

BOTH COUNT AND KING: COMPOSITE LORDSHIP
IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY CHAMPAGNE AND NAVARRE

by

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A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Colorado Boulder in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of History
2021

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Abstract

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Both Count and King: Composite Lordship in Thirteenth-Century Champagne and Navarre

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This dissertation examines how the counts of Champagne in northeastern France simultaneously ruled Champagne and the Iberian kingdom of Navarre from 1234 to 1274. Count Thibaut IV of Champagne (r. 1201-1253) inherited Navarre when his maternal uncle, King Sancho VII (r. 1194-1234), died childless. Because thirteenth-century Champagne and Navarre were culturally, linguistically, and geographically separate, the “count-kings” developed administrative practices to maintain and assert their sovereignty and lordship despite always being absent from at least one of their principalities. This dissertation analyzes and interprets how they successfully administered both regions and cultivated relationships with their people even when they were not physically present. Based on extensive archival research, this dissertation uses charters, letters, papal bulls, financial accounts, and inquests from both Champagne and Navarre to determine what strategies the count-kings used to govern, who ran their administration, and how they proclaimed their sovereignty. It argues that the count-kings made their presence felt in their absence through grants of protection and by employing a robust cadre of officials to act in their stead. Likewise, their many foundations and building projects made them a physical part of the landscape of Champagne-Navarre, while indulgences explicitly linked to them made them part of their people’s devotion.

For my parents

Acknowledgements

My journey to a Ph.D. in history has been a long and circuitous one. When I graduated from Wake Forest University in 2008, I thought I was meant to be a physicist and that my love of history would always remain a hobby. During my physics master's at Wake, the support of Paul R. Anderson, David L. Carroll, Gillian Overing, Gale Sigal, Sol Miguel-Prendes, Rachael Deagman Simonetta, and James Powell helped me turn that hobby into a profession. I would not be here, at the end of my thirteen-year graduate career, without them.

Many institutions have generously supported this dissertation. At the University of Colorado Boulder, I would like to thank the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the Center for Western Civilization, the United Government of Graduate Students, the Center for Humanities and the Arts, and, most especially, the Department of History. I am also grateful to the American Catholic Historical Association for awarding me a Graduate Student Summer Research Grant and the American Historical Association for a Bernadotte E. Schmitt Grant. The Fulbright US Scholars program made the bulk of the archival research for this dissertation possible. I thank the Université Jean Moulin Lyon III for hosting me and the Franco-American Commission for helping me navigate life in France.

I presented various drafts of chapters of this dissertation at the Re-thinking the Capetian Aristocracy Research Network Summer Workshop Series, the European Seminar in the Department of History at Johns Hopkins University, the International Medieval Congress, Re-thinking the Aristocracy in Capetian France, 987-1328: A Workshop, the International Conference of the Haskins Society, the International Congress on Medieval Studies, the Graduate Conference in Medieval Studies at Princeton University, and the Rocky Mountain Interdisciplinary History Conference. Many thanks to those who engaged with my work and provided feedback and counsel.

My time in France and Spain would have been much less fruitful were it not for several archivists and researchers. At the Bibliothèque nationale de France, I thank Delphine Mercuzot and the staff of the reading room at Richelieu. At the Archives nationales de France, Jean-François Moufflet and Clément Blanc helped me immensely with a collection of Navarrese charters and seals. At the Archives départementales de l'Aube in Troyes, Arnaud Baudin and the other archivists helped me track down the acts of the counts of Champagne every day for three months. In Provins at the Bibliothèque municipale, Luc Duchamp introduced me to centuries of Provinois history. I also wish to thank Élisabeth Lalou, Olivier Guyotjeannin, Béatrice Leroy, Caroline Heid, Boris Bove, and Patricia Stirnemann. I owe many of these French connections to Xavier Hélyary, my advisor during my Fulbright year. I thank him for his continued support and encouragement. In Pamplona Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero enriched my experience at the Archivo General de Navarra, as did Merche Terrén Miramón at the Archivos eclesiásticos de Tudela. I also thank Jaume Aurell for connecting me with local graduate students in Pamplona. Finally, I must thank the dear friends who welcomed me into their homes during my travels, particularly Reem, George, and Paul Rustom, Séverine and Chatouille Darroussat, and Marie Gibert.

Countless friends and colleagues have carried me through this journey. Thomas Lacomme and Jacob Doss were always friendly faces in French archives. Hollis Shaul and Randall Pippenger acted as my academic siblings and shared their work with me. Amanda Racine has read most from this dissertation, often at a moment's notice, and offered invaluable feedback and support. I value her friendship, compassion, and critical eye. I also thank her profoundly for encouraging me to move to Baltimore. Whenever I look back on my time at CU, I will always think warmly of the Campbell family, Abby Lagemann, Kerri Clement, Kim Smith, Katie Randall, Graeme Pente, Sean Babbs, Sarah Luginbill, Kaitlyn Davis, Quynh Nguyen, and Manon Williams. I also must thank

Meghan Connolly, Meghan Helmberger, Leslie Blood, Logan Rand, B.J. Hall, and Sean Owen for helping me through this difficult year. Without the friendship and unconditional support of Suen Wong, I would not have gotten through my career change and this Ph.D.

The faculty and staff of the Department of History at the University of Colorado Boulder have supported me immensely the past seven years. I am extremely grateful to Scott Miller, John Willis, Thomas Andrews, David Ciarlo, Abi Peters, Ted Lytle, and Kellie Matthews for helping me navigate the intricacies of CU. I have been exceedingly fortunate to work as a teaching assistant for Marty Babicz, John Hatch, and David Paradis, and I am a better teacher because of it. My time TAing for and taking classes with Scott Bruce came with many laughs, stories, and formative pedagogical experiences. I am also thankful for the opportunity to translate spy reports for Paul Hammer and appreciate his encouragement, even though we have yet to speak face-to-face. Matthew Gerber has pushed me to look beyond the Middle Ages as a source of inspiration. Many thanks to Paul Sutter, who has advocated for me in the department and supported me on the job market. I also thank the many scholars who have mentored, guided, inspired me in various capacities during my time as a medievalist: Peggy Brown, Brian Catlos, Simon Doubleday, Ted Evergates, Hussein Fancy, Justine Firnhaber-Baker, Sarah Davis-Secord, Nicole Eichmann-Kalwara, Stephen Feeley, Lil Fenn, Damián Fernández, Cecilia Gaposchkin, Laura Gathagan, William Chester Jordan, Celene Lillie, Thea Lindquist, Sara Lipton, Henry Lovejoy, Gretchen McKay, Natalie Mendoza, Bill North, Nick Paul, Pablo Pastrana-Pérez, Charlie Samuelson, Núria Silleras-Fernández, Dan Smail, Liz Teviotdale, Bryn Upton, Deb Viles, Nicholas Vincent, Valentine Weiss, and Ellie Woodacre. I offer my deepest thanks to Bob Berkhofer, who introduced me to medieval history and never once flinched at my inexperience. Adam Kosto deserves a special thanks for reading chapter drafts and offering thoughtful criticisms and continued encouragement.

To Anne Lester, I cannot give enough thanks. While I still cannot fathom why she chose me to be her first Ph.D. student, I am both honored and profoundly grateful that she did. When I began at CU seven years ago, I thought I knew what it meant to be a historian. I soon learned that I was capable of so much more thanks to her encouragement and guidance. Professor Lester pushed me to become a better writer, thinker, and scholar than I ever thought I could be. Because of her, I read more critically, teach more engagingly, and write more elegantly and compellingly. I have also immensely enjoyed getting to know both her and her family better over these few past years. I am a better historian and a more confident woman because of her.

I would not be where I am today without the love and support of my family. My brothers, Ben and Brian, my sister-in-law, Morgan, and her family, and my many aunts, uncles, and cousins have loved and encouraged me throughout my life, as have my grandparents, Hap and Joan Barnes. My nephew, Jack, has brought indescribable happiness to my life and sustained me through difficult times. I find it fitting that I learned of his imminent arrival while at the Morgan Library looking at medieval manuscripts and objects with Amanda and Matt Racine. I cannot wait to introduce him and his sibling on-the-way to the wonders of history. Finally, I would have never made it this far, both in education and in life, without the unconditional love and support of my parents, Dave and Linda Bjerke. They are who I turn to in times of joy and crisis, and they raised me to be the person I am today. I love you, and I thank you.

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A Technical Note

I have chosen to refer to the count-kings by their French rather than their Navarrese names (e.g., Thibaut, not Teobaldo) because that is how they would have referred to themselves. Similarly, I use comital rather than royal numbering (e.g., Thibaut V, not Teobaldo II) for consistency and simplicity. Wherever possible, I give the names of other individuals and places in their local vernacular. Where a common English equivalent exists for a well-established figure, I use that name (e.g., Henry the Liberal, not Henri le Libéral).

The principal monetary unit in both Champagne and Navarre was the pound (Latin/Spanish *libra*, French *livre*), which was equivalent to 20 shillings (Latin *solidi*, French *sous*, Spanish *suealdos*). One shilling equaled 12 pence (Latin *denarii*, French *deniers*, Spanish *dineros*). Both regions used various currencies, namely that of Provins (*provinois*), Tours (*tournois*), and Paris (*parisis*) as well as the *sanchete*, the currency established in Navarre by Sancho VI (r. 1150-1194).

I denote them as follows:

- l.* pound
- s.* shilling
- d.* pence
- p.* *provinois*
- t.* *tournois*
- par.* *parisis*
- s.* *sanchetes*

Even though the vast majority of the documents studied here use Easter as the first of the year, I give dates in the new style except when identifying documents in the notes in parentheses after their shelf marker. Where editions, important copies, and translations of texts exist, I put them

in parentheses after the primary citation, with the exception of chapter 4. Since the documents in chapter 4 often appear in several editions, I cite these volumes only once so as not to encumber the notes. I have expanded abbreviations in my transcriptions. When I quote a source in Latin, I follow that document or edition's orthography. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own.

Abbreviations

<i>Actes HtL</i>	Benton, John, and Michel Bur, eds. <i>Recueil des actes d'Henri le Libéral, comte de Champagne (1152-1181)</i> . 2 vols. Paris: Broccard, 2009-2013.
AD	Archives départementales
AdJ	Arbois de Jubainville, Henri d'. <i>Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne</i> . 7 vols. Paris: Durand, 1859-1869.
AET	Archivos Eclesiásticos de Tudela
AGN	Archivo General de Navarra
AMT	Archivo Municipal de Tudela
AN	Archives nationales de France
<i>Aristocracy</i>	Evergates, Theodore. <i>The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100-1300</i> . Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.
Barbiche	Barbiche, Bernard. <i>Les actes pontificaux originaux des Archives nationales de Paris</i> . 3 vols. Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1975-1982.
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
<i>Cartulario de FIII</i>	Arigita y Lasa, Mariano, ed. <i>Cartulario de don Felipe III, rey de Francia</i> . Madrid: Imprenta de los sucesores de Hernando, 1913.
CCC	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cinq Cents de Colbert
<i>Dinastía</i>	García Arancón, María Raquel. <i>La dinastía de Champaña en Navarra. Teobaldo I, Teobaldo II, Enrique I (1234-1274)</i> . Gijón: Trea, 2010.
<i>Documents relatifs</i>	Longnon, Auguste, ed. <i>Documents relatifs au comté de Champagne et de Brie, 1172-1361</i> . 3 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1901-1914.
<i>El primer cartulario</i>	Ramírez Vaquero, Eloísa, ed. <i>El primer cartulario de los reyes de Navarra. El valor de lo escrito</i> . Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2013.
FDMPV	Fuentes documentales medievales del País Vasco
Joinville	Jean de Joinville, <i>Vie de Saint Louis</i> , edited and translated by Jacques Monfrin. Paris: Garnier, 1995.

- Layettes* *Layettes du Trésor des chartes*, edited by Alexandre Teulet et al. 5 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1863-1909.
- Livre des vassaux* Longnon, Auguste, ed. *Livre des vassaux du comté de Champagne et de Brie*, 1172-1222. Paris: Franck, 1869.
- Lpo Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. Latin 5993a (the *Liber pontificum*)
- Potthast Potthast, August. *Regesta pontificum romanorum inde ab a. post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad a. MCCCIV*. 2 vols. Berlin: Decker, 1875.
- Registros* Carrasco, Juan, ed. *Registros de Teobaldo II. 1259, 1266*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1999.
- Rôles des fiefs* Longnon, Auguste, ed. *Rôles des fiefs du comté de Champagne sous le règne de Thibaud le Chansonnier (1249-1252)*. Paris: Menu, 1877.
- Teobaldo II* García Arancón, María Raquel. *Teobaldo II de Navarra, 1253-1270. Gobierno de la monarquía et recursos financieros*. Burlada: I.G. Castuera, 1985.

Introduction

In 1258 or 1259 Count Thibaut V of Champagne, who was also the king of Navarre, paid one Hugues Bernard over 19 *l.* for 400 carp and other fish and spent at least 35 *l.* more on the pool that would be their home.¹ The pool was on the grounds of the chapel in Igny-le-Jard that Thibaut was in the process of building in the north of the county. He had already secured the pope's permission to construct and endow the chapel with his own funds and had engaged craftsmen and artisans for the project.² By the following year, the "count-king" had procured from the archbishop of Reims and the bishops of Soissons, Paris, and Senlis indulgences for visitors to the chapel at its dedication.³ Because he was so often elsewhere, Thibaut had to make his power felt in his absence and to cultivate the goodwill of his people. Founding a chapel with a pool full of fish (perhaps for alms?) was one way he did so.

This dissertation examines how the counts of Champagne governed both Champagne and Navarre between 1234 and 1274 when they held both titles. Champagne-Navarre was a composite entity in that it was composed of two separate principalities that shared a single ruler who exercised relatively autonomous lordship in both regions. The thirteenth-century counts of Champagne did homage to the kings of France but had the right to tax, mete out high and low justice, and mint coinage.⁴ Because of the cultural, linguistic, and geographic distance between these principalities, I argue that the count-kings actively proclaimed their sovereignty, made their presence felt despite

¹ BnF, MS. Latin 818, fols. 255r (Félix Bourquelot, "Fragments du comptes du XIIIe siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 24, no. 1 (1863): 73).

² Bourel de la Roncière et al., eds., *Les registres d'Alexandre IV*, 3 vols. (Paris: Thorin, 1902-1959), iii, no. 2803; BnF, MS. Latin 818, fols. 255r (Bourquelot, "Fragments du comptes," 71, 73-74).

³ Lpo, fol. 115r (AdJ, v, no. 3194); Lpo, fols. 155v (AdJ, v, no. 3191), 194r-195v (AdJ, v, no. 3195), 161r (AdJ, v, no. 3196), respectively.

⁴ See below.

their many absences, and formulated and promoted an ideology of rulership based on strengthened bonds with the people who lived in their domains and heightened religious patronage and rituals.⁵ As many scholars have recognized, composite lordship profoundly transformed medieval government and its administrative structures and informed modern state-building and imperial programs in Europe and the Atlantic world.⁶ Champagne and Navarre, however, have hitherto not been part of such studies, yet they are an intriguing case for the development of these ideas.⁷

By the 1220s, it was clear to King Sancho VII of Navarre that he would not have a direct heir to succeed him. His closest male relative was the son of his sister, Blanche of Navarre, who had married Count Thibaut III of Champagne in 1199.⁸ Thibaut IV, also known as Thibaut the Posthumous, was born six days after his father's unexpected death in May 1201. Following a failed mutual adoption plan between Sancho and James I of Aragon, Thibaut ascended the Navarrese throne as Teobaldo I on 7 April 1234 upon his uncle's death.⁹ When Thibaut IV died in 1253, his

⁵ For the use of the term "count-king" with respect to Catalonia and Aragon, see Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 31n.

⁶ Examples of early modern scholarship that builds on these themes include John C. Rule and Ben S. Trotter, *A World of Paper: Louis XIV, Colbert de Torcy, and the Rise of the Information State* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014); Jacob Soll, *The Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert's Secret State Intelligence System* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014); J.H. Elliott, *Spain, Europe, and the Wider World, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); James B. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Kenneth J. Banks, *Chasing Empire Across the Sea: Communications and the State in the French Atlantic, 1713-1763* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002); Peter Sahlin, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); J.H. Elliott, *Spain and Its World: Selected Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); J.H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); J.H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain: 1496-1716* (New York: The New American Library, 1966).

⁷ See below for how Champagne-Navarre differs from other medieval composite lordships.

⁸ According to Navarrese inheritance practices, Blanche would have succeeded her brother had she still been alive.

⁹ *Dinastía*, 37-39; José María Lacarra, *Historia política del reino de Navarra desde sus orígenes hasta su incorporación a Castilla*, 3 vols. (Pamplona: Editorial Aranzadi, 1972), ii, 121-125. It came to naught because the Navarrese nobility preferred a Champenois over an Aragonese king. See below.

son with wife Marguerite de Bourbon, Thibaut V/Teobaldo II, inherited both the county and the kingdom. Marguerite acted as her son's regent until the fall of 1256, during which time Thibaut married Isabelle of France, daughter of Louis IX. When Thibaut V died on 4 December 1270 returning from the Tunis crusade, his brother Henri III/Enrique I succeeded him in both principalities. Like his grandfather and brother, Henri too met with an untimely death on 22 July 1274, leaving behind his wife, Blanche of Artois, and an 18-month-old daughter, Jeanne. The toddler countess-queen would eventually marry Philip IV, the future king of France, also known as Philip the Fair. With their marriage in 1284 and accession to the French throne in 1285, both Champagne and Navarre formally became part of the French royal domain.

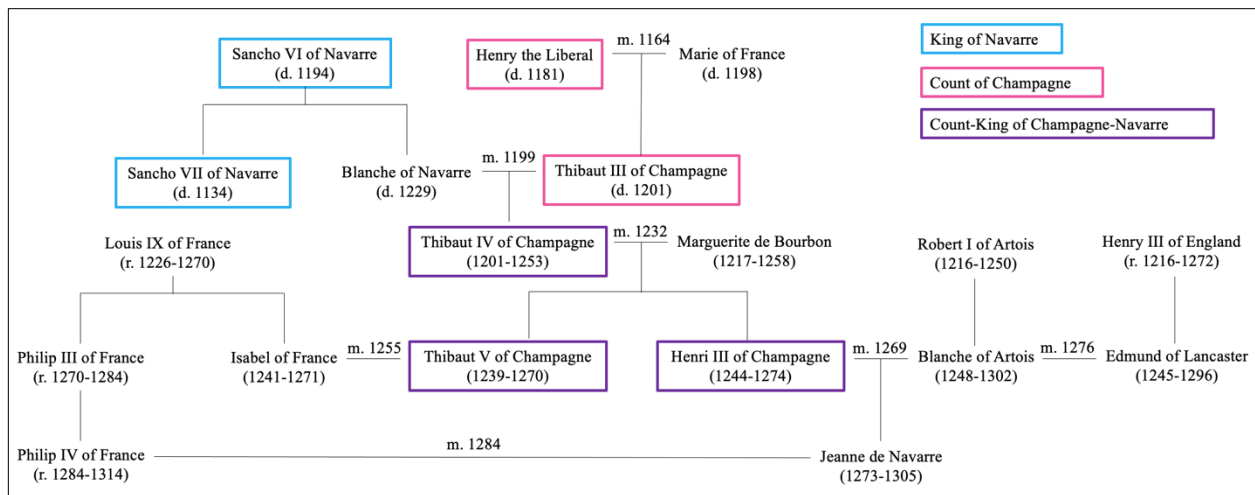


Figure 1: Genealogy of the count-kings of Champagne-Navarre.

This dissertation is an administrative, political, and cultural history of these connected regions. The administrative records—charters, financial accounts, and inquests—that the count-kings and their agents created are the backbone of this study. They document how the count-kings maintained and asserted their power in principalities with different cultures, languages, customs, and laws and the ways that politics and religion overlapped in the thirteenth century. The overarching theme that this dissertation probes is how the count-kings successfully ruled two regions at the same time given that they could not physically be in two places at once. The

phenomenon of absentee lordship, or ruling from a distance, is crucial to understanding how power and authority extended beyond the physical person of the ruler.¹⁰ To maintain sovereignty in their lands as peripatetic rulers, I argue that the count-kings employed various administrative strategies that they and their appointed agents carried out. The count-kings directed these strategies toward creating goodwill between themselves and the people living in their lands and deputizing comital-royal officials to act in the count-king's stead and to ensure peace and stability in both areas. In this way, they fashioned their own comital-royal ideology that they projected with their actions. Likewise, the count-kings infused the land with their presence through building projects and religious foundations and appealed to the devotions of their people by securing for them indulgences for pious acts connected to the count-kings and their family. At the root of all these actions was the preservation and declaration of comital-royal sovereignty.

Historiographical Context

Although no historian has produced a study specifically dedicated to the composite lordship of Champagne and Navarre, a great deal of scholarship on each separate region has laid the foundation for this composite study. Henri Arbois de Jubainville's magisterial seven-volume *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne*, published between 1859 and 1869, remains the most comprehensive narrative history of the County of Champagne in the Middle Ages and provides the most thorough calendared cataloguing of comital documents to date.¹¹ While he presents the major events in the county and the lives of its rulers in great detail, he does not

¹⁰ Champagne-Navarre is not included, for example, in studies such as Frédérique Lachaud and Michael Penman, eds., *Absentee Authority Across Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017).

¹¹ AdJ.

substantially engage with Navarre and its sources nor does he offer the kinds of modern historical analysis undertaken here.¹² His study is invaluable because of his catalogue of nearly 4,000 acts of the counts and countesses of Champagne from the reign of Henry the Liberal (r. 1152-1181) through the accession of Jeanne and Philip the Fair in 1285.¹³ Although much recent work has focused on medieval Champagne, none yet offers an overarching political or administrative history, but rather new scholarship has focused on particular aspects of the county's culture, society, and religion. Michel Bur wrote extensively on medieval Champenois culture, institutions, and places, but he focused on the earlier centuries, not the period of the count-kings.¹⁴ Similarly, John F. Benton was instrumental in our understanding of Champagne's twelfth-century literary culture and the late thirteenth-century judicial court, the *Jours de Troyes*, yet he ignored the period in between.¹⁵

It was not until Theodore Evergates that scholars substantially engaged with thirteenth-century Champagne, albeit not in the context of its connection to Navarre. In *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes under the Counts of Champagne, 1152-1284*, he approaches social status by using secular feudal surveys—which I too consult—and the thirteenth-century *Coutumier*, a book of customary regulations.¹⁶ By examining how various ranks of society, ranging from the peasantry

¹² His Navarrese information came almost exclusively from Jose Moret's late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century *Anales del reino de Navarra*, 5 vols. (Pamplona: Neyra and Ezquerro: 1684-1715).

¹³ AdJ, vols. iii, v, vi.

¹⁴ Michel Bur, *La Champagne médiévale: recueil d'articles* (Langres-Saint Geosmes: Guéniot, 2005). Because of restricted library access due to COVID-19, I have not been able to access this text. See also Michel Bur, *La formation du comté de Champagne, v. 950-v. 1150* (Nancy: Publications de l'Université de Nancy II, 1977).

¹⁵ John H. Benton, *Culture, Power, and Personality in Medieval France*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (London: The Hambledon Press, 1991). See pages 3-180 for literature and 191-254 for the *Jours de Troyes*.

¹⁶ Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes under the Counts of Champagne, 1152-1284* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 7-14.

to the aristocracy, act and function in these sources, Evergates demonstrates how the processes of land tenure and possession as well as social stratification changed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁷ In *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100-1300*, he considers the relationships between the counts and their noble subjects; the experience and challenges of landowning; the familial, economic, and social customs of the aristocracy; and the histories of select Champenois noble families.¹⁸ Although Evergates notes the creation of a vice-regent to rule the county in the count-king's absence, he does not discuss the challenge of ruling two principalities simultaneously. Similarly, he addresses various administrative innovations, yet does not situate them within the context of Champagne-Navarre.¹⁹ His most recent work includes biographies of the first count-king's paternal grandparents, Henry the Liberal and his wife, Marie of France.²⁰ Although they formed Champagne out of several smaller lordships, they did so in the twelfth century, not the thirteenth.

The work of Evergates, Benton, and Bur has sparked renewed interest in Champagne in recent decades. In *Creating Cistercian Nuns: The Women's Religious Movement and Its Reform in Thirteenth-Century Champagne*, Anne E. Lester uses charters and cartularies from Cistercian convents in Champagne to study the formation of female monastic communities, their interactions with the lay and religious world, and the reform of the Cistercian order in a female context.²¹ Like

¹⁷ Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes*, 146-147, 152.

¹⁸ *Aristocracy*, 2-3.

¹⁹ *Aristocracy*, 42-52.

²⁰ Theodore Evergates, *Henry the Liberal: Count of Champagne, 1127-1181* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); *Marie of France, Countess of Champagne, 1145-1198* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

²¹ Anne E. Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns: The Women's Religious Movement and Its Reform in Thirteenth-Century Champagne* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

Evergates, though, Lester comments only in passing on Champagne's link with Navarre. In the same vein, Thomas Lacomme has focused on the urban, documentary, and ecclesiastical history of Troyes and Provins in the thirteenth century, but Navarre is not a factor in his work.²² Randall Todd Pippenger examines Champenois crusader families in "Crusading as a Family: A Study of the County of Champagne, 1179 to 1226," however his chronological focus predates the time of the count-kings.²³ Arnaud Baudin has studied Champenois seals and military orders but does not look to Navarre.²⁴ Despite their contribution to the study of high medieval Champagne, all the above authors remain firmly situated in the county and rarely, if at all, venture south into Iberia. Even though they draw from the same base of charters and inquests that I do, none considers Champagne in the context of its relationship to Navarre.

By contrast, the administration and government of Navarre under the count-kings has been much more comprehensively studied than that for Champagne, particularly by María Raquel García Arancón. She has written two works that deal specifically with kings of Navarre during the period 1234-1274.²⁵ In *Teobaldo II de Navarra, 1253-1270. Gobierno de la monarquía y recursos*

²² Thomas Lacomme, "Renier Acorre et la rue de Froidmantel: achats fonciers et distinction sociale (XIII^e siècle)," in *Un quartier de la rue Saint-Thibaut de Provins. Des jacobins et de Renier Acorre à l'Institution Sainte-Croix (XIII^e siècle – XXI^e siècle)* (Provins: Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'arrondissement de Provins, 2017), 9-23; "Un cartulaire sous influence ? Edmond de Lancastre, Jean d'Acre, Renier Acorre et le cartulaire de la collégiale séculière Saint-Étienne de Troyes," in *Aux sources du pouvoir*, ed. Sylvain Gouguenheim (Paris: Les Indes Savants, 2017), 87-110; "P. pour Pierre de Bruyères ou Pierre de Clesles? L'officialité épiscopale de Troyes au XIII^e siècle, par l'identification de l'un de ses officiaux," *La Vie en Champagne* 94 (avr.-juin 2018): 10-23.

²³ Randall Todd Pippenger, "Crusading as a Family: A Study of the County of Champagne, 1179-1226" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2018), iii, 2.

²⁴ Arnaud Baudin, *Emblématique et pouvoir en Champagne: Les sceaux des comtes de Champagne et de leur entourage (fin XI^e-début XIV^e siècle)* (Langres: Dominiue Guéniot, 2012); "Le sceau, miroir de la spiritualité des ordres militaires," in *Images et ornements autor des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge. Culture visuelle et culte des saints*, ed. Damien Carraz and Esther Dehoux (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Midi, 2016), 69-82; "La commanderie du Temple de Fresnoy (Aube)," in *Les templiers dans l'Aube* (Troyes: La vie en Champagne, 2013), 349-362; "Les templiers en Champagne. Archives inédites, patrimoines et destins des hommes," in *Les templiers dans l'Aube* (Troyes: La vie en Champagne, 2013), 27-69, for example.

²⁵ *Teobaldo II; Dinastía. Teobaldo II*, Reyes de Navarra (Pamplona, Mintzoa, 2003) is very similar, and in many places identical, to *Teobaldo II*.

financieros, she gives a systematic exposition of royal administration and government, law, and military affairs during the reign of Thibaut V/Teobaldo II, with special emphasis on the surviving royal financial accounts from 1259 and 1266.²⁶ She also relies strongly on the same charter evidence that I use here, much of which she herself has edited.²⁷ She does not, however, engage with Champagne much beyond acknowledging “the modernization of the kingdom according to Champenois models,” although she occasionally considers Navarrese officials and their duties in light of their comital counterparts.²⁸ In *La dinastía de Champaña en Navarra. Teobaldo I, Teobaldo II, Enrique I (1234-1274)*, García Arancón broadens her scope to include the entire period of the count-kings.²⁹ After considering each king individually, she examines many of the same components of Navarrese administration, government, and economy that she addressed in her earlier work while adding discussions of population, society, and culture. Although she includes a section for each ruler and his relationship to Champagne, like her previous work she views the Thibauts and Henri as kings of Navarre, not count-kings of Champagne-Navarre.

To date, no scholarship has specifically approached the governance of Champagne-Navarre as a unit headed by a single ruler. Historians of Navarre focus on Navarrese affairs while scholars of Champagne study phenomena pertaining solely to the county. Although work on thirteenth-century Navarre comes closer to addressing the topic of this study than scholarship on thirteenth-century Champagne does, neither corpus adequately accounts for the fact that their region’s ruler

²⁶ *Teobaldo II*. For the accounts, see *Registros*.

²⁷ FDMPV 7; FDMPV 63; FDMPV 85.

²⁸ “la modernización del reino de acuerdo con modelos champañeses,” *Teobaldo II*, 46, 55, 65-67, 102, 115-120, 127, 135.

²⁹ *Dinastía*.

governed not one but two principalities. At the same time, I use this robust scholarship as a jumping off point for studying Champagne-Navarre.

Theoretical Frame

I begin by considering Champagne-Navarre as a connected entity because, as I argue, it is an example of a composite lordship.³⁰ H.G. Koenigsberger first coined the term “composite monarchy” or “composite state” in passing in reference to monarchies and parliaments in early modern Europe.³¹ He asserted that “most states in the early modern period were composite states, including more than one country under the sovereignty of one ruler” and that “during the later middle ages and during the early modern period...most monarchies were composite.”³² Conrad Russell used the phrase “multiple kingdoms” to refer to the realms of the British Isles, but it was J.H. Elliott who elucidated the concept of a composite monarchy more fully through the lens of Koenigsberger’s definition in the early modern period.³³ He noted that by the seventeenth century, scholars had already identified two ways that rulers could add land to their domain: by making the new territory an extension of the old (an “‘accessory’ union”) or, conversely, by keeping them separate (“*aeque principaliter*”).³⁴ Early modern rulers who chose the latter path recognized that

³⁰ Others have used this phrase before me in different, earlier medieval contexts, including Robin Fleming and Paul Dalton. Robin Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 122; Paul Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire, 1066-1154* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 130.

³¹ H.G. Koenigsberger, “*Dominium Regale or Dominium Politicum et Regale: Monarchies and Parliaments in Early Modern Europe*,” in *Politicians and Virtuosi: Essays in Early Modern History* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1986), 1-25.

³² Koenigsberger, “*Dominium Regale*,” 12, 23.

³³ Conrad Russell, *The Causes of the English Civil War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), passim; J.H. Elliott, “A Europe of Composite Monarchies,” *Past and Present* 137 (Nov. 1992): 48-71. Elliott notes Koenigsberger’s and Russell’s usages as well. See 50, 50n7.

³⁴ Elliott, “A Europe,” 52-53.

“a promise to observe traditional laws, customs and practices could mitigate the pains of these dynastic transactions, and help reconcile élites to the change of masters.”³⁵ Patronage served this end as well.³⁶ Along the same lines, Elliott argues that “composite monarchies were built on a mutual compact between the crown and the ruling class of their different provinces which gave even the most arbitrary and artificial of unions a certain stability and resilience.”³⁷ Because the count-kings employed these tactics and maintained the separation between the two principalities, as I demonstrate here, Champagne-Navarre qualifies as a composite entity *aeque principaliter*.³⁸ The County of Champagne did not become part of the Kingdom of Navarre, and Navarre did not become part of Champagne, nor were there any attempts to unite them in this way.³⁹ The count-kings maintained the different laws, customs, and administrations of both regions separately. What linked them was the count-king himself and his practices of rulership, which I explore here. Furthermore, Champagne-Navarre was unique among medieval examples of composite lordship because—unlike, say, the Angevins in Sicily, the Normans and Angevins in England, or the Aragonese in Iberia—the count of Champagne became the king of Navarre through legitimate and largely uncontested inheritance, rather than through conquest or territorial expansion.⁴⁰ Moreover,

³⁵ Elliott, “A Europe,” 53-54.

³⁶ Elliott, “A Europe,” 55, 56, 65. See chapter 3.

³⁷ Elliott, “A Europe,” 57.

³⁸ As were most other examples of composite lordship in the Middle Ages. See note 40 below.

³⁹ Unlike Henry the Liberal’s creation of the County of Champagne from disparate lordships in the twelfth century. See Evergates, *Henry the Liberal*, ix, 85,

⁴⁰ Jean Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1266-1305* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Hugh M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity 1066-c.1220* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Robert Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon*.

despite Sancho VII's attempt to name as his successor James I of Aragon, ruler of Navarre's imposing eastern neighbor, the Navarrese preferred Thibaut IV. It was their swift embassy to Champagne and Thibaut's subsequent rush to Pamplona that secured his peaceful succession.⁴¹ Because they did not have to conquer or subjugate Navarre by military force, the count-kings could develop efficient and sophisticated practices of sovereign power in both regions.⁴²

Sovereignty and lordship are key concepts in this dissertation. For Hussein Fancy, in the context of the religious difference between Muslim *jenets* in the Crown of Aragon, sovereignty represents "aspirations to supremacy."⁴³ Although the count-kings were less concerned with religious others than the Aragonese kings were, they still had to assert their power over the inhabitants of their domains and maintain such power in relation to claims of other lords. At the same time, they did approach rulership as Christian lords, as evidenced by their use of overtly religious acts of patronage and soliciting indulgences to bolster their position, as I show in chapters 3 and 4.⁴⁴ Through these actions, they espoused, in Fancy's words, "inextricably entwined ideas of religious and political authority."⁴⁵ As I demonstrate in the chapters that follow, the assertive Christian political authority of the kings of France, especially Louis IX (r. 1226-1270), influenced the count-kings in this regard.

⁴¹ *Dinastía*, 39; Lacarra, *Historia política*, ii, 131-132. That is not, however, to say that he lacked opposition prior to Sancho's death. See Lacarra, *Historia política*, ii, 121-125.

⁴² Although there were certainly periods of resistance and unrest during 1234-1274, the discontented were not questioning their legitimacy as rulers.

⁴³ Hussein Fancy, *The Mercenary Mediterranean: Sovereignty, Religion, and Violence in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016), 8.

⁴⁴ See chapters 3 and 4.

⁴⁵ Fancy, *Mercenary Mediterranean*, 141.

Joseph R. Strayer, William Chester Jordan, and Thomas N. Bisson posit formulations that resonate more clearly with Champagne-Navarre. Strayer contended that the concept of sovereignty was not well-defined in the thirteenth century yet recognized that “sovereignty requires independence from any outside power and final authority over men who live within certain boundaries.”⁴⁶ Along these same lines, he wrote of thirteenth-century French royal sovereignty that “the king insisted that he was the final judge in all cases, that, no matter how great the rights or how extensive the privileges of a province or a lord, appeals eventually ran to the king’s court in Paris.”⁴⁷ Strayer is not suggesting, however, that the counts of Champagne could not possess sovereignty over the county. Indeed, he acknowledged that certain principalities technically subject to the French crown could be considered sovereign because of their relative autonomy.⁴⁸ Jordan too echoed the as yet inchoate nature of thirteenth-century sovereignty, writing that “even the nascent ideas of sovereignty which attached themselves to the court circle [of Louis IX] expressed indeed a very limited, a very medieval view of sovereignty.”⁴⁹ Bisson emphasized the importance of homage to sovereignty, claiming that during the reign of Philip II Augustus (r. 1180-1223), “there was mounting interest in systematizing the king’s superior lordship: liege homages to the king proliferate.”⁵⁰ In a similar fashion, the count-kings received nearly 100 homages

⁴⁶ Joseph R. Strayer, *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 58. He echoed these ideas on 9, 43, 53, 61, 83.

⁴⁷ Strayer, *Medieval Origins*, 53.

⁴⁸ Strayer, *Medieval Origins*, 83. He did not name Champagne but gave similar examples of Flanders and the Aquitaine. See 53, 83.

⁴⁹ William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 202.

⁵⁰ Thomas N. Bisson, “The Problem of Feudal Monarchy: Aragon, Catalonia, and France,” *Speculum* 53, no. 3 (July 1978): 475.

between 1234 and 1274, many of them liege, in both principalities.⁵¹ Jordan adds yet another element into the mix, coinage, which he argues “became the foundation for the most powerful assertions of sovereignty in Louis [IX]’s reign [1226-1270].”⁵² The right to mint coinage was a key element of claims to sovereignty in France, for few had that privilege. Provins, one of the two Champenois capitals, was one such town, and its coinage circulated widely due to Champagne’s fairs and was the international currency for some time. In Navarre, kings since Sancho VI (r. 1150-1194) had minted *sueldos* “*sanchetes*,” and the Thibauts and Henri continued that practice.⁵³ The ability to tax similarly figured into medieval notions of sovereignty.⁵⁴ Strayer even argued that when a ruler could tax, “suzerainty was coming very close to sovereignty.”⁵⁵ In sum, I contend that sovereignty as it is definable for Champagne-Navarre was a combination of these elements. The count-kings had to claim sovereignty over their own lands, via homage and other means discussed below, so that their power would be uncontested whether they were present or absent, just as they claimed the rights to mint and alter coinage and levy taxes. They were the highest authority in Navarre and nearly the highest in Champagne, second only to the French king. One of the principal aims of this dissertation is to assess how the count-kings asserted and proclaimed this form of sovereignty.

Like sovereignty, lordship as a concept and a term poses similar challenges. In his address to the Medieval Academy of America in 1995, Bisson traced lordship’s evolution from the early

⁵¹ For example, AN, J 196, no. 41 (AdJ, vi, no. 3725); FDMPV 63, no. 23.

⁵² Jordan, *Louis IX*, 209.

⁵³ As did Jeanne and Philip the Fair. *Registros*, 25. García Arancón notes the importance of coinage as well, along with the royal seal and standard, in *Dinastía*, 39.

⁵⁴ Strayer, *Medieval Origins*, 42-44, 54.

⁵⁵ Strayer, *Medieval Origins*, 43.

medieval period through the twelfth century but largely ignored the thirteenth.⁵⁶ In his study of rural Catalonia, Bisson dealt with lordship as it could entail exploitation and oppression of people.⁵⁷ In his discussion of the aristocracy of Champagne, Evergates used the term primarily to refer to the collection of property and rights and discussed it largely in the context of inheritance.⁵⁸ Similarly, David Crouch employed lordship as it related to English lords, contending that “castles, dependents, judicial privilege, borough plantation and ecclesiastical patronage were all ways in which a magnate could put down markers on his lordship.”⁵⁹ Keeping these ideas in mind, I view lordship in this dissertation similarly to in the way that Richard E. Barton does for the County of Maine, namely as “domination of some group of persons by a person with more power and, perhaps, more authority.”⁶⁰ For Champagne-Navarre, lordship especially meant obligation in the sense that their obligations to protect, patronize, and administer were no less binding because of their chronic absences.

With these concepts in mind, I argue that the composite lordship of Champagne-Navarre and the ways that the count-kings maintained their sovereignty and lordship must be approached from both the Navarrese and Champenois perspectives. Since earlier studies have focused only on one of the two regions, the pictures they paint are incomplete and one-sided. Even though

⁵⁶ Thomas N. Bisson, “Medieval Lordship,” *Speculum* 70 (1995): 743-759.

⁵⁷ Thomas N. Bisson, *Tormented Voices: Power, Crisis, and Humanity in Rural Catalonia, 1140-1200* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

⁵⁸ *Aristocracy*, chapter. 6.

⁵⁹ David Crouch, *The English Aristocracy, 1070-1272: A Social Transformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 133. This idea is similar to James C. Scott’s idea of legibility in *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), which I discuss below and in chapter 1.

⁶⁰ Richard E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c.890-1160* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), 2.

Champagne and Navarre had separate administrations, customs, and laws, they were connected by a ruler whose ideas of sovereignty and lordship informed how he governed both of them.

In Navarre, the most explicit way that kings asserted their sovereignty and lordship was through the *alzamiento* ceremony, which had roots in the Visigothic period. Translated as “raising” or “lifting,” the ritual was how a king was made, for unlike their French and English counterparts, Navarrese kings were not crowned.⁶¹ As outlined in the *Fuero General de Navarra* of 1238, the principal law code for the kingdom, the king “swears, before they lift him, on the cross and the holy gospels that he will hold them as law and always improve their *fueros*, and not make them worse.”⁶² After making the pact with the people, the king

is standing [during] the night in his vigil, and he hears his mass in the church, and he presents [himself] in purple and gives his money, and after he receives communion, and on being raised on the shield, the *ricoshombres* [the highest magnates in Navarre] holding [it], everyone shouting three times, “Royal [*Real*], Royal, Royal.” Then he disseminates his money over the people, up to 100 *s.*, to understand that no other earthly king has power over him, tightening his sword himself, which is similar to a cross, and no other knight [*cavayllero*] should be made on that day. And the twelve *ricoshombres* or wise men should swear to the king on the cross and the gospels to guard his body and the land and the people, and help him maintain the *fueros* faithfully, and they should kiss his hand.⁶³

⁶¹ *Dinastía*, 40; Luis G. de Valdeavellano, *Curso de Historia de las Instituciones españolas* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1975), 194-195, 431-433.

⁶² “iuras, antes que lo alzassen sobre la cruz et los santos evangelios, que los toviess a drecho, et les meioras siempre lures fueros, et non les apeyoras,” Roldán Jimeno Aranguren, ed., *Los Fueros de Navarra* (Madrid: Agencia Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado, 2016), 30 (*Dinastía*, 40). Thibaut IV’s oath is not extant. For Thibaut V’s, see FDMPV 7, no. 6. Henri III swore various oaths to several cities. See FDMPV 62, nos. 4-15.

⁶³ “sea areyto la noche en su vigilia, et oya su missa en la elesia, et ofrezca porpora, et de su moneda, et despues comulge, et al levantar suba sobre su escudo, teniendo los ricos ombres, clamando todos tres vezes REAL, REAL, REAL. Entonz espanda su moneda sobre las gentes ata .C. sueldos, por entender que ningun otro rey terrenal no aia poder sobre eyll, cingase eyll mesmo su espada, que es a semeiant de cruz, et non deve otro cavayllero ser fecho en aqueyll dia. Et los .XII. ricos ombres o savios deven iurar al rey sobre la cruz et los evangelios de curiarle el cuerpo et la tierra et el pueblo, et los fueros ayudarli a mantener fielment, et deven besar su mano,” Jimeno Aranguren, ed., *Fueros de Navarra*, 30 (*Dinastía*, 40). García Arancón’s translation into modern Spanish was helpful in my own translation of difficult passages here.

Because Navarrese kingship was based on a pact with the nobility, it was especially important that the count-king and his representatives upheld that promise. On the other hand, thirteenth-century Champenois counts were *invested* with the county by the French king and performed homage to him as their liege lord. The count-kings thus participated in *both* rituals because they ruled *both* principalities. Both ideologies of sovereignty and lordship influenced the count-kings, and they must be studied together.

Archives and Sources

The composite lordship and the day-to-day administration of Champagne-Navarre comes into view primarily through extant charters and registers produced in each region that the count-kings either issued themselves or that related to their affairs in some way. “Over the course of the [thirteenth] century,” as Lester has noted, “charters...became ever more detailed and precise, capable of serving as administrative tools in their own right.”⁶⁴ Analyzing the micro-level interactions preserved in such documents from both territories illuminates the macro-level phenomenon of the composite lordship of medieval Champagne-Navarre and the ways that its rulers exercised their sovereignty and lordship. These records, moreover, reflect the “legibility” of these states, which, in James C. Scott’s work, refers to the processes and strategies that states use to order the people(s), land, and resources they govern.⁶⁵ They made Champagne-Navarre legible for the count-kings, just as they allow us a window into the past.

⁶⁴ Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns*, 182.

⁶⁵ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 2.

The present study is possible largely because the Champenois documentary tradition is particularly rich.⁶⁶ In 1271 the collegiate chapter of Saint-Étienne in Troyes, which acted as the comital archive, compiled two massive cartularies pertaining specifically to the counts of Champagne that now reside at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.⁶⁷ The first compilation, the *Liber pontificum*, contains over 500 folios of documents from church leaders—ranging from popes to Templar and Hospitaller commanders—that relate to the counts of Champagne, demonstrating their interaction with their religious world.



Figure 2: The *Liber pontificum*. BnF, MS. Latin 5993a. Photo by author.

The cartulary is organized hierarchically by the position of the sender then roughly chronologically.⁶⁸ Within each position, charters appear mostly, but not always, in chronological order. The earliest documents date from the mid-twelfth century, but the vast majority are from

⁶⁶ As Evergates details in “The Chancery Archives.”

⁶⁷ Lpo; CCC 56-58. Evergates gives a similar overview in Evergates, “Chancery Archives,” 171-172. For other studies centered on particular royal archival source bases, see Marina Rustow, *The Lost Archive: Traces of a Caliphate in a Cairo Synagogue* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020); Jordan, *Louis IX*; Rule and Trotter, *World of Paper*; Soll, *Information Master*.

⁶⁸ The table of contents reveals that several folios are missing from the codex. The last document is from the head of a leper house, whereas the table of contents also lists documents from the Templars and the Hospitallers. See Lpo, fols. 31rv of table of contents, 52r-52v. Whoever foliated the manuscript did so incorrectly, as, for example, 2v faces and precedes 2r. The entire codex is foliated in this manner.

the thirteenth. After multiple scribes copied the bulk of the charters in 1271, a rubricator added rubrics and blue and red initials for each entry.



Figure 3: Typical page layout. BnF, MS. Latin 5993a, fol. 387r. Photo by author.

There are two historiated initials: one beginning the section for popes, and the other for archbishops, as shown below.



Figure 4: Left: Pope Innocent III, BnF, MS. Latin 5993a, fol. 1r. Right: Archbishop Albéric of Reims, BnF, MS. Latin 5993a, fol. 111r. Photos by author.

The initial copyists left blank folios for future entries, which later scribes used for adding documents through June 1274, a month before the death of Henri III. These later additions are in a different hand than neighboring documents and lack rubrics and initials even though the scribe left space for them. The cartulary was meant to be a living text, albeit one that likely did not

accompany the count-king on his travels due to its size and weight. It contains nearly 700 documents from the period 1234-1274, all of which I have consulted and added to a database.

The second cartulary, the *Liber principum*, contains documents from Europe's and the Mediterranean's secular elite, including the count-kings themselves.⁶⁹ The original thirteenth-century manuscript perished in the disastrous fire that ravaged the Chambre des Comptes in 1737. Sometime before that date, however, someone made copies of both cartularies for Jean-Baptiste Colbert's library that are still extant.⁷⁰ The *Liber principum* contains over 500 acts from 1234-1273, which I also entered into my database. These codices are the centerpiece of this dissertation from the French perspective.

The majority of the remaining sources pertaining to the composite lordship of Champagne-Navarre from the French side reside in the regional departmental archives of northern France, primarily the Archives de l'Aube in Troyes, the "capital" of medieval Champagne. The archive houses the extant ecclesiastical sources from the county, organized by religious institution.⁷¹ These largely unpublished documents range from inventories and accounts to donation charters and property transfers. Many of these collections also contain official acts of the counts in addition to letters and documents that refer to comital-royal activities. Additional sources from the Bibliothèque nationale as well as the Archives nationales de France and the Bibliothèque municipale de Provins also support the Champenois side of this dissertation.⁷²

⁶⁹ CCC 56-58.

⁷⁰ The *Liber pontificum* copy is CCC 59-62 and the *Liber principum* copy is CCC 56-58. See Evergates, "Chancery Archives," 171-172. A second, lesser copy is BnF, MS. Nouvelles acquisitions latines 2454.

⁷¹ AD Aube, series E, G, H, J. Recent exceptions are the works mentioned above.

⁷² I also consulted documents related to the count-kings at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal and the departmental archives of Marne and Seine-et-Marne, but I have not used any of them explicitly here.

Far fewer sources survive for Navarre for two key reasons. First, the two comital cartularies from Champagne are uncommon for their breadth for the thirteenth century, and without them this dissertation and our understanding of thirteenth-century Champenois history would look very different. Second, Navarre's tumultuous history following the sudden death of the last count-king in 1274 resulted in the destruction of a large portion of the documents housed in the cathedral in Pamplona.⁷³ The singular documentary practices of Saint-Étienne combined with the events after 1274 make Navarre appear less well-documented, when the medieval reality was likely quite different. Nevertheless, the records for Navarre are still plentiful. For the present study, they comprise hundreds of charters as well as financial registers, primarily kept in the Archivo General de Navarra in Pamplona. Most of the individual documents have been edited over the past thirty years in the Fuentes Documentales Medievales del País Vasco series.⁷⁴ Additionally, the earliest surviving royal financial accounts from Navarre date from the years 1259 and 1266 during the reign of Thibaut V.⁷⁵ They are compilations of accounts from regional and local officials reporting their yearly expenditures and revenues to the royal treasury. I also draw from archival material at the Archivos Eclesiásticos de Tudela and the Archivo Municipal de Tudela. In total, my primary source base contains over 2,800 individual documents plus financial accounts from both principalities written in Latin, Old French, Navarrese Romance, and Occitan.

⁷³ José Goñi Gaztambide, "Archivo y Biblioteca," in *La Catedral de Pamplona* (2 vols., Pamplona, 1994), ii, 168–70. See epilogue.

⁷⁴ Namely, numbers 7, 11, 26, 61, 62, 63, 73, 75, 84, 85, and 104.

⁷⁵ AGN, Comptos, Reg. 1. Juan Carrasco published these accounts in 1999. See *Registros*.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 addresses how the count-kings forged explicit relationships with the people living in their lands. By issuing formal grants of express protection for properties, communities, and individuals—largely in moments of precarity—I argue that the count-kings fostered the goodwill and loyalty of their people and openly proclaimed their sovereignty. The chapter also argues that those charters bearing the count-king’s seal, a physical sign of the ruler himself, ensured that all knew of the count-king’s link to these entities. Moreover, the count-kings refined the language of protection that their predecessors used to reflect more specifically the type of entity receiving safeguard. In **chapter 2**, I turn to the officials whom the count-kings used to carry out their business when they were elsewhere or occupied. Dozens of comital-royal officials represented the count-king in myriad capacities, ranging from property transactions and diplomatic endeavors to arbitrations. Such officials included, among others, seneschals, chamberlains, bailiffs, deans, *milites*, and ordinary citizens. I argue that their presence functioned as an extension of the count-king’s, making it possible for both the county and kingdom to run efficiently no matter where the count-king resided. A lengthy **appendix** offers brief biographies of over twenty of these agents at the end of the dissertation.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the comital-royal ideology that the count-kings fashioned for themselves and projected to others through the intersection of politics and religion. In **chapter 3**, I argue that the buildings and religious foundations that they constructed and endowed in prominent locations embedded the comital-royal presence into the very landscape of Champagne-Navarre and even into the Capetian capital. They built a comital residence in Paris, founded and patronized religious institutions in both principalities, and planned to establish a university in Tudela, one of Navarre’s principal cities. I also argue that these structures were physical

representations and manifestations of the count-king's power and piety. In **chapter 4**, I show how the count-kings explicitly linked themselves to spiritual indulgences. Their subjects could earn purgatorial reprieves for visiting comital-royal chapels, attending sermons and church dedications when the count-kings were present, and praying for the comital-royal family. I argue that these religious actions engendered political goodwill and that religious devotion was an essential component of the count-king's ideology of rulership.⁷⁶ As a whole, this dissertation examines questions of sovereignty, power, lordship, and outward piety with the aim of understanding how the count-kings conceived of and realized the task of ruling both Champagne and Navarre at the same time. The 400 carp that Thibaut V bought in 1258 were part of that undertaking.

⁷⁶ A version of this chapter will appear in late 2021 in *The Haskins Society Journal*.

I. Under His Protection: Securing Land, Loyalty, and Sovereignty

In 1241 Brother Étienne, abbot of Vaux-la-Douce east of Langres, issued a charter in which he described the disturbing events taking place at his abbey: every day, “evil men” were attacking and ravaging his church.¹ But Brother Étienne was not without hope. For to combat this destruction, he sought a formal protector for Vaux-la-Douce and all its holdings: Thibaut IV. This charter is not the only document granting, claiming, or seeking the express protection of the count-kings of Champagne-Navarre between 1234 and 1274. Dozens of such documents survive that testify to the ability of the count-kings to rule both the County of Champagne and the Kingdom of Navarre effectively while earning the trust and loyalty of their inhabitants by performing this essential service. The count-king’s protection created a bond between him and those he safeguarded that endured even when the count-king was absent. It circumvented complex medieval social hierarchies, transcended the connection between ruler and ruled, and manifested physically through the comital-royal seal. The Champenois and Navarrese sought the count-kings’ protection in moments of precarity when the need for such security was most acutely felt. Such moments were often tense for the count-kings as well, for they were times when proclaiming sovereignty was paramount. In this way, formal, written grants of protection given to monasteries, hospitals, groups of people, and towns were a key element of the count-kings’ practices of administration in Champagne-Navarre.

Grants of protection from the count-kings were fundamentally expressions of their sovereignty.² In theory, protection could only be granted if the property or person(s) in question

¹ “malorum hominum,” Lpo, fol. 362r (AdJ, v, no. 2598).

² The link between protection and sovereignty has been well established. See Hollis Emory Shaul, “The Prince and the Priors: Carthusian Monasticism and the Experience of State-Building in Angevin Provence, 1245-1385” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2018), 170, 173, 186, 187; Fredric L. Cheyette, “The Royal Safeguard in Medieval France,” *Studia Gratiana* 16 (1972): 634, 650, 652; Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions*

was subject to the protector. Yet the reality was more nuanced, for rulers could and did use grants of protection to extend their reach beyond their holdings.³ In Noël Didier's words, "a prince only meant to grant his protection with the recognition of his lordship [*seigneurie*]."⁴ Safeguard was also a potent means for rulers to assert their power in areas firmly within their domain. The tool was especially important for the count-kings because they so frequently left one region to visit the other and thus had to maintain their position and authority without a constant corporeal presence. Because protected "property appeared for all intents and purposes royal," protection embedded the count-kings' sovereignty and presence into the very landscapes of Champagne and Navarre.⁵ Although their protection was not fundamentally different from protection granted by other lords, Champenois-Navarrese protections had to be embedded even deeper because they had to hold absent the protector, which was always the reality in one if not both of their principalities. By granting protection with intentional language to particular entities in times of instability, the count-kings secured their land, built relationships with their subjects, and communicated their power and sovereignty.

françaises au Moyen Âge, 3 vols. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957-1962), iii, 243; Noël Didier, "La garde des églises au XIII^e siècle" (PhD diss., Université de Grenoble, 1927), 93, 102-103, 115.

³ Didier, "La garde" 102. According to Lot and Fawtier, the use of protection in the context of churches began under Philip Augustus. See Lot and Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions*, iii, 245.

⁴ "un prince n'entendait accorder sa protection que moyennant la reconnaissance de sa seigneurie," Didier, "La garde," 102.

⁵ Shaul, "The Prince and the Priors," 158. Justine Firnhaber-Baker notes this effect in the context of later periods. See Justine Firnhaber-Baker, *Violence and the State in Languedoc, 1250-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 80.

Protection in the High Middle Ages

Grants of protection or safeguard evolved from Merovingian immunities, Carolingian advocates, and the tacit protection of a lord over a vassal.⁶ The latter derived from the ceremony of homage. One of the promises a lord would make to a new vassal was to protect him/her from physical and legal harm.⁷ Theoretically, all subjects of a ruler were under his/her tacit protection. Groups deemed vulnerable were especially protected: traveling merchants, religious pilgrims, orphans, widows, etc., as well as all ecclesiastical institutions.⁸ This *tacit* protection, which was expected of the ruling elite and not formalized in writing, was distinct from *express*, written protection. Grants of protection from lords, barons, and kings explicitly stated that the benefactor was under their protection and would be defended should that protection be threatened or trespassed. Protectors vowed to treat protected property “as if our own [*tanquam nostra propria*].”⁹ As lords themselves could not physically ensure the safety of every entity that they protected, they appointed local guardians (sergeants, for example, in the case of Capetian rulers) to act in their stead.¹⁰ In some cases, benefactors compensated their protectors in kind and coin.¹¹ They were

⁶ For an overview of the evolution of protection from its origins in Merovingian immunities and Carolingian advocates, see Cheyette, “The Royal Safeguard,” 633-638, 651-652; Shaul, “The Prince and the Priors,” 171-174; Ernest Perrot, “Les Cas Royaux: Origine et développement de la théorie aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles” (PhD diss., École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1910), 253-254; Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).

⁷ Elizabeth M. Hallam and Charles West, *Capetian France, 987-1328* (Milton: Routledge, 2020), 17; Peter Haidu, *The Subject of Violence: The Song of Roland and the Birth of the State* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 88.

⁸ Lot and Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions*, ii, 162; iii, 172, 243-246. For an example of protection for a fourteenth-century heiress who had just made a contentious marriage, see Firmhaber-Baker, *Violence and the State*, 10-11.

⁹ Provins, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 92 f. 79r. Shaul notes this common phrasing as well. See Shaul, “The Prince and the Priors,” 175.

¹⁰ Cheyette, “The Royal Safeguard,” 644-645; Shaul, “The Prince and the Priors,” 180; Didier, “La garde,” 32, 101.

¹¹ For example, in October of 1246 each villager of Neuville was obliged to pay Thibaut IV one sester of oats and two hens each year in return for his protection. See AN, J 197 no. 63 (CCC 57, 149-150; AdJ, v, no. 2765). See also

also expected to pay the guardian's wages.¹² The right of protection could be requested in person at the count-king's court or in writing. The count-king would then issue a charter stating that the beneficiary was under his protection. These documents were often confirmed at the accession of new rulers, testifying to the value they had for those who received them. It was also possible to claim protection in a charter that the count-king had to approve subsequently.¹³

Despite its ongoing use in the Middle Ages, protection and the charters that granted it have received very little scholarly attention, and much of what the scholarship claims regarding protection does not hold for Champagne-Navarre. The most recent comprehensive treatment of the development and spread of protections remains Fredric L. Cheyette's article published in 1972.¹⁴ Glossing over the period considered here, he argues that protection in France only reached its apex beginning with the reign of Philip III (r. 1270-1285) and that "the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century princes who sought to convert their traditional role as protector of the Church into current political coin could only try to persuade [sic] or cajole potential evil-doers into restraining their aggressive appetites."¹⁵ Although he allows that ecclesiastical institutions were not the only beneficiaries of grants of protection, he suggests that others only received such protection after the

Adam J. Kosto, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, order, and the written word, 1000-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 95, 96.

¹² Although the charters from Champagne-Navarre do not explicitly state this obligation, it is attested elsewhere. See Shaul, "The Prince and the Priors," 182-183; Cheyette, "The Royal Safeguard," 644-645; Didier, "La garde," 16.

¹³ Hollis Emory Shaul, draft of "Peace in the Desert, Peace in the Realm: The Carthusian Monastery of Durbon, Protection and the Safeguard of Exempt Monasteries in Angevin Provence" (2019): 13; Shaul, "The Prince and the Priors," 176; Didier, "La garde," 96, 119. I thank Hollis Shaul for sharing her unpublished draft with me.

¹⁴ Cheyette, "The Royal Safeguard." Others discuss it briefly in larger works on related topics. See Kosto, *Making Agreements*, 94-97; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, 106-112. For a recent study on papal protection specifically for crusaders, see Danielle E.A. Park, *Papal Protection and the Crusader: Flanders, Champagne, and the Kingdom of France, 1095-1222* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018).

