DE GRUYTER

THE ROLL IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

FORM AND CONTENT

Edited by Stefan G. Holz, Jörg Peltzer, and Maree Shirota

MATERIALE TEXTKULTUREN

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Preface

This volume results from the conference *The Roll in Western Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, held at Heidelberg, 28–29 September 2017, organised by sub-project B10 'Rolls for the King: The Format of Rolls in Royal Administration and Historiography in the Late Middle Ages in Western Europe' of the CRC 933 'Material Text Cultures' at Heidelberg University. We would like to thank all scholars who responded positively to our call for papers for the conference and thus made the event possible. Anuschka Holste-Massoth (Heidelberg), Annette Kehnel (Mannheim), Norbert Kössinger (Konstanz), Klaus Oschema (Bochum), Bernd Schneidmüller (Heidelberg), and Jean-Marie Moeglin (Paris) chaired the individual sessions. Jean-Marie Moeglin also kindly agreed to give the concluding remarks. We are very grateful for their input and support. Thanks are also due to the 'Heidelberg Center for American Studies' for hosting the conference, to Harmony Dewez (Poitiers) for having proofread the French texts and to the students Paul Blicke, Katharina Hötzsch, Robert Janson, and Laura Puin who contributed to a smoothly organised conference and preparing its proceedings for publication. Finally, we thank the German Research Foundation (DFG) for having financed the conference and the publication of this volume within the framework of the CRC 933 and its MTK series.

As a general rule, lower case has been used for medieval institutions throughout the volume in both English and French texts. Abbreviations are used individually by the authors and are indicated in the footnotes or the references.

Heidelberg, 31 January 2019
Stefan G. Holz, Jörg Peltzer and Maree Shirota

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Jörg Peltzer

The Roll in England and France in the Late Middle Ages

Introductory Remarks

If a poll were carried out to establish which form of manuscript, the codex or the roll, the public associated more with the Middle Ages, the result would probably see the codex taking most votes. A monk handling a codex is a stereotypical image of and for the Middle Ages promoted by medieval evidence as much as by modern movie productions such as the film adaptation of Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*. While this image is by no means false, it somewhat distorts the picture. Rolls were also widespread in the Middle Ages and there was hardly anything that could not be written on them. To point only to some of their uses: they served to record administrative and judicial matters, prayers, the names of deceased monks, theatre scripts, historiography or charms.[1] There was thus a good chance that a codex-handling monk would also deal with a roll at some point in his life. Moreover, when entering a church, our monk and his contemporaries would very probably not only have seen the representation of Christ holding a book, but also of prophets holding scrolls.[2] Like the codex, scrolls were part of the ecclesiastical iconographic program. Symbolizing the Hebrew Scriptures, they were carved into the facades of many churches and, as a consequence, into the consciousness of the onlooker. Even if one did not use rolls, one knew about their existence.

Historians have not ignored the great variety of rolls and have always been ready to exploit their contents. They have paid much less attention, however, to the rolls themselves and the relationship between the roll and its content. It is the purpose of this volume to readdress that imbalance by looking at rolls in England and France

1 Overviews are provided by Studt 1995; Robinson 2008; Kössinger 2015; cf. also Giele/Peltzer/Trede 2015.

2 Lipton 1999, 62, notes this in passing. Her main argument deals with images in the *Bible moralisée* showing Jews holding scrolls. In those cases, the scrolls did not, unlike on church facades, represent the words of God, but conveyed the message that Hebrew law was a potential menace to the Christian world, ibid., 62–66. In this particular context 'scroll' is the established scholarly term for the roll. It has therefore been kept.

This publication originated in the Collaborative Research Centre 933 "Material Text Cultures. Materiality and Presence of Writing in Non-Typographic Societies" (subproject B10 "Rolls for the King"). The CRC 933 is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). It was written during my stay at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, as John Rassweiler Founders' Circle Member in 2017/18. I am very grateful to Maree Shirota and Stefan Holz for their comments and suggestions.

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in the late Middle Ages. The theoretical framework for this work is provided by the Collaborative Research Centre 933 'Material Text Cultures' (CRC 933) at Heidelberg University. Its approach is based on the assumption that "writing, script-bearing artefacts and related practices are bound by an irrevocable mutual connection, which has a huge explanatory power for the understanding of the transmitted texts and their cultural surroundings."[3] To investigate the nature of this "mutual connection" five closely related aspects deserve closer attention:

1) the materiality of the artefact. While 'material' is defined as technically applied and in most cases transformed matter (the physical substance), 'materiality' in its narrower sense is understood to refer to the culturally defined meaning of the material in general, and more specifically of the artefact made out of this material.[4] The material of a late medieval roll can be parchment or paper, but when, for example, an investigation is launched into the question whether it has any significance that, in the fifteenth century, the counts palatine of the Rhine copied grants made out for eternity on parchment, while grants made out for life were copied on paper,[5] then this deals with the materiality of the rolls. In its wider sense, materiality also refers to significance attached to the form and format of the artefact (roll) as well as to the material used to write on it.
2) the form and
3) the format of the script-bearing artefact.
   The usage of both terms is not always clearly distinguished in either English, French (*forme*/*format*) or German (*Form*/*Format*) scholarship. In English, for instance, the term format can refer to both the shape of the manuscripts, i. e. whether it is a roll or a codex or a wax tablet, and the various ways in which a roll or a manuscript could be designed.[6] It seems, however, useful to differentiate between the two in order to ensure a more precise discussion. J. Peter Gumbert proposed to use the term 'form' to discuss the shape of a manuscript and the term 'format' to refer to the shape of a particular form.[7] In practice, this distinction is not always easily made. It is, for instance, not obvious whether an accordion or concertina roll should be considered a particular format of rolls (as their name suggests), or whether they should be considered a form of their own (in which case the term roll ought to be dropped from their name). In other words: when are the characteristics of a certain format so different from the other formats of the form that it be-

3 Online: http://www.materiale-textkulturen.org/article.php?s=2 (last accessed: 31.7.18). Regarding the approach of the CRC 933 see Meier/Ott/Sauer 2015, in particular Hilgert/Lieb 2015.

4 Meier/Focken/Ott 2015; Karagianni/Schwindt/Tsouparopoulou 2015.

5 E. g. Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv, 67/812 (*Perpetuum Friderici*) (parchment), 67/813 (*Ad vitam Friderici*) (paper).

6 Cf. Robinson 2008, 41, who is aware of the terminological challenges.

7 Gumbert 2013, 102–106, for the use of the term 'form'. I derive his definition of the term 'format' from his discussion of the term in the context of the codex, Gumbert 1993.

comes a form of its own? Such questions are challenging, but they are no reason to renounce the differentiation between form and format. If anything, they enrich the discussion on manuscripts. In what follows, I use the terms 'form' and 'format' as outlined by Gumbert.[8] In relation to form and format, the obvious question is whether different shapes led to a fundamentally different presentation and understanding of the content. Did it make a significant difference, and if so which one, whether a codex or a roll was used for the same content? For instance, did it matter for the royal administration in England whether the membranes of a roll were fixed together in exchequer style (head to head on top of each other) or in chancery style (head to tail continuously)? Did it matter whether a genealogical roll followed a vertical or a horizontal format?

4) the layout, which refers to the presentation of the content on the artefact. To what extent were format and layout interdependent? How and to which end did the layout direct the reader's attention?
5) the praxeology of the artefact.[9] A praxeological approach focusses on the situation in which the artefact is handled. Ideally, it takes a comprehensive view, considering not only the artefact itself, but also its cultural setting and the potentially changing reciprocal relationship between the artefact and its user. The investigation of how, where, when and in which contexts rolls were used, and how these contexts determine the use of the rolls, inevitably touches on their materiality. It can be argued, therefore, that praxeology is the overarching category for the previous four aspects. However, in what follows, the terms materiality and praxeology are used on the same level in order to underscore the importance of an artefact's materiality for a proper understanding of the artefact-user-relationship.

In this volume, the focus on materiality and praxeology are tested on administrative, genealogical and amulet rolls from England and France in the late Middle Ages. It should be emphasized that the questions raised by taking these perspectives are by no means new. They have always been lurking in the background of those working in the auxiliary sciences, in particular the codicologists, the diplomatists, the paleographers, and the archivists. It suffices to point to Wilhelm Wattenbach's groundbreaking *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* published in 1871 that dealt at some length with different materials and forms,[10] or to Richard Rouse's study on *Roll and Codex* in the context of Reinmar of Zweter's poems, published in 1981.[11] Yet, despite such good

8 I did not use this distinction when I developed the sub-project B10 within the framework of the CRC 933, as is reflected by the sub-projects original title 'Rolls for the King: The Format of Rolls in Royal Administration and Historiography in the Late Middle Ages in Western Europe'.
9 On this term, see Hilgert 2014, 156–157, and the other articles in that volume; Dickmann/Elias/Focken 2015.
10 Wattenbach 1871, esp. 34–184.
11 Rouse 1982.

preconditions, the materiality and praxeology of rolls have only slowly gained prominence in historical studies. While this is not the place for a comprehensive analysis of the past study of rolls, in particular the reciprocal influences of German, French and English scholarship—a topic worthy of a research project in itself—some signposts for the historiographical development need to be given. In what follows, I focus first on administrative rolls, then on genealogical rolls and finally, on amulet rolls.

