother's dowry that the grandfather maintained had been badly administered by her father.<sup>97</sup> The dowry of 35 *l.* current at the time of the marriage on 14 December 1337, along with other goods, was valued in the money of the date of the apprenticeship, 4 March 1348, at 33 *l.* 14 *s.* 10 *d.* *t.* The grandfather assured restitution of the dowry to Alazassia or to the baker of Montarnaud to hold for four years, during

<sup>94</sup>Hutton, *Women and Economic Activities in Late Medieval Ghent*, 65.

<sup>95</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 1, J. Grimaudi, f. 80v; AD Hérault, II E 95/370, J. Holanie, f. 25v; II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 262r; II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 32v.

<sup>96</sup>Laumonier, "Getting Things Done and Keeping Them in the Family."

<sup>97</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 305r.

which time the latter was to provide her with food and then, at the end of the period, return the funds. The girl's father maintained that he was the legal administrator of the funds. A compromise led to the father returning the money that was to be given the baker for clothing, nourishment, heat, and instruction in the baker's trade for his daughter for four years.

Domestic service was likely the pretext for hiring in a few contracts. The daughter of a late man of Posquières in the Gard near Nîmes, mentioned earlier, at the age of over 13, acting all alone and, as she explicitly stated, without a curator, hired herself out to a silversmith, Laurentius Hugonis, for a year, with support of food, clothing, and shoes, along with 16 *s. t.* in salary.<sup>98</sup> She promised to stay with him and follow all his orders, as long as they were licit and honest, in return for his support. Was she reluctant to commit for more than one year? Was her master? Did they renew their relationship? Unfortunately, the next sequel in the life of this young girl has not survived. This was also the only contract mentioning the term *ancilla*, Latin for slave girl in Roman times. In some areas of the Mediterranean world in the Middle Ages, according to Susan Mosher Stuard, the term *ancilla* continued to refer to slavery.<sup>99</sup> In the contract for the Posquières girl, domestic service was the likely connotation; domestic service was a common practice for young female immigrants from the country to the town from the Middle Ages throughout the early modern era and into the modern period, and today.<sup>100</sup>

In a somewhat unusual contract, the widow of a cultivator hired herself out to her daughter and son-in-law, who was a cultivator, from the date of 14 December 1327 to the following feast of Saint-Gilles (1 September 1328) to work for them and in return to receive food, clothing, shoes, and all other necessities in sickness and in health during this time period.<sup>101</sup> There is a suggestion of desperation in such an arrangement. Why would the son-in-law and daughter not simply care for the daughter's mother? What was to happen at the end of the period of nine months? It is likely that only a widow bereft of resources, without other kin and with no place

<sup>98</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/371, J. Holanie, f. 50r.

<sup>99</sup>Susan Mosher Stuard, "Single by Law and Custom," *Singlewomen in the European Past*, 106–26.

<sup>100</sup>For a discussion of women in service, see Bennett and Froide, "A Singular Past," 1–37. See also Epstein, *Wage Labor and Guilds in Medieval Europe*, 224. Epstein sees poor women from the countryside around Genoa hired as domestic servants for less cost but less status for owners than exotic domestic slaves.

<sup>101</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 90v.

to live, would enter into such a relationship with her daughter. Was the family tie not enough to engender care? Arrangements for care in old age were many, and this represents a somewhat heartless one.<sup>102</sup> Here, the poor widow had to pay her family with her work for support in her old age. As noted earlier, widows over the age of 45 were less likely than widowers to remarry, accentuating the plight of those like this poor widow.<sup>103</sup>

Marriage and apprenticeship were means of extending ties and creating new communities of family and occupation. Immigration played into both institutions as people were drawn to the dynamic urban center of Montpellier. In all instances, local and foreign, connections were expanded and new networks established. This theme can be pursued in the next chapter, which examines urban–rural connections along with a case study of the activities of the mercer Bernarda de Cabanis.

<sup>102</sup> Laumonier, *Solitudes et solidarités*, Chap. 4, 227–233. See also her talk, “Living Alone in Late Medieval Montpellier,” Center for Medieval Studies, 12 February 2015. See also her article “En prévision des vieux jours. Les personnes âgées à Montpellier à la fin du Moyen Âge,” *Médiévales* 68 (2015): 119–145.

<sup>103</sup> See Laumonier, *Solitudes et solidarités*, Chap. 4, Sect. 1. See also Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, “The ‘Cruel Mother’,” 120.

## Urban–Rural Connections

As a general rule, the inhabitants of Montpellier had frequent contacts with the countryside around the town. There is no evidence for Agnes’s holding rural lands, but the complex of suburban lands she held near the church of Saint Denis outside the city walls comprised a courtyard, a well, and an orchard, as noted in Chap. 3. There would have been some agricultural production in this real estate complex as agricultural activities were very common in the suburbs surrounding the town. Many elite women of Montpellier did have rural lands, including vineyards.<sup>1</sup>

Towns in the south of France characteristically had close relations with their hinterlands and considerable economic integration.<sup>2</sup> Aix-en-Provence served as a redistribution center for the cloth trade and for animal husbandry. Toulouse had a large population of butchers and an important cattle industry that linked rural/agricultural enterprises to the

<sup>1</sup>See “Land, Houses and Real Estate Investment in Montpellier,” 39–112. The businesswoman Martha de Cabanis had significant rural lands, including vineyards. See “Mother and Sons, Inc.,” Chap. 8.

<sup>2</sup>See Louis Stouff, *Arles à la fin du moyen âge*, 2 vols. (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1986) and Noël Coulet, *Aix en Provence. Espace et relations d’une capitale (milieu XIVe s. – milieu XVe s.)*, 2 vols. (Aix en Provence: Université de Provence, 1988).



town.<sup>3</sup> Marseille had a significant population of agricultural laborers.<sup>4</sup> The nature of the relations between these towns and their hinterlands differed from place to place. The case of Bernarda de Cabanis at the end of this chapter offers a window into the kind of urban–rural economic connections that were present for women in the Montpellier economy.

Though at its heyday Montpellier had between 35,000 and 40,000 inhabitants, the lordship of Montpellier was relatively small in surface area. The Guilhem lords had possessed land holdings close to the town itself in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that passed to their heirs, the Aragonese and Majorcan dynasties of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>5</sup> A large segment of the urban population was involved in agriculture.<sup>6</sup> In the notarial record of the late thirteenth to mid-fourteenth century, many of the cultivators were designated as “of Montpellier,” that is, residents of the town. Urban agricultural workers who walked out of the town walls to their fields and vineyards nearby were not uncommon in medieval towns. Most of the agricultural holdings of inhabitants of Montpellier were located within 20 kilometers of the town walls, and the prized vineyards of urban dwellers were within ten kilometers of the town; some were even in the suburbs.<sup>7</sup>

The *Commune Clôture* fortifications of the late twelfth century enclosed Montpellier and a portion of Montpelliéret.<sup>8</sup> Within the walls, the town was crowded with housing. Industrial activities such as cord work and wood storage encroached on the exterior trench of the fortifications. Beyond the walls, the town had significant suburbs by the thirteenth cen-

<sup>3</sup> Philip Wolff, “Les bouchers de Toulouse aux XIIIe et XIIIe siècles,” *Annales du Midi* 65 (1953): 375–395.

<sup>4</sup> Francine Michaud, “The Peasant Citizens of Marseille at the Turn of the Fourteenth Century,” in Kathryn Reyerson and John Drendel, eds. *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France. Provence and Languedoc, 1000–1500* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 275–289.

<sup>5</sup> On the political history of Montpellier, see Bernardin Gaillard, “La condition féodale de Montpelliéret,” *Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Montpellier*, 2nd ser. 8 (1922): 344–364, and Louis J. Thomas, “Montpellier entre la France et l’Aragon pendant la première moitié du XIVe siècle,” *Monspeliensia, mémoires et documents relatifs à Montpellier et à la région montpelliéraine* 1, fasc. 1 (Montpellier, 1928–1929): 1–56.

<sup>6</sup> Bonnet, “Les séjours à Montpellier de Jacme le Conquérant roi d’Aragon,” 176–177.

<sup>7</sup> See my study, “Urban/Rural Exchange: Reflections on the Economic Relations of Town and Country in the Region of Montpellier before 1350,” *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France. Provence and Languedoc, 1000–1500*, ed. Kathryn Reyerson and John Drendel (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998): 253–273.

<sup>8</sup> See “The Tensions of Walled Space.”

tury (see Map 3.1).<sup>9</sup> In a process found throughout Europe in the later thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century, one witnesses the acquisition of rural lands in the countryside by urban inhabitants, particularly the elite, with purchase and foreclosure the common methods.<sup>10</sup> Urban–rural interaction also included the extension of credit by urban inhabitants to rural inhabitants and villagers, the village being the common form of habitation in the hinterland.<sup>11</sup> The previous chapters on marriage and apprenticeship noted immigration from the countryside to the town. There was thus considerable urban–rural exchange.

Many linkages existed between Montpellier and its immediate countryside. Truck farming in the suburbs and close-in fields furnished the products sold by market sellers on the central market squares.<sup>12</sup> Beyond the financial, mercantile, and artisanal industrial sectors, the agricultural economy also offered attractions for women’s participation. The engagement of Montpellier inhabitants with the hinterland took many forms, and, as noted, there was a significant agricultural population resident in the town.<sup>13</sup> Urban inhabitants dealt in agricultural products. Women’s activities can be noted in commodities, grain, and grapes, particularly, and in the trade in animals. Women of the mercantile elite like Martha de Cabanis had significant vineyard investments.<sup>14</sup> Women’s investments in real estate frequently involved agricultural land as well as urban housing.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Jacqueline Caille, “Urban Expansion in the Region of Languedoc from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century: The Examples of Narbonne and Montpellier,” *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France. Provence and Languedoc, 1000–1500*, ed. Kathryn Reyerson and John Drendel (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998), 51–72.

<sup>10</sup> See “Urban/Rural Exchange.”

<sup>11</sup> See my co-authored article, “Les dynamiques commerciales dans les petites villes languedociennes aux environs de 1300,” with Gilbert Larguier and Monique Bourin in *Dynamiques du monde rural dans la conjuncture de 1300. Échanges, prélèvements et consommation en Méditerranée occidentale*, ed. Monique Bourin, François Menant and Lluís To Figueras (École française de Rome, 2014), 171–204. See Andrea Caracausi and Christof Jeggle, *Commercial Networks and European Cities, 1400–1800* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014). See also “Urban/Rural Exchange.”

<sup>12</sup> The countryside also housed activities related to the production of linen and woolen cloth. See “Le rôle de Montpellier dans le commerce des draps de laine.”

<sup>13</sup> See “Urban/Rural Exchange.”

<sup>14</sup> A. D. Hérault, II D 95/374, G. Nogareti, *passim*. See “Mother and Sons, Inc.,” Chap. 8.

<sup>15</sup> See “Land, Houses and Real Estate Investment in Montpellier.”

Women were frequent participants in the real estate market, buying and selling land.<sup>16</sup> They could have acquired land through their dowries and through inheritance as well. In the surviving land transactions, they represented 21.8 % of the sellers of land and 10.7 % of the buyers. Vineyards represented over half of the sales and purchases of land. Women from all walks of life were present in real estate transactions, with the exception of Jews, nobles and *burgenses*, and wives or daughters of royal administrators. Among women participants in real estate transactions, those of agricultural background accounted for almost a third of the sales, whereas male agricultural workers were represented at slightly over 15 % of sales. Agricultural women may have encountered economic difficulties in the first half of the fourteenth century, forcing them to sell off land.<sup>17</sup> Widowhood was the most frequent status of women sellers, but married women also appeared with their husbands' permission to sell land.

The agricultural commodities market in Montpellier witnessed the regular participation of women, particularly as buyers of grapes and grain.<sup>18</sup> The region of Montpellier supported a polyculture in the Middle Ages. Grain was grown, and, in good years, Montpellier, along with Toulouse, Narbonne, and most of Languedoc, could meet its own food needs through local production. Languedoc could even be a grain exporter in years of good harvest.<sup>19</sup> In bad years, grain was imported.<sup>20</sup> The involvement of women in grain purchases reflects the role of provider that they frequently assumed. Bread was the staple of the medieval diet. Women buyers were concentrated in the more modest urban social and economic categories—artisans, food trade and agricultural workers, and nearby villagers—contrasting with the more broadly representative male buyers who came from a variety of walks of life.

<sup>16</sup> See "Women in Business," 134–135.

<sup>17</sup> See the collection of papers in *Les disettes dans la conjuncture de 1300 en Méditerranée occidentale*, ed. Monique Bourin, John Drendel, and François Menant (Rome: École française de Rome, 2011).

<sup>18</sup> For tables noting women's activities on the agricultural market, see "Women in Business."

<sup>19</sup> Henri Bresc, "Marchands de Narbonne et du Midi en Sicile (1300–1460)," *Bulletin de la Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon* (1973), 93–99.

<sup>20</sup> See my article, "Montpellier et le trafic des grains en Méditerranée avant 1350," *Montpellier, la Couronne d'Aragon et les Pays de Langue d'Oc (1204–1349)*, *Actes du XIIe Congrès d'Histoire de la Couronne d'Aragon, Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Montpellier XV* (Montpellier: 1987): 147–162.

Women from villages surrounding Montpellier were present as clients for grain in the greatest numbers, as were men, in years of bad agricultural yield; such conditions were present in Montpellier and in Languedoc in 1327 and 1333, in particular. On 4 September 1327, the widow Guillelma, wife of the late Guillelmus Deodati, cultivator of Montpellier, bought grain from a priest of Arles, Raymundus Caussamira.<sup>21</sup> With the death of her husband, she may no longer have had access to food resources. On 12 September 1327, the immigrant merchant of Montpellier Boninus de Meldeo sold the large quantity of 44 *setiers* of wheat to two widows, Guillelma, widow of Petrus Girardi, and Raymunda, widow of Petrus de Marginibus, both of Aimargues, about 40 kilometers from Montpellier, along with Raymundus Calmini of Lunel.<sup>22</sup>

Women and men with different surnames from villages and small towns surrounding Montpellier made grain purchases jointly, perhaps for resale in the countryside, as in the Aimargues's case. Were they family members or representatives of their communities? The evidence does not furnish an explanation, except to underline the need of inhabitants of the hinterland—men and women—to come to town to buy grain. Montpellier was the site of significant imports of Mediterranean grain in the 1320s and 1330s. In this same period, male professionals, grain merchants (*ordearii*) who usually worked in partnership, handled large imports of grain from the Mediterranean world and dominated the grain trade.<sup>23</sup> While few couples were present selling grain before Montpellier notaries, 13 couples made grain purchases.<sup>24</sup> Cultivators and cultivator couples were frequent among purchasers of grain, indicating bad results at harvest or a specialization in some other agricultural produce.<sup>25</sup> Clearly, grape growers might need to purchase grain.

<sup>21</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 41r.

<sup>22</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 44v. The *setier* is the equivalent of about 49 liters.

<sup>23</sup>See "Montpellier et le trafic des grains."

<sup>24</sup>For a discussion of agricultural problems in Languedoc, see Marie-Josèphe Larenaudie, "Les famines en Languedoc au XIV<sup>e</sup>, siècle," *Annales du Midi* 64 (1952): 27–39. See also the discussion in "Commerce and Society in Montpellier," I: 212–214.

<sup>25</sup>See "Commerce and Society," II: 169–194, for a synoptic inventory of grain transactions surviving in the notarial registers. For further discussion of the relations between Montpellier and the little towns of its hinterland, see my co-authored article with Bourin and Larguier, "Les dynamiques commerciales dans les petites villes languedociennes aux environs de 1300), 171–204.

Women were actively involved in the grape trade in a region where the cultivation of the vine has remained as significant as in the Middle Ages. Grape growing occupied many agriculturally oriented inhabitants of the town and those of the immediate region. The distribution of women sellers and buyers varied somewhat from the male population of participants.<sup>26</sup> No women of agricultural background sold grapes, while four transactions record the purchase of grapes by agricultural women. Vineyard cultivation was a labor-intensive effort in which women may have been less active than men.<sup>27</sup> Men were clearly the major marketers of the fruits of the vine. However, women of nonagricultural background bought and sold on the futures market in grapes, as did their male counterparts, and they were in possession of vineyards, as Martha de Cabanis's example illustrates.<sup>28</sup>

It was common practice to market the fruits of a vineyard prior to the harvest in return for a cash advance. Grapes were generally sold on the vine for delivery at the next harvest. Such transactions, termed sales in the notarial contracts, usually included a down payment on the futures in grapes. At times, a specific quantity of grapes was involved, sometimes the yield of the whole vineyard. Grapes varied in price according to quality and to provenance, there being in this period, as today, certain soils that were particularly propitious for grape growing.<sup>29</sup> Numerous couples were recorded selling grapes together. Widows and their sons were involved jointly in several grape and grain purchases.

In another rural sector, women of agricultural background were recorded in animal transactions.<sup>30</sup> These sellers were primarily of rural background, from the Montpellier hinterland or from the group of cultivators of urban Montpellier. In this area of trade, as in the grape and grain transactions, widows were by far the most heavily involved buyers and sellers. Here, as in the luxury trade, women used the same credit and

<sup>26</sup>For tables of participants in the grape and grain trades, see Chap. 2 of *Business, Banking and Finance*.

<sup>27</sup>On grape cultivation in the region of Montpellier, see Gaston Galtier, "Le vignoble et le vin dans le Languedoc oriental de la fin du XIe siècle à la Guerre de Cent Ans," *Études médiévales offertes à M. le Doyen Fliche de l'Institut* (Montpellier: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1952), 9. See also the invaluable Dion, *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France*.

<sup>28</sup>On grape futures, see "Commerce and Society in Montpellier," I, Chap. 3, section on "Grapes and Wine," 232–240. See "Mother and Sons, Inc.," Chap. 8.

<sup>29</sup>See *Business, Banking and Finance*, 51–55, and "Commerce and Society in Montpellier," I: 232–240.

<sup>30</sup>See "Women in Business," 128–130.

financial mechanisms as their male counterparts.<sup>31</sup> In the agricultural market, widows were the most active female participants.

Urban–rural linkages are also evident in the lending of money. Lending was not uncommon for women. Over the period 1293–1348 when notarial evidence survives, the majority of men borrowing were nonlocal, and of female borrowers overall, some 53 % were nonlocal, most from the immediate countryside.<sup>32</sup> Women were represented in local lending activities, recorded in 29 loans as lenders (7.6 % of the total) and in 30 as borrowers (7.8 % of the total) out of 384 loans surviving in the notarial registers.<sup>33</sup> Lenders among women came from a whole range of social backgrounds, based on the occupations or other designations of their fathers or husbands, including the urban elite as well as artisans, the service trades, the food trades, and villagers. Some women lenders were simply termed inhabitants of Montpellier by the notary, with omission of an identification of their social status. Women lent money to acquaintances and to their sons. It is not possible to discern motive in these loans, whether charitable or investment for profit, but the latter is likely in most cases. As an example, the widow Maria Bertholomiene lent money to her sons, a shoemaker and a fisherman, and also lent in small amounts to cultivators of Montpellier.<sup>34</sup> The loans to her sons may have been familial and without interest, but she undoubtedly derived a profit from the others. Women often made modest loans to agricultural workers.<sup>35</sup> Thus, Bernarda de Cabanis's activities as a lender to the agricultural milieu were not unusual, as we will see.<sup>36</sup> William Jordan identified “networks of sociability” in his study of women and credit. He found many cases of small sums borrowed and a “woman-to-woman exchange.”<sup>37</sup>

<sup>31</sup> See *Business, Banking and Finance* and “Land, Houses, and Real Estate Investment.”

<sup>32</sup> See *Business, Banking and Finance*, Chap. 3 on loans.

<sup>33</sup> See Chap. 3 of *Business, Banking and Finance*. On women and credit in general, see Jordan, *Women and Credit*. Hutton, *Women and Economic Activities in Late Medieval Ghent*, 86–87, finds, “One out of every four credit acts includes a woman as creditor, debtor, or surety in her own name, a considerably higher rate than Jordan’s average of 11 to 16 %.”

<sup>34</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/369, ff. 97r, 99v, and 103r, over the period 10–25 November 1333.

<sup>35</sup> *Business, Banking and Finance*, 73–75.

<sup>36</sup> See William Chester Jordan, “Jews on Top: Women and the Availability of Consumption Loans in Northern France in the Mid-Thirteenth Century,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 29 (1978): 39–56.

<sup>37</sup> Jordan, *Women and Credit*, 24–26.

The participation of women in lending activities shows a somewhat different distribution of social groups than that of men. Merchant background, as established by the occupation of a woman's husband or father, was represented at lower levels among female lenders than among male lenders, accounting for only 3.4 % of women lending money, whereas male merchants accounted for 12.2 % of the total lenders.<sup>38</sup> Jews, recorded in loans at the end of the thirteenth century, were the most common lenders at 33 %, but they accounted for only 20 % of the loan capital.<sup>39</sup> Agricultural and artisan/service backgrounds were more heavily present among women lenders than among men. Although women of modest means would have had few resources available to lend money, they were doing so in Montpellier.

Loans by women rarely exceeded 25 *l. t.* and were usually much more modest, even at the level of the urban elite. Thus, in 1333, a *burgensis* widow lent 59 *s. t.* to a *burgensis* couple, husband and wife.<sup>40</sup> These activities reflect horizontal ties and involvement in a community of mutual assistance where small loans were likely destined for subsistence or convenience. Women of the mercantile elite may have been less involved in lending activities because of the lingering stigma of usury attached to such finance and because their participation was a less necessary component of family survival than at other economic levels within society; however, as the case of Bernarda de Cabanis will demonstrate, this was not necessarily so.<sup>41</sup>

Single and widowed women were noted in equal numbers as moneylenders. In all likelihood, single women, after a certain age, and widows had more control over their resources than married women, whose dowries were assimilated with their husbands' goods.<sup>42</sup> As noted earlier, women in the south of France surrendered their dowries to their husbands

<sup>38</sup> For social/occupational categories used here, see my article, "Population Attraction and Mobility," 267–8, and *Business, Banking and Finance*.

<sup>39</sup> On loans by Jews of Montpellier, see R. W. Emery, *The Jews of Perpignan in the Thirteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), Appendix 3, 131–133. The Jews were expelled from Montpellier in 1306, and though they returned after 1315, I do not find them in later notarial registers before 1350. For my discussion of Jewish loans, see *Business, Banking and Finance*, 68–74.

<sup>40</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/369, J. Holanic, f. 10v.

<sup>41</sup> On usury in Montpellier, see my article, "Les opérations de crédit dans la coutume et dans la vie des affaires à Montpellier au moyen âge: le problème de l'usure," *Diritto comune et diritti locali nella storia dell'Europa* (Milan: Guiffre, 1980), 189–209.

<sup>42</sup> Of 29 women lenders, 11 were single and 11 widowed, while 7 were married.

but could expect to recover them at their husbands' death. They kept control over their personal effects or *paraphernalia*. Widows of humble background, which would include urban agricultural and artisanal background and rural agricultural background from the Montpellier hinterland, outnumbered both single and married women as borrowers, suggesting the difficult financial straits of their status. Widowhood in Montpellier was the life phase of greatest potential for agency, but reduced circumstances could come with widowhood, limiting possibilities. The wealthy widows such as Agnes, by contrast, could enjoy considerable freedom of decision and action.<sup>43</sup> There may have been somewhat less involvement of married women in the economy, but the data are limited. Bernarda de Cabanis and her loan clients were married women.<sup>44</sup> Overall, women lenders and borrowers reflected the flexibility of the system and the ingenuity of some women functioning within it.<sup>45</sup>

Women lending and borrowing money were of comparable numbers, but women borrowing money were concentrated in the artisan and agricultural milieux, much as were male borrowers.<sup>46</sup> Few mercantile and financial backgrounds were noted among borrowers. Instead, artisanal and agricultural milieux furnished women borrowers, as did the villages within a radius of 50 kilometers from Montpellier. Half of the women borrowers were from outside Montpellier, though most were from nearby villages. This distribution was similar to that of male borrowers.<sup>47</sup> Around 1300, most of the nonresident borrowers were clients for small loans—some in kind—from Jewish lenders.<sup>48</sup> After the Jews disappeared from the evidence with their banishment from France in 1306, the borrowing pattern of rural inhabitants remains the same.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>43</sup> See “Women in Business,” and “Mother and Sons, Inc.” for discussion of widows.

<sup>44</sup> “L'Expérience des plaideuses.” The Crusolis family's heroic attempt at dowry recovery demonstrates considerable agency for married women and a desire for control over resources.

<sup>45</sup> Hutton, *Women in Economic Activities in Late Medieval Ghent*, 81–86, found webs of credit and the circulation of wealth among women lenders. Certainly, the involvement of women in credit in Ghent parallels that of women in Montpellier, with some slightly different patterns of involvement.

<sup>46</sup> Women were present as lenders in 29 acts and as borrowers in 30.

<sup>47</sup> Fifteen of the 30 women borrowers were not from Montpellier, though 13 of these 15 were from nearby.

<sup>48</sup> Emery, *The Jews of Perpignan*, 131–133.

<sup>49</sup> See William Chester Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews from Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), on Jewish banishments.



Family ties were often present in loans. Women were noted as borrowers in ten loans in association with their sons and in one case with a daughter. For example, on 27 September 1342, Beatrix Rostagni, widow of the late Johannes Rostagni of Fréjorgues, and Deodatus Rostagni, their son, owed 50 *s.* current money to a priest.<sup>50</sup> They were to repay from the date of the inception of the loan until Lent. The pretext for this borrowing is not stated in the act, but consumption borrowing was consistent with the traditional female role of family provider. As noted earlier, problems of subsistence were real in the first half of the fourteenth century when poor harvests caused food shortages and famine in some years.<sup>51</sup> Languedoc alternated between grain shortages and surpluses. In bad years in the rural hinterland around Montpellier, poor harvests created hardship, causing women and their families to go into debt.<sup>52</sup>

Women's activities reveal significant linkages between town and country. One way these connections played out can be illustrated in the case study of Bernarda de Cabanis, a member of the commercial elite of Montpellier, who in the early fourteenth century lent money to women of the agricultural sector of the town, trained daughters from this milieu in the production of mercery, and accepted repayment of her loans in mercery. She also sold mercery to Montpellier mercers. Bernarda was an entrepreneur, but her activities strengthened the economic potential of a lesser stratum of society. With Bernarda as a case study, the interactions among women in trade in Montpellier and its hinterland are revealed. The story of Bernarda de Cabanis offers a window into the kind of economic connections that were present for women in the Montpellier economy. Bernarda reflected the linkages that existed between the elite mercantile/retail milieu and the agricultural milieu, both rural and urban.

Bernarda was a mercer. International Montpellier merchants such as the Cabanis brothers, to whom Bernarda was likely related by marriage, were specialists of mercery of Lucca, rich silk embroideries, damasks, and brocades, which they distributed widely in France and Spain.<sup>53</sup> Bernarda

<sup>50</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/371, J. Holanie, f. 124r.

<sup>51</sup>The municipal chronicle of Montpellier stated in the year 1333 that famine raged, young men were weakened by a diet of raw herbs, and people were dying in the streets, as noted earlier. See "La chronique romane," *Le Petit Thalamus de Montpellier*, 347.

<sup>52</sup>For a discussion of issues of subsistence, see "Montpellier et le trafic des grains en Méditerranée avant 1350." See also Bourin, Drendel and Menant, eds. *Les disettes*.

<sup>53</sup>See "Medieval Silks in Montpellier: The Silk Market ca. 1250-ca.1350," *Journal of European Economic History*, 11 (1982): 117–140.

dealt in silks and mercery. She was the wife of Jacobus de Cabanis, draper, and mother of at least two children, Jacobus, legal specialist (*jurisperitus*), and Guillelmus, canon of Maguelone. Her husband Jacobus, who was still living in the years when evidence is available for Bernarda, may have been the uncle or great uncle of the Cabanis brothers. Bernarda shared with her husband Jacobus an association with the textile trade, though nothing more, as her speciality was mercery and silks and his was wool cloth.

The textile industry, traceable in apprenticeship, work, and market transactions, was centered on the dyeing of luxury woolen clothes and on the production of linen cloths. There was considerable trade in silks and the production of silk finishings and adornment, but most of the raw material was imported.<sup>54</sup> Gradually, as Sharon Farmer has revealed, silk production would develop in France.<sup>55</sup> Women were involved in many aspects of the silk industry, which was closely connected to the mercery trade. Montpellier had important silk finishing and linen processing industries to which female activities in the decorative trades of the textile industry were frequently attached.<sup>56</sup> Gold thread production, embroidery, and mercery training were among the female occupations identifiable in the extant apprenticeship contracts from the notarial registers before 1350.<sup>57</sup> The textile finishing industry of Montpellier overall had strong links to female members of the agricultural milieu, as did overall recruitment into the modest artisanal trades for men.<sup>58</sup> There was a repository of available labor, perhaps excess labor, in the countryside and in the lower stratum of the town that identified as agricultural.

Bernarda participated in the mercery trade, but as a woman, she was not a member of the mercers' guild.<sup>59</sup> However, a lack of formal guild membership for women in Montpellier did not mean a lack of training and expertise, nor a failure to participate in artisanal activities. As noted

<sup>54</sup> See "Medieval Silks in Montpellier."

<sup>55</sup> Farmer, "Paris and the Mediterranean: Evidence from the Late Thirteenth-Century silk Industry," *French Historical Studies* 27(2014): 383–419. See also Chap. 5.

<sup>56</sup> See "Medieval Silks in Montpellier." On linen, see Jean Combes, "L'Industrie et le commerce des toiles à Montpellier de la fin du XIIIe siècle au milieu du XVe," *Recueil de mémoires et travaux publié par la société d'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit*, fasc. IX, *Mélanges Roger Aubenas* (Montpellier, 1974): 181–212.

<sup>57</sup> See "Women in Business," and "Land, Houses and Real Estate." See also Chap. 5.

<sup>58</sup> "Population Attraction and Mobility."

<sup>59</sup> For a description of the family relationship, see A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, f. 24r.

in the previous chapter, there was no formal guild membership for any Montpellier women in any of the trades and occupations of the town before 1350.<sup>60</sup> The 1328 Statutes of the mercers' trade make no mention of women's participation.<sup>61</sup>

With the case study of Bernarda's activities, we see several levels of interaction, forming significant linkages for her.<sup>62</sup> She lent money to women and couples of the agricultural milieu, she sold mercery products to mercers of Montpellier, and she apprenticed daughters of the agricultural milieu to be trained by her in the production of mercery. These three activities were interrelated. Lending money to producers of mercery who were associated with agriculture tapped an available labor source. Mercery production was a by-activity that agricultural women might perform in the off-season. For Bernarda, hiring apprenticeship in mercery supported her mercery trade since she was also recorded selling mercery to mercers of Montpellier.

Bernarda interacted closely with the cultivator milieu of Montpellier. She loaned money to wives of cultivators and to cultivator couples. In a loan of 40 *s.* on 9 October 1327 to Johanna, wife of cultivator Michaelis Pascalis, Bernarda expected repayment in kind, in mercery, *in opera mersarie*, on demand, *de die in diem*.<sup>63</sup> We can only speculate whether the sum of 40 *s.* was destined for the purchase of raw materials for the production of mercery, to support the agricultural activities of the cultivator family, or simply for the subsistence of the household. On-demand loans were very common in Montpellier.<sup>64</sup> And we are not informed about the level of interest, an interesting calculation, surely, in the case of repayment in kind. In fact, this loan resembles an advance payment of salary. The practice of salaries and loans, witnessed in Bernarda's mercery business, was used in gold thread production as well. There were loans extended to apprentices and workers with payoffs in kind.<sup>65</sup>

These cultivators were perhaps short of funds in the years of uncertain harvest in the south of France. In both of the other two loans recorded by

<sup>60</sup> On the trade organizations of Montpellier, see Gouron, *La réglementation des métiers*.

<sup>61</sup> The 1328 Statutes of the mercers are found in A. M. Montpellier, Grand Chartrier, Louvet 1117, as noted earlier.

<sup>62</sup> Bernarda's activities are recorded in other registers than those of the Cabanis notary Guillelmus Nogareti. See "La participation des femmes de l'élite marchande à l'économie."

<sup>63</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 55r.

<sup>64</sup> *Business, Banking and Finance*, Chap. 3.

<sup>65</sup> See Chap. 5.

Bernarda, sums of 30 *s.* and 40 *s.* were to be repaid by the wife of a cultivator and a cultivator couple, respectively. Both of these loans occurred on 13 July 1327, and they follow each other in the notarial register. Bernarda was obviously lining up her lending business.<sup>66</sup> Summer might have been a time of scarcity, and the fall a time of disappointment with a poor harvest.

The sums involved were modest amounts in terms of international trade but potentially significant for the cultivator milieu, frequently in need of cash. Bernarda may have chosen to invest some of the profits from her mercery business in lending activities that generated payments in kind in mercery. She appears to have created a profitable system of production of mercery and marketing of mercery. Bernarda had a career clearly separate from that of her husband. Bernarda's independence of operation is well illustrated in her lending activities and in her mercery sales and apprenticeship contract, to be examined below. The economic networks she established linked her with women of lesser strata of society. There was a network of credit and lending among women, reinforced by Bernarda's example, that is consistent with the broader study of women in credit networks by William Chester Jordan.<sup>67</sup>

We learn more about Bernarda's connections to the rural community through her apprenticeship activities that underpinned her mercery business. On 7 March 1328, Bernarda took as her apprentice Florencia, the daughter of a cultivator Arnaudus Valerie and his wife, to learn the trade of mercery. Bernarda engaged Florencia to live with her and work and learn her trade.<sup>68</sup> She would have provided for Florencia's support. Further, Bernarda agreed to pay Florencia's father Arnaudus 40 *s.* per year for each of three years, implying that Florencia had some skills or considerable potential. Perhaps Florencia's mother had enjoyed an earlier apprenticeship and had begun her daughter's instruction. Many apprenticeships furnished only food and clothing and paid no salary. It is possible that the

<sup>66</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 4v. and A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 4r-4v. In the second loan, the wife of the cultivator Alazacia certified to the transactions renouncing the *Senatusconsultum Velleianum*, among Roman law protections. The *benefacio muliebri* and other protections (*ambo omnibus bastidis*) were also mentioned. See Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1953).

<sup>67</sup>Recall Jordan, *Women and Credit*. See also Jordan, "Jews on Top: Women and the Availability of Consumption Loans in Northern France in the Mid-Thirteenth Century."

<sup>68</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 134r. This hiring/apprenticeship document is partially illegible.

cultivator's wife, mentioned earlier, who repaid the loan in kind, had earlier been apprenticed to Bernarda, and there is no reason to assume that Bernarda was the only source of instruction, as other apprenticeship contracts, treated in the previous chapter, described the training in mercery production. Bernarda herself undoubtedly learned her craft through formal apprenticeship or in a more informal situation at her mother's knee.

Work in precious metals in Montpellier spawned what one might term auxiliary industries, which involved skilled women who produced decorative items for textile adornment, mercery for silk in particular. Montpellier had a significant reputation in precious metalwork. There survive objects with the mark of Montpellier (MOP) from the late thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>69</sup> Wives might work in bye-industries related to the precious metal trades of their husbands. A silversmith's wife or a goldsmith's wife might thus be involved in activities associated with her husband's trade, as noted in the previous chapter.

When viewed in light of Bernarda's loans that could be repaid in kind in some cases, it is likely that she was teaching women of the cultivator milieu how to produce mercery that she in turn would sell to Montpellier mercers.<sup>70</sup> On 28 May 1333, she sold 30 *l. t. p.* of mercery to the mercer Berengarius Gasqui and his wife. On 4 December of the same year she made another sale to Bernardus Rebolh, mercer, of diverse types of mercery. Her financial arrangements for these sales were based on credit, as she accepted recognitions of debt in line with the current practice in the luxury trade in Montpellier.<sup>71</sup> The surviving evidence suggests that Bernarda likely had her system in place over a number of years. It would have taken time to develop the linkages that we observe. In lending, in mercery apprenticeships, and in sales of mercery, Bernarda was not alone in Montpellier.

Women's activities can be traced in silk sales and purchases, an active branch of Montpellier commerce. In the silk trade, the sale transactions

<sup>69</sup>See my forthcoming article, "Economics and Culture: The Exchange between Montpellier and Papal Avignon," in *The Worlds of Papal Avignon*, ed. Susan J. Noakes. See also my collaborative paper with the late Faye Powe, "Metalwork of Montpellier: Techniques and Workshop Practices in the Fourteenth Century," International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, 1984. Workshop practices are perhaps best revealed in contracts associated with the silversmiths and the goldsmiths.

<sup>70</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/369, J. Holanic. ff. 43v and 107v, for the mercery sales.

<sup>71</sup>*Business, Banking and Finance*, Chap. 2.

of women were often related to their positions as wives and widows of silk industry personnel. In the silk trade, women related to silk industry personnel, often sold silks. In 1293, Maria, in a matter of months wife and then widow of Bernardus Orlhaco, sold silk on four occasions; her clientele consisted of Jews of Montpellier and Uzès.<sup>72</sup> The likely scenario here is that Maria continued in the business that her husband had run as a mercer and in which she had participated.<sup>73</sup> In another case, the wife of a wood merchant bought silk for 40 *l. melg.* from a local mercer; she may have been acquiring goods for her own enterprise, common to merchants' and artisans' wives, as apprenticeship contracts to teach techniques of silk embroidery suggest.<sup>74</sup> Though women were associated with the silk industry, they were not mentioned as sellers of mercery of Lucca, the renowned elaborate brocades and damasks of the Lucchese silk finishing industry, a branch of the silk trade that enjoyed considerable marketing specialization in Montpellier.<sup>75</sup>

Beyond silks and mercery, women were active participants in the cloth trade as buyers and sellers.<sup>76</sup> Three women figure among the sellers of cloths and six among the buyers, out of a total of 140 contracts. On 6 September 1333, Tiburgis, widow of the late notary Symon de Torna Forti, and her son Petrus Torna Forti, merchant, purchased wool cloth worth 33 *l. t. p.* on credit from a Montpellier draper, to be paid in

<sup>72</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 1, J. Grimaudi, ff. 7r, 21r, 27r, and 50v. In the first act of September 1293, she was described as Maria Orhague, wife of Bernardus; in subsequent acts of October, November, and December, she is called widow. See also A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, ff. 114v and 142r, for the remaining acts.

<sup>73</sup>In another case, the wife of a wood merchant bought silk for 40 *l. melg.* from a local mercer; she may have been acquiring goods for her own enterprise, common to merchants' and artisans' wives, as apprenticeship contracts to teach techniques of silk embroidery suggest. See A. M. Montpellier, BB 1, J. Grimaudi, f. 10v.

<sup>74</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 1, J. Grimaudi, f. 10v.

<sup>75</sup>See "Medieval Silks in Montpellier." Among the clients of the most prominent specialists in mercery of Lucca, the Cabanis brothers, was a widow of Toulouse who purchased this product in person in Montpellier. Another widow of Toulouse, also a Cabanis client, dealt through a procurator in Montpellier to purchase mercery of Lucca. See A. D. Hérault, II E 95/374, G. Nogareti, ff. 30 and 38r.

<sup>76</sup>On the cloth trade, see "Le rôle de Montpellier dans le commerce des draps de laine avant 1350." Hutton, *Women and Economic Activities in Late Medieval Ghent*, finds women as active entrepreneurs in the cloth trade in Ghent, though deferring to men in the largest transactions. See 115–119. She also finds husbands and wives in economic partnership in many artisanal activities (118–119).

two months.<sup>77</sup> This was a large purchase that may have been destined for resale. In another purchase, a husband and wife were involved.<sup>78</sup> On 13 September 1333, Mirabellis Ihantanda, immigrant inhabitant of Montpellier, owed Bonafossia Bonelhe, inhabitant of Montpellier, whom I have identified as a prostitute, 39 *s. t. p.* for wool cloth, probably a personal purchase.<sup>79</sup> On 9 December 1333, Peyronella Chapussa, widow of a man of Melgueil, along with two men, an inhabitant of Melgueil and his brother from Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone, owed a man of the diocese of Lodeve 36 *s. t. p.* for the price of burel cloth, with the debt to be repaid at Pentecost.<sup>80</sup>

The mercery trade and textiles overall offer an interesting nexus for the activities of women.<sup>81</sup> Mercery, embroidery, and silk corduroy were activities that attracted women. These crafts could be done in the home, tapping surplus labor in the cultivator or artisanal milieu.<sup>82</sup> There remain unknowns in mercery production: the source of the raw material and the normal marketing strategy. It is likely that agricultural women relied on women like Bernarda as intermediaries in marketing mercery to Montpellier mercers. Was Bernarda's enterprise akin to a form of the putting-out industry that is so well documented for the cloth industry in the Middle Ages in places like Douai, exemplified by the operations of Jehan Boinebroke?<sup>83</sup> Bernarda may have been the source of raw material and she may have regularly collected the finished product, paying for it. She did, as we have seen, accept mercery in kind as payment for loans, resembling a salary or payment advance. In the surviving notarial documents, we glimpse a system and linkages without complete certainty as to the operations.

<sup>77</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/369, J. Holanie, f. 64v.

<sup>78</sup> A cultivator and his wife bought 4 *l. 6 s. 8 d.* of wool cloth from a draper of Montpellier on 30 March 1333. See A. D. Hérault, II E 95/369, J. Holanie, f. 5v.

<sup>79</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/369, J. Holanie, f. 66v. See Chap. 8 for discussion of prostitutes in Montpellier.

<sup>80</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/369, J. Holanie, f. 110r. On the same day, Ricardis Contastina, widow of a wood merchant, and a cultivator of Montpellier established a debt to a Montpellier draper for 12 *s. 9 d. t. p.* for wool cloth, probably for their own use.

<sup>81</sup> For tables detailing the activities of women in commercial transactions, see "Women in Business," and *Business, Banking and Finance, passim*.

<sup>82</sup> See "Le rôle de Montpellier dans le commerce des draps de laine."

<sup>83</sup> See Joseph and Frances Gies, *Women in the Middle Ages* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1978), Chap. 9.

Connections such as those of Bernarda tied the rural economy and the urban economy together. Vertical and horizontal ties had positive benefits on a number of levels for women.<sup>84</sup> Bernarda offered assistance to women of the agricultural milieu who were trained to manufacture mercery, giving them access to credit and to a marketable skill. Such a skill for a cultivator's wife would represent a useful supplement to a subsistence-level agricultural income in a period of poor harvests. Mercery making could be managed alongside household and garden activities, as well as child rearing. Bernarda's intentions and motivations are more difficult to interpret. She may have been a proto-capitalist entrepreneur, driving a hard bargain with vulnerable women from the agricultural milieu, who were always short of funds. But other interpretations are also possible.

Montpellier had a tradition of philanthropy that is evident in the surviving wills.<sup>85</sup> Through the charities mentioned in philanthropic bequests such as the Ladies of Wednesday's charity for the ill poor in hospital, in grants for poor girls to marry (in a society where the dowry was key), and in municipal financing of wet nursing, among others, there was a social safety net in the town for the poor and the vulnerable.<sup>86</sup> Bernarda's activities, whether deliberately philanthropic or not, are part of this urban context. Her networks undoubtedly contributed economic, social, and symbolic capital to her position in Montpellier society.

Financial assistance for the poor would develop in the later Middle Ages. The difficult economic straits of modest sectors of society were addressed by innovations in lending such as the Monte di Pietà and in dowry funds, the Monte delle doti. The Monte di Pietà, an institution flourishing in fifteenth-century Italy, replaced moneylending at high interest with loans at moderate interest in return for the deposit of an item

<sup>84</sup> See my study of market sellers on the Montpellier marketplace and the horizontal and vertical ties connecting women in that context, "Les réseaux économiques entre femmes à Montpellier (fin XIIIe-mi-XIVe)," in Lucie Laumonier and Lucie Galano, eds. *Montpellier au Moyen Âge. Bilan et approches nouvelles* (Brepols, forthcoming).

<sup>85</sup> See "Changes in Testamentary Practice in Montpellier." See also Chap. 9.

<sup>86</sup> On wet nursing, see Rebecca Lynn Winer, "The Mother and the *Dida* [Nanny]: Female Employers and Wet Nurses in Fourteenth-Century Barcelona," in Jutta Gisela Sperling, ed. *Medieval and Renaissance Lactations. Images, Rhetorics, Practices* (Farnham Surrey and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2013), 55–78. On Montpellier, see Leah Otis-Cour, "Municipal Wet Nurses in Fifteenth-Century Montpellier," in Barbara A. Hanawalt, ed. *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986): 83–93.



from the borrower, with the loan itself worth about two-thirds of the value of the item. The loan ran one year and the interest collected went to pay for the expenses of operating the Monte.<sup>87</sup> The dowry funds paid out on an original investment that ran for a period of years, allowing the young woman for whom the investment had been made to benefit from a dowry, thus making marriage possible.<sup>88</sup>

Although the concept of microcredit is clearly anachronistic for the Middle Ages, dating back only to the 1970s with the foundation of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh in 1983, with more distant roots traced to the Irish Loan Funds of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it offers an appealing frame for Bernarda's activities.<sup>89</sup> Microcredit involves lending small sums to borrowers who are poor and without collateral for loans and without a credit or work history.<sup>90</sup> What Bernarda is doing individually seems similar. The specialized apprenticeship training in mercery production that she offered complemented her financial assistance. Such acquired expertise could have lifted cultivator women out of poverty.

Elite women's involvement in the marketplace was potentially empowering for middling and lower-status women and probably for

<sup>87</sup> See Carol Bresnahan Menning, *Charity and State in Late Renaissance Italy: The Monte di Pietà of Florence* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993). See also the work of Maria Giuseppinna Muzzarelli, "I Monti di Pietà fra tradizione e innovazione: una storia in cinque punti," in: *Prestare ai poveri. Il credito su pegno e i Monti di Pietà in area Mediterranea (secoli XV-XIX)* (Naples: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 2007), 31–42. The first evidence for the *monte* was apparently London in the 1360s.

<sup>88</sup> Julius Kirshner, *Pursuing Honor While Avoiding Sin: The Monte delle Doti of Florence* (Milan: A. Guiffré, 1978).

<sup>89</sup> The last decades have produced an extensive scholarly literature on microfinance and microcredit. Microcredit is a narrower concept concerning small loans. Microfinance concerns financial services more broadly. See James C. Brau and Gary M. Woller, "Microfinance: A Comprehensive Review of the Existing Literature," *The Journal of Entrepreneurial Finance* 9 (2014): 1–28 as accessed in <http://marriottschool.net/emp/brau/JEFBV%202004%20Vol.%209%20Micro%20Finance.pdf> (12/14/15). See also Susanna Khavul, "Microfinance: Creating Opportunities for the Poor?" *Academy of Management* (2010): 57–71 at [http://www.necley.tcu.edu/uploadedFiles/Academic\\_Departments/Management/zol003102949p.pdf](http://www.necley.tcu.edu/uploadedFiles/Academic_Departments/Management/zol003102949p.pdf) (accessed 12/14/15).

<sup>90</sup> I was first exposed to the concept applied to a medieval context by my Ph.D. student Kelly Morris, who is working on the orthodox Beguine house of Roubaud in Marseille, animated by Douceline de Digne. The Beguines made small loans to modest-status women. See also Muhammed Yunus, "What Is Microcredit?" *Microsphere Fund for People and Nature* <http://www.microsfer.org/microcr-dit/quest-ce-que-le-microcr-dit-par-muhammad-yunus.html> (accessed 1/1/16).

the elite women themselves. Bernarda had a connection with the agricultural cultivator milieu in her loans and in her apprenticeship activities, linking this modest milieu vertically with the dynamic mercery sector of the urban economy. Pious instincts and entrepreneurship may have coincided in Bernarda's efforts to support worthy or willing young women in acquiring a trade. Whether she sought to stimulate a deprived economy is a matter for which we have no direct proof. Whatever the correct interpretation, Bernarda's activities acted as a kind of social and economic glue that seems to be present in several sectors of the mature urban economy of Montpellier before the devastation of the Black Death in 1348.