¹⁵ Cheyette, "The Royal Safeguard," 638, 640-651.

reign of Louis IX of France (r. 1226-1270) despite admitting that he did not comprehensively examine Louis's acts.¹⁶ As this chapter demonstrates, this assertion is not correct. More recently in a chapter of her dissertation, Hollis Emory Shaul examines protection as it applied to state-building in Angevin Provence.¹⁷ Although Shaul studies another example of medieval composite lordship, she follows Cheyette in focusing primarily on protection in the fourteenth century.

Before Shaul and Cheyette, we must look to the early twentieth century for studies of protection. In his 1927 thesis, Noël Didier examined protection as it applied to churches and religious institutions in the long thirteenth century. His work is important for the present study for its subject matter and temporal scope and because he frequently draws from the *Liber pontificum* and other cartularies from Champagne.¹⁸ At the same time, however, he is only interested in protections granted for the Church. In a thesis from 1910, Ernest Perrot touches on safeguard in his study of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century French royal jurisdiction. Although he recognizes that laypeople could receive such grants, he too, like Cheyette, contends that the fourteenth century was the “era of full blossoming” for protections.¹⁹ Overall, historians have only traced protection for churches broadly defined, and most consider only French royal safeguards. Even Philippe de Beaumanoir in his late thirteenth-century *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* only discussed religious protection.²⁰ Nevertheless, as the following pages maintain, effective grants of protection extended

¹⁶ Cheyette, “The Royal Safeguard,” 640. He attempts to absolve himself by observing that Louis IX's acts have yet to be catalogued, calling his reign “a dark age.”

¹⁷ Shaul, “The Prince and the Priors,” chapter 4.

¹⁸ Didier, “La garde,” 6-7.

¹⁹ “l'époque du plein épanouissement,” Perrot, “Les Cas Royaux,” 261. See also Perrot, “Les Cas Royaux,” 129, 260.

²⁰ Philippe de Beaumanoir, *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, ed. Am. Salmon, 2 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1899-1900), ii, ch. xlvi. For a translation, see F.R.P. Akehurst, trans., *The Coutumes de Beauvaisis of Philippe de Beaumanoir* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), chapter 46. Most of Beaumanoir's uses of the terms “guardian” and “custodian” refer to administering on behalf of minors.

far beyond the ecclesiastical realm and further back than the fourteenth century. They included individuals, towns and villages and their inhabitants, municipal councils, fiefs, and land, all in the thirteenth century.²¹ Protection, often granted at precarious moments in their reigns, was thus a useful tool for the count-kings to exercise and proclaim their sovereignty to an extensive array of those they ruled.

The Form of Protection

Protection was an institution manifest in multiple types of administrative documents. Most grants are charters whose primary purpose was to formalize the count-king's promised protection, although their documentary form varies.²² They either initiated or confirmed the relationship between protector and protected and were generally quite brief. Monasteries, hospitals, and town councils in particular gained protection in this manner. Protection was also commonly recognized in an agreement known as a *pariage* or *associatio*. Sought for various reasons, protection among them, monasteries frequently associated a lay lord with part of their holdings on the condition that both parties split the revenues of the associated property. The charter of *pariage* spelled out, often in meticulous detail, how such income would be divided in addition to other obligations of the monastery and lord. In many cases, the agreement included the lord's protection over the shared

²¹ And sometimes in the twelfth. See language section below.

²² For an earlier documentary form, see Kosto, *Making Agreements*, 95.

entity.²³ Under the count-kings, towns and villages came under comital-royal protection through parriages with monastic institutions.²⁴

Protection relationships could also arise less directly. During the reign of Thibaut IV, several groups of Navarrese villagers and laborers, at their own request, received the status of *realengo*.²⁵ Being *realengo* meant becoming “part of the property of the royal patrimony.”²⁶ The designation entailed a promise not to be “sold, donated, given as security, exchanged, or alienated to any man born of this world” in return for an annual payment in cash or kind.²⁷ These quasi-franchises relieved villagers of labor obligations, but they were still subject to Thibaut’s other reserved rights.²⁸ Nevertheless, such status alone would have certainly endeared villagers to the

²³ Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes under the Counts of Champagne, 1152-1284* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 36, 46-47, 59; Léon Gallet, “Les traités de pariage dans la France féodale” (PhD diss., Université de Paris, 1935), 73-74. For examples of parriages in the bailliage of Troyes, see Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes*, map 4. See also Gallet, “Les traités de pariage.” For co-lordships between two lay lords, see Hélène Débax, *La Seigneurie collective. Pairs, pariers, paratge: les coseigneurs du XIe au XIIIe siècle* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012). For parriages with kings, see Gallet, “Les traités de pariage,” 74-79.

²⁴ Specifically, AN, J 195, no. 35 (Jacques Laurent, ed., *Cartulaires de l’abbaye de Molesme*, vol. II (Paris: Picard, 1911), no. 757; AdJ, v, no. 2932) and somewhat AN, J 208 Luxeuil, no. 3 (AdJ, v, no. 3138).

²⁵ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 273 (FDMPV 11, no. 52); AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 34 (FDMPV 11, no. 114), 160 (FDMPV 11, no. 65), 243 (FDMPV 11, no. 142); AGN, Comptos, caj. 2, no. 37 (AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 240-241; FDMPV 11, no. 79). In all five charters, it is the people of these villages, not the villages themselves, that become *realengos*. I am not sure if this distinction is significant yet, but Thomas N. Bisson argued that that people were distinct from territory, at least in terms of homage and fiefs. See Thomas N. Bisson, “The Problem of Feudal Monarchy: Aragon, Catalonia, and France,” *Speculum* 53, no. 3 (July 1978): 464-466. On the other hand, numerous references to being *realengo* in Luis G. de Valdeavellano’s study of medieval Spanish institutions suggest that it pertains to land, not people. *Curso de Historia de las Instituciones españolas: De los orígenes al final de la Edad Media*, 4th ed. (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1975), 247, 518, 521-522, 524, 541-542, 591, 600.

²⁶ “parte los bienes del patrimonio regio,” Valdeavellano, *Curso*, 444.

²⁷ “vendida, nin donada, nin empeynnada, nin camiada, nin ayllenada a omme nacido d’este mundo,” (AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 242 (FDMPV 11, no. 3). This particular charter pertains to the village of Etayo. In one case, no payment was specified. See AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 273 (FDMPV 11, no. 52). See also Valdeavellano, *Curso*, 580, 599.

²⁸ For proper franchises, see Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes*, 41-59.

one who heard their pleas and bestowed it.²⁹ For malefactors, transgressing upon rural villagers was one thing; transgressing upon property deemed royal meant confronting the king himself.³⁰ Whether a straightforward charter, a pariage, or a grant of royal status, all of these documents would have carried the count-king's seal, the material manifestation of his presence, power, and sovereignty.

The Meaning of Protection

Protection was a reciprocal relationship between the protector (the count-king) and the protected (subsets of the inhabitants of his domain and their property and rights) that brought benefits and obligations to both parties. The count-king's protection charters would have included a hanging seal affixed with a cord or threads and would have looked like the document pictured below.³¹

²⁹ Anne E. Lester, "From Captivity to Liberation: The Ideology and Practice of Franchise in Crusading France," *Anglo-Norman Studies* XL (2018): 159.

³⁰ Firnhaber-Baker notes this equivalence as well. See Firnhaber-Baker, *Violence and the State*, 79.

³¹ Most of the protection documents have since lost their seals, and none still have quasi-complete seals. I use here a rare example of an excellently preserved seal on a charter of Henri III. For a comprehensive study of the seals of the count of Champagne with high-resolution images, see Arnaud Baudin, *Emblématique et pouvoir en Champagne: Les sceaux des comtes de Champagne et de leur entourage (fin XIe-début XIVe siècle)* (Langres: Éditions Dominique Guéniot, 2012).

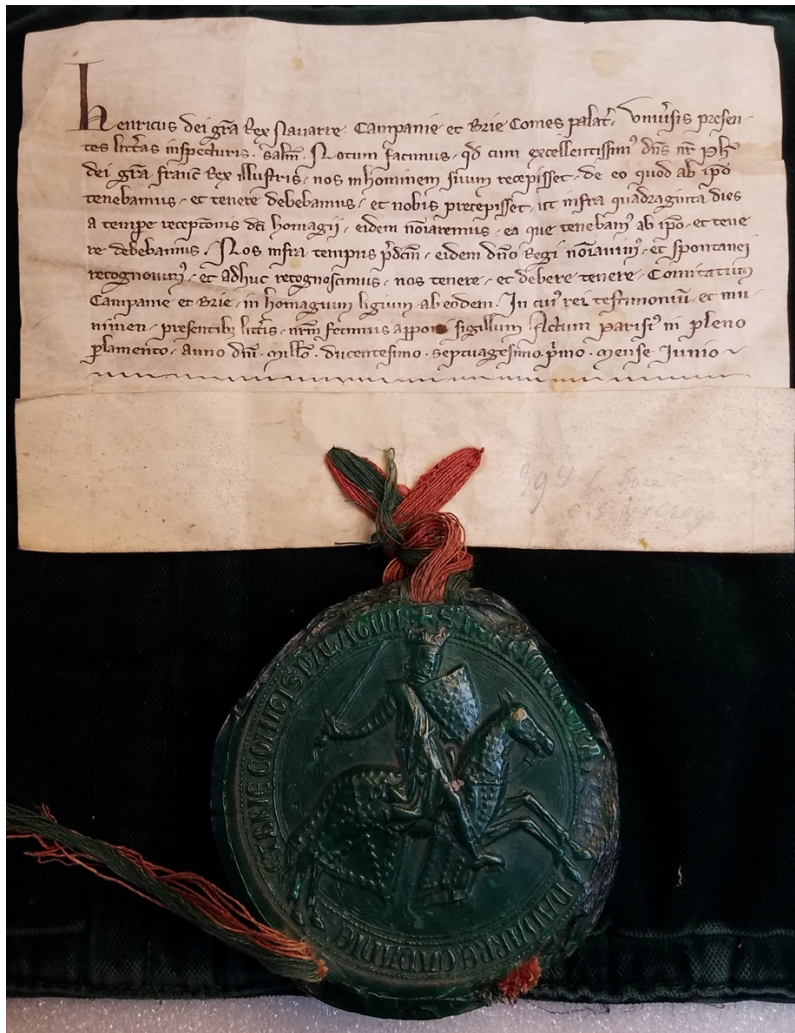


Figure 5: Paris, Archives nationales de France, J 199, no. 31, June 1271. Photo by author.



Figure 6: Paris, Archives nationales de France, J 199, no. 31, June 1271, detail of seal and counter seal. Photos by author.

As Brigitte Bedos-Rezak has argued, seals should not be regarded as distinct from the parchment and text, as all are physically and conceptually connected.³²

Seals had a much more forceful function in the Middle Ages than simply authenticating written documents. Eleventh- and twelfth-century scholars, going back and forth between the cathedral schools and monastic institutions that produced clerks and scribes, commented on the intellectual significance of seals particularly through their ruminations on the Eucharist and the Trinity and their reliance on the waxen seal as a metaphor to explicate these complex concepts.³³ Bedos-Rezak writes that “seals not only mediated but embodied the real presence of the individuals who affixed them. Seals allowed simultaneous presence and representation. Their mode of signification was through incarnation.”³⁴ Along the same lines, seals were intimately entwined with power and manifestations of authority since “the seal...became an efficacious sign, a power...enabled to confer on the document its own authority, transforming the document into a monument.”³⁵ By granting sealed charters of protection that were subsequently preserved by the protected entity or institution, the count-kings made themselves and their power present and visible with their subjects throughout their lands even as they were frequently on the move. It was understood that where a comital-royal seal was present, the count-king, albeit not in body, was present as well, for “persons absent in time or place were substituted by seals, which operated as alternates for those who were absent, acting in their place.”³⁶ The unity and conceptual

³² Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, “Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept,” *American Historical Review* 105, no. 5 (2000): 1515-1516. Bedos-Rezak is the foremost authority on medieval French sigillography.

³³ Bedos-Rezak, “Medieval Identity,” 1496-1498, 1515, 1521-1531.

³⁴ Bedos-Rezak, “Medieval Identity,” 1527.

³⁵ Bedos-Rezak, “Medieval Identity,” 1527. For the charter as monument, see Béatrice Fraenkel, *La signature. Genèse d'un signe* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 17-25.

³⁶ Bedos-Rezak, “Medieval Identity,” 1490. See also 1501, 1505, 1511, 1526-1527, 1531.

interchangeability between the seal and the entity it represented mirrored the concept of sovereignty. Not only did the count-king have the right to intervene and protect where he was sovereign, he also had the right to be present as lord as embodied in the seal. With the seal as a surrogate for the count-king and the charter as text recalling Scripture, the composite document forged a “social” relationship between protector and protected, count-king and subject.³⁷ The count-king promised to uphold and defend the protected; the subject in turn recognized and thus promoted the count-king’s sovereignty.

Charters of protection were also inherently political in their relationality. As Carl Schmitt first articulated in 1932, the “political” is an entity (in Schmitt’s case, the state) that a group of people is ultimately willing to defend against an enemy (in Schmitt’s case, an enemy state) by means of war.³⁸ He designates units so defined as “political communities.”³⁹ What Schmitt describes is what arises from protection charters: the count-king and the protected entity form a political community with threats to protected entities functioning as potential enemies. Even though the protected could not adequately defend themselves on their own, they could, however, still possess that willingness without a reasonable means of acting on it, hence enlisting the count-kings to defend them by military means if necessary. In affirmation of this point, in a notable instance from 1258, Thibaut V took the field against Count Hugues of Burgundy over the protection of the abbey of Luxeuil.⁴⁰ Although not necessarily formally recognized or territorially delimited, the political communities that the count-kings created were no less real. The very *idea*

³⁷ Bedos-Rezak, “Medieval Identity,” 1509. See also 1507.

³⁸ Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, trans. George Schwab (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 29-30, 33.

³⁹ Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, 45.

⁴⁰ See below and AdJ, iv, 390.

of them gave assurance to the protected, pause to troublemaker, and prestige to the protector. Moreover, like the political community of the state, the political community of protection in theory held against any and all “enemies,” however broadly defined. Indeed, even as the dates of their issue often correspond chronologically with times of uncertainty, very few of the Champenois-Navarrese charters explicitly give a reason for seeking protection, and even fewer refer to specific fears or malefactors.⁴¹ The threats that protection confronted were less important than the fact that protection was meant to hold for *all* threats against the community it engendered, both during the crisis that necessitated the protection and once it had been resolved. The lone protection charter that contains a preamble echoes the expansiveness that protection entailed. Thibaut V states that “Because the ordering of Divine Providence, with regard to these things, appointed secular powers to defend the good from the bad, the just from the unjust, the pious from the impious, and the innocent from the guilty, they must therefore relinquish the scepter of sinners over the fortune[s] of the just, not be duly restricted by lack of defense, because it is absent of justice, [and thus] extend their hands toward the unlawful.”⁴² Vague categories covered the full range of perpetrators and protected entities. With each protection charter they granted, the count-kings formed a new political micro-community that was small only in that it encompassed just a few members. In doing so, they further bound themselves to their people and reinforced their perceived power. At the same time, the creation of such a community through protection does not mean that the count-kings would not also militarily or judicially protect other groups and institutions in their domains.

⁴¹ I examine these rare examples in the next section.

⁴² “Quia diuine dispositionis ordinatio...seculares disposuit potestates, ut bonos a malis, iustos ab iniustis defendant, pios ab impiis, et nocentibus innocentes, idcirco debent uirgam peccatorum super fortem iustorum relinquere, ne pro debite defensionis inopia cogantur, quod absit iusti extendere ad illicita manus suas,” FDMPV 7, no. 20 (María Isabel Ostolaza, ed., *Colección Diplomática de Santa María de Roncesvalles (1127-1300)* (Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1978), no. 162).

Express protection was an explicit statement of the protected entity's place in the wider political community of Champagne-Navarre.

Protection also resulted in increased political legibility for the count-kings. In James C. Scott's formulation, "legibility" is how states categorized the people(s), resources, and territory under their control.⁴³ The concept resonates in the Middle Ages in that legibility in the form of protection expanded and maintained the count-kings' reach and sovereignty without requiring the presence of their persons. It proclaimed to themselves, their peers, and their subjects where and over what/whom the count-kings were sovereign.⁴⁴ Charters written in Navarrese Romance and Old French reveal how this "documentary intelligence," to use Scott's phrase, could have been conveyed beyond the reading of the charter itself.⁴⁵ The standard Navarrese opening clause, which parallels the French, states, "let all who see and *hear* this present charter know."⁴⁶ Although it is unclear whether or not charters were read aloud in the thirteenth century, by the early fourteenth, at least, town-criers were proclaiming protection publicly.⁴⁷ By creating and fostering political micro-communities in which the count-king was recognized as lord over a vassal, protection constituted sovereignty and made this sovereignty legible. For all parties involved, protection meant presence, political community, and legibility.

⁴³ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 2.

⁴⁴ Shaul connects this concept to medieval protection as well. See Shaul, "The Prince and the Priors," 17, 156-198.

⁴⁵ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 39.

⁴⁶ Emphasis mine. This particular example is "Seppan quantos esta present carta veran et oyran," AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 7, 150 (FDMPV 62, no. 51; *Dinastía*, 259-260). For the parallel French clause, see, for example, Lpo, fol. 327v (AdJ, vi, no. 3652).

⁴⁷ Shaul, "The Prince and the Priors," 184. Legibility would also manifest in the fourteenth century through physical signs—banners, fleurs-de-lys, stones, etc.—demarcating protected property. See Shaul, "The Prince and the Priors," 184-185. Firnhaber-Baker gives an example of this practice from 1272 in southern France, but none of the charters from Champagne or Navarre mention it. See Firnhaber-Baker, *Violence and the State*, 79-80.

The Language of Protection

The nuanced language of protection employed by the scribes of the count-kings in the mid-thirteenth century was specific and intentional and developed from the less precise language used by their predecessors, the counts and countesses of Champagne, in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.⁴⁸ Count Henry the Liberal (r. 1152-1181), who created the county of Champagne from several smaller lordships, granted protection to a diverse swath of twelfth-century Champenois society using a range of terminology.⁴⁹ The Latin *custodia* was by far the most recurrent and the most all-encompassing in Henry's charters.⁵⁰ *Custodia* occurs in relation to protection over general belongings⁵¹ and groups of people⁵² as well as monasteries,⁵³ towns and villages,⁵⁴ and, in one case, a grange.⁵⁵ Henry also placed various elements under his *protectio*, or safeguard.⁵⁶ They

⁴⁸ Neither Cheyette, Shaul, Didier, nor Perrot acknowledge this complexity but instead either simply list commonly used terms or do not discuss them at all. See Shaul, "The Prince and the Priors," 170; Didier, "La garde," 13-14; Perrot, "Les Cas Royaux," 98n1. Moreover, standard definitions in modern dictionaries do not fully account for each term's many usages. For common terms in central medieval Catalonia, see Kosto, *Making Agreements*, 265.

⁴⁹ Theodore Evergates, *Henry the Liberal: Count of Champagne, 1127-1181* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), ix, 83. Henry's grants of protection are in *Actes HtL*. The vast majority of documents cited here are in the first volume. Those in the second will be cited as "II, no. ..."

⁵⁰ Niermeyer defines *custodia* as "the protection afforded by a lord regarding landed property which has been confided to him." J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), s.v. "custodia."

⁵¹ *Actes HtL*, no. 50.

⁵² *Actes HtL*, nos. 34, 248, 484.

⁵³ *Actes HtL*, nos. 19, 64, 78, 205, 256, 257, 474, 522.

⁵⁴ *Actes HtL*, nos. 19, 205; Theodore Evergates, ed., *Littere Baronum: The Earliest Cartulary of the Counts of Champagne* (Toronto: Medieval Academy of America by University of Toronto Press, 2003), no. 104.

⁵⁵ *Actes HtL*, no. 138. For a discussion of what "grange" refers to, see Shaul, "The Prince and the Priors," 184-185.

⁵⁶ "salvagardiam," Charles Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Bologna: Forni, 1981-1982), s.v. "protectio." Niermeyer does not define this term at all.

included individuals,⁵⁷ groups,⁵⁸ a grange,⁵⁹ land,⁶⁰ towns and villages,⁶¹ monasteries,⁶² and even the terms of an accord.⁶³ *Protectio* was also regularly coupled with *custodia*.⁶⁴

Other less frequently used terms include *defensio*, which always appeared in conjunction with *protectio* or *custodia*,⁶⁵ *tutela*,⁶⁶ and *tuitio*.⁶⁷ The latter term is of particular interest because of its connection to protection's conceptual ancestor, early medieval immunity. *Tuitio* referred in the Merovingian and Carolingian periods to the protection that kings owed ecclesiastical beneficiaries who were exempt from certain taxes and royal interference in their affairs.⁶⁸ Henry's charters also contain the terms *advocatio* and *advocatus*.⁶⁹ During the Carolingian period, advocacy entailed the appointment of a lay representative or "advocate" who acted on behalf of a religious institution in the judicial sphere.⁷⁰ *Advocatio* appears alone⁷¹ and occasionally with

⁵⁷ *Actes HiL*, no. 483.

⁵⁸ *Actes HiL*, nos. 135, 248, 484, 506.

⁵⁹ *Actes HiL*, no. 138.

⁶⁰ *Actes HiL*, no. 294.

⁶¹ *Actes HiL*, no. 205.

⁶² *Actes HiL*, nos. 65, 205, 257.

⁶³ *Actes HiL*, no. 288.

⁶⁴ *Actes HiL*, nos. 138, 205, 248, 257, 484.

⁶⁵ *Actes HiL*, nos. 34, 64, 65, 248, 288.

⁶⁶ *Actes HiL*, no. 64.

⁶⁷ *Actes HiL*, no. 42. In another instance, the term is used in reference to God. See no. 197.

⁶⁸ Cheyette, "The Royal Safeguard," 634-638; Shaul, "The Prince and the Priors," 171-172; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, 22.

⁶⁹ "judicial assistance," "ecclesiastical advowry," Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinatis Lexicon Minus*, s.v. "advocatio."

⁷⁰ Cheyette, "The Royal Safeguard," 637-638; Shaul, "The Prince and the Priors," 171-172.

⁷¹ *Actes HiL*, no. 35, 81, 294.

*custodia*⁷² and *salvamentum*.⁷³ It could also refer to payment for that service.⁷⁴ *Advocatus* describes multiple individuals' positions, some in instances when they had behaved badly.⁷⁵ Both *tuitio* and *advocatio* recalled an earlier age. Finally, *salvamentum* surfaces as both general protection and payment.⁷⁶ The term *garda* or *gardia*, which was ubiquitous under the count-kings, was not used at all.⁷⁷ With the exceptions of *advocatio* as a position and *salvamentum* as a payment, Henry generally employed these terms indiscriminately and irrespective of the nature of the protected entity, strongly favoring *custodia* above all others. Although indeed varied, this vocabulary was essential for fashioning and refining protection as an institution. It would be Henry's grandson, Thibaut IV, who would use more precise language.

The terminology in the protection charters of Thibaut's mother, Blanche of Navarre, who ruled as his regent from 1201 to 1222, is less varied. In the five protections granted by the countess that I have located in published sources, her scribes employed *custodia* in three.⁷⁸ Towns and villages as well as woods to be cleared gained her protection in this manner. *Custodia* also described Philip Augustus's protection of her young son, Thibaut.⁷⁹ *Manus*, a general term surfacing in myriad ways in the Middle Ages but used in this case to mean protection, appeared

⁷² *Actes HtL*, no. 256.

⁷³ *Actes HtL*, no. 69.

⁷⁴ *Actes HtL*, no. 406.

⁷⁵ *Actes HtL*, nos. 24, 270. Misbehaving advocates appear in no. 474, II no. 207bis.

⁷⁶ Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, s.v. "salvamentum." In the former case, *Actes HtL*, no. 69, and in the latter, nos. 53, 78, 139, 484.

⁷⁷ The term does appear, however, in charters from twelfth-century Catalonia. See Kosto, *Making Agreements*, 265.

⁷⁸ *Documents relatifs*, i, 469; M. Guérard, ed., *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, 4 vols. (Paris: Crapelet, 1850), ii, 269-270; BnF, MS. Latin 5992, fol. 330r; *Gallia christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, 16 vols. (Paris: Regia, 1715-1865), x, col. 130.

⁷⁹ H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Voyage paléographique dans le département de l'Aube* (Troyes: Bouquet, 1855), 73.

once.⁸⁰ She also promised that she would “defend from all injury and trouble” the domus-Dei of Château-Thierry.⁸¹ The preference for *custodia* in early thirteenth-century protections is evident in the more numerous references to the phenomenon in Blanche’s cartulary, which chancery scribes created for her upon her retirement.⁸² Scribes used the term for protection of land,⁸³ fiefs,⁸⁴ towns and villages,⁸⁵ castles,⁸⁶ groups of people,⁸⁷ and monasteries and churches.⁸⁸ *Protectio*⁸⁹ and *tutela*⁹⁰ also appeared, as did *advocatio* in its Carolingian sense and in most instances in reference to Blanche herself.⁹¹ As under her father-in-law, *garda* is absent. The lack of nuanced vocabulary

⁸⁰ *Gallia christiana*, x, col. 130.

⁸¹ BnF, Provinces français, Champagne 135, 255 (AdJ, v, no. 864).

⁸² Theodore Evergates, ed., *The Cartulary of Countess Blanche of Champagne* (Toronto: Medieval Academy of America by University of Toronto Press, 2009), 10.

⁸³ Evergates, *Cartulary of Countess Blanche*, nos. 17 (AdJ, v, no. 1046), 18 (AdJ, v, no. 1049), 19 (AdJ, v, no. 1047), 20 (AdJ, v, no. 1051), 21 (AdJ, v, no. 1048), 22 (AdJ, v, no. 1050), 66 (AdJ, v, no. 763), 99 (AdJ, v, no. 766).

⁸⁴ Evergates, *Cartulary of Countess Blanche*, no. 73 (AdJ, v, no. 731).

⁸⁵ Evergates, *Cartulary of Countess Blanche*, nos. 188 (AdJ, v, no. 635), 222 (AdJ, v, no. 771bis), 253 (AdJ, v, no. 910), 305 (AdJ, no. 664), 370 (AdJ, v, no. 728), 376 (AdJ, v, no. 717).

⁸⁶ Evergates, *Cartulary of Countess Blanche*, no. 449 (AdJ, v, no. 550).

⁸⁷ Evergates, *Cartulary of Countess Blanche*, nos. 150 (AdJ, v, no. 1209), 153 (AdJ, v, no. 486), 156 (AdJ, v, no. 683), 223 (AdJ, v, no. 1013), 296 (AdJ, v, no. 1277), 412 (AdJ, v, no. 670), 420 (AdJ, v, no. 1186), 428 (AdJ, v, no. 784).

⁸⁸ Evergates, *Cartulary of Countess Blanche*, nos. 37 (AdJ, v, no. 286), 151 (AdJ, v, no. 1232), 220, 300 (AdJ, v, no. 1146), 324 (AdJ, v, no. 1145).

⁸⁹ Evergates, *Cartulary of Countess Blanche*, no. 223 (AdJ, v, no. 1013).

⁹⁰ It appears in Evergates, *Cartulary of Countess Blanche*, nos. 17-22, but these documents all relate to the same conflict between Blanche and Erard of Brienne. It is also in no. 302 (AdJ, v, no. 691).

⁹¹ Evergates, *Cartulary of Countess Blanche*, nos. 55 (AdJ, v, no. 776), 97 (AdJ, v, no. 1205), 98 (AdJ, v, no. 576), 305 (AdJ, v, no. 664), 311 (AdJ, v, no. 776); Evergates, *Littere Baronum*, no. 83 (AdJ, v, nos. 653, 684). Evergates notes this association as well. See Evergates, *Cartulary of Countess Blanche*, 15.

demonstrates that the idea of protection was not yet as fully conceptualized as it would be for the count-kings.⁹²

Thibaut IV reached his majority in 1222, in which year he granted several protections.⁹³ *Custodia* and *custodire* were used to describe the protected's goods,⁹⁴ the monastery of Clairvaux,⁹⁵ and the domus-Dei of Provins.⁹⁶ On several occasions, individuals were exempt from paying for the *custodia* of towns.⁹⁷ *Protectio* resurfaced in relation to Clairvaux⁹⁸ and five Lyonnais moneychangers together with their exchange table,⁹⁹ *tutela* once for two brothers,¹⁰⁰ and *defensio* again for Clairvaux. Thibaut's charters also contain a new Latin term, *commendisia*, which he used only for individuals.¹⁰¹ *Garda* at last makes its debut in two charters, both regarding individuals.¹⁰² Thibaut's grants of protection, as well as the diversity of their vocabulary, increased once he became king of Navarre.

⁹² It could also be due to gender differences in the sense that Blanche and her scribes could have conceived of protection differently because of her status as a female regent as opposed to a man ruling in his own right.

⁹³ As this chapter demonstrates and argues, timing was a crucial element of these grants.

⁹⁴ BnF, MS. Latin 5992, fol. 292v (AdJ, v, no. 1492).

⁹⁵ M. Secousse, *Ordonnances des roys de France de la troisième race*, vol. iii (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1732), 542-543.

⁹⁶ BnF, Provinces françaises, MS. Champagne 135, 274 (AdJ, v, no. 1746).

⁹⁷ BnF, MS. Latin 5992, fols. 291v (Lpo, fol. 304v; AdJ, v, no. 1499), 330v (AdJ, v, no. 1513), 332v (AdJ, v, no. 1911), 351r (AdJ, v, no. 2008), 355r (AdJ, v, no. 2002). These are examples of charters of franchise for individuals. For other cases, see Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes*, 121, 125, 183, 228n149.

⁹⁸ *Ordonnances*, iii, 542-543 (AdJ, v, no. 2116).

⁹⁹ BnF, MS. Latin 5992, fols. 348v-349r (AdJ, v, no. 1913).

¹⁰⁰ BnF, MS. Latin 5992, fol. 291v (AdJ, v, no. 1499).

¹⁰¹ BnF, MS. Latin 5992, fols. 290r (AdJ, v, no. 1521), 292v (AdJ, v, nos. 1510, 1512), 330v (AdJ, v, no. 1513), 332v (AdJ, v, no. 1911), 355r (AdJ, v, no. 2002). Du Cange cites these very documents. Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, s.v. "commendisia."

¹⁰² BnF, MS. Latin 5992, fols. 292v (AdJ, v, no. 1510), 355r (AdJ, v, no. 2002).

From their accession to the Navarrese throne in 1234 to Henri III's death in 1274, the count-kings of Champagne-Navarre and scribes from these regions discontinued, re-employed, and introduced various terms for protection that reflected changing conceptions of safeguard and lordship in the thirteenth century.¹⁰³ *Garda/guarda/garde* became the default choice, referring to town councils,¹⁰⁴ fiefs,¹⁰⁵ land,¹⁰⁶ hospitals,¹⁰⁷ towns/villages,¹⁰⁸ people,¹⁰⁹ and monasteries.¹¹⁰ *Protectio/protección*¹¹¹ and *defensio/defendimiento*¹¹² were similarly far-reaching. A new term *commenda/commienda*,¹¹³ emerging in Latin and Navarrese Romance largely for entities in

¹⁰³ Terms appeared in both noun and verb forms. For those used by the Angevins in Provence, see Shaul, "The Prince and the Priors," 170.

¹⁰⁴ For example, FDMPV 11, no. 147; FDMPV 7, no. 7; AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 7, 150 (FDMPV 62, no. 51).

¹⁰⁵ For example, Lpo, fols. 302v-302r (AdJ, vi, no. 3634).

¹⁰⁶ For example, Lpo, fols. 342r (AdJ, v, no. 2823), 389r-390v (AdJ, v, no. 3213); AN, J 197 no. 51 (AdJ, v, no. 2593).

¹⁰⁷ For example, AD Aube 40H29 (Aug. 1257; AdJ, vi, no. 3430); FDMPV 62, no. 27.

¹⁰⁸ For example, AN, J 197, no. 83 (AdJ, v, no. 3276); Lpo, fol. 376v (AdJ, v, no. 3278).

¹⁰⁹ For example, Édouard de Barthélemy, *Diocèse ancien de Châlons-sur-Marne*, 2 vols. (Paris: Aubry, 1861), i, 379-380 (AdJ, v, no. 3229); FDMPV 62, no. 52.

¹¹⁰ For example, AD Marne 16H47, no. 11; AN, J 194, no. 6 (AdJ, v, no. 2595).

¹¹¹ For town councils see FDMPV 11, no. 147 (María Angeles Irurita Lusarreta, *El municipio de Pamplona en la edad media* (Pamplona: Artes Gráficas, 1959), 131); FDMPV 7, no. 7. For hospitals see FDMPV 7, no. 20 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 162). For general goods see Provins, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 92 fol. 79r (AdJ, vi, no. 3679). For towns/villages see Lpo, fol. 345v (AdJ, v, no. 2764). For monasteries see *Ordonnances*, vi, 627 (AdJ, v, no. 2332); AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 7, 157 (FDMPV 7, no. 50); AD Aube 13H45 (Sept. 1271; AdJ, vi, no. 3687).

¹¹² For town councils see FDMPV 11, no. 147 (Irurita Lusarreta, *El municipio*, 131); FDMPV 7, no. 7; FDMPV 62, no. 27. For hospitals see FDMPV 7, no. 20 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 162); FDMPV 63, no. 70. For general goods see Provins, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 92 fol. 79r (AdJ, vi, no. 3679). For people see AGN, Comptos, caj. 2, no. 52 (FDMPV 11, no. 91); Lpo, fols. 50v-50r (AdJ, v, no. 2762); FDMPV 62, no. 52. For monasteries see Lpo, fols. 364r-366r (AdJ, v, no. 2552); AD Aube 27H3, no. 61 (AdJ, vi, no. 3627); AD Aube 13H45 (Sept. 1271; AdJ, vi, no. 3687).

¹¹³ Like *salvamentum*, *comenda* could refer to a payment too.

Navarre, described the count-kings' relationship with one of Pamplona's town councils,¹¹⁴ people,¹¹⁵ and the hospital of Roncesvalles¹¹⁶ and the domus-Dei of Troyes.¹¹⁷ *Commendisias*, used by Thibaut IV between 1222 and 1234, on the other hand, disappeared almost entirely.¹¹⁸ In contrast to Henry the Liberal's reign, *salvamentum/sauvement* arose less frequently as a payment¹¹⁹ and more commonly as the protection itself.¹²⁰

The critical transformation occurred with respect to *custodia*, which scribes used indiscriminately before this period. Under the count-kings, the term no longer applied to entities consisting solely of human beings, that is, groups of people and town councils.¹²¹ The other beneficiaries—fiefs, hospitals, houses, land, monasteries, and towns/villages—all include either (or in some cases, only) architectural structures, property, or rights. The natures of each group mandated different kinds of protection. To protect a person is to ensure his/her freedom from imprisonment and prevent bodily harm or death. Conversely, monastic churches and cloisters could be structurally damaged or dismantled, towns could be breached, and fiefs and land could be seized. In this sense, the Latin *custodia*, or its noun form *custos*, resonates with the English

¹¹⁴ FDMPV 62, no. 27.

¹¹⁵ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 185 (FDMPV 62, no. 52).

¹¹⁶ FDMPV 11, no. 102 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 83), 147 (Irurita Lusarreta, *El municipio*, 131); FDMPV 7, nos. 7, 14 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 152), 19 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 161), 20 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 162); FDMPV 62, no. 42 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 249).

¹¹⁷ AD Aube 40H29 (Aug. 1257; AdJ, vi, no. 3430).

¹¹⁸ The exception being Lpo, fol. 367r (AdJ, v, no. 2700).

¹¹⁹ AN, J 195, no. 35 (AdJ, v, no. 2932).

¹²⁰ AN, J 197, nos. 63 (AdJ, v, no. 2765), 67; Lpo, 265v-265r (AdJ, v, no. 3275)

¹²¹ In a single case, the phrase “custodia regalem” is used for an individual. I hesitate to make too much of an argument based on a single occurrence and the fact that I only have three charters mentioning the protection of individuals out of over 100. Moreover, this document emanated from Innocent IV and does not use language that resonates with the other documents studied here from Champagne and Navarre. The pope writes that a chaplain of Chablis “obtinet in tua custodia Regalem excellentiam.” See Lpo, fol. 50v (AdJ, v, no. 2754).

custodian, a security guard or caretaker of a physical space. That certain words only pertained to certain protected entities shows that they were not selected at random and testifies to an acknowledgement of the difference between protection of living beings and protection of land and buildings.

Through these charters and the language therein, the count-kings distinguished between types of protection that reflected the needs of protected entities, confirming that they were actively contemplating their role as lords. In Cheyette's words, "to change a language was to create an action."¹²² They identified their subjects, as well as the property, homes, and rights of those subjects, through the very act of granting them protection.¹²³ By refining what protection entailed, the count-kings further elucidated and solidified what they perceived their duties as counts and kings to be in written documents which could be consulted, displayed, and, if necessary, wielded.

The Efficacy of Protection

The many protections that the count-kings of Champagne-Navarre granted were not ceremonial gestures lacking in substance. The handful of charters that describe the plight of those seeking protection or assistance testify to the count-kings' perceived capabilities.¹²⁴ Two such documents exist for the reign of Thibaut IV. In late January of 1240 Bishop Robert of Langres agreed that the villages of Coiffy[-le-Bas] and Vicq belonging to the priory of Varennes could be placed under Thibaut's *custodia*, presumably following a request from the priory itself that no

¹²² Cheyette, "The Royal Safeguard," 641. He is, of course, referring to Philip III's innovations, but the meaning also holds here.

¹²³ For the role of state-imposed surnames in identifying individuals in the early modern and modern periods and its effect on state legibility, see Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 64-71.

¹²⁴ In contrast to earlier periods. See Kosto, *Making Agreements*, 96-97.

longer survives.¹²⁵ Robert gave his permission to change protectors on account of the “daily oppressions which the priory of Varennes frequently sustained by means of the wickedness and injury of their neighbors,” specifically the priory’s then guardians, the lords of Choiseul.¹²⁶ He believed that Thibaut would be more successful at halting the persecution than his own “ecclesiastical censure.”¹²⁷ Brother Étienne, whose predicament opened this chapter, detailed the situation at the abbey of Vaux-la-Douce a year later. He requested Thibaut’s *protection* and *custodia* because “we could not preserve the customs of our order for lack of *custodie*, considering that destruction threatens the church itself and because of the assault of bad men [who] were daily destroying the said house, [which] was empty of divine offices.”¹²⁸ Brother Étienne’s request was likely due to the harassment of Gui II of Vignory, who earned two excommunications for his behavior in 1224 and 1234. The request for protection came a year before Gui ceased menacing the monks and returned to the Church.¹²⁹ Given the severity of the violence and its implications for the abbey’s very survival, Brother Étienne and his fellow monks would have only sought a protector who could have really defended them, either through the strength of his name or the force of his men. They needed protection that carried weight, not empty words on parchment.

¹²⁵ Lpo, fol. 533r (AdJ, v, no. 2543). Thibaut only gained the right of protection in a pariage of 1250. See *Cartulaires de l’abbaye de Molesme*, II, no. 757; *Documents relatifs*, ii, 176n3. For brief histories of the two towns, see l’abbé Roussel, *Le Diocèse de Langres, Histoire et Statistique*, 4 vols. (Langres: Jules Dallet, 1873-1879), ii, 471, 482.

¹²⁶ “oppressionibus cotidianis quas per vicinorum maliciam et iniuriam frequenter substineat prioratus de vareinas,” Lpo, fol. 533r (AdJ, v, no. 2543). See A. Bonvallet, “La prévôté royale de Coiffy-le-Châtel,” *Revue de Champagne et de Brie* 5 (1893): 867-868, 873.

¹²⁷ “censuram ecclesiasticam,” Lpo, fol. 533r (AdJ, v, no. 2543). Curiously, Lot and Fawtier state that Molesme desired Louis IX’s protection, not Thibaut’s. See Lot and Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions*, iii, 245.

¹²⁸ “nos attendentes imminere destructionem ipsius ecclesie et quod incursum malorum hominum quod dictam domum cotidie destruebant diuinis officiis uacare et instituta nostri ordinis seruare non possemus pro defectu custodie,” Lpo, fol. 362r (AdJ, v, no. 2598). The abbey of Clairefontaine, Vaux-la-Douce’s mother house, consented in Lpo, fol. 362r-363v (AdJ, v, no. 2599). The document reiterates Vaux-la-Douce’s complaints.

¹²⁹ Roussel, *Le Diocèse de Langres*, ii, 284.

Thibaut IV's son, Thibaut V, also received requests outlining similar distresses. In March 1267 several monks of Luxeuil wrote to the count-king enumerating the many "torments and despairs that we and our church have suffered."¹³⁰ Out of "despair of losing all our goods," they asked Thibaut to see to it that someone come to the church to protect them.¹³¹ The brothers of Luxeuil believed that Thibaut, whose status as their protector was ambiguous, could effectively deal with their situation, outlined in greater detail below. If he was deemed powerful enough to help a group not definitively under his protection, he could certainly defend those who were. In an undated charter addressed to count-king, Brother Guillaume, abbot of Sainte-Colombe of Sens, also affirmed Thibaut's perceived capacity for sufficient, tangible protection. A knight named Gilles de Servola had asked the count-king to relinquish the guard of the abbey's woods in his favor. The monks, fearing "the greatest injury, the greatest damage, and prejudice of our church," begged Thibaut to deny the request.¹³² They sweetened the entreaty, "for you can better and more strongly protect [*custodire*] and defend [*tueri*] us and the aforementioned woods."¹³³ As they clearly stated, the brothers wanted Thibaut because they trusted his name and his power to continue protecting them.

These documents describe pressing problems that required genuine solutions. The desire of the monks of Varennes, Vaux-la-Douce, Luxeuil, and Sainte-Colombe for the count-king's protection and/or assistance reflects a shared belief that he could and would maintain their security

¹³⁰ "les tormenz et les despers que nos et nostre eglise auons soufert," Lpo, fol. 403v (AdJ, vi, no. 3401). See also AdJ, iv, 389-392. Although located in the county of Burgundy, it appears that Thibaut was their protector in 1267. See section below on Thibaut V's protection grants.

¹³¹ "desespere de perdre touz nos bienz," Lpo, fol. 403v (AdJ, vi, no. 3401). The language regarding the guardian is vague, as the monks ask Thibaut to ask an unnamed cardinal (*chardonnaus*) to send someone.

¹³² "maximam lesionem maximum dampnum et preiudicium ecclesie nostre," Lpo, fol. 302r (AdJ, vi, no. 3634).

¹³³ "melius enim et fortius potestis nos et nemora predicta custodire et tueri," Lpo, fol. 302r (AdJ, vi, no. 3634).

and come to their aid if necessary and that potential predators would be deterred by the threat of comital intervention. The count-kings had both perceived and concrete power in that beneficiaries and their adversaries *regarded* them as potent and effective and that the count-kings *could* and *did* use military force to protect their charges.¹³⁴ At the same time, questioning whether or not Thibauts IV and V ever physically defended anyone or anything with arms or dispatched their men to do so misses the point. What matters instead is that those seeking protection, and indeed those seeking to harm, *believed* that they could. The assurance of the count-king's protection backed by the force of his seal was at least considered enough to neutralize most threats like those just outlined and to ensure peace henceforth for all. Examining the charters relating to each count-king reveals the extent to which their subjects put their faith in the promise of protection and how this promise formed political communities that reinforced (and in some cases, geographically expanded) comital-royal sovereignty.

The Protection of Thibaut IV, 1234-1253

Throughout his reign, the first count-king regularly issued sealed grants of protection to a wide variety of beneficiaries. While some seeking safeguard requested it in writing, most would have come to the count-king's court and procured a charter issued by him and authenticated with his official seal. He agreed to protect villages and their inhabitants and a city's council and residents in addition to monasteries and a hospital.¹³⁵ Like those of his successors, Thibaut's

¹³⁴ The main example of the count-kings using arms to enforce protection is when Thibaut V went to war with the duke of Burgundy over protection of the abbey of Luxeuil in 1258. After Louis IX resolved the conflict, Thibaut maintained the right of protection. See above and Jean de Joinville, section 681 (Caroline Smith, trans., *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008), 317); AdJ, iv, 389-392. Firnhaber-Baker notes the correlation between protection and power as well. See Firnhaber-Baker, *Violence and the State*, 104.

¹³⁵ To date, I have uncovered fifteen individual documents attesting to Thibaut's protection of twenty-seven individual protected entities: AN, J 195, no. 35 (AdJ, v, no. 2932); AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 34-35 (FDMPV 11, no. 114), 160, (FDMPV 11, no. 65), 230-231 (FDMPV 11, no. 34), 242-243 (FDMPV 11, no. 3); AGN, Cartularios

portfolio was diverse and included laypeople and land as well as ecclesiastical houses. Moreover, all three count-kings would grant protections primarily at precarious times in their reigns, usually when they were about to depart—either for the other region, for Paris, or on crusade—or had just arrived or in cases of recent tension and conflict. It was in these moments that beneficiaries most craved protection and that the count-kings most needed to assert and affirm their supremacy.¹³⁶

When groups of townspeople or laborers—as opposed to the towns they harkened from—came under comital-royal protection under the first count-king, they were from Navarre.¹³⁷ Sometime between September 1236 and March 1237, at the beginning of his second stay in the kingdom as king, Thibaut granted *realengo* status to the inhabitants of Artajo.¹³⁸ The grant occurred during a period of unrest in Navarre, particularly the southern town of Tudela, on account of Thibaut’s absence and response to abuses alleged against his predecessor.¹³⁹ At their request, and certainly with the recent conflict in mind, the villagers became “always royal [*siempre realenques*].”¹⁴⁰ They sought protection as soon as they could, just after the return of the king. Similarly, the laborers of Gallipienzo also gained royal status.¹⁴¹ Three other groups of Navarrese villagers, from Asarta, Acedo, and Villamayor, did the same, this time only days before the count-

reales, Cartulario 1, 273 (FDMPV 11, no. 52); AGN, Comptos, caj. 2, no. 37 (FDMPV 11, no. 79); FDMPV 11, nos. 102 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 83), 136 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 134), 142, 147 (Irurita Lusarreta, *El municipio*, 131); BnF MS Latin 5189, fol. 67v (AdJ, v, no. 2533); *Ordonnances*, vi, 627 (AdJ, v, no. 2332); AD Seine-et-Marne, A13, fol. 6r (AdJ, v, no. 2636); *Cartulaires de l’abbaye de Molesme*, ii, no. 757.

¹³⁶ Lester notes the instability that departure inevitably brought with it as well. See Lester, “From Captivity,” 159.

¹³⁷ See note 25 above.

¹³⁸ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 273 (FDMPV 11, no. 52). For Thibaut IV’s itinerary, see AdJ, iv, 337-339.

¹³⁹ *Dinastía*, 58-61; María Raquel García Arancón, “La Junta de Infanzones de Obanos hasta 1281,” *Príncipe de Viana* 45, no. 173 (1984): 534, 534n58; AdJ, iv, 291-293; José Yanguas y Miranda, *Diccionario de antigüedades del reino de Navarra*, 3 vols. (Pamplona: Imprenta de José Imaz y Gadea, 1840), iii, 404. See chapter 2.

¹⁴⁰ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 273 (FDMPV 11, no. 52).

¹⁴¹ “realencos,” AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 160, (FDMPV 11, no. 65).

king, who had taken the cross in 1235, left Navarre.¹⁴² Thibaut would be gone in France and on crusade for over five years. They no doubt recalled the violence that occurred during Thibaut's previous absence and knew the difficulties of having a king on crusade. During his third stay in Navarre, the laborers of Olandain sought and received the distinction.¹⁴³ The people of Oco's charter proclaimed the same in April 1250.¹⁴⁴ Protection could extend to town councils as well, as it did for the council and residents of the Población de San Nicolás, a quarter of Pamplona favoring the count-king.¹⁴⁵ They were received "in our *garda* and in our *comienda* and in our *protección*" days after Thibaut returned to Navarre in July 1251.¹⁴⁶ The grant was a partial compensation for giving Thibaut the tower of María Delgada, the main tower on the district's walls.¹⁴⁷ With the exception of the Oco residents, in all of the above cases, Thibaut resided in Navarre at the time of the grant. Moreover, many sought grants at precarious points in Thibaut's reign, be they times of political tension or imminent departure.

¹⁴² AGN, Comptos, caj. 2, no. 37 (FDMPV 11, no. 79). For Thibaut taking the cross, see Michael Lower, *The Barons' Crusade: A Call to Arms and Its Consequences* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 93-115; AdJ, iv, 278.

¹⁴³ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 34-35 (FDMPV 11, no. 114).

¹⁴⁴ FDMPV 11, no. 142.

¹⁴⁵ Pamplona's neighborhoods would not be unified until 1266. See José María Jimeno Jurío, *Historia de Pamplona y de sus lenguas* (Tafalla, Txalaparta, 1995), 94; José Jimeno Jurío, *Historia de Pamplona: Síntesis de una evolución* (Pamplona: Editorial Aranzadi, 1974), 122.

¹⁴⁶ "en nuestra garda et en nuestra comienda et en nuestra protección," FDMPV 11, no. 147 (Irurita Lusarreta, *El municipio*, 131). The neighborhoods of Pamplona had a tense, complicated, and sometimes violent relationship with one another. See Juan José Martinena Ruiz, *La Pamplona de los burgos y su evolución urbana, siglos XII-XVI* (Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1974); José María Jimeno Jurío, *Historia de Pamplona: Síntesis*; Irurita Lusarreta, *El municipio de Pamplona*. AGN, Comptos, caj. 2, no. 72 (FDMPV 11, no. 146), treating this same protection, uses similar language.

¹⁴⁷ Jimeno Jurío, *Historia de Pamplona y de sus lenguas*, 93; José María Lacarra, *Historia política del reino de Navarra desde sus orígenes hasta su incorporación a Castilla*, 2 vols. (Pamplona: Editorial Aranzadi, 1972), ii, 158; Jimeno Jurío, *Historia de Pamplona*, 122-123; Juan José Martinena Ruiz, *La Pamplona de los burgos*, 317-318. He also granted them concessions dealing with water flow in the quarter. This agreement is AGN, Comptos, caja 2, no. 72; AGN, Comptos, caj. 2, no. 72 (FDMPV 11, no. 146).

To hammer the message home further, Thibaut and his scribes amplified their rhetoric to include threats of a biblical nature to potential miscreants in several of these grants:¹⁴⁸ for example, “whoever is against our gift [of royal status] or against our act...may become a partner with Judas the traitor amongst the hells and buried like Dathan and Abiram.”¹⁴⁹ Judas, who betrayed Jesus to the Romans, was one of the most despised figures in medieval Christianity.¹⁵⁰ The brothers Dathan and Abiram rebelled against Moses and Aaron in the book of Numbers, and as a result, “the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up.”¹⁵¹ The three sinners were the most common figures found in medieval curses.¹⁵² Featured threats and punishments added to the gravitas and force behind the documents and the one who issued them.

Entire towns and villages, not just their human components, were also the recipients of Thibaut’s grants of protection and royal status, again often at their own request. Thibaut first endowed the Navarrese village of Etayo with *realengo* standing in the middle of his brief first visit to Navarre for his *alzamiento*.¹⁵³ The charter contains a threat akin to the one cited above.¹⁵⁴ In a

¹⁴⁸ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 230-231 (FDMPV 11, no. 34), 242-243 (FDMPV 11, no. 3); AGN, Comptos, caj. 2, no. 37 (FDMPV 11, no. 79); FDMPV 11, no. 102 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 83).

¹⁴⁹ “qualque contra est nostro donatiuo ho contra est nostro fecho...con Judas el traidor pueda ser parçonero entro en los infiernos et abismado como Datam et Abiron,” AGN, Comptos, caj. 2, no. 37 (FDMPV 11, no. 79). Intriguingly, the Navarrese Romance term *parçonero* is related to the Latin *partitionarius*, which was often used to denote co-lords. See Débax, *La seigneurie collective*, 57.

¹⁵⁰ See Matthew 26:14-16, 47-50; Mark 14:10-11, 43-46; Luke 22:3-6, 47-48; John 18:2-5. Judas is in one of Satan’s three mouths in Dante’s fourteenth-century masterpiece, *Inferno*. See Dante Alighieri, *The Inferno*, trans. John Ciardi (New York: Signet Classic, 2001), canto 34.

¹⁵¹ Numbers 16:32.

¹⁵² Lester K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 65-66.

¹⁵³ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 242-243 (FDMPV 11, no. 3).

¹⁵⁴ “Et qui a este nostro donatiuo quisies maldizir o contrariar, con Judas el traidor entro en los inffiernos pueda ser perconero,” AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 242-243 (FDMPV 11, no. 3).

single charter, the *villas* of Mirafuentes and Ubago, with a similarly menacing clause, became royal at the beginning of Thibaut's visit following the turmoil caused by his first absence.

Several Champenois towns and villages received his formal protection too.¹⁵⁵ In July 1239, a month before he would embark on crusade, Thibaut gained the guard of Molesme.¹⁵⁶ In a pariage with the abbey of Molesme, Thibaut promised to guard (*custodire*) the villages of Coiffy[-le-Bas] and Vicq because of the “*injuste oppression*” of Jean of Choiseul.¹⁵⁷ The agreement took place in July 1250, three months before Thibaut would leave Champagne for Navarre and over ten years after Bishop Robert of Langres gave his permission to disavow the right of guard.¹⁵⁸ Finally, in another pariage with the abbot of Molesme from July 1250, towards the end of a sojourn in France, Thibaut swore to protect and defend everything in Rumilly[-lès-Vaudes],¹⁵⁹ Cérés, Montceaux[-lès-Vaudes], Vaudes, Voves, Saint-Pierre[-lès-Vaudes], Courgelains, Fouchères, Fralignes, and Celles[-sur-Ource].¹⁶⁰

Thibaut only granted protection to two religious institutions. Two months after arriving back in Champagne after his coronation in Navarre, Thibaut issued a charter to the abbey of Saint-

¹⁵⁵ See note 25 above.

¹⁵⁶ BnF, MS. Latin 5189, fol. 67v (AdJ, iv, no. 2533).

¹⁵⁷ Bonvallet, “La prévôté royale,” (1893): 869. For the agreement, see *Cartulaires de l'abbaye de Molesme*, II, no. 757. For the abbot's parallel document, see Lpo, fols. 325v-326v (*Documents relatifs*, ii, 177-178; AdJ, iv, no. 2934; Bonvallet, “La prévôté royale,” (1894): 864-867).

¹⁵⁸ A. Bonvallet postulates that the priory delayed making the agreement because the monks balked at losing “une partie de ce qu'ils possédaient, pour conserver l'autre.” See Bonvallet, “La prévôté royale,” (1893): 869 and also 872.

¹⁵⁹ Thibaut first gained the guard of Rumilly-lès-Vaudes in 1233, if not before. See *Cartulaires de l'abbaye de Molesme*, ii, no. 452.

¹⁶⁰ AN, J 195, no. 35 (*Documents relatifs*, ii, 60-62; AdJ, iv, 2932). Both Evergates and Didier note the abbey of Molesme's “deliberate policy of association with the count,” Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes*, 36. See also Didier, “La garde,” 113n63. Bonvallet notes the similarities between this agreement and the one for Coiffy[-le-Bas] and Vicq and posits that they occurred on the same day. He also suggests that a 1233 pariage was the template for the later agreements. See Bonvallet, “La prévôté royale,” (1893): 872n1, 872. For the 1233 agreement, see Bonvallet, “La prévôté royale,” (1894): 862-863.

Pierre-aux-Monts in Châlons-en-Champagne. The document describes the “danger [*periculo*] of your property and bodies,” prompting the count-king to take them “*sub nostra protectione*” of his own volition.¹⁶¹ The monks of Saint-Pierre-aux-Monts had that same month released Thibaut from his obligation to pay them “for the damages that we incurred and can incur on account of” Thibaut’s founding the abbey of Saint-Jacques de Vitry in 1233.¹⁶² In return, and because of the possibility of further injury, the count-king granted the protection charter. Ten years later in August 1244, the hospital of Roncesvalles in Navarre and its property were received “under our *protectione* and firm *custodia*.”¹⁶³ Thibaut then added that “if anyone ignores this our prohibition by inflicting violence [*violentiam*] or grievance [*gravamen*] on the aforementioned hospital or property pertaining to it, he should rightly fear danger [*periculum*] to his body and his property.”¹⁶⁴ Roncesvalles would receive many more grants of protection throughout the reigns of the count-kings, including another from Thibaut IV in 1249, because of its location on one of the more easily traversable paths through the Pyrenees in Navarre and elsewhere.¹⁶⁵ The faithful on the popular pilgrimage the Camino de Santiago, or the Way of Saint James, often chose this route, and the

¹⁶¹ “periculo rerum vestrarum et corporum,” *Ordonances*, vi, 627 (AdJ, c, no. 2332).

¹⁶² “pro recompensatione nobis facienda de dampnis que incurrimus et incurrere possumus occasione,” Lpo, fol. 271v (AdJ, iv, 2331). I have been unable to explain why Saint-Pierre-aux-Monts sustained damages on account of the founding of Saint-Jacques de Vitry, especially given that the prior of the former approved the foundation of the latter. See A. Kwanten, “L’abbaye Saint-Jacques de Vitry-en-Perthois,” *Mémoires de la Société d’agriculture, commerce, sciences et arts du département de la Marne* 81 (1966): 94. See also Edouard de Barthélemy, “Essai sur les abbayes du département de la Marne,” *Séances et travaux de l’Académie de Reims* 16 (1852): 16-20; *Gallia christiana*, ix, column 929; Barthélemy, *Diocèse*, i, 177-178; Anne E. Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns: The Women’s Religious Movement and its Reform in Thirteenth-Century Champagne* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 41.

¹⁶³ “sub nostra protectione et firma custodia,” FDMPV 11, no. 102 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 83).

¹⁶⁴ “recipimus idem hospitale et omnes res pertinentes ab ipsum sub nostra protectione et firma custodia,” “Quod si aliquis hanc inhibitionem nostram neglexerit inferendo violentiam sive gravamen hospitali predicto seu rebus ad ipsum pertinentibus, sui corporis et rerum suarum periculum merito poterit formidare,” FDMPV 11, no. 102 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 83).

¹⁶⁵ FDMPV 11, no. 136 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 134).

prosperous hospital offered respite, and perhaps temptation, to many pilgrims and travelers.¹⁶⁶ It was a favorite comital-royal beneficiary.¹⁶⁷

Thibaut's protection of Champenois and Navarrese society was extensive and not limited to hospitals and monasteries. From rural farmers to wealthy abbeys, people sought and received his promise of protection backed by a shared confidence in his might, name, and seal. For some of these entities faced very real dangers. The chronology of Thibaut's grants mirrors the insecurities that his people felt at critical points in his reign. His arrival and departure created anxiety, as the length of a visit was not always clear nor was it certain when, or even if, he would return. In the same vein, the count-king needed to affirm his sovereignty in these moments. He had to make his presence felt both when present and absent. Through charters with their influence, implications, and explicit threats, the political communities that bound protector and protected achieved that goal.

The Protection of Thibaut V, 1253-1270

Thibaut V also forged political communities at significant moments during his reign. As in his father's reign, monastic houses and hospitals were not the exclusive recipients of Thibaut's protection in times of uncertainty.¹⁶⁸ The town council that gained Thibaut's protection was again

¹⁶⁶ Béatrice Leroy, *La Navarre au Moyen Age* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1984), 62-66. Sancho VII is buried there.

¹⁶⁷ *Dinastía*, 157.