With a total of seven, articles on administrative rolls are by far the majority in this volume. They are almost equally distributed between France and England: three deal with French records and four with English rolls. The section opens with Thomas Roche's piece on the holdings of the *Archives départementales de l'Eure* at Évreux. Asking what actually is a roll and how an archivist can identify rolls among the records even if they are no longer rolled up, his study points to the difficulties of terminology and provides a fitting transition from the introduction to the case studies. The following two articles study rolls from French ecclesiastical institutions, Lucie Tryoen investigates a thirteenth-century roll of the cathedral church of Paris containing judicial records, while Marlène Helias-Baron examines an unfinished roll listing various properties of the Cistercian abbey Notre-Dame du Val. The contributions about English rolls mainly focus on the royal administration. Nicholas Vincent investigates the use and preservation of the royal rolls in general, challenging *inter alia* established views on the practicability of the rolls. Richard Cassidy looks at the functioning of the exchequer in the thirteenth century by studying the rolls behind the pipe rolls. Stefan Holz examines the communication between wardrobe and exchequer through the *onus scaccarii* rolls in the reign of Edward I. Elodie Papin, by contrast, analyses the use of rolls in the periphery of the English realm by looking at the cartulary rolls of the abbey of Margam. However, the royal administration is not absent from her paper either, as it may have influenced the choice of rolls at Margam.

These contributions represent long and rich research traditions. England in particular is renowned for the abundance of its administrative rolls. The fact that the royal administration recorded its business mainly on rolls rather than in codices led to a mass of rolls found nowhere else in late medieval Europe. Preserved in tens of thousands in the National Archives, they provide an incomparably rich and at times almost overwhelming amount of information. Historians have always been aware of their significance, but in general, they were more interested in their content than the rolls themselves. Moreover, the decision to publish editions and calendars of rolls in books obscured the way in which the texts were originally presented. Consequently, it took some time until questions concerning the relationship between form and content received closer attention. Early scholars certainly provided some valuable information on the materiality and praxeology of the rolls, such as Hubert Hall in his introduction to the pipe rolls (1884), Helen Cam in her work on the hundred rolls (1921), and

James Willard in his study of the memoranda rolls (1925).[12] But it is somewhat typical for the period that Thomas Frederick Tout only briefly described the rolls and books in his otherwise ground-breaking study of the royal administration in the late Middle Ages, published in six volumes between 1920 and 1933.[13] In 1943, ten years after the posthumous publication of Tout's last volume, H. G. Richardson, another expert of the English royal administration, wrote an important and wide-ranging introduction to the early history of the rolls. Their purpose and, as consequence, their handling was one of his main themes.[14] Fourteen years later, J. Conway Davies, described in great detail the memoranda rolls[15], but it took another two decades until Michael Clanchy addressed the question of materiality and the relationship between form and content in a wider historical context. In his seminal *From Memory to Written Record*, published for the first time in 1979, he devoted chapters to "The Technology of writing" and "The preservation and use of documents".[16] A brief discussion of various layouts and formats[17] is followed by an attempt to explain the differences between roll and codex, and why the roll became so popular in England. He took a praxeological perspective, pointing to practical advantages (easy to add another membrane) and disadvantages of the roll (potentially cumbersome to consult; see Nicholas Vincent's observations in this volume). Materiality came into play when Clanchy referred to different associations evoked by the forms. In a biblical context, the codex was mainly linked to Christ and the New Testament. By contrast, the roll was principally associated with the Old Testament, the old law.[18] Yet, in the end of his investigation he concluded that "it remains largely a mystery" why the English administration opted for the rolls rather than the codex.[19] The materials themselves received closer attention in the second edition of the book, published in 1993, when a section on "Wax, Parchment, and Wood" was added to the chapter on "Technology of Writing".[20] The question of whether specific values and perceptions were attached to certain materials—something Clanchy had applied to their form—was, however, not pursued in depth.

From Memory to Written Record did not immediately change the research agenda among medievalists working on English administrative rolls. In the first decade after its publication, comparatively few studies were undertaken on the nature of the rolls, such as Mark Ormrod's study on the protecolla rolls of Edward III (1987), Sandra Raban's work on the hundred rolls of 1279–1280, and R. F. Hunnisett's analysis of the

12 Hall 1884; Cam 1921; Willard 1925.
13 Tout 1920–1933, vol. 1, 46–47.
14 Richardson 1943, xi–lix.
15 Davies 1957.
16 References are made to the third edition: Clanchy 2013³, 116–146 ("The technology of writing"), 147–186 ("The preservation and use of documents").
17 Clanchy 2013³, 134–137.
18 Clanchy 2013³, 137–146.
19 Clanchy 2013³, 142.
20 Clanchy 2013³, xi.

plea rolls (1988).[21] Hunnisett himself had a long standing interest in the matter dating back three decades. In the mid-seventies he had published an article on rolls and files among the English chancery records and in 1959 an important series of articles on the coroners' rolls.[22] It took until the 1990s for Clanchy's book to gain wider currency. Its second edition in 1993 was sold out within a few months[23] and slowly the history of the rolls themselves rather than their content began to receive greater attention by English scholars. The introductions to the editions of the receipt and issue rolls of 1241–1242 by Robert Stacey in 1992, of the fine rolls by the editorial team led David Carpenter between 2005 and 2011, of the pipe roll of 1130 by Judith Green and of the wardrobe accounts of Henry III by Benjamin Wild, both in 2012, as well as studies by, for instance, Nicholas Vincent, David Carpenter, Mark Hagger, Richard Cassidy, and Paul Dryburgh have been reshaping our understanding of the royal rolls in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries during the past three decades.[24] When dealing with the question 'why rolls?' the field of enquiry was not just confined to the political circumstances, but it also encompassed material and praxeological aspects. Nicholas Vincent, for example, pointed out that for an itinerant king, rolls were more practical to transport than codices; due to their lack of binding, rolls were lighter than books.[25]

Yet, the most extensive analysis of the materiality and praxeology of English royal rolls in the twelfth century was not carried out in England, but in Germany. In 2014, Ulla Kypta published her doctoral thesis on the formation of the exchequer.[26] Her approach was not shaped by the traditional training of English medievalists, but by a research project at the University of Frankfurt focusing on semantics.[27] This lead to a detailed examination not only of the language deployed by the scribes, but also of their writing process. Routine, as already pointed out by Clanchy,[28] was a major factor in the spread of the rolls and the continuation of their production.

21 Ormrod 1987; Raban 1988; cf. Raban 1997, 2004; Hunnisett 1988, 109–114.

22 Hunnisett 1959, 95–124, 205–221, 324–359; Hunnisett 1975, 158–168.

23 Clanchy 2013³, 341.

24 The course of the early history of the rolls remains disputed. While Nicholas Vincent considers 1199 a decisive turning point in the history of the chancery rolls, David Carpenter argues for a greater continuity from the twelfth to the thirteenth centuries. The following editions and articles are listed according to the date of their publication: *Receipt and Issue Rolls for the Twenty-Sixth Year of the Reign of King Henry III, 1241–2*, ed. Stacey; Vincent 1994; Carpenter 2004; Vincent 2004; Carpenter 2007, 2009; Hagger 2009; Vincent 2009; Dryburgh/Hartland 2009; https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/information/project_info.html (last accessed: 31.7.18); Cassidy 2012; Dryburgh 2015; *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty First Year of the Reign of King Henry I (Michaelmas 1130)*, ed. Green; *The Wardrobe Accounts of Henry III*, ed. Wild; Vincent 2017. For developments in Angevin Normandy, see Power 2010, esp. 346–354.