Motivations might be different, but sources from the Montpellier archival evidence reveal the philanthropy and the economic engagement of elite women.<sup>91</sup> Elite women gained economic, social, and symbolic capital thereby. Good business and philanthropic engagement could go hand in hand. Montpellier women played active economic roles in town and countryside in the late thirteenth and in the first half of the fourteenth century. Women's economic involvement was not a direct parallel of men's roles, but Montpelliéraines were well integrated into the Montpellier economy.<sup>92</sup> The next chapter will pursue in detail a case study of women market sellers that reveals horizontal and vertical ties among women in the central Herbaria Square.

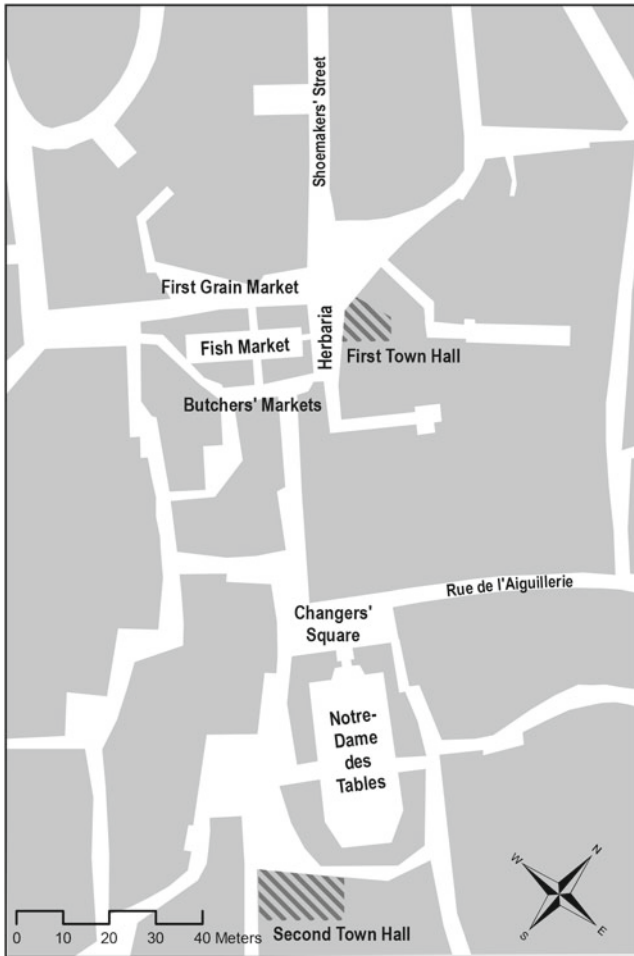
<sup>91</sup> See Chap. 9 for treatment of women's philanthropy.

<sup>92</sup> Compare with *The Art of the Deal*.

## Women of the Marketplace: Horizontal and Vertical Links

A fortuitous survival of evidence permits the investigation of vertical and horizontal ties among women on a central market square, the Herbaria, in Montpellier. In a lawsuit pitting Agnes de Bossones's grandson against the town consuls and the king of Majorca, the issue of dispute was whether the square was public or private, in the hands of Agnes's family (Map 7.1.). Agnes's houses on this square that she gave in dowry to her eldest daughter Johanna upon her marriage to the merchant Petrus Bon Amic passed after the death of the parents to Johannes Bon Amic, Agnes's grandson. Through the litigation of the lawsuit, testimonies of female resellers revealed a stable, long-lasting community of women who sold goods on the square. They entertained vertical ties with elite and middling women who owned houses or rented houses and shops. Agnes rented stalls and tables to these modest resellers. Agnes was at the top of a hierarchy of economic linkages that extended down to the simple market sellers themselves. The ties that can be detected arguably sustained the most vulnerable elements of the urban economy, the resellers, while providing economic and symbolic capital to the elite.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>While resellers and hucksters have been the subject of scholarly study, there is very little, if any, investigation to date of such networks. In general on resellers, see Keith Lilley, *Urban Life in the Middle Ages. 1000-1450* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 2002), 238-241.



**Map 7.1** Central Montpellier: The Herbaria Square

Reselling (sometimes termed huckstering), involving both street vending and market selling at tables and stalls, was a common occupation for women in the Middle Ages across all of Europe. The term *revenditrix* was the feminine for a vender who hawked or haggled merchandise.<sup>2</sup> Few

<sup>2</sup> Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Working Women in English Society, 1300–1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 128–32. See “Les réseaux économiques entre femmes à Montpellier (fin XIIIe-mi-XIVe)” (forthcoming).

women were itinerant peddlers because of the dangers on the open roads, though women might accompany their husbands. Marjorie McIntosh sees some market sellers with handcarts in towns or more likely carrying their goods in baskets or on their backs.<sup>3</sup>

Market retailers featured drink, herbs, eggs, vegetables, poultry, fish, and sometimes textiles, though there were often specialized marketplaces for the sale of fish and meat.<sup>4</sup> Market squares varied from a widening in the street to an actual square to which several streets might lead. Market activities might be focused in stands or stalls that were set up prior to selling and taken down afterwards. In smaller towns, there might be a market day or two a week, whereas in large urban centers, there were generally daily markets. There is certainly a distinction to be made between those market sellers fortunate enough to rent stands and stalls and those who were itinerant, carrying their wares with them.

The town authorities usually regulated market space. Forestalling and regrating were frequent accusations; forestalling meant acquiring goods prior to their coming to market and in some other way trying to raise the price; regrating referred to selling goods at a price higher than that on the open market. Monopoly was also prohibited. Barbara Hanawalt caught glimpses of market sellers through court cases in medieval London where women were accused of buying early in the morning and selling late in the day when goods were scarce or installing stalls against the law on London Bridge.<sup>5</sup> James Murray found Bruges women accused of forestalling in the marketing of dairy products and fined for stalls set up on a bridge.<sup>6</sup>

Maryanne Kowaleski depicted the same type of scene for Exeter, with food retailing being a specialty of women.<sup>7</sup> Janice Archer found women in late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century Paris to account for more than

<sup>3</sup> McIntosh, *Working Women*, used the term “huckster,” which some view as pejorative. I have chosen to call hucksters “market sellers” or “market retailers.”

<sup>4</sup> See *The Art of the Deal*, Chap. 2, for discussion of a local market environment. In Ghent, women were active in market spaces in a variety of occupations. See Hutton, *Women and Economic Activities in Late Medieval Ghent*, 115–119.

<sup>5</sup> Barbara A. Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives. Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 200–201.

<sup>6</sup> Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism*, 307.

<sup>7</sup> Maryanne Kowaleski, “Women’s Work in a Market Town: Exeter in the Late Fourteenth Century,” *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 148–149.

a quarter of all peddlers, some 228 from her source, the *Livre des métiers*.<sup>8</sup> She was referring to the *regratiere*, “the woman who hawked fruits, vegetables, and dozens of other small items through the streets, bequeathing us the English term ‘fish-wife’ for a woman with a loud and annoying voice.”<sup>9</sup> Examples from Germany and the Low Countries reinforce those of England. Murray noted the ubiquity of women in the Bruges marketplace. In lists of city stalls in 1304, 50 of the 55 stalls were rented by women.<sup>10</sup> In 1305–1306, 83 of 93 fruit stalls in Lenten rentals were in the hands of women.<sup>11</sup>

While there is more evidence available for women’s role in the distributive trade in northern Europe, evidence from southern Europe can also be amassed. There is some terse evidence available about resellers in surveys of the urban populations in late medieval southern Europe. David Herlihy found women retailers of foodstuffs in a survey of households of 1384 in Seville.<sup>12</sup> Women sold barley, honey, milk, fish, fruit, bread, and spices. There were also women identified as peddlers. In Bologna, again in a household survey of 1395, Herlihy found a woman of 60, identified as a “retailer of rages and old clothing,” essentially a fripperer.<sup>13</sup> Herlihy also mentioned the poet Francesco de Barberino, from the vicinity of Florence, who wrote of women’s occupations, including sellers of fruits and vegetables, eggs, chickens, cheese, as well as, among others, a hawker

<sup>8</sup> René de Lespinasse and François Bonnardot, *Les métiers et corporations de la Ville de Paris: XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Le Livre des Métiers d’Etienne Boileau* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1879).

<sup>9</sup> Janice Marie Archer, “Working Women in Thirteenth-Century Paris,” (PhD dissertation, University of Arizona, 1995), 119–120. I am indebted to Kate Kelsey Staples for this reference. Kate Staples has a current research project on fripperers, sellers of old clothing, which could also be hawked. See her articles, “The Significance of the Secondhand Trade in Europe, 1200–1600,” *History Compass*, 13 (2015): 297–309 and “Fripperers and the Used Clothing Trade in Late Medieval London,” *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, 6 (2010): 151–171.

<sup>10</sup> Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism*, 307.

<sup>11</sup> Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism*, 307. See also Merry Wiesner Wood [Hanks], “Paltry Peddlers or Essential Merchants? Women in the Distributive Trades in Early Modern Nuremberg,” *The Sixteenth-Century Journal* 12 (1981): 3–13, for a useful early modern exploration of the topic.

<sup>12</sup> David Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria*, 70.

<sup>13</sup> Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria*, 155.

of charms.<sup>14</sup> Florence counted used cloth peddlers or fripperers, among its female occupations, as did Toulouse.<sup>15</sup>

For Barbara Hanawalt, market sellers were part of a transient, makeshift economy that was painted in *Piers Plowman* by William Langland.<sup>16</sup> Rose the Regrater was famous for having practiced market sellery.<sup>17</sup> Reselling, whether women rented market stalls or hawked goods through the streets, posed certain challenges for those maintaining households and raising children. Nonetheless, in fifteenth-century London, according to Marjorie McIntosh, half of the *femmes soles*, that is, women who had a status that allowed them to do business without their husbands and to plead alone in a court of law, were labeled “hucksters.” McIntosh argues that economic difficulties and poverty encouraged the increase in market sellers in the late medieval and early modern eras.<sup>18</sup> Reselling, broadly defined as street hawking or selling from stalls, was sometimes the only work women could get in an economy that denied them access to most guilds, thereby limiting their opportunities to participate fully in artisanal industry.<sup>19</sup>

With the exception of court cases that provide some information, it is difficult to know much about individual market sellers. An informal community of women—market resellers—were witnesses in the lawsuit of the 1330s challenging the private status of the Herbaria Square in central Montpellier.<sup>20</sup> In interrogations in 1336, we hear their voices, albeit filtered through the notarial Latin of the inquest procedure. They reveal a

<sup>14</sup>Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria*, 155.

<sup>15</sup>Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria*, 95.

<sup>16</sup>Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, 203.

<sup>17</sup>William Langland, *The Vision of William concerning Piers Plowman*, ed. W. W. Skeat (Oxford, 1886), 51. The Norton Critical Edition of *Piers Plowman*, ed. Elizabeth Robertson and Stephen H. A. Shepherd (New York: Norton, 2006), 74–75, speaks of “Rose the regrater,” and in the translation, “Rose the retailer was her right name: She’s lived the life of a market seller eleven years,” implying some continuity.

<sup>18</sup>McIntosh, *Working Women*, 131–132.

<sup>19</sup>See Michaud, “Famille, femmes et travail: patronnes et salaires à Marseille aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles,” 244, for data on the limited formal apprenticeship of women in Marseille: 59 acts out of 1079 contracts or only 5.5 % involved women and girl workers in the period 1248–1400. The data before 1350 for Montpellier reveal 30 of 208 contracts involving women workers or 6.9 %. See “The Adolescent Apprentice/Worker in Medieval Montpellier.”

<sup>20</sup>See “Public and Private Space in Medieval Montpellier” and “Le témoignage des femmes (à partir de quelques enquêtes montpelliéraines du XIVe siècle.” The archival documents are from the Archives municipales de Montpellier, Louvet nos. 234 (the inquest itself), 236, and 243 (related documents). Louvet 234 is a dossier of 274 folios, 243 has rough drafts regarding the case, and 236 contains the compromise resolving the lawsuit.

multigenerational horizontal community of remarkable longevity, stability, and solidarity. More than that, however, there is also revealed a vertical economic network of several levels in which women played a significant part, with Agnes de Bossones at the summit. The reason we see a stable community of women retailers may well be directly connected to the involvement of elite women like Agnes in the market scene as landlords of market stalls and market space and to the clientele relationships between elite women and these resellers. These networks, along with a relatively propitious economic situation, overcame the transient, makeshift dimensions of resellers' activities elsewhere.

The urban market square in medieval Montpellier brought together women from various walks of life, along with men. Montpellier was a trade-friendly town and had early on been receptive to the upward mobility of immigrants and lower-status traders, excepting peddlers from cloth trade monopolies from the beginning of evidence, as noted earlier.<sup>21</sup> There were many consumers in this town of upwards of 35,000–40,000 inhabitants before the Black Death, customers for a modest retail economy, and a necessary precondition for the stability and prosperity of this economic sector.

Fifteen women form part of a group of witnesses for the prominent Bon Amic mercantile family that claimed possession of the square in a lawsuit brought by the town consuls in 1336.<sup>22</sup> The women witnesses were treated identically to male witnesses, they were asked similar questions, and their candor as well as the detail of their testimonies reinforces their clear credibility. Most of them rented stands on the square from the Bon Amic merchant family, a few from the renters of houses belonging to the merchant family that included women house renters. Five of the women witnesses were called reseller (*revenditrix*). They included one widow (Maria Maras, widow of the late cultivator Petrus Maras),

<sup>21</sup> See the discussion of these prohibitions in "Population Attraction and Mobility," 265. See also Chap. 5. On the cloth trade, see "Le rôle de Montpellier dans le commerce des draps de laine avant 1350."

<sup>22</sup> See the list of witnesses in Appendix I. The makeup of the witness lists is interesting and much more diverse than that of most Montpellier judicial dossiers. Compare the witness lists in dossiers studied in my articles, "Commercial Fraud in the Middle Ages: The Case of the Dissembling Pepperer," *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982): 63–73 and "Flight from Prosecution: The Search for Religious Asylum in Medieval Montpellier," *French Historical Studies* 17 (1992): 603–626. The consuls counted on their side of the case only one female witness, Gausenta, wife of Bernardus Conul, gardener.



two wives (Maria Pictamina, wife of Guillelmus Pictamini, and Symona, wife of Petrus Meleti), and two single women (Johanna Poitala and Maria Temaza). In addition, there were two wives of poultry merchants (Berengaria, wife of Johannes Martini, and Sanxia alias Cacina, wife of Symon Cassi), the wife of an agricultural laborer (Alaytheta, wife of Petrus de Amiliano), the wife of a fisherman (Pauleta, wife of Raymundus Pauli), and the wife of a mercer (Alaxacia, wife of Johannes Michaelis). There was also Maria Pictamina, wife of Guillelmus Pictamini, for whom no occupation was noted. Widows whose husbands' professions were given included Johanna Symone, widow of Guillelmus Symonis, reseller, and Guillelma Fabressa, widow of Nicholaus Fabre, cultivator, who rented a shop near the square. For Johanna, widow of Petrus de Valmala, no occupation was given. Finally, Guillelma Sarlherie, identified as a poultry merchant, was the wife of Stephanus Sarlherii. These women represented a group of working wives of working couples, along with widows and single women.<sup>23</sup> Fourteen of the women were small retailers, the mercer's wife representing the one exception of a woman from a higher social status. Alasacia, wife of Johannes Michaelis, mercer, 40 years old with a 30-year memory, stated she observed the women resellers and witnessed possession of the square by the Bossones/Bon Amic merchant family for 30 years.

These witnesses named other women in their testimonies, permitting the expansion of the community over several generations of women: Na Bastida, Na Paola, Na Sicola, Na Vulhana, Na Philippa, Fiza, the sister of Johanna Symone, wife of Guillelmus Nissa, Na Raynauda, Na Sorleyi, Na Cambrega, Berengaria, Martina, Na Simone. The label of "Na" is short for "Ena," the Occitan designation for Domina, as noted in Chap. 1. Here it was accorded to modest inhabitants, just as it was to members of the urban elite like Agnes. Several variations on names, Na Mara, Na Petamina, Na Puiola, Alasacia/Alaxacia, may well represent alternative spellings of the same person's name. This economically active community of about 30 women—single, married, and widowed—often described their own activities and those of their mothers over decades.<sup>24</sup> They rented space and put up temporary stands and stalls at dawn, after the day labor market on the square had ended, to sell their merchandise, fruits, fish, vegetables, chickens, and the like.

<sup>23</sup> Compare Hanawalt's comments on market sellers in *The Wealth of Wives*, 11.

<sup>24</sup> On widows, see the articles in Mirrer, ed. *Upon My Husband's Death*.

This was a community ranging in age from 25 to 70, but with 11 market sellers 40 or older. Two women were 60 or more. They claimed lengthy memories, generally beginning at about age ten when several of them accompanied their mothers to the square.<sup>25</sup> Multiple generations of women rented collapsible stalls from the owners of houses around the square and sometimes from the renters of the houses. They could recite the prices for rental of stalls and describe the destruction suffered by the market retailers when court officers of the king of Majorca broke their stands, maintaining they were an impediment to free passage through the square.<sup>26</sup> The Bon Amic family defended the resellers against this interference. For the town consuls, access to the town hall on the square was impeded by the market stalls. Officers of the Majorcan king also tried to insert outsiders into the square, to the detriment of the community of resellers. These women recalled the bustle of the square at dawn as one economy—the day laborer hiring of the middle of the night—dissolved, and the market retail economy materialized. Among this community of resellers, there was no visible rift, rather apparent solidarity.

The oldest witness, Johanna Poitala, *revenditrix* or reseller, stated her age at 70 years.<sup>27</sup> She claimed a memory of 60 years, dating from the time when she would have been ten and began to accompany her mother to the square to market their goods. Johanna had rented a stall for 40 years, first from Agnes (Na Bossonesa), whom Johanna identified as the grandmother of the merchant in the lawsuit and owner of houses on the market square that she subsequently gave in dowry to her oldest daughter. Johanna Poitela and other witnesses knew Agnes and Agnes's family his-

<sup>25</sup> Among the 20 male witnesses on the same side as Johanna and her colleagues in this lawsuit, only four stated that they were 50 or more years old. The Bon Amic male witnesses were more diverse in social and economic background than the women, ranging from the relatively modest chicken merchant, fisherman, cultivator from Pignan, two candlemakers, three resellers, and a stonemason to more prestigious representatives of the town, three drapers, four merchants, two legal specialists (*jurisperitus*), a spice merchant, and a *burgensis*, Raymundus Grossi, son-in-law of Agnes and husband of her daughter Raymunda, supporting the family cause. Six of the women claimed memories of 40 or more years, compared with one man claiming 35–40 years' memory and the rest, less. For the latter witness, see A. M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*, Louvet no. 234, f. 133r.

<sup>26</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*, Louvet no. 234, f. 67v. This witness, Maria Pictamina, reseller, said that Petrus Bon Amic had a man who defended the renters of the stands.

<sup>27</sup> See A. M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*, Louvet no. 234, f. 99r. For memory problems, see the consular witness, f. 144v.

tory. Later, Johanna rented from Agnes's son-in-law, Petrus Bon Amic and Petrus's son Johannes, Agnes's grandson. Johanna worked with her sister, as they sometimes paid the rent together.

Johanna's testimony can provide the flavor of historical memory upon which the reseller witnesses could call. After Johanna Poitala was sworn in under oath, she stated to the notary "that in the time of Na Bozzonesa [*sic*], she the said witness was renting there a certain stand or stall for the price of 50 s. and that in the square in front of the stand her merchandise was displayed; during this time strangers were making trouble because in the meantime the *curia* [meaning the court of the king of Majorca] had intervened and restricted them [the retailers] so that the strangers could be received." Johanna went on to say that "she rented the said stall from the said Petrus Bon Amic for the above stated price and that the aforesaid square was being used as she stated above."<sup>28</sup>

She also said that "Petrus Bon Amic came and removed those strangers who were occupying the square and impeding those who rented stands, and he had those men or women who had rented stalls use the square up to the boundary (*gaulhanum*) next to which were affixed the little panels with the safeguard of the King of France." Johanna's testimony spilled over five folio sides. She went on to name other women who were renting stalls. She answered the legal queries of the interrogators, drawing on personal, eyewitness observation and experience. She painted a picture of the patronage and protection offered by the Bossones/Bon Amic family.

Johanna and the other women witnesses spoke frequently of a family tradition, of mothers and daughters, where more than one generation sold fruits and vegetables and such goods in the square.<sup>29</sup> They named female resellers who worked at the site of the Herbaria and members of the powerful political and economic elite who controlled that space. They had in-depth acquaintance with the operations of the market square over 40–50 years.<sup>30</sup>

Testimonies of resellers on the Herbaria Square noted that Agnes de Bossones had rented out the houses, stalls, and the square through her factor (business assistant) Guillelmus Dalmas, collecting rents and defend-

<sup>28</sup> See McIntosh, *Working Women*, 128–132, for annual rents for stalls in London's Cheapside in 1379.

<sup>29</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*, Louvet no. 234, f. 49v and f. 102r, for examples.

<sup>30</sup> Alatheta, wife of a farm worker, and her mother had rented benches from the late Petrus Bon Amic and Johannes. A. M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*, Louvet no. 234, f. 49v (really 59v, due to misnumbering).

ing the rights of the small resellers, against the destruction wrecked by officers of the king of Majorca, so that they might set up their stalls and sell their goods at dawn, as practice had it, after the day labor hiring had ceased.<sup>31</sup> She had networks of renters of houses and renters of stalls, as well as personnel to collect the rents. Agnes may have been a *rentier*, rather than a businesswoman active in commerce and finance, but there is every indication that she took a very active role in property management. Even within *rentier* status, differing approaches to economic involvement can be noted, encouraging the necessity of nuance at all levels of interpretation. The role of personality comes into play in how wealthy women organized their lives.<sup>32</sup> Agnes was a strong personality, as was Rebecca Winer's Raimunda de Camerada.<sup>33</sup>

After Agnes married her daughter with houses on the square as dowry to Petrus Bon Amic, his *juvenes* (youths, i.e., assistants) or *factores* performed the same tasks of renting and collecting rents. According to witness Johanna Poitala, the same practice continued as she and her sister paid 27 *s.* 6 *d.* a term to Petrus's son and Agnes's grandson Johannes's assistant (*juvenis*).<sup>34</sup> Though they worked through assistants, the elite Bossones/Bon Amic landlords were well known to the resellers.

The women paid between 45 *s.* and 55 *s.* for a year's rental of a stall or stand. In 1333, one *d.* could buy a *setier* of local wheat for 7 *s.* 6 *d.* *t.*, with the *setier* representing about 49 liters.<sup>35</sup> Presumably, the profits these women earned from market selling would have been sufficient to pay these expensive rents. Another witness related that the resellers paid the renters of houses on the square 1 *denier* (*denarius*) on each Friday, and on the vigils of feasts when they sold fish, they paid the renters of the houses 1 *obole* (i.e.,  $\frac{1}{2}$  *denarius*).

Men and women rented houses on the square from the Bon Amic family and sometimes also rented space to the retailers. The Bon Amic rented their houses on the square to artisans such as Guillelmus Costa, chandler, who paid in rent for one of these 32 *l. t.* (presumably for a year), according to the testimony of his employee/apprentice, Johannes Oliverii, a 20 year

<sup>31</sup> For details of the lawsuit that reveals these facts, see "Public and Private Space."

<sup>32</sup> For other examples, see my article, "La participation des femmes de l'élite marchande à l'économie: trois exemples montpelliérains de la première moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> s."

<sup>33</sup> Winer, *Women, Wealth, and Community in Perpignan*, 58–62.

<sup>34</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*, Louvet no. 234, f. 49v (really 59v).

<sup>35</sup> A. D. Montpellier, II D 95/369, J. Holanie, f. 47r. The *setier* of Montpellier contained 48.92 liters.

old who testified to a memory of ten years and called Costa his master.<sup>36</sup> The rental fee was over ten times as much as the retailers paid for their stalls. Oliverii stated that Costa got rents for the houses, stalls, and the square from foreigners and private parties, implying that Costa, in turn, sublet property himself that he rented from the Bon Amic. A woman, Na Grana, was also a renter of houses, along with Guillelmus Costa and others, according to another witness.<sup>37</sup> Thus, women participated at an intermediate level of property involvement as renters of houses on the square between the market sellers and the elite owners of square property. Women were also represented as renters of shops in the vicinity, as noted above in regard to the witness Guillelma Fabressa, widow of a cultivator. Another woman, Na Bastida, held the shop after Guillelma.

One of the resellers, Berengaria, wife of the poultry merchant Johannes Martini, stated that she rented her *caxia* (stall) from Na Bastida, who rented one of the houses on the square from Johannes Bon Amic.<sup>38</sup> Whether we have the same figure, Na Bastida, operating with both house and shop here, cannot be proven—homonyms were not uncommon—but if so, she would have been a kind of modest female entrepreneur. When asked what she paid in rent, Berengaria stated 45 s. for the year just elapsed. She said she knew Petrus Bon Amic, and Berengarius Ruffi and Na Bossonesa and Johannes, the son of Petrus. She did not know whether the square was public, but she knew that Johannes and his predecessors possessed it. She did not name additional women.

In her testimony of 1336, Berengaria described herself as over 50. Berengaria dictated her will in April 1347 over ten years after her testimony.<sup>39</sup> By the time of her will, then, Berengaria was a woman of over 60, and she was a widow by this time. She chose as her burial place the cemetery of Saint-Barthélémy in Montpellier, in the tomb of her husband. The origins of the cemetery were old, dating back to the eleventh century.<sup>40</sup> The church was an annex of Saint Firmin, the parish church of Montpellier. The hospital or asylum of Saint-Barthélémy, located outside the town walls beyond the suburb of Villanova in the southwestern corner

<sup>36</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*, Louvet no. 234, f. 40r.

<sup>37</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*, Louvet no. 234, f. 40r.

<sup>38</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*, Louvet no. 234, f. 56v–59r.

<sup>39</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, f. 43rff, Bernardus Egidii.

<sup>40</sup> Martine Sainte-Marie, “Fonds de la Confrérie des pénitents bleus de Montpellier (1404–1972),” *Répertoire numérique détaillé de la sous-série 115 J*, (Montpellier: Archives départementales de l’Hérault, 2000), 1. There were confraternities established there.

of the urban agglomeration, received 29 burial requests (20 men and nine women in the extant wills), 11 before 1347 and 18 in 1347–1348, signaling a marked increase in the period of crisis, perhaps because of its hospital orientation.<sup>41</sup> Before 1347, requests for burial at Saint-Barthélémy came from the wealthy merchant elite and important artisans, such as a draper, mercer, pepperer, goldsmith, along with merchants and notaries. In 1347, the clientele belonged in large measure to humbler social status: the widow of a poultry merchant (Berengaria), a belt maker, a wool merchant, a blacksmith, and four cultivators. In 1348, the clientele was again more *burgensis*, with requests from a moneyer, a linen/hemp merchant, a pepperer, the daughter of a draper, the widow of a parchment maker, as well as from a cultivator and a cultivator's widow. Sixteen of the 27 requests before 1350 refer to a family tradition of burial at Saint-Barthélémy, and all six testators of cultivator background, men and women, cited this tradition.<sup>42</sup>

In her will, Berengaria singled out four women to whom she made modest bequests from a sum of 10 *l.* that she designated for pious matters. She gave 50 *s.* to her sister Fabrice, 5 *s.* to Johaneta, the daughter of the late Raymundus Bandas of Albi, 2 *s.* to Jacobeta, daughter of Bernardus Condamine, poultry merchant, and 2 *s.* to Alazassia, wife of the late Guillelmus Bertrandi, shoemaker. In the enlarged community of market sellers mentioned in the witness testimonies, there was an Alasacia/Alaxacia mentioned more than once. It is possible that this is the same individual. The remainder of the 10 *l.* was to be distributed in masses at the wish of Bernarda's executors. To her nephew, Johannes Amelii, perhaps the son of her sister Fabrice, she gave a nursery near a wood in a nearby parish that owed dues (*usaticum*) of 2 *s.* to the eminent domain (abstract property rights or *dominium directum*) of the provost of Magalone.<sup>43</sup> Further, she gave Amelii a vineyard at Soriech to the southeast of Montpellier, a site known for good wine, and six wine containers (three of large size).<sup>44</sup> She also gave him bedding. If Johannes died without legitimate heir, the land was to be sold and the proceeds used for prayers. Johannes was her designated heir.

<sup>41</sup> On hospitals in the south of France, see Jacqueline Caille, *Hôpitaux et charité publique à Narbonne au moyen âge* (Toulouse: Privat, 1977).

<sup>42</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/ 377, B. Egidii, f. 82r.

<sup>43</sup> See "Land, Houses and Real Estate Investment," for forms of property holding.

<sup>44</sup> See "Commerce and Society in Montpellier," I: 232–240, on vineyards and wine in the region of Montpellier.

Berengaria regulated her outstanding debts in her will. She gave a vineyard to an unfinished wool merchant, Johannes Veziari, with the eminent domain held by the house of Saint Esprit for dues of 12 *d*. She was in debt to Veziari for 6 *l*. 5 *s*. that she ordered paid. Veziari was one of her executors, along with another unfinished wool merchant. Each of the two executors was to receive 20 *s*. Seven men witnessed Berengaria's will, fulfilling the requirements of the formal testament (*testamentum nuncupatum*) of Roman law. Among the witnesses were the two executors, a painter, and four button makers.

There are many interesting aspects to this will. First, Berengaria, market seller and widow of a poultry merchant, had some fortune. She held land, had been able to obtain credit, and disposed of considerable cash (10 *l*.) that she could dispense in bequests. She had no children who survived, or at least none mentioned. She named a group of four women, perhaps her inner circle of family and friends, whom she favored with gifts. Two may have been young women or girls as they were described only as daughters. Berengaria came from a modest retail milieu but clearly had thrived and sustained her economic position over time to reach the moment of dictating her last will with some wealth to dispose of. She made a formal will in her house, as the notary stated, named and remunerated executors, and attracted seven witnesses. Her membership in a modest economic stratum of society is reinforced by the status of the beneficiaries she mentioned in her will. She belonged to a community of women of the marketplace in Montpellier.

The involvement of women in market-based commercial activities at multiple levels of the urban economy of Montpellier could be a key element in the explanation of the stability of the female reseller community on the Herbaria Square and of the profitability of their enterprise. Berengaria reflected the community of market resellers. Na Bastida, as a house and shop renter, represented an intermediate level, and elite women like Agnes de Bossones, the top echelon. Elite women participated in this market economy through sales, exchanges, and rentals of shops and tables, and ownership of commercially strategic houses. Agnes, as the widow of a changer and member of the urban elite from whom witnesses like Johanna Poitela rented stands, was a prominent landlord. She was a personage frequently evoked in the market sellers' testimonies. She had considerable real estate in Montpellier, detailed in her lengthy will of 1342.<sup>45</sup> Some of

<sup>45</sup>A. M. Montpellier, II 3, J. Laurentii, f. 13rff, 5 April 1342.

these holdings were perhaps business investments. One house called La Mangol was possibly an inn.<sup>46</sup> As noted earlier, in her will, Agnes speaks of real estate rentals, rights, uses, commodities, and pensions, representing the techniques used to exploit her real property fortune.<sup>47</sup>

Other elite women's involvement in commercial venues can be traced. Martha de Cabanis, widow of a mercer and merchant, exchanged rural holdings for commercial tables; she had tables in the butchery and in the fish market and a shop as well as holdings in the pepperers' quarter.<sup>48</sup> In transactions relating to these properties, it is clear that Martha was consolidating her holdings in commercial property in the town itself, divesting herself of rural properties that may have been scattered, thus more difficult to administer and perhaps less lucrative or less productive of steady income. Martha was more actively involved than her relative by marriage, Maria Naturalis, who, through factors, also made market table investments.<sup>49</sup>

Elite women investors in market tables or stalls could be responsive to market evolution in short-term rentals and to adjustments for inflation and currency manipulation as a result. Management may have been easier than with rural holdings. Tables on the meat markets, the fish markets, workshops in the Argentaria, in the Draperia, and changers' tables near the church of Notre-Dame des Tables were, in fact, lucrative investments. In 1333, the widow of a silversmith rented a house and the "*fondaco* of Pisa" in the Argentaria quarter to an immigrant from Novara in the Piedmont. Rental was for four years at 40 *l. p. t.* per year.<sup>50</sup> A table in the fish market rented in 1333 for 5 *l. 5 s. p. t.* for one year. A butcher's table

<sup>46</sup> On inns and innkeepers, see *The Art of the Deal*, Chap. 3. See also "Medieval Hospitality: Innkeepers and the Infrastructure of Trade." In fact, Agnes had a significant cluster of properties near the Montpelliéret gate and other holdings, including a compound near Saint-Denis and a mansion near Notre-Dame des Tables, the famous pilgrimage church, as noted in Chap. 3.

<sup>47</sup> For techniques for real estate exploitation, see "Land, Houses and Real Estate Investment."

<sup>48</sup> A. D. Héralut, II E 95/374, G. Nogareti, f. 51rR and G. Nogareti, f. 4rR.

<sup>49</sup> See "La participation des femmes de l'élite marchande à l'économie."

<sup>50</sup> "Land, Houses and Real Estate Investment in Montpellier," 79–81, for women's participation in commercial rental revenues. The term *fondaco* refers to an establishment of hospitality, in this case for Pisans in Montpellier. By Agnes's time, it was no longer used in this fashion. In general, on hospitality in the Mediterranean world, see Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World. Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).



in the old meat market was rented at 7 *l. p. t.* per year for two years in 1333. In 1339, a workshop in the Draperia was rented for 6 *l. p. t.* per year for two years. A changer's table brought in 3.4 *l. p. t.* a year for three years in 1342. In a small group of about 30 surviving market table rentals in notarial evidence, women were present in a third of these as landlords. These tables represented a step up from the collapsible stands and stalls of the market sellers on the Herbaria Square, but they were part of the same market economy. The involvement of elite women in commercial real estate may have created the context in which women of modest and middling background could survive and indeed thrive as hucksters and resellers in Montpellier and as women of intermediate economic status such as Na Bastida, renter of a house on the Herbaria Square and renter of a shop nearby. By the same token, patronizing the market sellers and protecting them, as Agnes and her family clearly did, reflected well on their urban prestige. It seems likely that respected landlords gained social and symbolic as well as economic capital from equitable treatment and even defense of their renters.

Real property linked women across social strata. Real estate rentals served urban property management. *Accapitum* and *emphyteusis* long-term leases addressed rural holdings. Property rights were generally divided into eminent domain and use, and there were other rights and uses that could also be remunerative in the exploitation of real property fortune.<sup>51</sup> Elite Montpellier women ran the gamut from active rentiers with primarily urban investments to widows who exploited rural property, vineyards in particular, to those widows who were passively involved in housing and commercial property investments that were managed through intermediaries—procurators operating on their behalf.<sup>52</sup> Women of lesser strata were also involved in property holding, at times as owners and landlords and often as renters.

We find in and around the central Herbaria Square in Montpellier vertical and horizontal linkages among women. Horizontally, there was a community of market sellers in the first half of the fourteenth century who all knew each other. They knew members of the urban elite who owned real estate on their market square. They rented space for stalls and stands, along with men. Women were also present among the renters of houses on the square, and the market sellers sometimes rented their space

<sup>51</sup> "Land, Houses and Real Estate Investment in Montpellier."

<sup>52</sup> See "La participation des femmes de l'élite marchande à l'économie."

from these women. Women also rented shops in the neighborhood. Elite women owned commercially placed houses, shops, and tables on market squares throughout the city and rented them out. Vertically and horizontally, these were tight communities. Women were a visible presence on the markets and in commercial real estate in medieval Montpellier, creating a context in which the modest market seller economy could survive and thrive without evident rifts and with longevity, stability, solidarity, and relative profitability.

The little Herbaria Square was a small central space, a vortex into which poured several different entities, from people whose livelihoods and convenience depended on its accessibility and safety to public officials who crossed it and wished its control belonged to the town government, to the families whose houses it abutted and who extracted rents from it, to the town's pedestrians who apparently had to clamber over its obstacles and congestion.<sup>53</sup> Food trucks and pushcarts, children's Kool Aid stands, day laborers waiting for work in big cities, and street vendors common in Los Angeles and throughout Latin America epitomize the kinds of commercial activity that took place on the Herbaria Square. American cities typically either regulate these activities and collect fees, or forbid them. If the latter, control of the space could pass to private hands—gangs or illegal entrepreneurs, who would then collect protection money or who rent out the venue to do business. The situation on the Herbaria was somewhat different. The resellers, with women represented significantly, had tradition and time on their side. Their protection money went as rents to a private family, the Bossones/Bon Amic, and public officials were the interlopers, trying to take control of the “public” space. The state was attempting to exercise a monopoly on violence.<sup>54</sup>

Control of space that is accessible by many nonkin-related people—that is, public space—persists as an arena where the power of the local state is contested and perhaps defined. While the contestation over the use of this space is interesting, even more significant is what defines public space—the buying and selling activities of the market. The market

<sup>53</sup> I am indebted to the late Eric Monkkenen (1942–2005) for his detailed comments on my initial study of the Herbaria Square in the 1990s. I have relied on his insights in this chapter conclusion.

<sup>54</sup> It was Max Weber in a 1919 lecture, “Politics as a Vocation,” who made the argument for the state's right to physical force. See Max Weber, *Weber's Rationalism and Modern Society*, trans. and ed. by Tony Waters and Dagmar Waters (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

sellers and the other strata of women involved here were not the most important commercial agents, nor was the market the most important place of transactions. Probably, the most important commercial transactions were somewhat more private, often occurring at the notarial atelier or at a merchant's home. But the public space frequented by networks of women made the difference, resulting in an attractive urban flavor that complemented the streets and shops of the medieval town. In the next chapter, a community of prostitutes provides another urban flavor that relied on networks among women.

## A Community of Prostitutes in Campus Polverel

It comes as no surprise that women such as Agnes de Bossones occupied privileged social and economic positions within urban society and were well connected. More intriguing is that Agnes's life was intertwined with market women through her real estate investments and her patronage of these resellers in the face of threats from the king of Majorca. Though the evidence is indirect, equally interesting is Agnes's connection to marginal women through her support for repentant prostitutes in her testamentary philanthropy, to be discussed in Chap. 9. During her lifetime, her active involvement in urban charity, particularly in the collection of alms for the poor, makes it possible that she confronted prostitution as well.

For marginals in medieval society, male and female, details of their lives are all the more valuable because they are difficult to recover. These groups were not of special interest to male elites, who wrote most of our medieval sources, except in those circumstances where their lives intersected. Nonetheless, some historians of the last decades have turned from the study of elites to a focus on less prominent social groups, searching the lay and ecclesiastical records for passing reference.<sup>1</sup> The farther down the social scale one goes, the more difficult it becomes to unearth information

<sup>1</sup>For example, the diverse collection of studies in *Living Dangerously. On the Margins in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Anna Grotans (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007) and my co-authored article with Kevin Mummey, "Whose City Is This? Hucksters, Domestic Servants, Wet Nurses,

about individual women. The voices of women working on the Herbaria Square, whose lives we glimpsed in the previous chapter, are rare survivals. Chance preservation of real estate rentals by prostitutes permits exploration of a community of women prostitutes in Montpellier, living in an area of town outside the walls, called Campus Polverel, that was part of the French royal quarter of Montpelliéret.<sup>2</sup> Again, as in the case of the market sellers, a kind of collective biography of prostitutes can be created.<sup>3</sup>

Medieval theorists themselves described the prostitute as a foreigner, a stranger, unmarried or widowed, whose family ties were broken by her loss of virtue.<sup>4</sup> In contrast to legal offenders such as slanderers, adulterers, forgers, defrauders, defaulted debtors, let alone murderers or arsonists, prostitution in southern France in the later Middle Ages was a tolerated if

Prostitutes, and Slaves in Late Medieval Western Mediterranean Urban Society,” *History Compass* 9/12 (2011): 910–922.

See also the classic study of Bronislaw Geremek, *Les marginaux parisiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles* (Paris: Flammarion, 1976), and Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris. Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2002).

<sup>2</sup>See my article, “Prostitution in Medieval Montpellier: The Ladies of Campus Polverel,” *Medieval Prosopography* 18 (1997): 209–228. On southern French prostitution, Leah Lydia Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society. The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985) remains the standard work.

<sup>3</sup>There has been significant scholarship on prostitution. See, for example, Vern L. Bullough, *The History of Prostitution* (New York, 1964); James A. Brundage, “Prostitution in the Medieval Canon Law,” in *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*, ed. Judith M. Bennett et al. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 79–99, reprinted from *Signs* 1 (1976); Ruth Mazo Karras, “The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England,” in *Sisters and Workers*, 100–134, reprinted from *Signs* 14 (1989), and *Common Women. Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Jacques Rossiaud, “Prostitution, jeunesse et société au XVe siècle,” *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*. 31(1976): 289–325, and *Medieval Prostitution*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), and R. C. Trexler, “La prostitution florentine au XVe siècle: patronages et clientèles,” *Annales. É.S.C.* 36 (1981): 983–1015. See the recent article of David Mengel, “From Venice to Jerusalem and Beyond: Milic of Kromeriz and the Topography of Prostitution in Fourteenth-Century Prague,” *Speculum* 79 (2004): 407–442, and the recent overview by Kevin Mummey, “Prostitution: The Moral Economy of Medieval Prostitution,” in Ruth Evans (ed.), *A Cultural History of Sexuality*, Vol. II, *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010): 165–180, as well as the clear treatment by Joëlle Rollo-Koster, “Prostitutes,” in Margaret Schaus, ed. *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe. An Encyclopedia* (New York, London: Routledge, 2006), 675–678.

<sup>4</sup>Jacques Rossiaud. *Medieval Prostitution*, 78, 82. See also Karras, “The Regulation of Brothels,” 126.

regulated institution. Prostitution has traditionally been treated as a victimless crime in contrast to the above crimes that were considered civil or criminal delicts. Now there is modern scholarship that argues that prostitutes are prostituted women, thus victims.<sup>5</sup> In the following discussion, I have chosen not to criminalize auctioneers as pimps and women house owners as madams because of the medieval southern French tendency to legitimize prostitution in the later Middle Ages.

The unpublished notarial registers of the first half of the fourteenth century in Montpellier furnish evidence of a community of prostitutes at work in the town in the 1330s and 1340s. It happened that two local auctioneers made ten house rentals to single women, most of them foreigners resident in Montpellier. The auctioneers were acting as landlords in a district of the town called Campus Polverel in the Lattes suburb<sup>6</sup> (Map 3.1) These women lived in houses adjoining other houses in the hands of single women. Some women owned houses in this sector. Their geographic proximity assured their interaction, which their similar trade only reinforced. Additional single women and the same two auctioneers were involved in other sales and debt relationships. The evidence points to the existence of a community of 25 or more women who were prostitutes in the 1330s and 1340s in Montpellier.<sup>7</sup> By following their story, the experience of marginal women and their networks can be added to that of elite mercantile women, artisanal and agricultural women, and modest urban market retailers. Because of their profession of prostitution, the

<sup>5</sup> See Beverly Balos and Mary Louise Fellows, "A Matter of Prostitution: Becoming Respectable," *New York University Law Review* 74 (1990): 1220–1303.

<sup>6</sup> Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 220, stated, "As it would be impossible to examine all documents thoroughly in order to extract the few references to prostitution, a selection must be made of the documents having the greatest concentration of information (and the information of the greatest interest); others must be consulted by following up a reference indicated elsewhere. For example, almost all the notarial documents cited in this book have been found by following up references in the descriptive inventories or other published works. It would be folly to try to go through all medieval Languedocian notarial registers seeking the occasional mention of prostitution!" I view my study of prostitutes as a footnote to Otis's work, and I am grateful to her for reading my initial paper and for the insights drawn from her institutional study of Languedocian prostitution that assisted me in identifying Campus Polverel and its female inhabitants.

<sup>7</sup> There are scattered earlier references in the Montpellier evidence to potential prostitutes. For example, in A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, f. 143r, one finds in 1302 the acquittal of Raynaude de Lyon, whose foreignness is suggested in her place-name surname, of having had sexual relations with several Jews and having incited other Christian women to do the same. Raynaude was likely a prostitute.

links with other communities of women in Montpellier are at best tenuous, but Agnes's charitable activities may have included them (Chap. 9).

In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in Montpellier, there were red-light districts for prostitutes, whereas the end of the Middle Ages witnessed the establishment in Languedoc of municipal brothels.<sup>8</sup> Leah Otis-Cour traced the Montpellier system that passed from private houses, identifiable by 1285, to a municipal brothel in 1520 with the purchase of a private house by the municipality.<sup>9</sup> The first official red-light district in Languedoc was in the Hot Street (*Carrerria Calida*) of Villanova in the southwestern quadrant of Montpellier on the road to Béziers, outside the first fortifications of the town, but within the major medieval Commune Clôture fortifications of the early thirteenth century. A 1285 document obliged public women to abandon all other sites in town and move to Villanova<sup>10</sup> (Map 3.1). The locale of Campus Polverel was relatively distant from the first official municipal brothel in the area of Villanova.<sup>11</sup> However, Otis stated in a footnote in her book, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, "The red-light district of Montpellier was established in the suburb Villanova, then transferred to another suburb along the road to Lattes in the early fourteenth century."<sup>12</sup> It is here along the road to Lattes that Campus Polverel was located.<sup>13</sup>

In ten notarial real estate rentals, the location of the property in question was at the site called Campus Polverel. The topographic designation *campus* (locale) was not uncommon in Montpellier. It was used as early as the twelfth century in the cartulary of the Guilhem family, lords of Montpellier, and appeared in fourteenth-century house sales, where one finds mention of Campus de Conchis and Campus den Panolh, for

<sup>8</sup> Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 51–62.

<sup>9</sup> Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 35, 45, 55–61. According to Otis, brothel farming was a feature of institutionalized late medieval prostitution in the south of France.

<sup>10</sup> This is the oldest document authorizing a red-light district in Languedoc, according to Otis. It is found in A. M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*, Louvet no. 146 and was edited by Alexandre Germain, "Statuts inédits des Repenties du couvent de Saint-Gilles de Montpellier," *Mémoires de la société archéologique de Montpellier* 5 (1860–69): 124–126. My thanks are due to Jacqueline Caille for assistance in pinpointing Villanova within the *Commune Clôture*.

<sup>11</sup> Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 25–26.

<sup>12</sup> Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 197, note 2.

<sup>13</sup> On prostitution and urban space, compare Mengel, "From Venice to Jerusalem and Beyond: Milic of Kromeriz and the Topography of Prostitution in Fourteenth-Century Prague."

example, as locations outside the town walls.<sup>14</sup> The name Polverellus also occurred in the Guilhem cartulary.<sup>15</sup> A chance discovery of a reference to Campus Polverel in a house sale written by the municipal bailiff's notary, Johannes Laurentii, of 20 March 1343 (n. s.), has permitted the localization of this toponym in the southern suburbs outside the Obilion gate, later renamed the Lattes gate, in the quarter of Montpelliéret that belonged to the king of France since his purchase of it from the bishop of Maguelone in 1293.<sup>16</sup> Montpelliéret, the French royal sector of Montpellier, was the less commercially dynamic of the two quarters of Montpellier, the larger and more prosperous centrally located quarter being Montpellier itself, whose overlord was the king of Majorca at this time.<sup>17</sup> The Obilion quarter, later the Faubourg de Lattes, was partly within the ramparts, and the rue d'Obilion was not far from the rue des Étuves, the municipal baths.<sup>18</sup> One exited by the Obilion (Lattes) gate to go to the little port of Lattes and the sea.<sup>19</sup> What better location for a red-light district, close to the baths and near the movement of international trade between Montpellier and the Mediterranean?<sup>20</sup> Clients, local and foreign merchants as well as seamen, must have abounded.