¹⁶⁸ In fifteen charters, the second count-king protected fifteen entities: AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 7, 122-123 (FDMPV 7, no. 19; Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 161), 157 (FDMPV 7, no. 50; *Dinastía*, 155); FDMPV 7, nos. 7, 14 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 152), 20 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 162); AD Aube, 40H29 (Aug. 1257; Ph. Guignard, *Les anciens statuts de l'Hôtel-Dieu-le-Comte de Troyes* (Troyes: A. Guignard, 1853), 102-103; AdJ, vi, no. 3430); AD Aube, 3H104, nos. 8, 10; AD Aube, 21H12 (5 Apr. 1269; AdJ, vi, no. 3622); AD Aube, 27H3, no. 61 (AdJ, vi, no. 3627); AN, J 208 Luxeuil, nos. 1 (*Layettes*, iii, no. 4437; AdJ, v, no. 3139), 3 (*Layettes*, iii, no. 4436; AdJ, v, no. 3138); *Memorias históricas de la ciudad de Estella*: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 18294, c. 10 (description of the no longer extant charter); Provins, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 133, fol. 172r (AdJ, vi, no. 3357); BnF, Provinces françaises, MS. Champagne 136, 272 (Michel Vessière, *Une Communauté canoniale au Moyen Age. Saint-Quiriace de Provins (XIe-XIIIe siècles)* (Provins: Société d'histoire et

the council of the Población de San Nicolás in Pamplona just a few months into his reign when he had not yet reached his majority.¹⁶⁹ At that point, Alfonso X of Castile, ever covetous of Navarre, promised the San Cernin quarter of Pamplona safe passage in his lands in an attempt to ingratiate himself with its citizens.¹⁷⁰ Likely in response to Alfonso's overtures and the mounting animosity between San Nicolás and neighboring San Cernin, Thibaut issued the grant on the same day, 27 November 1253, that he swore in Pamplona to preserve and abide by the *fueros* of Navarre. Growing closer with the Población, he also permitted them to build walls around their borders, much to the chagrin of San Cernin.¹⁷¹

In line with his reputation for piety, the rest of Thibaut's protections went to hospitals, monasteries, and nunneries.¹⁷² In 1254, days after leaving Navarre but not yet in Champagne, he granted protection to Roncesvalles using language virtually identical to his father's 1249 grant.¹⁷³ Thibaut V's scribe likely had Thibaut IV's charter with him to copy, and the hospital would have wanted a new redaction of the document bearing the new count-king's seal.¹⁷⁴ The charter states

d'archéologie de l'arrondissement de Provins, 1961), 363; AdJ, vi, no. 3324). The abbey of Luxeuil and the hospital of Roncesvalles had two and three protection charters, respectively.

¹⁶⁹ FDMPV 7, no. 7.

¹⁷⁰ Safe passage or safe conduct and safeguard are not the same thing. The former refers to protection given to individuals while they are in or are passing through the domain of the grantor.

¹⁷¹ *Dinastía*, 129-132; Lacarra, *Historia política*, ii, 164-166; Martinena Ruiz, *La Pamplona de los burgos*, 49; Jimeno Jurío, *Historia de Pamplona*, 123. The text of the oath is edited in Marcelino Beroiz Lazcano, ed., *Documentación medieval de Olite (siglos XII-XIV)* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2009), no. 14. Thibaut eventually got papal permission to break this oath. See *Dinastía*, 134-135, 140. Alfonso X's document is published in FDMPV 84, no. 22 (Irurita Lusarreta, *El municipio de Pamplona*, 131-132).

¹⁷² See also chapter 3.

¹⁷³ FDMPV 7, no. 14 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 152). Thibaut IV's corresponding charter is FDMPV 11, no. 136 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 134).

¹⁷⁴ Thibaut IV's charter was drawn up in Tudela, while Thibaut V's was made in Saint-Jean d'Angély. It is thus unclear whether or not Thibaut V's scribe copied Thibaut IV's charter since Saint-Jean d'Angély was not a place where comital-royal documents were held.

that offences against the hospital would “burden our heart” and that perpetrators would have to “pay us 200 maravedis in gold *alfonsinos* and remedy the damage done to the hospital.”¹⁷⁵ Thibaut issued two other grants for Roncesvalles in February 1256.¹⁷⁶ In addition to *protectio* and *comenda*, one describes protection as “safe in the privilege of royal defense.”¹⁷⁷ The document also contains the only preamble found in the protection charters studied here.¹⁷⁸ Finally, the domus-Dei of Troyes with its property came under Thibaut’s protection “as if our own property.”¹⁷⁹ The count-king, whose family were ardent benefactors of the hospital, had then recently returned from Navarre.¹⁸⁰

For the remainder of his reign, Thibaut would only grant protection to monasteries, nunneries, and collegiate chapters. The pariage agreement that he made with the abbey of Luxeuil in July 1258 would bring about the “torments and despairs” that the monks would experience in 1267. As a result of internal Burgundian crisis between Count Hugues and his father, the abbot and brothers sought Thibaut’s protection in exchange for half the rents and other rights from their

¹⁷⁵ “nos pesara de coraçon,” “pague a nos dozientos morauidis en oro alfonsines, e emiende al hospital el dayno feyto,” FDMPV 7, no. 14 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 152).

¹⁷⁶ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 7, 122-123 (FDMPV 7, no. 19; Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 161); FDMPV 7, no. 20 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 162).

¹⁷⁷ “secure defensionis regali priuilegio,” FDMPV 7, no. 20 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 162).

¹⁷⁸ See above section on the meaning of protection.

¹⁷⁹ “tamquam res nostras proprias,” AD Aube 40H29 (Aug. 1257; Guignard, *Les anciens statuts*, 102-103; AdJ, vi, no. 3430). The charter itself is dated to 1257, but an additional “x” has been added to the tens place of the date with different ink. Both Guignard and Arbois de Jubainville give the date as 1267, however Arbois de Jubainville only cited the cartulary and thus seemed unaware that the original existed in his archives. Either way, Thibaut was in France.

¹⁸⁰ If we go with the 1257 date, that is. Guignard notes that the charter mentions the hospital’s *bestia* as well and posits that it “indique un développement agricole important.” Perhaps this shift necessitated the grant. See Guignard, *Les anciens statuts*, xxxviii; Adam J. Davis, *The Medieval Economy of Salvation: Charity, Commerce, and the Rise of the Hospital* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019), 124, 170.

holdings.¹⁸¹ They entreated him “in compensation...to defend [and] preserve [us] from all injury or violence...as if his own against all.”¹⁸² The abbot even permitted Thibaut to build up to four castles on their land. The count-king accepted the alliance the same day.¹⁸³ Luxeuil was thenceforth “considered an annex of the county of Champagne.”¹⁸⁴ Thibaut and Hugues then warred briefly before Louis IX stepped in. He did not, however, fully resolve the protection issue, which came to a head after Hugues’s death when his widow seized the abbey. Their plea to the count-king in 1267 outlined the damages they had sustained. After a series of truces, protection remained in Thibaut’s hands, and his sovereignty was upheld beyond his lands.¹⁸⁵

Other religious houses came under Thibaut’s charge in this period, albeit less dramatically. During a visit to Clairvaux just before Easter 1259, Thibaut offered the esteemed Cistercian monastery where his mother was buried protection “on account of our sacred piety, for the salvation of ours and our ancestors’ souls”¹⁸⁶ and produced a second, similarly worded charter in the same hand the next day.¹⁸⁷ En route to Navarre in Saint-Arnoult-en-Yvelines southwest of Paris in late 1263, Thibaut asked the constable of Champagne to take “*sub vestra custodia*” the

¹⁸¹ AN, J 208 Luxeuil, no. 3 (*Layettes*, iii, no. 4436; AdJ, v, no. 3138). For the Burgundian conflict, see AdJ, iv, 389-392. Even though not under Thibaut’s sovereignty, Luxeuil had every right to disavow the count of Burgundy since he was not upholding his promise to protect them.

¹⁸² “pro recompensatione...ab omni iniuria siue uiolencia defendere conseruare...sicut sua propria contra omnis,” AN, J 208 Luxeuil, no. 3 (*Layettes*, iii, no. 4436; AdJ, v, no. 3138)

¹⁸³ AN, J 208 Luxeuil, no. 1 (*Layettes*, iii, no. 4437; AdJ, v, no. 3139).

¹⁸⁴ “considérée comme une annexe du comté de Champagne,” *Documents relatifs*, ii, xxii.

¹⁸⁵ AdJ, iv, 389-392. For Louis as peacemaker in seigneurial conflicts, particularly in southern France, see Firnhaber-Baker, *Violence and the State*, chapter 1.

¹⁸⁶ “diuine pietatis intuiti ob remedium anime nostre et antecessorum nostrorum,” AD Aube, 3H104, no. 10.

¹⁸⁷ AD Aube, 3H104, no. 8.

collegiate chapter of Saint-Quiriace in Provins.¹⁸⁸ Saint-Quiriace was then in the middle of an eight-year conflict with the archbishop of Sens over its disregard for the interdict he placed on the town in 1258.¹⁸⁹ Once back in his kingdom in April 1264, the Dominican convent that he founded in Estella received his assurance of protection too.¹⁹⁰ He granted the Cordeliers of Provins protection in May 1265 during a short stay in the county.¹⁹¹ Thibaut's protection included nunneries as well. In April 1266 he received "*sub nostra protectione et custodiam [sic]*" Santa Maria de Salas, located outside of Estella's walls while staying in the town.¹⁹² The charter threatens that "whoever should go against this our command will know our incurred indignation."¹⁹³ The last male religious recipients of protection, a month before Thibaut would leave Champagne for the last time, were the Trinitarians of Troyes.¹⁹⁴ Thibaut no doubt had their dedication to ransoming captives in mind when he issued the charter, for he was about to depart on crusade. The document describes their property "as if our own."¹⁹⁵ Finally, two days later, Thibaut commanded that his

¹⁸⁸ BnF, Provinces françaises, MS. Champagne 136, 272 (AdJ, vi, 3324). The charter is edited in Vessière, *Une Communauté*, 363.

¹⁸⁹ Vessière, *Une Communauté canoniale*, 174-175. For the conflict, see 169-177.

¹⁹⁰ The charter is no longer extant. Reference to it is found in *Memorias históricas de la ciudad de Estella*: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 18294, c. 10. See a variant of this text in Baltasar de Lezaun y Andía, *Memorias Históricas de la Ciudad de Estella (1698)*, ed. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay, 2 vols (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1990), 80-81. See chapter 3 for the indulgence granted for visiting this chapel. For the administrative and economic changes and conflicts occurring in Estella during Thibaut's reign, see María Raquel García Arancón, "Una posible reforma de las magistraturas de Estella (Navarra) en el siglo XIII," *Vasconia* 36 (2009): 37-44.

¹⁹¹ Provins, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 133, fol. 172r (AdJ, vi, no. 3357) and MS. 120, 229 (AdJ, vi, 3357).

¹⁹² AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 7, 157 (FDMPV 7, no. 50; *Dinastía*, 155). See also Roldán Jimeno Aranguren, *Merindad de Estella. I. Historia de Estella/Lizarra* (Pamplona: Pamiela, 2006), 33.

¹⁹³ "quicumque contra istud mandatum nostrum uenerit, indignationem nostram se nouerit incursum," AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 7, 157 (FDMPV 7, no. 50; *Dinastía*, 155). For similar language used in Provence, see Shaul, "The Prince and the Priors," 178. Little notes this common phrasing as well. See Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, 55.

¹⁹⁴ AD Aube, 21H12 (AdJ, vi, no. 3622).

¹⁹⁵ "tanquam nostras propias," AD Aube, 21H12 (AdJ, vi, no. 3622).

baillis, prévôts, and other officials “*custodiatis* and *defendatis*” the priory of Foissy and its holdings as if our own property.”¹⁹⁶

Thibaut V’s protection charters reflect his desire to expand his influence beyond his holdings and his well attested piety. The Luxeuil charters in particular emphasize Thibaut’s ability to protect in situations of real danger and demonstrate that protection and the political communities it formed could territorially expand power and sovereignty.¹⁹⁷ The latter point was precisely why Thibaut and the count of Burgundy went to war over the *idea of sovereignty* that Luxeuil’s protection embodied: in presuming to protect Luxeuil, Thibaut challenged the count of Burgundy’s sovereignty over the monastery.¹⁹⁸ That the second count-king bestowed his protection on religious institutions and houses more than on laypeople was due to his own religious devotion that was fueled in part by his close relationship with his father-in-law and future saint, Louis IX. Moreover, Pope Clement IV beseeched both rulers to take the cross in 1265, and Thibaut issued half of his protections to distinct religious bodies around or after that date.¹⁹⁹ Indeed, from this point onward, Thibaut would exclusively protect religious houses, whose prayers would in turn protect him on crusade.

¹⁹⁶ “*tanquam res nostras proprias custodiatis et defendatis*,” AD Aube, 27H3, no. 61 (AdJ, vi, 3627).

¹⁹⁷ Didier specifically cites thirteenth-century Champagne as evidence for this point for protection in general. See Didier, “La garde,” 114-115.

¹⁹⁸ I have not found evidence of any other such altercations.

¹⁹⁹ AdJ, iv, 409. I have been unable to locate specific documents entreating Thibaut to go on crusade from this date. Arbois de Jubainville cites not a charter but Odoricus Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, vol. xiv (Cologne: Iohannis Wilhelmi Friessem, 1692), 125, who does not give an exact date. I use the adjective “distinct” because Roncesvalles received three protections before 1265.

The Protection of Henri III, 1270-1274

Henri III split his protections between lay and religious groups and between Champagne and Navarre rather evenly, reflecting the need to assert sovereignty widely in both regions.²⁰⁰ Two town councils came under his protection: the “twenty sworn [*veinte jurados*]” plus the entire city of Pamplona, unified only in 1266, and the council of the Población de San Juan of Estella. The Pamplonese *jurados*, councilors overseen by an *alcalde* (analogous to a mayor), gained the third count-king’s protection in May 1272.²⁰¹ Their charter declares that “we [Henri] have pardoned them of all the anger and rancor that we had for them.”²⁰² On 13 April 1274 Henri took the council of the Población of Estella under his protection.²⁰³ The next day, the count-king granted protection to the residents of San Salvador del Arenal in Estella along with the right to have their own *jurados* under the condition that they submit to a neighboring quarter’s justice.²⁰⁴ Going against either of

²⁰⁰ In seven documents, he gave protection to seven separate entities comprising town councils, a neighborhood’s inhabitants, a hospital, the property of a group of chaplains, and monasteries: AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 185 (FDMPV 62, no. 52); AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 7, 150 (FDMPV 62, no. 51; *Dinastía*, 259-260); FDMPV 62, nos. 27, 42 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 249); Provins, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 118, 372-373 (Provins, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 92, fol. 79r; AdJ, vi, no. 3679); AD Aube 13H45 (Sept. 1271; AdJ, vi, no. 3687); AdJ, vi, no. 3757.

²⁰¹ FDMPV 62, no. 27. For *jurados*, see María Raquel García Arancón, *Teobaldo II*, Reyes de Navarra (Iruña: Editorial Mintzoa, 1986), 298.

²⁰² “Iis avemos perdonado toda yra et toda rancor que nos avyamos d’eyllos,” FDMPV 62, no. 27. The secondary sources that mention the grant do not explain this clause. See García Arancón, *Dinastía*, 258; Irurita Lusarreta, *El municipio de Pamplona*, 60.

²⁰³ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 7, 150 (FDMPV 62, no. 51; *Dinastía*, 259-260). This charter is the closest that any in this chapter come to a communal franchise in that it allows the quarter permission to have an *alcalde* and *jurados* “como solian aver en tiempo del rey don Thibalt nuestro hermano” and a provost of Henri’s choice. There was no fee for these privileges and no mention of exemptions. Thibaut V had in 1266 prescribed a single group of *jurados*, provost, and *alcalde* for the entire town. Henri’s grant gave preference to one neighborhood over the others. See García Arancón, *Dinastía*, 259. Thibaut V’s grant that Henri referred to calls the residents “nuestros amados y leales francos” and gives them rights over accidental death, again without a fee or mention of other exemptions. His document is edited in Merche Osés Urricelqui, ed., *Documentación medieval de Estella (siglos XII-XVI)* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2005), no. 7 and translated in *Dinastía*, 169.

²⁰⁴ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 185 (FDMPV 62, no. 52). See also Jimeno Aranguren, *Merindad de Estella*, 287.

the Estella documents would “burden our heart.”²⁰⁵ María Raquel García Arancón has suggested that the Población and San Salvador del Arenal bribed Henri to secure these rights in an effort to sow discord among the city’s neighborhoods.²⁰⁶ As under his father and brother, the hospital of Roncesvalles gained Henri’s protection while he was in Sézanne in Champagne.²⁰⁷ Those who transgressed the safeguard had to pay the count-king 200 *maravedís* in gold *alfonsinos* and “remedy the damage done to the hospital.”²⁰⁸ The charter uses the same language as Thibauts IV and V in 1249 and 1254, respectively, in their protection grants to the hospital.²⁰⁹

In Champagne, Henri protected the property of a group of chaplains and one group of regular religious. In his first protection grant, seven months into his reign on 21 July 1271, he promised that he “*custodiatis and deffendatis*” the property and goods of the chaplains of his hall in Provins “as if our own.”²¹⁰ Sometime between May and September, Henri had returned to his lands in Champagne.²¹¹ His final Champenois grant dates to the beginning of the same stay. At Thibaut V’s request, Henri placed the Cordeliers of Troyes, whom the late count-king had protected in 1265, under his protection.²¹² Even though fewer in number, the political communities

²⁰⁵ “pesar nos ya de coraçon,” AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 7, 150 (FDMPV 62, no. 51; *Dinastía*, 259-260); “pesar nos hia de coraçon,” AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 185 (FDMPV 62, no. 52).

²⁰⁶ García Arancón, *Dinastía*, 260.

²⁰⁷ FDMPV 62, no. 42 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 249). This case is one of the few where the count-king was not in the region corresponding to the protected entity at the time of the grant.

²⁰⁸ “emiende al hospital el dayno feyto,” FDMPV 62, no. 42 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 249). See FDMPV 7, no. 14 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 152) for this same language under Thibaut V.

²⁰⁹ FDMPV 11, no. 136 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 134); FDMPV 7, no. 14 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 152), respectively.

²¹⁰ “custodiatis et deffendatis,” “tanquam nostra propria,” Provins, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 118, 372-373 (Provins, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 92, fol. 79r; AdJ, vi, 3679).

²¹¹ AdJ, iv, 435.

²¹² AD Aube, 13H45 (Sept. 1271; AdJ, vi, no. 3687).

that Henri built through protection were no less intentional than his brother's and father's. He granted Champenois protections on his first visit there after becoming count-king and Navarrese protections in line with events taking place in those areas.

The Geography of Protection

Many of the political communities of protection that the count-kings formed were geographically inscribed. Most of the places mentioned in this chapter either still exist or are identifiable through early modern and more recent geographical dictionaries. Like language and chronology, geography was intentional, even though it is not always clear why the count-kings granted protection in a specific location at a particular time. The following map shows the protections granted by the count-kings between 1234 and 1274 in France.²¹³

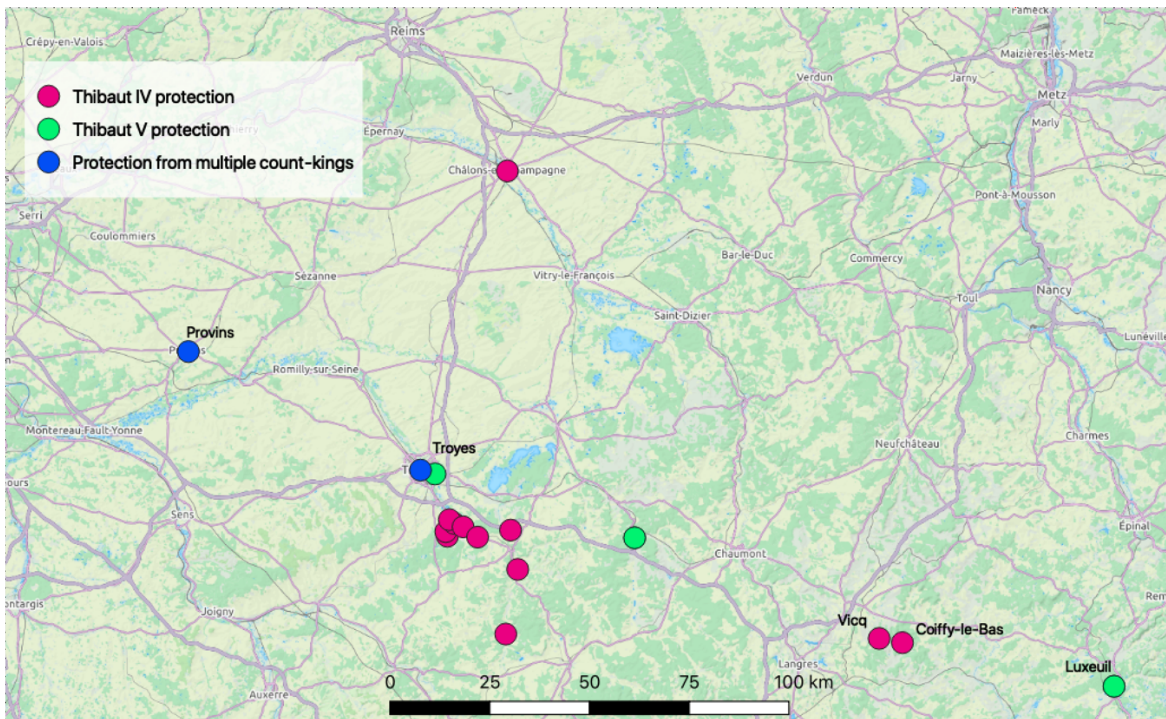


Figure 7: Protections from the count-kings in France from 1234-1274

²¹³ Henri III did not issue any grants in either France or Navarre in locations not already covered by his brother and/or father.

The count-kings focused their protective energies primarily to the southeast of their “capital” at Troyes. The three southeasternmost points on the map, Coiffy-le-Bas, Vicq, and Luxeuil, are the most illustrative for the count-kings’ prospective geographic agenda. The bishop of Langres gave permission in 1239 for Thibaut IV to protect Coiffy[-le-Bas] and Vicq, both dependencies of the priory of Varennes, on account of recurrent abuses by the lords of Choiseul. In 1255 Jean of Choiseul, at that time also plagued by financial woes, challenged the pariage agreement of 1250.²¹⁴ In A. Bonvallet’s words, “nothing could have been more lethal to the primacy of the house of Choiseul than the intervention of the count of Champagne in the affairs of the priory, undoubtedly less due to the fact itself of the association than because of the pretext that it must have given Thibaut for extending his supremacy over the region.”²¹⁵ The resolution stipulated that Thibaut V, whose father died in 1253, would retain the villages and could build fortifications there but must do homage for the land to the bishop of Langres.²¹⁶ Coiffy[-le-Bas] possibly had a castle when Thibaut acquired it, and the count-king began construction of his own fortress there as well.²¹⁷ Such fortifications, presumably staffed by garrisons, would help secure the county’s presence in the region. Luxeuil, however, was firmly in Burgundian territory, explaining why Thibaut V’s protection of it resulted in armed conflict. Along the same lines, albeit not through grants of

²¹⁴ “d’oppression et de violence contre les moines et leurs hommes,” Bonvallet, “La prévôté royale,” (1893): 867-869; *Aristocracy*, 224.

²¹⁵ “Rien ne pouvait être plus funeste à la prépondérance de la maison de Choiseul que l’intervention du comte de Champagne dans les affaires du prieuré, moins en raison, sans doute, du fait même de l’association, qu’à cause du prétexte qu’elle devait fournir à Thibault d’étendre sa domination sur le pays,” Bonvallet, “La prévôté royale,” (1893): 868.

²¹⁶ BnF, MS. Latin 5189, fols. 59r-59v (*Documents relatifs*, i, 480; AdJ, v, no. 3083). Intriguingly, one of the arbiters was the count of Burgundy.

²¹⁷ S. Migneret, *Précis de l’Histoire de Langres* (Langres: Dejussieu, 1835), 174n3; Roussel, *Le Diocèse de Langres*, ii, 482; Bonvallet, “La prévôté royale,” (1893): 877.

protection, Thibaut V had altercations with the count of Bar, whose lands abut Champagne's most northeastern holdings.²¹⁸ Protection of a specific place meant establishing a hold in that area.

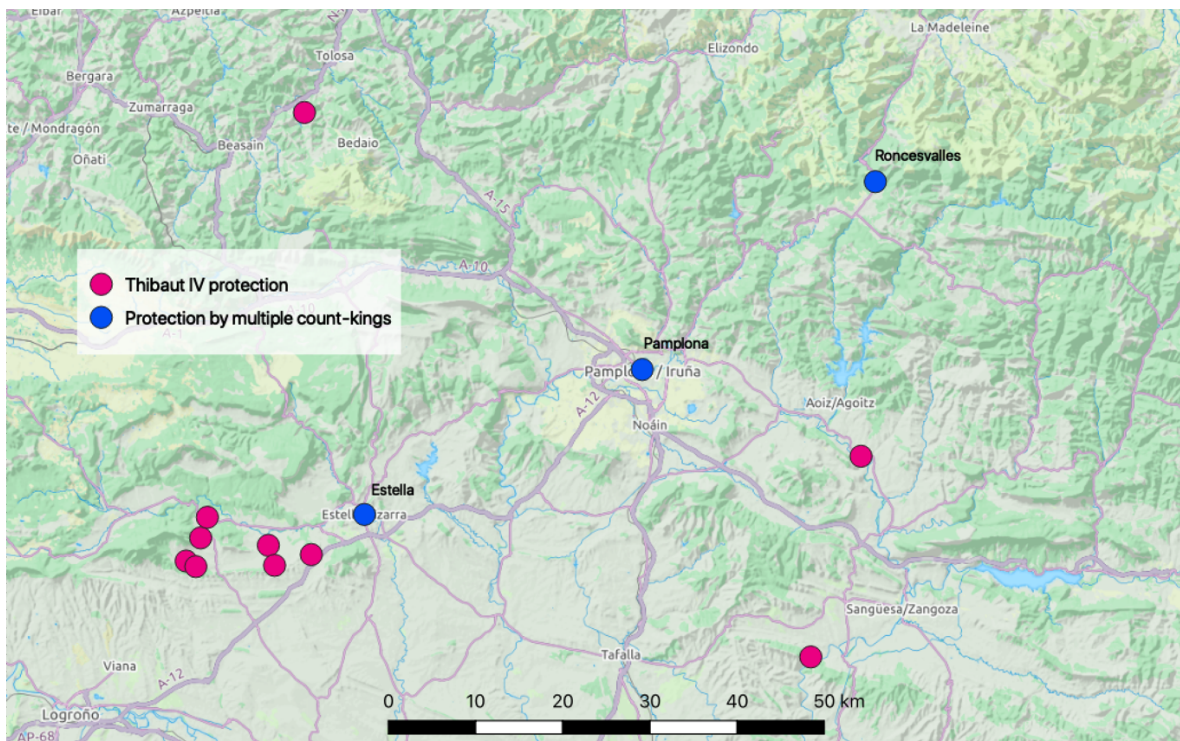


Figure 8: Protections from the count-kings in Navarre from 1234-1274

Navarre's protections reflect less territorial ambition and more the exigencies facing parts of the kingdom, such as tension in cities and unrest due to the absence of the count-kings. Roncesvalles, Pamplona, and Estella were all on the Camino de Santiago and thus always had people passing through them. The cluster of villages west and southwest of Estella would also see many pilgrims.²¹⁹ The region also bordered Castile, a constant threat to Navarre's autonomy. Roncesvalles received the most protections of the period as a favored institution of the count-kings. Pamplona and Estella both faced internal conflict necessitating the protection of various factions within the two towns. Along the same lines, the count-kings had to contend with Castile to the

²¹⁸ *Dinastía*, 106, 215.

²¹⁹ See Horton Davies and Marie-Hélène Davies, *Holy Days and Holidays: The Medieval Pilgrimage to Compostela* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1982), 86.

west and southwest and Aragon to the east in maintaining their claim to Navarre. Moreover, it makes chronological sense that Thibaut IV issued so many protections for Navarre because he was the first count-king. As a new, foreign ruler of a distant kingdom, he had to proclaim his sovereignty there as a legitimate and capable king whose protection carried weight and meaning.

Conclusion

Using evolved and intentional language and considering geography, the count-kings granted protection to their towns and villages in addition to the lands and property of laypeople and religious institutions as a means of reinforcing and asserting their sovereignty over their ancestral county and newly inherited kingdom. Protection typically came in moments of insecurity, primarily due to local crisis or movements of the count-kings. In this way it was complementary: the protected needed protection at the same times that the count-kings needed to assert their sovereignty. Protection advanced the aims and desires of both parties. In Champagne, the count-kings emphasized protections in and to the southeast of the county as that area bordered principalities ruled by powerful lords on relatively even footing with them, particularly the counts of Burgundy. The region was also not far from the lands that were devastated as a result of Thibaut IV's confrontation with other French barons around 1230.²²⁰ The count-kings did not, in turn, focus on the western part of the county because it bordered the domains of the kings of France, the count-kings' liege lords. In general, Champagne's eastern region was a much more contentious zone than its western in this period.²²¹ In Navarre, they spread out their protections but focused

²²⁰ For more on this conflict, see Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes*, 48-49.

²²¹ With a few notable exceptions. See William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 42-43.

primarily on the southwestern part of the kingdom that was on the Camino and bordered Castile. Additionally, the wide range of entities under the count-kings' protection challenges past historiographical assumptions about who could receive protection in the first three quarters of the thirteenth century. The fact that that protection was actively granted and sought demonstrates that the safeguards granted by the count-kings were not ceremonial trappings but rather effective deterrents against real, tangible threats. Seals stood in for the absent count-kings and gave the charters their force and power. For the count-kings, creating political micro-communities of protection asserted their sovereignty and made their presence felt in their physical absence. The phenomenon of protection did not cease after Henri III's untimely death in 1274, for in 1275 Philip III of France placed the entire kingdom of Navarre under his *protectione speciali*, as he was then regent for Henri's young daughter and Navarre's new queen, Jeanne.²²²

²²² AN, J 613, no. 10 (AdJ, vi, no. 3822). See also Xavier Hélyar, "L'ost de France: la guerre, les armées, la société politique au royaume de France (fin du règne de Saint Louis-fin du règne de Philippe le Bel)," (PhD diss., Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2004), 318. Philip granted protection to many others during his tenure as regent. See FDMPV 61.

II. Comital-Royal Agents and the Administration of Champagne-Navarre

In January 1249 Rivile, mayor of Saint-Florentin, bought *armiger* Pierre de Bligny's rights to Saint-Florentin "in the name of the king of Navarre" when the count-king was in his Iberian lands.¹ Rivile was one of dozens of comital-royal officials who conducted business on the count-king's behalf. Such men ensured that Champagne-Navarre ran smoothly and that the count-king's business did not slow down when he was elsewhere or otherwise occupied. Through them, the count-kings administered Champagne and Navarre effectively and efficiently and conducted their affairs no matter where they resided. Comital-royal officials learned to govern the county and kingdom with or without the count-king's physical presence because of his frequent absences and delegation of power to his agents. The extant charters that document this practice show the indispensable role that comital-royal officials played in the day-to-day workings of their complex administrative system.

Like Rivile, some men held formal positions—such as *bailli*, chamberlain, and *prévôt*—while others acted without such status. I use the terms "official" and "agent" interchangeably to refer to these individuals. Although many officials held a position, lack of a formal role did not restrict activity, as those with and without titles performed the same tasks for their lords. The count-kings gave their officials myriad responsibilities. They did everything from conducting sales and inquests to drawing up treaties and making payments, all in a variety of languages and settings and with parties ranging from peasants to kings. Officials often worked together and learned how to govern by watching their fellow agents and the count-king himself. The administrative apparatus made it so that the physical presence of the count-king was not necessary for the county and kingdom to function consistently. Tracing the activities of the men who served as the count-kings'

¹ "nomine regis Nauarre," Lpo, fol. 331r (AdJ, v, no. 2853).

proxies will illuminate the inner machinery of an increasingly bureaucratic and representative form of lordship characteristic of Champagne-Navarre and other principalities in the thirteenth century.²

In this chapter I am rebuilding an administrative structure without blueprints. Extant charter and register evidence both guides and restricts this process. It reveals common actors and activity and provides snapshots of Champagne-Navarre at work. At the same time, scribes made these documents to record a transaction or encounter, not explicate the mechanism behind their creation. That said, I begin by considering the different types and varieties of formal offices and the position-specific tasks these officials performed. Such men often had to be mobile, as the careers of three men—Léon de Sézanne, Jean de Flex, and Girard Mélétaire—demonstrate. Turning to language, the next section addresses the terminology and phrasing that scribes used to identify comital-royal representatives in documents and the fact that those documents were written in multiple languages. I then show how agents learned their craft and often worked together to practice it. The last two sections deal with the types of activity that officials engaged in and, conversely, what business the count-king could only manage himself.

The Mechanics of Administration

In general, the administrations of Champagne and Navarre under the count-kings did not overlap.³ Offices of the same name did not necessarily mean the same thing in both regions, and

² For studies of officials of the French kings, see William Chester Jordan, *Servant of the Crown and Steward of the Church: The Career of Philippe of Cahors* (Toronto: Published for the Medieval Academy of America by University of Toronto Press, 2020); *Men at the Center: Redemptive Governance under Louis IX* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012); *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986). For early modern studies, see John C. Rule and Ben S. Trotter, *A World of Paper: Louis XIV, Colbert de Torcy, and the Rise of the Information State* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014); J.H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

³ See *Dinastía*, 293; *Teobaldo II*, 121.

the terminology used to describe them is far from transparent. After the count himself—with language reminiscent of that used for protection—the highest position in Champagne was the *garde du comté* (“guard of the county”)/*vice gerens* (“vice regent”) or governor, who was responsible for the county in the count’s absence and had his own council, equivalent to a regent for a minor or crusader.⁴ An undated charter likely from the 1240s describes the position well. Governor Jean III de Thourotte writes, “and I..., his [Thibaut IV’s] *vices gerens*...after my lord himself has gone into his kingdom of Navarre, grants that his land of the aforementioned counties [Champagne and Brie] be protected [*custodiendam*] by me.”⁵ Thibaut IV established the office when he became king of Navarre in 1234 and entrusted it first to his father-in-law, constable of Champagne, and long-time ally, Archambaud de Bourbon.⁶ At times, two men appeared as governors in the record for this period, such as the pairing of Jean de Thourotte and Itier de la Brosse.⁷ In Navarre, however, between 1234 and 1274, the most powerful figure was not a governor but rather the seneschal, who is not to be confused with the hereditary, honorary position of seneschal of Champagne held by the Joinville family since the time of Henry the Liberal (r.

⁴ For the known governors during the time of the count-kings, see AdJ, ivb, 458-464. A council is mentioned in AN, J 203, no. 69 (AdJ, v, no. 3213); Lpo, fols. 389r-390v. See also AdJ, ivb, 556.

⁵ “et ego...vices gerens... post quam ipse dominus meus in Regnum suum Nauarrae eundo terram suam dictorum Comitatum mihi custodiendam concessit,” CCC 57, 334 (AdJ, v, no. 2650). This document is translated in Theodore Evergates, ed., *Feudal Society in Medieval France: Documents from the County of Champagne* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), no. 24.

⁶ *Teobaldo II*, 91; *Dinastia*, 278-279; AdJ, ivb, 127, 458-459.

⁷ AdJ, ivb, 458.

1152-1181).⁸ The “seneschal in Navarre,”⁹ however “exercises supreme control of officials, replaces the king in the management of the army, and presides over the highest court in the absence of the sovereign.”¹⁰ When Blanche of Artois became regent for Jeanne in 1274, she replaced the seneschal with a governor, and Philip III and subsequent French rulers continued the practice.¹¹

The highest financial position in the county was a *receveur/receptor*, or “receiver.” *Receveurs* typically performed their official duties in pairs comprised of one layman and one secular clergyman, like that of the famed Florentine businessman Renier Acorre and the *magister* and *clericus* Jacques d’Ervy under Henri III.¹² Whereas *receveurs* were “of the land of Champagne,”¹³ Champenois scribes associated a *chambellan/cambellanus*—“chamberlain” — with the count-king himself. In a charter from 1244, for example, Robert d’Aulnay and Erard de Besançon are called “chamberlains of the aforementioned my lord king of Navarre.”¹⁴ Although the count-kings had chamberlains in both Champagne and Navarre, I have not found evidence to suggest that one person could hold the position in both places simultaneously. They were distinct

⁸ *Dinastía*, 278-279. For the Champenois seneschal, see *Teobaldo II*, 91; Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen âge*, 3 vols. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1957-1962), i, 130; AdJ, ivb, 487-489. For the seneschalcy becoming hereditary, see Jackie Lusse, “D’Etienne à Jean de Joinville: L’ascension d’une famille seigneuriale champenoise,” in *Jean de Joinville: de la Champagne aux royaumes d’outre-mer*, ed. Danielle Quéruel (Prez-sur-Marne: Guéniot, 1998), 20-22; *Aristocracy*, 374n136.

⁹ “senescal en Nauarra,” FDMPV 63, no. 38, for example. He could also be seneschal of Navarre. FDMPV 63, no. 41.

¹⁰ “ejerce el control supremo de los funcionarios, reemplaza al rey en la dirección del ejército y preside en ausencia del soberano el tribunal supremo,” *Dinastía*, 279.

¹¹ *Dinastía*, 279.

¹² *Aristocracy*, 46; Veissière, *Une Communauté canoniale*, 155n4; AdJ, ivb, 465, 469. An example of Renier Acorre and Jacques d’Ervy acting together is Lpo, fol. 490v (AdJ, vi, no. 3784).

¹³ “terre campanie,” Lpo, fols. 454v-454r (AdJ, vi, no. 3710), for example.

¹⁴ “praedicti Domini mei Regis Nauarrae cambellani,” CCC 58, fol. 98v (AdJ, v, no. 2683).

positions, just as the comital and royal accounts were kept separately.¹⁵ Navarrese chamberlains (*chamberlanos*), who were laymen, functioned like Champenois *receveurs* and maintained the royal treasury. Thibaut IV imported the office to Navarre upon assuming the throne. Under Thibaut V, the Navarrese chamberlains generally worked in pairs, albeit of one layman from Navarre and a second layman from Champagne, and multiple sons succeeded their fathers in the role.¹⁶ The chamberlains, in contrast to the seneschals, were specifically “of the lord king of Navarre.”¹⁷ In sum, the Champenois governors and *receveurs* as well as the Navarrese seneschals were tied to the territory, whereas both sets of chamberlains were associated specifically with the count-king.

More local officials worked for the count-kings too. Champagne, the Capetian royal domain, and indeed much of northern France, were divided into “territorial jurisdictions” called *bailliages*, which the *baillis* administered.¹⁸ Champagne was composed of between seven and ten *bailliages* during this period.¹⁹ Appointed by the counts, a *bailli* was, in Henri d’Arbois de Jubainville’s words, “a person temporarily invested with the rights of the holder of a lordship without, however, holding the property.”²⁰ Likewise, as Theodore Evergates notes, “they resolved disputes between laymen and religious, they conducted inquests, they served as notaries in

¹⁵ Saint-Quiriace de Provins kept the comital accounts. Clerks connected to the royal household kept the royal accounts. See *Dinastía*, 143-145.

¹⁶ *Dinastía*, 283, 293; *Teobaldo II*, 102-104, 121, 156, 166. Crestel de Sézanne succeeded Léon, and Martín de Undiano succeeded Miguel. The earliest mention of accounts in Navarre is from 1252. See *Registros*, 18.

¹⁷ “del seynor rey de Nauarra,” FDMPV 63, no. 50, for example.

¹⁸ Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, 128.

¹⁹ AdJ, ivb, 473-484. See also Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes under the Counts of Champagne, 1152-1284* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975).

²⁰ “une personne temporairement investie des droits du propriétaire d’une seigneurie sans en avoir cependant la propriété,” AdJ, ivb, 473.

business transactions between townsmen, and they physically enforced the count's rights."²¹ In Navarre, the position was analogous to a *merino*, who, according to María Raquel García Arancón, "shortened the distances between the leaders of the small but very numerous districts and the officials of the Crown who constituted central power."²² Navarrese *bailes*, on the other hand, answered to *merinos* and were "charged with administering royal patrimony in urban centers," similar to a French mayor.²³ The count-king appointed them as well.²⁴ In some Navarrese cities there existed two *bailes*: one for Christians and the other for Jews. The latter, who tended to be Christian and could simultaneously be the Christian *baile*, handled judicial fines from Jews.²⁵ Whether of the Champenois or Navarrese variant, *baillis* and *bailes* were well poised to represent the count-kings.

As with *bailliages*, like the rest of northern France, the *bailliages* of Champagne consisted of several *prévôtés*, which John W. Baldwin describes as "not strictly administrative districts with discrete boundaries but centers of concentration."²⁶ A comital choice and under a *bailli*, a *prévôt/prepositus* oversaw the finances and annual dues of his *prévôté* as well as the local mayors. He also heard judicial cases.²⁷ Like *baillis* and *bailes*, Champenois *prévôts* and Navarrese

²¹ *Aristocracy*, 45.

²² "acortaba las distancias entre los jefes de las pequeñas y muy numerosas circunscripciones y los oficiales de la corona que constituían el poder central," *Dinastía*, 296; *Teobaldo II*, 127. For *merinos*, see *Dinastía*, 296-297; *Teobaldo II*, 127.

²³ "encargados de administrar el patrimonio real en un núcleo urbano," *Teobaldo II*, 135.

²⁴ *Cartulario de FIII*, 15n3. The exception is the *baile* of Pamplona, who was chosen by both the king and the bishop. *Dinastía*, 298; *Teobaldo II*, 136.

²⁵ *Teobaldo II*, 137; *Dinastía*, 298. For a table of *bailes* under Thibaut V, see *Teobaldo II*, 138.

²⁶ Baldwin, *Government of Philip Augustus*, 44. See also Jordan, *Louis IX*, 49, 49n67, 161-163.

²⁷ *Aristocracy*, 17; Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes*, 28, 42, 46; AdJ, ivb, 473, 704.

prebostes did not have identical powers. *Prebostes* generally only handled judicial penalties, although they were prominent members of their communities. Some towns and districts used alternative terms for the position, such as “*justicia*” in Tudela and Puente la Reina and “*almirante*” in Sangüesa and two Pamplona neighborhoods. The king selected them as well.²⁸ It is unsurprising, then, that the count-kings also employed them as their personal agents.

Finally, the count-kings frequently employed clerks in both official and unofficial capacities. In both Navarre and Champagne, a clerk (*clericus*) was a man with an ecclesiastical education who was generally a secular canon with a prebend from a lay or religious lord and was sometimes a master (*magister*). In Champagne, the tradition of calling upon clerics for administrative tasks dates back to the time of Henry the Liberal.²⁹ Those clerks who were designated “of the king”—such as *Magister Lambert*, “*clericus* of the illustrious king of Navarre”—were appointed by the count-kings themselves.³⁰ They also occasionally made use of regular religious, monks and friars affiliated with regulated religious houses, to conduct their business. These men were distinctive figures, for in 1259 and 1263 Urban IV declared that those who were “sojourning in your services could ride horseback and [wear] capes and shoes corresponding to their orders,” at Thibaut V’s request.³¹ The use of local officials meant that the

²⁸ *Teobaldo II*, 316-320; *Dinastía*, 355-356.

²⁹ Anne E. Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns: The Women’s Religious Movement and Its Reform in Thirteenth-Century Champagne* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 51-54, 174, 184; *Teobaldo II*, 107-108; *Dinastía*, 284-285; Baldwin, *Government*, 122.

³⁰ “clerico illustris Regis nauarre,” Lpo, fol. 505r (AdJ, vi, no. 3304); AdJ, ivb, 532. For comital clerks since Henry the Liberal, see AdJ, ivb, 533-543. For some of the count-kings’ clerks in Navarre, see *Teobaldo II*, 109-110; *Dinastía*, 285. For French royal clerks, see Baldwin, *Government*, 115-122.

³¹ “tuis immorando obsequiis equitare possint et capas et calciamenta congruentes ordinibus suis,” Lpo, fol. 59v (AdJ, v, no. 3292). See also Lpo, fol. 56v (AdJ, v, no. 3158).

count-kings could interact with their subjects on a more personal, intimate level through agents who were well-entrenched in their communities.

Many agents bore no formal title, some appeared acting without their formal title, and others changed posts frequently. It was not necessarily the position that generated power, but rather the recognition that the agent was representing the count-king. The case of Lope Ortiz—who was at times *justicia* of Tudela, *baile* of Tudela, both, and neither—testifies to the fluid nature of official positions yet also highlights the emphasis placed on the individual, not his title.³² Even as his formal role changed frequently, Lope remained part of the administration of Navarre. Moreover, many officials worked beyond the geographical scope of any location-based formal positions they might have had. Even though Lope's offices were tied to Tudela, he acted in Aragon as well as throughout Navarre.

Although most comital-royal officials worked in their corresponding native region, there are multiple examples of officials from one principality working in the other. Even before Thibaut IV inherited Navarre, his mother, Blanche of Navarre, brought with her to Champagne her nephew Ramiro, who became chancellor of the county in 1211.³³ Navarrese officials who worked in Champagne during 1234-1274 included Miguel de Pamplona, García Sánchez, and Brother Pedro de Roncesvalles.³⁴ Champenois officials likewise worked in Navarre, such as Ponce Dumei and Clément de Launay.³⁵ Thus far, I have identified three officials who traveled back and forth from one region to the other at least once, likely as part of the count-king's retinue: Léon de Sézanne,

³² See appendix.

³³ *Aristocracy*, 39.

³⁴ AdJ, ivb, 539, 541; AD Aube, 21H5 (Apr. 1260). See also AdJ, iv, 265-266.

³⁵ See appendix and *Teobaldo II*, 109, 123.

Jean de Flex, and Girard Mélétaire.³⁶ Tracing their activities with respect to comital-royal movements highlights both the mobility of the count-kings' agents and the bond that lord and agent could forge.

In Navarre, Léon de Sézanne was Thibaut IV's chamberlain in at least 1237 and his *mayordomo*, head of the royal household, in at least 1238.³⁷ From 1241 he appears as a *chevalier/miles*³⁸ and *bailli* of Sézanne in 1242.³⁹ He joined Thibaut on Thibaut's second visit to Navarre from late 1236 to the spring of 1238 and then performed financial duties in Champagne when Thibaut was there in 1241 and 1242.⁴⁰ When Thibaut resided in the kingdom from mid-1243, Léon was active on official business by at least June 1244 and returned to Champagne around the time that Thibaut did in early or mid-1246.⁴¹ When the count-king returned to Navarre again in late 1247 and stayed until early 1249, Léon accompanied him.⁴² From late 1249 through 1251,

³⁶ See appendix.

³⁷ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 236-237 (*El primer cartulario*, nos. 307, 255; FDMPV 11, no. 64); FDMPV 11, no. 68; AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 235-236 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 305; FDMPV 11, no. 80); AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 150-151 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 226; FDMPV 11, no. 87). For the *mayordomo*, see Luis G. de Valdeavellano, *Curso de Historia de las Instituciones españolas* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1973), 451, 453.

³⁸ His first time as a *chevalier* is AN, J 195, no. 24 (AdJ, v, no. 2561).

³⁹ CCC 58, fols. 55r-56v (AdJ, v, no. 2625). Arbois de Jubainville conjectures that he was a *receveur* with Jean de Voisines, dean of Saint-Quiriace de Provins, while Thibaut IV was in the East, but Léon does not formally bear that title in any of the documents I have examined, nor have I found any record of him in that period. AdJ, ivb, 470.

⁴⁰ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 139-140 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 218; FDMPV 11, no. 40); *El primer cartulario*, nos. 307, 355 (FDMPV 11, no. 64); AN, J 209, no. 18 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 313, 354; FDMPV 11, no. 67); FDMPV 11, no. 68; AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 229-231 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 302; FDMPV 26, no. 7; FDMPV 11, no. 70); AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 235-236 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 305; FDMPV 11, no. 80); *El primer cartulario*, no. 226 (FDMPV 11, no. 87); AN, J 195, no. 24 (AdJ, v, no. 2561); CCC 58, fols. 55r-56v (AdJ, v, no. 2625).

⁴¹ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 150-151 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 221; FDMPV 11, no. 101); Lpo, fols. 529v-529r (AdJ, v, no. 2738).

⁴² *El primer cartulario*, no. 197, 225 (FDMPV 11, no. 119); *El primer cartulario*, no. 228 (FDMPV 11, no. 126; FDMPV 26, no. 10); AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 281-282 (FDMPV 85, no. 33).

Léon was again with Thibaut in Champagne.⁴³ He likewise joined Thibaut on the count-king's penultimate trip to Navarre in 1252.⁴⁴ Of Thibaut's five sojourns in Navarre, Léon was present for at least three of them and was with him in Champagne during at least three of the count-king's six stays there. Léon was not a faceless functionary but rather a trusted confidant and adept administrator. His life was intertwined not with his native Champagne but with the count-king. He was an indispensable member of the Thibaut IV's court on the move.

Jean de Flex, a Champenois *miles*, also worked in Navarre, and the two instances when he appears in the Navarrese record coincide with periods when Thibauts IV and V were in residence.⁴⁵ In October 1236 he surfaces as the castellan of Estella in western Navarre, a position Thibaut likely bestowed upon him.⁴⁶ He then went on crusade with Louis IX and returned to Navarre, where in August 1256 he gave counsel with chamberlain Crestel de Sézanne—Léon's son—to Lope Ortiz, *baile* of Tudela.⁴⁷ Jean's time on crusade would have endeared him to Thibaut V, son of a crusader and future *crucesignatus* himself.

⁴³ The endpoints of this stay are AN, J 202 no. 27 (AdJ, v, no. 2891) and J 196, no. 38 (CCC 58, fol. 23r; AdJ, v, no. 2995). For his activity within these dates, see appendix.

⁴⁴ FDMPV 85, no. 38.

⁴⁵ *El primer cartulario*, no. 338 (FDMPV 11, no. 32); FDMPV 63, no. 33.

⁴⁶ FDMPV 63, no. 33.

⁴⁷ *Rôles des fiefs*, no. 814; FDMPV 63, no. 33.

Girard Mélétaire was *prévôt*⁴⁸ and mayor⁴⁹ of Troyes, chamberlain for Thibaut IV,⁵⁰ and *garde des foires* (“guard of fairs”) of Champagne⁵¹ at various points between 1217 and 1235. He likewise went back and forth between Champagne and Navarre. He went to the kingdom with Thibaut IV, Léon, and Jean during 1236-1238 and engaged in royal business and witnessed many royal acts, indicating that he spent much of his time in the count-king’s presence.⁵² Girard then appears in the comital account fragments for 1252 and twice in 1259 as one of Thibaut V’s purchasing *procuratores* for a new Franciscan house in Troyes.⁵³ Thibaut specifically granted him that power.⁵⁴

The above examples, albeit on a much grander scale, highlight the mobility that most comital-royal agents had, even within their own principality and its environs. One example is Miguel de Undiano, who began his career in the early 1250s as the *almirante* of the Población de San Nicolás in Pamplona and a member of the Población’s twelve *jurados* (“sworn”).⁵⁵ He began

⁴⁸ Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes*, 183; Arbois de Jubainville, “Trois sceaux,” 84. For his seal as prévôt, see Arbois de Jubainville, “Trois sceaux,” 81.

⁴⁹ Arbois de Jubainville, “Trois sceaux,” 84-85; AD Aube, 40H187*, fol. 25r (Elizabeth Chapin, *Les villes de foires de Champagne des origines au début du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1937), 291); AD Aube, 40H189*, fol. 80r (Lalore, *Collection*, vi, 187-188); AD Aube, 40H189*, fol. 80r; AD Aube, G3092 (Mar. 1234 v.st.); BnF, MS. Latin 11926, 314rv. See also Chapin, *Les villes*, 251. For his seal as mayor, see Arbois de Jubainville, “Trois sceaux,” 83.

⁵⁰ AdJ, v, no. 2090.

⁵¹ AD Aube, 40H187*, fol. 25r (Chapin, *Les villes*, 291). See also Chapin, *Les villes*, 254.

⁵² The endpoints of this stay are *El primer cartulario*, no. 218 (FDMPV 11, no. 40; Joseph de Moret, *Anales del reino de Navarra*, 5 vols. (Pamplona: Neyra and Ezquerro: 1684-1715), iii, 10-11) and AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 242-243 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 314; FDMPV 11, no. 72). See appendix.

⁵³ BnF, Dupuy 227, f. 317r (*Documents relatifs*, iii, 15); AD Aube, 13H119 (Oct. 1259); AD Aube, 13H114 (Dec. 1259).

⁵⁴ AD Aube, 13H114 (Apr. 1259).

⁵⁵ See appendix.

working with future chamberlain Crestel de Sézanne in 1252 and held that office himself, possibly jointly with Crestel, in at least 1264.⁵⁶ Miguel interacted with the count-kings or engaged in their business in Pamplona,⁵⁷ Tudela,⁵⁸ Górriz,⁵⁹ Tiebas,⁶⁰ and likely elsewhere.⁶¹ Similarly, Renier Acorre traveled extensively about Champagne as *receveur* under Henri III, conducting comital-royal business in Troyes,⁶² Sens,⁶³ Meaux,⁶⁴ Provins,⁶⁵ Saint-Florentin,⁶⁶ Bar-sur-Seine,⁶⁷ Bar-sur-Aube,⁶⁸ Pont-sur-Seine,⁶⁹ Saint-Vinnemer,⁷⁰ and Montiéramey.⁷¹ In order to stand in for their peripatetic lord, comital-royal representatives had to be on the move as well. How extant charters recognized that these men were working at the count-king's behest is the subject of the next section.

⁵⁶ FDMPV 26, no. 15; FDMPV 63, no. 56. See appendix for the ambiguity in his status as chamberlain.

⁵⁷ For example, FDMPV 11, no. 146.

⁵⁸ FDMPV 63, no. 45.

⁵⁹ FDMPV 63, no. 56.

⁶⁰ AGN, Comptos, caj. 3, no. 5 (FDMPV 62, no. 28).

⁶¹ Many charters in which he figures do not state where they were drawn up. See appendix. For example, FDMPV 63, no. 50.

⁶² For example, AN, J 195, no. 48 (Lpo, fols. 536r-537v; AdJ, vi, no. 3704).

⁶³ For example, Lpo, fols. 454v-454r (AdJ, vi, no. 3710).

⁶⁴ AN, J 205, no. 17 (Lpo, fols. 515r-516v; AdJ, vi, no. 3693).

⁶⁵ Lpo, fol. 296v (AdJ, vi, no. 3694).

⁶⁶ AN, J 195, no. 46 (Lpo, fols. 488r-489v; AdJ, vi, no. 3698).

⁶⁷ Lpo, fol. 489v (AdJ, vi, no. 3699).

⁶⁸ Lpo, fols. 438r-439v (AdJ, vi, no. 3707).

⁶⁹ Lpo, fol. 496v (AdJ, vi, no. 3722).

⁷⁰ AN, J 205, no. 23 (Lpo, fols. 491v-491r; AdJ, vi, no. 3723).

⁷¹ Lpo, fol. 319r (AdJ, vi, no. 3732).

The Language and Languages of Representation

Many charters explicitly state that comital-royal agents—even those appearing without formal titles—were working for the count-kings. Most verbiage to this effect is quite terse.⁷² In what remains of the comital accounts for 1252, under the heading “Expenses on behalf of the lord king” and subheading “Works and fortresses” reads “Through [*Per*] Girard de l’Isle, for the houses of Bourberaut, having been made new, for looms to be built, 128 *l.* 15 *s.t.*,” suggesting that Girard was overseeing construction for the count-king in the Bourberaut neighborhood in southwestern Troyes.⁷³ Similarly, in late February 1238 Jean de Thourotte and Itier de la Brosse made an agreement with the abbey of Montier-en-Der “on behalf of [*pro*]...the king of Navarre.”⁷⁴ Using a few more words in 1243, Jean de Voisines, dean of Saint-Quiriace de Provins, and Robert d’Aulnay, Thibaut IV’s chamberlain, purchased a fief-rent “in the name of the king himself [*nomine ipsius Regis*].”⁷⁵ Agents could also act “in the place [*ou leu*] [of] my lord the king of Navarre,” as Jean de Thourotte did when Thibaut IV was away in the kingdom.⁷⁶ Similarly, in a charter from October 1263, a crossbowman (*ballestero*) called Bartolomé facilitated the transfer of rights from Teresa Ibáñez to the monastery of Santa Engracia de Pamplona “in the voice of [*en uoz del*] the lord king of Navarre and in the voice of [*en uoz del*] the said don Crestel de Sézanne,

⁷² García Arancón notes some of these common phrases as well. *Teobaldo II*, 92.

⁷³ “Expensa pro domino rege,” “Opera et forteritiae,” “Per Giraudum de insulis pro domibus de borberault novis factis pro telis batendis vi^{xx} viii l xv st,” BnF, Dupuy 227, f. 317r (*Documents relatifs*, iii, 15). For this neighborhood, see Chapin, *Les villes*, 82-83, 83n127, 90-91. See also Chapin, *Les villes*, 129. I have yet to find other evidence of Thibaut’s dealings there.

⁷⁴ “pro...Rege Nauarre,” Lpo, fol. 335r (AdJ, v, no. 2446).

⁷⁵ “nomine ipsius Regis...” Lpo, fol. 424r (AdJ, v, no. 2659).

⁷⁶ “ou leu monsignor le Roi de Nauarre,” CCC 57, 493 (AdJ, v, no. 2654).

chamberlain of the lord king aforementioned.”⁷⁷ Three years later, the *merino* of Tudela mentioned Miguel de Undiano acting explicitly for Thibaut V in his accounts: “For the expense of the king, by the hand [*per man*] [of] don Miguel de Undiano, 310 *cahices* [of barley and oats].”⁷⁸ Hand imagery appears frequently when money is exchanged.⁷⁹

Language denoting representation could also be more descriptive in specific situations. In a document from the conflict in Tudela at the beginning of Thibaut IV’s reign, discussed in greater detail below, seneschal Ponce Dumei called for arbitration “by that same power that the king gave me [*por aqueill mismo poder que el Rei me dio*].”⁸⁰ In one instance from 1259 in Champagne, the document by which Thibaut V granted representative power to one of his agents survives.⁸¹ As part of his undertaking to build a new Franciscan house in Troyes, Thibaut “establish[es] our beloved and faithful Girard [Mélétair] de l’Isle, citizen of Troyes, our *procurator*.”⁸² Later that year, Girard and three other *procuratores*—Bernard de Montcuq, Thibaut d’Assenay, and Pierre Fourmaget—purchased a house in Troyes as “*procurator[es]*... established by the lord king of Navarre to administer the business of the Friars Minor of Troyes and to build the place of the same of [la] Broce.”⁸³ Whether detailed or brief, such language made clear to all that comital-royal agents were acting at their lord’s behest.

⁷⁷ “en uoz del sejjnor rej de Nauarra e en uoz del djto don Criste de Setzana, chambarlenque del sejjnor rej sobredjto,” FDMPV 73, Documentos en romance de Navarra, no. 4.

⁷⁸ “Per lo despens del rey per man don Miguel d’Undiano, 310 kafices,” *Registros*, 336, no. 3710.

⁷⁹ See below on purchases.

⁸⁰ AGN, Cartularios Reales, Cartulario 1, 155 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 230; FDMPV 11, no. 26).

⁸¹ AD Aube, 13H114 (Apr. 1259). See also chapter 3.

⁸² “dilectum et fidelem nostrum Giraudum dictum de insulis Ciuem Trecensis procuratorem nostrum constituimus,” AD Aube, 13H114 (Apr. 1259).

⁸³ “ciuibus trecensibus ad exercenda negocia fratrum minorum trecensum et ad edificandum locum eorum de brocia procuratoribus a domino Rege Nauarre...constitutis,” AD Aube 13H119 (Oct. 1259).

Like the diversity of phrasing to describe officials, the charters that document their business for the count-kings were commonly written in no less than four languages: Latin, Old French, Navarrese Romance, and Occitan. Rather than scribes drawing up documents only in the more universal Latin, they also used local vernaculars, indicating that people with some degree of facility in those languages worked in the comital-royal administration, whether it be an official himself or someone processing his resultant charters. Along these lines, the activity of a single official could be recorded in multiple languages. Clément de Launay, seneschal of Navarre from 1258 to 1269 or 1270, appears in Navarrese Romance, Occitan, and Latin charters,⁸⁴ whereas Renier Acorre, *receveur* under Henri III, figures in transactions recorded in Old French and Latin.⁸⁵ Some officials must have been bi- or trilingual. Given that Clément spent most of his career working in Navarre, he certainly was able to conduct business in both Old French and Navarrese Romance and possibly Occitan too.⁸⁶ Similarly, since Florentine Renier had a splendid career in Champagne—and, by extension, Old French—he likely had immense linguistic ability.⁸⁷ Ramiro of Navarre, Blanche of Navarre’s chancellor, no doubt worked in Latin and Old French and also spoke Navarrese Romance. Even if these three men were exceptional among their respective cohorts, the count-king’s bureaucracy as a whole was highly polyglot. That the administration of Champagne-Navarre operated efficiently in so many languages highlights the sophistication and versatility of the count-king’s apparatus and cadre of officials and reflects the composite nature of Champagne-Navarre itself.