25 Vincent 2004, 42.

26 Kypta 2014; cf. Kypta 2015.

27 Online: http://www.geschichte.uni-frankfurt.de/46281173/politischesprache (last accessed: 31.7.18).

28 Clanchy 2013³, 143.

Kypta's investigation was not the first German attempt in recent years to understand the pipe rolls. In his doctoral thesis, published in 2002, Udo Göllmann looked at them in some detail to analyse the fiscal relationship between king and aristocracy in Angevin England. Overall, however, he was more interested in the content of the rolls than their form. His research originated in the CRC 231 on pragmatic literacy, which ran at the University of Münster between 1986 and 1999. The CRC 231 represents the first major shift towards questions of materiality and praxeology in German scholarship. Similar to Clanchy, whose work was duly acknowledged in the original research program, the CRC was looking for the usage of the written word and the functions of writing within society from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries.[29] It is therefore no surprise to see that a rich survey on the various usages of rolls was published by a member of the CRC, Birgit Studt, in 1995. She focused in particular on rolls containing literary texts.[30] Yet, administrative rolls played only a secondary role in the multi-faceted and very rich research program of the CRC and when, finally, the administrative rolls came into the CRC's focus, it is telling that this happened in the context of their most prominent producer, the English royal administration.[31] Only very recently, rolls used in medieval Germany received greater scholarly attention. The Germanist Norbert Kössinger examined rolls written in German and Middle Dutch.[32] He was also the first to look at rolls in the context of the Heidelberg CRC providing a survey on various formats and usages of rolls.[33] Historians followed suit in 2016, when Maria Pia Alberzoni, Jochen Johrendt and Étienne Doublier organized a conference on the usages of the *rotulus*. Its programme included the obligatory paper on England, but otherwise focused on rolls from medieval Germany and Italy.[34] Its proceedings and the present volume will hopefully serve as useful accounts of current research and thus be helpful for future research on rolls across Europe.

In France, the study of administrative records has a very long and distinguished tradition and is, in the form of the *École des chartes* or the *Institut de recherche et d'histoire de textes* (IRHT), even institutionalized. Even though they existed in substantial numbers, administrative rolls were not as prominent in France as in England. The royal chancery, for example, preferred the codex to the roll. Research followed a

29 Träger, Felder, Formen 1988, 395, no. 19.

30 Studt 1995.

31 The secondary role of administrative rolls in the CRC's research program cannot be explained with a lack of rolls in German archives. As early as 1964, the archivist Alfons Schäfer, for example, published his study of *rotuli* as precursors of *urbaria* in codex form in South-Western Germany, Schäfer 1964.

32 This is the subject of his habilitation thesis, completed at Vienna in 2013. Its publication is forthcoming.

33 Kössinger 2014. The conference, held in 2010, was part of research activities preparing the CRC 933. The CRC started its work in 2011. The CRC also produced a transcultural and transdisciplinary overview on rolls Giele/Peltzer/Trede 2015.

34 Conference report: Cappuccio/Spillmann 2016.

similar pattern: it focused much more on codices than rolls. In so doing French scholarship followed its own traditions and engaged comparatively late with the questions put forward by Clanchy or by the CRC at Münster. When in 1992, under the supervision of Robert-Henri Bautier, John W. Baldwin, an American by birth but a Parisian by choice, in collaboration with Françoise Gasparri, Michel Nortier and Elisabeth Lalou, edited the registers of Philip Augustus, they rearranged the material to present it in a thematically more coherent way.[35] As a consequence, readers interested in how the chancery organized its material would need scissors, glue and a good deal of patience to recreate the original order in which documents were arranged. When nine years later, in 2001, Pierre Chastang published his fine study of the cartularies of the Bas-Languedoc, he referred to Michael Clanchy's work, but took no notice of research that had been undertaken at the CRC at Münster.[36] However, in 2008, he published his important article on *L'archéologie du texte médiéval*, in which he included the CRC in his survey of approaches to the study of medieval literacy.[37] Today, Clanchy's studies and the Münsteranian works are acknowledged in francophone scholarship on pragmatic literacy. But perhaps it is no surprise that one of its leading protagonists, Paul Bertrand, has not a French but a Belgian educational background. Situated right between the French, German and English research traditions, it is no surprise to see them acknowledged in his most recent book *Les écritures ordinaires. Sociologie d'un temps de révolution documentaire (1250–1350)*. Tellingly, Michael Clanchy prefaced it and even though Bertrand is not primarily focusing on the relationship between the artefact and its text, he is well aware of the interdependence of artefact, writing and use when discussing the size of cartularies or the layout of the page.[38] Within France it is indicative of the rising interest in the relationship between form and content that, in 2005, Elisabeth Lalou asked in the context of French and English accounting practices, why in England the roll was preferred to the codex. Like Clanchy many years earlier, she could not, however, identify any obvious practical reasons.[39]

In contrast to administrative rolls, genealogical rolls have received comparatively little attention by scholars. While the investigation of royal records has been a backbone of modern national historiographies, the examination of royal genealogies has been much less so. Consequently, it is a small, but an international field of research. In this volume, it is represented by Marigold Anne Norbye's piece on the rolls and codices containing the French royal genealogy *A tous nobles* and Maree Shirota's work on accordion genealogies of English kings in the fifteenth century. Research on genealogical rolls goes back a long time, but it is only in the last four decades that it

35 *Les registres de Philippe Auguste*, ed. Baldwin.
36 Chastang 2001.
37 Chastang 2008.
38 Bertrand 2015, 130–173.
39 Lalou 2006.

has gained some momentum. As early as 1872, Thomas Wright published the texts of a small number of English genealogical rolls.[40] Concurrent with the contemporary interest on chronicles and their serial editions in the Rolls Series, Wright focused on the text, while the rolls themselves received hardly any attention. Subsequently the English genealogical rolls went almost into oblivion for a hundred years. Except for an article by Sidney Anglo in the early 1960s,[41] it was only from the 1980s onwards that they slowly began to attract greater attention. In 1980, Charles Ross reprinted the 1859 edition of the Rous Roll by William Pickering, which contains the genealogical roll of the Beauchamp earls of Warwick.[42] One year later, William Monroe briefly touched on two royal genealogies preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.[43] Again a year later in 1982, Alison Allan finished her unpublished doctoral thesis on Yorkist propaganda in the fifteenth century, which also dealt with rolls produced in that period.[44] In the 1990s, Diana Tyson began to publish her findings on rolls containing the prose chronicle *Brut*,[45] and in 2005 Alixe Bovey published a richly illustrated analysis of the Chaworth Roll.[46] The major transformation of the subject was, however, achieved in the new millennium by the French scholar Olivier de Laborderie, who provided the first detailed monographic analysis of the English genealogical rolls of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Completed as a doctoral thesis in 2002, the book was published in 2013.[47] He looked at the content *and* form of the rolls, trying to understand why the genealogies were compiled on rolls. He is hesitant to attribute this to specific material, intellectual or symbolic reasons, but advances the idea that, in England, due to the practices of the royal administration, the form of the roll was strongly associated with royal authority.[48] In other words, the roll was the royal form and thus it was only natural for royal genealogies to be presented on rolls. It is indicative for a general trend that de Laborderie was not the only one to turn towards genealogical rolls. In 2012, Don Skemer published his study of Richard Bury's Roll,[49] and two years later Laura Cleaver produced her work on Anglo-Norman rolls from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[50] Most recently Jaclyn Rajsic and Maree Shirota have started publishing their findings on genealogical rolls from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries.[51] The work

40 Wright 1872.
41 Anglo 1961–1962.
42 *The Rous Roll*, ed. Ross.
43 Monroe 1981.
44 Cf. Allan 1979, 1982. I owe this reference to Maree Shirota.
45 Tyson 1994, 1998, 2000, 2001.
46 Bovey 2005.
47 Laborderie 2013.
48 Laborderie 2013b, 47–79, esp. 79. His numerous other publications on the subject include Laborderie 2003, 2005, 2008, 2013a, 2014, 2017.
49 Skemer 2012.
50 Cleaver 2014.
51 Rajsic 2016, 2017; Shirota 2015.

on the Canterbury Roll, a fifteenth-century manuscript preserved today at the University of Canterbury at Christchurch, New Zealand, is also a good example of how to take advantage of digital editions. While in 1999 a transcription and translation of the *Scroll Considerans*, preserved at Magdalen College, Oxford, was still published in the form of a book,[52] the online-edition of the Canterbury Roll, achieved by a team led by Chris Jones, makes full use of the opportunities of the digital age. Among other things, the user is able to virtually to scroll the roll up and down.[53]

Like the English rolls, genealogical rolls dealing with French kings have received greater attention since the 1980s. In a groundbreaking article on late medieval historiographical rolls in general Gert Melville also discussed French rolls. He emphasized the need to take the form and the layout of the rolls into account when interpreting their use and message.[54] Marigold Anne Norbye has further paved the way for the investigation of French genealogical rolls by studying in detail the text *A tous nobles*, which was written on rolls as well as on codices. Going beyond the mere examination of the text, she also looked at form, layout and content to show that their choice was by no means accidental, but depended on the respective audience.[55] Compared to the English and French rolls, German genealogies in roll form are little studied. Jean-Marie Moeglin and Birgit Studt have investigated the fifteenth-century rolls of the Wittelsbach dukes of Bavaria. It fits the overall picture, that Moeglin published his work in 1985, while Studt published hers in 1995 within the framework of the Münsteranian CRC.[56] Moeglin's groundbreaking work on the Bavarian rolls is a further indicator for the absence of national schools looking at the genealogical rolls of 'their kingdom'.