This geographic localization can be further confirmed by scrutiny of the sources that Otis cited: two *criées de bans* of 26 November 1336 and of 24 December 1336 in the archives of the *Commune Clôture*.<sup>21</sup> In these official pronouncements, all that might be prejudicial to the walls was prohibited. Notices were posted near the gates of Lattes and Montpelliéret at

<sup>14</sup>For twelfth-century examples, see *Liber Instrumentorum Memorialium, Guilhems* 467, act CCLXXXIX, and p. 478, act CCXCVIII. For the fourteenth century, see examples in A. D. Hérault, II E 95/372, J. Holanie et al., f. 93v: 15 October 1343 and f. 94r: 15 October 1343; A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, f. 5r: 9 May 1301. *Campus* was also commonly used in agricultural contracts in Montpellier to mean field or open space.

<sup>15</sup>See Jacques Fabre de Morlhon, *Le Montpellier des Guilhem et des rois d'Aragon* (Albi: Ateliers Professionnels de l'Orphelinat Saint-Jean, 1967), 62.

<sup>16</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, f. 115: 20 March 1343 (n. s.).

<sup>17</sup>On the history of relations between France and Majorca concerning Montpellier, see Thomas, "Montpellier entre la France et l'Aragon." See also Lecoy de la Marche, *Les relations politiques de la France avec le royaume de Majorque*.

<sup>18</sup>The classic study of Montpellier topography remains that of Guiraud, "Recherches topographiques."

<sup>19</sup>See Fabre and Lochard, *Montpellier: la ville médiévale*.

<sup>20</sup>See Geremek, *Les marginaux*, 97–102, for a discussion of the geographic location of sites of prostitution in Paris.

<sup>21</sup>A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 25 and EE 26.



the entrance to the Hot Street. The location of this new Hot Street coincided directly with Campus Polverel. Moreover, the posting of the *criée* of 24 December was said to be at the entrance to the *Carrerria Calida* between the gates of Lattes and Montpelliéret in the French royal quarter, at the intersection outside the first gate in front of the house of Guillelmus Boyssoni, glassmaker, a property also in the French royal quarter mentioned as adjacent to one of the prostitutes' house rentals in 1333.<sup>22</sup>

Studies of prostitution in medieval Europe have suggested several patterns of property holding.<sup>23</sup> Prostitutes might own private houses of prostitution.<sup>24</sup> Prominent figures and families might be involved as landlords of baths and brothels.<sup>25</sup> In some instances, prostitutes boarded.<sup>26</sup> The Montpellier evidence for Campus Polverel points to a clustering of houses, not one public brothel, in several adjacent streets. Jacques Rossiaud described the *prostibulum* or brothel as a block of streets in some cases.<sup>27</sup> Rossiaud made the interesting comment: "Procuration—*maquerellage*—was a specifically feminine activity: out of 83 cases of 'private bordellos' that I have located in Dijon, 75 were kept by women."<sup>28</sup> Some of the women of Campus Polverel may have played the role of procurer.

Notarial practice usually noted in contracts the names of husbands of women, along with their occupation and whether they were alive or deceased. For single women, their fathers' names and occupations were generally given.<sup>29</sup> The notary might also provide a geographic place of origin for immigrants, incorporating these labels in their last names as place-name surnames or simply calling them "inhabitants" of Montpellier,

<sup>22</sup> See "Prostitution in Medieval Montpellier."

<sup>23</sup> Compare Mengel, "From Venice to Jerusalem and Beyond: Milic of Kromeriz and the Topography of Prostitution in Fourteenth-Century Prague."

<sup>24</sup> See Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 54; Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 30; and Geremek, *Les Marginaux*, 243.

<sup>25</sup> Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 30; Trexler, "La prostitution à Florence," 991. See also Karras, "The Regulation of Brothels," 125, on the involvement of the bishop of Winchester.

<sup>26</sup> Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 4.

<sup>27</sup> Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 60.

<sup>28</sup> Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 30.

<sup>29</sup> See "Women in Business." It should be noted, however, that Otis states in an article, "Municipal Wet Nurses," 84, that the mere absence of a husband's or late husband's name does not automatically signify that the woman in question was single. Hutton, *Women and Economic Activities in Late Medieval Ghent*, *passim*, had difficulty in identifying women's marital status in all cases.

meaning nonnative inhabitants.<sup>30</sup> The notary might employ variant forms of a surname; for example, for Bonafossia Bonela, the vernacular “Bonelhe” in one act and a Latin version “Bonela” of the same name in another act.<sup>31</sup> The term prostitute (*meretrix*) did not occur in conjunction with these women, nor has this term surfaced in the notaries of the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>32</sup> That the women of Campus Polverel were not called by the occupational designation of prostitute (*meretrix*) is consistent with the notarial practice of omitting occupational designations for women in general, even in acts of apprenticeship where the women were acting as masters in the instruction of apprentices in the skills of a particular trade.<sup>33</sup> That they were prostitutes is highly likely, however.

In the case of the women of Campus Polverel, the notary assigned them evocative trade names (*noms de guerre*) as the list of prostitutes in the Appendix 2 reveals.<sup>34</sup> Possible connotations of their names and nicknames may include anatomical references, comments on personality, references to physical attributes, and geographic origins.<sup>35</sup> They appeared in the docu-

<sup>30</sup> Compare Rollo-Koster, “From Prostitutes to Brides of Christ,” 122.

<sup>31</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/369, J. Holanie, 1333, f. 44v: 29 May 1333: Bonela; f. 45r: 29 May 1333: Bonelhe; f. 62v: 28 August 1333: Bonela. Thus, in the two acts on 29 May 1333, the notary was inconsistent in his spelling of Bonafossia’s surname. He called her Bonafos as well.

<sup>32</sup> Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 16–17, on the term *meretrix*.

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, my article, “The Adolescent Apprentice/Worker.” The *pistorix* (baker) designation was an exception. As Brundage commented in “Prostitution in the Medieval Canon Law,” 95, prostitution was an economic occupation, sometimes even a civic corporation.

<sup>34</sup> See Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 34, on *noms de guerre* of prostitutes.

<sup>35</sup> See the list of the names of the women of Campus Polverel in Appendix 2. I would like to express my thanks to my colleague F.R.P. Akehurst for his assistance in matters of medieval philology. As an example of possible connotations, one can speculate on the name Bonafossia Bonela. For Bonafossia, the troubador word is *bonafo*, which might be construed as “grants her favors”; *fos* is perhaps a past subjunctive with a conditional sense. Hence, the name might mean “She’d be good.” *Fossa* means ditch or marker, lending itself to possible anatomical reference. Bonela could refer to *bonila*, meaning good quality. Boyleta may be a form of *bogleta*, meaning little curl or little sack. Katerina Sobeyrana had a surname meaning sovereign or elder, with the Provençal form of Soubeyran used by Marcel Pagnol in his novels. Marquesia Coline had a surname that could refer to *rigole* or channel from the term *colin*. Claramonda la Franseza of Torena Torena may be from Tours en Touraine. Bienda Grezane may be “the Greek woman.” La Ganteyra could refer to a glovemaker. Dena Romiena may be a foreigner, wanderer, or pilgrim. Guillelma Merlessa may have a last name relating to *merle* or thrush, with a pejorative sense of “nasty customer.” Other surnames clearly refer to geographic origin.

ments without mention of husbands. All but two of them were designated without mention of their fathers. Reinforcing their identification as single women, they had singularly feminine naming constructions in the notarial contracts, such as Johaneta Berengaria, or they were clearly immigrants, such as Bernarda, daughter of Raymundus Jordani of Toulouse, and Jausserauda, daughter of Guillelmus lo Pezatiayre of Valence, or they had nicknames such as Clarmonda la Franseza, or place-name surnames such as Agnes des Baux. When they had place-name surnames, it is likely that the place-name was that of their geographic origin, but, as the debate between Robert Lopez and R.W. Emery demonstrated long ago, there are differences of opinion on the significance of place-name surnames.<sup>36</sup> In her study of prostitution in Languedoc, Leah Otis-Cour noted the use of nicknames or first names in regard to prostitutes; she also signaled the frequent immigrant status of prostitutes who, in her words, “seem to have preferred to practice their trade outside their native towns or villages”<sup>37</sup> We could speculate on why they left their home towns, whether to spare their families shame or because they were forced into prostitution in the city, not finding the work they had sought in their move.

In Montpellier the prostitute community was heavily foreign in origin, reinforcing the role of immigration in the formation of their networks. Sixteen of the 25 prostitutes identified were in all likelihood foreigners, designated by the notary as “inhabitants of Montpellier,” a label used in cases of immigration. Seven of these 25 were not identified one way or the other as potential immigrants. Only two of the 25 were from Montpellier. One prostitute was from Albi and was likely in passage as she was recorded buying a chest (perhaps for travel).<sup>38</sup> Women came to Montpellier and entered the profession of prostitution from southwestern France (Albi, Toulouse, Narbonne), from Provence (Les Baux), from the Gap diocese, from Valence on the Rhône, and from nearby Melgueil.

Many of the women of this community of prostitutes were involved in real property transactions with two local auctioneers, Bernardus Mathas and Matheus Imberti. The transactions themselves localized the property topographically by mention of the adjacent properties and their holders;

<sup>36</sup> See the summary of the Lopez-Emery debate in Benjamin Kedar, “Toponymic Surnames as Evidence of Origin: Some Medieval Views,” *Viator* 4 (1973): 123–129, and “Population Attraction and Mobility.”

<sup>37</sup> Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 63–64.

<sup>38</sup> See “Prostitution in Medieval Montpellier.”

attached to the neighboring houses were names of additional women: La Ganteyra, La Panchota, Dena Romiena, Bienda Grezane, for example. These rentals were short term—a year or less, with one exception, and with rent due two to three times a year or monthly, an unusual term within Montpellier rentals, but one which might be practical in the event that the women moved on unexpectedly. While coinage devaluations need to be factored into any comparison of rental charges, Bernardus Mathas's five rentals in 1342 ran from 4 *l.* 10 *s.* to 12 *l.* current money per year, reflecting relatively modest levels of rent in comparison with the most valuable real estate in town, where a large property could rent for 30–40 *l.* a year.<sup>39</sup> Rentals of houses around the Herbaria Square were in the latter range.<sup>40</sup> Yet, the Campus Polverel rentals commanded sums requiring gainful employment.

The notary did not specify whether the neighbor women were occupants, owners, or both in regard to the mention of houses adjacent to the above rentals. Some of the women of Campus Polverel did own their property. In a notarial act of 1333, Bonafossia Bonela sold the auctioneer Bernardus Mathas two houses in the French quarter (Montpelliéret), presumably Campus Polverel, for 20 *l. p. t.*; she owned the useful domain, with the eminent domain at a *census* of 16 *d. t.* each year at Michelmas in the hands of a *burgensis* of Montpellier, Johannes de Saureto, who also had eminent domain over several other houses in Campus Polverel.<sup>41</sup> The prostitute Bonafossia was a landowner and a landlord. The two houses sold by Bonela were adjacent to houses of the glassmaker, Guillelmus Boysonni, whose name figured in the identification of the red-light district of Campus Polverel, noted above, and houses of two more women, Mabilia Bonafossie and Maria Tarnalhe, with a road separating them from Bonela's houses.<sup>42</sup> The names of the auctioneers Bernardus Mathas and Matheus Imberti were also attached to bordering houses in the rental acts under consideration; these too they likely would have rented out. Campus Polverel was a neighborhood made up of women with the occasional male inhabitant—glassmakers lived there—and with the imprint of

<sup>39</sup> See "Land, Houses and Real Estate Investment," for a general treatment of property transactions in Montpellier. See *Business, Banking and Finance*, Appendix 2, "Monetary Problems," for a discussion of coinage.

<sup>40</sup> See Chap. 7.

<sup>41</sup> For Johannes de Saureto's eminent domain, see also A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, f. 115r, and A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 103v.

<sup>42</sup> For mention of Guillelmus Boysonni A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 25.

the entrepreneurial real estate ventures of the auctioneers. Worth signaling as well was eminent domain in Campus Polverel held by a *burgensis* of the Montpellier elite, Johannes de Saureto.

Additional real property transactions involving women in Campus Polverel include Guillelma Merlessa's rental of a house and an orchard in 1336 from the auctioneer Bernardus Mathas through the agency of his wife.<sup>43</sup> Mathas's wife, Johanna, appeared before the notary in his name and by his authority to negotiate the transaction.<sup>44</sup> There is no direct evidence that Johanna was in the trade of prostitution, but her involvement in this property transaction leaves the question open. Jacques Rossiaud has noted the presence of innkeepers' wives among the procurers of Dijon.<sup>45</sup> The Mathas spouses were heavily invested in Campus Polverel by 1336 and may have served as procurers in prostitution, though this cannot be proven. Among the bordering properties demarcating the boundaries of the prostitutes rentals in Montpellier were other houses of the Mathas. This couple may have felt that real estate in this quarter was a good investment.

Through rentals and other acts, we glimpse the movement of these prostitutes within Campus Polverel and perhaps in and out of Montpellier. The rental to Guillelma Merlessa was for one year from the Assumption of the Virgin in August with a rent payment of 2 *l.*, due three times during the year. The property in question had previously been rented out to Berengaria Lescrimaires, whose lease was obviously coming due. One finds the name "Lescrimayres" attached to an adjacent house in a house rental by Matheus Imberti in 1343 to Jausserauda de Valencia, making it likely that Berengaria moved around the district of Campus Polverel.<sup>46</sup> Berengaria may also have left Montpellier and then returned, as there is every indication that the Campus Polverel women were a population in flux; their investment in chests, explored below, suggests a readiness to travel. Imberti rented two more houses in 1343, one to Bienda Grezane, confronting a house of Bernardus Mathas and a holding of Dena Romiena

<sup>43</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 51r. The careers of the two auctioneers involved in this study, Bernardus Mathas and Matheus Imberti, can be traced back as early as 1327 in the notarial evidence. Bernardus Mathas appeared in registers of 1327–1328, 1333, 1336, 1342, and 1343–1343. He was mentioned purchasing a house in 1327 and in the purchase of two houses in 1333, as noted above.

<sup>44</sup>A. D. Hérault, II 95/370, J. Holanie, f. 97r.

<sup>45</sup>Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 31. See Rollo-Koster, "From Prostitutes to Brides of Christ," 112, for brothel ownership.

<sup>46</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/372, J. Holanie et al., f. 94v.

for the period from 21 November to the Assumption of the Virgin in August, the other to Claramonda la Franseza, adjacent to houses of La Ganteyra and La Panchota for the same term.<sup>47</sup>

Not infrequently, brokers were witnesses to the rental acts, as in two rentals by Matheus Imberti in 1343.<sup>48</sup> Auctioneers and brokers were both members of the commercial infrastructure of Montpellier and well placed as a result to furnish a potential clientele for prostitutes.<sup>49</sup> They clearly

<sup>47</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/372, J. Holanie et al., 131v, two rentals.

<sup>48</sup> Additional activities of the auctioneers can be documented. Matheus Imberti appeared in 1327 in an accounting and amicable composition in regard to a debt of his and in 1333 as a witness to a debt for grain. See A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 6r, and II E 95/369, J. Holanie, f. 23v. In one act of 1328, Imberti and another auctioneer loaned money to Bernardus Mathas, only to have the act invalidated without explanation by the notary. See II E 95/368, J. Holanie, 132v. Imberti appeared in the 1336 register to purchase a considerable quantity of red mullet fish. See II E 95/370, J. Holanie, f. 64v. The purchase was for 20 *saumatae circulatorum de Bessio*. An alternative reading for *circulus*, according to Niermeyer, is a crown, implying jewelry, which would be consistent with an auction and with a mobile population of prostitutes. However, the *saumata* is a measure of quantity, and Bessan is a town on the Hérault River, west of Montpellier and not far from the Mediterranean; hence, the possible interpretation of mullet fish. Bernardus Mathas and his wife also bought fish in 1336. See II E 95/370, J. Holanie, f. 41v.

<sup>49</sup> Auctioneers were active in the financial, legal, and commercial arena in Montpellier. They were municipal officials, often mentioned alongside business brokers in municipal statutes in Languedoc. For general background on auctioneers and brokers, see *The Art of the Deal*, Chap. 3. In 1309, the consuls of Narbonne surrendered to the seneschal of Carcassonne a document that described auctioneers along with brokerage, the policing of streets and paths, and the supervision of the urban trades. See Gouron, *La réglementation des métiers*, 150. Gouron, 194, drew analogies between the roles of auctioneers and brokers in Languedoc, arguing that they were municipal officials rather than tradesmen.

The involvement of auctioneers in the forced sales of debt execution proceedings may have provided them with certain possibilities for the acquisition of personal property—movables such as chests and clothes, maybe a bargain in fish—as well as real property, in town and in the country. However, the town consuls supervised auctions, and the auctioneers swore an oath to the consuls, as did most of the occupations in Montpellier. See *Le Petit Thalamus de Montpellier*, ed. F. Pégat, E. Thomas and Desmazes (Montpellier, 1840), 291–292: “Aquest sagramen fan li encantador.” The auctioneers’ oath regulated the days of the week when they could auction and the authorized auction sites; it imposed restrictions against selling new merchandise, established the fees per auction according to the value of the merchandise, and stated clearly that the profits were to go to the buyers and sellers. No part of the items auctioned was to be retained by the auctioneers or those attached to them. Thus, any suspicion that auctioneers could have profited from their involvement in foreclosure of debts and forced auction of goods and real property hurls against the oath prohibitions. From the Montpellier notarial documents, it is clear that the primary occupational identification of these auctioneers was just that, as auctioneers, even in obviously private and personal transac-

connected prostitutes to the available housing rentals. The names associated with particular houses of prostitution changed in each of the four time periods captured by the notarial evidence for the years 1333, 1336, 1342, and 1343. The four years of rentals and real estate transactions reveal slightly different geographic distributions due to the fact that the women of Campus Polverel moved in and out of the area, perhaps from year to year.

The numbers of single women likely involved in prostitution and in contact with auctioneers can be expanded beyond the above Campus Polverel real estate references. For some of the single women such as Marita Clara of Avignon, repeated interactions in domains outside real estate but with the same auctioneers have been recorded. In 1342, Marita owed Bernardus Mathas for a chest or wardrobe (*gardacossa*) and tunic. In 1343, a foreign messenger, resident in Montpellier, stood surety for her in her debt to Mathas.<sup>50</sup> Marita had some social and economic capital, clearly, to be able to count on the messenger's support. Then, immediately, Mathas ceded this debt to Agnes des Baux, inhabitant of Montpellier and likely prostitute, who was one of his renters in Campus Polverel in 1342.<sup>51</sup> The women of Campus Polverel had a familiarity with the financial system and with the means of manipulating credit in particular. Agnes des Baux undoubtedly knew Marita Clara and was willing to assume the role of her creditor. They were probably closely connected.

The auctioneer Mathas had other clients in 1342 for chests and for clothing: Beatrix la Boyleta for two chests, Francisca de Castro Forti for one chest, and Katerina Sobeyrana of Melgueil, inhabitant of Montpellier, for a woman's tunic embroidered in red and another cloth, at a cost of 65 *s.* current money.<sup>52</sup> The cost of the chests ranged from a little over 5 *l.* in current money to 15 *l.* current money. The year 1342 was one of some monetary uncertainty, causing the quotation of price in the money circu-

tions such as those with the single women mentioned above. At least as these acts read, there is no hint of officialdom at work, but rather of individual lending, real property, and sale transactions. However, one must ask whether the auctioneers were not exercising some informal supervisory role, given the prevalence of public officials' involvement in prostitution. See Brundage, "Prostitution in the Medieval Canon Law," 95.

<sup>50</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/371, J. Holanie, f. 148r and II E 95/372, J. Holanie et al., f. 42r.

<sup>51</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/ 372, J. Holanie et al., f. 42r.

<sup>52</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/371, J. Holanie, f. 25r, f. 57v, and f. 102v.

lating at the time, that is, current money.<sup>53</sup> These were luxurious chests, described in one case as painted and lined with green silk, in two other cases, lined with murrey cloth and feathers. The purchase sums were on a par with the cost of a year's rental of a house in Campus Polverel.

Numerous scholars note sumptuary regulations and dress codes for prostitutes, signaling that prostitutes had such clothing.<sup>54</sup> Silks and other luxurious fabrics were theoretically prohibited. But personal possessions and conspicuous consumption were clearly of importance to the women of Campus Polverel; they purchased luxury goods, and they undoubtedly used them. In fact, among the best information we have in Montpellier regarding luxury clothing comes from prostitutes. The other source for such garments is dowry arrangements.<sup>55</sup>

Earlier evidence of the sale of chests also exists, not involving auctioneers, but between single women whose naming patterns resemble those of the Campus Poverel renters. In 1327, Ricardis de Narbona, inhabitant of Montpellier, sold two chests in separate acts to Johaneta de Tholosa, also an immigrant, and another to Raymunda Trencavela, an immigrant from Albi.<sup>56</sup> Incidentally, while Raymunda Trencavela was at the notary's atelier buying her chest, in line just before her on the same day, 17 December 1327, was Guillelmus Boyssoni, the glassmaker, who was acknowledging the receipt of 53 amphorae.<sup>57</sup> Their presence together at the notary may have been more than coincidence since they were, in all likelihood, neighbors.

Six of the seven sales of chests that have survived for the second quarter of the fourteenth century involve single women. One is tempted to deduce that the wardrobe chest was an indispensable accoutrement for the woman who was single, rented short term, and would travel. The women with chests have been included among the list of prostitutes, given their

<sup>53</sup> See the note on money and Appendix 2, "Monetary Problems," in *The Art of the Deal*.

<sup>54</sup> Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 80; Geremek, *Les marginaux*, 246; J. Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 8, 65, for example. For information on Montpellier sumptuary law, see also "Medieval Silks in Montpellier." On sumptuary laws in general, see Susan Mosher Stuard, *Gilding the Market. Luxury and Fashion in Fourteenth-Century Italy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

<sup>55</sup> See Chap. 4.

<sup>56</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 55v; f. 84r; f. 93r.

<sup>57</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 93r. Also worth noting was the act preceding the second purchase by Johaneta de Tholosa, in which another glassmaker, Johannes de Salellis of Valence, and a mirror merchant of Montpellier, Johannes de Lodevsia, took a loan from a tailor of Montpellier.



names and the association with Boyssoni. Not counted among the list of prostitutes in Appendix 2, though perhaps implicated in the profession, was Alasassia de Aquaviva, widow of a shoemaker, who sold a house to a moneyer in the Campus Polverel vicinity that abutted houses of a jurist, a pepperer, and the house of the king of France where money was minted.<sup>58</sup> Poor widows—certainly the widow of a shoemaker is a likely candidate—may have had to resort to prostitution to survive or to maintain what resources they inherited from their husbands.

The interaction between single women, often immigrants and likely prostitutes, and auctioneers in Montpellier reveals the close relationship between the municipal establishment and prostitution. The landlord auctioneers, Bernardus Mathas and Matheus Imberti, in renting houses to prostitutes, functioned as procurers by the terms of thirteenth-century French Capetian legislation which punished such acts.<sup>59</sup> As Leah Otis-Cour stated, people renting houses to prostitutes entitled them to punishment under Capetian legislation. But, in Languedoc, this position does not seem to have been upheld.<sup>60</sup> In the case of Campus Polverel rentals, the fact that the auctioneers operated in plain sight before a public notary while identified by occupation as municipal officials reveals that they enjoyed the indulgence of the town consuls and the French royal administration in whose quarter of the town the Hot Street was located.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Because she was a widow, Alasassia de Aquaviva has not been included in Appendix 2 of this look, though she may belong there among the possible prostitutes. Another widow, Esmeniardis, widow of Petrus de Carnassio, son of a late wood merchant, also sold a house to another moneyer in Campus Polverel in 1328. She, too, may deserve inclusion among the community of prostitutes. See A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 103v: 13 January 1328. On the Montpellier mint, see Marc Bompaire, *L'Atelier monétaire royale de Montpellier et la circulation monétaire en Bas-Languedoc jusqu'au milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Thesis: Ecole des Chartes, 1980). The transfer of the French mint from Sommières to Montpellier took place in 1340, though moneyers were in the area before that date.

<sup>59</sup> Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 89–90. Otis quoted a 1282 charter of Philip III, confirming arrangements of 1222 and adding further in regard to adultery and procuring: “If anyone commits *lenocinium* in his own house, the house shall be ceded to us in feudal commission; if indeed it be a rental house, the perpetrator shall be obliged to pay us 20 *l.*” Otis noted the transformation of procuring from a capital offense in 1222 to an offense against morals in 1282. For more on the French kings’ attitudes, see Otis, 35–36.

<sup>60</sup> Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 90.

<sup>61</sup> Philip IV did not maintain the strictness of his father and grandfather. As Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 36, stated: “The French crown issued no directives on prostitution for almost a century after the ordinance of Philip III, until the reign of Charles V (1364–80), when a vigorous new policy on prostitution was adopted.”

The women noted above may well represent the majority of the Montpellier prostitute population. Otis gave, as a rule of thumb, the ratio of one prostitute for every 1000 inhabitants, with a few more informal practitioners thrown in.<sup>62</sup> Rossiaud described a larger proportion, citing Dijon with 100 prostitutes for a town of less than 10,000.<sup>63</sup> In Montpellier, with a population of between 35,000 and 40,000, the women of Campus Polverel undoubtedly represented a significant proportion of the formal prostitute population in the town at this time, given their presence in the red-light district.<sup>64</sup> When one considers the poor survival rate of notarial registers in Montpellier—maybe 1/300—the fact that we know of this community of women prostitutes, thanks to five registers of the same notary, Johannes Holanie, is fortuitous indeed.<sup>65</sup> He may have operated as the prostitutes' notary in addition to serving a large clientele of commercial and financial movers and shakers.

In a red-light district, outside but close to the city walls on the road to and from the sea, these women were in frequent business contact with municipal officials, whose involvement in auctions may have brought them the opportunity for acquisition of real and mobile property.<sup>66</sup> The two auctioneers derived from this community of women a steady source of short-term rental income, paid monthly or every four months, most amenable to adjustments for inflation, and a clientele for objects such as chests, which they may have obtained in their capacity as auctioneers. The direct involvement of municipal officials such as auctioneers in house

It is interesting to note that the term *prosenetas*, meaning go-between or negotiator, from a Greek root, was applied to sworn brokers, *corraterios juratos* (A. M. Montpellier, BB 2, J. Grimaudi, f. 67v: 26 February 1302), in a request to sell houses to satisfy testamentary bequests. Given the close association between brokers and their mutual roles as intermediaries, the role of procurer, the modern French *proxénète*, would not have represented a great departure for the auctioneers. However, I found no association of this term with the Montpellier auctioneers specifically, but the act of renting property to prostitutes constituted procuring according to thirteenth-century legislation.

<sup>62</sup> Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 100.

<sup>63</sup> Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 10. Compare Avignon with an unusually large number of prostitutes in Rollo-Koster, "From Prostitutes to Brides of Christ," 111.

<sup>64</sup> See my discussion of town population figures in "Population Attraction and Mobility," 257–258.

<sup>65</sup> For a calculation of notarial survival rates, see my French thesis, "Montpellier de 1250 à 1350: Centre commercial et financier," (Thèse d'état, Université de Montpellier I, 1977), Introduction.

<sup>66</sup> For a comparative context on prostitution in the western Mediterranean world, see "Whose City Is This?," which deals with lower-status and marginal women.

rentals to prostitutes in the red-light district of town demonstrates how readily accepted was the exercise of prostitution in fourteenth-century Montpellier.

The above findings are telling, as much by what they show as by what remains unknown. There is nothing known of the clientele of the women of Campus Polverel, nothing of their romantic ties or whether they had children, nothing of their family background, outside their geographic origin. How long they stayed in Montpellier cannot be established; however, they appear to represent a transient population. What drew the immigrants among these women to Montpellier in the first place also eludes us. Certainly, the active trading status of the town, with people coming and going, provides one explanation. The size of the urban population provides another.<sup>67</sup> Were they prostitutes before they came or did they fall into prostitution as many poor women immigrants have done in Third World cities of later eras?<sup>68</sup> A series of events—economic necessity, low wages in unskilled work, loss of family, a search for self-sufficiency—may have dictated the choice by women of prostitution as a profession. Once in town, these women may have been targeted for reform. There may have been a concerted interest on the part of elite women like Agnes in fallen women in Montpellier, given the records of testamentary donations to the poor and to houses of reformed prostitutes.<sup>69</sup>

There existed in Montpellier a symbiotic relationship between auctioneers and prostitutes, revealing one dimension of the single woman's place in the economic and social environment of a large medieval town. This connection suggests that prostitution was enmeshed in the culture and economy of Montpellier. That prostitution was profitable work is borne out by the appearance of these women before the notary in real estate contracts and in purchases of personal effects.<sup>70</sup> The women of Campus Polverel interacted with one another, at times intervening financially on each other's behalf. They were neighbors, and there was a sense of solidarity in this group of women. The horizontal ties were pronounced among these women, understandably for a group of marginals whose acceptance

<sup>67</sup> For a discussion of prostitution in western Mediterranean cities, see "Whose City Is This?"

<sup>68</sup> For a study of Third World prostitution, see Luise White, *The Comforts of Home. Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990).

<sup>69</sup> See Chap. 9.

<sup>70</sup> Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 64–65, noted that prostitution was profitable work and that prostitutes were not always poor.

in society was doubtful. The involvement of elite women like Agnes de Bossones in urban charities benefitting the poor and repentant women suggests vertical connections as well. The next chapter will investigate urban philanthropy, shedding further light on the fate of prostitutes and on vertical links between marginal and elite women.

## Agnes's Networks of Philanthropy

It was early April in Montpellier, likely a sunny day with mild temperatures. The rainy months of January through March were over. Yet, there must have been some gloom among the Bossones family as the matriarch Agnes de Bossones was facing death. Lying on her deathbed in her house, probably the family home near the central pilgrimage church of Notre-Dame des Tables, Agnes dictated her last will and testament on 5 April 1342. In the protocol to her will, she began with her situation, evoking the last judgment that none of the flesh could avoid, though no one knew the exact hour of death. Describing herself as fearing that judgment, healthy in mind and in memory while infirm in body, she made her will to provide for the salvation of her soul and to dispose of her goods. She commended her soul and body to her creator and to the Virgin Mary and the whole court of paradise. The protocol is stereotypic rather than deeply personal, but it reflects the wording of most medieval wills, where the individual testator's frame of mind is not delineated in detail.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The protocols of Montpellier wills resembled those of most of southern France in that they used stylized notarial clauses to describe the piety of the testator and a desire for the salvation of the soul. See "Changes in Testamentary Practice at Montpellier," especially 254–255. The French legal historian Louis de Charrin noted that an invocation to the Trinity was common in wills before 1340. See *Les testaments dans la région de Montpellier*, 54. Though Agnes's will does not reflect this kind of invocation, beginning about 1340, according to de Charrin, there were more frequent evocations of human fragility and the unchangeability of destiny. The formulaic nature of preambles to wills remained a constant over the course of the Ancien Régime. For a detailed discussion of several wills, see "Wills of Spouses in Montpellier before 1350," 44–60.

Agnes described herself as the daughter of the late merchant Raymundus Peyrerie and the wife of the late lord P. de Bossones, merchant of Montpellier. Her experiences have served as the principal case study in this book and the thread that links the various chapters. Hers was a full life that has left its trace over 40 years (1301–1342). Her will tied together loose ends as she prepared for her final rest.

Just four days after the drafting of the will, on the 9 April, an addendum stated that Agnes had passed away and had been buried and the universal heirs constituted in the presence of Raymundus Grossi, bailiff of the court of Montpellier. At the request of the heirs, the will was published and its authenticity recognized with the witnesses, P. Seguerii, B. Gaucelini, B., Marcileti, Guillelmus Bernardi, Guiraudus Carrerie, P. Cardinalis, and Johannes Laurentii, all present. The will was read publicly and explained in the vernacular (*vulgarizato seu vulgariter*). The same seven witnesses at the request of the bailiff swore on the Gospels with hands touching that they had seen and heard and were present when Agnes, lying in her bed (*jacens in lecto suo*), made her will and that the will had been read in their presence in the vernacular.<sup>2</sup> The implication is that some of these people did not know Latin. The verification by the bailiff, Raymundus Grossi, Agnes's son-in-law, took place in the home of another son-in-law Petrus Seguerii, widower of her deceased daughter Agnes, in the presence of Johannes Seguerii, draper, likely her grandson-in-law, married to granddaughter Agnes, Petrus Laurentii, a priest to whom Agnes left a legacy of 60 *s.*, and an inhabitant of Montpellier, Bartholomeus de Chiro, as well as notary Johannes Laurentii, who recorded the event.

The philanthropy of elite women like Agnes de Bossones in Montpellier, in evidence in their wills and in their charitable participation in poor and sick relief, contributed to the social safety net in the town and to the well-being of lesser-status women, even prostitutes, who needed assistance with their dowries and their redemption as well as succor when ill and thereby deprived of a livelihood.<sup>3</sup> Wills in general and Agnes de Bossones in her last will and testament, in particular, provide invaluable information

<sup>2</sup> On ritual in the Middle Ages, see Joëlle Rollo-Koster ed., *Medieval and Early Modern Ritual. Formalized Behavior in Europe, China and Japan* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002). See also my article in this volume, "Rituals in Medieval Business," 81–103.

<sup>3</sup> On women and charity, see Daniel LeBlévec, "Le rôle des femmes dans l'assistance et la charité," in *La Femme dans la vie religieuse du Languedoc (XIIIe-XIVe s.)*, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 23 (Toulouse: Privat, 1988): 171–190.

on the networks of charity at work in Montpellier. Following collective case studies of women of the medieval marketplace and a community of prostitutes, it is useful to examine vertical linkages in female networks of philanthropy. This study of networks and community in Montpellier will conclude with an examination of Agnes's will for her philanthropic decisions regarding women and, more broadly, for the networks they reveal. But first, it is necessary to put her will in a broader local context.<sup>4</sup>

Agnes's lengthy will of 1342, along with earlier documentation, allows us to trace her philanthropic involvement with women.<sup>5</sup> Agnes's charitable instincts are visible in her elaborate testamentary mandates and from information on her personal engagement during her lifetime.<sup>6</sup> Agnes was from all evidence a pious woman from a pious family. It was particularly the size of Agnes's bequest for funeral expenses and pious donations—200 *l. p. t.*, with 30 *l.* of these dedicated for burial, oblations, and nine days of chants, that suggests the extent of her religious commitment, as well as the dimensions of her fortune. Though it is not possible to put a monetary value on her estate, the real property mentioned, the pious donations, and the bequests were, comparatively speaking, very large in terms of the extant wills.<sup>7</sup>

Agnes left a lot of initiative in her will to her executors, her two surviving sons-in-law, the guardian of the Friars Minor house, and the prior of Notre-Dame des Tables. The pious bequests were to be bestowed by the notice and at the disposition of her executors. The universal heirs, it will be recalled, were responsible for the monetary bequests to members of each of their family lines. It is important to note that the guardian of the Franciscan house was among Agnes's executors, a not uncommon occurrence among elite women testators in the south of France. Francine

<sup>4</sup>There has been much important scholarship using wills. Building on the work of Michel Vovelle on religious *mentalité*, see Jacques Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du moyen âge (vers 1320 – vers 1480)* (Rome: L'École française de Rome, 1980). Epstein took a somewhat different emphasis in *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa*. Francine Michaud used wills to study women and patrimony in *Un signe des temps*. Laumonier, *Solitudes et solidarités en ville* also relied heavily on wills.

<sup>5</sup>A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, J. Laurentii, f. 13rff.

<sup>6</sup>Alexandre Germain, "La charité publique et hospitalière à Montpellier au moyen-âge," *Mémoires de la société archéologique de Montpellier* 4 (1856): 481–552.

<sup>7</sup>It will be recalled that these wills come from the A. M. Montpellier, BB 1-3, *Grand Chartrier*, and *Commune Clôture fonds*, and from the A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368–377 notarial archives.

Michaud speaks of *liaisons particulières* between elite women of Marseille and the Franciscans.<sup>8</sup>

Agnes's choice of burial at the Franciscan convent, her Franciscan confessor, and her generosity to the Franciscans in Montpellier place her squarely in a fourteenth-century trend in testamentary practice in Montpellier prior to the Black Death.<sup>9</sup> She had a particular commitment to women and the poor, to communities of Franciscan and Dominican women, to houses of repentant women, to poor girls to marry, and to charitable engagement through the Ladies of Wednesday, an elite women's group in Montpellier that assisted the poor and sick.

Agnes was not alone in the kinds of activities she engaged in, and the historical context is significant. Agnes's will was one of 160 extant wills before 1350, of which 54, or just over a third (33.75 %), were made by women.<sup>10</sup> Twenty-nine of these women were widows (including Agnes), 20 were wives, 4 were single, and there was one ambiguous case in which the information was not available. Survivals of wills are uneven across the period 1200–1348. There were 94 wills in the period 1200–1345 and 66 in the years 1347–1348. The years 1347 and 1348 were a time when many Montpelliérains chose to draw up last wills and testaments. The plague reached Montpellier in the spring of 1348, probably by March, having been first detected in southern France in Marseille in January 1348.<sup>11</sup> Alone, the 1347–1348 register of the notary Bernardus Egidii contains 48 wills.<sup>12</sup> The number of wills increases before the plague, and changes in testamentary practice begin in the 1340s but escalate in 1347, continuing in 1348.<sup>13</sup>

Agnes had been a widow 40 or more years when she came to make her last will and testament. It is likely that her husband Petrus de

<sup>8</sup> Francine Michaud, "Liaisons particulières? Franciscains et testatrices à Marseille (1248–1320)," *Annales du Midi* 104 (1992): 7–18, notes (15) that clergy and Friars Minor often served as executors.

<sup>9</sup> See "Changes in Testamentary Practice in Montpellier," 263.

<sup>10</sup> These wills represent a significant portion, though probably not all, of the wills surviving before the mid-fourteenth century. An additional source would be the Série H of the Archives Départementales de l'Hérault, which was in the process of being inventoried when I did my research.

<sup>11</sup> Philip Ziegler, *The Black Death* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), 40ff, for the chronology of the arrival of the plague in Europe.

<sup>12</sup> A. D. Hérault, II 95/377, B. Egidii: 1347–1348.

<sup>13</sup> See "Changes in Testamentary Practice."



Bossones also made a will in which he named Agnes as the guardian of their three daughters, since that is her role when we first make her acquaintance. Of the testators before 1347, 34 of 60 men (over 50 %) still had their wives when they drew up their wills. In 1347, 30 of 37 still had their wives (more than 75 %). Sixteen of 28 women before 1347 were widows (over 50 %). In 1347, 15 of 25 women testators (60 %) were widows. Before the crises of the mid-century, widowhood seems to have been relatively well balanced among men and women testators (in or about 50 %).<sup>14</sup>

Agnes chose for the burial of her body a sepulcher in the chapel of the blessed Mary Magdalene in the convent of the Friars Minor of Montpellier. The choice of burial site was a personal prerogative of the testator. There was certainly some store placed by testators in the choice of burial site, the eternal resting place. Over the course of the medieval period, there was considerable evolution in burial site selection. Initially, parish churches controlled the right to bury parishioners. However, the new orders of friars, Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Carmelites, gradually gained this privilege. Already in the first half of the thirteenth century, the Dominicans had acquired this permission. By 1250, the other friars, along with the Praemonstratensians, also benefitted from this privilege.<sup>15</sup> The one constant was the canon law requirement that burial take place in hallowed ground.<sup>16</sup>

The town of Montpellier originally had two parishes, that of Saint-Firmin in the lay lord's sector of town (Montpellier) and that of Saint-Denis in the episcopal, later the king of France's, sector (Montpelliéret).<sup>17</sup> Neither parish church was a popular burial choice; only one of the extant wills from 1200 to 1348 recorded Saint-Firmin as a burial choice, whereas Saint-Denis was chosen in nine wills.<sup>18</sup> The pilgrimage church of Notre-Dame des Tables in the southeastern corner of the early fortifications was

<sup>14</sup> See "Changes in Testamentary Practice."

<sup>15</sup> See "Changes in Testamentary Practice," 255.

<sup>16</sup> Antoine Bernard, *La sépulture en droit canonique du décret de Gratien au concile de Trente* (Paris: Les Éditions Domat-Montchrestien, 1933), 85ff.

<sup>17</sup> On the parishes of Montpellier, see Alexandre Germain, "La paroisse à Montpellier au moyen âge," *Mémoires de la société archéologique de Montpellier* 5 (Montpellier, 1860–1869): 1–56, and Louise Guiraud, *La paroisse de Saint-Denis de Montpellier: étude historique* (Montpellier: Librairie J. Calas, 1887). On medieval parishes in general, see Michel Aubrun, *La paroisse en France des origines au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Picard, 1986).

<sup>18</sup> See "Changes in Testamentary Practice," 258, Table 2.

the most prominent church in Montpellier; however, it was not recorded as a burial choice and was undoubtedly hampered in burial possibilities, given its location, like Saint-Firmin, in the center of town.<sup>19</sup>

Instead, it was the suburban ecclesiastical institutions that were named in wills as burial sites. The hospital or asylum of Saint-Barthélémy outside the town walls, mentioned in the market seller Berengaria Martini's will, is one such location. The cathedral of Saint-Pierre of Maguelone was another. The cathedral was located about ten kilometers distant from the town on the Mediterranean coast.<sup>20</sup> Over the period 1200–1348, 44 testators requested burial at Maguelone, the largest number of any site. Thirty-nine of these fell in the years 1200–1345, whereas the choice of Maguelone had tapered off in 1347–1348 to five choices. Both men and women chose traditional cathedral burial; the mercantile, financial, and legal elites were well represented. Here one might have expected Agnes to be buried, but instead, she followed the new trend.

From the late thirteenth century, it was increasingly common to find friars' convents as burial choices, with the numbers increasing as time went on. While the Carmelites and the Augustinians had only two requests each before 1350, the Dominicans or Friars Preacher recorded 16 cases of burial requests overall.<sup>21</sup> Thirteen of the testators choosing to be buried with the Preacher were men, making this a masculine and not a feminine choice. The Dominicans seem to have attracted testators of the financial, mercantile, and legal classes of the town. Family tradition was strong for the Dominicans, with 12 instances of request for burial in the tomb of a relative.<sup>22</sup> Burials might further indicate special chapels such as those of Saint Peter the Martyr,

<sup>19</sup>On Notre-Dame des Tables as a pilgrimage church, see *Le guide du pèlerin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle*, 3rd ed. Jeanne Vieillard (Mâcon: Protat, 1963), 2, and Guiraud, "Recherches topographiques," 122.

<sup>20</sup>On the cathedral, see Jean Rouquette, *Histoire du diocèse de Maguelone*, 2 vols. (Montpellier: J. Rouquette, 1921–1927), and Frédéric Fabrège, *Histoire de Maguelone*, 3 vols. (Paris: A. Picard; Montpellier: F. Seguin, 1893–1911). See also the more recent study, *Le diocèse de Montpellier*, ed. Gérard Cholvy (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1976). The diocesan see was transferred from Maguelone to Montpellier in 1536. See Gérard Cholvy, ed. *Histoire de Montpellier* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1984), 135.

<sup>21</sup>See Appendix 3.

<sup>22</sup>Twelve wills made mention of a family tomb, two from mothers in 1279 and 1299 to be buried in their children's tombs. Further examples include one for the tomb of an uncle, three for the tomb of a mother, two for that of a father, one for that of a father and brother, one for that of a mother and husband, one for that of a paternal grandfather, and one for that of parents.

Mary Magdalene, and Saint Peter and Saint Paul; there were also designations of burial in the cloister and in the cemetery of the Dominican house. Illustrative of this were the wills of Guillelmus Saligani, jurist (*jurisperitus*), and his wife Johanna, daughter of the late merchant Johannes Mercaderii, who both requested burial at the Friars Preacher.<sup>23</sup> Johanna was one of only three women testators in the extant wills to choose the Dominicans, stemming, in all likelihood, from the fact that her nephew was a Dominican friar. Agnes could have been one of the women of elite background choosing the Dominicans, but instead, she opted for the Franciscans.

Agnes was the first woman among testators whose will survives to choose the Franciscan house as her burial site, though not the first woman overall to designate burial there. One testator specified burial in his wife's tomb and four chose the tomb of their mothers, already buried with the Franciscans.<sup>24</sup> The wills overall recorded 27 burial requests at the Franciscans from inhabitants of Montpellier, 7 before 1346, 13 in 1347, and 7 in 1348.<sup>25</sup> There were 17 requests from men, ten from women in regard to the Montpellier house, including Agnes's. Two additional requests from a couple of nearby Sommières designated burial at the Franciscan house there. Peasants and artisans were clients of the Franciscans, but nine requests came from persons of mercantile background like Agnes. The ten women requesting burial at the Franciscans represented 34.48 % of the overall burial requests for the Franciscan convent, in line with the representation of women in the surviving wills.

Agnes was the only testator in the extant wills to request specifically the Mary Magdalene chapel at the Franciscan house as her burial site. Allassasia, wife of Petrus de Conchis, *burgensis*, chose the chapel of Saint Catherine at the Franciscans and burial with her children. In three other cases, the clois-

<sup>23</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/ 368, J. Holanie, ff. 107r–109v, and ff. 110r–110v. Both were made in January 1328. See the discussion in “Wills of Spouses.”

<sup>24</sup>See Appendix 4.

<sup>25</sup>See Appendix 4. On the friars in Montpellier, see Jean-Arnault Dérens, “Les ordres mendiants à Montpellier: ‘Religieux de la ville nouvelle’ ou religieux du consulat?” *Annales du Midi* CVII (1995): 277–298. For a chronology of friars' establishments see Jacqueline Caille, “Urban Expansion in Languedoc from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century: The Example of Narbonne and Montpellier,” in Kathryn Reyerson and John Drendel, ed. *Urban and Rural. Communities in Medieval France: Provence and Languedoc, 1000–1500* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998), 51–72. See also the older inventory by Richard W. Emery, *The Friars in Medieval France. A Catalogue of French Mendicant Convents 1200–1550* (New York, London: Columbia University Press, 1961).

ter of the convent was designated as a burial spot.<sup>26</sup> The Franciscan burial requests began as early as 1286 and became more numerous in 1347 and 1348, due in part to the increased testamentary activity of those years.

By the 1340s, the convents of the Franciscans and Dominicans enjoyed popularity as a site of burial, and family tradition continued strong. Nine of the 27 local requests at the Franciscans reflected a family tradition, with the choice of burial in a mother's (four), wife's (one), husband's (one), father's (three), or children's (one) tomb.<sup>27</sup> For the Dominicans, there were 12 requests of burial with relatives, as noted above. The preference overall for burial with parents suggests that, for both women and men, there remained considerable solidarity with the family of origin.<sup>28</sup> At the time of death, it was here that ties led, not to the home founded by the couple, in other words, not to the nuclear family. Women were thus perhaps not entirely integrated into the families of their husbands. In Agnes's case, we do not know where her parents or her late husband were buried, nor indeed where her deceased daughters rested. Her burial choice seems to have been an independent one, consistent with her strong personality.

Agnes's attachment to the Franciscans, collectively and individually, went beyond the choice of burial site. The friars were favored among the recipients of her pious generosity. She left 70 *l. t.* for the making of a chasuble (a vestment worn in the mass) to be used for the divine office at the altar of the Magdalene chapel in the Franciscan house. This garment may well have been embroidered. She would remember the table (*mensa*) of the convent in her pious bequests and make individual bequests to sisters and friars of the Franciscan order, as noted below.