⁸⁴ FDMPV 7, 26, 63, *passim*.

⁸⁵ AdJ, vi, *passim*.

⁸⁶ See below and appendix.

⁸⁷ See below and appendix.

Learning and Working Together

The count-kings' administrative practices inevitably took time for officials to learn. One way that agents gained experience with comital-royal activity was by witnessing it. Unlike Champagne and the rest of northern France, Navarre was slow to substitute completely the seal for the formal witness list. As a result, many of the count-kings' Navarrese acts contain such lists, revealing who was present when the act was performed. For example, when Thibaut IV granted a market in 1236, seneschal Ponce Dumei, future seneschal and prominent Navarrese magnate Sancho Fernández de Monteagudo, and Jean de Flex, among several others, witnessed the transaction. Agents who worked in Navarre witnessed several types of royal activity. Léon de Sézanne, for example, witnessed the creation of a lifetime annuity,⁸⁸ acts of homage,⁸⁹ surety pledges,⁹⁰ agreements,⁹¹ and an exchange.⁹² In one instance, after listing the witnesses to another lifetime grant from 1238, the scribe ended the document by noting that Léon and two others were “being [*existentibus*] with the lord king when the charter was made.”⁹³ Similarly, Miguel de Undiano was present for an exchange⁹⁴ and a sale.⁹⁵ He even instructed scribes to redact two of

⁸⁸ *El primer cartulario*, no. 218 (FDMPV 11, no. 40); Joseph de Moret, *Anales del reino de Navarra*, 5 vols. (Pamplona: Neyra and Ezquerro: 1684-1715), iii, 10-11).

⁸⁹ AN, J 209, no. 18 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 313, 354; FDMPV 11, no. 67); *El primer cartulario*, no. 221 (FDMPV 11, no. 101); *El primer cartulario*, no. 197, 225 (FDMPV 11, no. 119).

⁹⁰ *El primer cartulario*, no. 220 (FDMPV 11, no. 121); AGN, Comptos, caj. 2, no. 59-1 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 222; FDMPV 85, no. 27); AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 146-148 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 223; FDMPV 11, no. 120).

⁹¹ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 151-153 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 228; FDMPV 11, no. 126; FDMPV 26, no. 228).

⁹² FDMPV 85, no. 38.

⁹³ “existentibus cum domino rege quando facta fuit carta,” *El primer cartulario*, no. 226 (FDMPV 11, no. 87).

⁹⁴ FDMPV 63, no. 56.

⁹⁵ AGN, Comptos, caj. 3, no. 5 (FDMPV 62, no. 28).

Thibaut V's official acts, a lease⁹⁶ and terms for an annual fee.⁹⁷ The end of the lease, for example, reads "Miguel Perez wrote it [the document] at the command [*mandamiento*] of don Miguel [de] Undiano."⁹⁸

Navarrese officials also witnessed each other's acts. Among those present for Clément de Launay's activity included Crestel de Sézanne,⁹⁹ Miguel de Undiano,¹⁰⁰ Martín de Undiano,¹⁰¹ and Lope Ortiz.¹⁰² Such men also often sought each other's counsel and recorded that they did so in resultant charters. In an August 1256 exchange with a Tudelan Jew, Lope Ortiz, as *bailli* of Tudela, acted "with the counsel and will and command" of Crestel and Jean de Flex.¹⁰³ Likewise, in a 1261 sale on Thibaut V's behalf, Clément acted "with the counsel of don Crestel, chamberlain [*camarlengo*] of the lord king of Navarre, and of don Miguel de Undiano."¹⁰⁴ Learning from each other and the count-kings themselves, comital-royal agents were prepared to govern with or without the count-king's presence.

⁹⁶ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 264 (FDMPV 7, no. 38).

⁹⁷ AMT, A 14 (FDMPV 7, no. 44).

⁹⁸ "Miguel Periz la escriuio por mandamiento de don Miguel Undiano," AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 264 (FDMPV 7, no. 38). For an overview of this type of clause, see A. Boüard, *Manuel de diplomatie française et pontificale* (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1929), 78-82. See also Olivier Guyotjeannin, Jacques Pycke, and Benoît-Michel Tock, *Diplomatique médiévale*, L'atelier du médiéviste 2, 3rd ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 183.

⁹⁹ FDMPV 63, no. 49 (María Isabel Ostolaza, ed., *Colección Diplomática de Santa María de Roncesvalles (1127-1300)* (Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1978), no. 197).

¹⁰⁰ FDMPV 63, no. 49 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 197).

¹⁰¹ FDMPV 63, no. 44 (María Dolores Quiroga, "Filiación genealógica y curiosos pormenores de la Casa de Rada," *Príncipe de Viana* 16, no. 61 (1955): 449).

¹⁰² FDMPV 63, no. 45.

¹⁰³ "cum consilio et voluntate et precepto," FDMPV 63, no. 33.

¹⁰⁴ "con conseillo de don Creste, camarlengo del seynnor rei de Nauarra et de don Miguel de Undiano," FDMPV 63, no. 49.

Agents frequently conducted official business together. Working in pairs was a common *modus operandi* in both Champagne and Navarre in the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁵ Teams like Jean de Voisines and Robert d'Aulnay;¹⁰⁶ Jean de Voisines and Jean de Thourotte;¹⁰⁷ Jean de Voisines and Nicholas de *Vilanteus*;¹⁰⁸ Crestel de Sézanne and Guillén de Las Barras, *preboste* of Estella;¹⁰⁹ and Jacques d'Ervy and Renier Acorre permeate surviving records.¹¹⁰ They also worked in larger groups that could be quite fluid, and such groups tended to be comprised of laymen. Navarrese records show various combinations of Clément de Launay, Crestel de Sézanne, and Miguel de Undiano.¹¹¹ In Thibaut V's endeavor to build a new Franciscan house in Troyes, citizens Bernard de Montcuq,¹¹² Thibaut d'Assenay,¹¹³ Jean Nicholas,¹¹⁴ Raymond de Premierfait,¹¹⁵ Pierre Fourmaget,¹¹⁶ and Girard Mélétaire¹¹⁷ purchased rents and property for the project in various

¹⁰⁵ For Champagne, see Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns*, 184; AdJ, iv, 291. For officials working in pairs in a slightly different context, see Robert-Henri Bautier, "L'authentification des actes privés dans la France médiévale: Notariat public et juridiction gracieuse," in *Chartes, sceaux et chancelleries: Études de diplomatique et de sigillographie médiévales*, 2 vols (Paris: École des chartes, 1990), i, 320.

¹⁰⁶ Lpo, fol. 424r (AdJ, v, no. 2659); Lpo, fols. 527r-528v (CCC 62, 24v-25r; AdJ, v, no. 2660).

¹⁰⁷ AN, J 195, no. 22 (Lpo, fol. 368r; AdJ, v, no. 2664).

¹⁰⁸ AN, J 201, no. 50 (AdJ, v, no. 3189).

¹⁰⁹ FDMPV 11, no. 155.

¹¹⁰ For example, Lpo, fol. 538r (AdJ, vi, no. 3685); AN, J 195, no. 49 (CCC 58, fol. 79rv; AdJ, vi, no. 3727).

¹¹¹ For example, AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1 82, 272, 273-274 (FDMPV 63, nos. 45, 38, 50, respectively). See also their sections in appendix.

¹¹² See appendix.

¹¹³ AD Aube, 13H114 (Dec. 1259, May 1261), 13H119 (Oct. 1259), 13H122 (Dec. 1270), 13H124 (Aug. 1257).

¹¹⁴ AD Aube, 13H124 (Aug. 1257).

¹¹⁵ AD Aube, 13H124 (Aug. 1257).

¹¹⁶ AD Aube, 13H114 (Dec. 1259, May 1261), 13H119 (Oct. 1259), 13H122 (Dec. 1270).

¹¹⁷ See appendix.

groupings. Furthermore, several officials worked under multiple reigns, meaning that new count-kings and agents alike could learn from their previous experiences. Such men include Jean de Voisines, Jean de Thourotte, Leon and Crestel de Sézanne, Lope Ortiz, Jean de Flex, Girard Mélétaire, and Bernard de Montcuq.¹¹⁸ Finally, administering Champagne-Navarre also ran in families, as the father-son duos of Léon and Crestel de Sézanne as chamberlains,¹¹⁹ Miguel and Martín de Undiano as chamberlains,¹²⁰ and Sancho Fernández and Pedro Sánchez de Monteagudo as seneschal and governor, respectively,¹²¹ demonstrate. It is also possible that Jean and Robert d'Aulnay and Clément de Launay were related in some way based on the close spelling of their names.¹²² Whether through witnessing acts, working in groups, or learning from family members, comital-royal officials adapted to the singular challenge of administering Champagne-Navarre, with or without its ruler present.

What Officials Could Do

The powers that comital-royal officials had varied a great deal and could be quite flexible. They ranged from tasks as small as receiving a payment to matters as grave as the count-king's claim to Champagne itself. Central to administering any medieval principality was the issue of

¹¹⁸ See appendix.

¹¹⁹ See appendix.

¹²⁰ For Miguel, see appendix. For Martín, see *Teobaldo II*, 104, 105.

¹²¹ For Sancho, see *Dinastía*, 279. For Pedro, see Xavier Hélyary, "L'ost de France: la guerre, les armées, la société politique au royaume de France (fin du règne de saint Louis-fin du règne de Philippe le Bel)" (PhD diss., Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2004), chapter 5; Ángel Martín Duque and Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, "El reino de Navarra," *Historia de España XIII*, no. 260 (1990), 53-71; Pierre Narbaitz, *Navarra o cuando los vascos tenían reyes*, trans. Elena Barberena (Tafalla: Txalaparta, 2008), 273-286; José María Lacarra, *Historia política del reino de Navarra desde sus orígenes hasta su incorporación a Castilla*, 3 vols. (Pamplona: Editorial Aranzadi, 1972), ii, 201-230; Javier Gallego Gallego, *Enrique I, Juana I y Felipe I el Hermoso, Luis I el Hutin, Juan I el Póstumo, Felipe II el Largo, Carlos I el Calvo (1270-1328)*, Reyes de Navarra XII (Iruña: Editorial Mintzoa, 1986), 59-103.

¹²² See appendix.

homage, allegiance, and alliances, and the count-kings trusted their agents with such dealings. Routine business related to tenancy, fief rents, and general transactions involving the transfer of coin made up the majority of their activity. A subset of this second category is comital-royal purchases, a frequent charge for officials. Agents also engaged in inquests and arbitrated formal disputes on the count-king's behalf. In a more extreme form of conflict, officials had to deal with unrest and violence, perpetrated both internally and externally. These types, however, were neither firmly delineated nor mutually exclusive. At the same time, a single official could perform a wide variety of work. Agents were not confined to a single arena.

Homage, Allegiance, and Alliances

As both a count and a king, homage and allegiance were of paramount importance. Arguably the most high-stakes task that a comital-royal representative ever undertook was in September 1234 when Louis IX formally “invested...Lord Archambaud de Bourbon in the name of the said count [Thibaut IV]” with the counties of Champagne and Brie.¹²³ The investiture was especially important because Thibaut was not the only claimant to the counties, which he inherited at birth. When his uncle, Count Henri II, died in 1197, Thibaut's father, Count Thibaut III (d. 1201), succeeded him as his brother's heir even though Henri had two daughters. Each daughter and her husband would subsequently and separately challenge Thibaut IV's claim. Philippa and Erard of Brienne first contested it during Thibaut's minority. Then in 1233-1234, Alix, queen of Cyprus, and Hugh of Lusignan followed suit after Thibaut had been ruling independently since

¹²³ “inuestiuimus...Dominum Archambaldum de Borbonio nomine dicti Comititis,” CCC 56, fol. 28rv (AdJ, v, no. 2312).

1222.¹²⁴ It was not until September 1234 that the Alix gave up her claims in Thibaut's favor, but the count-king was then in Navarre as the new king. He thus chose his father-in-law to receive those rights in his stead.¹²⁵ Archambaud, along with Itier de la Brosse and five others, then dispatched "ten documents [*pergamenta*] having been sealed with the seal of Thibaut, count palatine of Champagne and Brie," regarding the same issue to various dignitaries that same month.¹²⁶ Sometime between 1263 and 1269, Clément de Launay also dealt with an issue of homage in a strange document.¹²⁷ Written in multiple hands on a large piece of parchment, the first scribe copied an act of liege homage by don Arnalt Guillem d'Agramont to Thibaut IV dated September 1237, and five undated vidimus clauses follow it.¹²⁸ The final one, however, was redacted by Prior Lope of Roncesvalles, saying that he read the said homage at Clément's request (*preces*). The 1237 homage likely interested Clément because Arnalt received an honor from Thibaut V in 1266.¹²⁹

Agents similarly engaged in alliances, be they between principalities or related to marriage. In 1238 Léon de Sézanne witnessed a marriage contract in Estella between Thibaut's daughter

¹²⁴ For the former, see Theodore Evergates, ed., *The Cartulary of Countess Blanche of Champagne* (Toronto: Published for the Medieval Academy by the University of Toronto Press, 2009), 7-10; *Aristocracy* 39-42. For the latter, see *Aristocracy*. 43; AdJ, iv, 256-264.

¹²⁵ AdJ, iv, 262-263. She relinquished her claim in AN, J 209, no. 10 (AdJ, v, no. 2309) and in many other documents that Arbois de Jubainville identifies.

¹²⁶ "decem pergamenta sigillata sigillo Theobaldi campanie et brie comitis palatini," Lpo, fols. 204v-204r (AdJ, v, no. 2314).

¹²⁷ AN, J 209, no. 18. The document in its current form has no date. However, the final (and quite sloppy) hand states that Lope was prior of Roncesvalles and Clément seneschal. Since Clément was seneschal from 1258 to 1269, and Lope was prior from 1263-1276, the document must be from 1263-1269. Fermín Miranda García, *Roncesvalles: Trayectoria patrimonial (siglos XII-XIX)*, (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1993), 97.

¹²⁸ The bottom third of the parchment is blank. There are, however, two mostly whole but worn seals, one partial seal, cords for a fourth seal, and holes for a fifth, in line with the number of vidimus clauses.

¹²⁹ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 282-283 (FDMPV 7, no. 55). See also *Teobaldo II*, 329.

Alix and the son of Pedro Fernández, lord of Albarracín in Aragon.¹³⁰ In April 1254 Sancho Fernández de Monteagudo and Lope Ortiz, among many others, swore to uphold a formal alliance between then fifteen-year-old Thibaut V and James I of Aragon.¹³¹ At the close of 1265, Clément de Launay was involved in marriage negotiations for Thibaut's brother, the future Henri III, and Constance, daughter of Gaston de Béarn.¹³² Thibaut and Gaston, who jointly redacted the document, had been at odds over the county of Bigorre, and the contract prescribed an arbitration of the issue by Clément and five additional men.¹³³ After the arrangement was abandoned, the brothers fell out, possibly because of Henri's dalliance and resultant child with a noblewoman from Lower Navarre, the part of the kingdom north of the Pyrenees.¹³⁴ In either 1267 or 1268 citing only Henri's "great affront,"¹³⁵ Thibaut sent missives to Tudela,¹³⁶ Olite,¹³⁷ and other towns¹³⁸ decreeing that Henri "not enter into our land" nor should "you receive him nor any man of his company into your town...nor should you give them any aid or counsel or do anything for

¹³⁰ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 236 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 306; FDMPV 11, no. 77).

¹³¹ AGN, Comptos, Caj. 2, no. 82 (FDMPV 7, no. 13).

¹³² AGN, Comptos, Caj. 3, no. 27 (FDMPV 7, no. 47).

¹³³ García Arancón, "Relaciones políticas entre el Bearne, la Gascuña y Navarra," in *Congreso el Fuero de San Sebastián y su época* (San Sebastián: Sociedad de Estudios Vascos, 1982), 515-517; G. Balencie, "Le Procès de Bigorre," *Revue des Hautes Pyrenées* 4 (septembre 1909): 44-45; *Dinastía*, 250. The arbitration, like the betrothal, ultimately failed, although the document at least refers to the arbiters as "friendly mediators [*amicales compositores*]."

¹³⁴ *Dinastía*, 250; AdJ, iv, 430, 437-438; Moret, *Anales*, iii, 97-98.

¹³⁵ "grant...tuerto," AMT, A 15 (FDMPV 7, no. 61). The document is translated in *Dinastía*, 250-251.

¹³⁶ AMT, A 15.

¹³⁷ Beroiz Lazcano, *Documentación medieval de Olite*, no. 39 (FDMPV 7, no. 62). The documents from Tudela and Olite are virtually verbatim.

¹³⁸ In both the document from Tudela and that from Olite, Thibaut says that he sent the same letter to "todas las otras villas de nostro regno."

him.”¹³⁹ Thibaut had sent Clément ahead to inform them of the command. In the documents, the count-king states that they are “to do what the seneschal tells you from us in this.”¹⁴⁰

The count-king allowed his most trusted officials to engage in activity of fundamental importance to the practice of lordship, testifying to the high quality of such administrators and their ability to maneuver high-pressure situations. Many of the interactions mentioned here were not straightforward, and the adroit involvement of such men was crucial to the success of these dealings, either because the count-king was absent or too young to act on his own. Moreover, comital-royal officials were quite literally engaging with kings and queens, who in turn recognized them as legitimate and worthy representatives of the count-king. They were essential for conducting large-scale, elite negotiations whose outcomes affected entire principalities.

Holdings, Rents, and Money

Much of the dealings that occupied agents for the count-kings concerned rights, property, payments, and debts. As the highest lords in Champagne, the count-kings oversaw privileges involving rights, fief-rents, and holdings. As chamberlain, in the fall of 1237 Léon de Sézanne collected 3,000 *s.s.* from the parish of San Miguel in Estella in return for Thibaut granting them a market.¹⁴¹ Along the same lines, in 1251 Léon and Jean de Thourotte received Jean de Choiseul’s attestation of holding fiefs from the count-king.¹⁴² Four years later Thibaut V instructed Léon to

¹³⁹ “non entre en nuestra terra,” “nol recibades en uostra villa nin a eyll nin a nengun omme de so compayna...nin les dedes nenguna ayuda nin conseio nin fagades por eyll nenguna cosa,” AMT, A 15.

¹⁴⁰ “fazer lo que el senescal uos dira de nostras partes en esto,” AMT, A 15.

¹⁴¹ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 186 (FDMPV 11, no. 68). The document states that the inhabitants of the parish “bought [*emerunt*]” the market.

¹⁴² AN, J 196, no. 38 (AdJ, v, no. 2995).

see to it that Santa María de Tudela received the tithes from his holdings in the region.¹⁴³ Agents also made and received payments in cash and kind. The activity of chamberlains Miguel de Undiano and Crestel de Sézanne in the 1266 accounts from Navarre reveal the multifaceted nature of medieval financial work. They collected cash payments from *merinos* and *bailes*; spent funds on renovation projects and other services, including for the royal household; disbursed annual stipends and honors as well as payments for furnishing garrisons; and compensated others for purchasing horses and beasts of burden.¹⁴⁴ Other agents such as Jean de Voisines and Robert d’Aulnay;¹⁴⁵ Lope Ortiz;¹⁴⁶ and Renier Acorre and Jacques d’Ervy conducted similar transactions.¹⁴⁷ Managing the count-kings’ debts and debtors often fell to officials like Jean de Thourotte,¹⁴⁸ Clément de Launay,¹⁴⁹ and Miguel de Undiano.¹⁵⁰ They could even be comital-royal creditors! A donation from 1236 reveals that Thibaut IV owed Jean de Thourotte 60 *libratas terre*.¹⁵¹ Sometime before 1266, Miguel de Undiano lent Thibaut V 100 *l.t.*, apparently via his own

¹⁴³ The document is a vidimus, AET, no. 355. It is edited in FDMPV 7, no. 16, but the dating clauses differ slightly.

¹⁴⁴ *Registros*, 230-299, nos. 1396-2866. See also *Teobaldo II*, 155-156.

¹⁴⁵ CCC 58, fol. 117v (Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in Medieval France*, no. 9B; AdJ, v, no. 2679); Lpo, fol. 529v (AdJ, v, no. 2687).

¹⁴⁶ *Registros*, 111, no. 691; 116, no. 807; 135-138, nos. 1190-1265.

¹⁴⁷ Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 92, fol. 79r (AdJ, vi, no. 3678). The pair most often made payments for comital-royal sales. See below.

¹⁴⁸ CCC 57, 326-327 (AdJ, v, no. 2415), 345-346 (AdJ, v, no. 3015); Lpo, f. 335r (AdJ, v, no. 2446).

¹⁴⁹ Jose Goñi Gaztambide, *Catálogo del archivo catedral de Pamplona*, vol. I (829-1500) (Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1965), no. 674; *Teobaldo II*, 97, 103n123. I do not currently have access to the document itself.

¹⁵⁰ Goñi Gaztambide, *Catálogo*, i, no. 674.

¹⁵¹ CCC 57, 326-327 (AdJ, v, no. 2415). A *libratas terre* “represent[ed]...the total annual revenue generated by a fief...with the cash value ordinarily being set at ten times the annual revenue.” *Aristocracy*, 26.

agent, Juan Caritat de Pamplona, who lent the count-king even more money.¹⁵² Likewise, in 1241 Léon de Sézanne, Jean de Thourotte, and Bernard de Montcuq were involved in the implementation and collection of a new temporary sales tax in Troyes to settle its debts, although the latter represented the town, not the count-king.¹⁵³

Officials frequently purchased and exchanged for their lords, as all three count-kings acquired property and fief-rents extensively throughout their reigns.¹⁵⁴ Agents of the count-king generally appear in one of two places in charters of sale and exchange.¹⁵⁵ In many cases, the redactor wrote that the agent was the buyer of the property in question, who is described as acting on the count-king's behalf with the language discussed above. In other documents, the seller sells directly to the count-king but states that s/he received the corresponding payment from the comital-royal agent, often "by the[ir] hand [*per manum*]."¹⁵⁶ Such transfers of coin would have taken place in the presence of the seller, the count-king's agent, and the person(s) who drew up the charter.¹⁵⁷ Scribes even referred to Renier Acorre and Jacques d'Ervy as "buyers [*emptoribus*] on behalf of the most illustrious King Henri."¹⁵⁸ Although in most cases it is unclear who decided what would be purchased, the *procuratores* for the Franciscan house in Troyes, at least, had the power to

¹⁵² *Registros*, 220, no. 1222; 288, no. 2673. It is García Arancón who determined that Miguel was one of Thibaut's creditors. *Teobaldo II*, 232, 232n325; *Dinastía*, 170, 328, 377. It was not uncommon for loans to be disbursed by intermediaries. *Teobaldo II*, 233. For comital-royal loans in general, see *Dinastía*, 328-329; *Teobaldo II*, 231-238. For the Caritat family in Tudela, see Rodríguez Terrero, "La actuación particular," 520.

¹⁵³ AN, J 195, no. 24 (AdJ, v, no. 2561). See also Elizabeth Chapin, *Les villes de foires de Champagne des origines au début du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1937), 168-169; T. Boutiot, *Histoire de la ville de Troyes et de la Champagne méridionale*, 5 vols. (Troyes: Dufey-Robert, 1870-1880), i, 328-331.

¹⁵⁴ For the count-kings' purchases and re-purchases of fief-rents, see *Aristocracy*, 52, 58, 65, 67, 73, 75-76, 79, 191.

¹⁵⁵ All of the officials in appendix made at least one purchase or exchange for a count-king.

¹⁵⁶ "per manum," Lpo, fol. 267r (AdJ, v, no. 2442).

¹⁵⁷ Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns*, 182.

¹⁵⁸ AN, J 195, no. 85 (Lpo, fol. 498r; AdJ, v, no. 3675), for example.

acquire and exchange at will for the project. Girard Mélétaire, and likely his other purchasing partners, was made Thibaut V's "*procurator* to buy, sell, and exchange sites and all other things that will be effective and necessary to build the house of la Broce for the use of the Friars Minor of Troyes."¹⁵⁹ Girard also received "full power [*plenarum potestatem*] and special mandate [*speciale mandatum*] of selling or exchanging that place in which now the said friars are staying."¹⁶⁰ Other acquisitions included rents on and rights over individuals,¹⁶¹ towns,¹⁶² land,¹⁶³ ovens,¹⁶⁴ buildings,¹⁶⁵ fairs,¹⁶⁶ fiefs,¹⁶⁷ and even high and low justice.¹⁶⁸ There was little that agents could not buy.

Disputes, Arbitrations, and Inquests

As would be expected, disputes arose that comital-royal officials had to address. In January 1243 Jean de Thourotte, together with Thomas de Cerizy, was to arbitrate a dispute between Thibaut IV and Thibaut II of Bar.¹⁶⁹ With Thibaut away in Navarre in 1245, Jean and Thomas de

¹⁵⁹ "procuratorem...ad emendum vendendum permutandum loca et omnia alia que valia et necessaria erunt ad edificationem domus de brotia ad usum fratrum minorum Trecensum," AD Aube, 13H114 (Apr. 1259).

¹⁶⁰ "plenarium potestatem et speciale mandatum vendendi siue permutandi locum illum in quo nunc dicti fratres morantur," AD Aube, 13H114 (Apr. 1259). For what they purchased and the project in general, see chapter 3.

¹⁶¹ Lpo, fols. 527v-527r (AdJ, v, 2643), for example.

¹⁶² Lpo, fols. 527r-528v (CCC 62, 24v-25r; AdJ, v, no. 2660), for example.

¹⁶³ Lpo, fols. 529v-529r (AdJ, v, no. 2738), for example.

¹⁶⁴ Lpo, fol. 487v (AdJ, v, no. 3055), for example.

¹⁶⁵ AN, J 201, no. 50 (AdJ, v, no. 3189), for example.

¹⁶⁶ AN, J 195, no. 22 (Lpo, fol. 368r; AdJ, v, no. 2664), for example.

¹⁶⁷ AN, J 205, no. 23 (Lpo, fols. 491vr; AdJ, no. 3723), for example.

¹⁶⁸ AN, J 203, no. 83 (Lpo, fols. 296vr; AdJ, no. 3758).

¹⁶⁹ CCC 57, 143-144 (AdJ, v, no. 2630).

Coucy resolved a dispute between Henri V, count of Grandpré, and Guillaume de Germaine.¹⁷⁰ The pair worked together again on another dispute between Thibaut and the count of Brittany two years later.¹⁷¹ Likewise, in August 1252 Crestel de Sézanne and Miguel de Undiano arbitrated a property dispute that Thibaut later sealed.¹⁷² In 1258 in Estella Crestel and Miguel were to decide a case about tithe collection between two parishes in the town, should the initial arbitration be unsuccessful.¹⁷³ They also each received their own copy of the charter. Unsurprisingly, Clément de Launay was involved in several disputes and arbitrations as seneschal. At the end of July 1259 he facilitated the resolution of a disagreement over pasturage between Santa María de Roncesvalles and San Salvador de Leyre and in 1260 resolved the lady of Villanueva and Cisa's disagreement with Roncesvalles.¹⁷⁴ He also assisted the count-king in late 1266 in reaching an agreement between Santa María de Fitero and a local couple concerning workers in Muruzábal and formally witnessed the charter.¹⁷⁵ The husband and the wife's brother had evidently asked Clément to order certain witnesses to attend an earlier stage of negotiations. He facilitated a payment of 1000 *maravedís* to the abbey and put it in possession of Muruzábal.¹⁷⁶ Clément then witnessed the detailed accord in Thibaut's presence in Pamplona. Once Thibaut had made for France a few

¹⁷⁰ AN, J 197, no. 60 (CCC 57, 311-314; AdJ, v, no. 2715).

¹⁷¹ 314-315 (AdJ, v, no. 2810).

¹⁷² FDMPV 26, no. 15.

¹⁷³ FDMPV 63, no. 38. See also García Arancón, "Una posible reforma," 42. For changes in Estellan administrative structures in the thirteenth century, of which this dispute figured, see García Arancón, "Una posible reforma"; Ramírez Vaquero, "La vida ciudadana de Estella," 378.

¹⁷⁴ Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, nos. 170, 183, respectively.

¹⁷⁵ FDMPV 7, no. 58.

¹⁷⁶ The *maravedí* was the currency of Burgos in Castile. *Registros*, 26.

months later, Clément copied and sealed the charter as head of the kingdom.¹⁷⁷ Finally, in 1268 he appointed arbiters for the dispute between Santa María de la Oliva and the town of Murillo el Fruto.¹⁷⁸

In the same vein, several officials conducted inquests. Jean de Thourotte and Gui de Milly¹⁷⁹ as well as Guillén de Las Barras, *preboste* of Estella, determined geographical boundary lines.¹⁸⁰ Léon de Sézanne was one of many who carried out the *Rôles des fiefs* of 1249-1251.¹⁸¹ The inquest, expanding upon Champagne's tenurial inquests of the twelfth century, entailed administrators traveling throughout the county interrogating fief-holders about their holdings and confirming their declarations.¹⁸² In Evergates's words, it was "the most ambitious inquest ever attempted in Champagne."¹⁸³ Of later thirteenth-century inquests, "none would rival the precision and scope of its information."¹⁸⁴ In 1250 Léon also determined the value of the fiefs exchanged between Thibaut IV and Eustache de Conflans with two other *chevaliers*.¹⁸⁵ In February 1268 he

¹⁷⁷ *Teobaldo II*, 97.

¹⁷⁸ *Teobaldo II*, 97.

¹⁷⁹ CCC 57, 552-555 (AdJ, v, no. 2736).

¹⁸⁰ Elizari Huarte and Ibircu Díaz, "Archivo municipal de Estella," no. 4 (Pedro Emiliano Zorrilla Echeverría, "Índice cronológico de los documentos y papeles antiguos existentes en el archivo municipal de la ciudad de Estella," *Boletín de la comisión de monumentos históricos y artísticos de Navarra* 3, no. 10 (1912): no. 3).

¹⁸¹ *Aristocracy*, 48.

¹⁸² *Aristocracy*, 46.

¹⁸³ *Aristocracy*, 46. See also *Aristocracy*, 46-50; Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes*, 69-90. For earlier inquests, see Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes*, 9-10, 60-69.

¹⁸⁴ *Aristocracy*, 46.

¹⁸⁵ AN, J 202, no. 39 (CCC 58, fols. 58r-59v; AdJ, v, no. 2923).

and three others were to determine the compensation that Henri, count of Grandpré, had to pay Thibaut V for mistreatment of Thibaut's officials.¹⁸⁶

As seneschal, Clément de Launay participated in a common practice in Navarre: the investigation, adjudication, and remedying of alleged abuses, or *fuercas*, committed by former rulers. Sometime before February 1268, the council of Tudela went before Thibaut V complaining that Sancho VII and Thibaut IV “[had taken] for themselves much property by force [*heredamientos forçados*]” and demanding an inquest.¹⁸⁷ The count-king tasked Clément, who redacted the document, with naming men to assist the arbiters.¹⁸⁸ In a second document dated seven months later, following the death of one of the arbiters, Clément assured the remaining two that the count-king would accept their decision with only two seals.¹⁸⁹ In 1269 he also appointed a counselor in another Tudelan case of *fuercas*.¹⁹⁰ Similarly, in March 1271 Henri III instructed Lope Ortiz, among others, to address the complaints of the people of Tudela made against his predecessors.¹⁹¹ These instances of arbitration and inquest demonstrate not only that the count-kings trusted their agents enough to delegate such tasks to them but also that the people of Champagne and Navarre accepted, and perhaps even preferred, their authority. Especially in cases when local officials performed such functions, affected parties could certainly be more

¹⁸⁶ CCC 57, 165-168 (AdJ, vi, no. 3467). See also CCC 57 156-158 (AdJ, vi, no. 3406); CCC 57, 159-161 (AdJ, vi, no. 3477).

¹⁸⁷ “aeyllos muchos heredamientos forçados,” AMT, A 16 (AMT, A 39).

¹⁸⁸ AMT, A 16 (AMT, A 39).

¹⁸⁹ AMT, A 19.

¹⁹⁰ *Teobaldo II*, 315.

¹⁹¹ AMT, A 23 (FDMPV 62, no. 7). See also *Dinastía*, 258.

forthcoming and have greater faith in their arbiters than if unfamiliar men were involved. Either way, officials managed disputes no matter where the count-king resided.

Curbing Violence and Quelling Unrest

Comital-royal officials had to deal with violence, unrest, and crime on various scales on behalf of the count-kings. Shortly after his accession in 1234, Thibaut IV left Navarre for Champagne, at which point the town of Tudela revolted. They were incensed because of his departure and his lack of enthusiasm for remedying the *fuercas* of his late uncle, Sancho VII.¹⁹² On 25 October 1235 seneschal Ponce Dumei and Tudela's council agreed to a three-month truce to curb the violence, much of it against Jews.¹⁹³ One week after the truce expired in February 1236, both parties agreed to arbitration by five laymen, including Elías David, a Pamplonese burgher.¹⁹⁴ Back in the kingdom in autumn 1236, Thibaut tasked Elías, Girard Mélétaire, and two others with effecting a new agreement in May 1237, which they did that June.¹⁹⁵ When Thibaut rejected it, however, the council of Tudela appointed Léon de Sézanne and Elías as the second string of arbiters in the dispute.¹⁹⁶ Three months later, Léon, Elías, Thibaut, and the Tudelan council sealed

¹⁹² For the conflict, see Carmen Orcastegui, "Tudela durante los reinados de Sancho el Fuerte y Teobaldo I (1194-1253)," *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 10 (1975): 85-90; José Yanguas y Miranda, *Diccionario de antigüedades del reino de Navarra*, 3 vols. (Pamplona: Imprenta de José Imaz y Gadea, 1840), iii, 404; AdJ, iv, 291-293. For Tudela as exceptional in other ways, see Patricia Rodríguez Terrero, "La actuación particular de la villa de Tudela. La oligarquía y su régimen local (1274-1330)," *Príncipe de Viana* 261 (2015): 509-523.

¹⁹³ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 159-160 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 236; FDMPV 11, no. 22).

¹⁹⁴ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 154-155 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 230; FDMPV 11, no. 26; Yanguas y Miranda, *Diccionario*, iii, 405-406). For Elías David, see *Dinastía*, 47-48, 92, 167. Apart from his name, I have not found any evidence to suggest that he was Jewish.

¹⁹⁵ AGN, Comptos, caj. 2, no. 32 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 217; FDMPV 11, no. 57); AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 243-248 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 315; FDMPV 11, no. 61). María Raquel García Arancón, "La Junta de Infanzones de Obanos hasta 1281," *Príncipe de Viana* 45, no. 173 (1984): 534n58. See also Orcastegui, "Tudela," 87-88 and the sections on Ponce Dumei and León de Sézanne in appendix.

¹⁹⁶ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 236-237 (*El primer cartulario*, nos. 307, 355; FDMPV 11, no. 64). See also García Arancón, "La Junta," 534n58.

the resultant final accord.¹⁹⁷ As a result of these events, Thibaut replaced Ponce in 1236 with Sancho Fernández de Monteagudo.¹⁹⁸ In this case, both the count-king and the town of Tudela relied on comital-royal agents to end unrest and reach a peaceful accord.

In 1266 when Thibaut V and Henry III of England went to war over Gascony, both Miguel de Undiano and Clément de Launay were involved. In the late 1240s Simon V de Montfort—then seneschal of Gascony—obtained de facto control of the county of Bigorre, much to the dismay of neighboring lord Gaston de Béarn. Following the end of the Barons' War in England and Simon's death in 1265, his widow, who was also the English king's sister, granted the county to Thibaut as he was, in García Arancón's words, "the most powerful lord, capable of defending [it] against the viscount of Béarn" and was son-in-law to Louis IX.¹⁹⁹ After the failed marriage negotiations between Thibaut and Gaston and Gaston's subsequent inclination towards the English, the situation deteriorated. By 1266 Thibaut had invaded Gascony, and England and Navarre were at war.²⁰⁰ Miguel figures personally in the record of expenditures for the conflict.²⁰¹ He sold wine worth over twenty-three pounds to the campaign, sending it to San Juan Pie de Puerto, then part

¹⁹⁷ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 229-231 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 302; FDMPV 11, no. 70).

¹⁹⁸ *Dinastía*, 279.

¹⁹⁹ "el más poderoso señor, capaz de defenderlas frente al vizconde de Bearn," *Dinastía*, 201.

²⁰⁰ *Dinastía*, 200-213; García Arancón, "Relaciones políticas," 515-521; *Teobaldo II*, 53, 61, 62, 71, 242-245; AdJ, iv, 329-330, 374-382.

²⁰¹ For the war expenditures, see *Registros*, 258-274, nos. 1967-2289; 292-296, nos. 2748-2822. See also *Dinastía*, 204-212.

of Navarre,²⁰² in addition to pork fat²⁰³ and large quantities of barley and oats.²⁰⁴ He also procured *litteras regis* for the *host*.²⁰⁵ The 1266 accounts also demonstrate Clément’s integral role in the campaign.²⁰⁶ His own entries, to quote García Arancón again, “provide chronological references precise enough to sketch...an outline of the development of the *host*.”²⁰⁷ His military activity in the conflict has been outlined elsewhere.²⁰⁸ He acted as Thibaut’s representative in September 1269 when Thibaut extended his truce with Henry. Early in the charter, the count-king states that “we establish Clément de Launay, our seneschal in Navarre, as our procurator [*procuratorem*] in our soul and presence for this specifically.”²⁰⁹ Even though Thibaut was in Navarre at the time, he still delegated power to a trusted and capable agent.

Clément—and presumably other comital-royal officials whose deeds were less well documented—represented the count-king in conflicts with additional principalities.²¹⁰ In May 1261 Clément and several men from Castile met in Eznatea to hear from Navarrese complaining

²⁰² *Registros*, 269, no. 2206.

²⁰³ *Registros*, 270, no. 2225.

²⁰⁴ *Registros*, 271, no. 2243. Miguel also apparently had crossbows from Estella sent to his home, but the record does not appear in entries related to the war. *Registros* 173, no. 138. García Arancón, however, states that the action was on account of the conflict. *Teobaldo II*, 105.

²⁰⁵ *Registros*, 273, no. 2274. He did so again in 291, no. 2722, but it is unclear on whose behalf.

²⁰⁶ For his other activity in the accounts, see *Teobaldo II*, 95-100; *Dinastía*, 195, 208-209, 281.

²⁰⁷ “proporcionan referencias cronológicas bastante precisas para esbozar...un esquema del desarrollo de la *host*,” *Dinastía*, 208.

²⁰⁸ García Arancón, “Relaciones políticas,” 518-520; *Teobaldo II*, 99-100; *Dinastía*, 195, 208-209, 281.

²⁰⁹ “clementem de alneto senescallem nostrum in nauarra procuratorem nostrum ad hoc specialiter constituimus in nostra animam et presentia,” AN, J 613, no. 6 (FDMPV 7, no. 70; AdJ, vi, no. 3559). See also García Arancón, “Relaciones políticas,” 521; *Dinastía* 213. Clément appears again a few lines later, but discoloration of the parchment prevents us from discovering in what capacity.

²¹⁰ Others, including Clément, did so after 1274. See Lope Ortiz in appendix, for example.

of violence committed by neighboring Castilians and from Castilians complaining of violence by their Navarrese neighbors.²¹¹ The men called for an inquest into the accusations and detailed how the investigation was to be carried out. The partial results of the inquest immediately follow in the document.²¹² The 1266 accounts suggest that Clément later resumed these discussions. An entry in the accounts of the *merino* of Montañas, Pedro Garciez, reads, “When don Pedro Garceiz went to Olzagutía to visit don Diego Lopez, with the seneschal...”²¹³ Diego Lopez is likely none other than Diego Lopez de Haro, one of the most prominent Castilian magnates. Clément’s meeting with him was probably a continuation of the issue of border violence.²¹⁴ In addition to his parley in Olzagutía, Clément engaged with Castile again “when the seneschal went to the king of Castile...by the king [of Navarre]’s command.”²¹⁵ García Arancón argues that the meeting took place in Sevilla.²¹⁶ Clément was no stranger to dealing with the count-king’s foreign business, and Thibaut had no qualms about asking him to do so.

²¹¹ FDMPV 63, no. 46. For a more detailed overview of the document and its contents, see *Dinastía* 194-195; Arturo Campión, “La frontera de los malhechores: el bandolerismo de 1261 a 1332; la ‘facienda’ de Beotibar; la toma de Ernani,” *Boletín de la comisión de monumentos históricos y artísticos de Navarra* 2, no. 2 (abril 1911): 70-75. Campión describes the document as “the oldest mention of frontier banditry...in my notes (*La más antigua mención que del bandolerismo fronterizo...en mis notas*),” “La frontera de los malhechores,” 70. I have been unable to locate Eznatea, although I presume that it is Basque given that the document primarily addresses violence committed around Guipúzcoa and Álava. Both Navarre and Castile harbored pretensions to the two towns. See María Raquel García Arancón, “Reivindicaciones navarras de Álava y Guipúzcoa en el reinado de Teobaldo II (1253-1256),” in *Congreso el fuero de San Sebastián y su época* (San Sebastián: Sociedad de Estudios Vascos, 1982), 509-514; *Dinastía*, 188-191.

²¹² The document itself is damaged. See *Dinastía*, 194.

²¹³ “Quant don Pero Garceiz fu a Olaçagutia a visita don Diego Lopiz, con lo senescal,” *Registros*, 324, no. 3448. See also *Registros*, 198, no. 728; 322, no. 3403.

²¹⁴ *Teobaldo II*, 96; *Dinastía*, 195.

²¹⁵ “Quant lo senescal fu al rey de Castela...per mandament del rey,” *Registros*, 228, no. 1373. *Registros*, 227, no. 1358 mentions his visit as well.

²¹⁶ *Dinastía*, 195-196, 208, 281. García Arancón states that “se le documenta en Sevilla” but does not supply a citation. *Dinastía*, 281. I have not found anything explicitly placing him in that specific city, but I surmise that García Arancón’s reasoning comes from where Alfonso was at times when Clément was not known to be in Lower Navarre and thus could have gone to Castile. See also Antonio Ballesteros Beretta, “Itinerario de Alfonso X, rey de Castilla (Continuación),” *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 109 (July-Sept. 1936): 377-460.

In late summer 1267 Clément met James I of Aragon in Tarazona where the two agreed that Clément and others would conduct an inquest into “the damages and wrongs” committed by Navarrese against Aragonese and vice versa.²¹⁷ Not only does the charter outline the terms of the inquest, it also states the lengths that ordinary men could go to apprehend “malefactors [*malfeitores*]” and bring them to justice.²¹⁸ In the opening of the document, which James redacted, the Aragonese king describes Clément as acting “for the king of Navarre,” who resided in Champagne at the time.²¹⁹ As García Arancón remarks, Clément was a “true expert in delicate questions of the kingdom.”²²⁰

Clément, and undoubtedly others, also handled criminal matters. He figures in a 1266 request that Thibaut made to the hospital of Roncesvalles.²²¹ Sometime before mid-February of that year, a man was killed at the hospital the same day that the brothers of Roncesvalles, Val de Arce, Val de Erro, and Esteribar were meeting together, causing them to adjourn their session indefinitely and Clément to exact a *caloña*, a “judicial fine.”²²² Thibaut “asked and counseled them to return to holding...[their] assembly,” promising swift action against perpetrators should violence reoccur.²²³ The seneschal was embroiled in another extraordinary situation the same year, this

²¹⁷ “los danos et los males,” FDMPV 63, no. 69.

²¹⁸ FDMPV 63, no. 69. See also *Dinastía*, 174 for greater elaboration of the charter’s stipulations.

²¹⁹ “por el rey de Nauarra,” FDMPV 63, no. 69.

²²⁰ “verdadero experto en cuestiones delicadas del reino,” *Dinastía*, 282.

²²¹ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 7, 124-125 (FDMPV 7, no. 49; Ostolaza, *Colección diplomática*, no. 201).

²²² *Teobaldo II*, 322. See also José Moret, *Anales del reino de Navarra*, 3rd ed., 12 vols. (Tolosa: E. Lopez, 1890), iv, 344-345. For *caloñas* in general, see *Teobaldo II*, 322-324.

²²³ “Rogamos uos et conseyllamos que tornedes en fazer...confradrias,” AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 7, 124 (FDMPV 7, no. 49). He also stipulated that no foreigners (“*omme[s] estranio[s]*”) except pilgrims seeking respite were to be admitted.

time as an inadvertent offender, as Pope Clement IV recounted to Thibaut V.²²⁴ A Portuguese Saracen named Martín Sánchez had converted to Christianity, married a Christian woman, and then traveled to Navarre. There, a local priest, “inflamed by unjust hate,” had Clément arrest him and confiscate his property, claiming that he still professed the Islamic faith.²²⁵ In prison, Martín was subject to a year of “tortures and cruelties,” and at one point, believing himself near death, asked for the Eucharist.²²⁶ He later escaped and made for the Holy See with three of his sons, who evidently shared their story with two lay brothers, who then presented it to the pope. Unfortunately, Martín died before the pope could address his case, but the pontiff nevertheless asked Thibaut to grant what Clément had seized to Martín’s sons, provided “something rational did not stand in the way.”²²⁷ In yet another bizarre scenario, during his stay in Navarre in either 1258, 1264, 1266, or 1269, Thibaut inquired into an odd case in Olite involving a youth (*moço*) who was imprisoned after he had allegedly “broken into a farmyard next to San Lázaro, and...opened a chest, and...took out a cheese from the chest, and...began to eat the cheese.”²²⁸ Nobleman Gil de Rada was to take charge of the boy unless Thibaut’s information was incorrect, in which case town officials were to supply an accurate account. Clément was to handle the situation further. Whether mediating

²²⁴ Lpo, fols. 60r-61v (María Raquel García Arancón, “Martín Sánchez, un converso portugués en Navarra (c. 1230-1263),” *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval* 3 (1989): 1043n2; AdJ, vi, no. 3391). For García Arancón’s account and analysis, see “Martín Sánchez,” 1043-1053; *Dinastía*, 359-360.

²²⁵ “odio concitatus iniquo,” Lpo, fol. 60r (AdJ, vi, no. 3391).

²²⁶ “tortoribus et cruciatibus,” Lpo, fol. 60r (AdJ, vi, no. 3391). According to García Arancón, this account is the first written reference to torture in medieval Navarre. *Dinastía*, 359.

²²⁷ “aliud rationabile non obsistat,” Lpo, fol. 61v (AdJ, vi, no. 3391). I have not found any further evidence related to this case.

²²⁸ “entrído en vn corral cabo Sant Lazaro, et que abrio vna arca, et que saco vn queso de la arca et que enpeço de comer el queso,” Marcelino Beroiz Lazcano, ed., *Documentación medieval de Olite (siglos XII-XIV)* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2009), no. 41 (FDMPV 7, no. 89). The document is translated in *Dinastía*, 349. It is undated. See Beroiz Lazcano, *Documentación medieval de Olite*, 282n1097. See also *Dinastía*, 349.

between principalities, resolving internal revolt, or handling petty crime, officials used their power as comital-royal agents to maintain order and secure the realm in the count-king's name

What Officials Could Not Do

Although the above is not an exhaustive list of the activity of comital-royal agents, it nevertheless encompasses much of what thirteenth-century Champenois administration entailed: maintaining and managing rights and property, forging alliances, resolving disputes, conducting inquests, and addressing grievances. That the count-kings relied on a robust cadre of officials to administer Champagne-Navarre, whether in residence or elsewhere, testifies not only to the quality of these men, but also to the sophistication of an administrative apparatus that did not require the count-king's presence to function. If Archambaud de Bourbon could stand in for Thibaut IV when Louis IX conclusively invested him with the County of Champagne after multiple succession crises, there was little in the secular sphere that the count-king had to do himself.²²⁹ One critical aspect of medieval life, however, is missing from this analysis: matters related to the soul. From my analysis of hundreds of documents pertaining to twenty-one individuals for this chapter and in the appendix and thousands for this study, I have not found any instances of agents making donations, requesting masses, founding or endowing religious institutions, or giving alms in the count-king's name. They certainly engaged frequently with religious bodies in carrying out their duties, but those interactions concerned temporal rather than spiritual business, such as purchasing property and collecting rents. As in the case of Thibaut V's establishment of a new Franciscan dwelling in Troyes, for example, the team of *procuratores* were able to make purchases and

²²⁹ CCC 56, fol. 28rv (AdJ, v, no. 2312). See above.

exchanges for the project on Thibaut's behalf, but they could not make the actual donation for him.²³⁰ The business of the soul was the count-king's alone.

Conclusion

Through dozens of formal and informal officials who could operate in many locations, the count-kings were able to govern and administer Champagne-Navarre no matter where they were. Whether they were local officials on the ground or among the highest ranks of comital-royal service, agents could and did manage the count-kings' temporal affairs with dexterity and sophistication, skills they learned from both the count-king and each other. Engaging in issues of homage and alliances safeguarded the count-king's hold over his lands. By handling matters of tenure and finance, officials ensured that both count-king and vassal received their due. Likewise, conducting inquests and arbitrations meant that questions and disputes were not left pending while the count-king was unavailable. Officials similarly dealt with violence, unrest, and crime, striving to maintain peace in comital-royal lands. Such activity took place both when the count-king was present and when he was absent, showing that he delegated power to officials even when distance did not require it. Administering Champagne-Navarre was undoubtedly a collective endeavor that was successful because of the coordination of the count-king's many agents and the tasks they undertook. At the same time, agents played an essential role in maintaining the count-king's sovereignty, especially in Navarre. Navarrese kingship did not derive from a coronation or anointing ceremony as in France but rather from the *alzamiento* (elevation) ceremony and oath to maintain the kingdom's *fueros*.²³¹ As extensions of the count-king, his agents were his

²³⁰ See chapter 3.

²³¹ See introduction.

representatives in that pledge. The fact that the parties they dealt with would engage with them in the count-king's stead legitimized them as comital-royal proxies. With authority from the count-king, then, these officials were responsible for making composite lordship work.

III. Power, Patronage, and Paris

In March 1263 a canon and *magister* named Simone di Vercelli sold Count Thibaut V a large stretch of land that had formerly held ten connected houses between Paris's Petit Pont and the abbey of Saint-Germain-de-Prés for 2,200 *l.p.*¹ Through his agent and *clericus*, *Magister* Lambert de Lagny, Thibaut then purchased several other houses and granges in the same area between 1263 and 1265. In this space, the count built a comital palace, an *hôtel*, in the Capetian capital, which was completed that decade.² In addition to their Parisian residence, the count-kings of Champagne-Navarre undertook several other prominent building projects and founded various religious institutions in both Champagne and Navarre in the mid-thirteenth century. Although they were certainly not the only rulers engaging in such activity, they were among the few who faced the perennial problem of needing to maintain sovereignty during prolonged, regular absences. Just as the seal on a protection charter was a material manifestation of comital-royal presence, so too were buildings and religious foundations, but on a much larger and visible scale. Such buildings were structural representations of the count-king's power, piety, and beneficence.

Despite their position as rulers of two geographically disconnected principalities, which they gained through legitimate inheritance as opposed to military conquest, the count-kings drew inspiration from the Capetians, especially Louis IX. Comital-royal building activity often mirrored

¹ Lpo, fols. 504r-505v (AdJ, v, no. 3299).

² Lpo, fols. 505v-505r (AdJ, vi, no. 3304), 505r-506v (AdJ, vi, no. 3334), 506v (AdJ, vi, no. 3341), 507r (AdJ, vi, no. 3345), 507r-508v (AdJ, vi, no. 3362). The palace as it was built by Thibaut V does not survive. In its place now is the Lycée Fénelon. According to Valentine Weiss, all that remains of the palace are remnants of the cellars. Valentine Weiss, *La demeure médiévale: répertoire sélectif des principaux hôtels* (Paris: Archives Nationales, 2012), 111.

French royal patronage of the mendicant orders,³ foundations of chapels,⁴ and anti-Jewish attitudes.⁵ The practice of interring kings and queens at Saint-Denis⁶ and the prestige that accompanied the university of Paris also likely influenced the ideology and strategies of rulership that the count-kings formulated.⁷

In addition to these connections, Thibaut V became Louis's son-in-law in 1255 when he married the king's daughter Isabelle, purportedly his favorite.⁸ The two kings maintained a close relationship throughout their lives. Indeed, "Thibaut was one of Saint Louis's sons," a sentiment that Joinville echoed as well.⁹ Thibaut often visited Louis in Paris, and the pair attended relic translations together, a testament to their reputations for piety.¹⁰ Thibaut accompanied Louis on the crusade to Tunis in 1270, and both died on the expedition.¹¹ As we will see in chapter 4, Louis

³ William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 54. See also Jordan, *Louis IX*, 184-185, appendix 2; M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 77, 154-180. For their patronage of the Cistercians, see Anne E. Lester, "Saint Louis and Cîteaux Revisited: Cistercian Commemoration and Devotion during the Capetian Century, 1214-1314," in *The Capetian Century, 1214-1314*, ed. William Chester Jordan and Jenna Rebecca Philips (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 17-42.

⁴ Particularly the Sainte-Chapelle. See Meredith Cohen, *The Sainte-Chapelle and the Construction of Sacral Monarchy: Royal Architecture in Thirteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). This work also treats French royal architecture beyond the Sainte-Chapelle.

⁵ Jordan, *Louis IX*, 84-86, 98-99, 154-157; William Chester Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989).

⁶ Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, 139-140. See also Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "The Cult of Saint Denis and Capetian Kingship," *Journal of Medieval History* 1, no. 1 (1975): 43-69.

⁷ John W. Baldwin, *Paris, 1200* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 210-213.

⁸ María Raquel García Arancón labels Isabelle Louis's "favorite daughter [*hija predilecta*]." *Dinastía*, 104.

⁹ "Teobaldo era uno más de los hijos de San Luis," *Dinastía*, 106; Joinville, section 37 (Caroline Smith, trans., *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008), 151. To be fair, Louis was rebuking both Thibaut and Joinville himself in this instance.

¹⁰ *Dinastía*, 104-108; AdJ, iv, 382-388; Louis Carolus-Barré, "Saint Louis et la translation des corps saints," *Études d'histoire du droit canonique* 2 (1965): 1096, 1102, 1105.

¹¹ For the crusade to Tunis, see Michael Lower, *The Tunis Crusade of 1270: A Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

and Thibaut's relationship greatly influenced how the count-king ruled Champagne and Navarre. At the same time, the rise of the Franciscans and the increased emphasis in the thirteenth century on the conversion of non-Christians in Europe and beyond no doubt influenced the count-kings in their building and foundation plans. Franciscan friars first appeared in France in the 1210s and in Navarre by around 1230.¹² In the same vein, Louis IX actively endeavored to convert non-Christians to the faith.¹³

After considering the major comital projects undertaken before Thibaut IV's accession in 1234 to the throne of Navarre, I turn to Champagne's capital city, Troyes, where in the 1250s and 1260s Thibaut V commissioned a new house in the town for the Franciscans (or Cordeliers) who had been living beyond the walls. Moving on to Provins, the other principal town in the county, I examine Thibaut IV's foundation of Mont-Sainte-Catherine for Franciscan nuns (or Cordelières) in 1237 and subsequent comital-royal patronage. Northwest of Provins was Igny-le-Jard—now Igny-Comblizy—where Thibaut V founded and endowed a royal chapel, a *capella regalis*, in the 1250s. In Navarre, the second count-king established in 1258 a large Dominican monastery in Estella, and as early as 1259, he formed plans to found a university in Tudela.

In the secular realm, we return to France, where Thibaut V built a princely residence in Paris across the Seine from Louis IX's own palais royal and the Sainte-Chapelle. In addition to these larger projects that I consider below, Thibaut IV founded a priory of Benedictine nuns in

¹² Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages: The Historical Links between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism*, trans. Steven Rowan (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 66; José María Jimeno Jurío, *Historia de Pamplona: Síntesis de una evolución* (Pamplona: Ediciones y Libros S.A., 1974), 117. For Franciscan preaching, see D.L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

¹³ William Chester Jordan, *The Apple of His Eye: Converts from Islam in the Reign of Louis IX* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019). For papal efforts to this effect, see Jean Richard, *La papauté et les missions d'orient au moyen âge (XIIIe-XVe siècles)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1998).

Meix near Allibaudières in 1235, and Thibaut V established another house for Franciscan nuns in La Chapelle-Saint-Luc outside of Troyes in 1270. In addition to these large foundations, the count-kings actively and extensively patronized religious institutions in both Champagne and Navarre through alms, donations, and privileges.¹⁴

Comital Building Projects and Foundations before 1234

Founding religious institutions and erecting prominent buildings predated Thibaut IV's accession to the Navarrese throne in 1234. The most notable activity took place under Henry the Liberal (r. 1152-1181), Thibaut IV's grandfather.¹⁵ As part of the much larger endeavor to create what would become the County of Champagne, Henry built a comital palace and chapel in the principality's main city, Troyes, which he completed in 1157. Perhaps inspired by Roger II's palace and chapel in Palermo, Henry's new dwelling was connected to the chapel and contained several rooms in addition to a great hall and gallery facing the altar.¹⁶ He christened the chapel Saint-Étienne, of which Theodore Evergates writes, "as a gem of a princely chapel, it anticipated Louis IX's Ste-Chapelle in Paris."¹⁷ In addition to its grandeur, the collegiate chapter became the count's archivists and treasurers, placing them at the center of comital administration. In the early 1270s Saint-Étienne would create the *Liber pontificum* and *Liber principum*.¹⁸ Evergates argues

¹⁴ AdJ, ivb, 605-616.

¹⁵ Since his father, Thibaut III (r. 1197-1201), died prematurely, he did not, to my knowledge, commission anything.

¹⁶ Theodore Evergates, *Henry the Liberal: Count of Champagne, 1127-1181* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 45-50. For a plan and description of the complex, see 46-47, 128-130, 140-141.

¹⁷ Evergates, *Henry the Liberal*, 140.

¹⁸ Theodore Evergates, "The Chancery Archives of the Counts of Champagne: Codicology and History of the Cartulary-Registers," *Viator* 16 (1985): 162, 171-172.

that “The chapel-residence complex, canons’ houses, and hospital comprised a highly symbolic group of structures in Troyes.”¹⁹ The complex was a locus of comital governance and power. The counts also had impressive complexes and residences in Provins and Bar-sur-Aube.²⁰ The count-kings—especially Thibaut V—no doubt had their predecessor’s projects in mind when they undertook their own.

In the thirteenth century Blanche of Navarre, Thibaut IV’s mother, continued this tradition. In 1216 she established a hermetic priory in Wassy, where the counts had a residence.²¹ More significantly, in 1221 Blanche founded the “lavishly endowed” Cistercian convent of Argensolles, where she would spend the last years of her life.²² Because of its privileges and status, Argensolles was an important model for later foundations of female houses, and the count-kings would continue to patronize it. In Anne E. Lester’s words, “Argensolles was exceptional, though it would eventually find its match in Count Thibaut IV’s (d. 1253) Franciscan convent, known as St. Catherine’s,” which I discuss below.²³ Following in his mother’s footsteps, Thibaut IV founded a Dominican house in Troyes in 1232, just a year and a half before becoming a king.²⁴

¹⁹ Evergates, *Henry the Liberal*, 49. For a moving account of the destruction of the chapel and palace, see Evergates, *Henry the Liberal*, 185-186.

²⁰ See Evergates, *Henry the Liberal*, 64-65.

²¹ AdJ, ivb, 605. For Wassy, see AdJ, ivb, 798, 911-912.

²² Anne E. Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns: The Women’s Religious Movement and Its Reform in Thirteenth-Century Champagne* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 21, 32-33. See also AdJ, ivb, 605; *Aristocracy*, 42. For the significance of Argensolles in greater Cistercian and Champenois history, see Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns*, 28-33.

²³ Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns*, 21.

²⁴ AdJ, ivb, 605; AdJ, v, no. 2198.