Moving from regnal histories to accounts of universal history on rolls (even though the two types should not be seen as absolutely distinct as a regnal history could be developed out of a universal history),[57] it is hardly surprising to see that the research on them has taken similar developments. The rolls containing Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* were discussed as early as the 1930s by Hans Vollmer and Philip Moore,[58] but their studies have only been followed up with greater

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52 *The Scroll* Considerans *(Madgalen MS 248)*, ed. Brown.

53 Online: *The Canterbury Roll*, eds. Jones et al. The edition was published online in 2013. See also the digitization of a genealogical roll preserved at Penn and published in 2012: http://sceti.library.upenn.edu/msroll1066/membrane1.cfm (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, MS 1066). In this case, however, the roll is not scrollable.

54 Melville 1987a; cf. also Melville 1987b.

55 Norbye 2007b. See also her other publications on *A tous noble*: Norbye 2007a, 2008a; and French genealogies in general: Norbye 2008b, 2014, 2015.

56 Moeglin 1985, 166–171; Studt 1995, 342–348.

57 See, for example, the Hungarian continuation of the universal chronicle of John of Utino, cf. Vizkelety 1988.

58 Vollmer 1931; Moore 1936, 97–117, who, however, does not discuss their form.

vigour since the 1980s.[59] Among these more recent works, Gert Melville's and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber's took a closer look at the form of the roll and the layout.[60] The investigation of the universal chronicles, which often contained the *Compendium*, followed a similar pattern. Surveying the evidence François Fossier laid the foundations for their study in an article published in 1980–1981.[61] Nathalie Hurel followed this up by pointing to their value for the examination of religious iconography.[62] In 2014, Lisa Fagin Davis published the first comprehensive analysis and edition of such a chronicle, *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle*, dating from the fifteenth century.[63] Like the editors of the Canterbury Roll, she was careful to provide a digital edition, so that the character of the roll was not transformed beyond recognition. Further insights into the layout of the universal chronicles and how they visualized history is to be expected from Andrea Worm's forthcoming habilitation thesis. Looking at rolls and codices alike her work might also inform us how the different forms shaped the use of graphic models to explain the world order.[64]

Administrative and genealogical rolls served to support a lord, often a king in the exercise of lordship and kingship. Amulet rolls, as discussed by Katherine Storm Hindley in this volume, have a different purpose. They protect the individual against misfortune. Surviving in greater numbers from the late Middle Ages, amulet rolls have been noted by scholarship for a long time,[65] but again it was in the 1980s that Franco Cardini made the case that in order to understand them, one cannot only look at the texts, but also at the artefact.[66] By pointing to its material, its form, its layout and its use (from the making to the keeping), he was already formulating key questions of this volume.[67] Unsurprisingly, he wrote his paper in an issue of the journal *La ricerca folklorica* dedicated to *La scrittura: funzioni e ideologie*. Cardini's important reminders were not lost on Don Skemer, who, in 2006, published the first monograph on the subject and provided detailed descriptions of the physical appearance of the rolls and their various usages.[68] How fruitful it is to look at the format of rolls to get a better understanding of their purpose was recently shown by Mary Edsall. Investigating rolls containing the poem 'O Vernicle' devoted to the *arma Christi*, she convincingly argued that due to their narrow format a good number of these rolls could not only be used

59 Cf. Hilbert 1985; Panayotova 2001; Worm 2012; and following note.
60 Melville 1987a, 68–76; Klapisch-Zuber 2000, 121–137.
61 Fossier 1980–1981.
62 Hurel 1994.
63 *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle*, ed. Davies.
64 Worm, forthcoming.
65 See for example Bühler 1964, with information on earlier literature.
66 Cardini 1982.
67 Cardini 1982, 64.
68 Skemer 2006, esp. 235–278, for which see also his Skemer 2001. See also his recent overview, provided in the context of the Heidelberg CRC 933, Skemer 2014.

for prayer, but also as amulets.[69] Building on Edsall's findings, Hindley continues the discussion of narrow and long amulet rolls in this volume.

Seven articles on administrative rolls, two on genealogical rolls and one on amulet rolls: this unequal distribution across the wide range of rolls is ultimately the result of the call for papers for the conference *The Roll in Western Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, held at Heidelberg, 28–29 September 2017, which forms the background of this volume. Out of twenty serious proposals, thirteen dealt with administrative rolls, three with historiographical rolls and the remaining four with various other types of rolls from across Europe.[70] At the conference, nine papers were delivered on administrative rolls, three on genealogical rolls and one on amulet rolls.[71] While preparing the conference proceedings for publication, the decision was made not to even out this imbalance by recruiting further contributions, but to let it stand as a snapshot (with all its biases) of current research tendencies. This runs the risk of degrading the work on genealogical rolls and amulet rolls to a kind of coda to the alleged core of the volume. This, it must be emphasized, is not intended. On the contrary, it is hoped that they point to the existence of rolls outside the administrative context and thus stimulate further research.

The authors were invited to pursue the questions outlined above and to work with the terminology of the CRC. The decision, however, to do so was left with them. This approach serves two purposes. First, the aim is to further raise the awareness of those questions in the field, to point to the analytical opportunities offered by taking the materiality and praxeology of rolls (and written artefacts in general) into account. The second goal is to foster the discussion of the terms and the concepts attached to them. They should not be taken for granted. Large collaborative research enterprises such as a CRC face the inherent danger of self-referentiality. It is therefore particularly important to put their core ideas to the test of the international research community without imposing them. It was also against this background that Maree Shirota, Stefan Holz and I asked Jean-Marie Moeglin to provide the concluding remarks to the conference and subsequently to this volume. Familiar with the theme and the CRC 933 'Material Text Cultures', while at the same time not a member of the CRC, he is ideally suited for this challenging task. In addition to the ten articles, his conclusion offers further thoughts on at least some of the terms and concepts of the CRC 933.

69 Edsall 2014; cf. Cooper/Brown 2014.
70 This excludes the contributions by Stefan Holz (administrative rolls) and Maree Shirota (genealogical rolls).
71 Conference report: Blickle et al. 2017.

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Thomas Roche

Des rouleaux «ordinaires»?

Panorama des rôles conservés aux Archives départementales de l'Eure

Un rituel particulier a lieu presque tous les ans dans de nombreux services d'archives historiques, le plus souvent à l'occasion des Journées européennes du patrimoine ou de visites scolaires: sur les longues tables de la salle de lecture ou de la salle de tri, l'archiviste tire d'une boîte-tube un mystérieux rouleau de parchemin qu'il déroulera dans toute sa longueur, parfois avec l'aide d'un volontaire impressionné, pour appuyer ses propos sur l'évolution des supports de l'écrit, devant les yeux étonnés d'un public curieux. La forme du rouleau fascine jusqu'aux historiens de l'écrit par son étrangeté. Cette étrangeté se nourrit de la mise en avant de rouleaux d'exception, dans leur matérialité même, qu'il s'agisse de rouleaux généalogiques somptueusement historiés, d'imposants rouleaux fiscaux produits presque industriellement en Angleterre, ou de rouleaux liturgiques parés pour leur ostentation.

L'accent mis sur ces rouleaux étrangement extraordinaires laisse dans l'ombre la réalité complexe, difficile à appréhender, de documents plus *ordinaires*[1], rouleaux plus communs par leur taille et leur présentation, utilisés pour la gestion de réalités moins flamboyantes et plus quotidiennes, des amendes des assises de tel petit bailliage aux rentes perçues par une abbaye de nonnes cisterciennes, en passant par la revue de la garnison d'une modeste place-forte, disséminés dans les liasses des dépôts d'archives.

La proposition sera justement ici de dresser le panorama des rouleaux, non pas issus de la production d'une même institution, ni correspondant à un usage spécifique de cette forme, mais ceux dont le seul point commun aura été, par le jeu des transferts documentaires, des découpages administratifs et d'un mélange heureux de vigilance et de négligence, d'être aujourd'hui conservés dans le même dépôt d'archives locales, à savoir les Archives départementales de l'Eure.[2] Par sa situation géographique, en Normandie, aux confins du cœur du domaine royal capétien, par ses vicissitudes, l'occupation lancastrienne au début du XV^e^ siècle, ce choix pourrait aussi nous éclairer sur les influences diverses qui pouvaient irriguer cette production documentaire ordinaire. L'approche permet une sorte de coupe géologique, relative-

1 Je prends ici le terme dans sa plus large dimension, tout en gardant en tête l'usage plus restreint qu'en fait Bertrand 2015, 14–15 notamment, en le liant non seulement aux «archives du quotidien» et aux «écrits liés à une forme de routine», mais aussi à un «degré zéro de l'écriture».

2 Tous les documents auxquels il sera fait référence dans la suite de ce chapitre proviennent de ce dépôt, sauf mention contraire.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110645125-002

ment aléatoire,[3] dans la production documentaire, au-delà des massifs plus traditionnellement arpentés.