She dedicated 200 *l. p. t.* of current money for the salvation of her soul, the remission of her sins, and for her funeral and pious legacies. This was a sizeable sum—average house sales in Montpellier in 1342 were in the neighborhood of 20–25 *l.*, though these were modest structures,

<sup>26</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 100v; A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 751 (1318) and EE 412 (1348).

<sup>27</sup>In the case of the Sommières Franciscan convent, the husband requested burial in his father's tomb and the wife with her husband.

<sup>28</sup>Fourteen people requested burial outside Montpellier, in the region surrounding the town at Notre-D'Auroux, Grabels, Melgueil, Mèze, Maguelone, Sommières, and Valmagne. In 80 % of the above cases, the requests came from people of non-local origin wishing to be interred in their hometown in the tomb of their parents. Most often, when there were requests for burial with another person, parents were mentioned.

not mansions.<sup>29</sup> Rentals of large houses or valuable commercial property could fall in the range of 30–40 *l*, as noted earlier. All of Agnes's spiritual bequests for pious donations were to be made from the 200 *l*. Anything left over after her lengthy enumeration of particular pious gifts was to go for the celebrations of masses and other acts of piety and mercy.

From the 200 *l*, she designated 30 *l* for her funeral and for the oblations and canticles to be performed during the novena of her death. Agnes left legacies to the churches of Notre-Dame des Tables (20 *s.*) and Saint-Firmin (5 *s.*), for their building works (*opus*) and lights (illumination), and to each of the other churches of Montpellier and its suburbs 12 *d.* for the lights and building works. Testators frequently designated bequests for the building works and/or lights of churches.<sup>30</sup> Individual churches and hospitals received gifts in 47 (building works) and 42 (lights) of the extant wills. Agnes left bequests of 2 *s.* each to the local recluses—of the Lattes road, of the Trinity, of Notre-Dame-La-Belle, at 12 kilometers distance from the town.<sup>31</sup> Bequests to recluses were among the most prevalent in Montpellier wills overall with 61 instances.

Agnes left sums to the *mensa* (table) of each of the friars convents—Minors (7 *l.* 10 *s.*) for three meals (*pitancia*), Preachers (100 *s.*) for two meals, Carmelites (60 *s.*) for two meals, and Augustinians (60 *s.*) for two meals. In each case, she requested that the friars celebrate masses and other divine offices for her soul on the days that the meal was offered. This level of support was common in Montpellier wills. Thirty-seven of the extant wills noted gifts to the Franciscan *mensa*, 31 to the Dominicans, and 29 each to the Augustinians and the Carmelites.

Although two of Agnes's granddaughters, Caterina and Raymunda, were in traditional religious orders, the convents of Vignogoul and Saint-Geniès des Mourgues, respectively, small communities of noble and elite recruitment, near Montpellier, Agnes's philanthropy was directed

<sup>29</sup> See "Land, Houses and Real Estate Investment," 61, Graph 2.

<sup>30</sup> These kinds of gifts were very common in medieval wills. See Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, "Les clauses religieuses dans les testaments du plat pays lyonnais aux XIVe et XVe siècles," *Le Moyen Âge* 78 no. 2 (4th ser, 27) (1972): 301–10, and Marie-Simone Nuce de Lamothe, "Piété et charité publique à Toulouse de la fin du XIIIe siècle au milieu du XVe siècle d'après les testaments," *Annales du Midi* 76 (1964): 12.

<sup>31</sup> See Lucie Laumonier, "Les recluses de Montpellier: une institution urbaine," *Revue Mabillon*, Nouvelle série n°26 (tome 87): 179–204.

to the newer orders of friars and repentant women.<sup>32</sup> In a decisive gesture of support for new groups of women religious, Agnes singled out for bequests five sisters of Prouille, the Dominican house for women between Montréal and Fanjeaux, and two sisters of the Saint-Clare convent, the Franciscan women's house in Montpellier. She listed all of these recipients by name, signaling her probable acquaintance with them and their likely origin in elite Montpellier society. She left bequests to sisters of the monastery of Saint-Gilles, daughters of Guillelmus Lamberti, late merchant, and to each of the other nuns of the order of Saint Gilles. Her request in each of these cases was that the sisters pray to God for her soul (Chart 9.1).

Agnes also chose as beneficiaries of her charity members of the repentant convents in town, though she did not single out individual recipients. It may be assumed that whereas she knew the Franciscan and Dominican sisters, she was not acquainted with the repentants personally. She left 10 *s.* to the convent of black repentant sisters of Saint Catherine of Montpellier and 10 *s.* to the *mensa* of the white repentant sisters, who were the sisters of Saint Magdalene, living near *corale Montispepulani* (the Courreau sector of the town). Saint Catherine also enjoyed the dedication of a chapel at the Franciscan convent that attracted burials. Agnes's support for repentant prostitutes was well highlighted in these bequests.<sup>33</sup>

It is useful to put Agnes's philanthropy in context. Data from the 160 extant wills in Montpellier show gifts to repentant sisters—to the sisters of Saint Gilles (who were repentants for a time before taking the name of Saint Gilles), to those of Saint Catherine, to those of Saint Magdalene, and to other women's orders as noted in the following table (Chart 9.2).

To her confessor, Guillelmus de Peyrotis of the order of Friars Minor, she gave 50 *s. p. t.* and asked that he celebrate mass and the divine office for her soul. She made additional gifts to two other Franciscan friars. Mentions of confessors figure in ten of the wills extant before 1350. Four of those mentioned were Franciscans, two of whom were

<sup>32</sup>On women religious in Languedoc, see Marthe Moreau, "Les moniales du diocèse de Maguelone au XIIIe siècle," in *La Femme dans la vie religieuse du Languedoc, Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 23 (Toulouse: Privat, 1988): 241–260. Agnes took care of her granddaughters who were nuns with a house and money in her family bequests.

<sup>33</sup>On repentant women, compare Joëlle Rollo-Koster, "From Prostitutes to Brides of Christ," 109–144.

---

**Convent of Prouille (Dominican)**

Daughter of Guillelmus Bernardus de Tribus Lupis  
 Agnes de Ausaco  
 Caterine Dieu la Fes  
 Pelegrina de Castaneto  
 Johanna Comitisse  
 And other sisters

**Saint Clare Convent (Franciscan)**

Agnes Garnerie  
 Johanna Nogareti

**Vignogoul**

Ricardis Causida

**Saint Gilles**

Two daughters of Guillelmus Lamberti

---

**Chart 9.1** Bequests to individual women religious (In this chart, the feminine versions of surnames have been retained.)

Chart 9.2. Donations to Women's Orders N=116			Totals
	Before 1345	1347-1348	
Minorettes (Franciscans)	16	17	33
Sisters of Saint Gilles	7	11	18
Sisters of Saint Catherine	5	13	18
Sisters of Mary Magdalene	3	13	16
Nuns of Saint-Geniès des Mourgues	2	3	5
Sisters of Saint-Félix de Monceau	4	1	5
Sisters of Prouille (Dominicans)	7	14	21

**Chart 9.2** Donations to women's orders

mentioned twice.<sup>34</sup> Friar Jacobus de Asperis of the Franciscans is noted in the period 1327–1348. He was mentioned specifically as a confessor in 1333 and 1347. Guillelmus de Peyrotes was noted as Agnes's confessor in her will of 1342 and was again mentioned as confessor in a will of 1348. As early as 1333, he was the lieutenant of the Montpellier Franciscan house. Agnes gave gifts of 60 s. each to individual priests Petrus Laurentii, Bernardus Cautelmi, and Bernardus Masselet. To

<sup>34</sup> Guillelmus de Peyrotes: A. M. Montpellier, BB 3, f. 13r; A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, f. 282v; Jacobus de Asperis: A. D. Hérault, II E 95/369, f. 106r; II E 95/377, f. 38r. For the other confessors, see II E 95/377, f. 58v; f. 83r; 282v, and A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 149, EE 335, and EE 433. See also "Changes in Testamentary Practice."

another priest, Guillelmus Daniel, she left 10 *s.* She made benefactions to Guillelmus Bernardi de Montealto, squire (*scutifer*) of her son-in-law Petrus Seguerii (40 *s.*), who witnessed her will, and to three individuals, two men and a woman (30–40 *s.*), whose connection to her is unknown. They may have been her domestic servants.

Agnes requested that 1000 masses be celebrated for her soul in the churches of the religious poor of Montpellier at the discretion of her executors. To each of the chaplains saying mass, she wished that 5 *d.* be given for charity. Traditionally, there was a specific arrangement for the celebration of masses in Montpellier wills. In 42 wills, one finds such mention. By the 1340s, inhabitants were requesting thousands of masses. By the end of the decade in 1347 and 1348, there were seven such requests for 1000 or more masses.<sup>35</sup> The most spectacular was that of Johannes de Fontanerii, son of a changer, on 20 April 1348, in all likelihood a plague victim. He requested burial at the Franciscans' cemetery in the tomb of his mother. He left 33 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* *p. t.* to the Franciscans for 2000 masses, and 16 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* each to the Dominicans, Augustinians, and Carmelites for 1000 masses each.<sup>36</sup>

There is no mention in Agnes's will of the establishment of a chantry, another common practice in Montpellier in this era.<sup>37</sup> Neither was there specification for a funerary bed, again a common practice among testators.<sup>38</sup> Also absent was any designation by Agnes of a specific number of poor inhabitants, generally 16, to carry the body of the deceased.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 38r, f. 64r: f. 121r; f. 310v and A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 426; EE 415; EE 566.

<sup>36</sup>A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 566.

<sup>37</sup>See the inventory of chantries kept by the *Commune Clôture* defense organization, published by Achille Montel, "Le catalogue des chapellenies," *Revue de langues romanes* III (1872–1873), 292–310; IV (1872), 5–43. The chronological breakdown of recorded chantries in the inventory is:

<i>To</i>	1300	1300–1320	1320–1346	1347–1348	1349–1377	( <i>N</i> = 93)
	5	7	8	16	57	

<sup>38</sup>See, for example, A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidii, ff. 73r, 83r, 90v, 108r, 229r, 307r, and 309r.

<sup>39</sup>Generally, a gift of clothing, often a shirt, accompanied the provision for poor inhabitants to carry the defunct's body. See, for example, A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidii, ff. 38r, 67v, 80v, 86v, 237r, 282v, 312r, 317r, and A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 409, EE 533, EE 426.



Agnes made gifts of linen of 30 *s.* value to both the hospital of Notre-Dame de Montpellier and that of the Saint-Esprit for bedclothes for members of the poor who were ill. These gifts to the poor in hospital were an extension of her benefaction of the Wednesday Alms for the food of hospitalized poor (see below). Gifts to hospitals were noted in 42 Montpellier wills. To 20 worthy poor, Agnes left 10 *s.* each at the discretion of her executors. To 20 poor girls, she left 10 *s.* each to assist in their marriages.<sup>40</sup> Agnes's gift of 200 *s.* (10 *l.*) in all to poor girls was substantial.<sup>41</sup> Most bequests for poor girls to marry were in the 5–20 *s.* range.<sup>42</sup> Agnes favored repentant sisters and poor girls in need of marriage in her philanthropy.<sup>43</sup> There is consistency in Agnes's philanthropy. Agnes's connection to the Wednesday Alms and her benefaction to poor girls and to repentant prostitutes are embedded in her will, crowning the philanthropic networks that her will reveals. It was perhaps Agnes's association with the Franciscans that created her devotion to poor and repentant sisters. Francine Michaud has argued for an especial feminine receptivity to Franciscan preaching in Marseille.<sup>44</sup>

It was certainly no coincidence that Agnes chose the Magdalene chapel at the Franciscan convent for her burial, though the Magdalene had a chapel dedication at the Dominican house as well, suggesting the generalized popularity of the saint in Montpellier.<sup>45</sup> There was a Magdalene altar at the church of Saint-Eulalie for which the general of the order of Notre-Dame de la Merci commissioned three large paintings from Sieneese immigrant painters Raymundus Pelegrini and Michaelis Minhani.<sup>46</sup> Mary

<sup>40</sup>I am indebted to Lucie Laumonier for lists of women recipients of gifts in Montpellier wills. See A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 569, 570 571, 572, 573, and 574.

<sup>41</sup>In another large bequest, Jacobus de Cabanis's receipt of an acquittal on 18 June 1342 in his role as universal heir was for the payment of his late father Guiraudus's bequest of 40 *l.* current money from the estate to poor girls for their marriage. A. D. Hérault, II E 95/374, G. Nogareti, f. 56Rr.

<sup>42</sup>See "Mother and Sons, Inc."

<sup>43</sup>Compare the support for the marriage of poor girls in Avignon in Rollo-Koster, "From Prostitutes to Brides of Christ," 114. The charitable enthusiasms of Agnes have their echo in the support in wills and confraternities of Avignon for repentants and poor girls.

<sup>44</sup>Michaud, "Liaisons particulières? Franciscains et testatrices à Marseille," 17.

<sup>45</sup>Petrus de Cruzolis, priest, son of the late Jacobus de Cruzolis, merchant of Montpellier, chose burial in the chapel of Mary Magdalene at the Dominican convent: A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, f. 310v: 16 March 1348.

<sup>46</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377. B. Egidii, f. 77r. See also Jean Nougaret, "Autour de quelques retables: la peinture religieuse médiévale à Montpellier," *Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon* 64e congrès- 1993 (Montpellier, 1994), 102.

Magdalene had repented of her prostitute lifestyle—she was one of four well-known saints who had been prostitutes, including Mary of Egypt, Thais, and Pelagia.<sup>47</sup> The Magdalene would become the patron saint of repentant prostitutes as well as the most revered medieval saint after the Virgin Mary.

The redemption of prostitutes was a favorite medieval charity. The sisters of Saint-Gilles were originally a community of repentants, located near the Saint-Gilles gate of the *Commune Clôture*, who were in existence keep as early as 1204 when the will of Petrus Veziani of a prominent Montpellier family mentioned them in a gift.<sup>48</sup> Later, when the name Saint Gilles was attached to them, they had ceased to be a repentant convent. The sisters of Saint Catherine or black sisters were a new community of repentants. There was also a repentant community of white sisters established near the Courreau gate who would become the sisters of Mary Magdalene or Saint-Gilles Magdalene. Testators of Montpellier in their wills made reference to repentants, brothers and sisters of penitence, sisters of Saint-Gilles (from about 1300, no longer repentants), sisters of Saint Catherine, and sisters of Mary Magdalene.

Enthusiasm in support for the mendicant and repentant sisters was widespread among occupational groups, with considerable diversity among the benefactors. Cessilia, wife of Jaufridus Probi Hominis, barber of Montpellier, daughter of the late Bertholomeus Columberii, secondhand clothes dealer of Montpellier, gave 5 *s.* to the *mensa* of the Minorettes, 3 *s.* to that of the sisters of Saint Gilles, 3 *s.* to the *mensa* of the sisters of Saint Catherine, and 2 *s.* to the white repentant sisters (Saint Magdalene). In 1347, the Montpellier cultivator Stephanus Salomonis gave a meal of 5 *s.* to the Franciscan sisters, 5 *s.* to the sisters of Saint Gilles, 2 *s.* to the sisters of Saint Catherine, and 2 *s.* to the white sisters of the Courreau/Saint Magdalene.<sup>49</sup> There seems to be increased enthusiasm for the support of the repentant sisters in the later 1340s, as Chart 9.1 reveals.<sup>50</sup> While the number of patrons of repentance in some form reached approximately 10 % of the 160 extant wills, Agnes would seem to have been one of the

<sup>47</sup> Karras, *Common Women*, 120. See also Rollo-Koster, “From Prostitutes to Brides of Christ,” for a detailed discussion of repentant houses and of the cult of Mary Magdalene under whose auspices many repentant convents were placed.

<sup>48</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 299.

<sup>49</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 67r.

<sup>50</sup> There were also general categories of repentants (*repenties*) and sisters and brothers of penitence that garnered a few additional supporters in Montpellier wills. However, most testators were specific about particular groups of sisters.

most steadfast supporters. Over time, the Veziani family also stands out as remarkably supportive of women at all levels and in all walks of life.

Agnes's patron saint, Saint Agnes, is also worthy of note in this context. Five of the female testators before 1350 were named Agnes, including Agnes de Bossones. Saint Agnes was a martyr who escaped prostitution. Ruth Karras has discussed the story of Agnes in her book, *Common Women*.<sup>51</sup> Saint Agnes, a Roman virgin, rejected a prefect's son and resisted his subsequent requirement that she sacrifice to Vesta. Her punishment for refusal was the brothel. The prefect's son died suddenly as he and his followers arrived at the brothel to have sex with Agnes. For Saint Agnes, her martyrdom was preferable to the loss of virginity. We do not know in Agnes de Bossones's case how much interest and devotion she may have held for Saint Agnes, her namesake. Certainly, such attachment would not have been unusual. But Agnes's connection to her namesake Saint Agnes, combined with her likely familiarity with the geography of Campus Polverel, the prostitutes' quarter (see below), her choice of the Mary Magdalene chapel for burial, her large gift for a chasuble for the chapel, her inclusion of bequests to sisters of Saint Gilles, formerly repentant sisters, to the black repentant sisters of St. Catherine, and to the white repentant sisters of Mary Magdalene, provide a pattern of devotion suggesting Agnes's interest in the redemption of prostitutes and her attachment to the two saints with connections to prostitution. She named one of her daughters Agnes as well.

Agnes's association with the charitable organization of the Wednesday Alms is part of her broader pattern of devotion that included the Franciscans and the repentant sisters and a likely commitment to the redemption of prostitutes. The Wednesday Alms or Ladies of Wednesday, called the *Dames de Dimecres* or the *Dames du Mercredi*, functioned as a corporate entity (*personne morale*), much as a traditional confraternity, with the ability to receive pious donations, establish chantries, and administer property. The Wednesday Alms netted 41 gifts in wills (combining gifts to the Ladies and the collection of food for the poor hospitalized on Wednesday), making this a very popular charity in Montpellier. Agnes's gift of 10 *l.* was one of the most significant. In contrast, to the Purgatory Alms in the church of the Friars Minor, she left only 20 *s.*<sup>52</sup> There were

<sup>51</sup> Karras, *Common Women*, 129.

<sup>52</sup> See the table in "Changes in Testamentary Practice," 260.

only 12 wills that recorded a bequest to the Purgatory Alms. Agnes's personal participation in the Wednesday Alms commanded attention, and her influence may have enhanced its popularity.

The Ladies' purpose was to collect alms on Wednesday to feed the poor in the hospitals of Montpellier.<sup>53</sup> The Ladies were recruited from among the urban elite, particularly widows. Catherine Vincent, a French scholar of confraternities, speaks of the extended family involvement in confraternities and of the function of the confraternity as a kind of extended family.<sup>54</sup> For Agnes, the Ladies of Wednesday, as a community of well-meaning elite women, may have performed this role.

There is evidence of Agnes's charitable work in the Wednesday Alms early in her widowhood. Agnes would have been a widow of eight years when she made an appearance in 1309, along with the widow of a doctor of laws, as a participant in the Alms. On 3 April 1309, Gaujouse, widow of Guillelmus de St. Martini, *doctor-ès-lois*, and Agnes, widow of Bossones (as the document states), gave an acquittal to the charity from the initial legacy of Nicolas Veziani, apothecary, for 7 *l.* 10 *s.* *l.p.t.* They were to request alms in the churches of Montpellier on Wednesdays to support the poor in Montpellier hospitals.<sup>55</sup> Witnesses to the acquittal involving Agnes were Raymundus Baptisati, priest, and Durantus Fenairols, messenger of the *Ouvriers de la Commune Clôture*, the communal defense organization in Montpellier. Hospital alms in the hands of the Ladies of Wednesday can be traced back to a charitable gift from Veziani in his will of 1257, with the provision that money be offered yearly to support the hospital alms collected by the Ladies of Wednesday.<sup>56</sup> Nicolas, among members of his family, was active in trade, particularly in spices, between Montpellier and Paris, and disposed of a considerable fortune.

Agnes was a longtime member of this charitable organization in the first half of the fourteenth century. She may have been one of the two

<sup>53</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 325. On this confraternity and on women's philanthropy, see Daniel Le Blévec, "Le rôle des femmes dans l'assistance et la charité."

<sup>54</sup> Vincent, *Les confréries médiévales dans le royaume de France*.

<sup>55</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 325.

<sup>56</sup> See also A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 288. It appears that Veziani ordered in his will that his house, rue de l'Aiguillerie, be sold for the purpose of supporting or establishing this charity. Veziani's wife's name was also Agnes.

visitors and collectors mentioned in 1308 when a bequest of 66 *s.* 8 *d.* to the Alms was noted.<sup>57</sup> In this act, there were acquittals, noted as well, for legacies from the late draper Petrus de Favariis to the shameful poor, with a list of 65 recipients, many of them widows.<sup>58</sup>

Agnes was still active in the Wednesday Alms almost 20 years later in a hiring of procurators on 3 February 1328 by Albanha, widow of the late Lord Johannes Grossi, *burgensis* of Montpellier. Agnes, called widow of the late Lord Petrus de Bossonesio [*sic*], Maria, widow of the late Bernardus Palmerii, Ricardis Marta Johanna de Tribus Lupis, and Guillelma Peyreria, matrons, constituted with Margarita Gausida to rule and administer the eleemosynary activities of the hospitals of the town of Montpellier and its suburbs.<sup>59</sup> Agnes, as the daughter of Raymundus Peyrerie, was likely related to Guillelma, perhaps as her sister if Guillelma were unmarried or as her daughter if Guillelma were her mother. Agnes's son-in-law was Raymundus Grossi, *burgensis*, making it likely that Albanha was a distant in-law of Agnes. This group of women formed a community of philanthropically minded individuals from the urban elite, some of whom were part of an extended family. Ricardis was likely single, as was Guillelma, since they were not identified with a man, though lifetime single status would have been unusual for women of the urban elite. Generally, women of this milieu married or became nuns.

In 1328, the Ladies of Wednesday women hired Celestinus Seguerii, *domicellus* of Montpellier, to supplicate the king of Majorca to approve through his bailiff of the court of Montpellier the legacy of a house in the Valfère quarter of Montpellier to the eleemosynary from the last will and testament of the late Raymundus Bernardi. Celestinus was a likely in-law since Petrus Seguerii was Agnes's son-in-law.<sup>60</sup> A house was a welcome gift since it could produce rental income. The Ladies of Wednesday engaged all the goods of the charity to guarantee this holding and offered every necessary renunciation and caution assuring that they would hold

<sup>57</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 632. The two women who collected for the Wednesday Alms were described as "visitors and administrators of the food of all hospitalized poor of Montpellier once in each week on Wednesdays."

<sup>58</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 631 and EE 632.

<sup>59</sup> A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, f. 122r.

<sup>60</sup> See the lengthy discussion of Celestinus in Rogozinski, *Power, Caste, and Law*, Chapter III.

this gift in perpetuity. A priest, Johannes Macipi, and a mercer, Durantus Dentremonis, witnessed the notarial act.

The celebrated nineteenth-century historian of Montpellier, Alexandre Germain, stated that persons worthy of confidence and capable of persuasion were chosen to carry out the tasks of the Alms.<sup>61</sup> This charity, as a kind of corporate entity or congregation, could make contracts and administer real property; thus, the caliber of participants in the administration was crucial. This elite women's charity could name chaplains and almoners. Registers of the charity survive from the year 1434, a century after the participation of Agnes, but there is no reason to suppose that records were not kept earlier.

The interest shown in changers' wills in bequests to this charity and to repentant women deserves particular mention.<sup>62</sup> Agnes was associated with both changers and merchants through her father, a merchant, and through her husband, a changer and merchant. Changers had charitable giving patterns that were similar to those noted for Agnes. In 1334, Bernardus de la Roca, changer, gave 20 *l.* to the Wednesday Alms.<sup>63</sup> Bernardus's other bequests included gifts to Franciscan and Dominican sisters, to the sisters of Saint Gilles, to the repentant sisters of Saint Catherine, to the repentants of the Courreau (the Magdalene), and to the nuns at Vignogoul and Saint-Félix de Monceau. In 1343, the changer Raymundus de Salvis, emancipated son of a broker, left a bequest of 10 *l.* to the Wednesday Alms, on a par with Agnes's gift in 1342. Raymundus had many parallel charities as well, giving to the Minorettes, the sisters of Saint Gilles, the Magdalene, and Saint Catherine, for example.<sup>64</sup> Raymundus made gifts of 20 *s.* to each of the same three sets of sisters as did Agnes.<sup>65</sup> Some charitable giving seems to have been informed by occupational orientation, as in the case of the changers.

<sup>61</sup> Germain, "La charité," 535.

<sup>62</sup> Only one other of the remaining 54 women's wills concerns a woman associated with the changers. Cecilia Ceruti, likely widow of a changer and the mother of a changer, Guillelmus Ceruti, made a bequest of 3 *s.* to the Wednesday Alms. Her will was publicly published on 7 July 1301. See A. M. Montpellier, II B. Grimaudi, f. 19r. Cecilia Ceruti also made pious donations to the three recluses and to multiple other urban and regional religious institutions. Her son Guillelmus was her universal heir.

<sup>63</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 534.

<sup>64</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 383.

<sup>65</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 383.

These donations patterns, with a heavy representation of the changers for both the Wednesday Alms and the repentant women, recall Agnes's philanthropy and suggest more broadly that the men of the changers' profession may have supported a similar set of charities and religious activities animated by women, most probably their wives and daughters.<sup>66</sup> The changers may have had a fondness for these charities, reflecting and perhaps explaining some of Agnes's attachment as the widow of the changer Petrus de Bossones. On Agnes's part, her generosity to these sisters may fit within a broader agenda of charitable assistance to marginal women. This philanthropic network of the changers is striking, and one cannot but wonder whether guilt regarding their professional activities in finance and the need for redemption was a motivating factor here.<sup>67</sup> One wonders as well whether Agnes's activities had something to do with stimulating and supporting the interest of changers in these charities.

The changers were not exclusive patrons of these charities, of course. Also associated with the Wednesday Alms in testamentary bequests were merchants, mercers, a butcher, a *jurisperitus*, a priest, a Franciscan, and an apothecary. Among female benefactors, Garcendis, daughter of the late draper Guillelmus Bezenenha and widow of the merchant Bernardus de Barenz, contributed 20 *s.* in 1347.<sup>68</sup> The *burgensis*, Stephanus Rubei, made a gift of 10 *l.* in 1348.<sup>69</sup> By 1354, Johannes Tailleferis, linen merchant, would give 20 *l.*<sup>70</sup> There were several weekly gifts mentioned in the wills that reflect the same trends in charity. Raymundus de Bordellis,

<sup>66</sup>Gouron, *La réglementation des métiers*, 108, table. In the year 1342, the changers formed their own confraternity with the statutes of their profession, indicating that they were in full expansion at the time of Agnes's death.

<sup>67</sup>I have dealt elsewhere with matters relating to usury, an issue that resonated with merchant bankers and changers. See "Les opérations de crédit dans la coutume et dans la vie des affaires à Montpellier au moyen âge: le problème de l'usure," *Diritto comune e diritti locali nella storia dell'Europa, Atti del Convegno di Varenna* (Milan: griffé 1980): 189-209, "Der Aufstieg des Bürgertums und die religiöse Vergemeinschaftung im mittelalterlichen Europa: Neues zur Weber-These," in *Max Webers Sicht des okzidentalen Christentums. Interpretation und Kritik*, herausgegeben von Wolfgang Schluchter (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1988): 410-436, and *Business, Banking and Finance*.

<sup>68</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 86v.

<sup>69</sup>A. D. Hérault, II E 95/377, B. Egidii, f. 310v.

<sup>70</sup>A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 441.

merchant, gave 5 s. a week for a year to the Wednesday Alms in 1301, as did Bernardus de Prades in 1312.<sup>71</sup>

The Wednesday Alms was a long-lasting charity that drew women of the urban elite out into the community to collect alms for the local hospitals. The collection went house to house, though we do not know what households were targeted. Agnes as a fundraiser is consistent with the Agnes of the testimonies of women retailers at the Herbaria Square in the lawsuit regarding its status; for these witnesses, she was a significant figure, their voices echoing respect for the *maîtresse femme* Na Bossonesa and gratitude for her patronage and protection.<sup>72</sup> Agnes was a strong supporter of the Alms, both in her actual involvement and in her testamentary bequest of 10 l. Not only did she contribute heavily, but she may also have been partly responsible for the success of this charity as a member of its administration.

One of the sites for the convening of the Wednesday Alms and its collection was the church of Notre-Dame des Tables, also a site for the collection of the Purgatory Alms (as was the Friars Minors church). There was topographical proximity for Agnes with the Alms assembly point of Notre-Dame des Tables, site of the changers' tables, near her mansion and the Herbaria Square. Clearly, given Agnes's house nearby, this would have been convenient for her.

In addition to Notre-Dame des Tables, another assembly point for the Wednesday Alms was the church of the hospital of Saint-Éloi in the suburb of Lattes. At the church of Saint-Éloi, the almoner of the Wednesday Alms, once the Ladies of Wednesday and the men were assembled, said mass to inaugurate their weekly charitable activities.<sup>73</sup> For this, the almoner received an added remuneration. The almoner, at times, acted in an administrative capacity as did the men of Wednesday, but the Ladies were the primary managers of the temporal property of the charity, as the earlier acquittals and procuration demonstrate. The consuls provided oversight, though the charity remained independent and functioned as its own corporation.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup>A. M. Montpellier, *Commune Clôture*, EE 840 and *Grand Chartrier*, Louvet no. 31. The spice merchant, Nicolas Veziani, was the first patron of this charity in the mid-thirteenth century, as noted above.

<sup>72</sup>See "Public and Private Space," and "Le témoignage des femmes."

<sup>73</sup>Germain, "La charité," 536. Men were also participants, though not on a par with women.

<sup>74</sup>Germain, "La charité," 539.



The Ladies of Wednesday, once mass was completed, would have gone out from Notre-Dame des Tables or from Saint Éloi, presumably in groups of at least two (female collectors usually did not function alone), perhaps in a larger group, with both men and women, to collect alms and provide in-home help, probably to poor inhabitants who were housebound. The responsibilities of the Ladies of the Wednesday Alms, assisted by the Men of Wednesday, took them out into the town to go house to house.<sup>75</sup> Whether the women went in groups, which is highly likely, or in the company, at times, of men, this level of presence of high-status women in public flies in the face of the concept of marginal space for elite medieval women.<sup>76</sup> The cause was, of course, a pious one. Women were certainly present in religious processions. Here there was a high degree of publicity for women in the service of a philanthropic cause. The fact that they were successful in publicizing the charity is borne out by the considerable percentage of surviving wills that make mention of a testamentary donation to the Wednesday Alms or to the Ladies of Wednesday. Evidence for the popularity of the Wednesday Alms was widespread.<sup>77</sup>

If they assembled at Saint-Éloi on Wednesday, Agnes and the other women who were collecting would have made their way through the center of Montpellier, past Notre-Dame des Tables, perhaps along the rue de la Daurade and the rue de la Fusterie, out through the Obilion/Lattes gate, across the ditch (*douve*) of the fortifications via the Lattes gate, across the Plan d'Obilion, and along the beginning of the road that led to the Lattes fountain (Chemin de Lattes) as far as the church of the hospital of Saint-Éloi.<sup>78</sup> (Map 3.1) The Saint-Éloi hospital existed from 1323 in this location.<sup>79</sup> The whole seems to have formed a hospital complex, the dependencies of which donations over time

<sup>75</sup> Germain, "La charité," 482.

<sup>76</sup> I now question whether there was gendered space and marginalized space in the Middle Ages, to the degree that earlier scholarship has argued. See the studies of Barbara A. Hanawalt, *'Of Good and Ill Repute,' Gender and Social Control in Medieval England* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), especially Chap. 5, "At the Margins of Women's Space in Medieval Europe." 70–87.

<sup>77</sup> See Table 3 in "Changes in Testamentary Practice," 260.

<sup>78</sup> Germain, "La charité," 536.

<sup>79</sup> See Fabre and Lochard, *Montpellier, la ville médiévale*, 158–62. See also Louis Dulieu, *La médecine à Montpellier, I. Le moyen âge* (Avignon: Les Presses Universelles, 1975), 169.

attempted to keep spacious and healthy.<sup>80</sup> Agnes may have taken this route or she may have arrived from her complex of properties near the Montpelliéret gate that would have necessitated following the interior road or exterior ditch along the fortifications to the Plan d'Obilion.<sup>81</sup> Whatever way she proceeded or indeed if she came from somewhere else altogether where she also had holdings, she is likely to have passed near Campus Polverel, the prostitutes' section in Montpellier in the 1320s, 1330s, and 1340s.<sup>82</sup>

The suburb of Lattes in which the hospital of Saint-Éloi and Campus Polverel were located was not overly developed.<sup>83</sup> The Montpellier suburbs housed religious establishments, monasteries, convents, and hospitals. The space within the walls of the *Commune Clôture* fortifications was cramped, and there were relatively few churches. The Recluses, called the "Recluses of Lattes," were installed in the suburb before the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>84</sup> Three hospitals were noted there: that of Robert, with twelfth-century origins and in existence at least as late as 1234, that of Notre-Dame du Cépon, and that of Saint-Éloi, installed in the early fourteenth century. The first two may have joined forces in the middle of the thirteenth century and merged with the third. The Franciscans had their convent in the same suburb by 1233, possibly founded as early as 1220, with the consecration of an impressive church within the large enclave in 1264.<sup>85</sup> Agnes's burial choice at the Franciscans reflects her familiarity with this quarter.

These foundations were all on the south side of the road leading from Lattes to the sea. The road served as the division between the quarters of Montpellier to the south and Montpelliéret to the north. Montpelliéret—and the northern part of the Lattes suburb—was less urbanized than Montpellier. Louise Guiraud, an early twentieth-century historian of Montpellier topography, located a site for prostitutes on her map of Montpellier, reproduced by Jean Baumel, in the Lattes/Obilion suburb that she termed "Fillettes."<sup>86</sup> This term is consistent

<sup>80</sup> Germain, "La charité," 509, and A. M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartier*, Louvet no. 43 and no. 44. See also Caille, "Urban Expansion in the Region of Languedoc."

<sup>81</sup> On the fortifications of Montpellier, see "The Tensions of Walled Space."

<sup>82</sup> "Prostitution in Medieval Montpellier."

<sup>83</sup> Fabre and Lochar, *Montpellier, la ville médiévale*, 159.

<sup>84</sup> See Laumonier, "Les recluses de Montpellier."

<sup>85</sup> See Caille, "Urban Expansion in Languedoc," 51–72, for the installation of new orders in Montpellier.

<sup>86</sup> Louise Guiraud, "Recherches topographiques." See also Jean Baumel, *Histoire d'une seigneurie du Midi de la France. Naissance de Montpellier, Vol. 1 (985–1213)* (Montpellier:

with the Hot Street or red-light district. Guiraud placed this toponym near the Franciscan convent and near the church/hospital of St. Éloi, on the south side of the road to Lattes and the sea and thus in the Majorcan quarter of Montpellier, south of the Obilion gate. In another study of the parish of Saint-Denis, she provided a map of Montpellier in 1561 in which she drew the Chemin de la Porte de Lattes farther north, leaving the Bordel (an early modern designation for the prostitutes' quarter) south of the Chemin but nonetheless between the Lattes/Obilion and MontPELLIÉRET gates.<sup>87</sup> The modern topographic study of Montpellier by Ghislaine Fabre and Thierry Lochar d'Arnaud situates the hospitals of Robert/Notre-Dame du Cépon and Saint-Éloi and the Franciscan convent on the south side of the road without any notation of a street of prostitutes. The problems with the Guiraud location of the Hot Street are, first, that it was not located in the French king's quarter of MontPELLIÉRET and, second, that it was not situated between the Porte de Lattes/Obilion and that of MontPELLIÉRET, at least on her map of medieval Montpellier. However, these two topographic elements—the location in the MontPELLIÉRET quarter and the placement between the two gates—are mentioned in the *criées* and notarial acts that I have used to locate Campus Polverel.<sup>88</sup> The question then arises whether Guiraud's identification of the street, "Filletes," is slightly off base, as Campus Poverel should be north of the road leading to the sea. Without a better understanding of the topography of this suburb, it is unlikely that a definitive street location for Campus Polverel can be determined. We will have to be satisfied with an approximate location that would not have been far from the "Filletes" of Guiraud's medieval map or the "Bordel" of her early modern one.

The proximity of the streets of the prostitutes to the religious establishments mentioned above is the significant point. The Franciscan convent may have been a hospitable place for women in need. The location near the recluses meant the geographic closeness of holy and fallen women, one of the many ironies of medieval life. It is with the Saint-Éloi hospital, however, that a further link to the prostitutes is likely. Agnes's association with the charity of the Wednesday Alms based at Saint-Éloi and her substantial

Éditions Causse, 1969).

<sup>87</sup> Louise Guiraud, *La paroisse de Saint-Denis de Montpellier: étude historique* (Montpellier: Librairie J. Calas, 1887).

<sup>88</sup> See "Prostitution in Medieval Montpellier."

testamentary benefaction of poor women and repentant prostitutes need to be considered as well.

The hospital of Saint-Éloi was located at the entrance to the suburb of Lattes on the south side of the Chemin de Lattes, extending toward the street of Clos-René.<sup>89</sup> The hospital had both brothers and sisters among its personnel: in 1222, ten brothers and three sisters; in 1259, eight brothers, without a mention of the number of sisters. The community accommodated the sick and also orphaned children. In a 1323 inventory established with the installation of Guillaume Michel as commander, there was registration of 47 beds for the hospital, in addition to those housing the brothers and sisters.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, there were ten beds destined to house women who requested hospitality for the night. Nineteenth-century historian Alexandre Germain believed that these beds served the housing of poor travelers, perhaps on pilgrimage.<sup>91</sup> These ten beds would also have been ideal for the transient women who made up the community of prostitutes inhabiting Campus Polverel. When they first arrived in town, they could have been housed at Saint-Éloi. From there, it was topographically a short distance to the Campus Polverel quarter where auctioneers were renting rooms and houses to prostitutes in the 1320s, 1330s, and 1340s.<sup>92</sup>

To obtain housing at Saint-Éloi would have required some dissimulation on the part of the prostitute newcomers or perhaps a certain openness on the part of the brothers and sisters of Saint-Éloi. Then, too, poor women could have arrived without a past in prostitution and been forced into the occupation through economic hardship. Agnes's connection to the Wednesday Alms and the Alms association with Saint-Éloi provide one potential link to prostitutes. Interest in testamentary charity to repentants that Agnes embraced was another and one widely shared in medieval Montpellier. Agnes's philanthropic giving patterns suggest that she had an interest in redeeming fallen women. Topographical proximity may have put Agnes in touch with these prostitutes, given her association with the Wednesday Alms and her probable identification with her namesake, the prostitute saint, Agnes. There were other collections in

<sup>89</sup> Germain, "La charité," 506.

<sup>90</sup> A. M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*, Louvet no. 16.

<sup>91</sup> Germain, "La charité," 510.

<sup>92</sup> Reyerson, "Prostitution in Medieval Montpellier."

Montpellier, including the general charity of the town that distributed bread at Ascension, but the Wednesday Alms remained the most popular and venerable of the local collections before 1350.<sup>93</sup>

Given the networks of philanthropy which become visible through the investigation of Agnes de Bossones's will, set in the larger urban context, it is worth reflecting more broadly on the religious evolution of the region of Montpellier in the first half of the fourteenth century. It would seem that Spiritual Franciscan and Franciscan Third Order Beguin legacies played themselves out in the philanthropic networks of which Agnes de Bossones was a part. Louisa Burnham has explored in depth the relations of the Beguins with the Franciscans in Languedoc.<sup>94</sup> From 1313 to 1325, intense Beguin activity can be traced in Languedoc and in Montpellier. With the death in 1298 of the revered Peter James Olivi, Franciscan theologian and avant-garde economic thinker whose apocalyptic teaching inspired much enthusiasm in southern France, there blossomed networks of Beguin followers of Olivi. Along with the notorious leaders of Olivi followers who viewed him, Burnham says, as an "uncanonized saint," especially Petrus Trencavel and Na Prous Boneta, there were local Montpellier enthusiasts such as Petrus de Tornamira, member of an illustrious mercantile family in Montpellier and familier of Philip of Majorca, brother of Queen Sancia of Naples. The Angevin–Majorcan connection in spirituality included the renowned orthodox Beguin house of Roubaud in Marseille, founded by Douceline de Digne with the assistance of her brother.<sup>95</sup>

Petrus de Tornamira frequented the house of Philip of Majorca in the Faubourg of Lattes in Montpellier, in the vicinity of the Franciscan house, Campus Polverel, and the Saint-Éloi hospital, where the Ladies of Wednesday mustered. He joined the Third Order of Saint Francis in 1316.<sup>96</sup> According to his testimony before the Inquisition, he begged in front of Notre-Dame des Tables and also at the city gates. Apocalyptic teachings were apparently common in the Beguin house in the Faubourg of Lattes. Beginnings of repression of the Third Order and the Beguins were initiated by the Sancta Romana decree by Pope John XXII in 1317. Friends of Petrus, Johan and Bernard Martin, were

<sup>93</sup> Gouron, *La réglementation des métiers*, 325–364. In 1376, Pope Gregory XI authorized collection all over the town for the support of the local hospitals, but this was a different era from that of Agnes's, given the intervening devastations of the Hundred Years' War and the Black Plague. See Germain, "La charité," 534.

<sup>94</sup> Burnham, *So Great a Light, So Great a Smoke*.

<sup>95</sup> My Ph.D. student Kelly Morris is working on the house of Roubaud.

<sup>96</sup> Burnham, *So Great a Light, So Great a Smoke*, 100–118.

burned at Capestang in May of 1320.<sup>97</sup> The presence of Beguins in the Faubourg de Lattes would not have been lost on the Ladies of Wednesday.

Further likely connections with Agnes and her circle exist. A Beguin of Lodève, the priest Bernard Peyrotas, was present in Languedoc and in Montpellier in the early 1320s and was burned in Lodève in 1323, having been captured in Montpellier in November 1321.<sup>98</sup> Petrus de Tornamira visited him in prison at Maguelone (site of the local cathedral). Agnes's confessor was named Guillelmus de Peyrotis, a Franciscan, and lieutenant of the Montpellier Franciscan house as early as 1333.<sup>99</sup> A decade at best separates the documentary trace of these two figures, and as lieutenant, Guillelmus de Peyrotis cannot have been a young man in 1333. Agnes's confessor, perhaps a relative may have interacted with Beguins such as these.<sup>100</sup>

Burnham lost detailed trace of the Montpellier Beguins at the capture and death of Petrus de Tornamira in 1325.<sup>101</sup> She found no further information at all after 1329, but it is unlikely that all sympathy for the cause of the Beguins and the Spiritual Franciscans evaporated.<sup>102</sup> The Franciscan house in the Lattes suburb had facilitated the survival of the Beguins. As Burnham comments, "The friars of Montpellier may not have been able to speak out in public, but at least some of them were willing to act in private in support of the Beguin heretics who sought their aid."<sup>103</sup> She goes on to say, "Mercers, drapers, glassmakers, and Franciscans all appear to have supported the heretics, even under threat of persecution. The city of Montpellier, far from being an orthodox stronghold loyal to the papacy

<sup>97</sup> Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 103–105.

<sup>98</sup> Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 81, 87, 106.

<sup>99</sup> "Changes in Testamentary Practice."

<sup>100</sup> The last names of Guillelmus de Peyrotis and Bernardus Peyrotas (Peirotas in the Latin document) are similar, but no family relationship can be established. See Raoul Manselli, *Spirituali e Beghini in Provenza* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1959), Appendix 3, 315–319.

<sup>101</sup> Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 113–118.

<sup>102</sup> Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 132. Sibillia Cazelas (Burnham, 118ff) does leave an interesting trace in A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie.

<sup>103</sup> Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 132.

to the end, was thus riddled with heretical undercurrents and people who struggled in secret to keep the Beguin movement alive."<sup>104</sup>

Among the heretics whose stories Burnham recounts was a certain Guilhem Domergue Veyrier, Guilhem Domergue the glassmaker, who was captured with a companion in 1325. He, his wife, and four other heretics were burned in Carcassonne in 1327.<sup>105</sup> Present in the notarial contracts relating to the ladies of Campus Polverel were glassmakers, residents of the Lattes suburb. Glassmakers lived in close proximity to the Beguin and Franciscan houses. Physical proximity joined a list of connections that included poverty, heresy, the sick, the Franciscans, Beguins, and the Ladies of Wednesday. The documents of the present study do not speak to the issue of apocalyptic thought, nor indeed does Agnes's will, but the link to the Franciscans is clear.

Elite women like Agnes devoted significant resources to the Franciscan cause, to the sick, and to reformed sisters, and they were active participants in philanthropic work through the Ladies of Wednesday. In the absence of direct evidence, no more can be made of physical proximity and philanthropic orientation; yet it is interesting to speculate that the charitable landscape of Montpellier in the second quarter of the fourteenth century owed something to the Spiritual/Beguin turmoil as well as to Franciscans.<sup>106</sup>

Some historians argue for openness on the part of heretics to usurious activities that permitted the credit economy to function.<sup>107</sup> Usury in the Middle Ages and in the eyes of the Church was any interest received in a transaction, not just the exorbitant interest of today. Peter John Olivi was

<sup>104</sup> Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 132.

<sup>105</sup> Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 174.

<sup>106</sup> Things played out somewhat differently in Marseille, where elite women attached to the Franciscans also interacted with the beguine house of Roubaud. See Michaud, "Liaisons particulières," 17.

<sup>107</sup> See the views of H. Stein-Schneider, "Les Cathares, ancêtres du Capitalisme et de la renaissance: Les Cathares et la Banque," *Bulletin 2* du Centre national d'études cathares (no date): 4-11, and "Les Cathares, la banque florentine et la renaissance italienne," *Cahiers d'études cathares* 34 (1983): 26-37. See also Biget, J.-L. "L'Extinction du catharisme urbain: les points chauds de la répression." *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 20 (1985): 305-40. See also my study, "Les opérations de crédit dans la coutume et dans la vie des affaires à Montpellier au moyen âge: le problème de l'usure."

one of the first scholastics to begin a justification of mercantile activities and the use of credit transactions. San Bernardino of Siena would complete the task in the fifteenth century.<sup>108</sup> Thus, it is not such a great leap, as one might think at first, for the elite of Montpellier to endorse charitable activities in keeping with Franciscan ideals.

Agnes's will reveals philanthropic networks in Montpellier that supported poor and marginal women. She gave generously of her fortune in her last bequests and served personally in charitable activities during her lifetime. These actions complemented her patronage and protection of the market sellers of the Herbaria Square. Such acts sustained lesser members of Montpellier society and may have contributed to their modest prosperity in the mature medieval urban economy of the period immediately preceding the 1348 plague.

<sup>108</sup> See Raymond de Roover, *La pensée économique des scholastiques: doctrines et méthodes* (Montreal, Paris: Vrin, 1971). See also "The Scholastics, Usury and Foreign Exchange," *Business History Review* 41 (1967): 257–271, and "The Scholastic Attitude toward Trade and Entrepreneurship," *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History* 20, ser. 1 (1963–1964): 76–87.



## CONCLUSION

*Abstract* Women's networks flowed horizontally and vertically in Montpellier's economy and society, revealing how women navigated in a medieval urban setting where legal norms were often at odds with actual life experiences. These networks provided a safety net to Montpellier inhabitants. They permitted the flourishing of the most humble women among them while assuring the success of elite women in a mature urban economy of the pre-plague era. Agnes de Bossones's large family network, her real estate management, and her patronage and protection were joined to her philanthropic involvement, revealed in her extensive last will and testament. These activities resulted in a measure of urban well-being for the less fortunate, garnering social, symbolic, and economic capital for Agnes and her family.