A House for Cordeliers in Troyes

At some point before 1236, someone, possibly one of the counts, founded a male Franciscan house outside the northwestern gate of Troyes.²⁵ Evidently, the brothers were unhappy with the house's original location, for by the late 1250s Thibaut V had deputized several comital-royal agents to acquire property and rents to build them a new dwelling in the Jewish quarter, Broce-aux-Juifs, in the town proper.²⁶ In August 1257 Thibaut d'Assenay, Jean Nicolas, and Raimond du Premierfait, "citizens of Troyes, by the illustrious man Thibaut, king of Navarre, established [as]...*procuratores* to build the place of the Friars Minor of Troyes," purchased a plot [*platea*] near the "towers of the king" from fellow citizens Arnaud sur-Seine—a pastry cook [*talemerarius*]²⁷—and Margareta, his wife, for 18 *l.p.*²⁷ The three *procuratores*, as well as Thibaut's many other such officials, each likely received a charter from the count-king formally naming them *procuratores* for the project.²⁸ Almost two years later in 1259, Bernard de Montcuq, Thibaut d'Assenay, and Pierre Fourmaget received a 14-*d.* rent on a market-hall near the *corderia* of Troyes and a 2-*d.* rent on half of a house on the *rotaria* of Troyes in exchange for a 16-*d.* rent on the "great

²⁵ The earliest reference I have found to their presence dates to 1236. AN, J 195, no. 20 (AdJ, v, no. 2416). Arbois de Jubainville and others state that Thibaut IV founded it, but the eighteenth-century reference he gives states that Thibaut founded it in 1237, which is inconsistent with the aforementioned document. AN, J 195, no. 20 mentions the house as a reference point for the location of a ditch. AdJ, ivb, 605ne; M. Courtalon-Delaistre, *Topographie historique de la ville et du diocèse de Troyes*, vol. ii (Troyes: Gobelet, 1783), 249; T. Boutiot, *Histoire de la ville de Troyes et de la Champagne méridionale* (Troyes: Dufey-Robert, 1870-1880), i, 313.

²⁶ Courtalon-Delaistre gives a Brother Jean as the instigator of the move. He also states that other religious in the town did not want the friars within the walls and that Brother Jean appealed to Pope Alexander IV. I have been unable to locate any contemporary sources confirming this account. Courtalon-Delaistre, *Topographie*, 249-250. See also Boutiot, *Histoire*, i, 249, 339-340. For a map with the house's location, see Elizabeth Chapin, *Les villes de foires de Champagne des origines au début du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1937), pl. II.

²⁷ "ciuibus trecensibus ab illustri viro Theobaldo Rege nauarre procuratoribus...constitutis ad edificandum [*sic*] locum fratrum minorum trecensum," "Turris Regis," AD Aube, 13H124 (Aug. 1257). "Towers of the king" refer to the tower just north of the new Cordelier house. See Chapin, *Les villes*, pl. II.

²⁸ The only one that I have found is for Girard Mélétaire. AD Aube, 13H114 (Apr. 1259; AdJ, v, no. 3164). See also chapter 2 and appendix 2.

house of Broce.”²⁹ Towards the end of the same year, Girard Mélétaire, Bernard, Thibaut d’Assenay, and Pierre bought a rent on the house of a clerk in Troyes “in the neighborhood [*vico*] of the Jews” for 40 *s.p.* from a local couple.³⁰ That December an armiger sold the quartet a rent of 2 *d.* in “the place of Broce.”³¹

The Cordeliers must have been out of their extramural house by April 1260, for at that time Thibaut V gave it to the Trinitarians.³² Nevertheless, acquisitions continued. In the spring of 1261 Thibaut d’Assenay and Pierre Fourmaget bought houses in the area from a tradesman or tavern owner [*tabernarius*] and his wife for 100 *l.p.*³³ It was the most expensive purchase for the undertaking. In 1263 the church accompanying the house, at least, was completed.³⁴ A fragment of one of Thibaut V’s acts (only the left half of the charter survives) reveals that in October of that year, the count-king did something—possibly made a purchase—for a planned enlargement [*ampliacionem*] of the house.³⁵ Either shortly before Thibaut’s death on crusade or before that news reached Champagne in December 1270, Thibaut d’Assenay and Raimond du Premierfait secured a house “in the Jewish quarter [*iudaria*] of Troyes on the street that is called Vieille-Rome” next to the brothers’ property [*porprisium*] for 30 *l.t.*³⁶ The purpose of the house was “to administer

²⁹ BnF, MS. Latin 5432, fol. 112v (AdJ, v, no. 3172). See also Boutiot, *Histoire*, i, 313-314.

³⁰ “in vico iudeorum,” AD Aube, 13H119 (Oct. 1259). The house was located next to the home of a Jew named Manassès.

³¹ “locum de brocia,” AD Aube, 13H114 (Dec. 1259). The document is damaged where the scribe wrote what the armiger sold, but context and other terms suggest it was a house.

³² AD Aube, 21H5 (Apr. 1260; AdJ, v, no. 3187). See below.

³³ AD Aube, 13H114 (May 1261).

³⁴ This date comes from Courtalon-Delaistre, who does not supply a citation despite appearing well-informed on the subject. Courtalon-Delaistre, *Topographie*, 251.

³⁵ AD Aube, 13H44 (Oct. 1263; AdJ, v, no. 3323).

³⁶ “in iudaria trecense in vico qui dicitur vetus Roma,” AD Aube, 13H122 (Dec. 1270). A 1267 donation that Thibaut V himself made also confirms this location. AD Aube, 31H14bis*, fols. 388v-389v (AdJ, vi, no. 3411). For the rue

the business and build the place, the house of Broce and the church of the Friars Minor of Troyes,...and for the work [*opus*] and enlargement [*augmentationem*] of the said house and church.”³⁷ After Thibaut’s death, his brother and successor, Henri III, made additional purchases and placed the friars under his protection.³⁸ Finally, on 30 July 1278 Edmund of Lancaster—second husband of Henri’s widow, regent in Champagne, and brother of Edward I of England—confirmed Thibaut V’s desire to have the Cordeliers within the city walls and promised them his protection.³⁹

Thibaut had the new Franciscan convent and accompanying church built in a central location in the town that reflected its status as a beneficiary of the count-king’s favor and celebrated Thibaut’s magnanimity and piety. The foundation was also consistent with the rise of mendicant preaching, another possible inspiration for the count-king.⁴⁰ Located on the eastern bank of the canal that runs through Troyes, the house was just north of the comital palace, Saint-Étienne, and the Hôtel-Dieu-le-Comte.⁴¹ According to a local pre-Revolutionary account, the church was “large and beautiful.”⁴² As several of the above transactions note, the area was the Jewish quarter of

Vieille-Rome, see Antoine-Henri-François Corrad de Bréban, *Les rues de Troyes, anciennes et modernes: revue étymologique avec un plan* (Troyes: Bouquot, 1857), 131-132.

³⁷ “ad exercenda negocia et locum edificandum domus de broya et ecclesie fratrum minorum trecensum...ad opus et augmentationem dictarum domus et ecclesie,” “in iudaria trecense in vico qui dicitur vetus Roma,” AD Aube, 13H122 (Dec. 1270).

³⁸ Courtalon-Delaistre, *Topographie*, 250; AD Aube, 13H45 (Sept. 1271; AdJ, vi, no. 3847).

³⁹ AD Aube, 13H46 (20 Jul. 1278; AdJ, vi, no. 3847). For the building’s later history, see Courtalon-Delaistre, *Topographie*, 250-257.

⁴⁰ d’Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, 6, 14-16, 20-22, 46-47. For Thibaut’s patronage of the friars, see AdJ, ivb, 605-616. For Louis IX’s, see Jordan, *Louis IX*, 54-55.

⁴¹ Chapin, *Les villes*, pl. II.

⁴² “grande et belle,” Courtalon-Delaistre, *Topographie*, 254.

Troyes, known from the twelfth century as the Broce-aux-Juifs.⁴³ The situation for Jews in Champagne and throughout France deteriorated steadily in the thirteenth century, culminating in their eventual expulsion from the realm in 1306. Even in Troyes, which was home to the famed academy that Rashi (1040-1105) established, thirteen Jews were burned for allegedly killing a Christian in 1288.⁴⁴ The choice of the Jewish quarter for the placement of the new Franciscan house, then, could have been part of mounting anti-Semitic attitudes in Champagne as well as increasing efforts to convert them to Christianity throughout France.⁴⁵ Moreover, Thibaut himself was no friend to the Jews.⁴⁶ In a document from 15 March 1269, for example, Thibaut acknowledged that “the most excellent lord and our father Louis, by the grace of God king of the Franks, and we had made to be seized...the Jews remaining in our lands with their possessions [*bonis*]” on 15 September 1268.⁴⁷ Choosing the Jewish quarter for the new Franciscan house was another way for Thibaut to proclaim his sovereignty, put pressure on the Jewish community to either convert or leave, and make his presence felt.

⁴³ Emily Taitz, *The Jews of Medieval France: The Community of Champagne* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 63, 96-97, 124; Boutiot, *Histoire*, i, 249.

⁴⁴ Taitz, *Jews of Medieval France*, 184-223; Jordan, *Louis IX*, 84-86, 98-99, 154-157; Susan L. Einbinder, *Beautiful Death: Jewish Poetry and Martyrdom in Medieval France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 128-130; Jordan, *French Monarchy*, 91-238. For the expulsion, see Taitz, *Jews of Medieval France*, 221-223; Jean Favier, *Philippe le Bel* (Paris: Fayard, 1978), 198-199; Jordan, *French Monarchy*, 177-238. For Rashi and the academy, see Taitz, *Jews of Medieval France*, 80-82; Einbinder, *Beautiful Death*, 128. See also Susan L. Einbinder, *No Place of Rest: Jewish Literature, Expulsion, and the Memory of Medieval France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

⁴⁵ Thibaut was not alone in buying property there. Itier de la Brosse, a governor under Thibaut IV, purchased a plot in 1233. AdJ, v, no. 2264. For conversion of religious others, see Jordan, *Apple of His Eye*, especially 1-20.

⁴⁶ Nor was Louis IX. Einbinder, *Beautiful Death*, 128; Lower, *Tunis Crusade*, 33, 100-101, 156-159, 168; Jordan, *French Monarchy*, 142-176.

⁴⁷ “cum excellentissimus dominus ac pater noster L. dei gratia Rex Francorum et nos capi fecissemus...iudeos in terris nostris commorantes cum bonis eorumdem,” AN, J 613, no. 2 (*Layettes*, iv, no. 5488; AdJ, vi, no. 3531). See also Lower, *Tunis Crusade*, 158; Taitz, *Jews of Medieval France*, 220.

A House for Cordelières in Provins

In 1237 Thibaut IV had a vision. During a bout with insomnia, Saint Catherine appeared to him and indicated with her sword where he should build a convent in her name. Per these instructions, the count-king founded a community of Franciscan nuns, and between 1248 and 1252 commissioned an abbey on a hill just north of the walls of Provins. As the story goes, Claire of Assisi herself provided six sisters for the house at Thibaut's request.⁴⁸ Whether divinely inspired or not, the location of Thibaut's foundation was not accidental. The upper town of Provins that was (and, in the first two cases, still is) home to the collegiate chapter of Saint-Quiriace, the Tour César, the comital palace and chapel, and the markets, rests on the plateau of a large, imposing hill.⁴⁹ Although not on the hill itself, Mont-Sainte-Catherine is highly visible from not only these larger structures and common gathering places but also the town's main road on the northern edge of the hill as the convent sits atop its own—albeit smaller—hillside.⁵⁰ The people of Provins, as well as merchants and artisans coming from across Europe to the town's annual fairs, would have seen the convent regularly and associated it with the count and his piety, power, and presence.

Even though the timing and process of the foundation is somewhat ambiguous, Saint-Catherine resonates with other contemporary Cordelières foundations, namely the convent in Reims, founded in the 1220s, and the convent of Longchamps, founded in the 1250s by Isabelle

⁴⁸ Félix Bourquelot, *Histoire de Provins*, 2 vols. (Provins: Lebeau, 1839-1840), i, 183-184, 370; Jean Mesqui and Pierre Bénard, "L'émergence d'une capitale dans la Brie (802-1285)," in *Histoire de Provins et de sa région*, ed. Michel Veissière (Toulouse: Privat, 1988), 76; Michel Veissière, *Une Communauté canoniale au Moyen Âge. Saint-Quiriace de Provins (XIe-XIIIe Siècles)* (Provins: Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'arrondissement de Provins, 1961), 158. I have not found any contemporary evidence confirming the claim about Claire of Assisi. For a nineteenth-century description of the building and its later history, see Bourquelot, *Histoire*, i, 369-372.

⁴⁹ For the geography of the area that became the town, see Jean Mesqui, *Provins: la fortification d'une ville au Moyen Âge* (Geneva: Droz, 1979), 8-11.

⁵⁰ For a map of these places, see Chapin, *Les villes*, pl. IV.

of France, sister of Louis IX and aunt of Isabelle, Thibaut V's wife.⁵¹ Thibaut IV's foundation thus first appears only in 1248,⁵² sometime after his purported vision and a year after he allowed the nuns to drink from the abbey's fountain in the summer of 1247.⁵³ In the 1248 charter, which Thibaut enacted from Tudela, he established Mont-Sainte-Catherine de Provins "for the remission of our sins."⁵⁴ Later in his reign, he made two donations to the convent of 30 muids of grain annually.⁵⁵ In Jean Mesqui and Pierre Bénard's words, the sisters were "the nuns treasured by Thibaut."⁵⁶ According to Bourquelot, Thibaut had even built "a beautiful apartment detached from the main body of the abbey where he was going to spend the great feasts of the year and the other days of devotion," but I have not found medieval evidence of this construction.⁵⁷

Thibaut V patronized his father's foundation more liberally. In March 1259 he granted the Cordelières the right to fish "in our moats of Provins near the fortification of the same château."⁵⁸

⁵¹ Pierre Desportes, *Reims et les Rémois aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Paris: Picard, 1979), 322; Sean L. Field, *Isabelle of France: Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan Identity in the Thirteenth Century* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 63-66, 92-93.

⁵² Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 241, fol. 9rv, 129r (AdJ, v, no. 2849). Modern scholars have noted this issue as well. Bourquelot, *Histoire*, i, 184n2; Mesqui and Bénard, "L'émergence," 76. The *Gallia Christiana* puts the foundation in 1248. *Gallia christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, 16 vols. (Paris: Regia, 1715-1865), xii, col. 255.

⁵³ AdJ, v, no. 2809. I do not have access to the actual document. I base my description off of Arbois de Jubainville's summary.

⁵⁴ "in remissionem nostrorum peccaminum," Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 241, fols. 9r, 129r (AdJ, v, no. 2849).

⁵⁵ Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 241, fols. 130v-131r (AdJ, v, no. 2950); 9v, 129v (AdJ, v, no. 3039).

⁵⁶ "les moniales chéries par Thibaud," Jean Mesqui and Pierre Bénard, "La vie à Provins à l'époque des foires (11e-14e siècles)," in *Histoire de Provins et de sa région*, ed. Michel Veissière (Toulouse: Privat, 1988), 133.

⁵⁷ "un bel appartement détaché du corps de l'abbaye, où il allait passer les grandes fêtes de l'année et les autres jours de dévotion," Bourquelot, *Histoire*, i, 185.

⁵⁸ "in fossatis nostris de pruuino propter fortitudinem eiusdem castris," Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 241, fols. 9v-10r, 131r (AdJ, v, no. 3160). See also Bourquelot, *Histoire*, i, 219n1.

Two years later, “for the salvation of our and our ancestors’ souls,” the second count-king gave the abbey 400 *l.t.* per year⁵⁹ and replaced that rent after ten months with several properties, including woods, arable land, a house, a press [*torcular*], and vines.⁶⁰ In the autumn of 1263 the sisters gained from Thibaut the *gruerie* from five arpents of woodland in Aunoy.⁶¹ Through a charter dated 28 May 1266, the count-king donated 12 *d.* of rent and gave them permission to acquire up to 500 *libratas terre* “in our fiefs of Champagne.”⁶² The same day, in a charter sent from Pamplona, Thibaut declared that the convent would hold previously donated property and rents “perpetually [*perdurablement*]” as well as “exempt and free [*quites et franchises*].”⁶³ By September 1267 Thibaut believed that the sisters needed greater funds and bestowed upon them 200 *l.t.* per year on the *portagium* of the wine of Provins.⁶⁴ The following month, he declared them “immune” from fees for his seal.⁶⁵ In 1268 he even instructed Saint-Quiriace to give what he received in an exchange with the chapter to the Cordelières.⁶⁶ A few days before that Christmas, the sisters received in mortmain 50 arpents of woods plus *gruerie* in Sourdun.⁶⁷ Two days later

⁵⁹ Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 241, fol. 130v (AdJ, v, no. 3224 bis).

⁶⁰ Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 241, fol. 13rv (AdJ, v, no. 3265).

⁶¹ Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 241, fol. 14rv (AdJ, vi, no. 3318). It seems that the rubricator added the incorrect initial, as it should be a “T” not a “P.”

⁶² “En noz fiez de champaigne,” Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 241, fol. 11r (AdJ, vi, no. 3389).

⁶³ Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 241, fols. 14v-15r (AdJ, vi, no. 3390). The cartulary scribe wrote “Thielles” as the location of the previous document, but it is likely “Tiebas,” located some 20 kilometers south of Pamplona. García Arancón agrees with this assertion. “Itinerario de Teobaldo II de Navarra (1253-1270),” *Príncipe de Viana. Anejo 8* (1988): 445.

⁶⁴ Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 241, fols. 15rv (AdJ, vi, no. 3434).

⁶⁵ “immunes,” Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 241, fols. 11rv (AdJ, vi, no. 3436).

⁶⁶ Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 92, fol. 268rv (AdJ, vi, no. 3503).

⁶⁷ Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 241, fol. 16r (AdJ, vi, no. 3518). Thibaut retained guard and justice.

Thibaut confirmed his father's 1252 donation to the convent.⁶⁸ He likewise confirmed and drew up the donations of several others throughout his reign.⁶⁹ Under Henri III, the convent received from the third count-king permission to acquire up to 50 *l.t.* in mortmain from his fiefs at the behest of his sister, the duchess of Burgundy.⁷⁰ Finally, with Henri's blessing, Sainte-Catherine gained the 10 *l.* on the *portagium* of Provins bequeathed to them in Thibaut V's will "for...pittance [*pitance*] at the convent the day that they will carry out the anniversary [mass] of the said king Thibaut."⁷¹ Henri declared that they would hold the rent in mortmain in the same document. Arbois de Jubainville writes that "of all these establishments, the one that our counts seem to have treated the most generously is the convent of the Cordelières of Provins."⁷²

Following a divine mandate and building a Franciscan convent just outside one of the two most prominent towns in Champagne inscribed a visible comital presence onto the landscape of Provins. The count-kings went a step further in the process by choosing Mont-Sainte-Catherine as the final resting place for (at least parts of) their bodies. When he died in Pamplona in 1253, Thibaut IV entrusted the sisters with his heart.⁷³ Despite perishing in Trapani, Sicily in 1270,

⁶⁸ Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 241, fols. 15v-16r (AdJ, vi, no. 3520).

⁶⁹ Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 241, fols. 12v-13r (AdJ, v, no. 3129); 10rv, 130rv (AdJ, v, no. 3169); 19rv (AdJ, vi, no. 3607); 16rv (AdJ, vi, no. 3608); 18v-19r (AdJ, vi, no. 3616); 19v-20r (AdJ, vi, no. 3650). For secondary references to other donations and grants for which I have not found or cannot access medieval evidence, see Bourquelot, *Histoire*, i, 218n4; Chapin, *Les villes*, 194.

⁷⁰ Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 241, fols. 11v-12r (AdJ, vi, no. 3747). Henri retained guard and justice.

⁷¹ "pour...pitance au conuent e iour que elles feront lanniuersaire le dit Roy Thiebaut," Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 241, fol. 20v (AdJ, vi, no. 3766).

⁷² "De tous ces établissements, celui que nos comtes paraissent avoir traité le plus libéralement est le couvent des Cordelières de Provins," AdJ, ivb, 613.

⁷³ Bourquelot, *Histoire*, i, 185. Arbois de Jubainville only says that he was buried in Pamplona. AdJ, iv, 339. Bourquelot claims that Pierre, Thibaut IV's second son, was also buried in Sainte-Catherine, but Arbois de Jubainville, with much more evidence and detail, claims that he was interred at Saint-Quiriace. Bourquelot, *Histoire*, i, 185-186, 371; AdJ, iv, 343.

Thibaut V's body—and eventually Isabelle's—was left with the Cordelières, as was Henri III's heart four years later.⁷⁴ Safeguarding members of the comital-royal family increased the sacrality of the convent and brought prestige and pride to the town, for they were home to the bodies of kings and queens of Navarre, just as Saint-Étienne housed their comital predecessors, San Salvador de Leyre preserved past kings of Navarre, and Saint-Denis kept French royal rulers. For the count-kings, Sainte-Catherine was a religious and architectural testament of their power and beneficence as well as a crucial element of maintaining a presence when they were absent, both from Champagne and from the temporal world.

A Chapel at Igny

During the 1250s Thibaut V began building a *capella regalis*, a “royal chapel,” in Igny-le-Jard—now Igny-Comblizy in the department of the Marne—where he also had a comital residence.⁷⁵ With this chapel, Thibaut not only created a new sacred, comital-royal space for his people to visit in his absence, he also followed in the footsteps of his father-in-law, Louis IX, who built the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris to house the famed Crown of Thorns relic, as well as his grandfather, who built Saint-Étienne in Troyes.⁷⁶ As Meredith Cohen writes, “The monumental proportions and elaborate decoration of the Sainte-Chapelle rendered the king's palace an aesthetic

⁷⁴ *Dinastía*, 121; AdJ, iv, 423; Bourquelot, *Histoire*, i, 232-233, 371; Boutiot, *Histoire*, i, 388. For an image and the later history of Thibaut V's sepulcher, see *Dinastía*, 121-123.

⁷⁵ BnF, MS. Latin 818, fol. 255r (Félix Bourquelot, “Fragments du comptes du XIIIe siècle,” *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 24, no. 1 (1863): 73). The words are too faint to make out in my photographs, but they appear in Bourquelot's transcription and analysis of the text. See also Bourquelot, “Fragments du comptes,” 70. Note that the adjective is *regalis*, not *regis*. A *capella regis* in the French royal context at least is “the body of liturgical utensils, books, and relics” connected to the king and its accompanying institution, not a physical edifice. Robert Branner, “The Sainte-Chapelle and the *Capella Regis* in the Thirteenth Century,” *Gesta* 10, no. 1 (1971): 19. For Arbois de Jubainville's cursory overview of the documents discussed here, see AdJ, ivb, 608-609. For other comital chapels, see AdJ, ivb, 608. For the comital residence in Igny, see AdJ, ivb, 797.

⁷⁶ For the Sainte-Chapelle as a French royal chapel, see Branner, “Sainte-Chapelle,” 20. For Saint-Étienne, see above.

space no longer designed primarily to represent militaristic or defensive capabilities but also designed to convey royal status.”⁷⁷ Louis’s foundation even inspired other Christian princes to build their own “saintes-chapelles.”⁷⁸ With only a few surviving records documenting the chapel at Igny, it is difficult to determine if it was a true “sainte-chapelle,” which required the presence of a Passion relic.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, Thibaut certainly had Louis’s Sainte-Chapelle in mind when he built his chapel.

According to Arbois de Jubainville, a priory already existed at Igny that housed five Augustinian canons under the auspices of the abbey of Saint-Martin d’Épernay.⁸⁰ Apart from the four indulgences from the *Liber pontificum* that I discuss in the following chapter, the chapel appears in seven other documents.⁸¹ It first surfaces in a charter dated to 20 September 1255 preserved in Pope Alexander IV’s registers.⁸² Addressed to the abbot and abbey of Épernay, the document, which grants an exemption that the monastery requested for the chapel, describes it as “your [the monastery’s] chapel of Igny-le-Jard, not having the care of souls, located in the manor that the most beloved in Christ our son...the illustrious king of Navarre was understood to hold in the diocese of Soissons...”⁸³ Alexander issued the document in identical terms again on 3 February

⁷⁷ Meredith Cohen, “An Indulgence for the Visitor: The Public at the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris,” *Speculum* 83 (2008): 859.

⁷⁸ Cohen, “Indulgence for the Visitor,” 882.

⁷⁹ Claudine Billot, “Les Sainte-Chapelles (XIIIe-XVIe siècles). Approche comparée de fondations dynastiques,” *Revue d’histoire de l’Église de France* 73, no. 191 (1987): 232. Many thanks to William Chester Jordan for pointing out this requirement. Billot does not list the Igny chapel as a sainte-chapelle.

⁸⁰ He does not give a citation for this information. AdJ, ivb, 608.

⁸¹ The indulgences are Lpo, fols. 115r (AdJ, v, no. 3194), 155v (AdJ, v, no. 3191), 161r (AdJ, v, no. 3196), 195v (AdJ, v, no. 3195).

⁸² Bourel de la Roncière et al., eds., *Les registres d’Alexandre IV*, 3 vols. (Paris: Thorin, 1902-1959), i, no. 798.

⁸³ “capella vestra de Igniaco Jardo curam animarum non habens sita in manerio quod carissimus in Christo filius noster...rex Navarre illustris, in Suessionensi diocesi habere dinoscitur...,” Bourel de la Roncière, *Registres d’Alexandre IV*, i, no. 798.

1256.⁸⁴ Almost exactly three years later, he sent a third missive regarding the chapel, this time to Thibaut himself. It states that Thibaut previously had not only gained consent from the pope to build the chapel but also asked the pontiff for permission to “endow [the chapel] from royal goods” with “many benefices or prebends.”⁸⁵ The document granted Thibaut that permission, “just as you have that [authorization to endow benefices] in other collegiate churches that your ancestors endowed.”⁸⁶

Félix Bourquelot discovered the Igny chapel listed several times in a fragment of comital accounts from 1258-1259 that were eventually used as fly leaves for an eleventh-century missal from Troyes.⁸⁷ In addition to “capella regis,” the entries describe the chapel as the “work of Igny,” the “chapel of Igny,” and simply “Igny.”⁸⁸ Several different expenditures appear.⁸⁹ Some relate to general construction, such as timber for the sacristy and chairs, gutters/drains, plaster for oratories, and the gable. A *Magister* Bernard, described as a painter [*pictor*], and a *Magister* Dominique, a glass maker [*verrierius*], received funds as well. In expenses more germane to the chapel’s religious function, the panels of the altars [*tabula altarium*] plus the timber for chairs cost the comital purse

⁸⁴ Bourel de la Roncière, *Registres d’Alexandre IV*, i, no. 1202.

⁸⁵ “de bonis regalibus dotare,” “plura beneficia vel prebende [sic],” Bourel de la Roncière, *Registres d’Alexandre IV*, iii, no. 2803.

⁸⁶ “sicut illud habes in aliis collegiatis ecclesiis quas dotaverunt progenitores tui,” Bourel de la Roncière, *Registres d’Alexandre IV*, iii, no. 2803.

⁸⁷ BnF, MS. Latin 818, fols. 255r, 256r; Bourquelot, “Fragments du comptes,” 69–70. For Arbois de Jubainville’s summary of these expenses, see AdJ, ivb, 608-609.

⁸⁸ “opere Igniaci,” “capelle Ygniaci,” “Ygniaci,” BnF, MS. Latin 818, fol. 255r (Bourquelot, “Fragments du comptes,” 73, 74).

⁸⁹ While the expenses are generally grouped together, some are interspersed with unrelated expenditures. Conversely, some expenses that appear among the Igny sums are not explicitly or logically connected to the chapel. Bourquelot, however, reads them as part of the general expenses for the chapel, but I do not here. Bourquelot, “Fragments du comptes,” 70.

25 *l.* 2 *s.* Some sort of dwelling was built, presumably for the chapel's canons. The chapel also had a vineyard [*vinagium*].⁹⁰ Evidently, there was much ado over the chapel pool or pond [*stagnum, vivarium*], as most of the Igny entries pertain to that feature. The treasury first paid "for the pool of Igny, 40 *l.* 10 *s.* through the letters of Colard."⁹¹ The pond was home to many fish, for a Hugues Bernard, Jean, and others received funds for 400 carp and "fish having been placed" there.⁹² Since carp require large aquatic abodes, Thibaut's pond must have been quite extensive.⁹³ The legible sums paid for the pool total 55 *l.* 10 *s.*, and several remain too worn to read. The parchment containing the details of several other expenditures is similarly damaged. Construction was thus well underway by the time the indulgences for attending the dedication were issued in May of 1260.⁹⁴

Around that time, Thibaut also asked the abbess of Saint-Antoine outside of Paris to offer those who attend the dedication and/or its octaves "participation in all the good things" of the monastery as well as "two psalms."⁹⁵ To these same people, the prior of Preuilly likewise granted participation, fifty masses, and forty psalms, again at Thibaut's request.⁹⁶ The count-king was actively publicizing his foundation. Finally, in a charter from May 1263, Thibaut "transfer[ed] into

⁹⁰ BnF, MS. Latin 818, fols. 255r (Bourquelot, "Fragments du comptes," 71-74).

⁹¹ "Pro stagno Ygniaci, xl lib x s per litteras Colardi," BnF, MS. Latin 818, fols. 255r (Bourquelot, "Fragments du comptes," 73).

⁹² "piscibus positus," BnF, MS. Latin 818, fols. 255r (Bourquelot, "Fragments du comptes," 73). For medieval fish, see Richard C. Hoffman, "A brief history of aquatic resource use in medieval Europe," *Helgoland Marine Research* 59 (2004): 22-30. For the Igny pond in particular, see page 26.

⁹³ Hoffman, "A brief history," 26.

⁹⁴ Lpo, fols. 115r (AdJ, v, no. 3194), 155v (AdJ, v, no. 3191), 161r (AdJ, v, no. 3196), 195v (AdJ, v, no. 3195).

⁹⁵ "participationem omnium bonorum," "duoque psalteria," Lpo, fol. 395r (AdJ, v, no. 3197).

⁹⁶ Lpo, fols. 416v-416r (AdJ, v, no. 3192).

our new chapel of Igny-le-Jard, located within the wall of our house of Igny” five canons affiliated with the old chapel.⁹⁷ He then committed 40 *l.* per year “for the increase of three canons who, in the same chapel henceforth, one with the other five canons, will devote themselves to their own sustenance” as well as wax for lamps.⁹⁸

The Igny chapel is an example of the count-king using his status as king of Navarre to reinforce and sacralize his power in Champagne.⁹⁹ Unlike other comital chapels founded before Thibaut IV became king of Navarre, Igny could be deemed a *capella regalis* because its founder was indeed a king. Even though Navarre had an elevation ceremony that was quite different from a French coronation and anointing, thirteenth-century Christians visiting Igny would have conceived of Thibaut’s royal standing in terms of Louis IX’s.¹⁰⁰ Through this association, Igny became akin to the Sainte-Chapelle, as Thibaut was to Louis. Thibaut created a presence for himself rooted in both a physical edifice and a shared image of sacred kingship.

A Dominican Monastery in Estella

In or shortly before 1258 Thibaut V founded a Dominican convent in the western town of Estella, only the second in all of Navarre.¹⁰¹ The imposing hilltop structure, dedicated to the order’s

⁹⁷ “transferimus in capellam nostram novam de igniaco jardo sitam infra ambitum domus nostrae de igniaco,” BnF, Provinces françaises, MS. Champagne 135, 270 (AdJ, vi, no. 3305).

⁹⁸ “pro augmentatione trium canonicorum qui en eadem capella de cetero una cum aliis quinque canonicis deservient ad sustentationem eorumdem,” BnF, Provinces françaises, MS. Champagne 135, 270-271 (AdJ, vi, no. 3305).

⁹⁹ I thank Laura Gathagan for suggesting this idea.

¹⁰⁰ For the Navarrese elevation ceremony, see introduction. For Louis IX’s coronation liturgy, see Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, 108-111.

¹⁰¹ José Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia eclesiástica de Estella*, vol. 2 (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1990), 23. The first was in Pamplona. García Arancón, *Teobaldo II*, 290.

founder and pictured below, still dominates the landscape of Estella today and is only fifty meters from the Camino de Santiago, or the Way of Saint James.¹⁰²



Figure 9: El convento de Santo Domingo, Estella. Photo by author.

¹⁰² For an eighteenth-century description of the monastery, see José Goñi Gaztambide, “Historia del convento de Santo Domingo de Estella,” *Príncipe de Viana* 22, no. 82 (1961), 11. For images of the interior, which is closed to the public, see *III*, 74, 80; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia eclesiástica*, 41.



Figure 10: El convento de Santo Domingo, Estella. See the structure in the center. Photo by author.

The foundation of Santo Domingo received soon thereafter the approval of the general chapter, Pope Alexander IV, and the bishop of Pamplona.¹⁰³ To promote the monastery, Thibaut secured an indulgence of 100 days from the pope for those who attended the dedication¹⁰⁴ and an indulgence of forty days from the bishop of Pamplona for those who listened to sermons there.¹⁰⁵ The 1266 Navarrese accounts reveal the partial extent of Thibaut and Isabelle's patronage: 20 l.

¹⁰³ Goñi Gaztambide, "Historia," 11; *Dinastía*, 159; María Raquel García Arancón, *Teobaldo II*, Reyes de Navarra (Pamplona, 2003), 291; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia eclesiástica*, 23.

¹⁰⁴ José Goñi Gaztambide, "Regesta de las bulas de los archivos navarros (1198-1417)," *Anthologica Annua* 10 (1962): no. 198; Goñi Gaztambide, "Historia," 11, 11n2; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia eclesiástica*, 23.

¹⁰⁵ Goñi Gaztambide, "Historia," 11; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia eclesiástica*, 23. I discuss these indulgences in chapter 4.

for vestments,¹⁰⁶ another 20 *l.* “to clothe them from the year 1265,”¹⁰⁷ and 10 *l.* “for pittance the day of their provincial chapter...by letters of the queen.”¹⁰⁸ The monastery received in kind 19 *cáhices* of barley,¹⁰⁹ 60 *cáhices* of grain,¹¹⁰ 90 *cáhices* of barley and oats,¹¹¹ 60 *mietros* of wine,¹¹² and 10 *cáhices* of barley “for the beast of the cart.”¹¹³ According to an eighteenth-century account of Santo Domingo’s privileges by apostolic notary Francisco Bernardo de Oteiza, Thibaut also “adorned the sacristy with many ornaments and relics, and in the whole time that he lived, he protected it with every affection.”¹¹⁴ Oteiza states that Thibaut had completed the building and that friars were living there by 1264.¹¹⁵

In his will for Navarre, drawn up in Carthage only a month before his death in December 1270, the ailing count-king bequeathed the brothers “1000 *l.* for the construction [*obra*], less than

¹⁰⁶ *Registros*, 214, no. 1083.

¹⁰⁷ “per lur vestir de anno LXV,” *Registros*, 239, no. 1583.

¹⁰⁸ “per pitañca el dia de lur capitol prouincial...per litteras regine,” *Registros*, 255, no. 1924.

¹⁰⁹ *Registros*, 329, no. 3556.

¹¹⁰ *Registros*, 332, no. 3597.

¹¹¹ *Registros*, 336, no. 3699.

¹¹² *Registros*, 339, no. 3772.

¹¹³ “per la bestia de la carreta,” *Registros*, 360, no. 4214. Goñi Gaztambide mentions such an animal for transporting books to the brothers from Champagne, but I cannot find that expense where he says it should be in the accounts. Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia eclesiástica*, 24. García Arancón states that “the queen gave them 200 s. for a meal and paid the expenses of the journey of the grandmaster of the Dominicans [*la reina les dio 200 sueldos para una comida y pagó los gastos de desplazamiento del gran maestro de los dominicos*],” but I have not found any other evidence for this claim. *Dinastía*, 159; García Arancón, *Teobaldo II*, 291.

¹¹⁴ “adornó la sacristía con muchos ornamentos y reliquias y en todo el tiempo que vivió, lo amparó con todo afecto,” Goñi Gaztambide, “Historia,” 48. For don Francisco Bernardo de Oteiza, see José Miguel Aramburu Zudaire, “Algunos aspectos sociales de la emigración navarra a América. El caso de Estella (siglos XVI-XVII),” *Príncipe de Viana. Anejo*, no. 13 (1991): 268–69, 268n26.

¹¹⁵ Goñi Gaztambide, “Historia,” 12, 49; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia eclesiástica*, 24. For donations by later medieval Navarrese rulers, see Goñi Gaztambide, “Historia,” 13–14, 53–53, 58.

the other 20,000 *s.* that we are telling them [the brothers] to take in Champagne,” as well as 200 *cáhices* of grain and 100 *cocas* of wine.¹¹⁶ He also left 20,000 *s.* each “to build a convent of their Order” in Tudela and Sangüesa and 100 *s.* for pittances “to every house of their order in the province of Hispania.”¹¹⁷ North of the Pyrenees, Thibaut left the Dominicans of Bayonne 50 *cáhices* of grain and pittances to the Spanish provincial chapter, the female Franciscans in Madrid, and the convent of San Estéban in Gormaz.¹¹⁸ He also allocated 3,000 *s.* for the Dominicans of Pamplona. In José Goñi Gaztambide’s words, Thibaut indeed possessed a “youthful fervor” for the Dominicans.¹¹⁹

Thibaut’s extensive patronage of the Friars Preachers did not go unnoticed in his own time. In reference to his foundation of a house in Provins in 1270, Jean de Joinville wrote in his *Vie de Saint Louis*, “He [Louis IX] asked me [Jean] to take a message to King Thibaut for him, advising him to be on his guard not to let the great sums he was spending on the construction of a house for the Dominicans at Provins become a burden on his soul.”¹²⁰ Louis then advised, ““For while he lives a wise man should use his resources as the executor of an estate would. By which I mean that good executors first make amends for the wrongs of the dead man and restore any property to its rightful owner, and then use what is left of the dead man’s estate in charity.””¹²¹ Louis likely would

¹¹⁶ “mil libras pora la obra, menos de los otros veint mil sueldos que mandamus á ellos tomar en Campanna,” FDMPV 7, no. 88. Philip III twice ordered Navarrese governors to carry out these bequests. AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, fol. 14rv (FDMPV 61, no. 122; *Cartulario de FIII*, no. 97); AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 7, 176-177 (FDMPV 61, no. 88).

¹¹⁷ “pora edificar un conuento de lur Orden,” “a cada casa de lur orden en la prouincia de Hespanna,” FDMPV 7, no. 88.

¹¹⁸ For his other wills, see *Dinastía*, 123-127, 159.

¹¹⁹ “juvenil fervor,” Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia eclesiástica*, 23.

¹²⁰ Smith, *Joinville and Villehardouin*, 150. For the original French, see Joinville, section 34.

¹²¹ Smith, *Joinville*, 150.

have felt the same about Thibaut's foundation in Estella. Through the monastery and his devoted support, Thibaut etched his presence, largesse, and power into the skyline of one of Navarre's most important cities. Anyone who came to Estella after Santo Domingo's construction would have been struck by such a daunting structure, and the Estellan people of the later thirteenth century would have known who built it.

A University in Tudela

The only evidence we have that Thibaut V intended to establish a university in the southern Navarrese town of Tudela is a 1259 papal bull from Pope Alexander IV.¹²² Thibaut likely chose Tudela both because it already had a school in place and because it was not an episcopal town, an important concern given his father's strained and sometimes hostile relationship with the see in Pamplona.¹²³ Most of the bull is comprised of praise for the count-king, and Alexander emphasizes Thibaut's youth in multiple places and that the idea "came to us [Alexander] from your [Thibaut's] part."¹²⁴ He confirms that Thibaut "graciously and willingly summons...the liberal arts of philosophy [*liberales philosophie artes*] to your [Thibaut's] kingdom" and "desires the *Studium*

¹²² José Goñi Gaztambide, "Alejandro IV y la universidad proyectada por Teobaldo II en Tudela (1259)," *Príncipe de Viana* 58 (1955): 835. Goñi Gaztambide edits the bull on pages 838-839, which is also in Potthast, ii, no. 17562. For a brief overview of education in Navarre from the late twelfth century through 1259, see Goñi Gaztambide, "Alejandro IV," 836-837.

¹²³ Goñi Gaztambide, "Alejandro IV," 837. For the conflict with the bishop, see *Dinastía*, 73-75, 149-152.

¹²⁴ "ex parte tua fuit nobis," "*Studium* ordinari desideres *Generale*," Goñi Gaztambide, "Alejandro IV," 839 (Potthast, ii, no. 17562).

Generale to be arranged.”¹²⁵ Unfortunately, the plan came to naught as the university was never built, presumably due to lack of funds.¹²⁶

We can still, however, surmise something about Thibaut’s motivations for the project and why he set out to found a university as opposed to a religious house, his preferred choice. In the final clause of the bull, the pontiff “grants that all incomes are authorized [for] its [the university’s] ecclesiastics to gain” what those “who pursue scholastic training [*scholasticis disciplinis*] in the city of Paris gain.”¹²⁷ Tudela’s university, financially if not otherwise, was to be on par with Paris’s. The university of Paris was Europe’s leading institution for the study of theology, a topic that was very close to Thibaut’s heart. So as not to be overshadowed by Paris’s prestige and proximity to Champagne, the count-king strategically chose Navarre as the university’s location. Along the same lines, by placing it in his kingdom, Thibaut drew a parallel between himself and the French crown yet again. Even though the count-king’s original petition to the pope is likely lost—and thus we cannot know if he mentioned the university of Paris in it—he no doubt had the Capetian capital in mind when he made his request. It is indeed telling that Alexander used Paris as the yardstick and not, say, Salamanca. At the same time, a university in Navarre would inevitably attract clerics bent on preaching and conversion, in addition to producing a ready pool of comital-royal officials in the making.

¹²⁵ “ad regnum tuum liberales philosophie artes...liberaliter et libenter invitas,” “ex parte tua fuit nobis,” Goñi Gaztambide, “Alejandro IV,” 838, 839 (Potthast, ii, no. 17562).

¹²⁶ Goñi Gaztambide, “Alejandro IV,” 838. García Arancón argues that the failure of the project “contributed to the poor intellectual scene of the Navarrese Late Middle Ages [*contribuyó al pobre panorama intelectual de la Baja Edad Media navarra*],” *Dinastía*, 383.

¹²⁷ “indulgemus, ut omnes proventus suos ecclesiasticos...percipere valeant,” “percipiunt hii qui in Parisiensi civitate scolasticis disciplinis insistunt,” Goñi Gaztambide, “Alejandro IV,” 839 (Potthast, ii, no. 17562).

A Palace in Paris

Religious institutions were not the only building projects that the count-kings undertook. In the 1260s Thibaut V built a comital residence in Paris on the left bank of the Seine. Six charters survive documenting his acquisitions, all drawn up by unnamed Parisian episcopal officials.¹²⁸ In the charter from March 1263 that opened this chapter, Thibaut bought from canon and *Magister* Simone di Vercelli a plot of land large enough to have held ten houses and a kitchen that bordered the rue Saint-Germain-des-Prés and the rue Gaugai for 2,200 *l.p.*¹²⁹ The purchase was by far the largest that Thibaut made for the project. He then deputized his *clericus* in Paris, *Magister* Lambert de Lagny, to make additional requisite purchases.¹³⁰ Since Lambert administered Thibaut's affairs in Paris, he was uniquely suited to the task.¹³¹ In April 1263 Lambert bought a house from a Parisian family "beyond the Petit Pont toward Saint-Germain-des Prés."¹³² A year later he acquired a 3-*s.par.* rent on the house containing the kitchen from the first transaction, described as "the kitchen of the illustrious king of Navarre."¹³³ In August 1264 Lambert purchased a house belonging to a Chandler [*cerarius*] and his wife "on the rue Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris that makes a wedge [*cuneum*] [with] the street that is called the rue Gaugai."¹³⁴ The following January

¹²⁸ Lpo, fols. 504r-505v, (AdJ, v, no. 3299), 505v-505r (AdJ, vi, no. 3304), 505r-506v (AdJ, vi, no. 3334), 506v (AdJ, vi, no. 3341), 507r (AdJ, vi, no. 3345), 508v (AdJ, vi, no. 3362). For other overviews of these purchases, see Weiss, *La demeure*, 110. Boris Bove, "Une capitale et ses élites (XIIIe-XVe siècle), vol. 3, *Habiter la ville. Paris et la noblesse du cour au XIVe siècle*, HDR, Paris 1, 2018, notice no. 2210.

¹²⁹ Lpo, fols. 504r-505v (AdJ, v, no. 3299).

¹³⁰ It is entirely possible that Lambert handled the previous transaction too.

¹³¹ AdJ, ivb, 472.

¹³² "ultra paruum pontem uersus sanctum Germanum de pratis," Lpo, fols. 505v-505r (AdJ, vi, no. 3304).

¹³³ "coquina illustri regis Nauarre," Lpo, fol. 505r-506v (AdJ, vi, no. 3334).

¹³⁴ "in uico sancti germani de pratis parisiensis que facit cuneum uici qui dicitur uicus gauein," Lpo, fol. 506v (AdJ, vi, no. 3341).

he secured for 45 *l.par.* another two houses and a garden in the same area from a Christophe le Porcher and Eramburgue, his wife.¹³⁵ Finally, in June 1265 Lambert's extant comital-royal activities concluded with the acquisition of a rent on a "granary [*granchiam*] located in Paris beyond the Petit Pont on the street...by Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris near the plaster pit [*plastrariam*]." ¹³⁶ In addition to these receipts, the building appears in an obituary from 1259 and again in a charter from 27 August 1269. In the obituary, the "house of the king of Navarre" paid 27 *s.*¹³⁷ and was a reference point for other residences.¹³⁸ Similarly, Eudes Rigaud, the archbishop of Rouen, wrote in the 1269 charter of "a certain house...located in Paris on the rue Gaugai next to the manor [*manerium*] of the excellent man, the illustrious king of Navarre."¹³⁹

The information in the charters is precise enough to pinpoint where the residence was.¹⁴⁰ The rue Saint-Germain-des-Prés became the rue Saint-André-des-Arts and the rue de Gaugai the rue de l'Éperon, both between the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and the Petit Pont.¹⁴¹ Thibaut was not the only prince, lay or ecclesiastical, who had a house in that area. As Boris Bove argues,

¹³⁵ Lpo, fol. 507r (AdJ, vi, no. 3345).

¹³⁶ "granchiam sita parisius ultra paruum pontem in uico...apud sanctum germanum de patis prope plastrariam," Lpo, fol. 507r-508v (AdJ, vi, no. 3362).

¹³⁷ AN, LL 1102a, fol. 72r. I thank Valentine Weiss for sharing images of these pages and of the 1269 charter with me.

¹³⁸ "domum regis nauarrie," AN, LL 1102a, fols. 69r, 72r.

¹³⁹ "quandam domum...sitam Parisius in uico galgani iuxta manerium excellentis uiri Regis nauarre illustris," AN, L 782, no. 37. For a study of Eudes, see Adam J. Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat: Eudes Rigaud and Religious Reform in Thirteenth-Century Normandy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006). For later history and descriptions of the building, see Weiss, *La demeure*, 110; Bove, "Une capitale," notice no. 2210.

¹⁴⁰ As other scholars have already done. See Weiss, *La demeure*, 110; Bove, "À la recherche," 184; Boris Bove and Caroline Bourlet, "Noblesse indigène, noblesse de service et bourgeoisie anoblie: les mutations de l'aristocratie parisienne (XIe-XVe siècles)," in *Les nobles et la ville dans l'espace francophone (XIIe-XVIIe siècles)*, ed. T. Dutour (Paris: PUPS, 2010), 178, 194, 198.

¹⁴¹ Weiss, *La demeure*, 110. For its location on a map relative to other princely residences, both lay and ecclesiastical, see Bove, "À la recherche," 184; Bove and Bourlet, "Noblesse indigène," 198.

“Residing in the capital becomes necessary for the princes and, more generally, for all the nobles who aspire to strengthen their social power.”¹⁴² By the reign of Jeanne and Philip the Fair, neighbors would have included the counts of Saint-Pol, the Châtillon family, the bishop of Chartres, and the archbishops of Rouen and Reims.¹⁴³ Thibaut’s dwelling was also directly across the river from Louis’s own.¹⁴⁴ The geographical correspondence reflects the ideological parallel that Thibaut sought to make between himself and his father-in-law. From the point of view of the people of Champagne and Navarre, Thibaut’s close relationship with Louis augmented his stature and, most importantly, his ability to maintain sovereignty while being physically absent. Potential agitators would be less likely to foment unrest if their liege lord highly favored their count. The backing of France’s highest lord and possessing enough clout to warrant a residence in the capital bolstered Thibaut’s image and contributed to his ideology of rulership. He made himself a fixture in Paris and at the Capetian court.¹⁴⁵

Conclusion

The count-kings embedded their presence and power into the very land they ruled through ambitious building projects and religious foundations in strategic and prominent locations that sent a message to viewers and, in some cases, recalled the impressive structures of their ancestors. The Cordelier house in Troyes demonstrated Thibaut V’s dedication to the mendicant orders while

¹⁴² “Habiter la capitale devient nécessaire pour les princes et, plus généralement, pour tous les nobles qui aspirent à conforter leur domination sociale,” Bove and Bourlet, “Noblesse indigène,” 174. The 1250s and 1260s saw an influx of French nobles into the capital. Bove and Bourlet, “Noblesse indigène,” 178.

¹⁴³ Bove and Bourlet, “Noblesse indigène,” 198.

¹⁴⁴ I thank Nicholas Vincent for making this observation.

¹⁴⁵ Jeanne, Thibaut’s niece, intended the building for the Collège de Navarre, but the executors of her will did not honor her request. Bove and Bourlet, “Noblesse indigène,” 197n21.

simultaneously flexing his power over the town's Jewish community. Mont-Sainte-Catherine in Provins, on a hillside visible to all from the upper part of the busy fair town, showcased Thibaut IV's piety and bounty. Similarly, subjects and pilgrims alike could not miss the formidable Convento de Santo Domingo on the famed Camino de Santiago that passed (and still passes) through Estella. Just as a university in Tudela, a principal Navarrese town without an antagonistic bishop, would bring prestige to the count-king, so too did the Parisian palace signal Thibaut V's influence and power. Even though Igny-le-Jard was not a key town, the foundation of the Igny chapel and the spiritual rewards that went with it made the chapel a site of comital-royal presence and patronage. Such foundations emphasized the importance of maintaining a presence, albeit not always corporeally, in the comital-royal ideology of rulership.

These endeavors reflected similar activity on the part of the French kings, most notably of Louis IX, as well as contemporary Franciscan and conversion movements. The future saint avidly supported the burgeoning mendicant orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, whom William Chester Jordan describes as "the cutting edge of Christian piety."¹⁴⁶ The count-kings too, actively patronized them with support that was sometimes laced with the same anti-Semitism and an emphasis on conversion that pervaded French royal mindsets. They fashioned a royal chapel as well as a royal resting place, echoing Saint-Étienne, Leyre, and the Sainte-Chapelle and Saint-Denis. With these projects and buildings, the count-kings sacralized Champagne with the royal status they held in Navarre. Yet the count-kings ruled two realms, requiring them essentially to be in two places at once. These buildings and foundations were a solution to that problem. In Evergates's words, "the count's chapel, connected to his residence and lavishly furnished by his endless benefactions, and staffed by canons who appeared as the count's functionaries, seemed an

¹⁴⁶ Jordan, *Louis IX*, 54.

extension of Henry [the Liberal] himself.”¹⁴⁷ In the same way, foundations and residences were extensions of Henry’s comital-royal descendants, whether they were present or not.

¹⁴⁷ Evergates, *Henry the Liberal*, 129.

IV. In His Name: Religion as Administrative Strategy in Thirteenth-Century Champagne and Navarre

In the spring of 1260, the archbishop of Reims granted an indulgence of 100 days to those faithful who attended the dedication of Count Thibaut V of Champagne's chapel at Igny and to those who visited the new structure during the subsequent eight days.¹ The archbishop's flock received that day a powerful and desirable spiritual gift because of their participation in and acknowledgment of an act of piety and patronage performed by their count, who was also the king of Navarre (r. 1253-1270). The archbishop of Reims was not alone in issuing this reprieve, for twelve days earlier the bishop of Soissons had made a similar proclamation, as had the bishops of Paris and Senlis that same month.² By founding and constructing the chapel in his name, Thibaut, as "count-king," gained the spiritual rewards and public recognition associated with such devotion while also creating a sacred space where his people could commune with God and their ruler in his absence. He could leave his lands knowing that his spiritual presence and temporal authority resounded even if he was elsewhere. Throughout his reign, Thibaut likewise procured indulgences for those who attended a sermon³ or dedication when the comital-royal family was present;⁴ for

¹ Lpo, fol. 115r (AdJ, v, no. 3194).

² Lpo, fols. 155v (AdJ, v, no. 3191), 194r-195v (AdJ, v, no. 3195), 161r (AdJ, v, no. 3196), respectively.

³ Lpo, fols. 55v-55r (AdJ, v, no. 3156; Potthast, ii, no. 17476), 56r (AdJ, v, no. 3254; Potthast, ii, no. 18192; Jean Guiraud, ed., *Les registres d'Urbain IV (1261-1264). Registre ordinaire*, 2 vols. (Paris: Fontemoing, 1901), i, no. 36), 59v (AdJ, v, no. 3289; Potthast, ii, no. 18485); Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV. Registre ordinaire*, i, no. 34. Urban's registers comprise four total volumes, but the first is the cameral register. Volume numbers here correspond to the volume numbers of the ordinary register, not the series as a whole.

⁴ Lpo, fols. 56r (AdJ, v, no. 3253; Potthast, ii, no. 18191; Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV. Registre ordinaire*, i, no. 35), 57v-57r (AdJ, v, no. 3252; Potthast, ii, no. 18187) and Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV. Registre ordinaire*, i, no. 33.

those who prayed for the comital-royal family;⁵ and for visitors to the Dominican convent that he founded in Estella, Navarre.⁶

Indulgences in the High Middle Ages

An indulgence is a remission of temporal punishment for sin and reprieve from future time spent in Purgatory atoning for remaining earthly transgressions.⁷ The concept originated from early medieval penitential culture and penitential manuals, books for priests that listed penances for specific sins. Appearing in the 1020s, the earliest indulgences were given to pilgrims, whereas indulgences for crusading activity followed a few decades later.⁸ The Church's ability to grant indulgences rested on what theologians referred to as the Treasury of Merit, a bank of unlimited grace formed and replenished by the deeds, sacrifices, and sufferings of Jesus and the saints. Making a valid withdrawal from the Treasury of Merit via an indulgence required the contrition and confession of the sinner. Even though theologians only clearly elucidated the idea in the mid-thirteenth century, indulgences were highly sought after in earlier periods.⁹ While their power and

⁵ Lpo, fol. 58r (AdJ, v, no. 3248; Potthast, ii, no. 18174).

⁶ Most unfortunately, this papal bull does not survive. We only know of it from early modern works that summarize it. See José Goñi Gaztambide, "Regesta de las bulas de los archivos navarros (1198-1417)," *Anthologica Annuaria* 10 (1962): no. 198. Goñi Gaztambide cites Baltasar de Lezaun y Andia's 1710 manuscript entitled *Memorias históricas de la ciudad de Estella*: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 18294, c. 10. The indulgence is also referred to in Rome, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Predicatori, Lib. I, edited in José Goñi Gaztambide, "Historia del convento de Santo Domingo de Estella," *Príncipe de Viana* 22, no. 82 (1961): 48-57.

⁷ For a discussion of various medieval and early modern depictions of Purgatory, see Robert W. Shaffern, *The Penitents' Treasury: Indulgences in Latin Christendom, 1175-1375* (Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 2007), 116-23. The canonical work on Purgatory is Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

⁸ Shaffern, *Penitents' Treasury*, 37-48; R.N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 10.

⁹ Swanson, *Indulgences*, 16-17; Shaffern, *Penitents' Treasury*, 83-84, 102-106; Robert W. Shaffern, "The Medieval Theology of Indulgences," in *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, ed.

validity originated with the Church, most indulgences were granted because a layperson or clergy member asked for one.¹⁰ Only bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and popes had the power to grant an indulgence. Episcopal indulgences were typically valid only for parishioners in that diocese, but papal indulgences applied universally. The faithful learned of opportunities for indulgence from their local and episcopal clergy and their designated representatives.¹¹ Later medieval Christians received indulgences most commonly for pilgrimages and crusade vows in addition to specific acts of devotion such as hearing sermons and masses, praying specific prayers, visiting certain chapels and churches, and participating in new devotional movements or cults.¹²

In the past two decades, Robert W. Shaffern and R.N. Swanson have comprehensively examined indulgences from the twelfth through fourteenth centuries in Europe and from the late Middle Ages in England, respectively.¹³ Other scholars have considered indulgences in crusading

R. N Swanson (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 14-16, 19-26; Nicholas Vincent, "Some Pardoners' Tales: The Earliest English Indulgences," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2000): 27, 51, 57; James Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 145. See also Shaffern, *Penitents' Treasury*, chapter 3. Swanson and Shaffern stress Clement VI's 1343 bull as the complete formulation of indulgences and the Treasury of Merit. See Swanson, *Indulgences*, 16; R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c.1215-c.1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 37, 220; Shaffern, "Medieval Theology," 26.

¹⁰ Shaffern, *Penitents' Treasury*, 24-25, 136, 211; Meredith Cohen, "An Indulgence for the Visitor: The Public at the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris," *Speculum* 83 (2008): 868-69; Swanson, *Indulgences*, 30. Shaffern argues that even Boniface VIII's Jubilee indulgence originated with penitents. See Shaffern, *Penitents' Treasury*, 20-21. For the process of petitioning for an indulgence in later periods, see Swanson, *Indulgences*, 120-129.

¹¹ Swanson, *Indulgences*, 28-30, 35, 43; Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 220-21; Shaffern, "Medieval Theology," 29-30; Vincent, "Some Pardoners' Tales," 34, 45, 53; Cohen, "Indulgence for the Visitor," 869.

¹² Indulgences could also be earned through charitable works like supporting hospitals, hermits, and destitute and pregnant women; building projects such as constructing bridges and roads or repairing and maintaining churches and monasteries; and participating in activities associated with lay confraternities. See Shaffern, *Penitents' Treasury*, 54-69; Cohen, "Indulgence for the Visitor," 865-69; Swanson, *Indulgences*, 9, 47, 56-64, 72; Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 129-30; Giovanna Casagrande, "Confraternities and Indulgences in Italy and the Later Middle Ages," in *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 37-63; Vincent, "Some Pardoners' Tales," 42. For a study of indulgences related to blood relics, see Nicholas Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). For indulgences that only the pope could grant, see Swanson, *Indulgences*, 30.

¹³ Shaffern, *Penitents' Treasury*; Swanson, *Indulgences*. For earlier scholarship, see Henry Charles Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Lea Bros, 1896), iii; Nikolaus

and pilgrimage contexts. The paragon of medieval pilgrimages and the *imitatio Christi*, crusades to the Holy Land were announced formally with a papal bull that also publicized the indulgence.¹⁴ For “Indulgences and the crusade were inextricably linked together; indeed, a war could scarcely be considered a crusade without a grant of remission.”¹⁵ Often at the request of both lay and religious petitioners in the thirteenth century, popes also called crusades against heretics that likewise came with indulgences.¹⁶ Yet most modern scholarship on the crusades has not discussed the indulgence in much depth.¹⁷ In the same vein, these studies largely do not address how lay rulers used indulgences. Apart from a reference to a possible indulgence for attending mass when Henry VIII of England (r. 1509-1547) was present, they do not consider indulgences that relied on the presence of specific individuals to take effect either.¹⁸

Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter*, 3 vols. (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1922-1923). For an excellent overview of both early modern and modern historiography of pre-Reformation indulgences, see Shaffern, *Penitents' Treasury*, chapter 1.

¹⁴ Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 2, 118; Jessalynn Bird, “Innocent III, Peter the Chanter’s Circle, and the Crusade Indulgence: Theory, Implementation, and Aftermath,” in *Innocenzo III: Urbs et Orbis, Atti Del Congresso Internazionale (Roma, 9-15 Settembre 1998)*, ed. Andrea Sommerlechner, 2 vols. (Rome: Società romana di storia patria, 2003), i, 512; Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1991), ix-x.

¹⁵ Shaffern, *Penitents' Treasury*, 47.