La constitution concrète de ce corpus apparemment simple à décrire soulève cependant plusieurs difficultés, pratiques d'abord, mais conduisant à interroger l'appellation et la définition même du rouleau. J'ai finalement fait le choix de ne pas limiter le corpus étudié aux seuls rouleaux *stricto sensu*, devant trois constatations :

– d'abord, la difficulté à repérer les rouleaux dans les inventaires et dans les fonds ;
– ensuite, l'ambiguïté de la terminologie employée par les documents eux-mêmes, expliquant du coup certaines limites de la description archivistique ;
– enfin, l'intuition, qu'il faut tester pour la confirmer ou l'infirmer, que certains documents ne correspondant pas à la définition canonique du rouleau partagent cependant avec lui des logiques de création, de structuration et d'usage, des modes d'adaptations mutuelles de la forme au contenu et du contenu à la forme, proches voire similaires – ce qui peut aussi donner un autre éclairage sur l'enjeu du choix du rouleau sur le codex, ou, à terme, la préférence pour le cahier.

Après avoir expliqué ces différents points, je présenterai le corpus rassemblé et la grille d'analyse qui peut lui être appliquée, avant d'en présenter quelques traits saillants à partir de l'étude de certains cas. Une perspective typologique conduira à distinguer, dans ce corpus d'écrits ordinaires, rouleaux « publics » et « internes », parce que cette différenciation croise, en grande partie, une préférence culturelle pour la forme stricte du rouleau.

Chercher des rouleaux …

La première constatation à rappeler est celle des limites des instruments de recherche archivistique dans l'identification des rouleaux. Dans les inventaires des Archives départementales de l'Eure, par exemple, trois documents seulement sont décrits en tant que ‹rouleaux› :

– un « mémoire des recouvrements à opérer au profit du chapitre cathédral d'Évreux et des irrégularités commises dans la gestion de ses revenus », de la fin du XIVe siècle, décrit comme « un rouleau de trois peaux de parchemin, mesurant ensemble 1 mètre 12 centimètres en longueur, et [portant] en vedette la mention suivante : *Videtur quod in his quæ secuntur sunt adhibenda remedia* » ;[4]
– une enquête par témoins menée en 1489, décrite comme un « rouleau parchemin » ;[5]

3 Esch 1985 ; en français voir Esch 2002. Je reviendrai plus loin sur certains facteurs ayant pu jouer, paradoxalement parfois, dans la conservation des rouleaux.
4 G 131, Bourbon 1886, 97–98.
5 E 960, Bourbon/Lebeurier/Dolbet 1899, 140–141.

– un ensemble de plaidoiries aux assises d'Écouis, de 1459, identifié et décrit en 2013 comme un «rouleau composé de 19 pièces de papier cousues ensemble (7,35 mètres linéaires déroulé)».[6]

Ces trois cas, tirés d'inventaires de dates variées, décrivent des documents qui pourraient être regroupés sous une description générique d'«enquêtes». S'en tenir là dans une étude des rouleaux conduirait évidemment à une pesée incomplète de leurs usages ordinaires.

Un autre répertoire offre quant à lui une description plus qu'une identification de la forme du rouleau: l'analyse d'une série de rouleaux de rentes s'attache en effet à leur aspect matériel, sans employer le terme *rouleau*:

> Rôle, en parchemin, composé de feuilles cousues l'une au bas de l'autre, formant ensemble une longueur de quatre mètres … très curieux.
>
> Autre rôle de plusieurs feuilles de parchemins cousues ensemble, comme le précédent, contenant les rentes foncière et seigneuriales de l'hôtel-Dieu.[7]

Je reviendrai plus bas sur ce terme de *rôle*, qui est également employé par exemple pour désigner les rouleaux de rentes de l'abbaye cistercienne de Fontaine-Guérard, sans explicitation de leur forme.[8]

Le seul recours aux inventaires, quelle que soit leur date, ne permet donc pas de repérer facilement les documents composés sous la forme de rouleau. Ce défaut, regrettable pour celui dont c'est l'objet d'études, doit être relativisé: ce n'est pas le but d'un inventaire généraliste (qu'il s'agisse d'un inventaire analytique ou synthétique, d'un état «sommaire», qui peuvent apporter néanmoins d'importantes précisions et de larges extraits parfois du contenu des documents),[9] qui ne peut prévoir l'infinité des regards qui seraient portés sur les fonds qu'il décrit, mais doit rester, justement, généraliste, quitte à voir se développer en parallèle des bases de donnée ou des instruments de recherche focalisés sur des typologies documentaires ou des objets spécifiques, fruits de la collaboration entre historiens et archivistes dans le cadre d'enquêtes ciblées.[10]

Le défaut de granularité dans la description des liasses, c'est-à-dire de prise en compte de la singularité de chaque pièce d'archives, s'explique par l'approche né-

6 1 J 1300, notice de Laurent Bidet, 2013.
7 HDT Vernon 1104 et 1105 (XIV^{e} siècle), *Inventaire des titres de l'hôtel-Dieu, série ancienne de 1260 à 1790*, manuscrit attribué à Lebrun, 1856, fol. 33^{-v}.
8 H 1233 (XIII^{e} siècle); Bourbon 1893, 238: «Rôles de rentes foncières dues par les tenanciers de l'abbaye».
9 Sur l'évolution des inventaires archivistiques, voir notamment Duchein 1992.
10 Le projet Sigilla, qui croise une approche globale, utile à l'historien, des modèles, avec la prise en compte, plus proche des préoccupations archivistiques, des empreintes physiques, en serait un bon exemple: http://www.sigilla.org (dernier accès: 22.8.18).

cessairement synthétique de l'archiviste, pour qui le document gagne du sens dans son contexte de production et dans son environnement documentaire, que celui-ci soit fossilisé, reconstitué, ou parfois plus artificiellement composé, dans sa liasse ou dans son carton. Cette démarche est renforcée, dans le cas des rouleaux, par la nature même des documents sous cette forme présents dans les fonds d'archives : il ne s'agit pas de ‹monuments› isolés, rassemblés dans les collections des bibliothèques, catalogués souvent dès le XIXe siècle,[11] mais, au sein de liasses d'ampleur parfois bien plus large, de documents «de gestion», dont la forme a longtemps moins intéressé que les éléments d'information factuelle qui pouvaient y être relevés, par rapport aux chartes et diplômes par exemple, qui firent plus fréquemment l'objet d'une analyse particulière.[12] Le principe archivistique du respect du fonds, délaissant l'aspect formel du document, a également joué dans ce traitement entraînant une moindre visibilité des rouleaux. Paradoxalement, de nombreux rouleaux normands ne sont plus conservés dans ce qui aurait dû être leur fonds de provenance, celui de la chambre des comptes, mais se sont retrouvés rassemblés en collections privées puis dispersés au moment de leur acquisition par les dépôts publics et cotés et inventoriés de manière très variée.[13] Pour autant, ces classements du XIXe siècle n'ont pas suivi, comme en Belgique, de logique par forme.[14]

… trouver des rôles

Il en ressort aussi que le ‹rouleau› n'a pas constitué une catégorie descriptive utilisée par les archivistes, insistant moins sur la forme que sur le contenu des documents. À cet égard, il faut alors noter le recours bien plus important à un autre terme, celui de ‹rôle› : dans les inventaires des Archives de l'Eure, il y a ainsi 30 occurrences de ce terme en série G, 18 en série H, 27 en sous-séries 1 F et 2 F, pour désigner des documents non seulement médiévaux mais aussi modernes. Comme ‹rouleau›, ‹rôle› vient pourtant du latin *rotulus* : étymologiquement, il s'agit bien d'un rouleau. Cependant, l'usage du terme a glissé, rapidement, de l'identification de la forme à la description du contenu, c'est-à-dire la liste[15], notamment de contribuables, ou de la fonction (le ‹contre-rôle› étant un outil de contrôle).

11 Kössinger 2015.
12 Sur l'élargissement du regard de la diplomatique à ces documents d'archives, voir notamment : Bautier 1961 ; Guyotjeannin 1996.
13 Il s'agit notamment de la collection Danquin, dont les éléments eurois ont été principalement classés en série F des Archives départementales : Delisle 1854, Nortier 1965.
14 Arnould 1945, rappelant par ailleurs l'intérêt de la notion de fonds pour appréhender l'ensemble de la production et du traitement documentaire d'une institution.
15 Comme l'indique la définition de l'âge classique : *Dictionnaire* 1694, 423.