This book has sought to reveal linkages among women in medieval Montpellier. Overall and within each chapter, the story of Agnes de Bossones looms large. She was by all accounts a *maîtresse femme*, a dominant personality in her town, in her charitable work, and in her family. Through her several types of networks emerge. What can these networks teach us about the women of Montpellier? The medieval economy relied on trust. Medieval society depended on connections. For the individual who was unconnected, life was challenging. One's place in medieval society was based on being known, on the *pays de connaissance* of perhaps 25

kilometers' radius, within which one was known.<sup>1</sup> Medieval society had a xenophobic streak. Strangers were viewed with suspicion.<sup>2</sup> Medieval trade required many intermediaries and connections. Merchants depended on contacts to facilitate their transactions at all levels of the deal. Beyond trade, the need to be known was critical for survival and success throughout medieval society. For women such connections were doubly important in a society that favored men.

Marriage was a catalyst in the formation of new networks. Marriage and apprenticeship often saw family members' participation in the contractual process. The linkage of brides' and grooms' families or the association of master and apprentice reflected new connections. The consuls of municipal government represented a special political club where encounters could take place and marriage alliances formed. Corporations and confraternities associated with particular trades were another likely venue for the crafting of alliances. Topographic proximity of members of the same trade reinforced the possibility that offspring would marry in the same occupation or a similarly placed profession within the social hierarchy. Marriage offered a means of social ascension but even more significantly a possibility of integration into society, particularly for immigrants, and of the broadening of family contacts for locals and immigrants alike.

Apprenticeship offered some of the same enhancements. Youth, both local and immigrant, acquired valuable skills for careers in later life. An apprentice left her home and joined another household where she was trained in a trade. The family of the apprentice was closely involved in the apprenticing of a family member. For immigrants the acceptance as an apprentice or a worker in Montpellier offered the possibility of advancement and a surrogate family in the master's house. Social advancement, economic prosperity, or simply survival could result from marriage and apprenticeship. The apprentice's horizons and connections were thereby broadened. In both marriage and apprenticeship immigration was often the engine that created new networks.

There were close ties between town and country in Montpellier and its region. Networks and connections linked the urban market to rural producers. Urban and rural women were involved in the trade of agricultural

<sup>1</sup> Claude Gauvard in lecture in my graduate seminar on medieval France at the University of Minnesota, 1996.

<sup>2</sup> See my article, "Merchants of the Mediterranean: Merchants as Strangers," *Strangers in Medieval Society* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 1–13.

commodities. Women and men came to Montpellier to buy grain in years of poor harvest. Elite women had investments in vineyards. Urban inhabitants lent money to cash-deprived residents of the countryside. The case study of Bernarda de Cabanis revealed linkages of elite artisan women with the Montpellier hinterland and with the market in mercery in Montpellier. Her lending to cultivator women, her training in apprenticeship of women from this milieu in the production of mercery, and her marketing of the fruits of their mercery production in Montpellier demonstrated the interconnectedness that could be fostered by a woman entrepreneur. These actions in lending and teaching a trade permitted women of modest cultivator status to acquire marketable skills. Bernarda's networks of lending, training, and production illustrated how intimately connected town and country were. She may have provided the means of survival and even escape from poverty to women of modest agricultural background, with philanthropic overtones that suggest a kind of microcredit.

The central Herbaria Square in Montpellier was the site of retail activity for market sellers or hucksters. These modest retailers set up their stalls in the early morning, renting a small space daily from the owners and renters of houses around the square. In a lawsuit pitting Agnes's grandson against the town consuls and the king of Majorca, the issue of dispute was whether the square was public property or privately owned by Agnes's family. Litigation involved in this case has left witness testimonies by these market sellers, 15 women testifying on the side of Agnes's family. Through the voices of these resellers are revealed a stable, long-lasting community of women who sold goods on the square and the vertical ties they entertained with elite and middling women who, like Agnes, owned property on the square or rented houses and shops. The testimonies relate how Agnes's family defended these retailers against the encroachment of the officers of the king of Majorca who chose to disrupt the retailers' activities. The stability and modest success of this community of resellers over 50 or more years may have been the result of women property holders' involvement at several levels. The case study of market sellers on the Herbaria Square revealed both horizontal and vertical ties among women. The retailer Berengaria Martini, for whom a will survives, prospered in a situation that saw women involved as market resellers, as renters of houses and shops on and near the square, and like Agnes, as proprietors of houses, tables, and shops in commercial venues of Montpellier. At least three levels of economic participation of women created a propitious environment for modest women's economic success.

Elite women such as Agnes, along with her son-in-law and grandson, offered patronage and protection to the women market sellers that the latter readily acknowledged.

In a suburb of Montpellier, on the road to the sea, one finds a community of prostitutes who rented rooms and owned houses in several streets of the neighborhood of Campus Polverel. Many of them were immigrants to Montpellier. Women in prostitution in Montpellier formed a unique kind of community of marginals. They interacted with each other in real estate transactions and in buying and selling of personal possessions. They supported each other, bought chests and clothing from each other and the auctioneers, and seemingly made a living. They were connected to the Montpellier municipal establishment through their interactions with local auctioneers who owned houses in Campus Polverel and rented rooms to the prostitutes. This linkage to municipal officialdom at once validated and protected them. This was a marginal community that was regulated yet tolerated in Montpellier in the later Middle Ages. The local charitable infrastructure of Montpellier provided a means of escape from prostitution through the women's religious establishments for repentant prostitutes and through the engagement of the population, women like Agnes de Bossones in particular, in philanthropy for these endeavors.

Agnes de Bossones's large familial network, her real estate management, and the patronage and protection she offered market resellers were joined to her philanthropic involvement, as revealed in her extensive last will and testament. Her commitment to those less fortunate, through gifts to poor girls to help them marry and to repentant women, and through her long-term membership in the charitable organization of the Ladies of Wednesday, resulted in a measure of urban well-being, garnering social, symbolic, and economic capital for her and her family. Agnes was a strong supporter of marginal women through her bequests to convents of repentants. She endorsed the Franciscan movement; her confessor was a Franciscan, and she chose burial in the Franciscan church that was located in the same suburb as Campus Polverel. The church attached to the hospital of Saint-Éloi in this suburb was the site where the elite Ladies of Wednesday mustered to go out into the town to collect alms and to succor the poor and ill. The commitment of Agnes and other women of the Montpellier elite to charitable activity provided a significant safety net for Montpellier society in the decades prior to the Black Death. Agnes was exemplary but not unique among elite women in her involvement in charitable engagements. Women's networks flowed horizontally and vertically in Montpellier's economy and society.

Family ties are at the center, spiritual orientation runs throughout, and indications of wealth figure in a will. Agnes tells us of her large family, with three daughters, and 15 grandchildren. She provides evidence of networks of family and real property holdings. But Agnes's will was singularly devoid of reference to personal effects. There was no designation of a prized gown for her daughter or a special granddaughter, no jewels mentioned, no household objects, no bed or bedding, items that did feature in many a medieval will.<sup>3</sup> We have to reconstruct more obliquely the nature of women's movable goods.<sup>4</sup>

Why Agnes omitted such items, and indeed why many Montpellier wills do not contain them (there are some exceptions) could have several explanations.<sup>5</sup> One would be the practice of making an inventory after death. A few inventories survive in the archives; if they were drawn up, that may have removed the necessity of enumerating all movable goods in the will. The wills of Avignon, Douai, and elsewhere, containing disposition of gifts of material goods, simply do not find their counterpart in Montpellier.<sup>6</sup> The disposition of goods could also have been arranged more informally. However, the issue of the lack of meaningful bequests of cherished items still remains. Another likely explanation lies in the formality of making a will in Montpellier. Real property dispositions and bequests of a spiritual nature for the salvation of the soul were the main objectives of the Montpellier will. Then, too, Agnes may have distributed her personal effects to individual family members before her death.

A detailed will is in many ways the summary of a life. In Agnes's case her will has offered a window through which to view women's networks and the operation of gender and community in the large urban environment

<sup>3</sup>In contrast, see, for example, Kristen M. Burkholder, "Threads Bared" Dress and Textiles in Late Medieval English Wills," *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, ed. Robin Netherton and Gale R. Owen-Crocker, Vol. 1 (Woodbridge, U. K., 2005): 133–153. See also Martha C. Howell, "Fixing Movables: Gifts by Testament in Late Medieval Douai," *Past and Present* 150 (1996): 3–45.

<sup>4</sup>See "Mother and Sons, Inc." for an example of my attempt to do this.

<sup>5</sup>See also the will of the jurist Guillelmus Saligani, A. D. Hérault, II E 95/368, J. Holanie, ff. 110r, 19 January 1328 and that of his wife, Johanna, daughter of Johannes Mercaderii, II E 95/368, f. 107r, of the same day. Neither of these spouses mentions personal effects. I treat these wills in "Wills of Spouses."

<sup>6</sup>Joëlle Rollo-Koster, "Item Lego... Item Volo... Is there really an "I" in Medieval Provençales' Wills?" in Rollo-Koster and Reyerson, eds., "For the Salvation of My Soul," 3–24.

of Montpellier in an era of mature economic development before the devastation of the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century. Her passing in 1342 and the arrival of the plague in 1348 would change the urban landscape of Montpellier forever.

## APPENDIX I: WOMEN MARKET SELLERS

(A. M. Montpellier, Grand Chartier, Louvet no. 234)

1. Maria Maras revenditrix uxor condam Petri Maras cultoris
2. Berengaria uxor Johannis Martini polerii
3. Alaytheta uxor Petri de Amiliano laboratoris
4. Maria Pictamina revenditrix uxor Guillelmi Pictamini
5. Johanna Symone uxor condam Guillelmi Symonis rivenditoris
6. Johanna Poitala revenditrix
7. Guillelma Sarlherie poleria uxor Stephani Sarlherii
8. Maria Temaza revenditrix
9. Pauleta uxor Raymundi Pauli peychonerii
10. Johanna uxor condam Petri de Valmala
11. Alaxacia uxor Johannis Michaelis mercerii\*
12. Guillelma Fabressa uxor condam Nicholai Fabre cultor
13. Sanxia alias Cacina uxor Symonis Cassi polerii
14. Symona rivenditrix uxor Petri Meleti
15. Maria Salas uxor condam Pontii de Sale cultor

\*Nonmarket seller in the group.

## APPENDIX 2: PROSTITUTES

### WOMEN OF CAMPUS POLVEREL\*

1. **Galharda de Albia**, inhabitant of Montpellier  
On 14 August 1342, Galharda de Albia rented a house in Campus Polverel from Bernardus Mathas, bordering the house of Agnes de Cavallhone and another house of Mathas's for one year with a rent of 4*l.* 10*s.* in current money at payment paid monthly (II E 95/371, f. 96v).
2. **Agnes des Baux (Baus)**, inhabitant of Montpellier  
On 17 July 1342, Agnes des Baux rented a house in Campus Polverel from Bernardus Mathas, bordering other houses of his, the *cazals* of Dena Romeira, and a road, for two years from the Ascension of the Virgin in August at the rent of 7*l.* current at payment/year to be paid in installments of 35*s.* every three months (II E 95/371, f. 80r). On 19 June 1343, Bernardus Mathas ceded all rights for a debt of 15*l.* against Marita Clara of Avignon and a foreign messenger who had certified for her to Agnes des Baux (II E 95/372, f. 42r).
3. **Johaneta Berengaria** of Montpellier  
On 10 June 1342, Johaneta Berengaria of Montpellier rented a house in Campus Polverel from Bernardus Mathas, bordering another house of his, the house of Agnes de Cavallhone, and a road, for one year from the Ascension of the Virgin in August with rent of 4*l.* 10*s.* current at payments of 7*s.* 6*d.* each month (II E 95/371, f. 49v).



4. **Mabilia Bonafossie**

On 29 May 1333, Mabilia Bonafossie held a house contiguous to the houses sold by Bonafossia Bonela to Bernardus Mathas (II E 95/369, f. 44v).

5. **Bonafossia Bonela**, inhabitant of Montpellier

On 29 May 1333, Bonafossia Bonela sold Bernardus Mathas, auctioneer, two contiguous houses in the royal part of Montpellier for 20 *l. p. t.*; the eminent domain of these houses was in the hands of Johannes de Saureto, *burgensis* of Montpellier, with an annual census of 16 *d. t.* (II E 95/369, f. 44v). These properties bordered the house of Guillelmus Boyssoni, glassmaker, and the houses of Mabilia Bonafossie and Maria Tarnelhe with a road between. In a separate act (f. 45r), Mathas acknowledged his indebtedness for 15 *l. p. t.* remaining to be paid for the houses and set a payment schedule of 4 *l.* at the Ascension of the Virgin in August and 11 *l.* at Easter. On 28 August 1333 (II E 95/369, f. 62v), Bonela confirmed his payment of 4 *l.* in diminution of the debt of 15 *l.*

6. **Beatrix la Boyleta**, inhabitant of Montpellier

On 26 April 1342, Beatrix la Boyleta bought a woman's painted chest lined with green silk from Bernardus Mathas for 114 *s. t.* in current money (5 *l. 4 s.*) (II E 95/371, f. 25r). On 20 June 1342 (II E 95/371, f. 57v), she bought another woman's chest of murrey cloth with feathers, along with Francisca de Castro Forti, for 8 *l. 10 s.* in current money.

7. **Francesca de Castro Forti** of the Gap diocese, inhabitant of Montpellier

On 10 June 1342, Francesca de Castro Forti purchased a woman's chest of murrey cloth with feathers, along with Beatrix la Boyleta, from Bernardus Mathas for 8 *l. 10 s.* in current money (II E 95/371, f. 57v).

8. **Agnes de Cavalhone**

On 14 August 1342, Agnes de Cavalhone held a house in Campus Polverel contiguous to a house rented by Galharda de Albia from Bernardus Mathas (II E 95/371, f. 96v). On 12 November 1342, Agnes de Cavalhone held a house contiguous to a house rented by Bernarda, daughter of Raymundus Jordani from Bernardus Mathas (II E 95/371, f. 154v).

9. **Marita Clara** of Avignon, inhabitant of Montpellier

On 5 November 1342, Marita Clara purchased a chest lined with furs and a woman's tunic of murrey cloth from Bernardus Mathas for 15 *l.*

in current money (II E 95/371, f. 148r). On 19 June 1343, a foreign messenger, resident in Montpellier, certified to Mathas in the debt of Marita Clara (II E 95/372, f. 42r), and in a separate act of the same date Bernardus Mathas ceded all rights against Marita Clara and against the messenger to Agnes des Baux (f. 42r).

10. **Marquesia Coline** of Montpellier

On 27 July 1342, Marquesia Coline rented a house, an orchard, and a well in Campus Polverel, bordering the house of Rigaudus de Broa and a road, for one year from the Ascension of the Virgin in August at 12*l.* in current money with payments of 20*s.* per month (II E 95/371, f. 87v).

11. **Claramonda la Franseza** of Toren Torena, inhabitant of Montpellier

On 21 November 1343, Claramonda la Franseza rented a house in Campus Polverel from Matheus Imberti, bordering the house of La Gantieyra, a house of La Panchota, and a road, from that date to the Ascension of the Virgin in August with rent of 60*s. p. t.* payable one half at Lent and one half at the Ascension (II E 95/372, f. 131v).

12. **La Gantieyra**

On 21 November 1343, La Gantieyra held a house in Campus Polverel, contiguous to that rented by La Panchota and the house rented by Claramonda la Franseza from Matheus Imberti (II E 95/372, f. 131v).

13. **Bienda Grezane**, inhabitant of Montpellier

On 21 November 1343, Bienda Grezane rented a house with *sotulum* and *solerium* in Campus Polverel, bordering a house of Bernardus Mathas, the cellar of Dena Romiena, and a road, from the present date until the Ascension of the Virgin in August with rent of 4*l. p. t.* in current money paid one half at Lent and one half at the Ascension (II E 95/372, f. 131v).

14. **Berengaria Lescrimaires**

On 27 July 1336, Berengaria Lescrimaires was renting a house and an orchard from Bernardus Mathas, whose wife established a new rental contract with Guillelma Merlessa on this date, to begin at the Ascension of the Virgin in August for one year with rent of 6*l. t.* in all (II E 95/370, f. 97r). On 16 October 1343, an unnamed Lescrimaires held a house in Campus Polverel contiguous to a house rented by Matheus Imberti to Jausserauda de Valentia (II E 95/372, f. 94v).

15. **Guillelma Merlessa**, inhabitant of Montpellier

On 27 July 1336, Guillelma Merlessa rented a house and an orchard in the French royal quarter from Bernardas Mathas through the

agency of his wife, Johanna, for one year from the Ascension of the Virgin in August with rent of 6*l. t.* total, 40*s.* to be paid at All Saints, 40*s.* at Lent, and 40*s.* in one year. The house was currently rented to Berengaria Lescrinaires (II E 95/370, f. 97r).

16. **Ricardis de Narbona**, inhabitant of Montpellier  
 Ricardis de Narbona sold women's chests on 12 October, 1 December, and 17 December 1327 to Raymunda Trencavela and Johaneta de Tholosa for 115*s. p. t.*, 40*s. p. t.*, and 23*s. p. t.*, respectively (II E 95/368, f. 55v, 84r, and 93r).
17. **Mirabella de Podio**, inhabitant of Montpellier  
 On 13 October 1343, Matheus Imberti confirmed to Mirabella de Podio that she had satisfied him in all debts and for all rental payments (II E 95/372 f. 92v).
18. **La Panchota**  
 On 21 November 1343, La Panchota held a house in Campus Polverel contiguous to a house of La Gantieyra, a road, and a house rented by Claramonda la Franseza from Matheus Imberti (II E 95/372, f. 131v).
19. **Dena Romiena**  
 On 21 November 1343, Dena Romiena held a cellar in Campus Polverel contiguous to a road, a house of Bernardus Mathas, and the house rented by Bienda Grezane from Matheus Imberti (II E 95/372, f. 131v).
20. **Katerina Sobeyrana** of Melgueil, inhabitant of Montpellier  
 On 20 August 1342, Katerina Sobeyrana bought a woman's tunic embroidered in red and a cloth (towel) from Bernardus Mathas for 65*s.* in current money (II E 95/371, f. 102v).
21. **Maria Tarnalhe**  
 On 29 May 1333, Maria Tarnalhe held a house near the houses sold by Bonafossia Bonela to Bernardus Mathas. A road ran between her house and those houses (II E 95/369, f. 44v).
22. **Bernarda de Tholosa**, daughter of Raymundus Jordani of Toulouse, inhabitant of Montpellier  
 On 12 November 1342, Bernarda de Tholosa rented a house from Bernardus Mathas in Campus Polverel, bordering another house of Mathas's, the house of Agnes de Cavallhone, and a road for one year with rent of 6*l.* in current money at payments of 10*s.* per month (II E 95/371, f. 154v).

23. **Johaneta de Tholosa**, inhabitant of Montpellier  
 On 12 October and 1 December 1327, Johaneta de Tholosa bought women's chests, one lined with feathers, the other of green cloth, for 40 *s. p. t.* and 23 *s. p. t.*, respectively, from Ricardis de Narbona (II E 95/368, ff. 55v and 84r).
24. **Raymunda Trencavela** of Albi  
 On 17 December 1327, Raymunda Trencavela bought a woman's chest lined with feathers from Ricardis de Narbona for 115 *s. p. t.* (II E 95/368, f. 93r).
25. **Jausserauda de Valencia**, daughter of Guillelmus lo Pezatiayre of Valence, inhabitant of Montpellier  
 On 16 October 1343, Jausserauda de Valencia rented a house in Campus Polverel from Matheus Imberti, bordering a house of Bernardus Mathas, a house of Lescrimaires, and a road, from the present date to the Ascension of the Virgin in August for 4 *l.* in current money at payments of one half at Lent and one half at the feast of St. Peter in August (II E 95/372, f. 94v).

\*Currency quotations were given in actual coinages when so specified in the acts. Foliation by modern archivists, often in pencil, has been used for the purposes of citation, given the errors of numbering in older foliation of the notarial registers.

## APPENDIX 3: BURIAL REQUESTS TO THE DOMINICAN HOUSE

Sources:

II E 95—A.D. Hérault

EE—A.M. Montpellier, *Fonds de la Commune Clôture*

Louvet—A.M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*

<i>Date/reference</i>	<i>Testator</i>	<i>Special site (if any)</i>
20 Oct. 1288/EE 682	Guillelmus Sesano, grain merchant	Cemetery
29 Dec. 1301/BB 2, f. 62r	Jacobus Egidii, goldsmith	Chapel of St. Peter the Martyr, tomb of jurist
15 Aug. 1302/Louvet 3091	Petrus de Piniano, <i>burgensis</i>	Father's tomb in cemetery
19 Jan. 1328/II E 95/368, f. 107r	Johanna, wife of G. Saligani, jurist	Cloister
19 Jan. 1328/II E 95/368, f. 110r	Guillelmus Saligani, jurist	Wife's tomb in cloister
29 Oct. 1329/EE 792	Bartholomeus Carelli, linen merchant	Cemetery?
17 Jul. 1334/EE 534	Bernardus de la Roca, changer	Father's tomb in cemetery
11 Oct. 1339/II E 95/375, f. 93v	Stephanus de Albia, merchant	Father's tomb in cloister
9 Nov. 1340/Louvet 3098	Raymunda, widow of Johannes de Gaiano, goldsmith	Husband's tomb in cemetery

<i>Date/reference</i>	<i>Testator</i>	<i>Special site (if any)</i>
3 Sept. 1347/II E 95/377, f. 121r	P. de Cruzolis, priest, son of merchant Jacobus	Mary Magdalene chapel in parents' tomb
16 Mar. 1348/II E 95/377, f. 310v	Stephanus Rubei, <i>burgensis</i>	Chapel of Peter and Paul with father
20 Mar. 1348/II E 95/377, f. 315v	Maria, wife of Jacobus Johannis, wood merchant	Father's tomb in cemetery
23 May 1348/EE 214	Jausione, daughter of Petrus Johanini, draper	Parents' tomb behind altar of St. Dominic
29 May 1348/EE 417 2 Apr. 1348/EE 426	Johannes Aurelhe, changer Stephanus de Montolivo, merchant	Father's tomb in cemetery Cloister in tomb of Guiraudus Quintalerii
30 May 1348/EE 799	Raymundus Aymondi, brother-in-law is grain merchant	Next to father's tomb in cemetery

## APPENDIX 4: BURIAL REQUESTS TO THE FRANCISCAN HOUSE

Sources:

II E 95—A.D. Hérault

EE—A.M. Montpellier, *Fonds de la Commune Clôture*

Louvet—A.M. Montpellier, *Grand Chartrier*

<i>Date/reference</i>	<i>Testator</i>	<i>Special site (if any)</i>
23 Nov. 1286/EE 149	Guiraudus de Latis	
23 Jun. 1315/Louvet 3093	Petrus de Piniano, merchant	Cemetery
5 May 1318/EE 751	Bernardus Fabri of Millau, inhabitant of Montpellier	Cloister
12 Apr. 1319/EE 348	Bartholomeus Alari, called “The Fat” butcher	Cemetery
20 Jun. 1338/EE 603	Petrus de Tauriniano, jurist	Wife’s tomb in cemetery
5 Apr. 1342/BB 3, f. 13r	Agnes de Bossonesio, widow of P. de Bossonesio, merchant and changer	Mary Magdalene chapel
27 Jun. 1342/BB 3, f. 36r	Jacobus Brosseti, merchant	Father’s tomb in cemetery
26 Mar. 1347/II E 95/377, f. 27v	Maria, wife of Jacobus Andree, candlemaker	Cemetery
2 Apr. 1347/II E 95/377, f. 50r	Petrus Pastorelli, shoemaker	Mother’s tomb in cemetery

<i>Date/reference</i>	<i>Testator</i>	<i>Special site (if any)</i>
14 May 1347/II E 95/377, f. 58v	Petrus Rose, cultivator	Cemetery
25 May 1347/II E 95/377, f. 67v	Duranta, wife of Raymundus Ricardi, butcher	Cemetery
1 Jun. 1347/II E 95/377, f. 74r	Johannes Sumidry, wine merchant	Cemetery
23 Jun. 1347/EE 409	Johanna, widow of Raynaudinus Ferrerii, merchant	
25 Jun. 1347/II E 95/377, f. 86v	Garcendis, widow of Bernardus Barenx, merchant	Father's tomb in cemetery
2 Jul. 1347/II E 95/377, f. 90v	Jacobus de Favo, son of the late Jacobus, moneyer	With father in cemetery
4 Jul. 1347/II E 95/377, f. 93v	Huga, widow of Bernardus Ricardi, merchant	Cemetery
6 Jul. 1347/II E 95/377, f. 95v	Petrus Podii Alti the older, cultivator	Cemetery
20 Jul. 1347/II E 95/377, f. 100v	Andreas Carbonerii, painter	Cloister before <i>lavatorium</i>
7 Sept. 1347/II E 95/377, f. 224r	Bernardus Berengarii, cultivator	Cemetery
24 Sept. 1347/II E 95/377, f. 307r	Raymundus Torguelhas, inhabitant of Assas	Cemetery
18 Mar. 1348/II E 95/377, f. 311v	Jacobus de Hospitali, royal moneyer, inhabitant of Montpellier	Mother's tomb in cemetery
20 Mar. 1348/II E 95/377, f. 317r	Alassasia, wife of Petrus de Conchis, <i>burgensis</i>	Chapel of St. Catherine with her children
29 Mar. 1348/EE 410	Johanna, widow of Raymundus de Sancto Martino, merchant	Cemetery
31 Mar. 1348/II E 95/377, f. 318r	Raymunda, widow of Johannes de Ferreriis, mercer	Husband's tomb in cemetery
9 May 1348/EE 412	Petrus Perrocha, merchant	Mother's tomb in cloister
20 Apr. 1348/EE 566	Johannes de Fontaniis, merchant	Mother's tomb in cemetery
13 May 1348/EE 801 Outside Montpellier	Martinus de Bedos, mercer	Cemetery
11 Mar. 1348/II E 95/377, f. 307r	Petrus Matris, moneyer of Sommières	Franciscan convent of Sommières, in father's tomb
11 Mar. 1348/ II E 95/377, f. 309r	Salvayris, wife of Petrus Matris	With husband at Sommières



## APPENDIX 5: TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION OF THE WILL OF AGNES DE BOSSONES

A. M. MONTPELLIER, BB 3, J. LAURENTII, F. 13FF<sup>7</sup>

### *Notes on the Will*

- There are some eccentricities in the drafting of the will by the notary, Johannes Laurentii. He uses both *nepos/nepotis* and *neptis/neptis* for the mention of Agnes's grandchildren. Both carry m. and f. designation.
- He is inconsistent in his quotations of coinage, sometimes abbreviating the denomination, sometimes writing it out. I have uniformly written out the denominations.
- Coinage amounts are sometimes rendered in Roman numerals, sometimes written out in Latin. I have left these discrepancies, rendering the Roman numerals into Arabic numerals for clarity.
- He abbreviates first names at times with a single letter, and at others writes out the name. At a few points, blanks are left to fill in names. Very rarely but occasionally a word is simply illegible.
- There are some repetitions, as on f. 15v and 16r.
- There are some errors as on f. 18v *easdem* for *eisdem*.

<sup>7</sup> See *Archives de la ville de Montpellier, tome XIII, Inventaire analytique, Série BB (Notaires et greffiers du consulat 1293–1387)*, inventoried by Maurice de Dainville, Marcel Gouron, and Liberto Valls (Montpellier: Tour des Pins, Boulevard Henri IV, 1984), for the brief inventory entry for the will.

- On f. 15r, there appears to be a change in hand for that folio side alone.
- Numbering of the folios skipped a page at what should have been f. 17r—there is no foliation. I have numbered that recto/verso of that folio 16r bis/16v bis.
- In those rare cases where a word is illegible, I have put an \*. In the few instances where a translation was illusive, I have also signaled that with an \*.
- I have translated the synonyms *gadiatores et exequutores* as one word: executors.

### Transcription

(13r) Quoniam nemo in carne ponitus est qui possit terribile iudicium etiam iudicio evitare coram quo omnis homo redditus est de factis suis propriis rationem et cum nil certius morte nichiloque incertius hora mortis existat idcirco in nomine domini nostri filii Christi amen.

Anno incarnationis eiusdem domini m ccc xlii scilicet nones aprilis domino Philippo rege francorum regnante.

Ego Agnes filia quondam domini Raymundi Peyrerie mercatoris uxorque quondam domini P. de Bossonesio mercatori Montispessulani dictum iudicium pertimescens sana per dei gratiam et bene compos mentis mee et in mea bona et sana existans memoria licet infirmitate aliqua mei corporis sim dererita volens et cupiens saluti anime mee providere et de me rebusque meis disponere et ordinare facio, commendo, ordino, et dispono meum ultimum testamentum nuncupatum et meam ultimam voluntatem et bonorum ac iurisdictionem eorum dispositionem in modum videlicet infrascriptum.

In primis siquidem commendo animam meam et corpus meum altissimo creatori et beate ac gloriose semper virgini Marie matri eius et toti curie paradisi. Sic eligo sepeliri corpus meum in sepulcro capelle Beate Marie Magdalene ecclesie Fratrum Minorum conventus Montispessulani et accipio de bonis meis pro redemptionis (13v) anime mee et in remissionem peccatorum meorum et pro funerariis meo corpori faciendis et legatis piis infrascriptis exoluendis ducentas libras turonensium parvorum hodie currentium de quibus lego pro funerariis meis meo corpori faciendis et pro oblationibus et cantaribus faciendis infra novenam obitam mei triginta libras turonensium predictorum.

Item lego operi et luminarie ecclesie Beate Marie de Tabulis xx solidos.

Item lego operi et luminarie ecclesie Sancti Firmini de Montepessulano v solidos.

Item lego operi et luminarie cuiusque aliarum ecclesiarum Montispessulani et eius suburbiorum xii denarios.

Item lego rasincto\* altarum Beate Marie de Tabulis xxx solidos.

Item lego reclusiis Sancte Trinitatis, Beate Marie de Bella ac itineris Latara cuique ii solidos.

Item lego comuni mense Fratrum Minorum conventus Montispessulani septem libras et decem solidos pro tribus pitanciis seu refectionibus eidem conventui faciendis noticia et dispositione gadiatorum seu exequorum meorum infrascriptorum, rogans dictos fratres et conventum quod illis diebus quibus fient eis dicte pitancie seu refectiones celebrent missas et alia divina officia dicant pro anima mea.

Item lego comuni mense Fratrum Predicatorum conventus Montispessulani c solidos pro duabus pitanciis seu refectionibus eidem conventui faciendis noticia et dispositione (14r) gadiatorum seu exequorum meorum infrascriptorum, rogans eosdem fratres et conventum quod illis diebus quibus fient eis dicte pitancie celebrent missas et alia divina officia dicant pro anima mea.

Item lego comuni mense Fratrum Carmelitarum conventus Montispessulani lx solidos pro duabus pitanciis seu refectionibus eidem conventui faciendis notitia et dispositione gadiatorum seu exequorum meorum infrascriptorum, rogans dictos fratres et conventum quod illis diebus quibus fient eis dicte pitancie celebrent missas et alia divina officia dicant pro anima mea.

Item lego comuni mense fratrum Sancti Augustini conventus Montispessulani lx solidos pro duabus pitanciis seu refectionibus eidem conventui faciendis noticia et dispositione gadiatorum seu exequorum meorum infrascriptorum, rogans dictos fratres et conventum quod illis diebus quibus fient eis dicte pitancie seu refectiones celebrent missas et alia divina officia dicant pro anima mea.

Item lego elemosine animarum purgatorii xx solidos in ecclesia Fratrum Minorum Montispessulani erogandos noticia et dispositione gadiatorum seu exequorum meorum infrascriptorum.

Item lego sorori \* de Tribus Lupis filie Guillelmi Bernardi de Tribus Lupis ordinis de Prolhano x solidos.

Item lego sorori Agneti de Aussaco dicti ordinis de Prolhano xxx solidos.

Item lego sorori Caterine Dieus la Fes dicti ordinis de Prolhano xxx solidos.

Item lego sorori Pelegrine de Castaneto dicti ordinis de Prolhano (14v) xx solidos.

Item lego sorori Johanne Comitisse dicti ordinis de Prolhano xx solidos.

Item lego cuique aliarum dominarum monialium dicti ordinis de Prolhano conventus Montispessulani que erunt in eodem conventu Deo servientes tempore obitus mei xii denarios, rogans dictas dominas moniales quod divinas orationes fundant ad Dominum pro anima mea.

Item lego sorori Agneti Garnerie ordinis Sancte Clare conventus Montispessulani xx solidos.

Item lego sorori Johanne Nogarete dicti ordinis Sancte Clare x solidos, rogans easdem sorores quod divinas orationes fundant ad Dominum pro anima mea.

Item lego sorori Ricardi Causide moniali monasterii de Vinouolo Magalonensis diocesis xl solidos.

Item lego duabus filiabus Guillelmi Lamberti quondam mercatoris Montispessulani monialibus monasterii Sancti Egidii de Montepessulano xx solidos inter ambas.

Item lego cuique aliarum dominarum monialium dicti ordinis Sancti Egidii que ididem erunt deo servientes tempore obitus mei xii denarius, rogans dictas dominas moniales quod divinas orationes fundant ad Dominum pro anima mea.

Item lego comuni mense Sororum Repenticarum Sancte Caterine de Montepessulano x solidos, rogans easdem sorores quod divinas orationes fundant ad Dominam pro anima mea.

Item lego comuni mense Sororum Repenticarum Albarum que morantur prope corale Montispessulani x solidos, rogans easdem sorores quod divinas orationes fundant ad Dominum pro anima mea.

Item lego elemosine (15r) refectiois pauperum infirmorum hospitalium Montispessulani cui querent bone matrone in diebus mercurii in Montepessulano x libras.

Item lego hospitali Beate Marie de Montepessulano duas cordas tele quaelibet valoris triginta solidorum pro faciendis linteaminibus dicto hospitali in quibus recepiantur pauperii egrotantes in dicto hospitali noticia et dispositione gadiatorum seu executorum meorum infrascriptorum.

Item lego hospitali Sancti Spiritus de Montepessulano duas cordas tele quaelibet valoris triginta solidorum pro faciendis linteaminibus dicto hospitali in quibus recipiantur pauperes egrotantes in dicto hospitali, noticia et dispositione gadiatorum seu executorum meorum infrascriptorum.

Item lego lxxto [septuaginto] libras turonensium parvorum predictorum pro facienda quadam casula qua dedicari volo et iubeo altari

predicte capelle Sancte Marie Magdalene ecclesie Fratrum Minorum Montispeessulani ad deservendum divino officio in altari predicto.

Item lego Fratri Guilhermo de Peyrotis dicti ordinis Fratrum Minorum confessori meo quinquaginta solidos turonensium predictorum, rogans ipsum quod celebret missas et alia divina officia dicat pro anima mea.

Item lego Fratri Jacobo Causiti ordinis Fratrum Minorum predictum quadriginta solidos, rogans ipsum quod celebret missas et alia divina officia dicat pro anima mea.

Item lego fratri Francisco Deo Sato ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum triginta solidorum, rogans ipsum quod celebret missas et alia divina officia dicat pro anima mea.

Item lego, volo, et iubeo mille missas celebrari pro anima mea in ecclesiis pauperum religiosorum Montispeessulani notitia et dispositione gadiatorum seu executorum meorum infrascriptorum. Volo et precipico cuique capellanorum qui dicabit unam de missis predictis dari pro helemosina quinque denarios.

Item lego viginti pauperibus verecundis cuique decem solidos dandos e erogandos cuique eorumdem notitia et dispositione gadiatorum seu executorum meorum infrascriptorum.

Item lego viginti pauperibus puellis in Montispeessulano infrascriptorum. (15v)

Item lego xx pauperibus puellis maritandis in Montispeessulano cuique x solidos in adjutorum sui maritare dandis et erogandis cuique earum notitia et dispositione gadiatorum seu executorum meorum infrascriptorum.

Item lego Guirauda et Arnauda filiis quondam Arnaudi de Bossones mercatoris cuique C solidos.

Item lego...filio quondam Guiraudi de Mossato mercatoris scilicet xx solidos.

Item lego Domino Petro Laurentii presbytero lx solidos.

Item lego Domino Bernardo Gaucelini presbytero lx solidos.

Item lego Domino Bernardo Masseleti presbytero lx solidos.

Item lego Guillelmo Bernardi de Montealto scutifero Domini Petri Seguerii xl solidos.

Item lego Guirauda Carrerie triginta solidos.

Item lego Bertholomeo de Chiro lx solidos.

(Item lego Bartholomeo de Chiro lx solidos. [crossed out])

Item lego Guillelme filie de Na Rebolla qui moratur prope Sanctum Dyonysiam xl solidos.

Item lego Domino Guillelmo Daniel presbytero decem solidos.

Residuum vero dictarum ducentarum libras si quod fuerit solutum legatis predictis. Volo dari, distribui et erogari pro missis celebrandis et aliis operibus pietatis et misericordie, noticia et dispositione gadiatorum seu exsequutorum meorum infrascriptorum.

De aliis vero bonis meis prelego iure institutionis Raymunde filie mee, uxori Raymundi Grossi burgensis Montispessulani et suis heredibus seu successoribus universalibus quandam domorum tenentiam meam cum suis pertinentiis et iuribus universiis. In quaquidem domorum tenentia sunt tres stattgia et est scituata [sic] infra villam Montispessulani in carreria dicta del Mangol. In quaquidem domorum tenentia est turris muri Communis Clausure (16r) una parte cum domibus heredum Colini Bertrandi quondam burgensis Montispessulani et ex alio latere cum alia domo mea alteriori dicta domorum tenentia cuiusquidem domorum tenentie fenestratgium quod est ex parte carrerie est eiusdem contextus.

Item prelego eodem iure institutionis Petro et Raymundo Seguerii filiis comunibus Domino Petro Seguerii legum doctori et Agnete filie mee nepotibus meis totum quoddam clausum meum cum domibus meis omnibus curtibus et cellario viridario et putheo eidem clause contiguiis et suis parietibus arboribus plantis et iuribus et pertinentibus universalibus eisdem clauso et domibus adjacentibus quibuscumque scituatum in suburbis Montispessulani prope ecclesiam Sancti Dyonisii confrontatur ex una parte cum cimiterio ecclesie Sancti Dyonisii predicti et cum domibus heredum Petri Deodati quondam et ex alia parte cum via qua itur de ecclesia Sancti Dyonisii versus portalerum de Arcis Sancti Dyonisii et cum latere dicti portaleri et ex alia parte cum via qua itur de Montepessulano versus Pontem Vadii Juvenalia et ex alia parte cum via qua itur de Montepessulano verso molendina de Sant Mileux et ex alia parte cum honore qui est vel fuit den Vaquier cultoris.

Item prelego eodem iure institutionis dictis Petro et Raymundo Seguerii nepotibus meis unum hospitium meum altum cum suis pertinentibus et iuribus quibuscumque contiguum super dicte domorum tenentie per me legate dicte Raymunde filie mee et etiam prelego eisdem Petro et Raymundo duas domos meas bassas contiguas dicto hospitio in quibus duabus domibus sunt tres statgie in quibus una est la Mangol qui confrontatur ex une latere cum domo Magistri Bernardi Cabrespine notarii et retro cum muro Comunis Clausure Montispessulani. Dictum vero (16v) altum hospitium confrontatur cum dictis duabus domibus basis ex une latere et ex alio cum dicta domorum tenentia per me prelegata

dicte Raymunde filie mee et retro cum dicto muro Communis Clausure Montispessulani.

Item lego iure institutionis P. Bona Amici filio quondam Petri Boni Amici draperii et Johanne quondam filie mee coniugum nepoti meo quinquaginta libras turonensium parvorum hodie currentes cum quibus volo et iubeo ipsum fore contentum. De quibus aliis bonis meis ita quod nichel amplius posset petere in eisdem.

Item lego iure institutionis sorori Raymunde Bonamique nepoti mee moniali monasterii Sancti Genesii Magalonensis diocesis xx solidos.

Item lego sorori Caterine Bonamique nepoti mee moniali monasterii de Vinouolo Magalonensis diocesis xx solidos iure institutionis.

Item lego iure institutionis eisdem sororibus Raymunde Bonamique et sorori Caterine Bonamique neptibus meis pro sustentatione vite sue et pro necessitatibus suis et cuiusque earundum ad voluntatem suam faciendis fructus, redditus et proventus utilitates et comoditates pensiones et loquaria qui et que erunt precipientur et percipi et haberi potuerunt et debebunt toto tempore vite sue seu alterioris earundem in et de quadam domo mea et suis pertinentiis situata in villa Montispessulani prope portale de Montepessulaneto qui confrontatur ex una latere cum domo Magistri Bertrandi de Bosco et ex alia cum alia domo mea et ex alia cum muro Communis Clausure Montispessulani. Ita videlicet quod si et quando una earundem sororis Raymunde et sororis Caterine decedet dicti fructus, redditus, et proventus pensiones et loquaria utilitates et comoditates dicte domus proxime designate ad alteram earundem superstitem integraliter pertineant quamdiu vitam (16r bis) duxerit in humanis. Nolens ymo expresse inhihero quod abbatissa earundem seu altera quemvis persona se interveniat de predictis legatis per me factis dictis sororibus Raymunde et Caterine neptibus meis in ipse sole pro sustentatione vite sue et suis necessitatibus libere faciendis. Cum quibusquidem legatis volo et iubeo dictas sororem Raymundam et sororem Caterinam neptes meas et quamlibet earundem fore contentas de quibus aliis bonis meis. Ita quod nihil amplius possint petere in eisdem.

Item prolego iure institutionis Johanni Boniamici filio quondam Petri Boniamici draperii et Johanne filie mee quondam coniugum nepoto meo totum quoddam hospitium meum cum suis pertinentiis et juribus situatum in villa Montispessulani in carreria per quam itur de ecclesia Beate Marie de Tabulis versus Petram et confrontatur ex utroque latere cum domibus heredum Guillelmi de Conchis quondam et ante cum domo dicti Johannis Boniamici via in medio.

Item prolego eodem jure institutionis eidem Johanni Boniamici nepoti meo duas domos meas contiguas cum suis pertinentiis et juribus situatas infra villam Montispessulani prope portale Montispessulaneti et confrontantantur ex uno latere cum domo Magistri Bertrandi de Bosco notarii et ex alio latere cum domo qui fuit B. Gresas et retro cum muro Communis Clausure Montispessulani quarum duarum domorum unius super legavi redditus, pentiones et loqueria utilitates et comoditates supradictis sorori Raymunde Bonamique moniale monasterii Sancti Genesii supradicti et sorori Caterine Bonamique moniali monasterii de Vinouolo supradicti quamdiu eisdem sue alteri earundum (16v bis) fuit vita comes et quos redditus, fructus, loqueria, pentiones, utilitates et comoditates volo et jubeo ipsas sorores Raymundam et Caterinam et quamlibet earundum habere et percipere et suos facere prout superius ordinavi non obstante legato earundum domorum per me facto dicto Johanni Bonimici nepoti meo. Post mortem vero ambarum dictarum sororum Raymunde et Caterine volo et iubeo quod dicta doma sit et pertineat in plena proprietate et fructibus, redditibus, et proventibus universis dicto Johanni Boniamici nepoti meo.

Item lego jure institutionis Johanni Seguerii filio dicti Domini Petri Seguerii et dicte quondam Agnetis filie mee nepoti meo decem libras pro emendis suis libris ad doctrinam suam addiscendam per eundem. Cum quibus X libris volo et jubeo dictum Johannem nepotem meum esse contentum de omnibus aliis bonis meis. Ita quod nichil amplius possit petere in eisdem.

Item lego jure institutionis Ermenjardi filie dicti domini Petri Seguerii et dicte Agnetis quondam filie atque nepti mee centum solidos cum quibus et cum aliis per me sibi donatis heredis per ipsam post mortem (17r) meam. Volo et jubeo ipsam fore contentam de omnibus aliis bonis meis. Ita quod nichil amplius possit petere in eisdem.

Item lego jure institutionis Johanne filie dicti domini Petri Seguerii et dicte Agnetis quondam filie mee, uxori Hugonis de Tornamira burgensis nepoti mee decem libras cum quibus volo et jubeo ipsam fore contentam de omnibus aliis bonis meis. Ita quod nichil amplius possit petere in eisdem.

Item lego jure institutionis Raymunde filie dicti Petri Seguerii et dicte Agnetis quondam filie mee uxori Jacobi Don mercatoris nepoti mee, centum solidos cum quibus volo et jubeo ipsam fore contentam de quibus aliis bonis meis. Ita quod nichil amplius possit petere in eisdem. Que quidem legata dictis Johanni et Ermenjardi et Johanne et Raymunde liberis dictorum domini Petri Seguerii et Agnetis quondam coniugum



per me facta volo et jubeo solvi per supradictos Petrum et Raymundum Seguerii nepotes meos de parte seu portione que ad eosdem Petrum et Raymundum nepotes meos pervenerit de bonis seu hereditate meis infra etiam suprascriptis.

Item lego Marte filie Raymundi Grossi et Raymunde filie mee coniugum predictorum nepoti mee quinquaginta libras iure institutionis in adiutorium sui maritave cum quibus (17v) volo et iubeo ipsam fore contentam de quibus aliis bonis meis. Ita quod nichil amplius possit petere in eisdem.

Item lego iure institutionis cuique liberorum nascitorum/arum ex dicta Raymunda filia mea centum solidos cum quibus volo et jubeo quemlibet eorumdem esse contentum de omnibus et aliis bonis meis. Ita quod nichil amplius possit petere in eisdem. Que quidem legata liberis dicte Raymunde filie mee per me facta volo et iubeo solvi per dictam Raymundam filiam meam de parte seu portione que ad ipsam pervenerit de bonis seu hereditate meis infra et suprascriptis.

Item lego iure institutionis Pontio Boniamici filio quondam dictorum Petri Boniamici draperii et Johanne filie mee quondam coniugum nepoti meo quindecim libras pro emendis sibi libris ad doctrinam suam addiscendam per eundem cum quibus volo et iubeo ipsum fore contentum de omnibus aliis bonis meis. Ita quod nichil amplius possit petere in eisdem.

Item lego iure institutionis Agneti filie quondam dictorum P. Boniamici et Johanne quondam coniugum uxore Johannis Seguerii nepoti mee decem libras cum quibus volo et jubeo ipsam fore contentam de omnibus aliis bonis meis. Ita quod nichil amplius possit petere in eisdem.

Item lego iure institutionis Johanne filie quondam dictorum Petri Boniamici et Johanne filie mee quondam coniugem uxoreque quondam Jacobi Fogaderii piperarii nepoti mee centum solidos cum quibus volo et jubeo ipsam fore contentam de omnibus (18r) aliis bonis meis. Ita quod nichil amplius possit petere in eisdem.

Item lego iure institutionis Ermenjardi filie quondam dictorum P. Boniamici et Johanne filie mee quondam coniugum nepoti mee, uxore Stephani Puerii junioris centum solidos cum quibus volo et jubeo ipsam fore contentam de omnibus aliis bonis meis. Ita quod nichil amplius possit petere in eisdem. Quequidam legata dictis Pontio et Agneti et Johanne et Ermenjardi liberis dictorum P. Boniamici et Johanne filie mee quondam coniugum per me facta volo et jubeo solvi per dictum Johannem Boniamici nepotem meum de parte seu portione que ad ipsum pervenerit de bonis seu hereditate meis infra et suprascriptis.

Item lego sorori Raymunde Bonamique supradicte moniali supradicti monasterii Sancti Genesisii centum solidos sibi dandos et solvendos per heredes meos infrascriptores quamvis benedicetur seu signabitur in sua religione supradicta.

Item lego sorori Caterine Bonamique supradicte moniali dicti monasterii de Vinouolo centum solidos sibi dandos et solvendos per heredes meos infrascriptores quamvis signabitur seu benedicetur in sua religione supradicta cum quibus et aliis per me superius legates dictis sororibus Raymunde et Caterine volo et jubeo ipsas et earum quamlibet fore contentas de omnibus aliis bonis meis. Ita quod nichil (18v) amplius possint petere in eisdem.