¹⁶ Rebecca Rist, “Pope Gregory IX and the Grant of Indulgences for Military Campaigns in Europe in the 1230s: A Study in Papal Rhetoric,” *Crusades* 10 (2011): 80.

¹⁷ The exceptions are Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, 145-155; Swanson, *Indulgences*, 48-51. The latter, however, only considers the post-1291 period. Many engage with crusade preaching instead. For example, Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*; Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*; Bird, “Innocent III”; Jessalynn Bird, “Rogations, Litanies, and Crusade Preaching: The Liturgical Front in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries,” in *Papacy, Crusade, and Christian-Muslim Relations*, ed. Jessalynn Bird (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 155-93; Jessalynn Bird, “Preaching and Crusading Memory,” in *Remembering the Crusades and Crusading*, ed. Megan Cassidy-Welch (New York: Routledge, 2017), 13-33; Jessalynn Bird, “The Victorines, Peter the Chanter’s Circle, and the Crusade: Two Unpublished Crusading Appeals in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 14470,” *Medieval Sermon Studies* 48 (2004): 5-28.

¹⁸ Swanson, *Indulgences*, 474.

The Count-King's Indulgences

The count-kings needed to promote and maintain their sovereignty and an ideology of comital-royal rulership because they were always away from at least one of their holdings. Thibaut was either in his other principality, at his Parisian residence, or, at the end of his life, on crusade.¹⁹ Even though he and his wife—Isabelle, daughter of Louis IX of France—were often on the move, earning an indulgence because of a pious act connected with them elevated their spiritual status in the minds of their subjects and created an aura surrounding them that endured in their absence. Parishioners could earn indulgences by visiting recent comital-royal foundations, by attending dedications and sermons in the count-king's or countess-queen's presence, or by simply praying for their rulers.²⁰ Furthermore, most of the letters of indulgence contain specific language crediting the indulgence to Thibaut's devotion. Those hearing the pronouncement of these grants had no doubt to whom they were indebted for their post-mortem reprieves. One could only gain these particular spiritual rewards, therefore, through the count-king's physical presence, remembering him in prayer, or visiting a holy site intimately associated with him. Because the indulgences were linked to the count-king so overtly, they played an integral part in his comital-royal ideology of rulership. Through them, he strengthened his temporal power and authority in his two principalities by appealing to the spiritual power of religious rituals, practices, and spaces. Moreover, the rewards of these indulgences were contingent upon the recipient's good faith towards the count-king, for the benefit of an indulgence could only be earned through the completion of the requisite

¹⁹ For his Parisian comital residence, see Valentine Weiss, *La demeure médiévale: répertoire sélectif des principaux hôtels* (Paris: Archives Nationales, 2012), 110-111. See also chapter 3.

²⁰ See notes 1-6 above.

deed by a contrite and confessed penitent.²¹ In Swanson's words, "The danger that people might misuse their remissions, acquiring them with every intention of continuing to sin (or even with actual prospective sins in mind), was also covered...in a range of confessional letters issued throughout the period, insisting that in such circumstances the indulgence would be void."²² If someone was in a state of "truly having done penance and having been confessed," a requirement for receiving the indulgence, he or she could not then go on to challenge the count-king's authority and remain in that state.²³ Such gestures of goodwill engendered political loyalty.²⁴

The ideology of rulership that Thibaut and the other count-kings of Champagne-Navarre formulated owed much to similar efforts made by Louis IX (r. 1226-1270).²⁵ The Capetian kings fashioned themselves as sacral kings through their coronation ceremony, purported healing abilities, and proclivity for crusading.²⁶ As William Chester Jordan has shown, Louis began promoting an image of himself as a devout Christian ruler after his failed crusading endeavor of the late 1240s and early 1250s and his subsequent captivity. He engaged in significant almsgiving to and patronage of a wide variety of institutions, orders, and otherwise marginalized peoples.

²¹ Swanson, *Indulgences*, 17, 226; Shaffern, "Medieval Theology," 11, 14-16; Vincent, "Some Pardoners' Tales," 40, 48-49.

²² Swanson, *Indulgences*, 17.

²³ "uere penitentibus et confessis," Lpo, fol. 56r. Shaffern argues that ordinary Christians would have been familiar with this requirement. See Shaffern, "Medieval Theology," 36.

²⁴ Swanson notes the use of indulgences for political ends as well, although not in the same context discussed here. See Swanson, *Indulgences*, 49-50, 73, 234.

²⁵ For specific instances of this borrowing, see *Dinastía*, 103-8, 182, 214, 215, 245; María Raquel García Arancón, *Teobaldo II, Reyes de Navarra* (Pamplona: Mintzoa, 2003), 75-76, 85.

²⁶ William Chester Jordan, "Introduction," in *The Capetian Century, 1214-1314*, ed. William Chester Jordan and Jenna Rebecca Philips (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), x. For a discussion of the coronation process itself, see Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, trans. Gareth Evan Gollrad (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 677-84.

Louis also strove for peace throughout Christian Europe, serving in an unofficial capacity as international mediator, sometimes even between Thibaut and his adversaries. He also made several gifts of individual thorns from the Crown of Thorns relic, including one to Thibaut himself at his marriage to Louis's daughter in 1255.²⁷ For Louis, "Ruling well meant putting active principles of religion into every policy and program and generally making the practice of the Christian religion profounder in the realm than the ruler had found it."²⁸ M. Cecilia Gaposchkin echoed this assertion, noting that "Royalty was sacral not only because, like the priesthood, the king was a mediator of God's rule, but also because the king was chosen by God to effect His reign on earth."²⁹ Louis's elevation to sainthood a mere twenty-seven years after his death was the pinnacle of this royal program.³⁰ In Gaposchkin's words, "Louis' canonization confirmed Capetian claims of holy lineage and saintly authority."³¹ Like his father-in-law, Thibaut too was a king. Even though his royal title came from Navarre, that status nevertheless gave greater solemnity to his actions in Champagne, despite being only a count there.³² He could use his royal standing in Navarre to bolster his image and strength in both regions, creating in the minds of his subjects an image of

²⁷ William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 182-213; William Chester Jordan, "Etiam Reges, Even Kings," *Speculum* 93, no. 3 (2015): 613-14, 616-17, 623-27, 633-34; William Chester Jordan, "A Border Policy? Louis IX and the Spanish Connection," in *Authority and Spectacle in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of Teofilo F. Ruiz*, ed. Yuen-Gen Liang and Jarbel Rodriguez (New York: Routledge, 2017), 21-32; AdJ, iv, 359; *Dinastía*, 215. The thorn is on display in a later reliquary in the Pamplona cathedral.

²⁸ Jordan, *Louis IX*, 213.

²⁹ M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 111.

³⁰ For an excellent study of this process and its aftermath, see Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*. Le Goff also comments on Louis's sanctity. See Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 684-702.

³¹ Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, 2.

³² I thank Laura Gathagan for suggesting this idea.

himself as a powerful, yet magnanimous ruler supported by the Church and worthy of his people's loyalty and devotion.

In addition to a shared commitment to patronage and piety, the two kings were quite close on a personal level. Thibaut visited Louis often in Paris, joined him at several relic translations, and was, in Jacques Le Goff's words, "very attached to him."³³ María Raquel García Arancón even likened Thibaut to another son.³⁴ They would also both depart and die on the crusade to Tunis in 1270. Archival evidence attests to yet another connection between Thibaut and Louis: the granting of indulgences to worshippers who participated in religious rituals specifically related to their respective ruler or to institutions they personally founded. For each type of indulgence related to Thibaut and Isabelle, there exist parallel bulls related to Louis, his wife—Marguerite de Provence—and their son, the future King Philip III (r. 1270-1285). Popes granted indulgences for those present when the Capetians attended a sermon³⁵ or a dedication,³⁶ for those who prayed for

³³ Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 758n34; AdJ, iv, 382-388; Louis Carolus-Barré, "Saint Louis et la translation des corps saints," *Études d'histoire du droit canonique* 2 (1965): 1096, 1102, 1105. María Raquel García Arancón even goes as far as saying that Thibaut was "sumiso" or submissive to Louis. See *Dinastía*, 106.

³⁴ *Dinastía*, 106. She discusses their relationship in similar terms on pages 103-108.

³⁵ *Layettes*, iii, no. 4159 (Barbiche, i, no. 781; Bourel de la Roncière, ed., *Les registres d'Alexandre IV*. 3 vols. (Paris: Thorin, 1902-1959), i, no. 424); André Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum scriptores*, 5 vols. (Paris: Sebastian Cramoisy, 1649), v, 420 (Barbiche, ii, no. 1082; Potthast, ii, no. 18155; Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV. Registre ordinaire*, i, no. 24); *Layettes*, v, no. 736 (Barbiche, ii, no. 1093; Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV. Registre ordinaire*, i, no. 30); École française de Rome, ed., *Les registres de Martin IV (1281-1285)* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1901), no. 36 (Barbiche, ii, no. 1656).

³⁶ Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum*, v, 418-19 (Barbiche, ii, no. 1083; Potthast, ii, no. 18156; *Layettes*, iii, no. 4713; Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV. Registre ordinaire*, i, no. 23); Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum*, v, 419 (Barbiche, ii, no. 1092; Potthast, ii, no. 18190; *Layettes*, v, no. 737; Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV. Registre ordinaire*, i, no. 29); École française de Rome, *Registres de Martin IV*, no. 37 (Barbiche, ii, no. 1657).

them,³⁷ and for those who went to French royal chapels at specific times.³⁸ Because in all cases each type of indulgence first appeared in relation to Louis, it follows that Thibaut learned and modeled this facet of his ideology of rulership from the French king.³⁹ In some cases, perhaps, Louis even urged his family to seek such grants.⁴⁰

Scholars of thirteenth-century Champagne and Navarre and of Louis IX either gloss over or do not mention the indulgences. Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville only noted briefly that Thibaut and his subjects received the indulgences in his discussion of the count's relationship with the papacy. He offered no analysis of them.⁴¹ García Arancón mentioned them as well but only commented that they served to enhance Thibaut's "sacred charisma."⁴² More surprisingly, recent key works on Louis IX by Jordan, Le Goff, and Gaposchkin were silent regarding Louis's parallel indulgences that did not involve the Sainte-Chapelle.⁴³ As discussed above, secondary literature on indulgences generally does not mention indulgences linked to specific individuals, as Thibaut's and Louis's were, yet some authors did address their more personal and political uses. Henry

³⁷ Bourel de la Roncière, *Registres d'Alexandre IV*, i, no. 422 (Potthast, ii, no. 15823); Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum*, v, 418 (Barbiche, ii, no. 1099; Potthast, ii, no. 18196; Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV. Registre ordinaire*, iii, no. 2857); École française de Rome, *Registres de Martin IV*, no. 38 (Barbiche, ii, no. 1658; Potthast, ii, no. 21795).

³⁸ For example, Guiraud, *Les registres d'Urbain IV (1261-1264). Registre ordinaire*, iii, no. 2874 (Barbiche, ii, no. 1084); *Layettes*, iv, nos. 5098 (Barbiche, ii, no. 1356; Edouard Jordan, *Les registres de Clément IV (1265-1268)*, 6 vols. (Paris: Thorin, 1893), i, no. 1847) and 5099 (Barbiche, ii, no. 1357; Jordan, *Registres de Clément IV*, i, no. 1848). For transcriptions and translations of indulgences related to the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, including the latter two cited in this note, see Meredith Cohen, *The Sainte-Chapelle and the Construction of Sacral Monarchy: Royal Architecture in Thirteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 208-27.

³⁹ With the exception of indulgences for attending dedications, Louis's corresponding indulgences predated Thibaut's by several years. See below on indulgences for dedications.

⁴⁰ Particularly those indulgences granted at or around the same time. See notes 86, 87, and 104 below.

⁴¹ AdJ, ivb, 593.

⁴² "carisma sagrado," *Dinastía*, 241-42, 245-47; García Arancón, *Teobaldo II*, 124.

⁴³ Jordan, *Louis IX*; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*; Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*.

Charles Lea remarked in passing that those who prayed for Louis during his captivity on his first crusade received a modest indulgence, but such prayers applied only while the king was in that particular situation.⁴⁴ Swanson pointed out that indulgences could be granted to help specific individuals rise out of poverty, yet once again the indulgence would apply only under certain conditions.⁴⁵ He likewise noted that the papacy used crusade indulgences for advancing its territorial goals, but only after 1300.⁴⁶ Crusade indulgences were especially “good publicity material.”⁴⁷ In a non-crusading context, Giovanna Casagrande uncovered that those who attended a mass or funeral when certain confraternities were present received indulgences, however they too only appeared after the turn of the fourteenth century.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, indulgences granted to these lay groups functioned as “tools and means to promote the confraternal life” and served as a “strategy to strengthen the fraternity.”⁴⁹ Although illustrative of the various uses of indulgences, none of these examples adequately captures the strategy behind Thibaut’s pardons. Part of this oversight for Thibaut’s case is likely due to the relatively unknown nature of the cartulary that contains ten of his twelve extant indulgences, the *Liber pontificum*.⁵⁰ Of the ten indulgences in the

⁴⁴ Lea, *History of Auricular Confession*, iii, 97, 184, 277. For Louis in captivity, see Jordan, “*Etiam Reges, Even Kings*.”

⁴⁵ R.N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 292.

⁴⁶ Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 264-65.

⁴⁷ Swanson, *Church and Society*, 293.

⁴⁸ Casagrande, “Confraternities,” 44.

⁴⁹ Casagrande, “Confraternities,” 63, 58.

⁵⁰ See introduction.

Liber pontificum, eight survive only in this manuscript, including all four for the Igny chapel. The two extant indulgences not included exist only in Pope Urban IV's papal registers.⁵¹

Indulgences for Attending Sermons and Dedications

In the winters of 1258, 1261, and 1263, Thibaut gained indulgences for listening to a sermon, or *predicatio* in Latin. Those in attendance at such a *predicatio* when Thibaut was present earned the same post-mortem reprieve.⁵² In 1261 Isabelle too received one on the same day as her husband with the same stipulations for all present.⁵³ The indulgences required Thibaut and Isabelle's physical presence, yet recipients would also remember sharing these experiences with their rulers even in their absence. With the thirteenth century came the rise of popular preaching and the mendicant orders, which both Thibaut and Louis patronized extensively. Opportunities for hearing sermons were ample.⁵⁴ Almost all the scholars cited previously mentioned indulgences for hearing sermons in some capacity.⁵⁵ As Shaffern noted, Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243-1253) discussed the phenomenon in his decretals, as did Bonaventure in his writings.⁵⁶ According to Casagrande,

⁵¹ The two are only for Isabelle. See Guiraud, *Registres d'Urban IV*, i, nos. 33, 34. These registers are quite incomplete, as only between ten and twenty percent of outgoing documents from the papal curia were ever copied into them. See R.C. van Caenegem, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire médiévale* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 115; Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 7. The corresponding bulls for Louis IX, all emanating from Rome, still reside in various French repositories, and most have been catalogued and/or edited. See above notes 35-38.

⁵² Lpo, fols. 55v-55r, 56r, 59v.

⁵³ This indulgence has not yet been edited. It is summarized in Guiraud, *Registres d'Urban IV*, i, no. 34.

⁵⁴ D.L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 6, 14-16, 20-22, 46-47. For Thibaut's patronage, see AdJ, ivb, 605-616. For Louis's patronage, see Jordan, *Louis IX*, 54-55.

⁵⁵ For late medieval England, see Swanson, *Indulgences*, 47, 73-74, 230-232.

⁵⁶ Shaffern, *Penitents' Treasury*, 63; Shaffern, "Medieval Theology," 17.

confraternity members could also earn indulgences for listening to sermons.⁵⁷ Swanson even recalled a fourteenth-century episode in which an indulgence was offered to listeners of a decree simply to guarantee that people heard the decree's message.⁵⁸ Indulgences for hearing sermons for both Holy Land and European crusades were also prevalent in the thirteenth century.⁵⁹ Likewise, indulgences for church dedications were quite common.⁶⁰ What none of these cases require, however, is the presence of a specific person who was not the preacher for receipt of the indulgence.⁶¹

The text of the bulls granting indulgences to Thibaut and his subjects on 11 February 1259 and 31 January 1263, despite emanating from two different popes, are almost identical.⁶² Urban IV and his immediate predecessor Alexander IV addressed both to Thibaut and opened with lines praising persons of rank who wanted to do devout deeds, implying that Thibaut and Isabelle were two such individuals. The pope then wrote that "others likewise may gain on account of your [Thibaut and Isabelle's] spiritual gifts whenever a sermon happens with you or another of yours being present."⁶³ Whoever preached could grant an indulgence of 100 days "to you and all those truly having done penance and having confessed who were present at such a sermon."⁶⁴ The

⁵⁷ Casagrande, "Confraternities," 49, 51.

⁵⁸ Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 60. See also Swanson, *Indulgences*, 73.

⁵⁹ Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 35, 50; Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 161-62, 185, 193; Bird, "Innocent III," 512; Rist, "Pope Gregory IX," 99.

⁶⁰ Shaffern, *Penitents' Treasury*, 58; Swanson, *Indulgences*, 11, 47, 51-56, 504-505.

⁶¹ For indulgences for sermons by specific preachers, see Swanson, *Indulgences*, 230-231.

⁶² Nicholas Vincent gave other examples of "common form[s]" for indulgences. See Vincent, *Holy Blood*, 162.

⁶³ "alii etiam propter uos spiritualia comoda consequantur ut quocienscumque uobis uel altero uestrum presentibus predicationem fieri contigerit," Lpo, fol. 55r. The 31 January 1263 bull is Lpo, fol. 59v.

⁶⁴ "uobis ac omnibus uere penitentibus et confessis qui interfuerint huiusmodi predicationi," Lpo, fol. 55r.

presence of Thibaut, Isabelle, or one of their relatives was required at the sermon for the indulgence to be valid. According to contemporary theological thinking, moreover, indulgence recipients had to be confessed of their sins to benefit from the offer.⁶⁵ Beneficiaries had to have and maintain true intentions. The indulgence granted on 20 December 1261 is almost verbatim a second indulgence granted to Thibaut on the same day for attending a dedication.⁶⁶ Addressed to the count-king, Urban again commented on the kings and princes of his age while singling out Thibaut's "blissful offerings."⁶⁷ In moving into the terms of the indulgence itself, Urban clearly stated the reason for the grant, writing that whenever Thibaut heard a sermon, "on account of your grace, all others having truly done penance and having been truly confessed who were present at that sermon" would receive a 100-day indulgence.⁶⁸ Once again, the bull emphasizes both Thibaut's presence and the contrite and confessed state of the penitent.

Indulgences for attending dedications functioned similarly to those for listening to sermons and likewise required the count-king's presence. Thibaut received two in December of 1261, and Isabelle received one the same month.⁶⁹ The first indulgence, addressed to Thibaut from Urban IV, begins with praise, stating that Thibaut is "deserving by goodwill."⁷⁰ In the next sentence, Urban referred to Thibaut's "distinguished merits" and wrote that he "helps others on account of

⁶⁵ The wording that refers to this requirement, "uere penitentibus et confessis," was standard for indulgences. For its origins, see Vincent, *Holy Blood*, 157.

⁶⁶ Lpo, fol. 56r.

⁶⁷ "uota salutaria," Lpo, fol. 56r.

⁶⁸ "ob tui gratiam omnibus aliis uere penitentibus et confessis qui predicationi eidem interfuerint," Lpo, fol. 56r.

⁶⁹ Lpo, fols. 56r, 57v-57r; Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV. Registre ordinaire*, i, no. 33, respectively.

⁷⁰ "fauribus promereris," Lpo, 57r.

your [Thibaut's] particular graces."⁷¹ These two phrases, although largely formulaic, made it clear to those hearing the announcement of the indulgence that they were only receiving it because of Thibaut's virtues. Urban then revealed that in offering the indulgence, he was "favoring Thibaut's faithful petitions."⁷² As with many of the previous indulgences, Thibaut had once again requested this benefit from the papacy. Anytime that Thibaut attended a dedication, both he and those also in attendance received 100 days' remission of their sins. One of the indulgences granted for hearing a sermon is almost identical to the second indulgence granted for dedications.⁷³ Thibaut again was the catalyst for this indulgence that Urban granted only a week later. This time, however, Thibaut and those present got not 100 days' but one year and forty days' reprieve from purgatorial cleansing. In a third dedication indulgence, Isabelle and those in attendance when she alone was present also received an amnesty of one year and forty days.⁷⁴

Unlike those for prayers and foundations discussed below, indulgences for sermons and dedications required the count-king's presence. They had the same effect from the comital-royal point of view as those for attending sermons. Each time they attended a sermon or dedication, Thibaut and Isabelle first and foremost gained respite from Purgatory. Although there is no way to know how often the count-king and countess-queen listened to the words of a preacher or went to a chapel consecration, that Thibaut attended several relic translations and was known to be

⁷¹ "tuis precellentibus meritis," "alios obtentu tui specialibus gratiis preuenimus," Lpo, fol. 57r.

⁷² "tuis deuotis supplicationibus annuentes," Lpo, fol. 57r.

⁷³ Lpo, fol. 56r.

⁷⁴ This document has not been edited. For a summary, see Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV. Registre ordinaire*, i, no. 33.

extremely devout suggests that he participated in religious rituals quite often.⁷⁵ Frequently listening to sermons and appearing at dedications cemented Thibaut's image as a devout ruler worthy of the respect of his people because he performed such pious deeds. Furthermore, the indulgences benefited those who were in tune with the actions and movements of their lord. Despite the many physical absences from his lands, Thibaut ensured that he remained present in the minds of his subjects in a manner intimately connected with their devotions even once he had moved on to another region. His spiritual aura did not require his physical presence. On a more political level, the indulgences encouraged people to come to religious gatherings where the counting would be present.⁷⁶ Thibaut thus made himself more accessible to his subjects by making a point to be among them. He fashioned a public image of rulership. By promoting indulgences for those in his presence, he also made clear that he valued proximity to them. The indulgences gave greater weight to his presence and augmented his power in the eyes of the inhabitants of his domains.

Louis IX similarly procured two indulgences for attending sermons. The first, dating to 25 April 1255, is very similar to those which Thibaut received on 11 February 1259 and 31 January 1263.⁷⁷ The second dates to 20 November 1261, only a day before Urban IV granted Louis indulgences for attending church consecrations and for attending the dedication of the royal chapel at Corbeil. Addressed to the French king, the bull opens by praising Louis and describes him as

⁷⁵ Carolus-Barré, "Saint Louis," 1096, 1102, 1105; *Dinastía*, 106. On her own, Isabelle earned the praises of the pontiff as well. See Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV (1261-1264)*. *Registre cameral*, no. 142; Jordan, *Registres de Clément IV*, i, no. 878; *Dinastía*, 248.

⁷⁶ In a more religious sense, the indulgences could have also led people to confession and other sacraments. I thank William North for making this point.

⁷⁷ *Layettes*, iii, no. 4159 (Bourel de la Roncière, *Registres d'Alexandre IV*, i, no. 424; Barbiche, i, no. 781). Thibaut's two corresponding indulgences are Lpo, fols. 55v-55r and 59v.

“unique in the world.”⁷⁸ Indeed, “God before others...endowed [Louis] with virtues,” and the pope stated that he “proposed to distinguish [Louis] by spiritual graces” and “raises [Louis] up with the marks of diverse distinctions.”⁷⁹ As with some of Thibaut’s letters, Urban granted the 100-day reprieve “bending to royal petitions” for those who were also present when the French king heard a sermon.⁸⁰ Like his son-in-law, Louis initiated the indulgence for his people. His bull emphasizes both his piety and role in procuring the indulgence. A month later, Louis’s son Philip acquired a similar indulgence.⁸¹ On 7 October 1281, as king, Philip and his wife, Marie de Brabant, also received a bull for attending sermons with the same wording as Louis’s document from 1255 and Thibaut’s bulls from 1259 and 1263.⁸²

A day after receiving the indulgence for attending sermons, Louis obtained an indulgence for attending dedications. Urban described Louis as “of the most beloved son, whom before all the kings and princes of the world the Apostolic See without a doubt held more beloved” and his predecessors as “particular defenders of the faith and ecclesiastical freedom.”⁸³ Like many of Thibaut’s bulls, the indulgence acknowledges Louis’s role in procuring the gift for his people. “On account of you [Louis]” and “on account of your [Louis’s] grace,” Louis’s confessed and contrite subjects could earn one year and forty days of reprieve from Purgatory for attending a consecration

⁷⁸ “singularem in orbe,” Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum*, v, 420.

⁷⁹ “Deus prae aliis...dotavit virtutibus,” “spiritualibus gratiis proponimus insignire,” “extollit diuersorum insigniis titularum,” Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum*, v, 420.

⁸⁰ “supplicationibus regiis inclinati,” Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum*, v, 420.

⁸¹ *Layettes*, v, no. 736.

⁸² École française de Rome, *Registres de Martin IV*, i, no. 36.

⁸³ “fili carissime, quam prae cunctis orbis Regibus et Principibus cariorem nimirum Apostolica Sedes habuit,” “speciales defensores fidei et libertatis Ecclesiasticae,” Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum*, v, 419.

when Louis was present.⁸⁴ Like Thibaut, Louis requested the spiritual gift himself, as Urban granted the indulgence “bending to royal petitions.”⁸⁵ Louis’s son Philip, when still a prince, received a similar indulgence from Urban the same day (20 December 1261) that the pope also issued two indulgences to Thibaut and two to Isabelle for attending sermons and dedications, suggesting that the corresponding petitions—and possibly too those for several others granted around the same time⁸⁶—were submitted together.⁸⁷ Once on the throne, Philip obtained another such grant on 7 October 1281.⁸⁸ The practice of acquiring these types of indulgences for one’s subjects was evidently quite effective.

An Indulgence for Prayer

In early December of 1261, Pope Urban IV issued an indulgence of ten days for those who offered up prayers for Thibaut and Isabelle.⁸⁹ Calls to pray for others were common in the Middle Ages. Monks, nuns, and other religious prayed regularly for specific people, especially their patrons, who often required it as a condition of their support. However, *indulgences* for praying for living individuals, especially laypeople, were quite rare. Swanson noted an indulgence for praying that a specific woman would retain her faith, but it dates to the later fourteenth century.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ “obtentu tui,” “ob tui gratiam,” Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum*, v, 419.

⁸⁵ “supplicationibus regiis inclinati,” Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum*, v, 419.

⁸⁶ Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum*, v, 420; Guiraud, *Registres d’Urbain IV. Registre ordinaire*, ii, no. 2874; Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum*, v, 418-419; Lpo, fol. 58r; Lpo, fols. 57v-57r; *Layettes*, iii, no. 4728; Lpo, fol. 59v.

⁸⁷ Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum*, v, 419.

⁸⁸ École française de Rome, *Registres de Martin IV*, i, no. 37 (Barbiche, ii, no. 1657).

⁸⁹ Lpo, fol. 58r.

⁹⁰ Swanson, *Indulgences*, 233. See also Swanson, *Indulgences*, 245. The vast majority of Swanson’s discussion of indulgences for prayer concerns saying prayers more generally. See Swanson, *Indulgences*, 247-266.

Italian confraternity members could pray for the pope and receive a purgatorial respite of forty days in return, but that indulgence concerned the highest member of the Roman clergy—who was categorically not a layperson—and dates to the fourteenth century.⁹¹ Thomas Aquinas referred to an indulgence for praying for Louis, yet only while the French king supported the pope’s interests.⁹² Indulgences for praying for souls of the deceased existed, but such cases originate from later periods and concern departed souls, not living individuals.⁹³

Although not necessarily linked to indulgences, requests for prayers, particularly from the Cistercians, were nevertheless a crucial component of the Capetian royal program from which Thibaut drew much inspiration. Beginning in the early thirteenth century, the French monarchs and their families began favoring the Cistercians over other religious orders in keeping with the proclivities of other French noble families, including the house of Champagne.⁹⁴ Anne E. Lester noted that “the royal cultivation of corporate prayers from the order’s monks and nuns emerges as part of a broader set of religious strategies common to the aristocracy during this period, which were meant to distinguish the Christian and sacred qualities of France.”⁹⁵ Louis IX himself procured an indulgence for those who prayed for him in 1255.⁹⁶ Thibaut V employed this same

⁹¹ Casagrande, “Confraternities,” 48-49.

⁹² Shaffern, *Penitents’ Treasury*, 54.

⁹³ Swanson, *Indulgences*, 56-57, 225, 245; Swanson, *Church and Society*, 294; Vincent, “Some Pardoners’ Tales,” 57.

⁹⁴ Anne E. Lester, “Saint Louis and Cîteaux Revisited: Cistercian Commemoration and Devotion during the Capetian Century, 1214-1314,” in *The Capetian Century, 1214-1314*, ed. William Chester Jordan and Jenna Rebecca Philips (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 17, 19, 22, 28-31. To be fair, this practice was not confined to thirteenth-century France.

⁹⁵ Lester, “Saint Louis and Cîteaux,” 19.

⁹⁶ Bourel de la Roncière, *Registres d’Alexandre IV*, i, no. 422. For examples of King Henry III of England (r. 1216-1272) promoting indulgences for Passion relics, see Vincent, *Holy Blood*, 14, 161, 164. See below for my discussion of Louis’s indulgence.

“strateg[y] of commemoration” three years later to strengthen spiritually his relationship with his subjects so that it would endure his many absences.⁹⁷

Unlike many of the indulgences discussed in other sections, Urban addressed the 2 December 1261 bull not to Thibaut and Isabelle themselves but rather to “all the faithful of Christ,” indicating that the indulgence applied beyond Thibaut’s personal subjects in Champagne and Navarre.⁹⁸ Even though, to my knowledge, the bull only survives in this single Champenois source, both Urban’s greeting and the fact that popes in this period often engaged with Navarre suggest that the indulgence could have been publicized in Thibaut’s Iberian holdings as well.⁹⁹ After moralizing on the instability of life and the need for divine mercy, Urban mentioned Thibaut and Isabelle halfway through the bull, describing them as “full of the spirit of the fear of the Lord.”¹⁰⁰ The bull goes on to state that the two monarchs were “desirous of the prayers of the faithful,” indicating that the impetus for the indulgence rested with them, not the pope.¹⁰¹ The text confirms this assumption when Urban, “bending to their [Thibaut and Isabelle’s] petitions,” exhorted the Christian faithful to “extend for them pious and devout prayers to the Lord.”¹⁰² For these prayers was offered ten days reprieve from Purgatory.

⁹⁷ Lester, “Saint Louis and Cîteaux,” 19.

⁹⁸ “uniuersis christi fidelibus,” Lpo, fol. 58r.

⁹⁹ Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 81; Léon Cadier, “Bulles originales du XIIIe siècle conservées dans les Archives de Navarre,” *Mélanges de l’école française de Rome* 7 (1887): 270. None of these bulls were listed in the latter source, but Cadier only dealt with what is today called the Archivo General de Navarra. See the penultimate section below for a discussion on the paucity of parallel bulls for Navarre.

¹⁰⁰ “Repletis itaque spiritus timoris domini,” Lpo, fol. 58r.

¹⁰¹ “cupientibus fidelium orationibus,” Lpo, fol. 58r.

¹⁰² “eorum supplicationibus inclinati,” “pro ipsis pias et deuotas orationes ad dominum porrigatis,” Lpo, fol. 58r.

As with most indulgences, the original petition sent to the papacy requesting the grant likely does not survive, yet the text of the bull clearly points to Thibaut and Isabelle as the catalysts for the spiritual gift, albeit with formulaic language.¹⁰³ But why would Thibaut and Isabelle request the prayers of their subjects? The count-king and countess-queen needed to assert and maintain their power in a way that was independent of their physical presence because they were always absent from at least one of their two realms. This kind of indulgence was one such way of doing so, as the faithful could earn it wherever their sovereigns happened to be. Finally, by indirectly enjoining their subjects to pray for them, Thibaut and Isabelle kept themselves spiritually present in the minds and devotions of their people. This spiritual presence reflects the comital-royal couple's desire to be perceived as devout and peaceful rulers. Evoking the goodwill of their Champenois and Navarrese subjects was a key element of Thibaut and Isabelle's ideology of rulership.

Louis IX first received a similar ten-day indulgence in 1255 and a second less than a month after Thibaut and Isabelle's in 1261, albeit in a much lengthier document.¹⁰⁴ Before reaching the crux of his 1261 missive, Urban praised Louis's virtues at length, referring to such traits as his "splendid offerings," "praiseworthy kingship," and "righteousness and merits of royal greatness," and praised those who strove to follow his example.¹⁰⁵ After much ado, Urban, as he did in Thibaut's indulgence, formulaically beseeched "all of Christ's faithful" who had confessed and

¹⁰³ Any copies that papal administrators might have made are likely lost as well due to the fact that we have very little incoming papal correspondence for this period. See Olivier Guyotjeannin et al., *Diplomatique médiévale*, L'atelier du médiéviste 2, 3rd ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 239. I thank my anonymous reviewer for making this observation.

¹⁰⁴ The 1255 document is cited in Bourel de la Roncière, *Registres d'Alexandre IV*, i, no. 422.

¹⁰⁵ "vota praeclara," "laudabili...regimine," "iustitiae...et regiae magnificentiae merita," Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum*, v, 418.

repented to pray for Louis.¹⁰⁶ In return, he offered them a twenty-day indulgence for every day that they so prayed. Although the text does not mention that Louis himself requested the grant, he likely did. Moreover, the audience of the bull could not help but be impressed by Louis's piety and royal stature, not to mention his worthiness of their prayers. Louis, like Thibaut, drew on the Capetian tradition of sacral kingship and prayer requests with these indulgences. It should also be noted that although Thibaut would eventually take the cross, he did not do so until 1267, and Louis would not take the cross for the second time until the same year.¹⁰⁷ Following in his father's footsteps, Philip III procured a similar indulgence on 7 October 1281.¹⁰⁸

Indulgences for Foundations

As recounted at the opening of these pages, in May of 1260 four bishops of northern France granted indulgences to their parishioners who attended the dedication of Thibaut's *capella regalis*, "royal chapel," at Igny, where the count-king also had a comital residence.¹⁰⁹ With this foundation, Thibaut certainly recalled his great-grandfather's chapel of Saint-Étienne in Troyes, which, in Theodore Evergates's words, "anticipated Louis IX's Ste-Chapelle in Paris."¹¹⁰ The Sainte-Chapelle received similar indulgences from 1244.¹¹¹ Eulogized by Gaposchkin as "the most potent

¹⁰⁶ "Vniuersos Christi fideles," Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum*, v, 418.

¹⁰⁷ Lpo, fol. 91r (AdJ, vi, no. 3398). See also AdJ, iv, 409-10.

¹⁰⁸ École française de Rome, *Registres de Martin IV*, i, no. 38.

¹⁰⁹ BnF, MS. 818, fol. 255r (Félix Bourquelot, "Fragments du comptes du XIIIe siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 24, no. 1 (1863): 73). See chapter 3.

¹¹⁰ Theodore Evergates, *Henry the Liberal: Count of Champagne, 1127-1181* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 140.

¹¹¹ Cohen, "Indulgence for the Visitor," 865.

symbol of Christian kingship,” the Sainte-Chapelle was built in the mid-thirteenth century to house and display Louis’s recently acquired Crown of Thorns relic.¹¹² As Meredith Cohen’s work reveals, the Sainte-Chapelle was intended to attract visitors, and offering indulgences was a means of achieving that goal.¹¹³ Moreover, “the Sainte-Chapelle generated an image of Louis IX as a divinely ordained sacral king. It was an architectural assertion of royal power and prerogative, projecting Louis’ God-given right to rule on a monumental, public scale.”¹¹⁴ It was a key part of the Capetian royal program.

I outline what we know about the Igny chapel apart from its indulgences in chapter 3 above. Construction had already begun when Thibaut obtained the spiritual boons. The bishop of Soissons granted the first indulgence for the Igny chapel on 9 May 1260. “Inclined to Thibaut’s requests,” Bishop Nivelon granted permission for “your [Thibaut’s] chapel of Igny” to be dedicated.¹¹⁵ He then offered a 100-day indulgence “to all truly having done penance and confessed,” who came to the dedication “for the sake of devotion.”¹¹⁶ In a similarly terse charter issued twelve days later, Archbishop Thomas of Reims echoed the bishop of Soissons’s grant of 100 days for those who again “for the sake of devotion,” attended the dedication of the “chapel of Igny which the illustrious king of Navarre newly built.”¹¹⁷ In contrast to the previous document, Thomas’s

¹¹² Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, 11.

¹¹³ Cohen, “Indulgence for the Visitor,” 846, 865-69.

¹¹⁴ Cohen, *Sainte-Chapelle*, 145.

¹¹⁵ “uestris precibus inclinati,” “capellam uestram de Igniaco,” Lpo, fol. 155v.

¹¹⁶ “uniuersis uere penitentibus et confessis,” “causa deuotionis [sic],” Lpo, fol. 155v.

¹¹⁷ “causa deuotionis,” “capelle de ygniaco quam illustris rex Navarre de nouo construxit,” Lpo, fol. 115r.

stipulates that the penitent could earn the indulgence not just on the day of dedication itself but also for the subsequent eight days.

The two indulgences from the bishops of Paris and Senlis, both dating to May 1260, are verbatim copies of each other and give more detail about the impending dedication than the previous two documents. Generically greeting “all of Christ’s faithful,” the bishops then remark that they recently learned that “the esteemed in Christ, the lord king of Navarre proposes...soon to make dedicated his chapel of Igny.”¹¹⁸ After calling Thibaut’s plan “pious,” the bishops granted the 100-day indulgence seen in the first two Igny indulgences.¹¹⁹ Like the archbishop of Reims’s letter, the faithful could also earn the indulgence for the eight-day period following the dedication. The next clause introduces a new element into the mix, for the bishops offered an indulgence of forty days to those who, “with a humble heart,” visit the chapel on the anniversary of the dedication and the eight days thereafter.¹²⁰ What began as a one-time-only event became an annual opportunity.

The Igny chapel was not Thibaut’s only foundation whose visitors received indulgences. In or shortly before 1258, he founded a Dominican convent in Estella in western Navarre, only the second in the kingdom, which I also discuss in chapter 3.¹²¹ However, the bull that Alexander IV issued at Thibaut’s request on 20 February 1259 granting visitors a 100-day indulgence no longer

¹¹⁸ “uniuersis christi fidelibus,” “dilectus in christo dominus rex Navarre proponat...capellam suam de hugni...in proximo facere dedicari,” Lpo, fols. 161r, 195v, respectively.

¹¹⁹ “pium,” Lpo, fols. 161r, 195v.

¹²⁰ “corde humili,” Lpo, fols. 161r, 195v.

¹²¹ José Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia eclesiástica de Estella*, vol. 2 (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1990), 23. For more on the convent itself, see Goñi Gaztambide, “Historia del convento”; *Dinastía*, 159; García Arancón, *Teobaldo II*, 291. The first Dominican convent was in Pamplona. See García Arancón, *Teobaldo II*, 290.

survives.¹²² We owe the knowledge that it ever existed at all to an apostolic notary writing in 1688 and a lawyer writing in 1710. In the first text, a don Francisco Bernardo de Oteiza states that “His Holiness grants 100 days of indulgence to all the faithful who visit the church of the said convent after it is built and dedicated to our Lady the Virgin Mary, and he grants the same indulgence for the day of the dedication and its octave and for the four main feasts of Our Lady and for the day of our father Santo Domingo and the octaves of these solemnities.”¹²³ The second document, written by one Baltasar de Lezáun y Andia, confirms these terms and also reveals that the pontiff addressed the bull to Thibaut himself.¹²⁴ Because of Thibaut’s entreaty to the bishop of Pamplona, those who listened to the convent’s sermons could receive an additional forty-day indulgence.¹²⁵

Although these indulgences and their summaries tell us less about Thibaut and his motivations than the previous eight do, they nevertheless reveal yet another facet of Thibaut’s administrative strategy and ideology of rulership. Thibaut created with these foundations spaces that were both physical and spiritual. They were physical in that they were material structures founded by and thus deeply associated with the count-king. They were spiritual in that they bore witness to Thibaut’s acts of devotion, and Christians could reap the benefits of these acts by commemorating them on designated days. At other times, Thibaut’s spiritual presence was

¹²² Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia eclesiástica*, 23n2; Goñi Gaztambide, “Regesta de las bulas,” no. 198; Goñi Gaztambide, “Historia del convento,” 11, 11n2.

¹²³ “concede su Santidad cien días de indulgencia a todos los fieles que visitaren la iglesia de dicho convento después de edificada y dedicada a nuestra Señora la Virgen María, y concede la misma indulgencia para el día de la dedicación y su octava y para las cuatro fiestas principales de nuestra Señora y para el día de nuestro Padre Santo Domingo y las infraoctavas de dichas solemnidades,” Goñi Gaztambide, “Historia del convento,” appendix 1, p. 48. For don Francisco, see José Miguel Aramburu Zudaire, “Algunos aspectos sociales de la emigración navarra a América. El caso de Estella (siglos XVI–XVII),” *Príncipe de Viana. Anejo*, no. 13 (1991): 268-69, 268n26.

¹²⁴ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 18294, c. 10, fols. 36rv.

¹²⁵ Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia eclesiástica*, 23; Goñi Gaztambide, “Historia,” 11.

accessible there. By entering the physical space of the chapel or convent, one also entered the spiritual space engendered by its founder. The chapel and convent served a dual purpose.

Innocent IV granted the first indulgence for visiting the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris on 3 June 1244. Noting Louis's "deserving acts," the pontiff wrote of "this one thing singular and outstanding for its importance, that the Lord has crowned you in His crown of thorns."¹²⁶ Louis's piety and devotion could not be denied. He then offered several indulgences: one year for attending on "the Day of the Reception of the aforesaid Holy Relics" and 100 days during its octaves,¹²⁷ one year for visiting on Good Friday and the Feast of the Crown of Thorns, and forty days for visiting the chapel every Friday.¹²⁸ Clement IV (r. 1265-1268) also issued two indulgences for visiting the Sainte-Chapelle, both dated 25 October 1265 and both using language reminiscent of the archbishop of Reims's and the bishop of Soisson's indulgences to Thibaut.¹²⁹ All three documents note that the penitents come to the chapels "for the sake of devotion."¹³⁰ Louis also procured an indulgence for those who attended the dedication of his royal chapel at Corbeil in 1261.¹³¹ Rewarding visitors for coming to royal chapels was clearly part of the Capetian royal ideology. Thibaut adopted the tactic from his father-in-law to assert and strengthen his sovereignty and make his presence felt in his two principalities, whether he was in them or not.

¹²⁶ All translations of Sainte-Chapelle bulls are Cohen's. "suffragantibus meritis," "prae sua magnitudine singulare ac precipuum...quod te dominus in sua corona spinea," Cohen, *Sainte-Chapelle*, 211.

¹²⁷ "die susceptionis predictarum sanctarum reliquiarum," Cohen, *Sainte-Chapelle*, 211.

¹²⁸ Cohen, *Sainte-Chapelle*, 211-12.

¹²⁹ Cohen, *Sainte-Chapelle*, 227. This similarity again highlights the formulaic nature of these letters.

¹³⁰ "causa deuotionis," Lpo, fols. 115r, 155v; Cohen, *Sainte-Chapelle*, 227.

¹³¹ Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV. Registre ordinaire*, ii, no. 2874. Robert Branner confirms that Corbeil was indeed a royal establishment, and Le Goff shows that Louis visited there often. See Branner, "Sainte-Chapelle," 19; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 429.

Indulgences for Navarre?

One crucial question still remains: did Thibaut really only seek one indulgence for the inhabitants of Navarre, as opposed to twelve for Champagne? The answer is complex and elusive. On the one hand, I have yet to find any manuscript evidence from Navarre to suggest that he did, although the papal indulgences preserved in France would also have applied in Navarre. On the other hand, the contrasting fates of thirteenth-century documents from Champagne and Navarre exacerbate this disparity. As mentioned above, eight of Thibaut and Isabelle's thirteen indulgences survive only in the *Liber pontificum*. Had this manuscript either not been created in the first place or not survived to the modern day, our understanding of this period of Champenois history would be much less rich. Navarre suffered the opposite fate. The sacking of the Pamplona cathedral during the War of the Navarrería in 1276 brought about the destruction of a massive number of documents.¹³² These contingencies make a numerical comparison between the two regions deceptively unbalanced. Moreover, popes frequently granted other indulgences in Navarre during this same period.¹³³ Given these considerations, I conjecture that Thibaut sought parallel indulgences for Navarre that are simply no longer extant.

Conclusion

Thibaut used indulgences for his subjects purposefully as a means of fashioning and promoting the religious aspect of his administrative strategy and comital-royal ideology. By

¹³² José Goñi Gaztambide, "Archivo y Biblioteca," in *La Catedral de Pamplona*, 2 vols. (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1994), ii, 168-70.

¹³³ Goñi Gaztambide, "Regesta de las bulas," nos. 91, 95, 123, 152, 176, 183, 205. See, for example, *Dinastía*, 244; García Arancón, *Teobaldo II*, 275, 277.

obtaining indulgences in his name from which his subjects benefited spiritually, Thibaut used the authority of religious rituals to enforce his own power even when he was absent. The administrative strategy functioned in two ways. Through indulgences for hearing sermons and attending dedications, Thibaut capitalized on those instances when he was physically present while simultaneously incentivizing people who followed his movements. At the same time, the indulgences for celebrations at the Igny chapel and the Dominican convent and for saying prayers for the count-king allowed Thibaut's subjects to benefit from their association with him even when he was not physically present.¹³⁴ The documents make clear that popes and bishops granted the indulgences at Thibaut's request and because of his piety. This acknowledgement further stimulated the goodwill and devotion of the count-king's subjects and presented him as both an earthly and spiritual leader. Thibaut successfully and adroitly navigated the intersection of religion and politics.

The similarities between the strategies of Thibaut and Louis IX are striking. The Capetians were known for attending sermons and dedications, requesting prayers, and founding religious institutions and magnificent chapels. For all types of indulgences, Louis's predated Thibaut's, further supporting the argument for Louis as Thibaut's model, as he was in many other respects.¹³⁵

Indulgences linked as closely to lay leaders as Thibaut's and Louis's occurred only rarely in the

¹³⁴ If Thibaut had secured more indulgences tied to specific places, he might have intended to create a quasi-pilgrimage route that mirrored the crusade that was in the works. For similar parallels, see Leonie V. Hicks, "The Landscape of Pilgrimage and Miracles in Norman Narrative Sources," in *Crusading and Pilgrimage in the Norman World*, ed. Kathryn Hurlock and Paul Oldfield (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018), 177-193; Anne E. Lester, "A shared imitation: Cistercian convents and crusader families in thirteenth-century Champagne," *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009), 353-370; Laura Gathagan, "Urban Identity as 'Translatio': The Development of Caen in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," (Conference presentation, 52nd International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May 14, 2017). I thank Laura Gathagan for sharing this unpublished work with me.

¹³⁵ See above. Because of their close interpersonal relationship and twenty-five-year age difference, Thibaut's imitation of his father-in-law was more akin to a student mimicking his master than one king trying to outdo another.

Middle Ages. Built around their shared holy personae and using these indulgences, Thibaut and Louis effectively formed their own confraternity of sacred lay rulers endorsed by God and spiritually connected to the people who lived in their lands.¹³⁶ The two kings shared this strategy for keeping the loyalty and devotion of their subjects and manifesting their power through spiritual means. Only Thibaut, however, had to use this approach to maintain his sovereignty in not one but two realms.

¹³⁶ I thank Anne E. Lester for suggesting this idea.

Conclusion

This dissertation details how the count-kings were able to rule both Champagne and Navarre simultaneously. In chapter 1, the count-kings forged political micro-communities with villagers and villages, towns and their councils, religious institutions, and individuals through grants of express protection during times of precarity for both the protector and the protected. Asserting comital-royal sovereignty was particularly crucial in those moments. As I demonstrate in chapter 2, the count-kings deputized dozens of officials to act in their stead and ensure that administration and the practice of lordship in Champagne-Navarre did not stall when the count-king was absent. Such agents represented the count-kings in myriad administrative, diplomatic, and judicial tasks. In chapter 3, the count-kings projected their benevolence by patronizing and founding religious institutions in both Champagne and Navarre and their largesse by establishing a comital residence in Paris. These structures physically reflected comital-royal power, influence, and sovereignty. Finally, I show in chapter 4 how the count-kings used religious rituals to engender the goodwill of the inhabitants of their domains. Indulgences for praying for the count-kings, attending sermons and dedications when they were present, and visiting their chapel at Igny made the count-kings part of the devotions of their people. Three common threads connect these chapters: obligation, ideology, and presence.

As I outline in my introduction, obligation was a key facet of comital-royal lordship, especially in Navarre. All lords had a tacit obligation to protect the people living in their lands. The express grants of protection discussed in chapter 1 further emphasize this obligation, especially with respect to vulnerable entities at times when they most needed protection. With these grants, the count-kings formally recognized their obligation to protect and proclaimed to all that their frequent absences would not preclude them from keeping their lands and people safe.

Chapter 2 reflects the count-king's obligation to administer both the county and kingdom regardless of his location. Day-to-day tasks such as resolving disputes, meting out justice, managing financial business, and handling homage and property tenure continued with or without the count-king's person because of his officials. Disputants did not have to await the count-king's return to seek arbitration, and holders of fief-rents could receive their income from someone other than the count-king himself. Appointing agents and tasking them with running the realm was how the count-kings met these obligations.

Chapters 3 and 4 concern the ideology of rulership that the count-kings fashioned and promoted. The religious institutions that the count-kings founded and patronized projected an image of themselves deeply rooted in Christian piety and generosity. Their affinity for supporting the mendicant orders contributed to this image as well. Likewise, more lavish projects like Mont-Sainte-Catherine de Provins or the comital residence in Paris declared the count-king's munificence, power, and status. By procuring indulgences for people who engaged in religious rituals connected to the comital-royal family, the count-kings similarly underscored their faithfulness while making themselves part of the devotions of the inhabitants of their lands. They were good Christian rulers worthy of loyalty and trust.

Finally, all four chapters demonstrate how the count-kings made their presence felt when they were physically absent. Although the count-king and his men were not necessarily standing guard at the gates of a town or outside an abbey, protected entities and potential perpetrators felt comital-royal presence in that both believed that the count-king would indeed defend the protected if the perpetrator's actions warranted it. In terms of administration, comital-royal officials functioned as extensions of comital-royal presence by conducting his business in his stead and by representing him in both internal and external affairs. For most matters, the count-king's people

could engage with his agents as if they were engaging with the count-king himself. In a more tangible way, the count-kings embedded their presence into the very earth of the lands they ruled by constructing monasteries, mendicant houses, chapels, and residences. Particularly with the larger and more prominently located foundations like the Convento de Santo Domingo in Estella or Mont-Sainte-Catherine de Provins, the count-kings created visible testaments to their sovereignty. Their building projects were architectural manifestations of their presence. With indulgences, the count-kings were present in the devotions of their people. When the faithful visited the Igny chapel, they experienced comital-royal presence by being in a holy space intimately associated with the count-king. In the same way, the comital-royal family was present in the minds of those who prayed for them. In both cases, the inhabitants of Champagne and Navarre could experience their rulers in a spiritual, non-corporeal way. For the count-kings, absence and presence was a spectrum, not a binary.

The count-kings governed thusly because they were rulers of a composite realm, a task that came with many challenges. Their absences were both structural and involuntary, inevitable consequences of ruling two geographically disconnected principalities. They were always going to be absent from at least one region, and there was no way they could have avoided that state. Unlike a lord on crusade or away on business, the count-king's absence was neither situational nor occasional. It was endemic to composite rulership. As a result, this exigency profoundly informed how the count-kings maintained their sovereignty and lordship and successfully ruled Champagne and Navarre for forty years.

Epilogue

By the autumn of 1276, just two years after the death of the last count-king, the cathedral of Pamplona had been sacked, and entire neighborhoods of the town lay in ruins. In “an apocalyptic upheaval,” the French forces of Robert II of Artois utterly leveled the Navarrería and San Miguel quarters of the town.¹ Their despoliation and desecration of the cathedral caused 23,300 *l.s.* worth of damage, and San Miguel would never be rebuilt. It would be thirty years before any services took place in the cathedral and almost fifty before the then king of France and Navarre allowed the Navarrería to rebuild.² As for the documents kept in the cathedral, many did not survive what became known as the War of the Navarrería.³

The relative peace that existed in Navarre during the reign of the count-kings rested on precarious footing when Henri III died suddenly in July 1274. He left behind his eighteen-month-old daughter, Jeanne, as queen, and his widow, Blanche of Artois—Jeanne’s mother and sister of the aforementioned Robert—as regent. Blanche, aware of the threats facing Navarre from the more powerful kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, quickly appointed the prominent Navarrese noble Pedro

¹ “a conmoción apocalíptica,” José María Jimeno Jurío, *Historia de Pamplona: Síntesis de una evolución*, 2nd ed. (Pamplona: Ediciones y Libros, S. A., 1975), 129.

² Xavier Hélary, “L’ost de France : la guerre, les armées, la société politique au royaume de France (fin du règne de saint Louis-fin du règne de Philippe le Bel)” (Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2004), 338-42; Jimeno Jurío, *Historia de Pamplona*, 136-137; José María Lacarra, *Historia política del reino de navarra desde sus orígenes hasta su incorporación a castilla*, 3 vols. (Pamplona: Editorial Aranzadi, 1972), ii, 225-30; Manuel Iribarren, *En la orbita francesa*, Navarra: Temas de cultura popular 170 (Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra. Dirección de Turismo, Bibliotecas y Cultura Popular, 1971), 9-10; Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, “Los reyes capetos y la instauración de los Evreux,” in *Enciclopedia de Navarra temática*, vol. Historia II desde 1234 hasta 1512 (Pamplona: Ediciones Herper, 1989), 102-4; *Cartulario de FIII*, no. 164. Pope Nicholas III chastised Philip III for the damage his forces did to the cathedral. See *Cartulario de FIII*, no. 165; AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 3, fol. 14rv (FDMPV 61, no. 122; *Cartulario de FIII*, no. 97); Elena Woodacre, *The Queens Regnant of Navarre: Succession, Politics, and Partnership, 1274-1512* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 30-31.

³ José Goñi Gaztambide, “Archivo y Biblioteca,” in *La Catedral de Pamplona* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1994), ii, 168-70.

Sánchez de Monteagudo as governor and made for her native France where Jeanne would be raised. She also sought the protection of her cousin, King Philip III of France (r. 1270-1284). In exchange for administering Navarre on Jeanne's behalf, Philip would eventually marry the young queen to one of his sons.⁴

The ongoing friction among the neighborhoods of Pamplona originated well before the counts of Champagne assumed the Navarrese throne, but the succession of a female toddler reignited old enmities. As both Aragon and Castile sought to claim the kingdom for themselves, either through marriage or military force, the Navarrese took sides between the two neighboring kingdoms. The pro-Castilian contingent, led by magnate García Almoravid and the Castilian bishop of Pamplona, comprised the almost exclusively Navarrese neighborhood called the Navarrería along with the San Miguel quarter and the vast majority of the city's nobility. The Burgo de San Cernin and the Población de San Nicolás made up the pro-Aragonese faction. In order to check the rising hostility engulfing Pamplona and in response to the Burgo and the Población's requests for help against the overt aggression of the Navarrería, Philip III replaced Pedro Sánchez de Monteagudo with Frenchman Eustache de Beaumarchais in 1275. But the Navarrería refused to accept the authority of a foreign governor and would not stand down. After further pleas for support, Philip dispatched his cousin and Jeanne's uncle, Robert of Artois, and Humbert de Beaujeu with a southern-French host to quell the uprising.⁵ A soldier in Robert's army

⁴ Hélyary, "L'ost," 306-311; Woodacre, *Queens Regnant*, 25-29; María Raquel García Arancón, "Blanca de Artois (1271-1302), esposa de Enrique I (1271-1274)," in *Reinas de Navarra*, ed. Julia Pavón (Madrid: Sillex, 2014), 414-418; Susana Herreros Lopetegui, "Juana I (1273-1305), reina titular de Navarra y Francia," in *Reinas de Navarra*, 448-452. The Treaty of Orleans of May 1275 cemented the alliance between France and Navarre. For a translation, see Theodore Evergates, "Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne," in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 87.

⁵ Francisque Michel, ed., *Histoire de la Guerre de Navarre en 1276 et 1277 par Guillaume Anelier de Toulouse*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1866), ii, 348-51; Iribarren, *En la orbita francesa*, 7-9; Jimeno Jurío, *Historia de*

named Guilhem Anelier de Toulouse even recounted these events in an Occitan poem of over 5,000 lines.⁶ Philip and his French officials administered Navarre directly after the conflict.⁷ In keeping with Philip and Blanche's agreement, Jeanne married the future Philip IV in 1284, and the couple ascended the French throne in 1285. Until the Capetian succession crisis of 1328, the kings and queens of France were also the kings and queens of Navarre.

Champagne's route to absorption into the French royal domain was much less tumultuous. In 1276 Blanche of Artois married Edmund of Lancaster, brother of Edward I of England, and the pair ruled Champagne in Jeanne's stead. Edmund even styled himself "count palatine of Champagne and Brie [*Campanie ac Brie comes palatinus*]" in his few extant acts.⁸ Philip III was keen to gain the county and even conducted an inquest in 1284 into the age of majority for countesses of Champagne and Jeanne's own exact age, which the result revealed to be eleven on both counts.⁹ Elena Woodacre posits the possibility that Blanche and Edmund's desire to thwart Philip prompted the inquest.¹⁰ Jeanne's marriage brought Champagne under the auspices of the

Pamplona, 126-27; Ramírez Vaquero, "Los reyes capetos," 98-102; Hélyary, "L'ost de France," 311n75, 311-328, 335-38; Lacarra, *Historia política*, ii, 214-27; Herreos Lopetegui, "Juana I," 452-454.

⁶ Guilhem Anelier de Tolosa, *La Guerra de Navarra. Nafarroako Gudua*, ed. and trans. Maurice Berthe et al., 2 vols. (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1995), i, fols. 113r, 114r (Michel, *Histoire*, i).

⁷ Lacarra, *Historia política*, ii, 241; Hélyary, "L'ost," 334.

⁸ For example, AN, J 199, no. 33 (AdJ, vi, no. 3829).

⁹ AdJ, iv, 452-453; Woodacre, *Queens Regnant*, 33-35; Evergates, "Aristocratic Women," 87-88; García Arancón, "Blanca de Artois," 421. For the inquest itself, see Theodore Evergates, ed. and trans., *Feudal Society in Medieval France: Documents from the County of Champagne* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), no. 38 (AdJ, vi, no. 3856).

¹⁰ Woodacre, *Queens Regnant*, 33.

French crown, though it did not officially become a permanent part of the French royal domain until 1361.¹¹

Champenois charters and cartularies fared better than their Navarrese counterparts. The *Liber pontificum* and *Liber principum*, along with cartularies from earlier periods, remained in Troyes at Saint-Étienne until at least the turn of the fourteenth century. French royal officials then transported them to Paris around 1325, some headed for the Chambre des Comptes and others for the Trésor des Chartes. By the late fifteenth century, the *Liber principum* and *Liber pontificum* had been separated, with the *Liber principum* staying in the Chambre des Comptes and the *Liber pontificum* entering the royal library. Royal officials still made copies from the former in the 1560s, but it perished in the 1737 fire that consumed the Chambre des Comptes.¹² Two complete copies of it are still extant.¹³ The charters and registers from individual Champenois religious institutions that survived the French Revolution are kept largely in departmental archives.¹⁴

The count-kings were not forgotten after 1274. For centuries, both individuals and institutions were guarding and making copies of their acts. That so many survive is a testament to their enduring authority and importance. Today, a large plaque on the floor of the Pamplona cathedral marks the supposed resting place of Thibaut IV and Henri III. There is a Plaza de los Teobaldos in Olite. Even a femur allegedly belonging to Thibaut V is on display in the attic of the

¹¹ Theodore Evergates, "The Chancery Archives of the Counts of Champagne: Codicology and History of the Cartulary-Registers," *Viator* 16 (1985): 173.

¹² Evergates, "Chancery Archives," 173-175.

¹³ CCC 56-58; BnF, MS. Nouvelles acquisitions latines 2454. Evergates argues that the former is the better of the two. Evergates, "Chancery Archives," 172n57.