Cette ambiguïté n'est que le reflet des documents eux-mêmes.[16] Nombre d'entre eux se désignent directement comme des rôles (*role*, *roule*, *rolle*, *roulle*), y compris, dès la fin du Moyen Âge, des documents sous forme de cahier ou de codex.[17] À l'inverse, la plupart des rouleaux au sens strict ne se désignent pas comme tels – le terme ne se trouve ainsi que dans un seul fragment de rouleau du corpus des Archives de l'Eure.[18] Déterminer la date à partir de laquelle le terme ‹rôle› désigne davantage un type documentaire plutôt qu'une forme entrerait pleinement dans la perspective collective de cet ouvrage[19] – et éclairerait d'un autre jour la traditionnelle question de la chronologie de l'abandon du recours à la forme du rouleau.[20]

Cette ambivalence du ‹rôle› invite également à questionner la définition même du rouleau:

> Ensemble de pièces rectangulaires d'un matériau souple, jointes bout à bout par collage ou couture, et enroulées sur elles-mêmes ou autour d'un axe.[21]

> Un rouleau est une pièce d'archives, normalement formée de plusieurs feuilles de parchemin (ou de papier) cousues ou collées bout à bout et destinée à être conservée roulée.[22]

Ce sont ces définitions canoniques qu'utilisent la plupart des historiens, quand ils définissent le ‹rouleau› dans sa matérialité,[23] c'est-à-dire quand ils ne se contentent pas d'un usage finalement assez flou en faisant primer la typologie documentaire («les comptes de telle administration …») sur la forme. Ces deux définitions du rouleau s'accordent sur les critères cumulés de l'enroulement et de l'assemblage de plusieurs peaux de parchemin ou feuilles de papier.

Le critère de l'enroulement est problématique et ambigu. D'une part, de nombreux documents sur simple peau de parchemin (donc exclus de ces définitions clas-

16 À comparer avec l'ambiguïté initiale du terme *rotulus* telle que relevée par Clanchy 1992², 136–139 pour l'Angleterre.

17 Ne peut donc être généralisé le fait que «le terme de ‹rolle› décrit donc l'aspect matériel lorsqu'un observateur regarde ces sources qui se présentent comme des rouleaux de parchemin» (Duceppe-Lamarre 2012).

18 H 593 (1404).

19 Pour mémoire, le plus ancien document conservé aux Archives de l'Eure se désignant comme un *roulle* mais sous une forme qui n'est assurément plus celle du rouleau (en l'occurrence un carnet de papier de format oblong) semble être une assiette d'aide pour la ville de Vernon, datable des mois qui suivent l'assemblée des États de Normandie tenue à Argentan en juillet 1445, au temps de la domination anglaise: 2 F 4000.

20 En matière de comptabilité, Beck 2015, 36–37, note un délaissement du rouleau au profit du cahier dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle, ce qui serait à nuancer, ne serait-ce que par l'exemple notable de la chambre apostolique: Barret 2006.

21 Muzerelle 1985, nº 142.01; le terme de rôle y est cependant donné comme synonyme de rouleau: cette confusion manifeste une fois de plus l'ambiguïté de ce terme «passe-partout».

22 Cárcel Ortí 1997², 29.

23 Ainsi la majorité des participants au colloque d'Heidelberg en septembre 2017.

siques) pouvaient néanmoins être conservés roulés, dès la période médiévale : c'est le cas des chartes lorsqu'elles ne sont pas pliées,[24] par exemple à l'abbaye de Mortemer.[25]

D'autre part la majorité des documents à multiples peaux (dans le corpus des Archives de l'Eure, tous sauf quatre[26]), sans doute enroulés à l'origine, ne sont plus aujourd'hui conservés roulés mais à plat, pliés, lorsque certains d'entre eux n'ont pas été découpés pour être conservés plus facilement à plat voire reliés. Ainsi le rouleau-dossier de chartes de l'abbaye de la Noë constitue-t-il aujourd'hui un petit volume de quatre membranes découpées et reliées en six feuillets.[27]

De plus, dans quelle mesure peut-on s'assurer aujourd'hui des modes de conservation passés d'un document, sachant qu'il a pu être successivement roulé et plié, dans différents sens, au long de son histoire ? Seule une étude attentive des altérations subies par les documents pourrait permettre de reconstituer quelques-unes des étapes de cet historique de la conservation, et avec une chronologie toute relative. En effet, les altérations, qu'il s'agisse de déchirures, de traces de dents de rongeurs, ou de traces d'humidité, vont en principe laisser dans le cas d'un document plié des traces symétriques, tandis qu'elles seront parallèles dans le cas d'un document roulé. De plus, les parties les plus proches de l'extérieur sont en théorie les plus promptes à s'abîmer – si ce n'est que l'eau peut aussi s'infiltrer par un bout sur toute l'épaisseur du rouleau … Ainsi les déchirures répétées le long d'un des rouleaux de rentes de l'abbaye de Fontaine-Guérard, conservés pliés depuis au moins leur classement au XIX^{e} siècle, démontrent qu'il l'a également été, roulé, auparavant – sans que l'on puisse en préciser la chronologie.[28]

L'enroulement d'un document n'est en fait pas une caractéristique stable et intrinsèque. Il peut aussi correspondre à un usage pratique au-delà de la conservation ; ainsi les documents mis dans en sac pour leur transport (les sacs de procédure de l'Ancien Régime) l'étaient-ils roulés, quelle que soit leur forme, y compris des documents sous forme de cahiers. L'enroulement n'est donc même pas le critère exclusif de la forme de rouleau.

Si le critère de l'enroulement pour définir le rouleau paraît discutable, ne serait-ce que parce que difficilement vérifiable dans le temps, demeure le critère de l'assemblage par couture ou collage de plusieurs éléments bout à bout, se différenciant d'un assemblage par pliage et couture par lequel pourrait être schématiquement caracté-

24 Bertrand 2002.
25 Roche 2016, 58.
26 1 J 1300 ; E 960 ; HDT Évreux B 8 ; HDT Vernon 1104.
27 BnF, NAL 1990. Contrairement à ce qu'affirmait Omont 1911, 19, il ne s'agit pas du même cartulaire dont des fragments sont conservés aux Archives de l'Eure sous les cotes H 705 et 1749, issus sans l'ombre d'un doute d'un codex. Ce rouleau apparaît davantage comme un dossier de copies réalisées pour une affaire spécifique, liée aux droits des moines sur la grange de Jumelles, donation de Basilie de Glisolles et objet de toutes les chartes (sauf une, la plus tardive) qui y ont été portées.
28 H 1233 (XIII^{e} siècle).

risé celui du codex occidental.[29] Ce point exclut donc l'ensemble des documents composés sur simple peau de parchemin : ni cahier, ni codex, ni rouleau, faut-il cependant les rejeter dans des limbes diplomatiques ou codicologiques ?

Johan Peter Gumbert introduit la catégorie de forme à extension (*extended-sheet form*), c'est-à-dire pour laquelle la petite dimension est constante alors que l'autre peut être étendue, par addition de pièces du même matériau, et dans laquelle il range le rouleau.[30] Cette approche est intéressante en ce qu'elle permet d'appréhender globalement rouleaux et rôlets. Il est utile de la mettre à l'épreuve, notamment autour de l'idée que, somme toute, le document sur simple membrane n'est qu'un rouleau en puissance, puisque cette transformation est possible par une simple extension suivant son axe de développement. Est-ce uniquement de cette virtualité que se nourrit le lien entre rôlet et rouleau, lorsqu'il existe ?

À propos des rôles de fouage, Michel Nortier relevait :

> Ces comptes de fouage paroissiaux peuvent, matériellement, se présenter sous des formes assez diverses. Les moins importants ne sont que de petits carrés de parchemin de quelques centimètres de côté; d'autres sont des «rôles» proprement dits, longues peaux de parchemin jadis cousues bout à bout pour former un rouleau;[31] d'autres enfin sont de grands tableaux disposés parfois avec beaucoup de soin. La disposition peut aussi varier d'une pièce à l'autre : le texte peut être sur une ou deux colonnes, suivant la largeur de la pièce, n'occuper que le recto ou se prolonger au verso (en général pour l'indication des exempts). Mais, pour le fond, les éléments constitutifs du fouage sont si constants qu'il est impossible de confondre ces rôles avec ceux qui ont été établis pour la levée des aides.[32]

Ces rôles de fouage, qui sont parmi les documents se désignant le plus systématiquement comme des *rolles*,[33] ne se présentent paradoxalement le plus souvent que comme des documents sur simple peau. Les écarter d'office ne laisserait-il pas l'historien passer à côté de la conception même que les scribes médiévaux pouvaient se faire d'un rôle-rouleau ?