Item lego jure institutionis cuicumque alteri persone nate seu nasciture qui aliquid possit petere, exigere, consequi, et habere in et de bonis meis jure proximitatis vel successionis legitime jure nature vel aliud qualitercumque sibi debite xx solidos cum quibus volo et jubeo ipsum vel ipsam talem quicumque seu quecomque fuerit fore contentum seu contentam de omnibus aliis bonis meis. Ita quod nichil amplius possit petere in eisdem.

Omnia vero alia bona mea, res et jura mobilia et immobilia quacumque qualiacumque quantacumque et ubicumque sunt et fuerint presentia et futura lego jure institutionis supradicte Raymunde filie mee pro tertia parte et Petro et Raymundo Seguerii fratribus filiis dicti domini P. Seguerii nepotibus meis supradictis pro altera tertia parte et dictum Johanni Boniamici filio quondam P. Boniamici nepoti meo pro altera tertia parte mihi instituo et oro meo proprio nomino heredes universales, volens et statuens et percipiens quod quisque dictorum heredum meorum sit contentus et contenta de parte seu (19r) portione per me sibi legata prout superius ordinavi. Ita quod nichil aliud possit petere in partibus seu portionibus aliorum aliquo jure vel aliqua ratione alia sine causa.

Item volo et jubeo quod omnia deposita, res, et pecunie quecumque que et quas apparuerit me habere in deposito prout invenietur scriptum in capsia mea restituantur illi vel illis de quibus invenietur scriptum in dicta capsia mea debere restitui et ea volo restitui noticia et dispositione domini P. Seguerii et Raymunde filie mee predictorum.

Gadiatores et exequutores meos huius mei testamenti quo ad pia legata supradicta facio et instituto dominum P. Seguerii legum doctorem et Raymundum Grossi burgensem generes meos et gardianum Fratrum Minorum conventus Montispessulani qui pro tempore fuerit et priorem ecclesie Beate Marie de Tabulis.

Hoc est meum ultimum testamentum et hac est mea ultima voluntas et bonorum et jurum meorum dispositio quod et quam laudo approbo ratifico et confirmo et modum omnibus valere volo et jubeo et si non valet aut valere non posset jure testamenti volo saltim quod valeat et valere possit et debeat jure codicellorum vel epistole aut alterius cuiuslibet supprime et ultime voluntatis. Cassans, irritans, penitus et annullans et viribus et efficacia tota- (19v) liter destituens duo testamenta per me olim condita scripta per Magistrum Johannem Laurentii notarium infrascriptum necnon et omnia omnino alia testamenta, codicillos et alias quaslibet supprimas et ultimas voluntates per me olim condita conditos et conditas facta factos et factas hoc meo presenti ultimo testamento et hac mea ultima voluntate in suo robore et efficacia perpetus durato seu durata.

Acta fuerunt hec in Montepessulano in doma habitationis dicte testatricis et fuerunt testes horum vocati et a dicta testatrice rogati Dominus P. Seguerii legum doctor, Domini Bernardus Gaucelini, Bernardus Martileti presbiterii, Guillelmus Bernardi de Montealto domicellus, Guiraudus Carrerie diocesis Mimatensis clericus, Magister P. Cardinalis notarius et ego Johannes Laurentii publicus Montispessulani notarius qui hec in notam recepi et requisitus fui de prescriptis facere publicum instrumentum.

Post hec anno quo supra scilicet quinto idus Aprilis prefato domino Philippo rege francorum regnante dictaque testatrice viam universe carnis ingressa et eius corpore tradito sepulture domina Raymunda filia quondam supradicte domine Agnetis testatricis et P. filius domini P. Seguerii legum doctoris et (20r) Johannes Boniamici filius quondam P. Boniamici draperii Montispessulani heredes universales unacum Raymundo Seguerii fratre dicti P. Seguerii instituti per dictam testatricem constituti in presentia discreti viri domini Raymundi Grossi baiuli curie Montispessulani pro domino nostro Francorum rege superillustri. Petierant dicti heredes pro se et aliis quorum interest seu potuerit interesse [crossout] et cum instantia supplicaverunt prefato domino bajulo prescriptum testamentum per dictam dominam Agnetem testatricem quondam conditum publicari et averari et testes qui [crossout] in confectioe dicti testamenti interfuerunt per modum publicationis ad eternam rei memoriam et jurisdictionis conservationem dictorum heredum et aliorum quorum interest per dictum dominum bajulum recepi et diligenter examinari et eorum dicta auctoritate judiciaria ipsis domini bajuli et decerto reddigi per manum publicam in publica et autentica documenta ad quorum quidem heredum justanciam et requisitionem accesserunt coram predicto domino bajulo supernomi-

nati Dominus P. Seguerii et Domini B. Gaucelini, B. Martileti presbyteri et Guillelmus Bernardi et Guiraudus Carrerie et Magister P. Cardinalis et Johannes Laurentii notarii testes in dicto testamento nominati in quorum presentia et aliorum distancium memoratus dominus bajulus precepit dictum testamentum legi publicari et averari. Quoquidem testamento (20v) publicato lecto et vulgarizato seu vulgariter explanato prenominati Domini P. Seguerii, B. Gaucelini, B. Martileri, Guillelmus Bernardi, Guiraudus Carrerie, P. Cardinalis et Johannes Laurentii ad requisitionem et mandatum dicti domini bajuli juraverunt super sancta dei evangelia per quemlibet ipsorum corporaliter manu tacta meram et pura dicere veritatem sub quo juramento diligenter interrogati dixerunt et deposuerunt singulariter singuli unius post alterum se vidisse et auduisse et presentes fuisse quando dicta domina Agnes de Bossonesio quondam testatrix supradicta in sua bona et sana existens memoria sana mente licet infirmitate sui corporis de qua postmodum obiit esset detenta, jacens in lecto suo testamentum suum nuncupatum et suam ultimam voluntatem et bonorum suorum dispositionem in presentia ipsorum testium in dicto testamento nominatorum tunc vocatorum et a dicta testatrice rogatorum anno et die in dicto testamento contentis fecit condidit et ordinavit prout in prescripto testamento coram eis lecto et vulgarizato continentur. Has vero dictorum testium juratas dispositiones recepit subdigenti examine et juris obervancia memoratus dictus bajulus ad instanciam et requisitionem supradictorum heredum instancium et (21r) postulancium ad juris conservationem sui et aliorum quorum interest et poterit interesse. Quibusquidem testibus sic receptis et diligenter examinatis memoratus dominus bajulus precepit in dicto Johanni Laurentii notario quatinus eorundem attestaciones ad perpetue rei memoriam et conservationem juris dictorum heredum et suorum successorum et aliorum quorum interest ac poterit interesse mandato et auctoritate eiusdem domini bajuli judiciaria et decerto reddigerem in publica et autentica documenta quod et feci prout superius continentur.

Acta fuerunt hec a paragrafo citra in domo habitationis dicti Domini P. Seguerii prefato domino bajulo pro tribunali sedente infra territorium districtus bajulie supradicte in presentia et testimonio Johannis Seguerii draperii et Domini P. Laurentii presbiteri et Bartholomei de Chiro habitatoris Montispessulani et mei Johannis Laurentii publici Montispessulani notarii qui hec in notam recepi et requisitus fui de prescriptis facere publicum instrumentum.

Extractum clausulas tangentes dominam Raymundam Grossam ego Arnaudus Ricardi decreto mihi dato per nobilem et otiuspium\* virum Dominum Stephanum de Cabanis militem et legum doctorem.

Item extraxi quasdam clausas dicti testament tangentes liberos Domini P. Seguerii quondam ad requisitione Jacobi Don [illegible] Montispessulani.

Item extraxi ego P. Egidii notarius publicus.

### Translation

(13r) Since no one who is made of flesh can avoid the terrible judgment in the context of which judgment each person is reduced to reason concerning his own doings and with death certain and the hour of death uncertain in the name of our lord Christ the son.

In the year of the lord, 1342, on the nones of April (5th), with Lord Philip reigning as king of France, I, Agnes, daughter of the late lord Raymundus Peyrerie, merchant, and wife of the late P. de Bossonesio, merchant of Montpellier, fearing the said judgment, healthy by the grace of God and competent in my mind and possessing my good and healthy memory albeit I am lost in infirmity of my body, wishing and desiring to provide for the salvation of my soul and to dispose of and ordain myself and my goods, I make, commend, order, and depose my last nuncupatum testament and my ultimate wish and jurisdiction of goods and their disposition manifestly in the fashion written below.

Because it is first, I commend my soul and my body to the highest creator and the blessed and always glorious Virgin Mary, his mother and that of the whole court of paradise. Thus, I elect that my body be buried in the sepulcher of the chapel of the Blessed Mary Magdalene in the church of the Friars Minor of the Montpellier convent and I take from my goods for the redemption (13v) of my soul and in remission of my sins and to orchestrate the funeral rites for my body and to pay the pious legacies below 200 *livres* Petits Tournois today current from which I leave for the funeral of my body and for oblations and canticles to be made within the Novena of my death 30 *livres* of the said Tournois.

Likewise I leave to the work and illumination of the church of the Notre Dame des Tables 20 *sous*.

Likewise I leave to the work and illumination of the church of Saint Firmin of Montpellier five *sous*.

Likewise I leave to the work and illumination of each of the other churches of Montpellier and its suburbs 12 *deniers*.

Likewise I leave to the resin/incense\* for the altar of Notre Dame des Tables 30 *sous*.

Likewise I leave to each of the recluses of the Sainte Trinité, of Notre Dame la Belle and of the chemin de Lattes two *sous*.

Likewise I leave to the common mess (table) of the Friars Minor of the convent of Montpellier seven *livres* and ten *sous* for three meals or refectons to be made for the same convent by notice and at the disposition (14r) of my executors below, requesting that the brothers and the convent, on those days that these meals or refectons are made for them, celebrate masses and say other divine offices for my soul.

Likewise I leave to the communal mess of the Friars Preachers of the convent of Montpellier 100 *sous* for two meals or refectons made for this convent by the notice and at the disposition of my executors below, asking that those brothers and convent, on the days when the meals are made for them, celebrate masses and say other divine offices for my soul.

Likewise I leave to the communal mess of the Brothers Carmelite of the convent of Montpellier 60 *sous* for two meals or refectons given to this convent by the notice and at the disposition of my executors below, asking that the said brothers and convent on those days when the meals are provided for them celebrate masses and say other divine offices for my soul.

Likewise I leave the communal mess of the friars of St. Augustine of the convent of Montpellier 60 *sous* for two meals or refectons made to this convent by the notice and at the disposition of my executors below, asking that the said brothers and convent on those days when the said meals or refectons are offered to them celebrate masses and say other divine offices for my soul.

Likewise I leave the eleemosynary of the souls of Purgatory, established in the church of the Friars Minor of Montpellier, 20 *sous*, by notice and at the disposition of my executors below.

Likewise I leave to Sister [blank in document] de Tribus Lupis, daughter of Guillelmus Bernardi de Tribus Lupis, of the order of Prouille ten *sous*.

Likewise I leave to Sister Agnes de Aussaco of the said order of Prouille 30 *sous*.

Likewise I leave to Sister Catherina Deus la Fes of the said order of Prouille 20 *sous*.

Likewise I leave to Sister Johanna Comitisse of the said order of Prouille (14v) 20 *sous*.

Likewise I leave to each of the other lady nuns of the order of Prouille of the convent of Montpellier, who were in this same convent serving God at the time of my death, 12 *deniers*, asking that the said lady nuns pour forth divine orations (prayers) to the Lord for my soul.

Likewise I leave to Sister Agnes Garnerie of the order of Saint Clare of the convent of Montpellier 20 *sous*.

Likewise I leave to Sister Johanna Nogarete of the said order of Saint Clare ten *sous*, asking these same sisters that they pour forth divine prayers to the Lord for my soul.

Likewise I leave to Sister Ricardis Causide, nun of the monastery of Vignogoul of the Maguelone diocese 60 *sous*.

Likewise I leave to the two daughters of the late Guillelmus Lamberti, merchant of Montpellier, nuns of the monastery of Saint Gilles of Montpellier, 20 *sous* between them.

Likewise I leave to each of the other lady nuns of the said order of Saint Gilles, who were there serving God at the time of my death, 12 *deniers*, asking that the said lady nuns pour forth divine prayers to the Lord for my soul.

Likewise I leave to the common mess of the Repentant Sisters of Saint Catherine of Montpellier ten *sous*, asking that these sisters pour forth divine prayers to the Lord for my soul.

Likewise I leave to the communal mess of the White Repentant Sisters, who are staying near the Corale of Montpellier, ten *sous*, asking that these sisters pour forth divine prayers to the Lord for my soul.

Likewise I leave ten *livres* to the eleemosynary (15r) refectory of the infirm poor of the hospitals of Montpellier for whom the good ladies of Wednesday in Montpellier collect alms.

Likewise I leave to the hospital of Beate Marie of Montpellier two cords of linen, each of the value of 30 *sous*, to make linen garments for the said hospital in which to receive the sick poor in the said hospital by the notice and at the disposition of my executors below.

Likewise I leave to the hospital of Saint Esprit of Montpellier two cords of linen, each of the value of 30 *sous*, to make linen garments for the said hospital in which to receive the sick poor in the said hospital, by the notice and at the disposition of my executors below.

Likewise I leave 70 *livres* of Petits Tournois aforesaid to make that chasuble that I wish and order to be dedicated to the aforesaid altar of the chapel of Saint Mary Magdalene in the church of the Friars Minor of Montpellier in order that the divine office be served in the aforesaid altar.

Likewise I leave to Brother Guilhermus de Peyrotis of the said order of Friars Minor, my confessor, 50 *sous* of the said Tournois, asking him that he celebrate masses and say other divine offices for my soul.

Likewise I leave to Friar Jacobus Causiti of the order of Friars Minor aforesaid 40 *sous*, asking him that he celebrate masses and say other divine offices for my soul.

Likewise, I leave Brother Franciscus Deo Sato of the order of Friars Minor 30 *sous*, asking him that he celebrate masses and say other divine offices for my soul.

Likewise, I leave, wish, and order a thousand masses to be celebrated for my soul in the churches of the religious poor of Montpellier, at the notice and by the disposition of my executors below. I wish and prescribe to each chaplain who will say one of the aforesaid masses to be given for charity five *deniers*.

Likewise, I leave to 20 shameful poor, each to be given and delivered ten *sous*, by the notice and at the disposition of my executors below.

Likewise, I leave to 20 poor girls of Montpellier written below. (15v) Likewise I leave to 20 poor girls to be married in Montpellier ten *sous* each in assistance to them for marriage, to be given and delivered to each of them by the notice and at the disposition of my executors below.

Likewise, I leave to Guiraudus and Arnaudus sons of the late Arnaudus de Bossones, merchant, to each, 100 *sous*.

Likewise, I leave to [blank] the daughter of the late Guiraudus de Mossato merchant clearly or by all means 20 *sous*.

Likewise, I leave to Lord Petrus Laurentii priest 60 *sous*.

Likewise I leave to Lord Bernardus Gaucelini priest 60 *sous*.

Likewise, I leave to Bernardus de Montealto, squire of Lord Petrus Seguerii, 60 *sous*.

Likewise, I leave to Guiraudus Carrerie 30 *sous*.

Likewise, I leave to Bertholomeus de Chiro 60 *sous*.

[Likewise I leave to Bartholomeus de Chiro 60 *sous*. [crossed out]

Likewise, I leave to Guillelma, daughter of Na Rebolla, who stays near Saint-Denis, 40 *sous*.

Likewise, I leave to Lord Guillelmus Daniel priest ten *sous*.

The rest truly of the said 200 *livres*, if there is any, paid to the aforesaid legatees, I wish to give, distribute and deliver for the celebration of masses and other works of piety and mercy, by the notice and at the disposition of my executors below.

Truly concerning my other possessions, I bequeath by the law of institution [of heirs] to my daughter Raymunda, wife of Raymundus Grossi, *burgensis* of Montpellier, and her heirs or universal successors that tenancy of houses of mine with all its appurtenances and universal rights. In one of the same tenancy of houses there are three floors. It is situated inside the [walls] of the town of Montpellier in the street called del Mangol. In one of the same tenancy of houses is a tower of the wall of the Commune



Clôture (16r), [confronting] in one part the houses of the heirs of Colinus Bertrandi late *burgensis* of Montpellier and from the other side with another house of mine; the said tenancy of houses of which the windows on the street side are its context.

Likewise, I bequeath by the same right of institution [of heirs] to Petrus and Raymundus Seguerii, sons in common of Lord Petrus Seguerii, legum doctor, and Agnes, my daughter, [as] my grandsons that whole enclosure of mine with my houses, all courtyards and cellar and orchard, contiguous to the same enclosure and its boundaries, trees, plants, rights and universal appurtenances adjacent to the enclosure and the houses situated in the suburbs of Montpellier near the church of Saint-Denis. It confronts on one side the cemetery of the church of the said Saint Denis and the houses of the heirs of the late Petrus Deodati and, on the other side, the road that runs from the church of Saint Denis toward the portal of the Arc Saint Denis and on the side of the said portal and on the other part with the road that goes from Montpellier towards the Pont Gay Juvenal and, on the other side, the road that goes from Montpellier toward the mill of Sant Mileux and on the other side with the honor that is or was that of den Vaquier cultivator.

Likewise, I bequeath by the same right of institution [of heirs] to my two grandsons Petrus and Raymundus Seguerii one high *hospitium* of mine with its appurtenances and whatever rights, contiguous to the above said tenancy of houses bequeathed by me to my daughter Raymunda, and I also bequeath to the same Petrus and Raymundus two low houses of mine contiguous to the said *hospitium* in which two houses are three floors, one of which is La Mangol which confronts on one side the house of Master Bernardus Cabrespine, notary, and in back the wall of the Commune Clôture of Montpellier. Truly the said (16v) high house confronts the said two low houses on one side and on the other the tenancy of houses bequeathed by me to my daughter Raymunda, and in back the said wall of the Commune Clôture of Montpellier.

Likewise I leave by the law of institution [of heirs] to Pontius Bon Amic son of the late Petrus Bon Amic, draper, and Johanna, my late daughter, spouses, my grandson, 50 *livres* Petits Tournois current today with which I wish and order him to be content. Concerning my other goods also that he can seek nothing more in them.

Likewise, I leave by the law of institution [of heirs] to Sister Raymunda Bon Amic, my granddaughter, nun of the monastery of Saint Geniès of the Maguelone diocese, 20 *sous*.

Likewise, I leave to Sister Caterina Bon Amic, my granddaughter, nun of the monastery of Vignogoul of the Maguelone diocese, 20 *sous* by right of institution [of heirs].

Likewise, I leave by right of institution [of heirs] to the same Sisters Raymunda Bon Amic and Caterina Bon Amic, my granddaughters, for the support of their lives and for the necessities of each of them and to be made at the their wish the fruits, revenues, and useful proceeds and conveniences, pensions, and rents which they will receive and will be able and ought to receive and have for the whole time of their lives or of one of the other of them in and over that house of mine with its appurtenances situated in the town of Montpellier near the gate of MontPELLIÉRET which confronts, on one side, the house of Master Bertrandus de Bosco and, on the other, another house of mine and, on another, the wall of the *Commune Clôture* of Montpellier. Also, moreover, that if and when one of these, Sisters Raymunda and Sister Caterina, dies, the said fruits, revenues, proceeds, pensions, and rents, utilities, and commodities of the said above designated house pertain in full to the other of them surviving as long as (16r bis) she will live. Expressly unwilling to the contrary, I prohibit that the abbess of either of them or some other person intervene concerning the aforesaid legacies made by me to the said Sisters Raymunda and Caterina, my granddaughters, that they be used freely for themselves alone for the sustenance of their life and for their necessities. With these same legacies I wish and order Sister Raymunda and Sister Caterina, my granddaughters, and each of them to be content concerning all other goods of mine. Also that they try to seek no more from them.

Likewise, I bequeath by the right of institution [of heirs] to Johannes Bon Amic, son of the late Petrus Bon Amic, draper, and Johanna, my daughter, the late couple, [as] my grandson, that whole *hospitium* of mine with its appurtenances and rights situated in the town of Montpellier in the street that runs from the church of Notre-Dame des Tables toward Petram [the stone] and confronts on both sides the houses of the heirs of the late Guillemus de Conchis and in the back the house of the said Johannes Bon Amic, with the road in the middle.

Likewise, I bequeath by the law of institution [of heirs] to the same Johannes Bon Amic, my grandson, two of my houses, contiguous, with their appurtenances and rights, situated inside the town of Montpellier near the Gate of MontPELLIÉRET and which confront, on one side, the house of Master Bertrandus de Bosco notary and, on the other side, the house that was that of B. Gresas and behind the wall of the *Commune Clôture*

of Montpellier, of which two houses of one I leave as above the revenues, pensions, and rents, utilities, and commodities, to the abovesaid Sister Raymunda Bon Amic, nun of the abovesaid monastery of Saint Geniès, and to Sister Caterina Bon Amic, nun of the abovesaid monastery of Vignogoul as long as one or the other (16v bis) shall live [be a companion of/for life], and those revenues, fruits, rents, pensions, utilities and commodities I wish and order the same Sisters Raymunda and Caterina and each of them to have and possess as I ordered above, notwithstanding the legacy of those houses made by me to the said Johannes Bon Amic, my grandson. After the death of both of the said Sisters Raymunda and Caterina I wish and order that the said house be and belong in full property and the fruits, revenues, and universal products to the said Johannes Bon Amic, my grandson.

Likewise, I bequeath by the law of institution [or heirs] to Johannes Seguerii, son of the said Lord Petrus Seguerii and of the late Agnes, my daughter, ten *livres* to buy books for his instruction in order to learn through them. With these ten *livres* I wish and order that the said Johannes, my grandson, be content regarding all my other goods. Also that he cannot seek more from them.

Likewise, I bequeath by the law of institution [or heirs] to Ermenjardis, daughter of the said Lord Petrus Seguerii and the said Agnes, my late daughter, and my granddaughter, 100 *sous* with which and with others given by reason of inheritance to her for her after my death, (17r) I wish and order her to be content regarding all other possessions of mine. Also, that she be able to seek nothing more from them.

Likewise, I bequeath by the law of institution [of heirs] to Johanna, daughter of the said Lord Petrus Sequerii and the said Agnes, my late daughter, wife of Hugo de Tornamira, *burgensis*, my granddaughter, ten *livres* with which I wish and order her to be content regarding all other possessions of mine. Also, that she be able to seek no more from them.

Likewise, I bequeath by the law of institution [of heirs] to Raymunda, daughter of the said Petrus Sequerii and the said Agnes, my late daughter, wife of Jacobus Don, merchant, my granddaughter, 100 *sous* with which I wish and order her to be content concerning all other possessions of mine. Also, that she be able to seek no more from them. These legacies for certain to the said Johannes and Ermenjardis and Johanna and Raymunda, children of the said Lord Petrus Seguerii and the late Agnes, couple, made by me I wish and order to be paid by the aforesaid Petrus and Raymundus Seguerii, my grandsons, from the part or portion that comes to the same

Petrus and Raymundus, my grandsons, from the goods or inheritance of mine mentioned above and below.

Likewise, I bequeath to Marta, daughter of Raymundus Grossi and Raymunda, my daughter, the aforesaid couple, my granddaughter, 50 *livres* by the law of institution [of heirs] for assistance for her to marry with which (17v) I wish and order that she be content concerning all other goods of mine. Also, that she be able to seek no more from them.

Likewise, I bequeath by the law of institution [of heirs] to each child of either sex to be borne by Raymunda, my daughter, 100 *sous* with which I wish and order that the individual be content concerning all other of goods of mine. Also, that he/she be able to seek nothing more from them. These legacies to the children of Raymunda, my daughter, made by me, I wish and order to be paid by the said Raymunda from the part or portion which will come to her from my goods or inheritance written about above and below.

Likewise, I bequeath by the law of institution [of heirs] to Pontius Bon Amic, son of the late said Petrus Bon Amic, draper, and my daughter Johanna, of the late couple, my grandson, 15 *livres* to buy books for his instruction in order to learn through them with which I wish and order him to be content concerning all other goods of mine. Also, that he be able to seek nothing more from them.

Likewise, I bequeath by the law of institution [of heirs] to Agnes, daughter of the late said P. Bon Amic and Johanna, the late couple, wife of Johannes Seguerii, my granddaughter, ten *livres* with which I wish and order her to be content regarding all other goods of mine. Also, that she can seek nothing more from them.

Likewise, I bequeath by the law of institution [of heirs] to Johanna, daughter of the late said Petrus Bon Amic and Johanna, my daughter, the late couple, my granddaughter, wife of Jacobus Fogaderii, pepperer, [as] my granddaughter 100 *sous* with which I wish and order her to be content concerning all (18r) other goods of mine. Also, that she be able to seek nothing more from them.

Likewise, I bequeath by the law of institution [of heirs] to Ermenjardis, daughter of the said late P. Bon Amic and Johanna, my daughter, the late couple, [as] my granddaughter, wife of Stephanus Plierii junior, 100 *sous* with which I wish and order her to be content concerning all other goods of mine. Also that she be able to seek nothing more from them.

These legacies to the said Pontius and Agnes and Johanna and Ermenjardis, children of the said P. Bon Amic and Johanna, my daughter,

the late couple, made by me I wish and order to be paid by Johannes Bon Amic, my grandson, from the part or portion which comes to him from my goods or inheritance written about above and below.

Likewise, I leave Sister Raymunda Bon Amic, the aforesaid nun of the aforesaid monastery of Saint Geniès, 100 *sous* to be given and paid to her by my heirs below as long as she is well thought of and dedicated in her aforesaid religion.

Likewise, I leave to Sister Caterina Bon Amic, the aforesaid nun of the said monastery of Vignogoul, 100 *sous* to be given and paid to her by my heirs below as long as she is dedicated and well thought of in her aforesaid religion. With these and other legacies above from me to the said Sisters Raymunda and Caterina I wish and order them and each of them to be content regarding all my other possessions. Also, that they be able to seek nothing (18v) more from them.

Likewise, I leave by the law of institution [of heirs] to any other person born or to be born who could seek, demand, obtain, and have in and from my possessions by the right of proximate or legitimate succession or by the right of nature or something other to be owed them 20 *sous* with which I wish and order them [m or f], whoever they are, to be content in regard to all my other possessions. Also, that he/she seek nothing more from them.

Truly all my other goods, things, and mobile and immobile rights whatever, whichever, however much, and wherever they may and will be, present and future, I bequeath by the late of institution [of heirs] to the said Raymunda, my daughter, for a third part and Petrus and Raymundus Seguerii, brothers, sons of the said Lord P. Seguerii, my aforesaid grandsons, for a third part, and to the said Johannes Bon Amic, son of the late P. Bon Amic, my grandson, for another third part. I institute and by my own speech name them my universal heirs, wishing and stating and perceiving that each of my said heirs be content with their part or (19r) portion left to them by me as I have ordered above. Also, that he/she not be able to seek any more in parts or portions of them by any right or any reason or any cause.

Likewise, I wish and order that all deposits, things, and money whatever it appears that I have in deposit or is found written in my container be restored to him or them concerning which it is found written in my container that it ought to be restored, and I wish these things to be restored on the notice and at the disposition of Lord P. Seguerii and Raymunda, my daughter, aforesaid.

As my executors of my will by which I make the aforesaid as pious legacies, I institute Lord P. Seguerii, *legum doctor*, and Raymundus Grossi,

*burgensis*, my sons-in-law, and whoever will be the guardian of the Friars Minor of the convent of Montpellier at this time and the prior of the church of Notre-Dame des Tables.

This is my last [will and] testament and this is my ultimate wish and the disposition of my possessions and my rights which I praise, approve, ratify, and confirm and I wish and order to be valid in all ways, and if not valid or if it cannot be valid by the law of wills, I wish at least that it be valid and can be valid and ought to be by the law of codicils or the epistole or of some other supreme and ultimate wish. Breaking, invalidating entirely, and annulling and destroying in strength and efficacy completely (19v) the two wills that I had in times past made, written by Master Johannes Laurentii, notary below, and indeed wholly all other wills, codicils, and whatever other supreme and ultimate wishes crafted and made by me formerly. Let this my present ultimate will and this my ultimate wish in its strength and efficacy endure perpetually.

These acts are done in Montpellier in the home of habitation of the said testator and there were these witnesses called by the said testator: Lord P. Seguerii, *legum doctor*, Lord Bernardus Gaucelini, Bernardus Martileti priests, Guillelmus Bernardi de Montealto, *domicellus*, Guiraudus Carrerie, cleric of the diocese of Mende, Master P. Cardinalis, notary, and I Johannes Laurentii, public notary of Montpellier, who took down in notes and was asked concerning the above matters to make a public instrument.

Shortly afterward, in the year above, notably, on the fifth of the ides of April, with Lord Philip reigning as king of France and the said testator having entered into her eternal life and her body having been buried, Lady Raymunda, daughter of the late aforesaid Lady Agnes, testator, and P., son of Lord P. Seguerii, *legum doctor*, and (20r) Johannes Bon Amic, son of the late P. Bon Amic, draper of Montpellier, universal heirs along with Raymundus Seguerii, brother of the said P. Seguerii, instituted by the said testator, appointed in the presence of the discrete man Lord Raymundus Grossi, bailiff of the court of Montpellier for our Lord, the illustrious king of France. The said heirs asked for themselves and others of them interested or who could be interested and with the instance supplicated the appointed lord bailiff to publish and endorse the written will made by the said late Lady Agnes, testator, and the witnesses who were present at the creation of the said testament through the means of publication to the eternal memory of the thing and the conservation of jurisdiction of the said heirs and all others whom it might interest to be received and diligently examined by the said lord bailiff and by that said

juridical authority of them and of the same lord bailiff and be written certainly by the public hand in public and authentic documents to the justice and requisition of the heirs. The above named Lord P. Seguerii and Lord B. Gaucelini, B. Martilete priests, and Guillelmus Bernardi and Guiraudus Carrierie and Master P. Cardinalis and Johannes Laurentii, notaries, approached the presence of the lord bailiff in the present of whom and remembering the distance of others, the lord bailiff received the said will to be read, published, and approved. With the same will (20v) published, read and explained in the vernacular, the aforementioned Lords P. Seguerii, B. Gaucelini, B. Martileti, Guillelmus Bernardi, Guiradus Carrerie, P. Cardinalis, and Johannes Laurentii swore at the request and on the order of the said lord bailiff, with each of them physically touching the Evangelists, to speak the naked and pure truth under which judgment diligently interrogated they spoke and deposed singularly one after another to have seen and heard and been present when the said Lady Agnes de Bossonesio, the late testator aforesaid, with a good and healthy memory and healthy mind albeit in the sickness of her body from which she later died, had been engaged, lying in her bed, in making her last will and nuncupatum testament and her ultimate wish and the disposition of her possessions in the presence of the same witnesses named in this said will and called and asked by the said testator in the year and on the day, contained in the said will, she made, constructed, and ordered as in the written will in the presence of those, with it read [in Latin] and in the vernacular in close succession. He received the sworn dispositions of the said witnesses, and remembering the observances of law and diligent examination the said bailiff at the instance and request of the aforesaid heirs and the instance and (21r) demand for the conservation of the law for them and in the interest of others whom it would interest. Remembering having received the said witnesses and having diligently examined them, the said bailiff received from the said Johannes Laurentii, notary, the attestations of them to the memory of the fact perpetually and the conservation of the law of the said heirs and their successors and of other interested or who will be interested by the mandate and judicial authority of the same lord bailiff, I wrote [these] down decisively in public and authentic documents which I made as they were maintained above.

These acts in the above paragraph took place in the house of habitation of the said Lord P. Seguerii, with the above lord bailiff sitting for his tribunal inside the territory of the district of the aforesaid bailiwick in the presence and testimony of Johannes Seguerii, draper, and Lord P. Laurentii,

priest, and Bartholomeus de Chiro, inhabitant of Montpellier, and of me, Johannes Laurentii, public notary of Montpellier, who received these things in notes and was asked to make from the above a public will.

Clauses were extracted touching the lady Raymunda Grossi by me, Arnaudus Ricardi, with discretion given to me by the noble and pious\* man Lord Stephanus de Cabanis, knight and *legum doctor*.

Likewise, I extracted those clauses of the said will touching the children of late Lord P. Seguerii at the request of Jacobus Don, of Montpellier.

Likewise, I, Petrus Egidii, public notary, extracted.



# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## PRIMARY SOURCES

Archives

Archives Départementales de l'Hérault, II E 95/368–377, notarial registers.

Archives Municipales de Montpellier

BB 1–3, notarial registers.

EE, *Fonds de la Commune Clôture*

*Le Grand Chartrier, Louvet*

*Le Grand Thalamus*

## PRINTED

*Archives de la ville de Montpellier. Inventaires et documents*, vol. III. Montpellier: Imprimerie Serre et Roumégous, 1920.

*Archives de la ville de Montpellier, Vol. XIII, Inventaire analytique, Série BB (Notaires et greffiers du consulat 1293–1387)*. Inventoried by Maurice de Dainville, Marcel Gouron, and Liberto Valls. Montpellier: Tour des Pins, Boulevard Henri IV, 1984.

- Chabaneau, C., and A. Germain (eds.). 1884–1886. *Liber Instrumentorum Memorialium. Cartulaire des Guilhems de Montpellier*. Montpellier: Jean Martel aîné, imprimeur de la Société Archéologique.
- Martin-Chabot, Eugène. 1907. *Les archives de la cour des comptes, aides et finances de Montpellier. Avec un essai de restitution des premiers registres de la sénéchausée*. Paris: Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris.
- Oudot de Dainville, M. (ed.). 1955. *Documents omis dans l'inventaire du Grand Chartrier*, vol. 2. *Inventaires et documents, Archives de la Ville de Montpellier*. Montpellier: Imprimerie "L'Abeille" Coopérative Ouvrière.
- Pégat, F., E. Thomas, and C. Desmazes (eds.). 1840. *Thalamus parvus: Le petit thalamus de Montpellier*. Montpellier: La Société Archéologique de Montpellier.
- Rouquette, J., and A. Villemagne (eds.). 1912–1925. *Cartulaire de Maguelone*, 5 vols. Montpellier: Published by the Editors.
- Sainte-Marie, Martine. 2000. Fonds de la Confrérie des pénitents bleus de Montpellier (1404–1972). In *Répertoire numérique détaillé de la sous-série 115 J*. Montpellier: Archives départementales de l'Hérault.
- Teulet, Alexandre (ed.). 1863. *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, vol. I. Paris: Librairie Plon.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

- Akehurst, F.R.P. 1992. *The Coutumes de Beauvaisis de Philippe de Beaumanoir*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Archer, Janice Marie. 1995. *Working women in thirteenth-century Paris*. Diss. University of Arizona.
- Arnade, Peter J., Martha C. Howell, and Walter Simons. 2002. Fertile spaces: The productivity of urban space in northern Europe. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32: 515–548.
- Arnold, John H. 2001. *Inquisition and power: Catharism and the confessing subject in medieval Languedoc*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Aubenas, Roger. 1933. Le contrat d'*affragementum* dans le droit provençal du moyen âge. *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4th ser., 12: 477–524. Paris.
- Aubenas, Roger. 1936. La famille dans l'ancienne Provence. *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 8: 523–541.
- Aubrun, Michel. 1986. *La paroisse en France des origines au XVe siècle*. Paris: Picard.
- Aurell, Martin. 1997. La chevalerie urbaine en Occitanie (fin Xe-début XIIIe siècle). *Les Élités urbaine au moyen âge*. XXVIIe Congrès de la Société des Historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur, 71–118. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.

- Balos, Beverly, and Mary Louise Fellows. 1990. A matter of prostitution: Becoming respectable. *New York University Law Review* 74: 1220–1303.
- Baratier, Édouard. 1951. *Histoire du commerce de Marseille*, vol. II. Paris: Plon.
- Baratier, Édouard. 1973. Marseille et Narbonne au XIVe siècle d'après les sources marseillaises. In *Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon. Narbonne archéologie et histoire*, vol. 2. *Narbonne au moyen âge*, 85–92. Montpellier.
- Baumel, Jean. 1971. *Histoire d'une seigneurie du Midi de la France. Montpellier sous la seigneurie de Jacques le Conquérant et des rois de Majorque. Rattachement de Montpelliéret et de Montpellier à la France. 1213–1349*. vol. 2. Montpellier: Éditions Causse.
- Beech, Georges. 1992. Prosopography. In *Medieval studies. An introduction*, 2nd ed, ed. James M. Powell, 185–226. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Béghin, Cécile. 2013. Dot, patrimoine et solidarité à Montpellier dans les derniers siècles du Moyen-Âge. In *Études Roussillonaises XXV, sous la direction de Christiane Klapisch-Zuber*, 31–40.
- Béghin-LeGourriérec, Cécile. 2000. Le rôle économique des femmes dans les villes de la Sénéchaussée de Beaucaire à la fin du moyen âge (XIVe-XVe siècles), 3 vols. Diss. École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales-Paris.
- Béghin-LeGourriérec, Cécile. 2006. La tentation du veuvage. Patrimoine, gestion et travail des veuves dans les villes du Bas-Languedoc aux XIVe et XVe siècles. In *La famille, les femmes et le quotidien (XIVe-XVIIIe siècle)*, 163–180. Textes offerts à Christiane Klapisch-Zuber et rassemblés par Isabelle Chabot, Jérôme Hayez et Didier Lett. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.
- Bender, Tovah. 2009. Negotiating marriage: Artisan women in fifteenth-century Florentine society. Ph.D. Diss. University of Minnesota.
- Bennett, Judith M. 1999. *A medieval life. Cecilia Penifader of Brigstock, c. 1295–1344*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Bennett, Judith M. 2006. *History matters. Patriarchy and the challenge of feminism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Bennett, Judith M., and Amy M. Froide (eds.). 1999. *Singlewomen in the European Past 1250–1800*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Bensch, Stephen P. 1995. *Barcelona and its rulers, 1096–1291*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Berger, Adolf. 1953. *Encyclopedic dictionary of Roman Law*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society.
- Bernard, Antoine. 1933. *La sépulture en droit canonique du décret de Gratien au concile de Trente*. Paris: Les Éditions Domat-Montchrestien.
- Biget, J.-L. 1985. L'Extinction du catharisme urbain: les points chauds de la répression. *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 20: 305–340.
- Blomquist, Thomas W. 1980. Lineage, land and business in the thirteenth century: The Guidiccioni family of Lucca. *Actum luce. Rivista di studi lucchesi* IX: 7–29.

- Blomquist, Thomas W. 2005. *Merchant families, banking and money in medieval Lucca*. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing.
- Bonnet, Émile. 1927. Les séjours à Montpellier de Jacques le Conquérant roi d'Aragon. *Mémoires de la société archéologique de Montpellier*, 2nd series, IX: 153–232.
- Boriès, Marcel. 1970. Les origines de l'Université de Montpellier. *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 5: *Les Universités du Languedoc au XIIIe siècle*, 92–107. Toulouse: Privat.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1980. Le capital social. *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 31: 2–3.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990. *The logic of practice*. London: B. Blackwell.
- Bourin, Monique, John Drendel, and François Menant (eds.). 2011. *Les disettes dans la conjuncture de 1300 en Méditerranée occidentale*. Rome: École française de Rome.
- Brau, James C., and Gary M. Woller. 2014. Microfinance: A comprehensive review of the existing literature. *The Journal of Entrepreneurial Finance* 9: 1–28. <http://marriottschool.net/emp/brau/JEFBV%202004%20Vol.%209%20Micro%20Finance.pdf>. Accessed 14 Dec 2015.
- Brenon, Anne. 1992. *Les femmes cathares*. Paris: Perrin.
- Brown, Judith C., and Jordan Goodman. 1980. Women and industry in Florence. *Journal of Economic History* 40: 73–80.
- Bruschi, Christian. 1985. La tutelle des mineurs à Marseille (seconde moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> s. – début du XIV<sup>e</sup> s.). *Recueil de mémoires et travaux publié par la société d'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit*, fasc. XIII: 61–70. Montpellier.
- Burkhardt, Mike. 2014. Networks as social structures in late medieval and early modern towns: A theoretical approach to historical network analysis. In *Commercial networks and European cities, 1400–1800*, ed. Andrea Caracausi and Christof Jeggle, 13–43. No. 32 of Series Perspectives in economic and social history. London: Pickering and Chatto.
- Burnham, Louisa A. 2008. *So great a light, so great a smoke. The Beguin Heretics of Languedoc*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 23: *La Femme dans la vie religieuse du Languedoc (XIIIe-XIVe s)*. Toulouse: Privat, 1988.
- Caille, Jacqueline. 1977. *Hôpitaux et charité publique à Narbonne au Moyen Age*. Toulouse: Privat.
- Caille, Jacqueline. 1998. Urban expansion in Languedoc from the eleventh to the fourteenth century: The example of Narbonne and Montpellier. In *Urban and Rural. Communities in medieval France: Provence and Languedoc, 1000–1500*, ed. Kathryn Reyerson and John Drendel, 51–72. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Caille, Jacqueline. 2005a. Emengarde, Viscountess of Narbonne (1127/29–1196/97): A great female figure of the Aristocracy of the Midi. In Kathryn

- L. Reyerson, ed. *Medieval Narbonne. A City at the Heart of the Troubadour World*. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum; X, also published as Ermengarde, vicomtesse de Narbonne (1127/29-1196/97). Une grande figure féminine du Midi aristocratique. *Narbonne: Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon* (1994): 1-46.
- Caille, Jacqueline. 2005b. *Medieval Narbonne. A city at the heart of the Troubadour World*, ed. Kathryn Reyerson. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum.
- Caracausi, Andrea, and Christof Jeggle (eds). 2014. *Commercial networks and European cities, 1400-1800*. No. 32 of Series Perspectives in economic and social history. London: Pickering and Chatto.
- Carpentier, Elisabeth. 1962. Autour de la peste noire: famines et épidémies dans l'histoire du XIVe siècle. *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 18: 1062-1092.
- Casey, Kathleen. 1976. The Cheshire Cat: Reconstructing the experience of medieval women. In *Liberating women's history. Theoretical and critical essays*, ed. Berenice A. Carroll, 224-249. Urbana/Chicago/London: University of Illinois Press.
- Castaing-Sicard, Mireille. 1961. *Monnaies féodales et circulation monétaire en Languedoc (Xe-XIIIe siècles)*. Toulouse: Association Marc Bloch.
- Certeau, Michel de. 1988. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Trans. Steven Rendall. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Chabot, Isabelle. 1991. Lineage strategies and the control of widows in Renaissance Florence. In *Widowhood in medieval and early modern Europe*, ed. Sandra Cavallo and Lyndan Warner, 127-144. New York: Longman.
- Charrin, Louis de. 1961. *Les testaments dans la région de Montpellier au moyen âge*. Ambilly: Coopérative "Les Presses de Savoie".
- Cheyette, Fredric L. 2001. *Ermengard of Narbonne and the world of the Troubadours*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Chiffolleau, Jacques. 1980. *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du moyen âge (vers 1320 - vers 1480)*. Rome: L'École française de Rome.
- Chojnacki, Stanley. 2000. *Women and men in Renaissance Venice: Twelve essays on patrician society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Cholvy, Gérard (ed.). 1976. *Le diocèse de Montpellier*. Paris: Éditions Beauchesne.
- Cholvy, Gérard (ed.). 1984. *Histoire de Montpellier*. Toulouse: Éditions Privat.
- Combes, Jean. 1952. Un marchand de Chypre burgensis de Montpellier. In *Études médiévales offertes à M. Le Doyen Augustin Fliche*, 33-39. Montpellier: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Montpellier.
- Combes, Jean. 1958. Les foires en Languedoc au moyen âge. *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 13: 231-259.
- Combes, Jean. 1970. Quelques remarques sur les burgensis de Montpellier au moyen âge. *Recueil de mémoires et travaux de la société d'histoire du droit et des*

- institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit*, fasc. VII: *Mélanges Pierre Tisset*, 93–132.
- Combes, Jean. 1972. Finances municipales et oppositions sociales à Montpellier au commencement du XIVe siècle. In *Vivarais et Languedoc, Fédération Historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon*, 99–120, XLIVe Congrès, Privas, May 1971. Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry.
- Combes, Jean. 1974. L'Industrie et le commerce des toiles à Montpellier de la fin du XIIIe siècle au milieu du XVe. *Recueil de mémoires et travaux publié par la société de l'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit*, fasc. 9: *Mélanges Roger Aubenas*, 181–212.
- Constable, Olivia Remie. 2003. *Housing the stranger in the Mediterranean world. Lodging, trade, and travel in late antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coulet, Noël. 1988. *Aix en Provence. Espace et relations d'une capitale (milieu XIVe s. – milieu XVe s.)*, 2 vols. Aix en Provence: Université de Provence.
- Courtemanche, Andrée. 1993. *La richesse des femmes. Patrimoines et gestion à Manosque au XIVe siècle*. Paris/Montréal: Vrin/Bellarmin.
- Courtemanche, Andrée. 1998. Women, family, and immigration in fifteenth-century Manosque: The case of the Dodi family of Barcelonnette. In *Urban and rural communities in medieval France: Provence and Languedoc, 1000–1500*, ed. Kathryn Reyerson and John Drendel, 101–127. Leiden: Brill.
- Degenne, Alain and Michel Forsé. 1999. *Introducing Social Networks*. Trans. Arthur Borges. London: Sage Publications.
- Dérans, Jean-Arnault. 1995. Les ordres mendiants à Montpellier: 'Religieux de la ville nouvelle' ou religieux du consulat? *Annales du Midi* CVII: 277–298.
- Dion, Roger. 2010. *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France des origines au XIX siècle*. Paris: Clavreuil, 1959; reedition, Paris: Flammarion, 1991, 1993. Paris: CNRS.
- Dognon, Paul. 1895. *Les institutions politiques et administratives du pays de Languedoc du XIIIe siècle aux guerres de religion*. Toulouse: Privat.
- Dognon, Paul. 1899. De quelques mots employés au moyen âge dans le Midi pour désigner des classes d'hommes: *Platerii, Platearii*. *Annales du Midi* XI: 348–358.
- Donahue Jr., Charles. 2007. *Law, marriage, and society in the later Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Duby, Georges. 1953. *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise*. Paris: A. Colin.
- Duffaut, H. 1900. Recherches historiques sur les prénoms en Languedoc. *Annales du Midi* 12: 180–193; 329–354.
- Dugrand, Roger. 1963. La garrigue montpelliéraine. *Bulletin de la Société languedocienne de géographie*, 2nd series, 34: 3–266.
- Duhamel-Amado, Claudie. 2001. *Genèse des lignages méridionaux*. Toulouse: CNRS-Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail.