¹⁴ For the history of the creation of the current French library and archive system, see Lara Jennifer Moore, *Restoring Order: The Ecole des Chartes and the Organization of Archives and Libraries in France, 1820-1870* (Duluth: Litwin Books, 2008).

Musée de Provins et du Provinois. And the Convento de Santo Domingo, founded by Thibaut V in 1258, still looms over pilgrims passing through Estella on the Camino de Santiago.

Appendix: Officials of the Count-Kings

Dozens of officials worked for the count-kings of Champagne-Navarre. They operated in the count-king's name both when he was in residence and when he was not. Some we know little about, others we can trace throughout their tenures as comital-royal agents. They harkened from the ranks of secular churchmen, townspeople, the nobility, and regional, local, and court officials. In multiple cases, the transactions described below are the only instances that such individuals appear in the historical record. This appendix is not a comprehensive list of all comital-royal officials but rather a representative sample of the men whose work was crucial in making the composite lordship of Champagne-Navarre run.

Acorre, Renier

Arguably the most comprehensively studied of the count-kings' agents, Florentine banker Renier Acorre was "the most important citizen of Provins in the thirteenth century"¹ and a valuable asset to the count-kings and their successors in Champagne.² He even had his own private cartulary, a rarity in this period.³ Renier was active in the county from at least 1258⁴ and began

¹ "le plus important citoyen de Provins au XIIIe siècle," Elizabeth Chapin, *Les villes de foires de Champagne des origines au début du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1937), 120.

² Studies dedicated to him include Thomas Lacomme, "Renier Acorre et la rue de Froidmantel: achats fonciers et distinction sociale (XIIIe siècle)," in *Un quartier de la rue Saint-Thibaut de Provins. Des jacobins et de Renier Acorre à l'Institution Sainte-Croix (XIIIe siècle – XXe siècle)* (Provins: Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'arrondissement de Provins, 2017), 9-23; "Un cartulaire sous influence? Edmond de Lancastre, Jean d'Acre, Renier Acorre et le cartulaire de la collégiale séculière Saint-Étienne de Troyes," in *Aux sources du pouvoir*, ed. Sylvain Gouguenheim (Paris: Les Indes Savants, 2017), 87-110; Pascale Verdier, "La construction d'une seigneurie dans la Champagne du XIIIe siècle: Renier Acorre, seigneur de Gouaix (1257-1289)," in *Seigneurs et seigneuries au Moyen Âge. Actes du 117e Congrès National de Sociétés Savantes, Clermont-Ferrand, 1992. Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie* (Paris: CTHS, 1993), 99-110; Ralph Douglas Montanaro, "The Cartulary of Renier Acorre," 2 vols. (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 1976); Félix Bourquelot, "Renier Accorre, financier et grand propriétaire au treizième siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 28 (1867): 64-81. See also Chapin, *Les villes*, 120, 123-124; AdJ, ivb, 466-469.

³ BnF, MS. Français 8593. For a study and partial edition of it, see Montanaro, "Cartulary," (PhD diss.).

⁴ The earliest document in his cartulary dates to 1258. BnF, MS. Français 8593.

working for the count-kings by June 1270 when Thibaut V asked him and the master of the Hôtel-Dieu to acquire rents so that he could build a new house for the Dominicans in Provins.⁵ The following month, he appeared as Thibaut V's chamberlain.⁶ He served as a *receveur* with Jacques d'Ervy⁷ and Gui, subdean of Saint-Étienne,⁸ under Henri III and maintained that position through 1292.⁹ He retained the role of chamberlain during the regencies of Blanche of Artois (1274-1275/1276) and Edmund of Lancaster (1276-1284).¹⁰ Under Philip the Fair (r. 1285-1314), he became royal pantler.¹¹ By 1293 Renier had been dispossessed of his property and arrested, but he regained his standing the following year, dying sometime later that decade.¹²

Aulnay, Jean

Jean d'Aulnay could have originated from a cadet branch of the Aulnay family, which had been rubbing elbows with the counts of Champagne since at least 1153. After Henry the Liberal's death in 1181, his widow and regent for their son, Marie of France, appointed a lesser knight and member of the garrison of Vitry to the marshality of Champagne, Erard I d'Aulnay.¹³ His brother

⁵ BnF, Provinces françaises, MS. Champagne 135, 277 (AdJ, vi, no. 3658); AdJ, ivb, 467.

⁶ BnF, MS. Français 8593, fol. 160r (AdJ, vi, no. 3666).

⁷ For example, AN, J 205, no. 23 (Lpo, fols. 491vr; AdJ, vi, no. 3723).

⁸ For example, AN, J 203, no. 83 (Lpo, fol. 483v; AdJ, vi, no. 3785); Lpo, fol. 297v (AdJ, vi, no. 3794).

⁹ Lacomme, "Renier Acorre," 9; *Documents relatifs*, ii, 203.

¹⁰ Lacomme, "Un cartulaire," 106; Ralph Douglas Montanaro, "The Cartulary of Renier Acorre," *Dissertation abstracts international. A, The Humanities and Social Sciences* 37, no. 11 (1977): 7248; AdJ, ivb, 466-468.

¹¹ BnF, Provinces françaises, MS. Champagne 136, 355.

¹² Lacomme, "Renier Acorre," 9; Verdier, "La construction," 101; Bourquelot, "Renier Acorre," 72.

¹³ *Aristocracy*, 21; Theodore Evergates, *Marie of France: Countess of Champagne, 1145-1198* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 45, 53-54. He was also a relative of Geoffroy of Villehardouin. For the Aulnay family, see Gaston Robert, "La maison d'Aulnay," *Nouvelle revue de Champagne et de Brie* 11 (1933): 168-193. Robert mentions a Jean, lord of Launois, acting in 1260, but does not establish any links to better-known members

Oudard, who crusaded with Count Henry II, was also marshal from 1206 to 1227.¹⁴ One Guillaume d'Aulnay was among the eleven barons who swore to Philip Augustus in 1198 that Count Thibaut III would remain faithful.¹⁵ Erard II d'Aulnay, son of Oudard, was active from the 1220s through the 1230s and appears in a comital ordinance from 1224.¹⁶ It is possible that Jean was part of this tradition and family on the rise. In September 1237 he concluded the repurchase of the rights to a village held in fief from the Thibaut IV when the count-king was in Navarre.¹⁷

Aulnay, Robert

Like Jean d'Aulnay, Robert too could have come from the Aulnay family that worked for the counts and count-kings from the twelfth century.¹⁸ In 1243 he appears acting as *receveur* and in the position of chamberlain during at least the period 1243-1244.¹⁹ In addition to two sales,

of the family. He does not mention Robert d'Aulnay, chamberlain of Thibaut IV. The *Rôles des fiefs* and other inquest during this period list several different Jean d'Aulnays. Because our Jean d'Aulnay and Robert d'Aulnay were in the service of the count-kings, I conjecture that they belonged to this prominent family as opposed to another. For the various Jeans, see, for example, *Rôle des fiefs*, nos. 699, 702, 795, 887, 927, 1056; *Documents relatifs*, i, nos. 5208, 5656, 5708, 6248, 6791, 6812; *Livre des vassaux*, nos. 1739, 1740, 1788. No. 1740 of the *Livre des vassaux* mentions his unnamed brothers. Robert might have been among them.

¹⁴ *Aristocracy*, 263; *Marie of France*, 72. See also *Aristocracy*, 290-291n61; *Layettes*, i, no. 1178 (also in Theodore Evergates, ed., *The Cartulary of Countess Blanche of Champagne* (Toronto: Published for the Medieval Academy by the University of Toronto Press, 2009), no. 83, 103, 160, 163, 186, 428, 450A-B); Theodore Evergates, ed., *Littere Baronum: The Earliest Cartulary of the Counts of Champagne* (Toronto: Published for the Medieval Academy of America by the University of Toronto Press, 2003), no. 22, *118; *Documents relatifs*, i, no. 2164.

¹⁵ Evergates, *Cartulary of Countess Blanche*, no. 23. Thibaut's corresponding document is Evergates, *Littere Baronum*, appendix, no. 1.

¹⁶ Robert, "La maison d'Aulnay," 179-181; *Aristocracy*, 197.

¹⁷ Lpo, fol. 267r (AdJ, v, no. 2442). The charter itself states that the brothers held the rights in fief from Thibaut IV.

¹⁸ Robert d'Aulnay appears in the *Rôles des fiefs* and various inquests from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but it is unclear if these appearances refer to a single person or to multiple individuals with the same name. See *Rôles des fiefs*, no. 1544; *Documents relatifs*, i, 1205, 1774, 1857; *Livre des vassaux*, nos. 2495, 2617, 2654. Unless our Robert d'Aulnay lived a very long life, some of these references pertain perhaps to Robert's ancestor(s) who had the same name.

¹⁹ AdJ, ivb, 508, 510. It is unclear how long he held the position of chamberlain. Arbois de Jubainville lists him as a sergeant but not a chamberlain in a charter from February 1250, but I have been unable to locate it. See AdJ, ivb, 553.

Robert and Jean de Voisines made payments together on the absent count-king's behalf.²⁰ Robert also appeared working with a fellow chamberlain, Evrard de Besançon, and Guillaume de Brion, *miles*.²¹

Bar-sur-Seine, Joibert

During the winter of 1245, Joibert de Bar-sur-Seine, *bailli* of Troyes, purchased for Thibaut IV a *femina de corpore* as well as her family and belongings from Gautier de *Buxeio*, *écuyer*, for 16 *l.p.*²² Joibert also acted as an arbiter in a charter from April 1247 in a dispute unrelated to the count-king.²³ He died sometime between this date and the inquest of 1249-1251. In the section for Bar-sur-Seine, the *enquêteur* refers to “the land of the late Joibert, *bailli*.”²⁴

Dumei, Ponce

Of French if not Champenois origin, seneschal in Navarre Ponce Dumei likely accompanied Thibaut IV to Navarre for his first stay as king in May 1234. He appears in the position of seneschal once Thibaut had returned to Champagne around the end of 1234 until 8

²⁰ CCC 58, fol. 117v (Theodore Evergates, ed., *Feudal Society in Medieval France: Documents from the County of Champagne* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), no. 9B; AdJ, v, no. 2679); Lpo, fol. 529v (AdJ, v, no. 2687). The sales with Jean de Voisines are AN, J 195, no. 25 (Lpo, fol. 424r; AdJ, v, no. 2659); Lpo, fol. 528v (AdJ, v, no. 2660).

²¹ CCC 58, fol. 98v (AdJ, v, no. 2683) and AN J 203, no. 97 (AdJ, v, no. 2759), respectively.

²² CCC 58, fols 222r-222v (AdJ, v, no. 2666).

²³ Lpo, 531v.

²⁴ “*terram defuncti Joiberti, baillivi*,” *Rôles des fiefs*, no. 80.

October 1236, the last time he surfaces in the extant record.²⁵ In 1231 he made an exchange in Champagne on his own behalf.²⁶ In March 1235 once Thibaut had returned to Champagne after spending several months in Navarre following his coronation, Ponce purchased houses for him in Puente la Reina from a widow and her sons.²⁷ Ponce only comes up in three other documents. Two surround the unrest in Tudela at the beginning of Thibaut's reign in the mid-1230s.²⁸ Because of his handling of the crisis, Thibaut removed him from the seneschalsy in 1236.²⁹ The last time we see Ponce, as seneschal and otherwise, is in October 1236 when he witnessed Thibaut's sale of a market to an Estellan parish.³⁰

Flex, Jean

In 1236 in his first of two appearances in Navarre during the reign of the count-kings, Jean de Flex witnessed Thibaut IV's sale of a market to an Estellan parish as castellan (*castellanus*) of

²⁵ *Dinastía*, 59, 279; AdJ, iv, 291n(a). Arbois de Jubainville offers Hume[s-Jorquenay] in the Haute-Marne département as a possible place of origin. His last appearance is *El primer cartulario*, no. 338 (FDMPV 11, no. 32). García Arancón confirms this document as his last. *Teobaldo II*, 92, 92n27.

²⁶ CCC 58, fols. 146v-147r (AdJ, v, no. 2160).

²⁷ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 156-157, 225-226 (*El primer*, nos. 232 and 298; FDMPV 11, no. 16; FDMPV 26, no. 3).

²⁸ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 159-160 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 236; FDMPV 11, no. 22); AGN, Cartularios Reales, Cartulario 1, 154-155 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 230; FDMPV 11, no. 26; José Yanguas y Miranda, *Diccionario de antigüedades del reino de Navarra*, 3 vols. (Pamplona: Imprenta de José Imaz y Gadea, 1840), iii, 405-406). See chapter 2.

²⁹ *Dinastía*, 279.

³⁰ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 267-268 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 338; FDMPV 11, no. 32). For the controversy surrounding markets in Estella, see María Raquel García Arancón, "Una posible reforma de las magistraturas de Estella (Navarra) en el siglo XIII," *Vasconia* 36 (2009): 37-44. For the importance of trade in Estella, see Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, "La vida ciudadana de Estella (s. XIII-XVI)," *Príncipe de Viana* 51, no. 190 (1990): 381-386.

Estella.³¹ Twenty years later, as a *miles*, Lope Ortiz sought his and Crestel de Sézanne's counsel in an exchange with the Jew Bono.³² Although most Navarrese castellans were native to the kingdom, the toponym "Flex" is likely of Champenois origin.³³ The copyists of the two cartularies—one from the thirteenth and the other from the fourteenth century—that contain the 1236 act render the name "fleix"³⁴ and "fleis,"³⁵ respectively, and the 1256 scribe wrote "Flex."³⁶ The closest place name to Flex/Fleix/Fleis in Champagne is Flaix northeast of Provins,³⁷ which Auguste Longnon equates with Floix/Floiz.³⁸ Flaix appears as a toponym in the extant Champenois record at least by 1189.³⁹ In that year brothers Jean and Girard de "Floiz" sold their rights in the

³¹ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 267-268 (AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 186; *El primer cartulario*, no. 338; FDMPV 11, no. 32). As both editors explain, the copyist of Cartulario 1 omitted the "Johannes de" in front of his toponym. The copyist of Cartulario 6 corrected the error.

³² FDMPV 63, no. 33. It is possible too that we are dealing with a father and son.

³³ *Teobaldo II*, 345; *Dinastía*, 369. García Arancón makes the assertion that Jean came from Champagne. *Teobaldo II*, 182. Pascual Madoz identifies a small village called Flex/Fleig located in the Vall de Laguar in modern-day Alicante. Pascual Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de Ultramar*, 16 vols. (Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico de P. Madoz y L. Sagasti, 1845-1850), i, 543; iv, 110; x, 39-40. Had he originated from this region, he would have been born under Almohad rule, making it extremely unlikely that he would have been given a Christian name, since the Almohads practiced forced conversion. See Maribel Fierro, "Conversion, ancestry and universal religion: the case of the Almohads in the Islamic West (sixth/twelfth-seventh/thirteenth centuries)," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 2, no. 2 (June 2010): 157, 167. There is also a "Flix," Catalonia. Sebastián Miñano y Bedoya, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico de España y Portugal*, 11 vols. (Madrid: Pierart-Peralta, 1826-1829), iv, 156.

³⁴ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 267.

³⁵ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 186.

³⁶ FDMPV 63, no. 33.

³⁷ Eusèbe Girault de Saint Fargeau, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique, industriel et commercial de toutes les communes de la France*, 3 vols. (Paris: Fermin Didot, 1844-1846), ii, 31. There is also a Fley and Fleaux in the Yonne département, but Flaix seems more likely given its proximity to comital centers of power. Max Quantin, *Dictionnaire topographique du département de l'Yonne* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1862), 52-53. For its precise location, see Michel Veissière, *Histoire de Provins et de sa région* (Toulouse: Privat, 1988), figure 15.

³⁸ *Documents relatifs*, i, 585; *Livre des vassaux*, 16.

³⁹ A Girard Flael/Flaix/Flaex appears in three of Henry the Liberal's acts, but it is unclear whether name refers to the village. *Actes HtL*, i, nos. 142, 207, 211. Benton and Bur equate Flaix with Flael. *Actes HtL*, ii, 154.

village of Bonsac, located a few kilometers from Flaix, to Saint-Quiriace de Provins.⁴⁰ The *Feoda Campanie* of around 1200 then lists Jean as a liege (*ligius*) fief-holder in the castellany of Provins.⁴¹ This Jean could have been the father of Lope and Crestel's colleague. If my assertion that our Jean de Flex came from Flaix is indeed correct, he is then likely the same Jean de Flex registered in the *Rôles des fiefs* of 1249-1251. Under the castellany of Provins, the beginning of the entry reads "the wife of *Johannis de Floiz*, who was beyond the sea [*erat ultra mare*], holds the house of *Floiz*..."⁴² The phrase "*erat ultra mare*" no doubt refers to crusading, and indeed the inquest took place during Louis IX's first crusade of 1248-1254. Jean de Joinville noted the presence of Champenois crusaders on multiple occasions,⁴³ and William Chester Jordan estimates that a minimum of 175 *milites* from Champagne, a "contingent...larger by far...than practically all the contingents except the ones mounted from the royal family itself," accompanied Louis to the East.⁴⁴ Jean, a *miles*, would have been part of that contingent. Being away on crusade partially explains Jean's whereabouts between his two activities in Navarre.

⁴⁰ Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS 89, no. 21; Michel Veissière, *Une Communauté canoniale au Moyen Age. Saint-Quiriace de Provins (XIe-XIIIe Siècles)* (Provins: Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'arrondissement de Provins, 1961), 280-281. For the significance of the sale to Saint-Quiriace, see Veissière, *Une Communauté canoniale*, 106.

⁴¹ *Documents relatifs*, i, no. 2404; *Livres des vassaux*, no. 269.

⁴² "Uxor *Johannis de Floiz*, qui erat ultra mare, tenet domum de *Floiz*," *Rôles des fiefs*, no. 814.

⁴³ Joinville, sections 200, 467-468 in Caroline Smith, trans., *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008), 195, 260-261.

⁴⁴ William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 43, 66. See also Arthur Prévost, "Les Champenois aux croisades," *Mémoires de la Société d'agriculture, sciences et arts du département de l'Aube* LXXXV (1921): 162-165. Prévost uses the *Rôles des fiefs* entry to include Jean in his list of crusaders.

Gelez, Hugas

In September 1239, when Thibaut IV was in France, one “sire” Hugas paid Juan de Santa Cruz “in peace” on the count-king’s behalf for a piece of land.⁴⁵ The transaction took place in a church in Tudela. The only other mention of Sir Hugas is in a second charter from Tudela dated August 1234 in which a “syre Vgas Gelez” witnessed the adjudication of a claim against the late Sancho VII.⁴⁶ Based on the fact that Hugas was making a payment for the count-king in the former case, María Raquel García Arancón labels him Thibaut’s chamberlain even though neither of these documents, the only two I have found for him, use that terminology.⁴⁷ Moreover, others made payments who were not known chamberlains.⁴⁸ Apart from tentatively positing that Hugas came from Tudela, or was at least based there, little else can be firmly known about him.

Laferté-sur-Aube, Étienne

Étienne de Laferté-sur-Aube, *bailli* of Chaumont, is elusive, for he only surfaces in charters from 1248 and 1251.⁴⁹ In the former, he purchased what *miles* Geofroi de Louppy and his wife, Ada, held in Suippes for Thibaut IV, then in Navarre,⁵⁰ and redacted two other documents.⁵¹

⁴⁵ “in pace,” AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 89-90 (FDMPV 11, no. 21).

⁴⁶ AET, no. 232 (FDMPV 11, no. 4). An “Ugua” appears in a document from 1253 but has no title. FDMPV 73, Documentos en occitano, no. 1.

⁴⁷ *Dinastía*, 283; *Teobaldo II*, 104, 104n128.

⁴⁸ Jean d’Aulnay, for example. See above.

⁴⁹ The *Livre des vassaux* possibly mentions him too. See no. 2012.

⁵⁰ Lpo, fol. 422v (AdJ, v, no. 2836).

⁵¹ AD Aube 40H187*, fol. 83r; CCC 58, fols. 240v-241r (AdJ, v, no. 2832).

Finally, in March 1251 he appears as a *clericus*, a former (*quondam*) *bailli*, and the holder of two fief-rents that Clairvaux had recently acquired in Thibaut's approval of said acquisitions.⁵²

Las Barras, Guillén

Guillén, whom Thibaut IV would have appointed *preboste*, held this position from at least 1252 but not before March 1248 when Thibaut paid him, without official title, 18 *l.s.* at the same time that the count-king returned to the town certain property in Estella that he had previously seized.⁵³ Guillén appears in the partial list of *franx* of the town preceding the sealing and dating clauses. As *preboste* of Estella, in 1252 he teamed up with chamberlain Crestel de Sézanne for a comital-royal property purchase.⁵⁴ He also determined various boundary lines at Thibaut V's insistence in 1253⁵⁵ and figures in the ruling clauses of two documents from 1258 and 1265, the former being a comital-royal purchase through Crestel.⁵⁶ Still *preboste* in 1266, he collected judicial fines; recorded expenses, including a payment of 34 *l. 6 s. 9 d.* to Crestel; and made a payment to the royal treasury.⁵⁷

⁵² AN, J 201, no. 31 (CCC 58, fols. 90v-93v; AdJ, v, no. 2975).

⁵³ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 151-153 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 228; FDMPV 11, no. 126; FDMPV 26, no. 10). I find this transaction puzzling, as the text states that Thibaut returned the property in exchange for 580 *l. 40 s.s.* "sens XVIII liuras que nos donam a don Guillem de las Barras." If the 18 *livres* were a fee for facilitating the transaction, it was an extremely large one. See also Juan Francisco Elizari Huarte and María José Ibiricu Díaz, "Archivo municipal de Estella. Fondos históricos especiales. Catálogo," *Príncipe de Viana* 51, no. 190 (1990): no. 8.

⁵⁴ FDMPV 11, no. 155. See above. For the significance of Guillén as the sole *prévôt* in Estella, see García Arancón, "Una posible reforma," 38, 40-43.

⁵⁵ Elizari Huarte and Ibiricu Díaz, "Archivo municipal de Estella," no. 4 (Pedro Emiliano Zorrilla Echeverría, "Índice cronológico de los documentos y papeles antiguos existentes en el archivo municipal de la ciudad de Estella," *Boletín de la comisión de monumentos históricos y artísticos de Navarra* 3, no. 10 (1912): no. 3).

⁵⁶ FDMPV 63, no. 40 and FDMPV 26, 53, respectively.

⁵⁷ For what he collected and expended, see *Registros*, 225-226, nos. 1316-1338. The expense for Crestel is no. 1335. For his payment, see *Registros*, 238, no. 1560.

Launay, Clément

Clément de Launay was a Champenois who could have been related to Jean and Robert d’Aulnay,⁵⁸ although Arbois de Jubainville posits that he did not come from a prominent family.⁵⁹ He made his debut in the *Rôles des fiefs* of 1249-1251 as a pledge for a fief-holder in Troyes.⁶⁰ Before becoming seneschal of Navarre in mid-1258, Clément had already been in the kingdom for at least two years. In March 1256, he appears as the first listed witness—eventually followed by Lope Ortiz and Crestel—in the naming of arbiters by his predecessor, Jofroi de Bourlement, for a dispute between the council of Sangüesa and the Hospitallers.⁶¹ Two and a half months later, he and Crestel witnessed a dispute resolution between the Burgo de San Cernin and the Población de San Nicolás.⁶²

Clément continued his involvement in disputes and arbitrations as seneschal and addressed claims of *fuercas* committed by past kings.⁶³ He participated in various capacities in multiple exchanges on Thibaut V’s behalf with other comital-royal officials. With Crestel de Sézanne and Miguel de Undiano in January 1260, while Thibaut V was in France, Clément acquired the rights to Villazuruz through an exchange with Juan Pérez de Baztan that Lope Ortiz witnessed.⁶⁴ The trio

⁵⁸ See sections on Jean and Robert d’Aulnay. I base this assertion on the orthography of their names.

⁵⁹ AdJ, ivb, 490.

⁶⁰ *Rôles des fiefs*, no. 1127.

⁶¹ FDMPV 63, no. 32. For García Arancón’s chronological summary of Clément’s main activity, see *Teobaldo II*, 95-100; *Dinastía*, 281-282.

⁶² FDMPV 84, nos. 62-63 (FDMPV 26, no. 45; María Angeles Irurita Lusarreta, *El municipio de Pamplona en la edad media* (Pamplona: Ayuntamiento de Pamplona, 1959), 142-143). The document is translated in *Dinastía*, 278. See also *Teobaldo II*, 86.

⁶³ See chapter 2.

⁶⁴ FDMPV 63, no. 45.

appeared together again in the spring of 1263, with Thibaut still absent, when Clément obtained the rights to Tiebas that the hospital of Roncesvalles had held in return for other rights and coin with Crestel and Miguel's *conseillo*.⁶⁵ All three sealed the charter.⁶⁶ In the summer of 1264 Thibaut exchanged rights with Corbarán de Leet and Toda Ibáñez in a transaction that Crestel and Miguel witnessed; Clément's scribe, Miguel Ortiz, penned the resulting charter.⁶⁷

The seneschal engaged in other business involving Thibaut V as well.⁶⁸ During the count-king's five-year stay in Champagne between 1258 and 1263, Gil de Rada and María de Leet granted Thibaut water and irrigation rights "at the entreaty [*rogaria*] that don Clément de Launay, seneschal of Navarre, and don Crestel de Sézanne, chamberlain of the aforementioned lord king, made of us."⁶⁹ Once Thibaut had returned to Navarre in 1264, Clément and Miguel ordered one of the count-king's acts drawn up.⁷⁰ He was instrumental in the war with England over Gascony in 1266 and endeavors with other principalities.⁷¹

Like other comital-royal agents, Clément frequently witnessed official acts during Thibaut V's reign. On May Day 1258 in Estella, his first time as seneschal, he witnessed an arrangement between two town quarters and was asked to seal the document.⁷² Crestel and Miguel received a

⁶⁵ FDMPV 63, no. 49.

⁶⁶ FDMPV 63, no. 50 is the same transaction redacted by the prior of Roncesvalles.

⁶⁷ FDMPV 63, no. 56.

⁶⁸ See chapter 2.

⁶⁹ "per rogaria que nos fiço don Climent de Lanay, siniscal de Nauarra, e de don Creste de Cesana camerlant del dito sennor rey," FDMPV 63, no. 44; María Dolores Quiroga, "Filiación genealógica y curiosos pormenores de la Casa de Rada," *Príncipe de Viana* 16, no. 61 (1955): 449.

⁷⁰ AMT, A 14 (FDMPV 7, no. 44). The act is translated in *Dinastía*, 340.

⁷¹ See chapter 2.

⁷² FDMPV 63, no. 38.

copy together. In 1258 and 1259—in San Juan Pie de Puerto and Rada, respectively—Clément was present for three Navarrese homage performances to the then absent count-king.⁷³ He then watched Thibaut himself receive the lord of Agramont’s homage “of hands and of mouth” in 1266.⁷⁴ Clément, Pedro Sánchez de Monteagudo, and García Almoravid, at Thibaut’s request, sealed the count-king’s corresponding charter, dated two days later.⁷⁵ Like Crestel de Sézanne, Clément appears as seneschal—often with other officials discussed here—in the ruling clauses of several documents from 1258 to 1269.⁷⁶ He follows after Thibaut and the bishop of Pamplona. Clément’s business that did not directly involve the count-king included in 1258 creating a confraternity (*confrerie*) of four Lower Navarrese towns;⁷⁷ in 1260 instigating the transfer of a garden (*huerto*) from the hospital of Roncesvalles to the Dominicans of Bayonne;⁷⁸ in 1263 ordering the prior of Leyre to formalize and standardize the dues paid by the monastery’s

⁷³ For the 1258 document, FDMPV 63, nos. 39; Arnaud Oihenart, *Notitia utriusque Vasconiae* (Paris: Sebastian Cramoisy, 1638), 264-266. For the 1259 document, FDMPV 63, no. 43. García Arancón states that Clément stood in for Thibaut in the latter homage ceremony, but the document itself does not support this assertion as he is only listed as a witness. *Teobaldo II*, 95.

⁷⁴ “de manos et de boca,” FDMPV 63, no. 67. The charter is translated in *Dinastía*, 362-363.

⁷⁵ Among others. *Cartularios reales*, Cartulario 6, 282-283 (FDMPV 7, no. 55).

⁷⁶ FDMPV 63, no. 40; *Teobaldo II*, 95n60; FDMPV 26, nos. 50-53, 58, 59; FDMPV 73, Documentos en occitano, nos. 2, 3; FDMPV 73, Documentos en romance navarro, nos. 3, 15.

⁷⁷ FDMPV 63, no. 41. See also *Teobaldo II*, 316; *Dinastía* 173.

⁷⁸ María Isabel Ostolaza, ed., *Colección Diplomática de Santa María de Roncesvalles (1127-1300)* (Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1978), no. 182. This document is the prior’s grant.

laborers;⁷⁹ in 1268 contributing to the papally sanctioned crusade tax;⁸⁰ and in 1269 recognizing the discharge of Pamplonese episcopal debts, collected by Miguel de Undiano.⁸¹

Despite this service to the second count-king, in late 1269 or early 1270 Thibaut replaced Clément as seneschal with his brother, the future Henri III, before going on the crusade that would claim his life.⁸² Clément does not resurface in the record until after both Thibaut and Henri had died. During the brief regency from July 1274 through the end of 1275 or the beginning of 1276 of Blanche of Artois, Henri's widow, an inquest into holdings in Champagne took place.⁸³ In the castellany of Château-Thierry in the bailliage of Meaux, Clément held a rear-fief from Jeanne de *Cramoiseles*.⁸⁴ His activities before receiving an official position in 1283, however, took place largely in Navarre. Like Crestel de Sézanne, Clément participated in the War of the Navarrería in 1276 and features in Guilhem Anelier de Toulouse's account of the event. When messengers sent by Pamplona's Burgo de San Cernin, the neighboring Población de San Nicolás, and governor Eustache de Beaumarchais went to Paris seeking Philip III's help against the Navarrería, the French king replied that he had already "sent into Navarre *sire* Gaston [de Bearn], who is my relative, the prior of Saint-Gilles, wise and knowing, and *sire* Clément de Launay, a clever

⁷⁹ FDMPV 63, no. 48. Strangely, Clément is not in this document's ruling clause.

⁸⁰ Román Felones Morrás, "Contribución al estudio de la iglesia navarra del siglo XIII: el libro del rediezmo de 1268. (II) Transcripción e índices," *Príncipe de Viana* 43, no. 166 (1982): no. 1078. For the tax itself, see Román Felones Morrás, "Contribución al estudio de la iglesia navarra del siglo XIII: el libro del rediezmo de 1268. (I) Estudio y valoración," *Príncipe de Viana* 43, no. 165 (1982)."

⁸¹ Jose Goñi Gaztambide, *Catálogo del archivo catedral de Pamplona*, vol. I (829-1500) (Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1965), no. 674.

⁸² *Dinastía*, 281; *Teobaldo II*, 97-98.

⁸³ For what we know about the inquest, see *Documents relatifs*, i, xxxiv-xxxvii.

⁸⁴ *Documents relatifs*, i, no. 6895.

knight...in order to know the entire occurrence.”⁸⁵ Upon reaching the Navarrería, Anelier tells us, “they thought up⁸⁶ a ruse: that there where the trebuchet was striking periodically...[they] carried the cookery of the lord of the Gascons. The trebuchet of the burgs loosened very quickly, and the rock went faster than fledglings [and] struck inside the cauldron where they were cooking mutton and broke the cauldron, the tripod, [and] the hinges.”⁸⁷ A “truce for 15 days in order to listen to the motives” of the attack was then proclaimed.⁸⁸ Anelier does not mention Clément again until later in the poem when he describes the French army as it is about to descend upon the Navarrería, an area that Clément knew well. He is among the prominent lords who participated at the Navarrería’s destruction.⁸⁹

It appears that Clément returned to France sometime after quelling the revolt in Pamplona. For in May 1278 one of Philip III’s missives to Renaud de Rouvray, then Navarrese governor,

⁸⁵ “Trames ay en Navarra ’N Gasto, qu’es mos parens / E ’l prior de Sa[n]t Gili savis e z entendens, / E ’N Clement de Lenay ·i· cavaler sabens / .../ Per saber tot lo fayt,” Guilhem Anelier de Tolosa, *La Guerra de Navarra. Nafarroako Gudua*, ed. and trans. Maurice Berthe et al., 2 vols. (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1995), i, fols. 113r, 114r (Francisque Michel, ed., *Histoire de la Guerre de Navarre en 1276 et 1277 par Guillaume Anelier de Toulouse*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1866), i, lines 3997-3999, 4028). The latter edition has a facing French translation. For another nineteenth-century edition, see Pablo Ilarregui, ed., *La Guerra Civil de Pamplona, poema escrito en versos provenzales por Guillermo Aneliers de Tolosa de Francia* (Pamplona: Longas y Ripa, 1847). For a much more recent edition and translation into Spanish and Basque plus a facsimile of the original manuscript (cited above), see Anelier, *La Guerra de Navarra*.

⁸⁶ The Occitan term here is “pessegos.” I have been unable to find evidence of this word elsewhere. Michel and Berthe, however, translate it to the effect of “thought up” in French and Spanish, respectively. Michel, *Histoire*, i, line 4032; Anelier, *La Guerra de Navarra*, ii, 330.

⁸⁷ “.i· barat pessegos / Qve lay oltra buquet feria lassazos / Portego la cozina del seynne dels gascos / El trabuquet dels borx destendec molt cochos / E la peyra uassen plus tost que auzelos / Feri dintz el payrol ont cosial molts / E trenquec lo payrol els trepez els golfos,” Anelier, *La Guerra de Navarra*, i, fol. 114r (Michel, *Histoire*, i, lines 4032-4038).

⁸⁸ “Tregas per xv iorns per audir les razos,” Anelier, *La Guerra de Navarra*, i, fol. 114v (Michel, *Histoire*, i, line 4046). See also Michel, *Histoire*, i, xvii.

⁸⁹ Anelier, *La Guerra de Navarra*, i, fol. 130r (Michel, *Histoire*, i, line 4596). Anelier himself would have been part of this force too.

makes mention of “sending Clément de Launay into Navarre.”⁹⁰ Three years later, another of Philip’s letters sheds light on Clément’s activities. The French king wrote to Renaud’s successor, Guérin d’Amplepuis, regarding the implementation of Thibaut V’s will, stating that “it is pleasing to us that in these things you make use of the counsel [*consilio*] of the aforementioned Clément, of whose faithfulness [*fidelitate*] and diligence [*industria*] concerning *agendis* in Navarre we maintain trust [*fiduciam*].”⁹¹ No doubt with this commendation in mind, in 1283 Philip would eventually replace Guérin with Clément. In the meantime, Clément’s expertise was alluded to in a 1281 inquest into the history, extent, and legality of the Junta de Infanzones de Obanos, an assembly “with airs of a legal body”⁹² composed of the “noble proletariat,”⁹³ active from the reign of Sancho VII.⁹⁴ When asked if the Junta met all together in the past, García Sánchez, abbot of *Reriç* and canon of Tudela and Tarazona, told his interlocutors to “ask don Clément de Launay, who then was seneschal and was governing the land.”⁹⁵ The following year, Clément again took

⁹⁰ “clemente de alneto mittendo in nauarram,” AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, fol. 11rv (FDMPV 61, no. 30; *Cartulario de FIII*, no. 78). For the reasoning behind the 1278 vs. 1277 date, see Xavier Hélyary, “L’ost de France: la guerre, les armées, la société politique au royaume de France (fin du règne de saint Louis-fin du règne de Philippe le Bel)” (PhD diss., Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2004), 1146n48. For a brief summary of all of the charters in AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 3—the *Cartulario de Felipe III*—see Hélyary, “L’ost de France,” annexe 1.1.

⁹¹ “placet nobis quod in hiis vtamini consilio predicti clementis de cuius fidelitate et industria super *agendis* in Nauarra fiduciam obtinemus,” AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 7, 177 (FDMPV 61, no. 166; Antonio Ubieto Arteta, “Mandatos navarros de Felipe III el Atrevido, rey de Francia,” *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 4 (1951): no. 20). See also Joseph de Moret, *Anales del reino de Navarra*, 5 vols. (Pamplona: Neyra and Ezquerro: 1684-1715), 224.

⁹² “con ínfulas de cuerpo legal,” Arturo Campión, “Una información acerca a los infanzones de Obanos,” *Euskal-Erria* 27, no. 443 (oct. 1892): 355. The inquest is critical to the study of this body because so little documentation concerning it survives from before this date.

⁹³ “proletariado nobiliario,” *Dinastía*, 145.

⁹⁴ García Arancón, “La Junta de Infanzones de Obanos hasta 1281,” *Príncipe de Viana* 45, no. 173 (1984): 527-532. See also García Arancón, “La Junta,” 527-539; Campión, “Una información”; *Dinastía*, 145-148. In addition to FDMPV 75, no. 81, the inquest is edited in García Arancón, “La Junta,” 540-559 and partially translated in *Dinastía*, 146-148.

⁹⁵ “preguntassemos a don Climent de Launay que la hora era senescal e gouernaua la tierra,” FDMPV 75, no. 81.

up adjudicatory tasks. Still dealing with the aftermath of the War of the Navarrería six years earlier, Philip III asked the count of Pontigny, Humbert de Beaujeu, and Clément—the latter two described by Javier Gallego Gallego as “experts in Navarrese matters”⁹⁶—to inquire into the inheritances of certain Navarrería residents deemed innocent in the conflict and to act according to their findings.⁹⁷ The same day, Philip communicated various *supplicationes* to Guérin “through Clément de Launay, our beloved knight,” and instructed him to address them with Clément’s *consilio*.⁹⁸

Given Clément’s experience in Navarre and his collaboration with Philip III, it is unsurprising that the French king appointed him governor of Navarre in 1283, a position he held until 1286, two years into Jeanne and Philip the Fair’s reign.⁹⁹ During his tenure, Clément facilitated two sales: one for Jeanne and the other for her husband. On 22 June 1283 María Arceiz sold her house in Pamplona to the “very honorable and wise lord don Clément de Launay, governor of Navarre, for the use of the most high and noble and powerful lady Jeanne, queen of Navarre.”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ “expertos en las cuestiones navarras,” Javier Gallego Gallego, *Enrique I, Juana I y Felipe I el Hermoso, Luis I el Hutin, Juan I el Póstumo, Felipe II el Largo, Carlos I el Calvo (1270-1328)*, Reyes de Navarra XII (Iruña: Editorial Mintzoa, 1986), 114.

⁹⁷ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 7, 179 (FDMPV 61, no. 175; Ubieto Arteta, “Mandatos,” no. 27; Hélyary, “L’ost de France,” annexe 1.4; Ch.-V. Langlois, *La règne de Philippe III le Hardi* (Paris: Hachette, 1887), no. 135).

⁹⁸ “per Clementem de Alneto dilectum militem nostrum,” AGN Cartularios reales, Cartulario 7, 179 (FDMPV 61, no. 176; Ubieto Arteta, “Mandatos,” no. 28; Hélyary, “L’ost de France,” annexe 1.4).

⁹⁹ Modern scholars largely gloss over Clément’s governorship and only note that he held the position from 1283 to 1286. See, for example, Ángel Martín Duque and Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, “El reino de Navarra,” *Historia de España* XIII, no. 260 (1990): 60; Gallego Gallego, *Enrique I*, 159; Pierre Narbaitz, *Navarra o cuando los vascos tenían reyes*, trans. Elena Barberena (Tafalla: Txalaparta, 2008), 286; Javier Zabalo Zabalegui, “Funcionarios franceses en Navarra (1276-1327),” in *Homenaje a don José María Lacarra de Miguel en su jubilación del profesorado* (Zaragoza: Anubar, 1977), iii, 170; José María Lacarra, *Historia política del reino de Navarra desde sus orígenes hasta su incorporación a Castilla*, 3 vols. (Pamplona: Editorial Aranzadi, 1972), ii, 241. Zabalo Zabalegui states that Clément was Guérin’s lieutenant, but I have not found evidence for this claim.

¹⁰⁰ “lo molt hondrat et saui baron don Climent de Launay, governador de Nauarra, pera obs de la molt alta et nobla et poderosa dona Iohana, reynna de Nauarra,” FDMPV 75, no. 85 (FDMPV 26, no. 73). See also Juan José Martinena Ruiz, *La Pamplona de los burgos y su evolución urbana, siglos XII-XVI* (Pamplona: Diputación foral de Navarra, 1974), 294.

Clément used his own intermediaries to deliver the 100 *l.s.* payment. In the early spring of 1286, for 2,500 *s.s.*, he purchased a garden in Corella “for the lord king of France and Navarre to give plots of land to the inhabitants of the said town of Corella.”¹⁰¹

Clément acted in his own right as governor as well. In late 1283 “understanding the benefit and improvement of our lady *donna Iohanna*, queen of Navarre, and of the town of Tiebas,” he gave the town a market on Mondays.¹⁰² The following year, he granted an exemption to Corella’s Christian land laborers in return for them building a “mill with two millstones and two water wheels” for Jeanne.¹⁰³ The town had completed the mill by early 1286 and received *franqueza* from Clément.¹⁰⁴ In 1284 he also placed two former Navarrería residents in “my *guarda* and in my *comanda* and in my special *defendimiento*”¹⁰⁵ and ruled in favor of the hospital of Roncesvalles in their dispute with the council of Senosiáin.¹⁰⁶ He surfaces throughout the accounts of Navarrese *bailes* for the years 1283-1286¹⁰⁷ and ordered the collection of dues in Tudela in the 1286 accounts of various officials.¹⁰⁸ At some point before April 1286, Philip IV, Clément, and the *prévôt* of

¹⁰¹ “poral seynnor rey de França e de Nauarra por dar quinrones a los pobladores en la dita villa de Coreylla,” FDMPV 75, no. 91.

¹⁰² “entendiendo el pro et el milloramamiento de nuestra seynnora donna Iohanna Reynna de Nauarra et de la villa de Thiebas,” AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 175 (FDMPV 75, no. 86).

¹⁰³ “molino con dos muelas e con dos acenias,” FDMPV 75, no. 87. The charter also notes Corella’s precarious position near the borders with both Castile and Aragon. The town is “siempre en guerra contra los enemigos de Nauarra.” Philip IV confirmed the exemption in 1297, and he and Jeanne sealed it. AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 51 (FDMPV 61, no. 197).

¹⁰⁴ FDMPV 75, no. 90.

¹⁰⁵ FDMPV 75, no. 89.

¹⁰⁶ Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 293.

¹⁰⁷ BnF, MS. Latin 10150, fols. 2r, 4v, 15rv, 16r, 32r, 40r, 41r, 53r, 60r, 84v, 89v, for example.

¹⁰⁸ Aitor Pescador Medrano and Félix Segura Urra, eds., *Archivo General de Navarra. Sección de Comptos. Registro no. 3 y 4*, FDMPV 104 (Donostia: Eusko Ikaskuntza, 2002), 25-28.

Saint-Martin de Tours gave a moneychanger letters entitling him to 600 *l.t.* from the Paris Temple.¹⁰⁹ Finally, Clément was listed as governor in several ruling clauses from 1285 and 1286, all of which were written in Occitan.¹¹⁰ When he was no longer governor, Clément made an appearance in the 1290 accounts when the goods of one of his debtors were seized to pay the debt.¹¹¹ He had died by 1297.¹¹² “Skilled and effective,” Clément was clearly an asset to Thibaut V and Philips III and IV.¹¹³ Not only is he among the most well-documented of the count-kings’ officials, he served in myriad capacities and official roles and acted on his own behalf.

Mélétaire, Girard

Girard Mélétaire engaged with and represented the count-kings on many occasions.¹¹⁴ He was a member of the family of Isle-Aumont, located just south of Troyes. Both he and his brother Gautier at times carried the name *Melitarius*, or Mélétaire.¹¹⁵ A Girard *le Meleron* also appears in documents recording similar activity during this time. Although Henri d’Arbois de Jubainville indirectly suggests that these are two different people,¹¹⁶ given the close similarity in their activity

¹⁰⁹ FDMPV 75, no. 92 (FDMPV 26, no. 79). The document does not state why the moneychanger was receiving these funds.

¹¹⁰ FDMPV 73, *Documentos en occitano*, no. 11; FDMPV 26, nos. 78, 84, 85.

¹¹¹ Pescador Medrano, *Archivo General de Navarra*, 281-282, 289, 295.

¹¹² AGN, *Cartularios reales*, *Cartulario 6*, 51 (FDMPV 61, no. 197).

¹¹³ “Hábil y eficaz,” *Dinastía*, 281.

¹¹⁴ Other much briefer overviews of his activity are Chapin, *Les villes*, 129, 129n107; T. Boutiot, *Histoire de la ville de Troyes et de la Champagne méridionale*, 5 vols. (Troyes: Dufey-Robert, 1870-1880), i, 326n1; AdJ, ivb, 509-510.

¹¹⁵ Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes under the Counts of Champagne, 1152-1284* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 183.

¹¹⁶ AdJ, vi, 138, 240. He indexes them separately, but Girard *le Meleron* appears so infrequently compared with Girard Mélétaire that I hesitate to make too much of this distinction.

and the fact that both Girards were involved in purchasing property in Troyes for Thibaut V's new Franciscan dwelling and appear in documents as mayor of Troyes,¹¹⁷ I conjecture that Girard Mélétaire and Girard *le Meleron* are the same person.¹¹⁸

Girard Mélétaire/*le Meleron*/de l'Isle was a prominent citizen of Troyes—serving the town as *prévôt* in 1217¹¹⁹ and mayor during 1231-1232 and 1234-1235¹²⁰—and held property in the region.¹²¹ In 1230 he was also comital chamberlain for Thibaut IV¹²² and in 1232 *garde des foires*.¹²³ Surfacing only three times¹²⁴ in the first two decades of the thirteenth century (1205 and 1217), Girard appears in earnest in the 1220s. The first time he engaged in some capacity with the count-kings was in August, October, and November 1227 concerning various documents that

¹¹⁷ See, for example, AD Aube, 40H189*, fol. 80r and AD Aube, G 3092 (Mar. 1234 *v.st.*).

¹¹⁸ Only *le Meleron* appears in Navarre, but both names appear in Champagne.

¹¹⁹ Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes*, 183; Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville, "Trois sceaux inédits 1217, 1231, 1239," *Revue de Champagne et de Brie* 8 (1879): 84. For his seal as *prévôt*, see Arbois de Jubainville, "Trois sceaux," 81.

¹²⁰ Arbois de Jubainville, "Trois sceaux," 84-85; AD Aube, 40H187*, fol. 25r (Chapin, *Les villes*, 291); AD Aube, 40H189*, fol. 80r (Ch. Lalore, ed., *Collection des principaux cartulaires du diocèse de Troyes*, 7 vols. (Paris: Thorin, 1875-1890), vi, 187-188); AD Aube, 40H189*, fol. 80r; AD Aube, G3092 (Mar. 1234 *v.st.*); BnF, MS. Latin 11926, 314rv. See also Chapin, *Les villes*, 251. For his seal as mayor, see Arbois de Jubainville, "Trois sceaux," 83.

¹²¹ Auguste Harmand, *Notice historique sur la léproserie de la ville de Troyes* (Troyes: Bouquot, 1849), 117-118; AdJ, v, nos. 1557, 2090; BnF, Latin 17098, fols. 137v-138r, 154rv, 248rv; Lalore, *Collection*, vi, 126-127, 128-129; AD Aube, G3092 (Mar. 1234 *v.st.*); Chapin, *Les villes*, 297-298.

¹²² AdJ, v, no. 2090.

¹²³ AD Aube, 40H187*, fol. 25r (Chapin, *Les villes*, 291). See also Chapin, *Les villes*, 254.

¹²⁴ Harmand, *Notice*, 117-118; Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes*, 183; Arbois de Jubainville, "Trois sceaux," 84.

Thibaut IV needed delivered, tasks which eventually fell to Girard and others.¹²⁵ In 1230 Thibaut granted Girard rights in recognition of past actions.¹²⁶

Like Léon de Sézanne and Jean de Flex, Girard went to Navarre on at least one occasion with the count-kings. From September 1236 to April 1238, he accompanied Thibaut IV on his stay in the kingdom. During that time, he witnessed several of Thibaut's acts and charters relating to royal dealings, often with Léon.¹²⁷ In one such document from January 1237, the scribe refers to Girard as "chamberlain of the lord king."¹²⁸ He was also involved in attempts to resolve the conflict in Tudela at the beginning of Thibaut's reign.¹²⁹ During his time in Navarre with the count-king, Girard observed and participated in homage ceremonies, arbitrations, and grants.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ AdJ, v, nos. 1774, 1790, 1798. Without being able to consult the actual documents at this time, I cannot supply more details.

¹²⁶ AdJ, v, no. 2090. See also Chapin, *Les villes*, 129n107. This document is the only mention I have of Girard as Thibaut's chamberlain in Champagne.

¹²⁷ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 139-140 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 218; FDMPV 11, no. 40); AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 236-237 (*El primer cartulario*, nos. 307, 355; FDMPV 11, no. 64); AGN, Comptos, caj. 4, nos. 12, 13 (*El primer cartulario*, nos. 313, 354; FDMPV 11, no. 67; see also AN, J 209, no. 18); AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 229-231 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 302; FDMPV 26, no. 7; FDMPV 11, no. 70; Gabrielle Berrogain, ed., "Documentos para el estudio de las instituciones políticas de Navarra durante las dinastías de Champagne et de Francia," *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 6 (1929): no. iv); AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 242-243 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 314; FDMPV 11, no. 72).

¹²⁸ "chamberlencus domini regis," AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 242-243 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 314; FDMPV 11, no. 72). García Arancón notes this title too but does not supply citations. Based on her references to him, I presume that there are additional documents unknown to me describing him as such. See *Dinastía*, 274, 283; *Teobaldo II*, 102.

¹²⁹ AGN, Comptos, caj. 2, no. 32 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 217; FDMPV 11, no. 57). AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 229-231 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 302; FDMPV 26, no. 7; FDMPV 11, no. 70; Berrogain, "Documentos," no. iv), 236-237 (*El primer cartulario*, nos. 307, 355; FDMPV 11, no. 64), 243-248 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 315; FDMPV 11, no. 61). See also Carmen Orcastegui, "Tudela durante los reinados de Sancho el Fuerte y Teobaldo I (1194-1253)," *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 10 (1975): 87-88 and the sections on Ponce Dumei and León de Sézanne.

¹³⁰ See note 127 above.

To my knowledge, Girard does not appear in the historical record again until 1252 in the fragment of comital accounts from that year carrying out construction in Troyes for Thibaut IV.¹³¹ He acted similarly as one of several *procuratores*—among them Bernard de Montcuq—for Thibaut V’s undertaking to build a new Franciscan residence in Troyes in the late 1250s.¹³² Girard died sometime between December 1259 and July 1260.¹³³

Montcuq, Bernard

Bernard de Montcuq’s activity is well attested in the documentary record.¹³⁴ Presumably from the town of Montcuq southwest of Cahors,¹³⁵ Bernard first surfaces in Champagne as a citizen of Troyes (*ciuis Trecensis*) in the early 1220s when he and his wife, Marguerite, received lifetime freedom from dues and tolls from Thibaut IV in return for an annual sum.¹³⁶ According to Elizabeth Chapin, Marguerite’s father was Étienne de Champguyon, a “person of note” in Troyes, a testament to Bernard’s own prominence in the town despite originating from outside the

¹³¹ BnF, Dupuy 227, f. 317r (*Documents relatifs*, iii, 15). For this neighborhood, see Chapin, *Les villes*, 82-83, 83n127, 90-91. See also Chapin, *Les villes*, 129.

¹³² AD Aube, 13H114 (Apr. 1259), 13H114 (Dec. 1259), 13H119 (Oct. 1259).

¹³³ He is described as deceased in BnF, Latin 17098, fol. 248rv.

¹³⁴ For other overviews of his activity, see Chapin, *Les villes*, 120-122; AdJ, ivb, 508-509; Boutiot, *Histoire*, i, 326n4.

¹³⁵ Boutiot, *Histoire*, i, 326n4. For Montcuq, see Girault de Saint-Fargeau, *Dictionnaire*, ii, 637.

¹³⁶ BnF, MS. 5992, fol. 308v (AdJ, v, n. 1520). Intriguingly, a *Bernard de Moncuc* and a *Bernadon de Moncuc*, both *milites*, appear in a 1203 Navarrese document in which dozens of men, including Bernard and Bernadon, swear fealty to Sancho VII. Our Bernard is never described as a *miles*, however, nor have I been able to establish any connection between him and Navarre. Since Bernard lived into the mid-1260s, it also seems unlikely that we are dealing with the same individual, not to mention the fact that our Bernard does not enter the record until nearly twenty years later. See *El primer cartulario*, no. 28.

county.¹³⁷ In addition to acquiring property and rights in Troyes and elsewhere in Champagne,¹³⁸ he was chamberlain for Thibaut IV from at least August 1230 to February 1231.¹³⁹ Bernard served as mayor of Troyes from 1236 to 1239.¹⁴⁰ In Chapin’s words, Bernard, Girard Mélétaire, and a third mayor were “significant citizens of Troyes and important agents of the count.”¹⁴¹

Unlike many others discussed here—and despite being a “favorite” of Thibaut IV, to quote T. Boutiot¹⁴²—most of the extant documentation of Bernard’s direct work for the count-kings survives only from late in his life when Thibaut V sought to build a new residence for the Franciscans in Troyes at the end of 1250s.¹⁴³ In June 1259 Thibaut approved the exchange and purchases made for the project by Bernard, Thibaut d’Assenay, and Pierre Fourmaget, all citizens and “*procuratores* established by us [Thibaut] towards building a place of the Friars Minor of Troyes.”¹⁴⁴ Thibaut likely issued a charter for each man naming them *procuratores*, although only

¹³⁷ “notable,” Chapin, *Les villes*, 121.

¹³⁸ AD Aube, 10G35 (Feb. 1228 *v.st.*); AD Aube, 31H14bis*, fols. 3r-3v (AdJ, v, 2081), 8v-9v (Henri d’Arbois de Jubainville, ed., “Catalogue d’actes des comtes de Brienne, 950-1356,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes* 22, vol. 1876 (1872), no. 158); BnF, MS. Latin 11926, fols. 336v-338r; BnF, MS. Latin 11926, fol. 338r. For references to other properties and rents held by Bernard, see AD Aube 31H14bis*, fols. 44r-45v (Arbois de Jubainville, “Catalogue,” no. 171); Prévost, “Les Champenois,” 160-161; *Rôles des fiefs*, nos. 1091, 1122; BnF, MS. Latin 17098, fols. 236v, 286v-287r; AD Aube, 10G8 (23 Jan. 1270 *v.st.*); *Documents relatifs*, ii, 495; AN J 202, no. 36 (AdJ, v, no. 3184). See also Chapin, *Les villes*, 121n73.

¹³⁹ AD Aube, 31H14bis*, fols. 3r-3v (AdJ, v, no. 2081); AdJ, v, no. 2055. Bernard acted on his own behalf in both instances yet bore the title of chamberlain.

¹⁴⁰ The charters he redacted as mayor that I have identified are Émile Socard, ed., “Chartes inédites extraits des cartulaires de Molême intéressant un grand nombre de localités du département de l’Aube,” *Mémoires de la Société Académique d’Agriculture* 28 (1864): 342-343; AD Aube, 23H153 (Dec. 1237); AD Aube, E1093 (26 Apr. 1239; Arbois de Jubainville, “Trois sceaux,” 85-86). For a drawing of his seal as mayor based on AD Aube, E1093 (26 Apr. 1239), see Arbois de Jubainville, “Trois sceaux,” 83.

¹⁴¹ “citoyens considérables de Troyes et d’importants agents du comte,” Chapin, *Les villes*, 167.

¹⁴² “favori,” Boutiot, *Histoire*, 316.

¹⁴³ AdJ, ivb, 605n(e).

¹⁴⁴ “*procuratores a nobis constituti ad edificandum locum fratrum minorum trecensum*,” BnF, MS. Latin 5432, fol. 112v (AdJ, v, no. 3172). See also Boutiot, *Histoire*, i, 313-314.

the charter for Girard Mélétaire, another active *procurator*, survives.¹⁴⁵ In this capacity, Bernard and his colleagues undertook Thibaut's business of securing the property and rights needed to build the new Franciscan dwelling. Four months later in October 1259, Bernard, Thibaut d'Assenay, Pierre Fourmaget, and Girard Mélétaire bought a house in the "quarter of the Jews" in Troyes for 40 *s.p.*¹⁴⁶ Two months after that, these same *procuratores*, described in similar terms, made another purchase to that end.¹⁴⁷ The project continued into the 1260s. Sometime before February 1267, when the transaction was approved, the *procuratores* Bernard, Thibaut d'Assenay, and Pierre Fourmaget, "in the name of the said king," acquired the rents from several houses in Troyes for 72 *l.t.*¹⁴⁸ Although it is unclear from the charter itself if the purchase was related to the Friars Minor, Bernard was still working on Thibaut's behalf. As stated therein, Bernard had died by the time the charter was drawn up.

Although the above purchases are among the only surviving instances that Bernard acted on behalf of the count-kings, he nevertheless engaged with them frequently, if sometimes only on parchment. Just two months before Thibaut IV became king of Navarre, the count of Nevers asked Thibaut to guarantee a portion of his debt to Bernard and two knights of 2500 *l.n.*¹⁴⁹ Sometime between then and the following month, Thibaut agreed.¹⁵⁰ A little over a year later, a knight named Adam de Beaumont asked Thibaut that the 30 *l.p.* that he held in fief be paid instead to Bernard,

¹⁴⁵ AD Aube, 13H114 (Apr. 1259; AdJ, v, no. 3164). See below on Girard Mélétaire for the contents of this charter.

¹⁴⁶ "vico iudeorum," AD Aube 13H119 (Oct. 1259).

¹⁴⁷ AD Aube, 13H114 (Dec. 1259). The parchment is damaged where the purchased entity is given. Based on context and the surrounding vocabulary, I would guess that it is a house.

¹⁴⁸ "nomine dicte regis," AD Aube, 13J6 (Feb. 1267).

¹⁴⁹ CCC 57, 2-3 (AdJ, v, no. 2296). The currency is that of Nevers.

¹⁵⁰ CCC 57, 3-4 (AdJ, v, no. 2299).

presumably to go towards a debt.¹⁵¹ As a prominent citizen of Troyes, in April 1241 Bernard was involved in the tax levied upon the town due to its debts that Léon de Sézanne and Jean de Thourotte facilitated.¹⁵² He appears first in the lists of men representing Troyes in the agreement.¹⁵³ The document is also one of only a handful mentioning Bernard that was written in French.¹⁵⁴ Through Jean de Voisines and Robert d'Aulnay, in December 1243 Thibaut purchased Bernard's rights in Nogent-sur-Seine for 200 *l.p.*¹⁵⁵ At some point prior to June 1264, Bernard and Marguerite also sold the count-king a house called *Oriant* in Troyes. Thibaut subsequently sold the house for 1300 *l.t.* to Thibaut d'Assenay and others working on behalf of Pope Urban IV, a native of Troyes, to build a collegiate church dedicated to Saint Urban in the town.¹⁵⁶ Both Thibauts also redacted documents involving him¹⁵⁷ and approved many of his transactions.¹⁵⁸

Bernard was well known for his dealings with Champagne's Templars.¹⁵⁹ In a 1230 document that Thibaut IV redacted, Bernard sold his rights in Rosson and Aillefol as well as his

¹⁵¹ CCC 58, fol. 176r (AdJ, v, no. 2352bis).

¹⁵² AN, J 195, no. 24 (AdJ, v, no. 2561). See also Chapin, *Les villes*, 168-169. See also Boutiot, *Histoire*, i, 328-331.

¹⁵³ A Guillaume and Raimon de Montcuc are also in the list.

¹⁵⁴ The others are AD Aube E1093 (26 Apr. 1239; Arbois de Jubainville, "Trois sceaux," 85-86); AN, J 195, no. 24 (AdJ, v, no. 2561); CCC 57, 350 (AdJ, v, no. 2708); AN J 195, no. 37 (AdJ, v, no. 3088).

¹⁵⁵ Lpo, fols. 527r-528v (CCC 62, 24v-25r; AdJ, v, no. 2660).