En effet, il apparaît qu'il y a moins d'éléments de distinction, par exemple, entre un rouleau de montre de garnison, au sens strict, et des listes de montre sur simple peau, que de variété dans l'ensemble de cette typologie documentaire, quelle que soit l'étiquette plaquée sur la forme de son support. À les feuilleter dans les liasses qui les rassemblent, de nombreux documents composés sur une unique membrane de parchemin remplissent non seulement la même fonction et correspondent à la même

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29 Gumbert 2013, 105.
30 Gumbert 2013, 102–103.
31 Les cas de rouleaux parmi les rôles de fouage restent toutefois rares; il n'y en a aucun parmi ceux conservés dans l'Eure. Il est à noter d'ailleurs que dans les premiers fascicules de son inventaire Michel Nortier ne relève pas la forme des rôles en rouleau.
32 Nortier 1970, vol. 1, 5.
33 Mais pas uniquement : un tiers des rôlets du corpus eurois se désignent, soit dans leur section préliminaire, soit dans la clause de validation, comme des *rolles*.

typologie que des documents suivant la forme du rouleau, mais partagent également une structuration de l'information inscrite sur le support physique similaire et portent des traces d'usage très comparables.[34] En bref, ils semblent participer d'une même praxéologie, s'appuyant notamment sur l'organisation verticale du document et l'usage de listes d'items ordonnées, voire hiérarchisées – deux traits qui tranchent sur la production contemporaine en matière documentaire, avec ses chartes plus larges que hautes et écrites à longues lignes. Par souci de rigueur sémantique, conservant désormais le terme de ‹rouleau› pour les documents à multiples peaux ou feuilles, comme l'entendent les définitions citées plus haut, je nommerai donc ‹rôlets› ces documents sur simple peau, en reprenant un terme tombé en désuétude, ayant pu servir à désigner un «petit rôle»[35] ou un «petit rouleau de parchemin ou de papier sur lequel on dresse un inventaire, une liste»;[36] mon usage du terme ‹rôle› désignera désormais globalement rouleaux et rôlets.

Pour mieux appréhender la variété des recours au rouleau, et pour en faire ressortir, le cas échéant, la singularité, il apparaît donc nécessaire de les observer dans le contexte documentaire plus large dans lequel ils s'inscrivent. J'ai donc inclus, à titre heuristique, ces rôlets dans mon corpus, dont ils constituent en fait la part la plus nombreuse.

Grille d'analyse

> Rédigé sur une face, suspendu et donc déployé, le rouleau offre directement toute l'information; roulé pour archivage, écriture à l'intérieur, il protège les encres et donc assure la pérennité de l'information; l'identification est assurée par le titre placé au sommet visible du verso.
>
> Mais quel gâchis de matière que de n'utiliser qu'une de ses faces! Et puis, le registre protège aussi bien l'information entre les ais de sa couverture, l'information est somme toute plus facile d'accès quand elle est feuilletée plutôt que déroulée, l'indexation est facilitée par le foliotage, l'archivage et l'identification sont plus commodes sur des plats et des dos que sur des courbes.[37]

Sont opposés ici, de manière volontairement forcée, les atouts, ou plutôt les caractères que l'historien considère comme tels, des deux formes du rouleau et du registre. Tout jugement de valeur n'en demeure pas moins artificiel, dans la mesure où l'appréciation actuelle de l'ergonomie du rouleau est immanquablement biaisée par le

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34 Je rejoins ici Bertrand 2015, 252, lorsqu'à propos des listes de rentes il estime que «feuilles éparses, petits brouillons de parchemin ou de papier, elles peuvent aussi être des rouleaux: il s'avère incohérent de ne pas considérer ensemble ces feuillets plus ou moins longs et les rouleaux ou fragments de rouleaux aux usages et à la mise en page somme toute similaires».

35 *Dictionnaire* 1694, 423.

36 *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français*, version 2015 (DMF 2015), ATILF-CNRS et Université de Lorraine, site internet: http://www.atilf.fr/dmf (dernier accès: 22.8.18).

37 Beck 2015.

fait que le médiéviste contemporain est en lui-même un pur produit de cinq siècles, au moins, de culture du livre, et que le savoir-faire gestuel lié à l'usage médiéval du rouleau est perdu.

De plus, le passage d'une forme à l'autre ne se réduit pas qu'à une question technique: les défauts du rouleau en matière d'archivage, par exemple, l'étaient-ils vraiment si son usage prédominait dans des typologies marquées par leur caractère éphémère?

La question à garder à l'esprit doit ainsi moins être celle du *pourquoi* (pourquoi préférer le rouleau, pourquoi l'abandonner finalement) que celle du *comment* (comment ces documents ont-ils produits, utilisés, présentés, mis à jour, conservés), dans les limites posées par la difficile reconstitution de ces actions.

La grille d'analyse doit croiser les éléments matériels de description de la matière et du format de ces documents, mais aussi les éléments de mise en page, d'organisation et de structuration des informations, textuelles, chiffrées ou graphiques, sur ce support. Si le manque d'une codicologie (*sic*) des rouleaux médiévaux est souvent noté, les travaux récents en matière d'histoire documentaire des comptabilités ont conduit à ouvrir, de fait, ce chantier et à poser de premiers jalons.[38] Il est nécessaire de prendre en compte à la fois:

- le matériau (papier, parchemin) du support mais aussi sa qualité (notamment, concernant le parchemin, sa préparation, le choix de peau, le choix du côté chair ou poil pour l'écriture);
- son format, notamment ses dimensions, mais également le ratio de ses dimensions (avec en arrière-plan l'enjeu de la caractérisation du rouleau comme *forme par extension* telle que définie par Johan Peter Gumbert, et celui de la continuité formelle entre rôlet et *carta transversa*);[39]
- la mise en page du texte, notamment sa présentation en colonnes (et le ratio entre la largeur du document et le nombre de colonnes), l'importance et l'usage des marges,[40] la réglure, les signes graphiques qui peuvent ponctuer les parties du texte, jusqu'aux rubriques;[41] étant donné la place des documents comptables,

38 Voir en premier lieu Mattéoni 2011, qui en rappelle les étapes de réflexion et les pistes élaborées par Patrice Beck et Caroline Bourlet pour une approche codicologique des comptabilités, quelle que soit leur forme, mais privilégiant de fait celle du registre.

39 À l'inverse, il est frappant de relever le ratio inverse de la plupart des actes de l'époque, et singulièrement des quittances, qui participent à la même logique d'écriture administrative courante et éphémère que la plupart des rôlets, comme si pour un même gabarit de parchemin le même scribe en sélectionnait l'orientation suivant la typologie à réaliser.

40 Aubry 2012; Dewez 2011; je ne rencontre pas de système de renvoi en marge et au verso aussi sophistiqué dans les rôles eurois: parce que leur usage n'est que rarement pensé pour une consultation et un retraitement complexe *a posteriori*, mais sans doute aussi parce que certains savoir-faire en matière d'élaboration et d'emploi du rouleau n'ont culturellement jamais connu le même développement de ce côté-ci de la Manche?

41 Bertrand 2015, 204–215.

la manière de noter les chiffres,[42] de mettre en évidence, ou non, les sommes par ligne, d'indiquer des totaux et sous-totaux, doit faire l'objet dans ce cas d'une attention supplémentaire;
- la structuration du texte en lui-même: articulation des différentes parties du texte, composition des éléments des listes, tant littéraux que numériques, formulaire: parties du discours, formules, clauses de validation;[43]
- le caractère opisthographe du document: est-ce que cet usage du dos est contemporain de la production du rouleau ou s'agit-il d'une étape postérieure? Le rôle était-il conçu, dès sa composition initiale, pour un tel usage recto-verso?

La prise en compte de la spécificité des rouleaux au sens strict amène enfin à compléter cette grille d'analyse pour y inclure les particularités liées aux multiples membranes et aux dimensions de ces documents, ainsi:
- la taille relative des membranes. L'idée communément reçue part de l'hypothèse du recours au rouleau comme moyen de compléter facilement un document pour lequel la première membrane s'est révélée insuffisante, et au-delà, comme moyen de dimensionner efficacement le support par rapport aux informations à recevoir – par opposition au cahier, préparé à l'avance et dont une partie peut se retrouver vierge, comprendre: sous-exploité, s'il a été mal dimensionné au départ. Elle impliquerait donc une relative homogénéité dans les dimensions des membranes cousues, sauf éventuellement pour la dernière qui peut avoir été découpée en fonction du reliquat d'informations à y noter. Or les mesures réelles incitent à rester nuancé; lorsqu'il y a régularité, il faut donc l'entendre comme un vrai choix de la part du producteur du rôle.[44] À l'inverse, l'irrégularité constatée dans les membranes ne doit pas non plus être interprétée comme un signe de négligence, mais plutôt comme le fait que la composition du rouleau fait peser des contraintes de réalisation différentes que celle d'un cahier ou d'un registre[45] – l'attention portée à la régularité de la largeur des membranes le montre bien;
- le type d'assemblage, collage ou couture. Dans ce dernier cas d'autres questionnements surgissent, sur le matériau employé, lanière de parchemin passé par des fentes, ou fil, ou bien sur le tracé de la couture, linéaire ou en «dents de scie», à considérer tant en termes d'efficacité que d'élégance ou de discrétion. Paral-