- Dulieu, Louis. 1975. *La médecine à Montpellier, I: Le Moyen Âge*. Avignon: Les Presses Universelles.
- Dupont, André. 1958. L'Exploitation du sel sur les étangs de Languedoc (XIe–XIIIe siècles). *Annales du Midi* 70: 7–22.
- Emery, Richard W. 1959. *The Jews of Perpignan in the thirteenth century*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Emery, Richard W. 1962. *The friars in medieval France. A catalogue of French mendicant convents 1200–1550*. New York/London: Columbia University Press.
- Epstein, Steven A. 1984. *Wills and wealth in medieval Genoa, 1150–1250*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Epstein, Steven A. 1991. *Wage labor and guilds in medieval Europe*. Chapel Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press.
- Epstein, Steven A. 1996. *Genoa and the Genoese. 958–1528*. Chapel Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press.
- Evergates, Theodore (ed.). 1999. *Aristocratic women in medieval France*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Fabre, Ghislaine, and Thierry Lochard. 1992. *Montpellier: la ville médiévale*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Fabrège, Frédéric. 1893–1911. *Histoire de Maguelone*, 3 vols. Paris/Montpellier: A. Picard/F. Seguin.
- Facinger, Marion F. 1968. A study of medieval queenship: Capetian France, 987–1237. *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 5: 1–48.
- Farmer, Sharon. 2002. *Surviving poverty in medieval Paris. Gender, ideology, and the daily lives of the poor*. Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press.
- Farmer, Sharon. 2014. Paris and the Mediterranean: Evidence from the late thirteenth-century silk industry. *French Historical Studies* 27: 383–419.
- Farmer, Sharon. Forthcoming. *The silk industries of medieval Paris: Artisanal migration, technological innovation, and gendered experiences in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Favreaux, Robert. 1964. Les changeurs du royaume de France sous le règne de Louis XI. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 122: 216–251.
- Fawtier, Robert. 1960. *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation, 987–1328*. London/New York: MacMillan/St. Martin's.
- Febvre, Lucien. 1946. Fils de riches ou nouveaux riches? *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 1: 139–153.
- Fournier, P.–F. 1927. Pierre Jame (*Petrus Jacobi*) d'Aurillac, juriste. *Histoire littéraire de France* XXXVI: 481–521.
- Gaillard, Bernardin. 1897. *La tutelle maternelle*. Montpellier: Firmin et Montane.
- Galtier, Gaston. 1960. *Le vignoble du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon, Étude comparative d'un vignoble de masse*, 3 vols. Montpellier: Causse, Graille et Castelnaud.

- Germain, Alexandre. 1851. *Histoire de la commune de Montpellier*, 3 vols. Montpellier: Imprimerie J. Martel aîné.
- Germain, Alexandre. 1856. La charité publique et hospitalière à Montpellier au moyen-âge. *Mémoires de la société archéologique de Montpellier* 4: 481–552.
- Germain, Alexandre. 1860–1869. La paroisse à Montpellier au moyen âge. *Mémoires de la société archéologique de Montpellier* 5: 1–56. Montpellier.
- Germain, Alexandre. 1861. *Histoire du commerce de Montpellier antérieurement à l'ouverture du port de Cette*, 2 vols. Montpellier: Imprimerie de Jean Martel aîné.
- Géze, J.-B. 1926. *Les Drailles du Département de l'Hérault*. Montpellier: Office Agricole Départemental de l'Hérault.
- Gide, Paul. 1885. *Étude sur la condition privée de la femme*. Paris: L. Larose et Forcel.
- Gies, Frances, and Joseph. 1980. *Women in the Middle Ages*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1978; New York: Barnes and Noble.
- Given, James B. 1997. *Inquisition and medieval society. Power, discipline, and resistance in Languedoc*. Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press.
- Goldberg, P.J.P. 1986. Female labour, service and marriage in the late medieval urban north. *Northern History* 22: 18–38.
- Goodson, Caroline, Anne E. Lester, and Carol Symes (eds.). 2010. *Cities, texts and social networks 400–1500. Experiences and perceptions of medieval urban space*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.
- Gouron, André. 1955. L'Origine du Tribunal du Petit-Scel de Montpellier. *Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon*, Mende, 1955: 55–70. Montpellier.
- Gouron, André. 1957. Les étapes de la pénétration du droit romain au XIIe siècle dans l'ancienne Septimanie. *Annales du Midi* 69: 103–120.
- Gouron, André. 1958a. Coutume et pratique méridionales: une étude du droit des gens mariés. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 116: 194–209.
- Gouron, André. 1958b. *La réglementation des métiers en Languedoc au moyen âge*. Geneva: Droz.
- Gouron, André. 1963. Diffusion des consulats méridionaux et expansion du droit romain aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 121: 26–76.
- Gouron, André. 1991. Grande burgensie et nouveaux notables: l'aspect social de la révolution montpelliéraine de 1204. *Recueil de mémoires et travaux de la société d'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit*, fasc. 15: 27–48.
- Gouron, André, and Jean Hilaire. 1958. Les 'sceaux' rigoureux du Midi de la France. *Recueil de mémoires et travaux publié par la société d'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit*, fasc. IV: 41–77.
- Grand, Roger. 1918. Un jurisconsulte du XIVe siècle. Pierre Jacobi, auteur de la *Practica aurea*. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* LXXIX: 68–101.



- Guillaumot, Justin. 2014. Les Élections municipales dans le Midi de la France: Le cas de Montpellier (XIIIe-XIVe siècles.). *Revue Circe* (12 January 2014), no pagination. <http://www.revue-circe.uvsq.fr/les-elections-municipales-dans-le-midi-de-la-france-le-cas-de-montpellier-xiii-e-xive-siecles/>. Accessed 1 Jan 2016.
- Guiraud, Louise. 1887. *La paroisse de Saint-Denis de Montpellier: étude historique*. Montpellier: Librairie J. Calas.
- Guiraud, Louise. 1890. *Le Collège Saint-Benoît, le Collège Saint-Pierre, le Collège du Pape*. Montpellier: J. Martel, aîné.
- Guiraud, Louise. 1895. Recherches topographiques sur Montpellier au moyen âge. *Mémoires de la société archéologique de Montpellier*, 2nd ser., 2: 89–335.
- Haluska-Rausch, Elizabeth Ann. 1998. Family, property, and power: Women in medieval Montpellier, 985–1213. Ph.D. Diss. Harvard University.
- Haluska-Rausch, Elizabeth Ann. 2005. Unwilling partners: Conflict and ambition in the marriage of Peter II of Aragon and Marie de Montpellier. In *Queenship and political power in medieval and early Modern Spain*, ed. Theresa Earenfight, 3–20. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Hanawalt, Barbara A. 1993. *Growing up in medieval London. The experience of childhood in history*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hanawalt, Barbara A. 1998. *'Of good and ill repute,' Gender and social control in medieval England*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hanawalt, Barbara A. 2007. *The wealth of wives. Women, law, and economy in late medieval London*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hanawalt, Barbara A., and Anna Grotans (eds.). 2007. *Living dangerously. On the margins in medieval and early modern Europe*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Hayez, Jérôme. 1993. La stanza di Vignone. Identité et migration entre la Toscane et Avignon aux XIVe et XVe siècles. Université de Paris IV - Sorbonne, thèse de doctorat.
- Heers, Jacques. 1993. *Le clan familial au moyen âge*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Herlihy, David. 1958. *Pisa in the early Renaissance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Herlihy, David. 1962. Land, family, and women in continental Europe, 701–1200. *Traditio* 18: 89–120.
- Herlihy, David. 1972. Mapping households in medieval Italy. *The Catholic Historical Review* 58: 1–24.
- Herlihy, David. 1985. *Medieval households*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Herlihy, David, and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber. 1985. *The Tuscans and their families. A study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Hilaire, Jean. 1957. *Le régime des biens entre époux dans la région de Montpellier du début du XIIIe siècle à la fin du XVe siècle*. Montpellier: Imprimerie Causse, Graille et Castelnaud.
- Hilaire, Jean. 1972. *Patria potestas* et pratique montpelliéraine au moyen âge. Symbolisme du droit écrit. *Société pour l'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays bourguignons, comtois et romands* (Dijon) *Mémoires* (Paris), 421–436.
- Hoffman, Richard C. 2000. Medieval Fishing. In *Working with water in medieval Europe: Technology and resource use*, ed. Paolo Squatriti, 331–393. Leiden: Brill.
- Hohenberg, Paul M., and Lynn Hollen Lees. 1985. *The making of urban Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Howell, Martha C. 1986. *Women, production, and patriarchy in late medieval cities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Howell, Martha C. 1996. Fixing movables: Gifts by testament in late medieval Douai. *Past and Present* 150: 3–45.
- Howell, Martha C. 1998. *The marriage exchange. Property, social place, and gender in cities of the low countries, 1300–1550*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hughes, Diane Owen. 1973. Toward historical ethnography: Notarial records and family history in the Middle Ages. *Historical Methods Newsletter* 7: 61–71.
- Hughes, Diane Owen. 1975. Urban growth and family structure in medieval Genoa. *Past and Present* 66: 3–28.
- Hughes, Diane Owen. 1985. From brideprice to dowry in Mediterranean Europe. In *The Marriage Bargain. Women and Dowries in European History*, ed. Marion A. Kaplan, 13–58. New York/London: Harrington Park Press.
- Huttan, Shennan. 2011. *Women and economic activities in late medieval Ghent*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Johnson, Penelope D. 2009. *Equal in monastic profession: Religious women in medieval France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jordan, William Chester. 1978. Jews on top: Women and the availability of consumption loans in northern France in the mid-thirteenth century. *Journal of Jewish Studies* 29: 39–56.
- Jordan, William Chester. 1989. *The French monarchy and the Jews from Philip Augustus to the last Capetians*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Jordan, William Chester. 1996. *The great famine. Northern Europe in the early fourteenth century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Karras, Ruth Mazo. 1996. *Common women. Prostitution and sexuality in medieval England*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Karras, Ruth Mazo. 2012. *Unmarriages. Women, men, and sexual unions in the Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Kelleher, Marie. 2010. *The measure of women: Law and female identity in the medieval Crown of Aragon*. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Kelly-Gadol, Joan. 1987. Did women have a Renaissance? In *Becoming visible. Women in European History*, 2nd ed, ed. Renate Bridenthal, Claudia Koonz, and Susan Stuard, 174–201. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

- Khavul, Susanna. 2010. Microfinance: Creating opportunities for the poor? *Academy of Management*: 57–71 [http://www.necley.tcu.edu/uploadedFiles/Academic\\_Departments/Management/zol003102949p.pdf](http://www.necley.tcu.edu/uploadedFiles/Academic_Departments/Management/zol003102949p.pdf). Accessed 14 Dec 2015.
- Kirshner, Julius. 1978. *Pursuing honor while avoiding sin: The Monte delle Doti of Florence*. Milan: A. Guiffre.
- Kirshner, Julius. 1985. Wives' claims against insolvent husbands in late medieval Italy. In *Women of the medieval world, Essays in honor of John Mundy*, ed. Julius Kirshner and Suzanne F. Wemple. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane. 1985. The 'Cruel mother': Maternity, widowhood, and dowry in Florence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*. Trans. Lydia Cochraine, ed. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, 117–131. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kowaleski, Maryanne. 1988. The history of urban families in England. *Journal of Medieval History* 14: 47–63.
- Kowaleski, Maryanne. 1999. Singlewomen in medieval and early modern Europe. The demographic perspective. In *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800*, ed. Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide, 38–81. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Kowaleski, Maryanne, and Judith M. Bennett. 1989. Crafts, guilds, and women in the Middle Ages: Fifty years after Marian K. Dale. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14: 474–488. Reprinted in Judith M. Bennett, Elizabeth A. Clark, Jean F. O'Barr, B. Anne Vilen, and Sarah Westphal-Wihl (eds.) 1989. *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
- Laborderie-Boulou, P. 1920. La viguerie de Montpellier au XIIe siècle. *Archives de la ville de Montpellier, Inventaires et documents* IV: v–xix. Montpellier: Imprimerie Roumégous et Déhan.
- Laumonier, Lucie. 2010. Les compoix montpelliérains: approche qualitative des archives fiscales médiévales. *Memini. Travaux et documents* 14: 97–122.
- Laumonier, Lucie. 2013a. Exemptions et dégrèvements: les Montpelliérains face à la fiscalité (fin XIVe et XVe siècles). *Bulletin historique de la ville de Montpellier* 35: 34–47.
- Laumonier, Lucie. 2013b. Vivre seul à Montpellier à la fin du Moyen Âge. Diss. Université de Sherbrooke (QC) and Université de Montpellier III.
- Laumonier, Lucie. 2015a. En prévision des vieux jours. Les personnes âgées à Montpellier à la fin du Moyen Âge. *Médiévales* 68: 119–145.
- Laumonier, Lucie. 2015b. Meanings of fatherhood in late medieval Montpellier: Love, care, and the exercise of *Patria Potestas*. *Gender & History* 27(3): 651–668.
- Laumonier, Lucie. 2015c. *Solititudes et solidarités en ville. Montpellier, mi XIIIe-fin XVe siècles*. Turnhout: Brepols.

- Laumonier, Lucie. 2015d. Living alone in late medieval Montpellier, Talk for the Center for Medieval Studies, University of Minnesota, February 12.
- Laumonier, Lucie. 2015e. Manières de parenté : les formes de l'adoption dans la région de Montpellier au XVe siècle. *Annales du Midi*, n°289: 7–24.
- Laumonier, Lucie. Forthcoming (a). Getting things done and keeping them in the family. Crafts and parenthood in Montpellier (14c-15th c.). In *Trades, guilds, and specialists: Getting things done in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.
- Laumonier, Lucie. 2016b. Les recluses de Montpellier: une institution urbaine. *Revue Mabillon*, Nouvelle série n°26 (tome 87): 179–204.
- Le Blévec, Daniel. 1988. Le rôle des femmes dans l'assistance et la charité. *Cahiers de Fanjeaux 23: La femme dans la vie religieuse du Languedoc XIIIe-XIVe s.* 171–190. Toulouse: Privat.
- Lecoy de la Marche, A. 1892. *Les relations politiques de la France avec le royaume de Majorque*, 2 vols. Paris: E. Leroux.
- LeRoy Ladurie, Emmanuel. 1966. *Les paysans de Languedoc*. Paris: Mouton.
- LeRoy Ladurie, Emmanuel. 1972. Systèmes de coutume. Structures familiales et coutume d'héritage en France au XVIème siècle. *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations* 27: 825–846. Translated as A System of Customary Law: Family Structures and Inheritance Customs in Sixteenth-Century France. In *Family and Society: Selections from the Annales*, ed. Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, 75–103. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.
- Lespinasse, René de, and François Bonnardot. 1879. *Les métiers et corporations de la Ville de Paris : XIIIe siècle, Le Livre des Métiers d'Etienne Boileau*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Lewis, Archibald R. 1947a. The development of town government in twelfth century Montpellier. *Speculum* 22: 51–67.
- Lewis, Archibald R. 1947b. Seigneurial administration in twelfth century Montpellier. *Speculum* 22: 562–577.
- Lewis, Archibald R. 1965. *The development of southern French and Catalan Society, 718–1050*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Lewis, Archibald R. 1976. Popular assemblies and the charter of liberties of Montpellier in 1202. *Album Elemér Malyusz*: 49–59. Budapest.
- Lightfoot, Dana Wessell. 2009. The projects of marriage: Spousal choice, dowries, and domestic service in early fifteenth-century Valencia. *Viator* 40: 333–353.
- Lilley, Keith. 2002. *Urban life in the Middle Ages, 1000–1450*. Houndmills/Basingstoke/Hampshire/New York: Palgrave.
- Lorcin, Marie-Thérèse. 1972. Les clauses religieuses dans les testaments du plat pays lyonnais aux XIVe et XVe siècles. *Le Moyen Âge* 78 no. 2 (4th ser, 27): 301–310.
- Mafart, Bertrand-Yves. 1994. Approche de la mortalité maternelle au moyen âge en Provence. *La femme pendant le moyen âge et l'époque moderne*. Dossiers de documentation archéologique 17: 207–219. Nice: Université de Nice.

- Manselli, Raoul. 1959. *Spirituali e Beghini in Provenza*. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo.
- Marin-Rambier, Anne-Catherine. 1980. *Montpellier à la fin du Moyen Âge d'après les compoix (1380–1450)*. Thesis: École Nationale des Chartes.
- Martines, Lauro. 1979. *Power and imagination. City-states in Renaissance Italy*. New York: Vintage Books-Random House.
- Marvin, Laurence W. 2013. The Albigensian Crusade in Anglo-American historiography, 1888–2013. *History Compass* 11: 1126–1138.
- Mayali, Laurent. 1987. *Droit savant et coutumes. L'Exclusion des filles dotées—XV<sup>ème</sup> siècles*. Vittorio Klostermann: Frankfurt am Main.
- McDonough, Susan Alice. 2013. *Witnesses, neighbors, and community in late medieval Marseille*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- McDougall, Sara. 2013. The making of marriage in medieval France. *Journal of Family History* 38: 103–121.
- McIntosh, Marjorie Keniston. 2005a. The benefits and drawbacks of *Femme Sole* Status in England, 1300–1630. *Journal of British Studies* 44: 410–438.
- McIntosh, Marjorie Keniston. 2005b. *Working women in English society, 1300–1620*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McNamara, Jo-Ann, and Suzanne Wemple. 1972. The power of women through the family in medieval Europe: 500–1100. *Feminist Studies* 1: 126–141.
- Mengel, David. 2004. From Venice to Jerusalem and beyond: Milic of Kromeriz and the topography of prostitution in fourteenth-century Prague. *Speculum* 79: 407–442.
- Meynial, Edmond. 1901. Des renonciations au moyen âge et dans notre ancien droit. *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, ser. 3:25: 241–277.
- Michaud, G. Francine. 1992. Liaisons particulières? Franciscains et testatrices à Marseille (1248–1320). *Annales du Midi* 104: 7–18.
- Michaud, G. Francine. 1994. *Un signe des temps. Accroissement des crises familiales autour du patrimoine à Marseille à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.
- Michaud, G. Francine. 1998. The peasant citizens of Marseille at the turn of the fourteenth century. In *Urban and rural communities in medieval France. Provence and Languedoc, 1000–1500*, ed. Kathryn Reyerson and John Drendel, 275–289. Leiden: Brill.
- Michaud, G. Francine. 2007. From apprentices to wage-earners: Child labour before and after the Black Death. In *Medieval childhood*, ed. Joel Rosenthal, 75–92. Donington Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas/Paul Watkins Publishing.
- Michaud, G. Francine. 2010. Famille, femmes et travail: patronnes et salariées à Marseille aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles. In *Ad libros! Mélanges d'études médiévales offerts à Denise Angers et Joseph-Claude Poulin*, ed. Martin Gravel, Jean-François Cotter, and Sébastien Rossignol, 243–263. Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal.

- Miller, Tanya Stabler. 2014. *The Beguines of medieval Paris. Gender, patronage, and spiritual authority*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Mirrer, Louise (ed.). 1992. *Upon my husband's death: Widows in the literature and histories of medieval Europe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Montel, Achille. 1872. Le catalogue des chapellenies. *Revue de langues romanes* III (1872–1873): 292–310; IV: 5–43.
- Moreau, Marthe. 1988a. *L'Âge d'or des religieuses. Monastères féminins du Languedoc méditerranéen au moyen âge*. Montpellier: Presses du Languedoc/Max Chaleil éditeur.
- Moreau, Marthe. 1988b. Les moniales du diocèse de Maguelone au XIIIe siècle. In *La Femme dans la vie religieuse du Languedoc. Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 23: 241–260. Toulouse: Privat.
- Mummy, Kevin. 2010. Prostitution: The moral economy of medieval prostitution. In *A cultural history of sexuality*, vol. II, *A cultural history of sexuality in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ruth Evans, 165–180. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- Mundy, John Hine. 1990. *Men and women at Toulouse in the age of the Cathars*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.
- Murray, James A. 2005. *Bruges, cradle of capitalism, 1280–1390*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nicholas, David. 1997. *The growth of the medieval city. From late antiquity to the early fourteenth century*. New York/London: Longman.
- Nucé de Lamothe, Marie-Simone. 1964. Piété et charité publique à Toulouse de la fin du XIIIe siècle au milieu du XVe siècle d'après les testaments. *Annales du Midi* 76: 5–39.
- O'Faolain, Julia, and Lauro Martines (eds.). 1973. *Not in god's image*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Otis (–Cour), Leah. 1985. *Prostitution in medieval society. The history of an urban institution in Languedoc*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Otis (–Cour), Leah. 1986. Municipal wet nurses in fifteenth-century Montpellier. In *Women and work in Preindustrial Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt, 83–93. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Paterson, Linda M. 1993. *The world of the Troubadours medieval Occitan society, c. 1100-c. 1300*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pernoud, Régine. 1980. *La femme au temps des cathédrales*. Paris: Éditions Stock.
- Perroy, Édouard. 1949. À l'origine d'une économie contractée: les crises du XIVe siècle. *Annales: E. S. C.* 4: 167–182.
- Petot, Pierre. 1992. *Histoire du droit privé français: La famille*. Paris: Éditions Loysel.
- Peyron, Jacques. 1979. Montpellier medieval, urbanisme et architecture. *Annales du Midi* 91: 255–272.
- Plesner, Johan. 1934. *L'Émigration de la campagne à la ville libre de Florence au XIIIe siècle*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal Bochandel-Nordisk.
- Prat, Geneviève. 1952. Albi et la Peste Noire. *Annales du Midi* 64: 15–25.

- Pryor, John H. 1981. *Business contracts of medieval provence. Selected "notulae" from the Cartulary of Giraud Amalric of Marseilles, 1248*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.
- Quertier, Cédric, Roxane Chilà, and Nicolas Pluchot., eds. "Arriver" en ville. *Les migrants en milieu urbain au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2013.
- Ragnow, Marguerite. 2005. The worldly cares of Abbess Richildis. Ph.D. Diss., University of Minnesota.
- Renzo Villata, Gigliola di. 1975. *La tutela, Indagini sulla scuola dei glossatori*. Milan.
- Renzo Villata, Gigliola di. 1979. Dottrina legislation e e prassi documentaria in tema di tutela nell' Italia del duecento. *Confluence des droits savants et des pratiques juridiques, Actes du colloque de Montpellier (1977)*: 375–434. Milan.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1974. Commerce and society in Montpellier, 1250–1350, 2 vols. Ph.D. Diss. Yale University.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1977. Montpellier de 1250 à 1350: Centre commercial et financier. Thèse d'état, Université de Montpellier I.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1978. Changes in testamentary practice at Montpellier on the eve of the Black Death. *Church History*, 47: 253–269. Reprinted in *Society, Law, and Trade in Medieval Montpellier*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1995.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1979. Patterns of population attraction and mobility: The case of Montpellier, 1293–1348. *Viator* 10: 257–281.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1980. Les opérations de crédit dans la coutume et dans la vie des affaires à Montpellier au moyen âge: le problème de l'usure. *Diritto comune et diritti locali nella storia dell'Europa*: 189–209. Milan: Guiffirè.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1982a. Commercial fraud in the Middle Ages: The case of the dissembling pepperer. *Journal of Medieval History* 8: 63–73. Reprinted in *Society, Law, and Trade in Medieval Montpellier*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1995.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1982b. Medieval silks in Montpellier: The silk market ca. 1250-ca.1350. *Journal of European Economic History*, 11: 117–140.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1982c. Le rôle de Montpellier dans le commerce des draps de laine avant 1350. *Annales du Midi*, 94: 17–40.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1983. Land, houses and real estate investment in Montpellier: A study of the notarial property transactions, 1293–1348. *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 6: 39–112. Reprinted in *Society, Law, and Trade in Medieval Montpellier*. Aldershot: Variorum.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1985a. *Business, banking and finance in medieval Montpellier*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1985b. Montpellier et le trafic des grains en Méditerranée avant 1350. *Montpellier, la Couronne d'Aragon et les Pays de Langue d'Oc (1204–1349)*. *Actes du XIIe Congrès d'Histoire de la Couronne d'Aragon*: 147–162. Montpellier.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1986. Women in business in medieval Montpellier. In *Women and work in preindustrial Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt, 117–144. Indiana University Press.

- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1988. Der Aufstieg des Bürgertums und die religiöse Vergemeinschaftung im mittelalterlichen Europa: Neues zur Weber-These. In *Max Webers Sicht des okzidentalen Christentums. Interpretation und Kritik*, ed. Wolfgang Schluchter, 410–436. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1992a. The adolescent apprentice/worker in medieval Montpellier. *The Journal of Family History: The Evolution of Adolescence in Europe*. Ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt 17: 353–370.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1992b. Flight from prosecution: The search for religious Asylum in medieval Montpellier. *French Historical Studies* 17: 603–626. Reprinted in *Society, Law, and Trade in Medieval Montpellier*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1995.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1997a. Prostitution in medieval Montpellier: The ladies of campus Polverel. *Medieval Prosopography* 18: 209–228.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1997b. Public and private space in medieval Montpellier: The Bon Amic Square. *Journal of Urban History* 24: 3–27.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1997c. Merchants of the Mediterranean: Merchants as strangers. *Strangers in medieval society*: 1–13. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1998. Urban/rural exchange: Reflections on the economic relations of town and country in the region of Montpellier before 1350. In *Urban and rural communities in medieval France. Provence and Languedoc, 1000–1500*, ed. Kathryn Reyerson and John Drendel, 253–273. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 1999. Women and law in medieval France. In *Women in medieval western European culture*, ed. Linda E. Mitchell, 131–136. New York: Garland.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 2000. The tensions of walled space: Urban development versus defense. In *City walls: The Urban Enceinte*, ed. James D. Tracy, 88–116. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 2002. *The art of the deal: Intermediaries of trade in medieval Montpellier*. Leiden: Brill.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 2004. Notaires et crédit à Montpellier au moyen âge. In *Notaires et credit*, ed. François Menant and Odile Redon. Rome: Ecole française de Rome, appeared 2005, 241–261.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 2005a. *Jacques Coeur. Entrepreneur and King's Bursar*. New York: Pearson Longman.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 2005b. Southern French legal procedure and local practice: Legal traditions in dialogue. 40th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI, May 2005.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 2008a. Le témoignage des femmes (à partir de quelques enquêtes montpelliéraines du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle). In *L'Enquête au moyen âge*, ed. Claude Gauvard, 153–168. Rome: Ecole française de Rome.



- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 2008b. Italians in the credit networks of fourteenth-century Languedoc. Paper at Medieval Academy of America, Vancouver, CA, April 2008.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 2010a. L'Expérience des plaideuses devant les cours de Montpellier (fin XIIIe-mi-XIVe siècle). In *Un Moyen Âge pour aujourd'hui. Mélanges offerts à Claude Gauvard*, 522–528. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 2010b. La mobilité sociale: réflexions sur le rôle de la femme. In *La mobilità sociale nel medioevo*, ed. Sandro Carocci, 491–511. Rome: École française de Rome.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 2012. Wills of spouses in Montpellier before 1350: A case study of gender in testamentary practice. In *“For the Salvation of my Soul”: Women and Wills in Early Modern France*, ed. Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Kathryn L. Reyerson, 44–60. Centre for French History and Culture, University of St. Andrews.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 2013a. Urban economies. In *Oxford handbook on medieval women and gender*, ed. Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras, 195–210. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 2013b. La participation des femmes de l'élite marchande à l'économie: trois exemples montpelliérains de la première moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> s. In *Études Roussillonaises XXV: 129–135*, sous la direction de Christiane Klapisch-Zuber.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. 2014. Urban sensations: The medieval city imagined. In *A cultural history of the senses: The Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Newhauser, 45–65. Oxford: Berg Publishers
- Reyerson, Kathryn L. Forthcoming. Les réseaux économiques entre femmes à Montpellier (fin XIIIe-mi-XIVe). In *Montpellier au Moyen Âge. Bilan et approches nouvelles*, ed. Lucie Laumonier and Lucie Galano. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L., Co-edited with Barbara A. Hanawalt. 1994. *City and spectacle in Medieval Europe*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L., Co-authored with Kelly Morris. 2005. Debt among Religious Women in Medieval Southern France. Paper at Center for Medieval Studies, April 2005.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L., Co-authored with Kevin Mummey. 2011. Whose city is this? Hucksters, domestic servants, wet nurses, prostitutes, and slaves in Late Medieval Western Mediterranean urban society. *History Compass* 9/12: 910–922.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L., Co-authored with Faye Powe. 1984. Metalwork of Montpellier: Techniques and workshop practices in the fourteenth century. Paper at International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo.

- Reyerson, Kathryn L., Co-authored with Debra Salata. 2004. *Medieval notaries and their acts: The 1327–1328 Register of Jean Holanie*. Kalamazoo: The Medieval Institute.
- Reyerson, Kathryn L., Co-authored with Monique Bourin and Gilbert Larguier. 2014. Les dynamiques commerciales dans les petites villes languedociennes aux environs de 1300. In *Dynamique du monde rural dans la conjuncture de 1300. Études réunies* par Monique Bourin, François Menant and Lluís To Figueras, 171–204. Rome: École française de Rome.
- Richard, Jean-Claude. 1969. Le problème des origines de Montpellier. *Revue archéologique de Narbonne* 2: 49–62.
- Richardot, Hubert. 1935. Le fief roturier à Toulouse aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles. *Revue historique du droit français et étranger*, 4th ser. XIV: 307–359; 495–569.
- Rogozinski, Jan. 1969. The Counsellors of the Seneschal of Beaucaire and Nîmes, 1250–1350. *Speculum* 44: 421–439.
- Rogozinski, Jan. 1982. *Power, caste, and law. Social conflict in fourteenth-century Montpellier*. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America.
- Rollo-Koster, Joëlle. 2002a. From prostitutes to brides of Christ: The Avignonese Repenties in the late Middle Ages. *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32: 109–144.
- Rollo-Koster, Joëlle (ed.). 2002b. *Medieval and early modern ritual. Formalized behavior in Europe, China and Japan*. Leiden: Brill.
- Rollo-Koster, Joëlle. 2006. Prostitutes. In *Women and gender in medieval Europe. An encyclopedia*, ed. Margaret Schaus, 675–678. New York/London: Routledge.
- Rollo-Koster, Joëlle. 2009. The boundaries of affection. Women and property in late medieval Avignon. In *Across the religious divide. Women, property, and law in the Wider Mediterranean (ca. 1300–1800)*, ed. Jutta Gisela Perling and Shona Kellky Wray, 38–50. New York/London: Routledge.
- Rollo-Koster, Joëlle. 2012. Item Lego... Item Volo... Is there really an “I” in Medieval Provençales’ Wills? In *“For the salvation of my soul”: Women and wills in medieval and early modern France*, ed. Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Kathryn L. Reyerson. St. Andrews: Centre for French History and Culture, University of St. Andrews.
- Rollo-Koster, Joëlle, and Kathryn L. Reyerson. 2012. *“For the salvation of my soul”: Women and wills in early modern France*. St. Andrews: Centre for French History and Culture, University of St. Andrews.
- Romestan, Guy. 1974. *Sous les rois d’Aragon et de Majorque (1204–1349). Histoire de Montpellier. Toulouse: Privat* 39–69.
- Roover, Florence Edler de. 1930. The silk trade of Lucca during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Diss. University of Chicago.

- Roover, Raymond de. 1948. *Money, banking and credit in medieval Bruges; Italian merchant-bankers, lombards and money-changers*. Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America.
- Roover, Florence Edler de. 1950. Lucchese silks. *Ciba Review* 80: 2902–2930.
- Roover, Raymond de. 1963–1964. The scholastic attitude toward trade and entrepreneurship. *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History* 20, ser. 1: 76–87.
- Roover, Raymond de. 1967. The scholastics, usury and foreign exchange. *Business History Review* 41: 257–271.
- Roover, Raymond de. 1971. *La pensée économique des scholastiques: doctrines et méthodes*. Montreal/Paris: Vrin.
- Roover, Raymond de. 1974. *Business, banking and economic thought in late medieval and early modern Europe. Selected Studies of Raymond de Roover*, ed. Julius Kirshner. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rosser, Gervase. 2006. Big brotherhood: Guilds in urban politics in late medieval England. In *Guilds and association in Europe, 900–1900*, ed. I.A. Gadd and P. Wallis. London: Centre for Metropolitan History.
- Rossiaud, Jacques. 1988. *Medieval prostitution*. Trans. Lydia G. Cochrane. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rouquette, Jean. 1921–1927. *Histoire du diocèse de Maguelone*, 2 vols. Montpellier: J. Rouquette.
- Sautel, Gérard. 1951. Une juridiction paroissiale dans le Midi de la France au Moyen Age: la cour de Saint-Firmin à Montpellier. *Recueil de mémoires et travaux publié par la société d'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit*. Fasc. 2: 47–65. Montpellier.
- Shahar, Shulamith. 1983. *The fourth estate. A history of women in the Middle Ages*. London/New York: Methuen.
- Sjoberg, Gideon. 1960. *The Preindustrial city. Past and present*. New York: The Free Press.
- Smail, Daniel Lord. 1994. Mapping networks and knowledge in medieval Marseille, 1337–1362: Variations on a theme of mobility. Diss. University of Michigan.
- Smail, Daniel Lord. 1997. Démanteler le patrimoine: les femmes et les biens dans la Marseille médiévale, 1337–1362. *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 52: 343–368.
- Smail, Daniel Lord. 1998. Notaries, courts, and the legal culture of late medieval Marseille. In *Medieval urban and rural. Communities in France: Provence and Languedoc, 1000 – 1500*, ed. Kathryn L. Reyerson and John Drendel, 23–50. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Smail, Daniel Lord. 1999. *Imaginary cartographies. Possession and identity in late medieval Marseille*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Smail, Daniel Lord. 2003. *The consumption of justice. Emotions, publicity, and legal culture in Marseille, 1264–1423*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- Sournia, Bernard, and Jean-Louis Vayssettes. 1991. *La demeure médiévale*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Sournia, Bernard, and Jean-Louis Vayssettes. 2014. *L'Ostal des Carcassonne. La maison d'un drapier montpelliérain du XIIIe siècle*. Montpellier: DRAC.
- Staples, Kate Kelsey. 2010. Fripperers and the used clothing trade in late medieval London. *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* 6: 151–171.
- Staples, Kate Kelsey. 2011. *Daughters of London: Inheriting opportunity in the late Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill.
- Staples, Kate Kelsey. 2015. The significance of the secondhand trade in Europe, 1200–1600. *History Compass* 13: 297–309.
- Stein-Schneider, H. 1983. Les Cathares, la banque florentine et la renaissance italienne. *Cahiers d'études cathares* 34: 26–37.
- Stein-Schneider, H. no date. Les Cathares, ancêtres du Capitalisme et de la renaissance: Les Cathares et la Banque. *Bulletin* 2: 4–11. du Centre national d'études cathares.
- Stiller, Nikki. 1980. *Eve's orphans: Mothers and daughters in medieval English literature*. Greenwood Press.
- Stouff, Louis. 1986. *Arles à la fin du moyen âge*, 2 vols. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence.
- Strayer, Joseph R. 1970. *Les gens de justice du Languedoc sous Philippe le Bel*. Toulouse: Association Marc Bloch.
- Stuard, Susan Mosher. 1976. Women in charter and statute law: Medieval Ragusa/Dubrovnik. In *Women in medieval society*, ed. Stuard Mosher Susan, 199–208. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Stuard, Susan Mosher. 1992. *A state of deference. Ragusa/Dubrovnik in the medieval centuries*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Stuard, Susan Mosher. 2006. *Gilding the market. Luxury and fashion in fourteenth-century Italy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Thomas, Louis J. Montpellier entre la France et l'Aragon pendant la première moitié du XIVe siècle. *Monspeliensia, Mémoires et documents relatifs à Montpellier et à la région montpelliéraine*, 1, fasc. 1: 1–56.
- Tisset, Pierre. 1951. Placentin et son enseignement à Montpellier: Droit romain et coutume dans l'ancien pays de Septimanie. *Recueil de mémoires et travaux publiés par la société d'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit* 2: 67–94.
- Tourtoulon, Charles de. 1863–1867. *Études sur la maison de Barcelone, Jacme Ier le Conquérant, roi d'Aragon, comte de Barcelone, seigneur de Montpellier, d'après les chroniques et les documents inédits*. 2 vols. Montpellier: Gras.
- Trexler, Richard. 1973. Infanticide in Florence. New sources and first results. *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1: 98–116.
- Vidal, Henri. 1984. Les mariages dans la famille des Guillems. *Revue historique du droit français et étranger* 62: 231–245.

- Vincent, Catherine. 1994. *Les confréries médiévales dans le royaume de France XIIIe – XVe siècle*. Paris: Albin Michel.
- Wakefield, Walter. 1974. *Heresy, crusade, and inquisition in Southern France, 1100–1250*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Walker, Sue Sheridan (ed.). 1993. *Wife and widow in medieval England*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Weber, Max. 2015. *Weber's Rationalism and Modern Society*. Trans. and ed. by Tony Waters and Dagmar. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Weber, Max, Talcott Parsons, and A.M. Henderson. 1964. *The theory of social and economic organization*. New York: The Free Press/MacMillan.
- White, Luise. 1990. *The comforts of home. Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Winer, Rebecca Lynn. 2006. *Women, wealth, and community in Perpignan, c. 1250–1300*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Winer, Rebecca Lynn. 2013. The Mother and the *Dida* [Nanny]: Female employers and wet nurses in fourteenth-century Barcelona. In *Medieval and Renaissance lactations. Images, rhetorics, practices*, ed. Jutta Gisela Sperling, 55–78. Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate.
- Winroth, Anders. 2000. *The making of Gratian's Decretum*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wolff, Philippe. 1953. Les bouchers de Toulouse aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles. *Annales du Midi* 65: 375–395.
- Yunus, Mohammed. What is microcredit? *Microsphere fund for people and nature*. <http://www.microsfere.org/microcr-dit/quest-ce-que-le-microcr-dit-par-muhammad-yunus.html> no pages. Accessed 1 Jan 2016.
- Yver, Jean. 1966. *Égalité entre héritiers et exclusion des enfants dotés. Essai de géographie coutumière*. Paris: Éditions Sirey.
- Zerner, Monique (ed.). 1998. *Inventer l'hérésie. Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'Inquisition*. Nice: Centre d'Études médiévales.
- Ziegler, Philip. 1969. *The black death*. New York: Harper and Row.

# INDEX

## A

- abbesses, 37–8, 38n25  
*accapitum* leases, 125  
affines, xxii, 48  
*affrèment*, 35n14, 65–6  
Agde, 31  
the aged, 89  
agriculture, 29–30, 45, 52, 91–102,  
106–8, 117, 131, 133n14, 176–7  
Aimargues, 95  
Aimoni, Guillelmus, 5–6  
Aix-en-Provence, 76n40, 81n54, 91  
Akehurst, F. R. P., 135n35  
Alamandini, Dulcia de Bossones  
Atbrandi, 10  
Alamandini, Guillelmus, 10  
Alamandini family, 7, 10, 26  
Alazacia (cultivator), 103n66  
Alazassia of Montarnaud, dowry of, 89  
*alberghi* holdings, 35  
Albi, 70, 136, 141  
Albia, Stephanus de, 61  
Albigensian crusade, 6, 6n23  
Alès, xxv, 49, 70  
almoner, 164, 166  
Alms, 164. *See also* Purgatory Alms;  
Wednesday Alms  
Altaribus, Michaelis de, 58  
Altaribus, Petrus de, 58  
Altaribus, Raymunda de Perolis de, 58  
Amelii, Johannes, 122–3  
Amiliano, Alaytheta de, 117  
Amiliano, Petrus de, 117  
*ancilla* (slave girl), 78, 89. *See also*  
domestic servants  
Angevin-Majorcan connection, 171  
animal husbandry, 91  
animal trade, 93, 135  
annulments, 59, 59n82  
apothecary, 7, 10, 26, 45, 61, 68, 70,  
74, 162, 165  
apprenticeship, xxii, xiv–xxix, 26, 40,  
46, 66–90, 79n49, 93, 101–5,  
108–9, 115n19, 120, 135, 176–7  
cancellations of, 79n49  
and daughters, 77–8

Note: Page numbers with “n” denote notes.

apprenticeship (*cont.*)  
     establishment of, 76–7  
     and relatives, 77–8  
     and work contracts, 78–9, 79n49  
*approbatus* of law, 53  
 appurtenances, 32, 33  
 Aquaviva, Alasassia de, 142, 142n58  
 Aragon/Aragonese, xxv, xxvii, 6, 7,  
     16n74, 33n7, 42, 47, 54n56,  
     59n82, 92, 133, 175  
 archeology, 31  
 Archer, Janice, 113–14, 114n9  
 archives, vii, xxvii, xxi, xn5, xxiii,  
     49n29, 53n52, 109, 115n20,  
     133, 149n7, 150n10, 179  
 Archives Départementales de  
     l'Hérault, Série H, 53n52,  
     150n10  
 Archives municipales de Montpellier,  
     vii, xxii n5, 53n52, 115n20  
 Arc Saint Denis, 35, 209  
 Arc Saint Nicolas, 74  
 Argentaria, 124  
 Argenterie, 74  
 Arles, 70, 82n59, 95  
 artisans, xxix, 11n48, 33, 36–37, 51,  
     58, 67–9, 74–5, 78, 80, 80n52,  
     83–4, 85n76, 87, 87n89, 88, 93,  
     94, 97–9, 101, 105, 105n73,76,  
     106, 115, 120, 122, 153, 177  
 artists, 52  
 Ascension, 171  
 Asperis, Jacobus de, 157  
 Assumption of the Virgin, 138  
 Atbrandi, Raymundus, 10  
 Atbrandi family, 8, 10  
 auctioneers, 131, 136–8, 139n48,  
     49, 140–2, 143n61, 143–4, 178  
 augment (*augmentum*), 4, 58, 62–3  
 Augustinians, 151, 152, 155, 158  
 Austria, Petrus, 9  
 Avignon, 13n57, 26, 29n1, 104n69,  
     140, 145n63, 159n43, 179

**B**

bailiff, 8, 13–15, 20–2, 25, 42, 46,  
     133, 148, 163, 214–16  
 baker (*pistorissa* or *pistrix*), 69–70, 74,  
     77, 82n59, 86–9, 135n33  
 Bandas, Johaneta, 122  
 Bandas, Raymundus, 122  
 banking, xxvii, xvn22, 3, 42, 70–2,  
     165n67  
 bankruptcy, 18  
 Baptisati, Raymundus, 162  
 barber, 74n29, 160  
 Barberino, Francesco de, 114  
 Barcelona, xxv, 107n86  
 Barenz, Bernardus de, 165–6  
 Barenz, Garcendis Bezenenha de, 165  
 basket making, 81, 85n80, 86n84,  
     86–7  
 Baumel, Jean, 168  
 Baux, Agnes des, 136, 140  
 Beaucaire, 70  
 Beaucaire-Nîmes, 9  
 bedclothes, 159  
 bedding, 122, 179  
 beds, 54  
 Béghin-LeGourriec, Cécile, xxv  
 Beguins, 108n90, 171–3  
 Bello loco, Petrus de, 6  
 belt maker, 122  
 Benedictine order, 37  
 Benjamin, Walter, xxiv  
 Bennett, Judith M., ixn, 1, 2  
 Bensch, Stephen, xxv, 4n16  
 Berengaria, 117  
 Berengaria, Johaneta, 136  
 Berengarius, Johanna, 84  
 Berengarius of Millau, 84  
 Bernardi, Guillelmus, 21, 148, 158  
 Bernardi, Raymundus, 163  
 Bertholomiene, Maria, 97  
 Bertrandi, Alazassia, 122  
 Bertrandi, Colinus, 34, 34n11, 209  
 Bertrandi, Guillelmus, 122

- Bezenenha, Guillelmus, 165  
 Béziers, 31, 132  
 biography, collective, 130  
 birth order, 38  
 Black Death/Black Plague, xxix,  
     12n53, 68n2, 109, 116, 150,  
     171n93, 178, 180  
 black sisters, 160  
 blacksmith, 57–8, 69, 122  
 Blanquerie, 74  
 bleacher (*blanquerius*), 51, 74  
 bloodlines, 19  
 Bogaudi, Petrus, 61  
 Boileau, Étienne, 73  
 Boinebroke, Jehan, 106  
 Bologna, 114  
*bonafo*, 135n35  
 Bonafossie, Mabilia, 137  
 Bon Amic, Caterina (granddaughter),  
     22–3, 25, 37–8, 155, 210–11,  
     213  
 Bon Amic, Johanna de Bossonnes  
     (daughter), 11, 16, 21–5, 33,  
     38–9, 46n16, 54, 111, 209–13  
 Bon Amic, Johannes (grandson), 19,  
     22–3, 30–1, 33, 35, 37–8, 111,  
     119, 166m503, 120–1, 210–11,  
     213–14  
 Bon Amic, Petrus (grandson), 38  
 Bon Amic, Petrus (son-in-law), 21–3,  
     24, 24n13, 33, 35, 111, 118n26,  
     119, 119n30, 120–1, 209–10,  
     212, 214  
 Bon Amic, Pontius (grandson), 38,  
     209, 212  
 Bon Amic, Raymunda  
     (granddaughter), 23, 37–8,  
     209–10, 212  
 Bon Amic family, 21–3, 23n12,  
     24n13, 33–4, 37–9, 45–6, 61,  
     116–20, 118n25, 26, 126  
 Bonela, Bonafossia, 135, 135n35, 137  
 Bonelhe, Bonafossia, 106, 135  
*boni/probi homines*, 7  
 “Bordel”, 169  
 Bordellis family, 26  
 Bordellis, Raymundus de, 165–6  
 Bosco, Bertrandus de, 32–3  
 Bossones, Agnes de (daughter). *See*  
     Agnes de Bossones Seguerii  
 Bossones, Arnaudus de, 10–15, 14–16  
 Bossones, Guillelmus de, 2, 10  
 Bossones, Guiraudus de, 10–11,  
     14–16  
 Bossones, Johanna de (daughter). *See*  
     Johanna de Bossonnes Bon Amic  
 Bossones, Petrus de (husband),  
     xxviii–xxix, 1–3, 7–8, 10–12,  
     14–16, 19, 21, 24–6, 31, 39, 41,  
     45, 58–63, 66–8, 70–2, 75, 147,  
     150–1, 162–5  
 Bossones, Raymunda de (daughter).  
     *See* Raymunda de Bossones Grossi  
 boundary (*gaulhanum*), 119  
 Bourdieu, Pierre, xin8, xxiv, 48  
 bourgeois (*burgensis*), xxviii, 2, 122  
 Bourin, Monique, 93n11, 94n17  
 Boyleta, Beatrix la, 140  
 Boyssoni, Guillelmus, 134, 137, 141  
 bread, 94, 114, 171  
 Brenon, Anne, xxii n3  
 bridle maker, 87  
 brides acting alone in marriage, 57  
 Bridge of Gué Juvenal, 35  
 brocades, 86, 100, 105  
 brokers, 17, 50–1, 139, 139n49,  
     143n61, 164  
 brothel, 132, 132n9, 134, 161  
 brothel farming, 132n9  
 Bruges, xxv, 71, 74n29, 99n45,  
     113–14  
 building works (*opus*), 155  
 burel cloth, 106  
*burg* (*bourg*, a merchant quarter), 7