¹⁵⁶ AD Aube, 10G29 (June 1264; AdJ, vi, no. 3340). A copy exists in AD Aube, 10G8 (June 1264) and an edition in Lalore, *Collection*, v, 244. For Bernard in other documents involving the foundation of Saint-Urbain, see 10G10 (undated); 10G10 (June 1264). For the project in general, see Boutiot, *Histoire*, i, 376-379.

¹⁵⁷ AdJ, v, no. 2055; A. Vallet de Viriville, *Les archives historiques du département de l'Aube et de l'ancien diocèse de Troyes* (Troyes: Bouquot, 1841), 378-379 (AdJ, v, no. 2222; see also Chapin, *Les villes*, 168n8).

¹⁵⁸ AD Aube 31H14bis*, fol. 3r-3v (AdJ, v, no. 2081); AN S 4959, liasse 39, no. 3; AD Aube 31H14bis*, fol. 10r-10v (AdJ, v, no. 2084); AN, J 195, no. 37 (AdJ, v, no. 3088).

¹⁵⁹ He had one extant encounter with the Hospitallers. In 1238, he and a Girard d'Aubuston were involved in a *controversia* with them surrounding land located between the Hospitaller house of *Oriant* and a Templar house presumably in the same area. Bernard and Marguerite ended up selling the said land to the Hospitallers for 300 *l.p.* AN, S 4958, liasse 35, no. 24.

assarts between the latter, Piney, and Brévonne to the Templars with the count-king's approval.¹⁶⁰ Two years later, Bernard and Marguerite sold the Templars 120 arpents of woods called *li Bateiz*.¹⁶¹ In June 1255 the Templars purchased 2,500 arpents of woods called Der and the *castellaria* of today's Vendevre-sur-Barse from the couple for 5,500 *l.p.*¹⁶² Thibaut, Isabelle, and Marguerite de Bourbon confirmed the transaction that August.¹⁶³ In November 1265 Bernard disputed with the Templars over 3 *s.t.* of rent on 6 arpents of a vineyard in La Rivière-de-Corps and subsequently relinquished his claim to the rent.¹⁶⁴ Both parties also split 3 *bichetes* of oats that the Templars were receiving on that vineyard, for which Bernard requested a *licentia*. The 3 *s.t.* evidently came from holdings associated with Marguerite, for the following April she promised not to obstruct the agreement "by reason of [her] dowry or dower or by hereditary right."¹⁶⁵ Bernard is one of the few officials discussed here who frequently acted in concert with his wife. Finally, within a few years of Bernard's death, his son granted 9 *bichetes* of oats per year from the vineyard in La Rivière-de-Corps to the Templars for his father's soul and for the souls of his ancestors.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ AN, S 4959, liasse 39, no. 3; AD Aube, 31H14bis*, fol. 1r-1v (AdJ, v, no. 2084). See also Boutiot, *Histoire*, i, 316.

¹⁶¹ AN, S 4958, liasse 36, no. 4; AD Aube, 31H14bis*, fol. 8r-8v (Arbois de Jubainville, "Catalogue," no. 168).

¹⁶² AN, S 4958, liasse 35, nos. 26; AD Aube, 31H14bis*, fols. 40v-41v. For later copies, see AN S 4958, liasse 35, no. 27; AD Aube, 31H341 (1705). For an eighteenth-century French translation, see AD Aube, 31H341 (Nov. 1705). Marguerite de Durnay and her son approved the sale in AD Aube, 31H14bis*, fols. 39v-40r. For another related but highly damaged document, see AN, S 4959, liasse 41, no. 1. See also Boutiot, *Histoire*, i, 347-348.

¹⁶³ AN, J 195, no. 37 (AdJ, v, no. 3088); CCC 56, fols. 113r-114r. See also Boutiot, *Histoire*, i, 317. Thibaut and Isabelle confirmed it again in July 1258. AN, S 4958, liasse 35, no. 31.

¹⁶⁴ AN, S 4958, liasse 28, no. 49.

¹⁶⁵ AN, S 4958, liasse 28, no. 2.

¹⁶⁶ AN, S 4958, liasse 28, no. 47.

Ortiz, Lope

Lope Ortiz likely harkened from a secondary line of the Monteagudo family, one of “the three most relevant families of the Navarrese aristocracy.”¹⁶⁷ Lope outlived the Champenois dynasty, although he does not emerge until 1254 as one of many Navarrese men supporting young Thibaut V’s alliance with James I of Aragon.¹⁶⁸ Listed under “men [*homnes*] of Tudela,” Lope then carried the title of *justicia*.¹⁶⁹ Throughout Thibaut V’s reign, however, Lope’s official position changed frequently, and his activity varied. In January 1256 as *baile* of Tudela, he received instructions from Thibaut about comital-royal tithes that should go to Santa María de Tudela.¹⁷⁰ Two months later, along with Clément de Launay and Crestel de Sézanne, he witnessed the appointment of arbiters in a *discordia* between the council of Sangüesa and the Hospitallers, again as *baile*.¹⁷¹ His lone property deal for the count-kings took place in August that same year.¹⁷² With Crestel and Jean de Flex’s council, and “for the good [*bono*] and improvement [*melioramiento*] of

¹⁶⁷ “las tres familias más relevantes de la aristocracia navarra,” María Raquel García Arancón, “Tres linajes navarros bajo la casa de Champaña,” *Aragon en la Edad Media* 14-15, no. 1 (1999): 600. There is a possibility that there were two men called Lope Ortiz active in this period. Lope does not appear with the toponym de Monteagudo until March 1276 (AN J 614, no. 101). Even then, the text itself only names him as “don lop ortiz justicia et baile de Tudela.” Comparing the partial seal from the document with that from another of the same year reveals that the seals, however, bear the phrase “D Montagv.” Faustino Menéndez Pidal et al., *Sellos medievales de Navarra. Estudio y corpus descriptivo* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1995), 598. I do not know of any earlier extant seals as the one earlier charter I have found that he redacted (FDMPV 63, no. 33) only has witnesses. Since Lope Ortiz de Monteagudo also held the positions of *justicia* and *baile* of Tudela as well as the honor of Lor (see below), as the Lope Ortiz without the Monteagudo did, I am inclined to believe that these references point to one person. Modern scholars, none of whom address the issue directly, are divided.

¹⁶⁸ FDMPV 7, no. 13.

¹⁶⁹ “Homnes de Tudela,” FDMPV 7, no. 13.

¹⁷⁰ The document is a vidimus, AET, no. 355. It is edited in FDMPV 7, no. 16, but the dating clauses differ slightly.

¹⁷¹ FDMPV 63, no. 32.

¹⁷² FDMPV 63, no. 33. According to García Arancón, the transaction is the sole example of a *baile* redacting a charter in this period, however Lope also redacted FDMPV 75, no. 31. *Teobaldo II*, 135n55. See also *Teobaldo II*, 182. It is unclear where Thibaut resided for most of 1256.

lord Thibaut,” Lope exchanged vineyards with Bono, a Jew from Tudela.¹⁷³ He described himself in the charter as *baile* of Tudela and as *baile* “of the lord king.”¹⁷⁴ Lope retained the position at least through 1259 and had returned as *justicia* by that time too, as he turns up thusly receiving and disbursing payments in kind in the accounts from that year.¹⁷⁵ By 1261 Martín Pérez de Morentin was *baile* of Tudela, and Lope—witnessing a sale on Thibaut’s behalf by Clément, Crestel, and Miguel de Undiano—remained *justicia*.¹⁷⁶ Yet in the 1266 accounts, Lope appeared without title but gained the revenues from Lor.¹⁷⁷ By 1268 he was appointed *baile* of the Jews of Tudela¹⁷⁸ and likely ended the decade as *justicia*, his last known position during Thibaut V’s reign.¹⁷⁹

Under Henri III, Lope took on both roles, *justicia* and *baile* of Tudela, sometimes simultaneously.¹⁸⁰ At Henri’s command in March 1271, Lope and others were tasked with managing Tudela’s allegations of *fuerças*.¹⁸¹ Five months later, seneschal Roldán Pérez de Eransus wrote to Lope and others regarding another complaint from Tudela, referring to Lope as *baile* and

¹⁷³ “pro bono et melioramiento domini Theobaldo,” FDMPV 63, no. 33.

¹⁷⁴ “domini regis,” FDMPV 63, no. 33.

¹⁷⁵ *Registros*, 111, no. 691; 116, no. 807; 135-138, nos. 1190-1265.

¹⁷⁶ FDMPV 63, no. 45.

¹⁷⁷ *Registros*, 325, no. 3472. He also appears in *Registros*, 191, no. 580; 209, no. 975; 319, no. 3329. García Arancón labels him *justicia* in *Teobaldo II*, 160, but *Registros*, 192, no. 588; 211, no. 1013; 227, no. 1359; 237, nos. 1542, 1550; 329, no. 3557; 347, no. 3928 name Miguel Baldovin *justicia*.

¹⁷⁸ *Teobaldo II*, 137. Miguel Baldovin appears as *baile* and *justicia* of Tudela in late 1267 and early 1268. AMT, A 17 (FDMPV 7, no. 60); AMT, A 39. He died sometime between 29 February and 30 September 1268. AMT, A19.

¹⁷⁹ *Teobaldo II*, 179.

¹⁸⁰ For other examples of similar dual holdings, see *Teobaldo II*, 135n56.

¹⁸¹ AMT, A 23 (FDMPV 62, no. 7). See also *Dinastía*, 258.

justicia of the town and, possibly, royal chamberlain.¹⁸² That November, he comes up in a long witness list for a comital-royal agreement, described simply as a *caballero* along with several others who likewise lack greater description.¹⁸³

Lope maintained his prominent status in Tudela into Jeanne's minority and beyond. During Pedro Sánchez de Monteaudo's tenure as governor, Lope was involved in the negotiations to put either the future Pedro III of Aragon or his son on the Navarrese throne.¹⁸⁴ As part of Navarre's contingent in Tarazona in October 1274, he watched as Pedro "seduced the Navarrese *Cortes*," to borrow Xavier Hélyary's phrase, and presented his claim to Navarre through Sancho VII's mutual adoption of Pedro's father prior to Thibaut IV's accession.¹⁸⁵ He also harbored intentions to marry his son to Jeanne, sweetened with pledges of protecting the kingdom and honoring its customs.¹⁸⁶ As *justicia* of Tudela, Lope is last in the list of those present. Barely two weeks later, he and over one hundred others swore homage to Pedro.¹⁸⁷ After the plan came to naught, Lope had to deal with more local matters. Apparently, he had neglected to execute fully Thibaut V's 1256 command

¹⁸² AMT, A 26. The text is ambiguous. The clause naming recipients reads "to the sacristan of Santa María de Tudela and to don Lope Ortiz *baile* and *justicia* of Tudela and chamberlain of the lord king and to don Pedro Ochoa moneychanger of Tudela [*al sagristan de santa maria de Tudela et a don Lop ortiz baile et justicia de Tudela et Cambarlengo del Seynnor Rey et a don Per ochoa Cambiador de Tudela*]." The chamberlain could be referring to an unnamed individual, or, since there is no "to [a]" or "to the [a]" in front of it, as there is for the other recipients, it could refer back to Lope. I have found no other evidence, however, to suggest that he was chamberlain. As far as I know, Crestel de Sézanne and Miguel de Undiano were the only chamberlains during Henri's reign. *Teobaldo II*, 104.

¹⁸³ AN, J 613 no. 7 (AdJ, vi, no. 3695); Michel, *Histoire*, ii, 750-753. The manuscript has been damaged just after Lope's name, but the letters "cavall" and the abbreviation symbol for "er" are still visible before the tear in question. For the nobles' right to hold such negotiations, see María Raquel García Arancón, "Los ricoshombres navarros y la realeza a mediados del siglo XIII," in *Estudios dedicados a la memoria del profesor L.M. Díez de Salazar Fernández* (Bilbao: Servicio Editorial Universidad del País Vasco, 1992), 189.

¹⁸⁴ For the negotiations and resulting documents, see Hélyary, "L'ost de France," 307-308; Lacarra, *Historia política*, ii, 208-214, 216; Gallego Gallego, *Enrique I*, 62-70.

¹⁸⁵ "il séduisit les *Cortes* navarraises," Hélyary, "L'ost de France," 308.

¹⁸⁶ AN, J 613, no. 8 (AdJ, vi, no. 3803; Michel, *Histoire*, ii, 394-396).

¹⁸⁷ Michel, *Histoire*, ii, 391-393. An uprising in Barcelona brought an end to the scheme. Lacarra, *Historia política*, ii, 216; Gallego Gallego, *Enrique I*, 70.

that Santa María de Tudela gain Thibaut's tithes.¹⁸⁸ For in January 1275 Pedro Sánchez de Monteagudo notified Lope of the chapter's complaint against him and the result of the official investigation into the chapter's claims.¹⁸⁹ In consequence, the governor ordered Lope, *baile* and *justicia*, to pay them properly each year.

Lope's position as a visible player did not diminish under Philip III's French governors. When Bernardo, lord of Garro, and Gil García de Olcoz drew up the joint receipt for their annual stipend in March 1276, they asked Lope to seal it for them since they did not have seals themselves.¹⁹⁰ Lope had received his own payment earlier that month.¹⁹¹ The same year, as *justicia* and *baile* and for the castle (*castillo*) of Fontellas and the tower of Monreal, Lope did homage to Jeanne through Humbert de Beaujeu, lord of Montpensier and constable of France.¹⁹² He also witnessed Pedro García de Andosilla's homage.¹⁹³ In late 1277, however, Lope ran afoul of the people of Tudela. Based on Lope's own account, Philip III communicated the situation to the governor at the time, Renaud de Rouvray: "it was permitted that he [Lope] be Tudelan *justicia* and *baile* for a long time and guard the *pedagia*, *cellaria*, and other rights of Queen Jeanne of Navarre...and of the three kings who were kings of Navarre before her. Nevertheless, those Tudelans, agitating and inciting the Tudelan people on their own authority, newly seized the very *pedagia*, *cellaria*, and other rights of the queen of Navarre herself. And tearing out the rails and

¹⁸⁸ The initial command is FDMPV 7, no. 16.

¹⁸⁹ AET, no. 355.

¹⁹⁰ AN, J 614, no. 101 (Michel, *Histoire*, ii, 465, no. 103).

¹⁹¹ AN, J 614, no. 92 (Michel, *Histoire*, ii, 459, no. 74). Strangely, the text states that neither Lope nor the others mentioned in the charter have their own seals. Seventeen days separate this charter and the one that Lope sealed later in the month.

¹⁹² FDMPV 75, no. 31. For Lope's seal attached to this document, see Menéndez Pidal, *Sellos medievales*, 598.

¹⁹³ FDMPV 75, no. 58.

laying bare the doors, they put officials and *bailes* out of their place through violence, expelling officials and *bailes* whom the aforementioned Lope previously held there. And additionally, they are not allowing the aforementioned Lope to enter the town or dwell in it.”¹⁹⁴ Philip then instructed Renaud to inquire into the conflict and do what was necessary so that the rights “may be restored to an appropriate and time-honored status.”¹⁹⁵ Lope was eventually permitted back into the town (though after how long is unclear), however he holds no stated offices in any of the remaining extant documents that mention him. Yet he did not lose prominence. In the accounts from Navarrese *bailes* for 1283, Lope received multiple cash payments in return for military activity.¹⁹⁶ He had stationed and provisioned twenty men at Cascante,¹⁹⁷ twelve at Fontellas, and seven at Mirapeix, the latter two “on account of the war [*guerram*].”¹⁹⁸ Fontellas was located roughly halfway between Navarre’s southwestern-most and southeastern-most frontiers with Castile and Aragon, respectively, and Mirapeix lay on the Aragonese border. Philip III, still in control of Navarre, had serious issues with both neighbors in this period.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ “licet fuerit iusticiarius et baiulus tutelanus longo tempore ac custodierit pedagia cellaria et alia iura regine Iohanne nauarre...et trium regum qui ante ipsam fuerint reges nauarre nichilominus quidem tutelenses commouentes et stimulantés populum tutelanium auctoritate propria de nouo occupauerunt ipsa pedagia cellaria et alia iura ipsius regine nauarre et iuillentes seras et aperiantes portas per uolenciam posuerunt ministros et baiulos ex parte sua eiectis ministris et baiulis quos dictus lupus prius ibidem tenebat et insuper dictum lupum non permitunt intrare uillam nec habitare in ipsa,” AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 3, fol. 3v (FDMPV 61, no. 96; *Cartulario de FIII*, no. 16).

¹⁹⁵ “reducantur ad statum debitum et antiquum [sic],” AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 3, fol. 3v (FDMPV 61, no. 96; *Cartulario de FIII*, no. 16).

¹⁹⁶ BnF, Latin 10150, fol. 5r. See also Michel, *Histoire*, ii, 459n1. The sums listed for the itemized payments do not add up to the total. He also shows up on 31r for 1284 and likely elsewhere.

¹⁹⁷ For the connection between the lordships of Monteagudo and Cascante, see García Arancón, “Tres linajes navarros,” 599n1, 607; García Arancón, “Los ricoshombres navarros,” 200.

¹⁹⁸ “propter guerram,” BnF Latin 10150, fol. 5r.

¹⁹⁹ Xavier Hélary, *L’armée du roi de France: La guerre de Saint Louis à Philippe le Bel* (Paris: Perrin, 2012), 140-143; Hélary, “L’ost de France,” 329-335; 346-348; Gallego Gallego, *Enrique I*, 126-136; T. N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 86-90; Joseph R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 10-11, 371; Lacarra, *Historia política*, ii, 231-234; Joseph R. Strayer, “The Crusade Against Aragon,” *Speculum* 28, no. 1 (Jan. 1953): 102-113.

Lope surfaced two times once Jeanne and Philip the Fair had taken up the Navarrese and French thrones. In Tudela in March 1287, he witnessed the extensive lease of multiple lordships by Jeanne's governor, Guérin d'Amplepuis, and two others.²⁰⁰ In his final appearance, Lope returned to the greater Iberian stage. During what Joseph R. Strayer calls the "phantom war"²⁰¹ that followed the Sicilian Vespers and Philip III's failed crusade against Pedro III of Aragon, Charles of Valois, Philip's son and brother of Philip the Fair, continued to press his claim to the Aragonese throne first promised to him in 1283 by Pope Martin IV. Half-heartedly seeking to back his brother and sow discord in Aragon, Philip the Fair made overtures to discontented Aragonese nobles through Guérin d'Amplepuis on Charles's behalf.²⁰² In late June 1288 in Mallén, just southeast of Navarre, these barons outlined their terms for supporting Charles as king of Aragon against its current king, Alfonso III.²⁰³ At the end of the document, Lope and four other men, "according to the governor's command, did homage [*homagium*] to the aforementioned barons that the above [conditions] would be maintained."²⁰⁴ Lope evidently had recovered enough of his former status to take part in negotiations of this caliber.

²⁰⁰ FDMPV 75, nos. 98, 99.

²⁰¹ Strayer, "The Crusade Against Aragon," 111.

²⁰² Strayer, "The Crusade Against Aragon," 105-106; Gallego Gallego, *Enrique I*, 135, 149-150; Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon*, 88; Lacarra, *Historia política*, ii, 233-234; Langlois, *La règne*, 146-150. For the initial offer of Aragon to Charles and final terms, see École française de Rome, ed., *Les registres de Martin IV (1281-1285)* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1901), nos. 455, 580, respectively.

²⁰³ FDMPV 75, no. 102. For a more detailed breakdown of the terms, see Yanguas y Miranda, *Diccionario*, iii, 54-56.

²⁰⁴ "de mandato gubernatoris fecerint homagium predictis baronibus ut superius continetur," FDMPV 75, no. 102.

Pouan, Guillaume

In May 1243 Thibaut IV purchased the rights over a pastry cook named Berthélemi Coquin together with his family and their rights and belongings through Guillaume de Pouan, *prévôt* of Troyes.²⁰⁵ Little more is known about Guillaume de Pouan except that his unnamed wife appears in the *Rôles des fiefs* holding a rear-fief in Troyes.²⁰⁶

Rivile, mayor of Saint-Florentin

The charter documenting Rivile's purchase for Thibaut IV in 1249 is the only source for the mayor (*maior*) of Saint-Florentin that I have found.²⁰⁷ On the other hand, Saint-Florentin's status as a commune and its location along Champagne's border zone with Burgundy made the town's mayor a key figure in maintaining the count-king's sovereignty and lands.²⁰⁸

Sézanne, Crestel

At least according to surviving records, Crestel de Sézanne was only active in Navarre, unlike his father, Léon de Sézanne, who frequently journeyed with the count-king between Champagne and Navarre. In December 1252 together with Guillén de Las Barras, *preboste* of Estella, he purchased palaces (*palacios*) and rights to several villages from the abbess of Marcilla

²⁰⁵ Lpo, fols. 527v-527r (AdJ, v, 2643).

²⁰⁶ *Rôles des fiefs*, no. 1140.

²⁰⁷ Lpo, fol. 331r (AdJ, v, no. 2853).

²⁰⁸ Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes*, 48-49, 52-53, 84.

for the count-king for 650 *s.s.*²⁰⁹ Under Thibaut IV, he also resolved a dispute with Miguel de Undiano, his most common partner.²¹⁰

Crestel does not appear again until three years into Thibaut V's reign when he witnessed the naming of arbiters in a dispute in Sangüesa.²¹¹ He acted as witness in other charters from 1256²¹² and 1264 as well.²¹³ As Thibaut V's chamberlain, Crestel also facilitated many of the second count-king's property transactions in his kingdom, all while he was out of Navarre.²¹⁴ With the count-king in Champagne in October 1258, Crestel bought several mills in Larraga from local residents for 3,000 *s.s.*²¹⁵ Among other activities with his fellow treasurer, Crestel worked with Miguel de Undiano on multiple comital-royal purchasing deals. During the winter of 1261, the two men plus seneschal Clément de Launay secured all of Juan Pérez de Baztan's rights and property in the village of Villazuruz in exchange for Thibaut's dwellings in Tudela and two gardens elsewhere.²¹⁶ The trio also handled another exchange in May 1263 whereby Thibaut gained the hospital of Roncesvalles's rights in Tiebas and Iranzu.²¹⁷ Other comital-royal agents on the count-king's business sought Crestel's counsel (*consilium/consello*) in property matters. In an exchange

²⁰⁹ FDMPV 11, no. 155.

²¹⁰ FDMPV 26, no. 15. I discuss Miguel below.

²¹¹ FDMPV 63, no. 32. García Arancón gives a brief overview of some of his work for Thibaut V in *Teobaldo II*, 103n120.

²¹² FDMPV 84, nos. 62, 63.

²¹³ FDMPV 63, no. 56.

²¹⁴ It is worth pointing out that during parts of Thibaut V's reign, Navarre had a Champenois chamberlain while Champagne had a Navarrese. *Teobaldo II*, 102-103.

²¹⁵ FDMPV 63, no. 40. For a more in-depth breakdown of the transaction, see *Teobaldo II*, 177.

²¹⁶ FDMPV 63, no. 45. For a more in-depth breakdown of the transaction, see *Teobaldo II*, 183.

²¹⁷ FDMPV 63, no. 50. For a more in-depth breakdown of the transaction, see *Teobaldo II*, 183-184.

from 1256, Lope Ortiz sought Crestel and Jean de Flex's "counsel and will and command."²¹⁸ Similarly, Clément de Launay, in his corresponding charter of the aforementioned exchange with Roncesvalles, stated that he acted "with the counsel" of Crestel and Miguel.²¹⁹

Crestel participated in other types of transactions. In June 1260 at his and Clément's entreaty (*rogaria*) and in the presence of Miguel, Gil and María de Rada granted Thibaut the right to a dike and the water that ran through it.²²⁰ Thibaut was then in Champagne. Lastly, after donating village rights to Santa Engracia de Pamplona in 1263, Teresa Ibáñez, mother of García Almoravid, placed the rights in the hands of Bartolomé, Thibaut's *ballestero* (crossbowman), who was acting "in the voice of [*en uoz de*]" Crestel.²²¹ Later in the text, Bartolomé is described as acting in the voice of both Thibaut and Crestel on two other occasions.²²²

In five charters from Thibaut V's reign, Crestel surfaces in a closing clause in which the scribe listed the names of various leaders and officials.²²³ For example, in a lease from 1262, the lines immediately preceding the dating and scribal clauses read "Ruling, the king lord Thibaut in Navarre, count palatine of Champagne and Brie; lord Pedro Jimenez de Gazólaz, bishop in Pamplona; lord Clément de Launay, seneschal of Navarre; lord Crestel de Sézanne, holder [*tenidor*] of the castle [*castel*] of Estella; lord Pedro de Larrasoaña, *alcalde* there; lord Juan de

²¹⁸ "consilio et voluntate et precepto," FDMPV 63, no. 33. For a more in-depth breakdown of the transaction, see *Teobaldo II*, 182.

²¹⁹ FDMPV 63, no. 49 (Ostolaza, *Colección Diplomática*, no. 197).

²²⁰ FDMPV 63, no. 44 (Quiroga, "Filiación," 449).

²²¹ FDMPV 73, Documentos en romance de Navarra, no. 4.

²²² See chapter 2.

²²³ According to García Arancón, scribes ceased including these clauses after Thibaut V's reign, with one exception in 1272. *Dinastía*, 262, 289; *Teobaldo II*, 346.

Colantes, alcalde in la Población; Pedro de Bearin, *preboste*; Pedro Ibáñez de Arbeizar, *sayón*.”²²⁴

Four other documents mention him in this capacity as holder of the castle of Estella, confirming that he held the position in at least 1258, 1261, 1265, and 1269.²²⁵ Crestel also enjoyed income from Caparroso²²⁶ and the castle of Tiebas²²⁷ in 1259 as well as Olaz²²⁸ and Górriz²²⁹ in 1266. Under Henri III, Crestel retained the position of chamberlain with Miguel de Undiano²³⁰ and witnessed a sale to the count-king in 1272.²³¹

Crestel outlasted all three count-kings, and he remained chamberlain through Blanche of Artois’s regency. In January 1275 governor Pedro Sánchez de Monteagudo sought the counsel (*consello*) of chamberlains Crestel, Crestel’s son,²³² and Martín de Undiano—Miguel’s son—in a dispute between Lope Ortiz and Santa María de Tudela.²³³ Three months later, he received two

²²⁴ “Regnant lo rey don Thibalt en Nauarra, compte de Campaynna, palazin de Bria. Don Pero Sementz de Gatzçolatz bispe en Pampalona. Don Climent de Launay seneschal de Nauarra. Don Creste de Cesana tenidor del castel d’Estela Dom Pere de Larressoyanna ali alcayet. Dom Johan de Colantes alcalde en la Poblacion. Don Pero de Bearin preuost. Pere Yuaynnes de Arbeyça sayon,” FDMPV 26, no. 50.

²²⁵ FDMPV 63, no. 40; FDMPV 26, nos. 52, 53, 58. It was common for prominent nobles to hold these honorary positions. García Arancón argues that they were not responsible for the physical upkeep and defense of the castle but rather simply received its revenue. *Teobaldo II*, 347-348. See also García Arancón, “Los ricoshombres navarros,” 197-198.

²²⁶ *Registros*, 116, no. 822. Crestel appears frequently throughout these accounts and collected revenues in several instances.

²²⁷ *Registros*, 149, no. 1462.

²²⁸ *Registros*, 178, nos. 239, 247; 181, no. 305; 306, no. 3026; 312, no. 3173.

²²⁹ *Registros*, 349, no. 3989. These *honoros* did not entail control over these areas, as they had before the advent of the count-kings, but rather kept power in royal hands while still allowing nobles to gain the revenue from such holdings and the prestige that came with it. See García Arancón, “Tres linajes navarros,” 600, 612-613; García Arancón, “Los ricoshombres navarros,” 198, 199-200, 201.

²³⁰ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 106-107.

²³¹ AGN, Comptos, caj. 3, no. 58 (FDMPV 62, no. 38).

²³² The document names this son “maestre Raal.” I have found evidence of a son Michel, but this is the only instance I have seen in either primary or secondary sources for a son Raal. AET, no. 355. For Michel, see *Teobaldo II*, 104-105, 140; *Dinastía*, 283.

²³³ AET, no. 355.

requests on Philip III's behalf to release one of Jeanne's wards into another's custody.²³⁴ Crestel even survives in contemporary literature. The soldier Guillaume Anelier de Toulouse, in his lengthy poem narrating the prelude and events of the War of the Navarrería of 1276, condemned Crestel for having backed Henri III's dissolution of Pamplonese urban unification, writing, "There was the lord Crestel who was supporting it, because he was asked by those whom God cursed, who was the chamberlain of the king and who could [have] one hundred times more [power] in the court than belonged to him."²³⁵ Later in the poem, Anelier refers to him as "Sir Crestel, who knows much."²³⁶ He died sometime between April 1275 and February 1277.²³⁷

Sézanne, Léon

Léon de Sézanne was one of the few comital-royal officials who worked in both Champagne and Navarre alongside the count-kings.²³⁸ From one of Champagne's "obscure

²³⁴ AGN, Comptos, caj. 3, no. 80 (FDMPV 75, no. 6); AGN, Comptos, caj. 3, no. 76 (FDMPV 75, no. 7).

²³⁵ *Aquí era En Crestel que aiço afortia, / Quar el era preguatz de cels cui Deus maldia / Que era chanbarlenc del rei e que podia / Cent tantz mais en la cort que a el no s tainnia,*" Anelier, *La Guerra de Navarra*, i, fol. 15v (Michel, *Histoire*, i, lines 523-526). García Arancón also translates this and the subsequent two sections in *Dinastía*, 260-262.

²³⁶ "e'N Cristel que sap pro," Anelier, *La Guerra de Navarra*, i, fol. 42v (Michel, *Histoire*, i, line 1470).

²³⁷ In both February and August 1277, Philip III directed payments to Crestel's heirs (*heredibus*). AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 3, fols. 16r (FDMPV 61, no. 17; *Cartulario de FIII*, no. 107), 16r (FDMPV 61, no. 43; *Cartulario de FIII*, no. 106). The latter specifically refers to him as deceased (*defunti*). In a similar document, Philip directed a payment to Crestel himself, but the missive has no year, despite being dated by the editor to 1278. Crestel was already dead at that point. AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 3, fol. 22r (FDMPV 61, no. 102; *Cartulario de FIII*, no. 146).

²³⁸ There is some implicit disagreement between nineteenth-century scholars as to the number of Léons who were active in this period. A. Millard, writing in 1897, suggested that the same Léon who was *receveur* in 1228 is the same Léon discussed here, but Arbois de Jubainville, writing from 1859 to 1869, did not include 1228 in his list of years in which Léon appears in this role. Moreover, Millard used the fact that Léon's daughter was in possession of some of his holdings in 1262 as evidence that he had died by that point, but Arbois de Jubainville had no qualms about her possessing some of her father's property while he was still alive. Longnon, without giving evidence, says that Léon died around 1267. We also know from a seventeenth-century account of a tomb inscription that a Léon de Sézanne died in 1272. A. Millard, *Histoire de Sézanne* (Sézanne: A. Patoux, 1897), 113-117; AdJ, ivb, 470-471; A. de Barthélemy, "Carreaux. Historiés et vernissés du XIIIe siècle," *Bulletin Monumental* 56 (1890): 253-257. Longnon notes the possibility of multiple Léons for the thirteenth century as well. *Livre des vassaux*, 294. For the various Léons before and after this period, see Millard, *Histoire de Sézanne*, 113-118.

families”²³⁹ with a “noble heart,”²⁴⁰ he held property primarily in Provins and had multiple formal roles depending on where he and the count-kings resided at a particular time.²⁴¹ In mid-August 1237 while with Thibaut during the count-king’s second stay in Navarre, Léon first entered the historical record in relation to the conflict with Tudela and participated in its resolution.²⁴² Léon was chamberlain only of Navarre and is described as such only in Navarrese documents.²⁴³ He remained in Navarre for the duration of the count-king’s visit and continued on comital-royal business during that time. In early 1237 he witnessed a lifetime grant and subsequent act of homage in Olite²⁴⁴ and another act of homage, characterized simply as “*franco*,” that September.²⁴⁵ As chamberlain, he collected a payment to the count-king²⁴⁶ and witnessed a marriage contract involving Thibaut’s illegitimate daughter Alix and the son of the lord of Albarracín.²⁴⁷ Taking up the office of “majordomo [*maiordompno*] of...the king, Lord Thibaut” in April 1238, Léon was

²³⁹ “familles obscures,” AdJ, ivb, 570.

²⁴⁰ “cœur noble,” Millard, *Histoire de Sézanne*, 116.

²⁴¹ *Documents relatifs*, i, no. 6225; Provins, Bibliothèque municipale de Provins, MS. 241, fols. 10rv, 130rv (AdJ, v, no. 3169). See also *Dinastia*, 274.

²⁴² AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 236-237 (*El primer cartulario*, nos. 307, 255; FDMPV 11, no. 64); AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 229-231 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 302; FDMPV 26, no. 7; FDMPV 11, no. 70). For the dispute, see chapter 2.

²⁴³ For example, AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 236-237 (*El primer cartulario*, nos. 307, 255; FDMPV 11, no. 64).

²⁴⁴ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 139-140 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 218; FDMPV 11, no. 40; Moret, *Anales*, iii, 10-11).

²⁴⁵ AN, J 209, no. 18 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 313, 354; FDMPV 11, no. 67).

²⁴⁶ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 186 (FDMPV 11, no. 68). See also chapter 2.

²⁴⁷ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 236 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 306; FDMPV 11, no. 77). See also chapter 2.

present in Tudela for a charter documenting another agreement between the count-king and the lord of Albarracín.²⁴⁸ He likely returned to France as part of Thibaut's retinue in April 1238.

Léon does not appear again in extant records until after Thibaut returned from crusading in the East at the end of 1240, although Arbois de Jubainville postulates that Léon was working with Jean de Voisines during that time.²⁴⁹ In April 1241 Léon took on the role, if not the title, of *receveur* when Thibaut tasked him and Jean de Thourotte with handling the new tax in Troyes.²⁵⁰ Sometime before that date, Léon had also gained the status of *miles/chevalier*. By November 1242 he was *baile* of Sézanne, as indicated by a charter in which he had to assess the value of a fief that the count-king had granted to Eustache de Conflans in exchange for rights in Chapelaine.²⁵¹ Léon then accompanied Thibaut back to Navarre, arriving around June 1243 and staying until sometime around March 1246. During that time, he witnessed a homage ceremony.²⁵²

Léon had returned to France by at least April and Thibaut by May 1246.²⁵³ That year in Champagne, Léon facilitated two comital-royal property transactions, likely when Thibaut was also in the region. In April he paid 100 *l.p.* for Thibaut's purchase of a seven-*l.* fief-rent in Eclance.²⁵⁴ Four months later, Thibaut dispatched Léon to buy Jean de Crecy's rights and property

²⁴⁸ "maiordompno del sobredicho rei don Thibalt," AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 235-236 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 305; FDMPV 11, no. 80).

²⁴⁹ AdJ, ivb, 470. For the crusade and its prelude, see Michael Lower, *The Barons' Crusade: A Call to Arms and Its Consequences* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

²⁵⁰ AN, J 195, no. 24 (AdJ, v, no. 2561). See also Chapin, *Les villes*, 168-169; Boutiot, *Histoire*, i, 328-331. See also chapter 2.

²⁵¹ CCC 58, fols. 55r-56v (AdJ, v, no. 2625).

²⁵² AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 143-144 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 221; FDMPV 11, no. 101).

²⁵³ Recently excommunicated by the bishop of Pamplona, Thibaut was in Lyon at the papal court on 24 May 1246 enlisting Innocent IV's intervention. AdJ, iv, 330. Before that, I can last place Thibaut in Estella on 18 April 1245. AGN, Comptos, caj. 2, no. 57-1 (AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 78; FDMPV 11, no. 115).

²⁵⁴ Lpo, fols. 529v-529r (AdJ, v, no. 2738).

in Creney[-près-Troyes].²⁵⁵ The two men traveled to Navarre again in the autumn of 1247. In Olite that 22 November, León was once again present at a homage swearing in the royal palace²⁵⁶ and was witness to three surety pledges the same day.²⁵⁷ In March of the next year he witnessed an agreement between Thibaut and the *francos* of Estella.²⁵⁸ In his final appearance of this his third and penultimate spell in Navarre, Simon V de Montfort named León as one of Thibaut's two representatives in the ongoing conflict between the count-king and Henry III of England over Gascony.²⁵⁹

By the end of 1249 both León and Thibaut were back in Champagne when Thibaut ordered the inquest later known as the *Rôles des fiefs* that would last until 1251.²⁶⁰ León participated in carrying out the inquest and appears in its records as a fief-holder and a *plegius de rachato*.²⁶¹ With Jean de Voisines in late 1249 and mid-1250, he made payments on Thibaut's behalf.²⁶² With Jean

²⁵⁵ AN, J 195, no. 27 (Lpo, fol. 530v; AdJ, v, no. 2757).

²⁵⁶ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 124-126, 146-148, 148-150 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 197, 225; FDMPV 11, no. 119).

²⁵⁷ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 141-143 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 220; FDMPV 11, no. 121); AGN, Comptos, caj. 2, no. 59-1 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 222; FDMPV 85, no. 27); AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 146-148 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 223; FDMPV 11, no. 120).

²⁵⁸ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 151-153 (*El primer cartulario*, no. 228; FDMPV 11, no. 126; FDMPV 26, no. 228).

²⁵⁹ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 1, 281-282 (FDMPV 85, no. 33). For the conflict, see *Dinastía*, 200-213; María Raquel García Arancón, "Relaciones políticas entre el Bearne, la Gascuña y Navarra," in *Congreso el Fuero de San Sebastián y su época* (San Sebastián: Sociedad de Estudios Vascos, 1982), 515-521; *Teobaldo II*, 53, 61, 62, 71, 242-245; AdJ, iv, 329-330, 374-382.

²⁶⁰ The results of the inquest are edited in *Rôles des fiefs*. For a study of them, see *Aristocracy*, 46-50; Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes*, 69-91.

²⁶¹ *Aristocracy*, 48; *Rôles des fiefs*, nos. 824, 1068-1070.

²⁶² AN, J 202 no. 27 (AdJ, v, no. 2891); CCC 58, fols. 151r-151v (AdJ, v, no. 2936).

de Thourotte²⁶³ and with others,²⁶⁴ he engaged in fief-holding matters related to the count-king. Acting for Thibaut once more, he purchased rights to Avrolles from Seier de Ganz, *armiger* and lord of Saint-Sépulcre, and his wife, Alix, for 106 *l.p.*²⁶⁵

Extant documentation suggests that Léon's last act for Thibaut IV took place during Thibaut's fifth stay in Navarre in January 1252 when he witnessed Thibaut's exchange of rights to landed property with Martín Aznárez de Sada and his wife.²⁶⁶ Léon does not surface in charters again until a decade later in 1262 when Thibaut V approved the sale of property adjacent to one of Léon's holdings.²⁶⁷ Three and a half years later he also bought property for himself in Provins.²⁶⁸ Finally, he was part of an inquest in February 1268.²⁶⁹ Léon was one of the few comital-royal officials to work for more than one count-king. His son Crestel was another.

Thourotte, Jean III

Jean III de Thourotte, castellan of Noyon and Thourotte, was very well connected. He was the uncle of Thibaut IV's third wife, Marguerite de Bourbon, brother to the bishops of Verdun and

²⁶³ AN, J 196, no. 38 (CCC 58, fol. 23r; AdJ, v, no. 2995).

²⁶⁴ AN, J 202, no. 39 (CCC 58, fols. 58r-59v; AdJ, v, no. 2923).

²⁶⁵ Lpo, fols. 424r-425v (AdJ, v, no. 2945).

²⁶⁶ FDMPV 85, no. 38.

²⁶⁷ AD Aube, 4bisH11 (1261). Léon and his daughter appear in the *Livre des homages* of Thibaut V, created sometime during his reign. See *Documents relatifs*, i, nos. 5495, 6225, 6230, 6254. He also appears in Blanche of Artois's inquest of 1274-1275, but the scholars in note 239 and some of the entries that mention him agree that he had died by then. See *Documents relatifs*, i, nos. 6459, 6621, 6654, 6819.

²⁶⁸ Lpo, fols. 452v-452r.

²⁶⁹ CCC 57, 165-168 (AdJ, vi, no. 3467). See also CCC 57 156-158 (AdJ, vi, no. 3406); CCC 57, 159-161 (AdJ, vi, no. 3477). See chapter 2.

Langres, nephew to the bishop of Laon, and great-great nephew of Louis VII.²⁷⁰ Thibaut appointed him a governor of Champagne in 1237, a post that he held until 1251, and *bouteiller* (“butler”) in 1250.²⁷¹ Thibaut V even listed Jean among the executors of his will and elsewhere called him “our most beloved kinsman [*consanguinis*],”²⁷² all indications of his intimacy with the comital-royal family. He administered Champagne with another governor during Thibaut IV’s many absences from the county²⁷³ and only took on the title of *vices gerens*, akin to “vice regent,” when the count-king was in Navarre.²⁷⁴ During that time, Jean settled Thibaut’s debts;²⁷⁵ granted permission to elect new abbots;²⁷⁶ managed disputes;²⁷⁷ and dealt with homage and fief-holding matters.²⁷⁸ He also purchased fief rents and woodland and exchanged serfs for the first count-king in 1238, 1240, and 1244, all while Thibaut was absent from Champagne.²⁷⁹ Although he operated primarily by himself in these latter transactions, he joined forces with Jean de Voisines, dean of Saint-Quiriace, on at least one occasion extant in the record.²⁸⁰ Jean’s work did not stop when Thibaut returned to

²⁷⁰ Olivier Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes. Affirmation et déclin de la seigneurie épiscopale au nord du royaume de France (Beauvais-Noyon, Xe-début XIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Droz, 1987), 212, 273. See also 211-219 for the earlier history of this family. The bishops were all present when Thibaut IV notoriously burned Bulgar heretics at Mont-Aimé in 1239. Evergates, *Feudal Society in Medieval France*, no. 100.

²⁷¹ For the grant naming him *bouteiller*, see AN, J 198, no. 90.

²⁷² “carissimi consanguinis nostri,” AD Aube 1H9 (Aug. 1261; AdJ, v, no. 3234).

²⁷³ AdJ, ivb, 288-290, 458, 501; *Aristocracy*, 294n103.

²⁷⁴ AN, J 198, no. 73 (Lpo, fol. 301vr; AdJ, v, no. 2441); AD Aube 5G123, fol. 11v (AdJ, v, no. 2672).

²⁷⁵ Lpo, f. 335r (AdJ, v, no. 2446).

²⁷⁶ Lpo, fol. 301v-301r (AdJ, v, no. 2441) and Lpo, fol. 405r (AdJ, v, no. 2545); Lpo, fol. 403r (AdJ, v, no. 2667).

²⁷⁷ CCC 58, fols. 155r-155v (AdJ, v, no. 2548); AD Aube 5G123, fols. 11v-12v (AdJ, v, no. 2672); AN, J 197, no. 60 (CCC 57, 311-314; AdJ, v, no. 2715); CCC 57, 552-555 (AdJ, v, no. 2736).

²⁷⁸ CCC 57, 345 (AdJ, v, no. 2807); AN, J 196, no. 38 (AdJ, v, no. 2995).

²⁷⁹ CCC 57, p. 327-328 (AdJ, v, no. 2459); AN, J 195, nos. 22, 74 (Lpo, fol. 368r; AdJ, v, no. 2664); Lpo, fol. 399r (AdJ, v, no. 2671); Lpo, fols. 291v.

²⁸⁰ AdJ, ivb, 458. The transaction is AN, J 195, no. 22 (Lpo, fol. 368r; AdJ, v, no. 2664).

France: he arbitrated disputes²⁸¹ and managed the count-kings' debts and debtors.²⁸² In one instance, Jean himself was Thibaut's creditor.²⁸³ In 1241 he even appeared in a charter from Louis IX during a squabble between Thibaut and the Templars in which Jean was entrusted with the property in question.²⁸⁴ In short, Thibaut IV frequently placed the maintenance of his ancestral lands in Jean's valued and capable hands, no matter where he was.²⁸⁵

Undiano, Miguel

Miguel de Undiano was a townsman from the Población de San Nicolás quarter in Pamplona.²⁸⁶ He first emerges as *almirante* of the Población, the Pamplonese equivalent of a *preboste* or *justicia*, and acts under that title in at least 1251,²⁸⁷ 1253,²⁸⁸ 1254,²⁸⁹ and 1255.²⁹⁰ During that period, Miguel was likewise one of the twelve *jurados* ("sworn") of San Nicolás.²⁹¹

²⁸¹ CCC 57, 143-144 (AdJ, v, no. 2630), 314-315 (AdJ, v, no. 2810).

²⁸² CCC 57, 326-327 (AdJ, v, no. 2415), 345-346 (AdJ, v, no. 3015), respectively.

²⁸³ CCC 57, 326-327 (AdJ, v, no. 2415).

²⁸⁴ AN, J 198, no. 82.

²⁸⁵ Jean appears in the historical record handling his own business as well, although primarily before Thibaut IV inherits the Navarrese throne. See AdJ, v, nos. 1954, 2209, 2300, 2525, 2887. For his altercation with his son-in-law, Count Jean of Rethel, see *Aristocracy*, 116. In business unrelated to comital-royal sales and exchanges, he also teamed up with Léon de Sézanne and Itier de la Brosse. See AdJ, iv, 290-291; AdJ, ivb, 458, 470.

²⁸⁶ Undiano is/was a village located partway between Pamplona and Estella. For its location on a map relative to these two towns, see *Teobaldo II*, 175-176.

²⁸⁷ AGN, Comptos, caj. 2, no. 72 (FDMPV 11, no. 146).

²⁸⁸ FDMPV 26, no. 20.

²⁸⁹ FDMPV 84, nos. 44, 47.

²⁹⁰ FDMPV 63, no. 17.

²⁹¹ Specifically, in 1251 (AGN, Comptos, caj. 2, no. 72 (FDMPV 11, no. 146)) and 1255 (FDMPV 63, nos. 15, 17).

At this point in his career, he claimed “great prestige in Pamplonese politics.”²⁹² Miguel’s most significant position, however, was treasurer with Crestel de Sézanne. The pair began working together by 1252, before either one had gained the office.²⁹³ Yet despite modern scholars frequently labeling him as such without reservation,²⁹⁴ it is quite often only Crestel who is designated treasurer.²⁹⁵ I have only found one instance in the historical record where he is unambiguously treasurer, and that is the one time that Miguel is called treasurer and Crestel is not.²⁹⁶ Nevertheless, his activity, especially in the 1259 and 1266 accounts, falls well within the purview of a royal treasurer and confirms his influential status. His contemporaries clearly viewed him with respect and authority.

As an administrator of the Población de San Nicolás before becoming treasurer, Miguel often interacted with the count-kings while managing local affairs.²⁹⁷ In the summer of 1251, while Thibaut IV was in Navarre, Miguel was one of several redactors of the charter whereby the Población granted the tower of María Delgada to the count-king in return for his protection.²⁹⁸ In August 1252, in his first venture with Crestel, the pair adjudicated a dispute eventually confirmed

²⁹² “de gran prestigio en la política pamplonesa,” José María Jimeno Jurío, *Historia de Pamplona. Síntesis de una evolución* (Pamplona: Ediciones y Libros S.A., 1974), 123.

²⁹³ FDMPV 26, no. 15. Crestel holds that position four months later in FDMPV 11, no. 155.

²⁹⁴ *Dinastía*, 262, 263, 283; “Una posible reforma,” 42; *Teobaldo II*, 66, 121, 156, 232; “Relaciones políticas,” 517; Felones Morrás, “Contribución (I),” 207; Gallego Gallego, *Enrique I*, 41.

²⁹⁵ FDMPV 63, nos. 45, 49, 50.

²⁹⁶ FDMPV 63, no. 56. To be fair, Crestel does not always carry the title either, but he does so much more often than Miguel.

²⁹⁷ García Arancón briefly summarizes some of these activities in *Teobaldo II*, 103n121.

²⁹⁸ AGN, Comptos, caj. 2, no. 72 (FDMPV 11, no. 146). See also chapter 1; José María Jimeno Jurío, *Historia de Pamplona y de sus lenguas* (Tafalla: Txalaparta, 1995), 93; Martinena Ruiz, *La Pamplona de los burgos*, 317-318, 320; Jimeno Jurío, *Historia de Pamplona. Síntesis*, 122-123.

by the count-king.²⁹⁹ About a year into his reign in 1254, Thibaut V—possibly from Champagne³⁰⁰—and the Población each named two inquisitors to determine the legality of a toll levied on the Población by Sancho VII and Thibaut IV.³⁰¹ Miguel was one of those selected by the Población.³⁰² The four men determined that the quarter should not be paying the toll. They also ruled two days later that a wall that Sancho had allowed the neighboring Burgo de San Cernin to build was on land belonging to the Población.³⁰³ On 5 November 1255 Miguel was one of four designated to swear obedience to Thibaut on behalf of the twelve *jurados* and the council of San Nicolás.³⁰⁴ He did indeed go before the count-king, for the twelve and the council confirmed that he swore “on the cross and the holy Gospels” in a document dated two days later.³⁰⁵ In 1253 Miguel witnessed a donation for luminaries and work on the cloister to the Hospitallers of Cizur³⁰⁶ and the naming of officials in the Burgo by the seneschal and the city’s bishop in 1256.³⁰⁷

From early 1256 onward Miguel ceased to operate as an agent of the Población in a formal capacity. In contrast to some of the other men that the count-kings employed, Miguel, “an expert

²⁹⁹ FDMPV 26, no. 15.

³⁰⁰ Thibaut departed Navarre between April 13 and 29, 1254. His next known location is Paris that December. María Raquel García Arancón, “Itinerario de Teobaldo II de Navarra (1253-1270),” *Príncipe de Viana. Anejo* 8 (1988): 443.

³⁰¹ FDMPV 84, no. 44 (Irurita Lusarreta, *El municipio*, no. XVIII).

³⁰² To my knowledge, the charter naming the inquisitors does not survive.

³⁰³ The charter does not prescribe a remedy beyond stating that “deue seer desfeyta esta fuerça.” FDMPV 84, no. 47.

³⁰⁴ FDMPV 26, no. 42 (FDMPV 63, no. 15).

³⁰⁵ “sobre la cruz y los sanctos euangelios,” FDMPV 63, no. 17. For the significance of this oath in the greater urban politics of Navarre, particularly in the 1250s, see Jimeno Jurío, *Historia de Pamplona. Síntesis*, 123.

³⁰⁶ FDMPV 26, no. 20.

³⁰⁷ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 7, 46 (FDMPV 63, no. 30). A Spanish translation is in *Dinastía*, 355-356. The action took place in the royal palace in Tiebas, but Thibaut V was then in Champagne. See also Jimeno Jurío, *Historia de Pamplona. Síntesis*, 125. Jimeno Jurío erroneously states that Miguel was a witness from the Navarrería, not the Población.

in finance,” was most often occupied with formal comital-royal business.³⁰⁸ In January 1261 Miguel, Crestel, and seneschal Clément de Launay acquired rights in Villazuruz for their absent lord.³⁰⁹ Over two and a half years later, with Thibaut V still away in France, Miguel and Crestel counseled Clément regarding an exchange with the prior of Roncesvalles and sealed the resultant chirograph.³¹⁰ When Thibaut was in residence in Navarre, Miguel was often in his company. On two occasions, Miguel ordered scribes to draw up Thibaut’s acts.³¹¹ He was also with Thibaut in the one document—also from 1264—in which he is unambiguously named treasurer. He and Crestel witnessed Thibaut’s exchange with Corbarán de Leet and his wife, Toda Ibáñez.³¹² During the episcopal vacancy in Pamplona between 1266 and 1268, revenue from the see that Miguel collected went towards repayment of the late bishop’s debt to the king.³¹³ Via a charter from 5 December 1267 about a property dispute, we learn that Thibaut had even made an exchange with Miguel at an earlier date.³¹⁴ Finally, in 1272 Miguel and Crestel witnessed the sale between Henri III and Teresa Gil de Vidaurre, estranged mistress of James I of Aragon.³¹⁵ Like his partner, Miguel was part of Thibaut’s—and likely also Henri’s—inner circle.

³⁰⁸ “experto en finanzas,” *Teobaldo II*, 66.

³⁰⁹ FDMPV 63, no. 45. Lope Ortiz witnessed the exchange. See also *Teobaldo II*, 183.

³¹⁰ FDMPV 63, no. 49. For the prior’s corresponding charter, see FDMPV 63, no. 50. The prior listed Miguel and Crestel with Clément as acting for the king, not as Clément’s counsellors. Miguel sealed that chirograph too. For Thibaut’s eventual approval, see FDMPV 7, no. 27. See also *Teobaldo II*, 183-184.

³¹¹ AGN, Cartularios reales, Cartulario 6, 264 (FDMPV 7, no. 38); AMT, A 14 (FDMPV 7, no. 44).

³¹² FDMPV 63, no. 56.

³¹³ Goñi Gaztambide, *Catálogo*, no. 674; *Teobaldo II*, 97, 103n123. I do not currently have access to the document itself.

³¹⁴ AMT, A 17 (FDMPV 7, no. 60).

³¹⁵ AGN, Comptos, caj. 3, no. 5 (FDMPV 62, no. 28). See also *Dinastía*, 262, 263. García Arancón mentions, but does not cite, a document from October 1271 in which Miguel and Crestel made a payment in cash and kind together. Without the document itself, however, I cannot analyze it much further. *Dinastía*, 263.

Miguel's activities and his frequent collaboration with Crestel in surviving royal accounts, particularly those of 1266, support the assertion that he was indeed treasurer for some time.³¹⁶ I discuss this activity in chapter 2. García Arancón describes Miguel and Crestel as "experts in administration," a claim that these accounts prove.³¹⁷ They also reveal where Miguel claimed honors by 1266: Badostáin³¹⁸ and Urroz.³¹⁹

Although much less frequently, Miguel engaged in transactions that did not involve the count-kings. As mentioned above, he and Crestel would have been arbiters in a 1258 dispute between two neighborhoods in Estella had the first attempt at reconciliation failed.³²⁰ In October 1263 he witnessed a large donation to Santa Engracia de Pamplona by Teresa Ibáñez, mother of García Almoravid.³²¹ Intriguingly, in his 1269 will a Hugo de Concoz bequeathed to Miguel 26 *l.t.* with the following mysterious caveat: "of the 26 *l.t.* that I give to don Miguel de Undiano, I send 12 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.t.* to the Friars Preachers for that which they know [*per lo que els saben*]."³²² Miguel himself had died by November 1277.³²³ As Crestel succeeded León, so too did Miguel's

³¹⁶ The two appear together throughout both the 1259 and the 1265-1266 accounts. Some of these entries, including some relating to Gascony, are translated in *Dinastía*, 305-306.

³¹⁷ "expertos...en administración," *Teobaldo II*, 121.

³¹⁸ *Registros*, 306, no. 3023.

³¹⁹ *Registros*, 179, no. 277; 307, no. 3034; 313, no. 3184.

³²⁰ FDMPV 63, no. 38. I have not found any evidence to suggest that the two men had to arbitrate. See also García Arancón, "Una posible reforma," 42; Ramírez Vaquero, "La vida ciudadana de Estella," 378.

³²¹ FDMPV 73, Documentos en romance navarro, no. 3. FDMPV 73, Documentos en romance navarro, no. 15 is a vidimus from 1412. See also García Arancón, "Tres linajes navarros," 610.

³²² "de les .XX.VI. libras de tornes que deu don Miquel d'Undiano mandei .XII. libras .III. soltz .IIII. dines de tornes als frayres Predicadors per lo que els saben," FDMPV 26, no. 59. The will also contains provisions for one "omne oltra mar a la Crotzada" as well as the bequest of "dos libres del For e lo Romanz de Troya." It mentions the then late Juan Caritat de Pamplona too.

³²³ FDMPV 26, no. 62.

son, Martín, succeed his father as treasurer under Jeanne.³²⁴ In García Arancón's words, Miguel was "the Navarrese person with the greatest responsibility in the kingdom."³²⁵

Voisines, Jean

Before his election to the deanship of Saint-Quiriace de Provins in 1239, Jean de Voisines was one of Thibaut IV's chancery clerks from 1227 to 1235, at which point he secured a promised prebend from the count-king and became a canon of Saint-Quiriace.³²⁶ The collegiate chapter was responsible for the comital accounts. By at least 1240 Jean was also acting as a *receveur* of Champagne.³²⁷ Theodore Evergates describes Jean as "among Thibaut [IV]'s most trusted officials."³²⁸ As *receveur*, Jean facilitated property acquisitions for the Thibauts periodically between 1244 and 1260³²⁹—both when they were in the county and elsewhere—and executed many other monetary transactions, particularly payments on the part of the count-kings.³³⁰ He

³²⁴ *Teobaldo II*, 104. Martín was active long before his father's death. He appears, for example, in FDMPV 26, 63, 75, and 84 and Anelier.

³²⁵ "la persona navarra con mayor responsabilidad en el reino," *Dinastía*, 171.

³²⁶ Veissière, *Une Communauté canoniale*, 155. Many of the documents given below are edited or summarized here.

³²⁷ *Aristocracy*, 46, 75; Veissière, *Une Communauté canoniale*, 189; AdJ, ivb, 465, 469. For the history of Saint-Quiriace through the thirteenth century, see Veissière, *Une Communauté canoniale*. I say "acting as" because he is filling an almost exclusively financial role for the count-kings, yet I have not been able to find any documents that describe him with the term *receveur/receptor* despite being called such by modern historians.

³²⁸ *Aristocracy*, 46.

³²⁹ Lpo, fol. 308r-309v (AdJ, v, no. 3145), 487v (AdJ, v, no. 3055), 528v (AdJ, v, no. 2660); AN, J 195, no. 25 (Lpo, fol. 424r; AdJ, v, no. 2659); AN, J 203, no. 48 (Lpo, fol. 385r; AdJ, v, no. 2663); AN, J 195, nos. 22, 74 (Lpo, fol. 368r; AdJ, v, no. 2664); AN, J 201, no. 32 (Lpo, fols. 411vr; AdJ, v, no. 2990); AN, J 201, no. 50 (Lpo, fol. 411r; AdJ, v, no. 3189).

³³⁰ Lpo, fols. 239v-240r (AdJ, v, no. 2993), 415r-416v, 477r (AdJ, v, no. 2550), 479v-479r (AdJ, v, no. 2894), 486r (AdJ, v, no. 2979), 529v (AdJ, v, nos. 2687, 2696); CCC 58, fol. 100v-101r (AdJ, v, no. 2997), 101r (AdJ, no. 2996), 117v (AdJ, v, no. 2679), 151rv (AdJ, v, no. 2936); AN, J 202, no. 27 (CCC 58, fol. 56rv; AdJ, v, no. 2891). See Veissière, *Une Communauté canoniale*, 189-191. Conducting comital-royal business ceased when Thibaut seized Jean's property in Rigny[-le-Ferron], "quod nobis debebat," sometime before March 1262 in AD Aube 4bisH180 (19 Mar. 1261). He remained dean of Saint-Quiriace until his death in 1273.

worked with several other officials in addition to Jean de Thourotte throughout his career, both on acquisition matters and on other financial business. Twice in December 1243 he teamed up with Robert d'Aulnay.³³¹ In a purchase for Thibaut V from April 1260, he partnered with Nicolas de *Vilanteus*, described in the document as “prudent and distinguished [*prudenti et honesto*].”³³² Apart from buying for the count-kings, Jean engaged in other comital-royal affairs with the dean of Saint-Étienne,³³³ Léon de Sézanne,³³⁴ and Girard de la Noue.³³⁵

³³¹ AN, J 195, no. 25 (Lpo, fol. 424r; AdJ, v, no. 2659); Lpo, fol. 528v (AdJ, v, no. 2660).

³³² AN, J 201, no. 50 (AdJ, v, no. 3189). I have been unable to learn any more about Nicholas.

³³³ Lpo, fol. 486v (AdJ, v, no. 2571).

³³⁴ AN, J 202, no. 27 (CCC 58, fol. 56rv; AdJ, v, no. 2891); CCC 58, fols. 151r-151v (AdJ, v, no. 2936).

³³⁵ Lpo, fols. 479v-479r (AdJ, v, no. 2894); CCC 58, fols. 100v-101r (AdJ, v, no. 2997).

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