- burgenses* (inhabitants of *burg*), 5,  
7–10, 23, 27, 43–4, 94
- burgensis* (bourgeois), xxviii, 2, 4–10,  
16, 21, 24–5, 34, 34n11, 45, 63,  
98, 118n25, 137, 153–4, 163,  
165
- burgensis parti regis*, 8
- Burgundy, 57
- burials, 60–1, 121–2, 149–50, 151–4,  
154n28, 158, 159, 159n45, 161,  
168, 178
- Burnham, Louisa, 171, 172
- business assistant (*factor*), 33, 119
- butcher, 34, 49, 51, 61, 165
- button makers, 123
- bye industries, 104
- C**
- Cabanis, Bernarda de, xxix, 87, 90, 92,  
97–104, 102n62, 107–9, 177
- Cabanis, Guillelmus (son), 41, 101
- Cabanis, Jacobus (son), 100, 159n41
- Cabanis, Jacobus de (husband), 87,  
100–1, 159n41
- Cabanis, Martha de, 13n58, 22n7,  
29–30, 30n3, 41n1, 91n1, 93,  
96, 124
- Cabanis, Stephanus de, 20, 22n7,  
30n3
- Cabanis brothers, 30n3, 100–1,  
105n75
- Cabrespine, Bernardus, 35
- Cahors, 70
- Calmini, Raymundus, 95
- Calvinhaco family, 26
- Camrada, Raimunda de, 16–17, 120
- campus* (locale), 132
- Campus de Conchis, 132
- Campus den Panolh, 132
- Campus Polverel, xxix, 129–44, 161,  
168–73, 178
- candlemaker, 51, 87, 118n25
- canon law, 101, 135n33, 151
- capsia* (container), 72, 72n21
- Carcassonne, 139n49, 173
- Cardinalis, Master P., 21, 148
- Carmelites, 151, 152, 155, 158
- Carnassio, Esmeniardis de, 142n58
- Carnassio, Petrus de, 142n58
- Carpentras, 70
- carpentry, 51, 83
- Carverria Calida*, 132, 134. *See also*  
Hot Street
- Carrerie, Guiraudus, 21, 148
- Casa de Velásquez, vii
- Cassi, Sanxia (alias Cacina), 117
- Cassi, Symon, 117
- Castel, Bernardus, 61
- Castries, 37
- Castro Forti, Francisca de, 140
- Catalani, Ermenjardis Melii, 56
- Catalani, Petrus, 56
- Catalonia, 55n67, 70
- catasto*, 80n52
- Cathar women, xxii n3, 6n23
- cattle industry, 91–2
- Caussamira, Raymundus, 95
- Cautelmi, Bernardus, 157
- caxia* (stall), 33–4, 111–21, 124–5,  
177
- celibacy, 46
- Celleneuve, 58
- central market squares, 93, 111. *See also*  
Herbaria Square
- Centrayrargues, 58
- Certeau, Michel de, xin8, xxiv
- Ceruti, Cecilia, 164n62
- Ceruti, Guillelmus, 164n62
- Chaberti, Cesterone, 48
- Chaberti, Elzear, 48
- Chabot, Isabelle, xxv
- Champagne Fairs, 26, 63
- chandler, 33, 120

- changers, xxviii, 2–3, 3n10, 3n11,  
 7–8, 10–11, 10n42, 10n45,  
 11n47, 16, 18, 24–7, 24n13, 30,  
 43–5, 45n11, 52, 61–3, 67–72,  
 70n12, 72n20, 82n59, 85–7,  
 123–5, 158, 164–6, 164n62,  
 165n66, 67
- Chanlenq, Astruga, 88
- Chanlenq, Raymundus, 87
- Chapussa, Peyronella, 106
- charity, xxii–xxiii, xiv, xxix, 55, 83, 97,  
 107, 129, 132, 147–74, 148n3,  
 159n43, 162n56, 178
- Charrin, Louis de, 147n1
- chasuble, 154
- Chemin de Lattes, 170
- chest or wardrobe (*gardacossa*), 136,  
 138, 139n49, 140–1, 144, 178
- childhood disease, 60
- children, xxix, 2, 12–17, 21–3, 24, 30,  
 38–9, 45, 48, 59–62, 66, 76–8,  
 77n43, 81, 100–1, 107, 115,  
 123, 126, 144, 152n22, 153–4,  
 170
- tombs of, 152n22
- Chiro, Bartholomeus de, 148
- Chojnacki, Stanley, xxv
- Christian/ecclesiastical, 9, 14n60,  
 56n69, 77n43, 129, 131n7, 152.  
*See also* episcopal quarter
- Chronicle of James I the Conqueror*, 52
- Church, 25n15, 56, 59, 173
- Cistercians of Montpellier, 37
- cities, modern, 126, 144
- cities, premodern, 59, 71, 83, 83n67,  
 126, 144n67. *See also* Herbaria  
 Square
- Cities, Texts and Social Networks*  
 400–1500, xxiv, xiin14
- cives*, 7
- civitas*, 7
- Clara, Marita, 140
- Clos-René street, 170
- cloth cutters, 52
- cloth merchants, 52, 68–9
- cloth trade, 47–8, 48n24, 52, 68–9,  
 86, 91, 105–6, 105n76, 116,  
 116n21
- cloth trimming, 86
- codicil, 62–3
- coinage, xxvii, 47n23, 68, 137,  
 137n39
- collective name pool (*Namengut*), 23
- Columberii, Bertholomeus, 160
- commerce, 3, 7, 8n32, 17, 52, 69–70,  
 82, 104, 120
- commodities, 37, 39, 93–4, 124,  
 176–7
- Common Women* (Karras), 161
- Commune Clôture* (defense  
 organization), 7–8, 33–7, 43,  
 53n54, 54n56, 92, 132, 132n10,  
 133–4, 158n37, 160, 162–3,  
 162n56, 163n57, 166n71, 168
- community of property regime, 65
- Comnena, Eudoxie, 59n82
- Conchis de, Alassasia, 153
- Conchis de, Petrus, 153
- Conchis family, 7–8, 7n29
- Condamine, Bernardus, 122
- Condamine, Jacobeta, 122
- confessor, 150, 156–7, 172, 178
- confraternities, 51, 72, 121n40,  
 159n43, 161–2, 162n53,  
 165n66, 176
- congregation, 164
- connections, xiv–xxix, 4, 13, 15–19,  
 21, 24–5, 34n10, 37, 39, 41–2,  
 45, 47, 49, 59–60, 63, 65, 69,  
 74, 78, 83, 90–1, 100–1, 103,  
 144–5, 161, 172, 173, 175–6
- consanguinity, 59
- Conul, Bernardus, 116n22
- Conul, Gausenta, 116n22

Contastina, Ricardis, 106n80  
 consular, 3, 8, 11n47, 41–5, 42n6,  
 43n7, 46n16, 70  
 consuls, 7–8, 11, 13, 21, 24n13, 25,  
 33, 41–7, 41n1, 43n7, 46n16,  
 70, 73n25, 111, 116, 116n22,  
 118, 139n49, 142, 166, 176–7  
 convent, 19, 25, 149–56, 154n27,  
 159–60, 160n47, 168–9, 178  
 corduroy, 85, 87–8, 106  
 cord work, 92  
 corporate entity (*personne morale*),  
 161, 164  
 corporations, 51, 176  
 Costa, Guillelmus, 33–4, 119–20  
 countryside, 5, 6, 49, 69, 89n100,  
 91–3, 93n12, 95, 97, 101, 109,  
 177  
 Courreau, 156, 160, 164  
 Courtemanche, André, xxv, 48, 64  
 credit, xiv, 3, 13–14, 19, 63–4, 93,  
 97–9, 97n33, 99n45, 102–8,  
 108n89, 123, 140, 173, 177  
 creditors, 14, 63–4, 97n33, 140  
*criées*, 169  
*criées de bans* (1336), 133  
 Crown of Aragon, xxv, 16n74,  
 54n56  
 Crusolis family, 7, 26, 63–4, 99n44  
 cultivators, 35, 52–3, 57–8, 61–3, 77,  
 85–7, 89, 92, 95–6, 97, 102–4,  
 106n78, 80, 106–7, 108, 116–17,  
 118n25, 121–2, 160, 177  
*curator*, 55n67, 77n42, 78, 89  
 currency manipulation, 124  
 customary law, 4, 4n15, 65  
 Cyprus, 10

## D

Dalmas, Guillelmus, 33, 119  
 damasks, 100, 105

“*Dames de Dimecres*”, 161. *See also*  
 Wednesday Alms  
 “*Dames du Mercredi*”, 161. *See also*  
 Wednesday Alms  
 Daniel, Guillelmus, 158  
 day hands, 52  
 debt, 10, 13–17, 19, 38n25, 48, 63–4,  
 72, 97n33, 100, 104, 106,  
 106n80, 123, 126n53, 130–1,  
 139n48, 140  
 Degenne, Alain, xxiv  
*denier* (*denarius*), xxvii, 120  
 Dentremonis, Durantus, 164  
 Deodati, Guilelma, 95  
 Deodati, Guillelmus, 95  
 Deodati, Petrus, 35  
 desperation, 89, 144. *See also*  
 prostitution  
 developing nations, 144  
 Digne, Douceline de, 108n90, 171  
 Dijon, 134, 138, 143  
 dissolution of marriage, 3, 59, 59n82,  
 62–4  
 ditch (*douve*), 52n48, 135n35,  
 167–8  
 divorce, 59n82  
 Dodi, Rostagne, 48  
 Dodi family of Barcelonnette, 48  
 Dodi family of Sisteron, 69  
 domestic cloth production, 86  
 domestic servants/*ancilla*, 78–9, 89,  
 89n100, 158  
*domicelli*, 8  
*domicellus*, 5, 21, 34, 163  
 Domina, 1, 117. *See also* Na  
*domini* (traditional nobility), 5–8  
 Dominicans, 150–6, 158, 159,  
 159n45, 164  
*dominium directum* (abstract property  
 rights), 122  
*dominus* (local lord), 5  
*domus* (houses), 30n4, 33, 34

- Don, Jacobus (grandson), 25  
 Don, Raymunda Seguerii de  
 (granddaughter), 23, 25  
 dotal regime, 3, 55, 62, 64  
 Douai, 65, 106, 179  
 dowagers, 65  
 dowry, 3–4, 3n13, 4n14, 24–5, 25n16,  
 33, 38–9, 53–8, 62–5, 88–9,  
 99n44, 107–8, 111, 118–19,  
 120, 141. *See also* real property  
 draper, 7, 24–7, 43–5, 51, 53, 61–2,  
 70, 87, 100, 105, 106n78, 80,  
 118n25, 122, 148, 163, 165, 172  
 Draperia, 124–5  
 Duby, Georges, 56n69  
 dues (*usaticum*), 122  
 dyers, 47–8, 68, 83, 83n66
- E**  
 early modern period, 3, 11n48,  
 79n49, 89, 114n11, 115, 169  
 east-west axis, 31  
*échelle* (ladders). *See* ladder  
 École française de Rome, vii  
 École Normale supérieure, vii  
 Egidii, Bernardus, 150  
 Egidii, Jacobus, 62  
 election, 43–5  
 elite women, xiv–xxvii, 80, 91, 108–9,  
 116, 123–6, 144–5, 148–50, 162,  
 164, 173n106, 175, 177–8  
 embroidery, 85–6, 100–1, 105,  
 105n73, 106, 140, 154  
 Emery, R. W., 136  
 eminent domain (abstract property  
 rights), 122–3  
*emphyteusis* lease, 125  
 “Ena”. *See* Na  
 entrepreneurialism, xiv, 33, 100,  
 105n76, 107, 109, 121, 126,  
 137–8, 177
- episcopal quarter (Montpellier), xxvii,  
 5, 8, 8n35, 13, 32, 151  
 executors, 13, 19–20, 30, 56, 122–3,  
 139n49, 149–50, 150n8, 158–9,  
 194  
 Exeter, 113  
 exotic international goods, 26
- F**  
 Fabre, Ghislaine, 169  
 Fabre, Nicholaus, 117  
 Fabressa, Guillelma, 117, 121  
 Fabri, Petrus, 87  
*factores* (business assistants), 33, 120  
 Faiditus, 5  
 Falleti of Alba, 9  
 family naming traditions, 23, 38  
 family networks/ties, xxix, 2n4,  
 19–29, 36, 39, 41, 49, 56, 69,  
 99–100, 130, 175  
 family tombs, 60, 121, 152, 152n22,  
 153–4, 154n28, 158  
 famine, 100, 100n51  
 Fanjeaux, 156  
 farm worker, 119n30  
 Farmer, Sharon, 101  
 fathers, 1–3, 1n2, 5, 10, 23, 27,  
 35n14, 38, 41, 46, 49, 55–7, 58,  
 59, 64, 76–8, 82–4, 88–9, 97–8,  
 103, 134–6, 142n61, 152n22,  
 154, 154n27, 159n41, 164  
 Faubourg de Lattes, 133, 171  
 Favariis, Petrus de, 163  
 Felguerii family, 26  
*femmes soles*, 115  
 Fenairols, Durantus, 162  
 Ferrarii, Berengarius, 50  
 Ferrarii, Bertrandus Boquerii, 50  
 fertility, 80  
 Fesquesta, Marita, 77  
 fields, 52, 56, 58, 75, 92–3

- “Fillettes”, 168–9  
 finance, xxvii, xxi, xiv, 1, 3, 7, 8n32,  
     9–11, 17, 26, 45, 53, 56, 59,  
     61n92, 68–72, 82–4, 93, 96–9,  
     104, 107–8, 108n89, 120,  
     139n49, 140, 143, 145, 152, 165  
 fisherman, 49, 87, 97, 117, 118n25  
 fish markets, 124  
 “fish-wife”, 114  
 Fiza women, 117  
 floors (*statgia*), 34, 208–9  
 Florence, xxv, 11n48, 59, 59n83, 71,  
     80n52, 114  
 Fogaderii, Jacobus (grandson-in-law),  
     25  
 Fogaderii, Johanna Bon Amic  
     (granddaughter), 25  
*fondaco*, 124n50  
 food trades, 74  
 foreclosure, 93  
 foreigners, 26, 34, 47–9, 50–2, 70,  
     121, 130–1, 136  
 forestalling, 113  
 formal testament (*testamentum  
     nuncupatum*), 123  
 Forsé, Michel, xxiv  
 Foucault, Michel, xxiv  
 Fournarie, 74  
 fragility of life, 27, 147n1  
 Franciscans, 149–50, 151, 153–61,  
     164, 165, 168–74, 178  
 Franciscan Third Order Beguins, 171.  
     *See also* Beguins  
 Franseza, Claramonda la, 139  
 Fréjorgues, 100  
*frèreche*, 35n14  
 French, xxvii, 4, 4n15, 5n20, 8–9,  
     13–15, 32, 36, 48, 64, 130–4,  
     137, 142n58, 142, 142n58, 59,  
     147, 162, 169  
 Friar Minor convent, 19, 149, 150n8,  
     151, 155, 156, 161, 166  
 Friars Preacher, 152–3, 155, 206  
 fripperers, 114–15, 114n9  
 fundraiser, 166  
 furrier, 84, 87  
 futures market, 96, 96n28
- G**  
 Gabriac, Durantus de, 62  
 Ganges, 69, 77  
 Gard, 89  
 gardener, 52, 116n22  
 garments, 54, 141, 154  
 Gasqui, Berengarius, 104  
 Gaucelini, Bernardus, 21, 148  
 Gausida, Margarita, 163  
 Gauvard, Claude, vii, 176n1  
 Genoa, 35, 81n54, 89n100  
 gens, 3  
 Germain, Alexandre, 132n10, 164,  
     170  
 Germany, xxv, xviiin27, 114  
 Ghent, xxv, 14n63, 25n17, 88, 97n33,  
     105n76, 113n4, 134n29  
 gifts, 3–4, 19, 25, 30, 31, 34, 37–8,  
     123, 155–9, 155n30, 159n40,  
     161–2, 163–6, 178–80  
 Gignac, Guillelmus de, 57  
 Girardi, Guillelma, 95  
 Girardi, Petrus, 95  
 glassmaker, 87, 134, 137–8, 141,  
     141n57, 172–3  
 godfather, 56  
 goldsmiths, 52, 62, 68, 77n42, 82–7,  
     85n78, 101, 102, 104, 104n69,  
     122  
 Goodson, Caroline, xxiv–xxv, xiin14  
 Grabels, 61, 154n28  
 grain merchants (*ordearii*), 26, 61,  
     69, 74, 84–7, 95  
 Grameen Bank (Bangladesh), 108  
 grapes, 93–6

Gresas, B., 33  
 Grezane, Bienda, 138  
 Grimoardi, Guillelmus, 51  
 Grimoardi, Pontius de Lunello, 51  
 Grinolfo, Manuel de, 16  
 Grossi, Albanha, 163  
 Grossi, Johannes, 163  
 Grossi, Marta (granddaughter), 23, 38  
 Grossi, Raymunda de Bossones  
   (daughter), 20–3, 25, 30, 35, 38,  
   61, 148  
 Grossi, Raymundus (son-in-law), 8,  
   19, 21–2, 25, 46, 118n25, 148,  
   163  
 guarantors (*fideiussores*), 77  
 guardian (*tutor*), 56  
 guardianship, 12–14, 12n52, 16–19,  
   21, 39, 55n67, 56, 72, 76–7,  
   77n42, 149–51  
 guild, 3, 46, 68, 71–4, 73n24, 83,  
   83n64, 101, 115  
 Guilhem V, 5  
 Guilhem VIII, 43n7, 47  
 Guilhem lords, xxvii, 4–6, 10, 42,  
   43n7, 47, 59n82, 92, 132–3, 173  
 Guillelmi, Bernardus, 5  
 Guiraud, Louise, 24n13, 168–9

## H

Hanawalt, Barbara, xvii, 2n5,  
   22n10, 45n12, 113, 115,  
   117n23, 167n76  
 harvests, 94–6, 100, 102–3, 107, 177  
 hawk sellers, 114–15  
 Herbaria Square, xxix, 25, 31–3,  
   34n10, 54, 75, 109, 111, 115,  
   119, 123–7, 129–30, 126n53,  
   137, 166, 174, 177  
 heretics, 172–3  
 Herlihy, David, 114  
 High Drapery, 44

Hilaire, Jean, 3n12, 54, 54n55  
 hinterland, 91–2, 93, 95n25, 96,  
   99–100, 177  
 historians, xxii, 11, 54, 129, 147n1,  
   164, 168–70, 173  
*History Compass*, xiv  
 Hobbes, Thomas, xxiv  
 Holanic, Johannes, 79n49  
*homines/habitatores*, 7  
 Hominis, Cessilia Columberii, 160  
 Hominis, Jaufridus Probi, 160  
*hommes de la place*, 7  
 honorific title, 2  
 horizontal networks, xxii, xiv, xxix,  
   34n10, 49, 98, 106–7, 107n84,  
   109–26, 145, 177, 178  
 hospitality, 124n50  
*hospitium*, 30, 34–5, 62  
 Hot Street (*Carrerria Calida*), 132,  
   134, 142, 169  
 house sale data, 34, 34n11, 132–3  
 Howell, Martha, xxv, 65, 87n89  
 huckstering, 111n1, 112–15, 125,  
   129n1, 177  
 Hughes, Diane Owen, 35  
 Hugonis, Laurentius, 89  
 Hundred Years War, 171n93  
 husbands, 17–18, 17n80, 55, 63–5,  
   70, 73–6, 85–8, 85n76, 94, 97–9,  
   104, 105n76, 113, 115, 134–6,  
   134n29, 142, 152n22, 154,  
   154n27  
 Hutton, Shennan, xxv, 14n63, 25n17,  
   74n29, 74n29, 88, 97n33,  
   99n45, 105n76, 113n4,  
   134n29

## I

Ihantanda, Mirabellis, 106  
 Imberti, Matheus, 136–9, 138n43,  
   139n48, 142

immigration, xiv, xxix, 40, 46–50,  
68–9, 83–4, 93, 136, 176  
infanticide, female, 60  
infant mortality, 60  
inflation, 124, 143  
inheritance, 5, 12n53, 15, 19, 35n14,  
35, 55, 60–1, 60n84,87, 65, 94  
inn, 35, 124  
inkeeper, 35n15, 50–1, 86–7,  
124n46, 138  
interest, 97, 102, 107–8  
intermediaries of trade, xxvii, 50  
international merchants, xxvii, 9–10,  
26, 50  
international trade, 3, 103, 133  
intestate succession, 55, 60n87  
inventory, 13, 53n52, 153n25,  
158n27, 170, 179, 193n7  
Irish Loan Funds, 108  
ironsmiths, 53  
Isbarre, Guillelmus, 9  
Isbarre, Puccinus, 9  
Italian merchants, 9  
Italy, xviii27, 36n19, 64, 107

## J

Jacob, Robert, vii  
James III of Majorca, xxvii  
jewelers, 52  
jewels, 54, 62, 179  
Jews, 94, 98, 98n39, 99, 105  
Johanini, Jausiona, 53  
Johanini, Petrus, 53  
Jordan, William Chester, 97, 103  
Jordani, Bernarda, 136  
Jordani, Raymundus, 136  
Juliani, Bertrandus, 63  
Juliani, Dulcia, 63  
*jurisperiti* (legal specialist) families, 24,  
27, 38, 46, 63, 100–1, 118n25,  
165

jurist, 15, 62, 142, 153, 179n5  
*juvenes*/(*juvenis*), 33, 120

## K

Karras, Ruth, 161  
Kelleher, Marie, xxv  
kinship, xxii, xiv, 68  
Kirshner, Julius, 64  
Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane, xxv  
Kowaleski, Maryanne, 11n48, 113

## L

La Mangol, 35, 124  
La Paillade lord, 6  
laborers (*laboratores*), 37, 52, 92, 126  
“ladder” (*“écbelles”*), 8, 42n2, 42–5  
Ladies of Wednesday. *See* Wednesday  
Alms  
Lamberti, Guillelmus, 156  
Lamberti family, 8  
Langland, William, 115  
Languedoc, xxi, xxv, xxvii, 6, 13,  
73n28, 86, 93n9, 94–5,  
95n24,25, 96n27, 100, 131n6,  
132, 132n10, 136, 139n49, 142,  
171–2  
large family (*familles nombreuses*), xxii,  
19, 41, 49–50, 60–2, 178–80  
Larguier, Gilbert, 95n25  
Latin, 89, 115–16, 135, 148,  
172n100  
Latin America, 126  
Lattes, xxix, 44, 131–4, 155, 166–70,  
171–2. *See also* Obilion/Lattes  
gate  
Laumonier, Lucie, xxv, 12n53, 58–9,  
79, 149n4, 159n40  
Laurentii, Johannes, 1n2, 3n11, 20–1,  
29n2, 72n21, 133, 148  
Laurentii, Petrus, 148, 157

- laws, doctor of, (*legum doctor*), 20–3,  
 22n7, 23, 35n14, 53, 162  
 leather and skins trades, 51, 69  
 Lefebve, Henri, xxiv  
 legal specialist. *See jurisperiti*  
 lending, 70, 97–108, 99n45, 135n35,  
 140n49, 177  
 Lent, 100, 114  
 Lescrimaires, Berengaria, 138  
 Lester, Anne E., xxiv–xxv, xiin14  
 Levant, 26  
*Leviathan* (Hobbes), xxiv  
 liaisons particulières, 150  
 Lightfoot, Dana Wessell, xxv, xivn19,  
 57n77, 62n102  
 lights (illumination), 155  
 linen, 26–7, 86, 93n12, 101, 122,  
 159, 165  
 linen merchant, 26–7, 165  
 linkages, xxiii, xiv, xxix, 19, 27, 39,  
 41–3, 49–51, 75, 93, 97, 100,  
 102, 104, 106, 111, 125, 149,  
 175–8  
*livre*, xxvii  
*Livre des métiers*, 73, 114  
 loans. *See* lending  
 Lochard, Thierry, 169  
 Lodève, 49, 106, 172  
 Lombards, 9  
 London Bridge, 113  
 Lopez, Robert, 136  
 lordship, xxvii, 4–6, 9–10, 13, 42, 47,  
 92, 132–3, 148, 151. *See also*  
 Guilhem lords  
 Los Angeles, 126  
 Low Countries, xxv, 14n63, 114  
 Lucca, 9, 36, 38n25, 100, 105,  
 105n75  
 Lucchese financiers, 9, 38n25, 105  
 Lunel, 70, 95  
 luxury trade, 85, 96–7, 101, 104, 141  
 Lyons, 70
- M**  
 Macipi, Johannes, 164  
 Magdalene chapel, 151–4, 159–61,  
 159n45  
 Maguelone, 7, 14n60, 53n52, 101,  
 106, 133, 152, 154n28, 156n32,  
 172  
*maîtresse femme*, 166, 175  
 Majorcan dynasty, xxvii, 8–9, 13, 15,  
 42, 92, 111, 118–20, 129, 133,  
 163, 169, 171, 177  
 Manhania family, 26  
 Manosque, xxv, 48, 64  
 Maras, Maria, 116  
 Maras, Petrus, 116  
 marginalization, xiv, xxix, 129–31,  
 143n66, 145, 143n66, 165,  
 167, 167n76, 174, 178. *See*  
*also* poverty; prostitution; the  
 sick  
 Marginibus, Petrus de, 95  
 Marginibus, Raymunda de, 95  
 marital alliances, 40–66  
 maritime trade, 8  
 market retailers. *See* retailers  
 market sellers, 93, 107n84, 109, 111–19,  
 115n17, 121–3, 125–30, 174  
 market space, 113, 113n4, 116  
 market squares, 93, 113, 125–6. *See*  
*also* Herbaria Square  
 marketplace women, 111–17  
 mark of Montpellier (MOP), 104  
 Marquesia, 49–50  
 marriage, 39–66  
 Marseille, xxv, 9, 17, 36, 64, 74n30,  
 92, 108n90, 115n19, 150, 159,  
 171, 173n106  
 Martin, Bernard, 171–2  
 Martin, Johan, 171–2  
 Martina family, 117  
 Martini, Berengaria, 117, 121–3, 152,  
 177



- Martini, Bernarda, 20n5  
 Martini, Johannes, 117, 121  
 martyrdom, 161  
 Mary of Egypt, 160  
 Mary Magdalene, 151, 153–4, 160,  
   160n45, 47, 159, 161  
 masons, 69, 118n25  
 mass, 122, 154–8, 166  
 Masselet, Bernardus, 157  
 Massif Central, 70  
 masters, 68–9, 71–2, 73–4, 75–6,  
   78–80, 83–4, 86, 88, 89, 121,  
   135, 176  
 Mathas, Bernardus, 136–42, 138n43,  
   139n48  
 Mathas, Johanna, 138  
 matriarchy, 19, 147  
 McDonough, Susan, xxv, 17  
 McIntosh, Marjorie, 113, 113n3,  
   119n28  
 McKnight fellowship, vii  
 McMillan fellowship, vii  
 meals (*pitancia*), 155  
 meat markets, 124–5  
 medicine, doctor of, 6, 45–6, 49  
 medieval diet, 94  
 Mediterranean, xiv, xxix, 5–6, 11,  
   26, 52, 85–6, 89, 95, 124n50,  
   133, 139n48, 143n66, 144n67,  
   152  
 Mediterranean marriage model, 11,  
   25–6, 80, 80n52  
 Meldeo, Montpellier Boninus de, 95  
 Meleti, Petrus, 117  
 Meleti, Symona, 117  
 Melgueil, 106  
 Melii, Martinus, 56  
 Mende, xxv, 21, 51  
 mendicant sisters, 160  
 Men of Wednesday, 167  
 Mercaderii, Johannes, 153  
 mercator, 26  
 mercer(y), xxix, 26, 45, 49–50, 56,  
   68, 74–5, 81, 82n59, 83–8,  
   83n66, 90, 100–9, 117, 122,  
   124, 163–4, 165, 177  
 Merlessa, Guillelma, 138  
 Merlessa, llelma, 138  
 metalwork, 52, 82, 85, 104  
 methodology, xxi–xxix  
*métiers* (governance of the trades), 43,  
   73, 81n56, 83n64, 114, 139n49,  
   165n66, 171n93  
 Michaelis, Alaxacia/Alasacia, 117  
 Michaelis, Johannes, 117  
 Michaud, Francine, xxv, 64, 149n4,  
   150, 159  
 Michaud-Fréjaville, Françoise, 76n40,  
   80–1n54, 81n55  
 Michel, Guillaume, 170  
 Michelmas, 137  
 microcredit, 108, 108n89, 177  
 Middle Ages, xxi, xxiii, xin8, xxviii–  
   xxix, 2, 11n51, 17, 22n10, 29,  
   35n15, 39, 46, 60–1, 68, 73, 89,  
   94, 96, 106–8, 111n1, 112,  
   116n22, 130–2, 148n2, 167n76,  
   173–4, 178  
*militēs* (urban knights), 5–6  
 Millau, 70, 84  
 Minhani, Michaelis, 159  
 Minorettes, 160, 164  
 Mireval, 51  
 mobile wealth, 54–5, 54n56, 143  
 monastic dowry, 25n16  
 monetary bequests/gifts. *See* gifts  
 money, xxvii, 54, 72, 88–9, 97–100,  
   102, 126, 137, 139n48, 140–1,  
   141n53, 142, 154, 156n32,  
   159n41, 162, 177  
 moneyers, 52, 57, 63, 122, 142,  
   142n58  
 moneylenders, 98. *See also* lending  
 Monkkenen, Eric, 126n53

monogamy, 56  
 monopoly, 43, 47, 113, 126  
 Montarnaud, 89  
 Montaubérou, 56  
 Montealto, 21, 158  
 Monte delle doti, 107  
 Monte di Pietà, 107  
 Montferrier, 57  
 Montpellier, Marie de, 59n82  
 Montpelliéret, xxvii, 6–8, 8n31,  
     13–14, 32, 34–6, 92, 124n46,  
     130–4, 137, 151–2, 168–9  
 Montréal, 156  
 Montus, Johanna de, 87  
 Montus, Johannes de, 87  
 MOP. *See* mark of Montpellier  
 Moresio, Bernardus de, 53  
 Moreti, Stephanus, 61  
 Morris, Kelly, 108n90  
 Mundy, John Hine, xn3  
 municipal, vii, 7, 21, 33, 41–3, 52n48,  
     100n51, 107, 115n20, 132–3,  
     139n49, 142–4  
 Murray, James, xxv, 113–14  
 Mutonis, Ardussonus, 9

## N

“Na” (“Ena”) (Domina), 117  
 Na Bastida, 117, 121, 123, 125  
 Na Bossonesa, 1, 118, 121, 166  
 Na Cambrega, 117  
 Na Grana, 121  
 Na Mara, 117  
 Na Paola, 117  
 Na Petamina, 117  
 Na Philippa, 117  
 Na Prous Boneta, 171  
 Na Puiola, 117  
 Na Raynauda, 117  
 Narbonne, 4–5, 9, 70, 94, 136,  
     139n49

Na Sicola, 117  
 Na Simone, 163  
 Na Sorleyi, 163  
 Naturalis, Maria, 124  
 Na Vulhana, 163  
 Negacatz, 56  
 neighborhood ties, 75  
 neolocal, 65  
 “networks of sociability”, 97  
 Nicholas, David, xxv, 47n21  
 Nîmes, 31, 34, 49, 51, 70, 78, 82n59,  
     85, 88, 89  
 Nissa, Guillelmus, 117  
 noble, 2, 5–6, 21, 94, 155  
 Nogareti, Guillelmus, 102n62  
 “notions”, 84  
 Notre-Dame de la Merci, 159  
 Notre-Dame de Montpellier, 159  
 Notre-Dame des Tables, 19, 24n13,  
     30–4, 75, 124, 124n46, 147,  
     149, 151–2, 155, 166–7, 171  
 Notre-Dame du Cépon, 168–9  
 Notre-Dame-La-Belle, 155  
 Novara, 124  
 nuns, 22, 30, 37–8, 37n21, 156n32,  
     156, 163–4  
 nuptial clothing, 58

## O

Obilion/Lattes gate, 44, 132–4, 155,  
     167–9, 171–3  
 occupational networks, 74, 85n76  
 oil merchant, 87  
 Oliverii, Johannes, 120–1  
 Olivi, Peter James, 171, 173  
 on demand loans, 102  
 Orlhaco, Bernardus, 105  
 “otherness”, 48  
 Otis-Cour, Leah, 132, 136, 142  
*Ouvriers de la Commune Clôture*, 162.  
     *See also Commune Clôture*

ovens, 5, 74

*Oxford Handbook on Women and Gender*, xiv

## P

painting, 52, 86n84, 159

Palmerii, Bernardus, 163

Palmerii, Maria, 163

parade formation, 45

*paraphernalia*, 55, 62, 99

parchment maker, 122

Paris, 9n39, 15, 26, 73, 113–14, 133n20, 162

Part Antique (*pars antiqua*), 9

*parti regis*, 8

Pascalis, Michaelis, 102

Patani, Jacobus, 27

Patani, Martha, 27

patriarchy, xxi n1

patrimony, 16–17, 64, 149n4

patronage, 119, 178–9

Pauli, Pauleta, 117

Pauli, Raymundus, 117

*pays de connaissance*, 175

peddlers, 47, 113–16

Pelagia, 160

Pelegrini, Raymundus, 159

Pentecost, 106

pepperers, 25–7, 43–6, 50–1, 68, 70, 74, 122, 124, 142

Perolis, Raymundus de, 58

Perpignan, xxv, 57, 77n43

Petri, Cecilia, 84

Petri, Johannes, 84

Peyrerie, Guillelma, 2, 163

Peyrerie, Raymundus, 1

Peyrerie, Raymundus (father), 2, 23, 148, 163

Peyrotis, Guillelms de, 156–7, 172, 172n100

Peyrou gate, 44

Pezatiyre, Guillelms lo, 136

Pezatiyre, Jausserauda, 136

philanthropy (Agnes's), xxi, 1, 107, 109, 109n91, 129, 145, 147–74, 178–9

Philip III, 142n59, 143n61

Philip IV of France, 8n35, 142n61

Philip of Majorca, 171

Philip of Valois, xxvii

Philip the Fair, xxvii, 8, 32

Pictamini, Guillelms, 117

Pictamina, Maria, 117

Piedmont, 124

*Piers Plowman* (Langland), 115, 115n17

Pignan, 37, 118n25

pilgrimage, 19, 30–1, 63, 124n46, 147, 151–2, 170

Piniano, Petrus de, 63

Piniano, Bernarda de, 62

Pisa, 124, 124n50

plague, 53, 150

Plan d'Obilion, 167–8

*platea* (central square), 7, 33

Pluerii, Ermenjardis Bon Amic (granddaughter), 23, 25

Pluerii, Stephanus (grandson-in-law), 25

Podio, Nicolas de, 9

Podio, Parsivallus de, 9

Podio, Torus de, 9

Poitala, Johanna, 33, 117–20, 118n25, 123

polishing of silver cups, 86n84

Polverellus, 133

polyculture, 94

Pompignan, 82n59, 86–7, 88

the poor. *See* poverty

Pope Gregory XI, 171n93

Pope John XXII, 171

population, xxvii–xxviii, 40, 46–7, 52–3, 60, 69, 74–5, 83, 91–3, 96, 114, 138, 139n48, 143–4, 178

Porte de Lattes/Obilion, 169

- Posquières, 78, 89  
 poultry merchants, 113, 117, 121–3  
 poverty, xxiii, xxix, 55, 61–3, 89,  
   89n100, 99–100, 107–8, 115,  
   129, 142, 144–5, 144n70,  
   148–50, 158–9, 161–3, 167,  
   169–70, 173–4, 177–9  
 practical age of majority, 12, 55n67,  
   56n68, 81  
   for men, 55n67  
   for women, 12, 55n67, 56n68,  
   81  
 Prades, Bernardus de, 165  
 Praemonstratensians, 151  
 precious metalwork, 52, 68, 104  
 prestigious retailer/wholesalers, 7, 10,  
   26–7, 38–9, 47, 50, 56, 68, 70,  
   74, 82, 118n25  
 priest, 21, 95, 100, 148, 157–8,  
   159n45, 162–5, 172  
 procurators, 12, 16, 55, 63, 105n75,  
   125, 134, 163, 166  
 produce seller, 33  
 professional designations, 25–6  
 property holdings, xxii, xxix, 27–30,  
   36, 39, 179  
*propter nuptias*, 3–4, 54n55  
*prosenetas* (negotiator), 143n61  
 prostitute (*meretrix*), 135  
 prostitution, xxii, xiv, xxix, 106, 127,  
   129–49, 132n8,9, 156, 159–60,  
   161, 168–70, 178  
*Prostitution in Medieval Society* (Otis),  
   132, 132n9  
 protection, 9, 9n31, 20, 63–4,  
   103n66, 119, 126, 166, 174,  
   178–9  
 Prouille sisters, 156  
 Provence, xxv, 13, 48, 64, 70, 91,  
   136  
 publicity, 167  
 public space, 126  
 punishment, 79, 142  
 Purgatory Alms, 161–2, 166
- R**  
 Ragnow, Marguerite, vii  
 Raynaudi, Johannes, 61  
 real estate, 25, 30, 33–4, 34n11, 39,  
   54, 91, 93–4, 123–30, 132,  
   137–40, 144, 178–9  
 real property, xxix, 19, 29–30, 37, 39,  
   54, 56n71, 58, 62, 123–5,  
   137–8, 139n49, 149, 164, 179  
 Rebolh, Bernardus, 104  
 recluses, 155, 164n62, 169  
 “Recluses of Lattes”, 168  
 rector’s court, 13–15  
 Red Drapery, 44–5  
 red dyeing industry, 47  
*La réglementation des métiers*, 83n64,  
   139n49, 165n66, 171n93  
*regratiere* (woman who hawks in  
   streets), 114–15  
 remarriage, 11n51, 27, 57–9, 62–3  
 repentants, 129, 145, 150, 155–6,  
   159–61, 159n41,47, 160n10,  
   164–5, 169–70, 178–9  
 resellers (“*revenditrix*”), xiv, xxix,  
   20n5, 33, 111–29, 111n1, 177–9  
 retailers, 26–7, 33, 37, 50, 113–21,  
   113n3, 115n17, 131, 166, 177  
 Ricardi, Raymundus, 61  
 Rigaudi, Bonaffasia, 82  
 Rigaudi, Johannes, 82  
 ringmakers, 52  
 Roardi, Bernardus, 27  
 Robert hospital, 168  
 Roca, Bernardus de la, 33, 164  
 Roclaudus, Marquerius, 10–11,  
   10n45  
 Rogozinski, Ian, 11, 45  
 Roma, Perpignan, 14

- Roman law, 3, 20, 20n4, 64, 82, 89, 103n66, 123
- Rose the Regrater, 115, 115n17
- Rossiaud, Jacques, 134, 138, 143
- Rostagni, Beatrix, 100
- Rostagni, Deodatus, 100
- Rostagni, Johannes, 100
- Rotgerii, Johannes, 27
- royal moneyer, 63
- Rubei, Stephanus, 165
- rue de la Daurade, 167
- rue de la Fusterie, 167
- rue Mangol, 34
- Ruffi, Berengarius, 33, 121
- Ruthena family, 26
- S**
- Saint Agnes, 161, 170–1
- Saint-Barthélémy, 121–2, 152
- Saint Catherine of Montpellier, 153–4, 156, 160, 164
- Saint-Denis, 5, 35, 91, 151, 169
- Saint-Éloi Hospital, 166–71, 178
- Saint-Esprit, 123, 159
- Saint-Eulalie, 159
- Saint-Félix de Monceau, 164
- Saint-Firmin, 121, 151–2, 155
- Saint-Geniès des Mourgues, 37, 38n25, 155
- Saint-Gilles monastery, 156
- Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert, 70
- Saint-Jean de Buèges, 69
- St. Martini, Gaujouse de, 162
- St. Martini, Guillelmus de, 162
- Saint Paul, 153
- Saint Peter the Martyr, 152–3
- Saint-Pierre of Maguelone, 152
- Saint-Thibéry, 70
- Salellis family, 26
- Saligani, Guillelmus, 153
- Saligani, Johanna, 153
- Salomonis, Johanna, 63
- Salomonis, Stephanus, 63, 160
- Salvis, Raymundus de, 164
- Sancia of Naples, 171
- Sancta Romana decree, 171
- Sancto Clemento, Petrus de, 16
- Sancto Egidio family, 26
- Sancto Michaeli family, 26
- Sant Mileux, mill of, 35
- Sapheti, Josephus, 10
- Saralherii, Raymundus, 9
- Sarlherie, Guillelma, 117
- Sarlherii, Stephanus, 117
- Sarlat, 70
- Saureto, Johannes de, 137
- scarlet, 43, 45, 47, 68, 86
- second hand clothes marketing, 81, 85n76, 86n84, 88, 160
- Seguerii, Agnes Bon Amic (granddaughter), 38–9
- Seguerii, Agnes de Bossones (daughter), 11–12, 16, 22–3, 25, 148
- Seguerii, Celestinus, 163
- Seguerii, Ermenjardis (granddaughter), 23, 39
- Seguerii, Johanna (granddaughter), 38. *See also* Johanna Seguerii de Tornamira
- Seguerii, Johannes (grandson), 25, 38, 148
- Seguerii, Petrus (grandson), 19, 30, 34–5, 38, 148
- Seguerii, Petrus (son-in-law), 21–3, 22n7, 25, 35n14, 72, 148, 157, 163
- Seguerii, Raymunda (granddaughter), 23. *See also* Raymunda Seguerii Don
- Seguerii, Raymundus (grandson), 19, 23, 30, 34–5
- serial marriage, 59
- setiers*, 95, 120, 120n35
- Seville, 114

- shoemakers, 49, 53, 56–8, 69, 83–5, 85n76, 88, 97, 122, 142
- the sick, xxiii, 89, 107, 148–50, 159, 170, 173, 178
- Sieneese immigrant painters, 159
- silk, 26–7, 51, 68–9, 73, 84–5, 88, 100–1, 105–6, 141
- silk merchants, 26–7, 51, 68–9
- silver, 52, 56–7, 58, 84, 86n84
- silversmiths, 27, 45, 52, 57, 68, 74, 78, 82–7, 82n59, 89, 104, 104n69, 124
- single status, 39, 53, 59–60, 98–9, 98n42, 117, 122, 131, 134, 134n29, 136, 140n49, 140–4, 150, 156, 163
- Sisteron, 48–9, 69–70
- Smail, Daniel, 17, 36–7, 64
- Sobeyrana, Katerina, 135n35, 140
- sociability, 37, 97
- social capital, xxiv, 48, 107–11
- social mobility, 49, 83
- social safety net, 107, 148
- Sorbonne, vii
- Soriech, 122
- soul salvation, 147, 147n1, 154–8, 179
- southern France, xxi, xxv, xxvii, 12, 35n14, 42, 64, 91, 98–9, 102, 130–1, 147n1, 150, 171
- Spain, xviii, 27, 26, 100
- spice merchant, 26, 44, 45, 61, 68, 74, 74n29, 114, 118n25, 162, 166n71
- Spiritual Franciscans, 171–2
- spouses, 23, 25–6, 41, 53 n54, 54n55, 55–6, 58–9, 63–5, 74, 78, 80n52, 85n76, 88, 138, 147n1, 179n5
- squire (*scutifer*), 158
- stalls, 33–4, 111–21, 124–5, 177
- Staples, Kate Kelsey, 114n9
- Statuta contra Judeos* of 1261, 64
- stepfathers, 59
- street vending, 112–13, 126–7
- Stuard, Susan Mosher, 89
- subbailiff, 43n7
- suburbs, 5, 29, 32, 35, 39, 58, 91–3, 121–2, 131–3, 152, 155, 163, 166–70, 172–3, 178
- Sumena, Laurentius, 16
- survival, xxii, xxvii, 84, 98, 111, 143, 143n65, 172, 176–7
- Symes, Carol, xxiv–xxv
- Symone, Johanna, 117
- Symonis, Guillelmus, 117
- T**
- table (*mensa*), 154–6
- Tailleferis, Johannes, 165
- tailoring, 81
- Tarnalhe, Maria, 137
- Tarragona, 70
- tax, 25, 73
- Temaza, Maria, 117
- testator (*testatrix*), 1, 39, 61–2, 122, 147, 147n1, 149–53, 155, 158, 160–1, 160n50
- textile trades, 69–70, 74, 84, 87, 101, 104, 106, 113
- Thais, 160
- Third Order of Saint Francis, 171
- 1342 April will (Agnes's), 12, 16, 20–2, 60–1, 123–4, 147–9, 157, 193, 205–16
- in English, 193, 205–16
- in Latin, 194–205
- tithing district (*decimaria*), 58
- topographic, 30n5, 31, 35–6, 51, 132, 133n18, 136–7, 166, 168–70, 176
- Torna Forti, Petrus de, 105
- Torna Forti, Symon de, 105
- Tornamira, Hugo de (grandson), 25
- Tornamira, Johanna Seguerii de (granddaughter), 25, 38
- Tornamira, Petrus de, 171–2

- Toulouse, 4, 91, 94, 105n75, 115, 136  
 Tour de la Babotte, 36  
 Tour des Pins, 36  
 Tours (*livres tournois*), xxvii  
 Tower Societies, 36  
 trade names (*noms de guerre*), 135  
 trades (*métiers*), 7–8, 26–7, 37, 41–8,  
     50–3, 68n5, 69–70, 72–6, 81–4,  
     86–9, 96n26, 96–7, 101–2, 104,  
     139n49, 176–7  
 transporters, 51  
 Trencavel, Petrus, 171  
 Trencavela, Raymunda, 141  
 Tribus Lupis, Ricardis Marta Johanna  
     de, 163  
 trousseau, 64  
 truck farming, 93  
 trust, 175  
 Tuscans, 9, 36  
*tutela*, 22  
*tutrix* (guardian of minors), 12,  
     12n52, 14  
 1204 Consuetudines, 3  
 1204 Customs, 47–8, 55–6  
     Article 12, 55  
     Article 85, 55–6
- U**  
 Ulmis, Raymundus de, 15  
 universal community, 65  
 universal heirs, 19, 22, 23, 30, 34, 37–8,  
     63, 148, 149, 159n41, 164n62  
 university, Montpellier, 46  
 University of Minnesota, vii  
 Upper Provence, 48  
 usury, 98, 98n41. *See also* lending  
 Uzès, 105
- V**  
 Valaranga family, 27  
 Valencia, Jausserauda de, 138  
 Valentia, Ermessendis de, 56–7  
 Valerie, Arnaudus, 103  
 Valerie, Florencia, 103  
 Valfère quarter (Montpellier), 163  
 Valmala, Johanna de, 117  
 Valmala, Petrus de, 117  
 Venice, xxv  
 vertical networks, xxii, xiv, xxix,  
     34n10, 106–26, 107n84, 145,  
     149, 175, 177  
 Vesta, 161  
 Veyrier, Guilhem Domergue, 173  
 Veziani, Johannes, 123  
 Veziani, Nicolas, 162, 166n71  
 Veziani, Petrus, 160  
 Veziani, Thomas, 61  
 Veziani family, 61, 123, 160–1, 162,  
     166n71  
 Via Francigena, 31  
 vicar (*vicarius*), 5, 43, 43n7  
 Vignogoul convents, 37, 155, 164  
 Villanova, 121, 132, 132n10  
 Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone, 106  
 Vincent, Catherine, 162  
 vineyards, 10n45, 30, 52, 56, 56n71,  
     58, 91n1, 92–4, 96, 122–3,  
     122n44, 125, 177  
 violence, 126  
 virginity, 161  
 Virgin Mary, 138–9, 147, 160, 161  
 virtue, 76, 130  
 Vouta, Firminus de, 62  
 Vouta, Saurina de, 62
- W**  
 Weber, Max, xxiv, 126n54  
 Wednesday Alms (Ladies of  
     Wednesday), xxii, xiv, 107, 150,  
     159, 161–7, 169–73, 178–9  
 wet nursing, 107, 107n86, 134n29  
 white sisters/white repentant sisters,  
     156, 160–1

- widows, xxviii–xxix, 4, 10–12, 12n54, 14n63, 16–18, 24–5, 27, 38, 53, 53n54, 61–2, 65, 71–3, 76–8, 77n42, 84–90, 94–100, 104–5, 105n75, 116–17, 121–5, 130, 142, 142n58, 148, 150–1, 162–5, 164n62
- wills, xxii, 12n53, 13, 20–1, 20n4, 5, 27, 30, 39, 49n29, 53, 53n52, 58–63, 59–60n84, 107, 121–2, 147–54, 147n1, 149n4, 149n4, 155n30, 155–9, 159n40, 41, 160, 160n50, 161–2, 164, 164n62, 165, 167, 179, 179n5. *See also* 1342 April will
- wine industry, 51–2, 52n50, 56n71, 68, 122
- wine barrel trade, 51–2
- Winer, Rebecca, xxv, 16–17, 57, 120
- “woman-to-woman exchange”, 97
- wood merchant (*fusterii*), 26–7, 44, 51–2, 52n48, 61, 69, 83, 85, 86, 92, 105, 105n73, 105n73, 142n58
- wood storage, 92
- wool cloth industry, 26, 86, 93n12, 101, 105, 106n78, 80
- wool merchant, 122–3
- work contracts, 75–9, 79n49, 85–6
- X**
- xenophobia, 176