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42 Je n'ai pas trouvé dans le corpus d'emploi des chiffres arabes, y compris dans les documents du XVI^{e} siècle; voir la constatation similaire à partir des registres comptables rouennais de Theiller 2012, note 19.
43 Van Camp 2015.
44 Ainsi semble-t-il être le cas à la chambre apostolique des rouleaux comptables: Barret 2006, 207, notes 31 et 39.
45 Ruffini-Ronzani 2012, 75–76, notant l'usage possible de folios impropres à la réalisation de cahiers; Santamaria 2011.

lèlement au mode d'attache, le cas échéant peut être relevée la position relative des membranes: la membrane inférieure recouvre-t-elle la membrane supérieure ou inversement? Une couture linéaire peut aussi lier les bords repliés des deux membranes. Enfin la zone de couture peut faire l'objet d'une marque de validation spécifique, par une signature tracée à cheval sur les deux membranes;

– le mode de repérage des différentes membranes: le sont-elles, par une numérotation ou un autre procédé? Plus généralement, c'est le système de signes de structuration d'un document long qui doit être étudié; ainsi, dans les archives de l'Eure, la rubrication ne se trouve présente que dans les rouleaux, pas dans les rôlets: parce que leur plus modeste dimension l'y rend inutile, sans doute, mais peut-être aussi parce que les scribes au travail dans un cas et dans l'autre ne partagent pas exactement la même culture graphique. Par exemple, dans quelle mesure peut-il y avoir écho ou continuité entre ces éléments de repérage tout au long d'un rouleau et les techniques mises en œuvre en parallèle dans les registres?
– bien que difficile à saisir, il ne faut pas négliger enfin la dimension processuelle de la couture; le rouleau a-t-il été préparé à l'avance, la couture se fait-elle au fur et à mesure de l'avancée de la réalisation du document, ou bien les membranes préparées et inscrites séparément ne sont-elles attachées qu'après coup? L'examen fin des usages des dos des différentes membranes pourrait apporter des éléments significatifs pour répondre à cette question. La modularité qu'induit la forme des rouleaux, permettant de les regrouper l'un à la suite de l'autre ou en les liant par le même bord (*chancery fashion* et *exchequer fashion*, respectivement),[46] entre dans la même catégorie de raisonnement;
– le sens d'enroulement du rouleau: il est du bas vers le haut pour l'ensemble de ceux conservés dans l'Eure, qu'ils soient conservés roulés ou bien que l'on puisse le déduire des altérations du document, et notamment de la densité supérieure d'empoussièrement au dos du haut de la première membrane;
– enfin, délicate à reconstituer est également la gamme de gestes qui accompagne la réalisation ou la consultation du rouleau. La présence d'un ombilic, à l'un ou l'autre bout, voire aux deux, en est un indice dont l'interprétation demeure incertaine, car elle peut renvoyer autant au fait de pouvoir suspendre le rouleau que d'en assurer le déroulement et l'enroulement au fur et à mesure de sa lecture.

46 Dewez 2011; je ne relève de cas ni de l'une ni de l'autre technique dans le corpus eurois.

Vue d'ensemble du corpus

Après un large dépouillement, qui ne saurait toutefois prétendre à l'exhaustivité du fait des difficultés de repérage déjà mentionnées, l'ensemble constitué permet une approche globale de cette production documentaire ordinaire, autour de deux principes. D'une part l'ensemble des rouleaux y a été intégré. D'autre part, afin de permettre la comparaison des recours au rôlet et au rouleau, j'y ai inclus les rôlets repérés. Un cas de conscience est posé par les actes de la pratique (chartes, diplômes, actes notariés). Si le recours au rouleau peut s'y repérer parmi eux, il demeure très exceptionnel,[47] en proportion de la masse documentaire qu'ils constituent. Pour des raisons pratiques, les dépouillements et saisies en base de données en auraient été impossibles à réaliser pour un résultat limité, j'ai donc exclu l'ensemble des actes sur simple peau ou page, tout comme les pancartes quand elles ne comportaient pas d'indice de composition sous forme de rouleau ;[48] ce serait une piste à reprendre.

Le corpus des Archives départementales de l'Eure compte 182 items (rassemblant donc, à dessein, 38 rouleaux, ou fragments de rouleaux, et 144 rôlets), datés entre 1319 et 1592, et surtout entre les années 1370 à 1530 ; 18 ne sont pas datés. Parmi eux, les rouleaux (ou fragments de rouleau) au sens strict ne sont que 26 entre 1355 et 1500 environ, et 13 non datés, qui sont plus anciens ;[49] ils comptent majoritairement moins de 5 peaux. Un tel ordre de grandeur invite à la prudence : dans son inventaire des rôles de fouage normands conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale, Michel Nortier en recensa plus de 9.000. La possibilité d'une approche quantitative ne doit pas faire oublier le caractère pas forcément représentatif du corpus ; il s'agit plutôt ici de formuler des observations, de soulever des pistes de réflexion qui seraient à confirmer par une étude plus large.

47 Je n'y relève que trois cas d'actes notariés composés sur rouleaux, en fait une série de transcriptions d'expéditions, d'une part, et d'autre part deux inventaires, soit des documents exceptionnellement longs (E 3539, XVe siècle). De nouveaux dépouillements, entrepris depuis la première rédaction de cette étude, m'ont permis par ailleurs de mettre la main sur trois cas de chartes sous forme de rouleau. Deux d'entre elles, correspondant à un acte du bailli de la juridiction des Huit-Chanoines d'Évreux (1387) et à un vidimus de 1427 (tous deux conservés sous la cote H 1779), participent de la même logique que la rédaction sur rouleau d'actes notariés exceptionnellement longs. Le troisième cas est plus ambigu, puisque la deuxième membrane ne comporte aucune indication écrite mais a servi de bande d'attache au sceau, aujourd'hui disparu : il s'agit davantage d'un cas d'altération, dans une optique de réparation ou de falsification, d'un original que d'une composition initiale sous forme de rouleau (H 1227 : charte de fondation de l'abbaye de Fontaine-Guérard, fin du XIIe siècle).
48 La problématique des copies d'actes, sous forme de pancarte ou de cartulaire, et leur rapport à la forme de rouleau pouvait difficilement être éclaircie par la documentation euroise considérée seule.
49 Mise à part la seule pancarte conservée pour l'abbaye de Mortemer (H 592, XIIe siècle), pour laquelle on peut faire l'hypothèse qu'elle comportait à l'origine plusieurs peaux sans pouvoir l'assurer, tout comme les pancartes perdues de ce monastère cistercien (Roche 2016, 63), les plus anciens rouleaux datent du XIIIe siècle ; à noter qu'en raison de sa conservation à la Bibliothèque nationale, je n'ai pas inclus le cartulaire-rouleau de La Noë dans le corpus.

D'un premier examen global (fig. 1)[50] ressortent néanmoins d'emblée des caractéristiques très largement partagées, notamment les nettes prédominances du parchemin (côté chair) comme support,[51] de la couture comme mode d'attache,[52] du français comme langue. Le critère linguistique fait cependant apparaître un écart significatif entre les rôlets (dans lesquels le recours au latin est exceptionnel et sans toujours exclure le français)[53] des rouleaux (dans lesquels son usage, bien que restant minoritaire, est bien plus fréquent) – nous y reviendrons.

L'étude pourrait se poursuivre selon deux approches complémentaires. D'une part, par la comparaison directe entre le groupe des rouleaux et celui des rôlets : sur quels critères, autres que celui du nombre de peau, se différencient-ils ? Comme plusieurs critères de comparaison concernent les dimensions physiques du support, rappelons qu'une peau de mouton mesure environ 55 à 65 cm de largeur sur 70 à 80 de hauteur ; de manière exceptionnelle une peau peut aller jusqu'au mètre.

Le nombre de peaux induit en toute logique un écart dans la hauteur des documents. Cependant l'examen d'autres critères fait apparaître des points de distinction indépendants du nombre de peaux, ou en tout cas moins directement liés à cette dimension du document. Ainsi, lorsque la hauteur est rapportée à la largeur du document, la distinction entre rouleau et rôlet s'amenuise : dans les dimensions d'une seule peau, certains rôlets sont aussi hauts, par rapport à leur largeur, que des rouleaux combinant plus de cinq peaux (fig. 2 et 3).[54] Dans le même ordre d'idées, en termes de surface, et non de dimensions, un cartulaire-rouleau de quelques peaux étroites[55] peut être de même importance, ou moindre, qu'une pancarte d'une seule peau mais utilisée entièrement[56] : ce qui amène à s'interroger, dans certains cas, sur l'explication du recours au rouleau par un simple manque de place. La composition du document ne peut donc pas se résumer au recours en cas de besoin à des membranes supplé-

50 Les graphiques qui illustrent les pages qui suivent ont été réalisées avec l'environnement R (https://www.R-project.org [dernier accès : 22.08.18]).

51 Sept documents seulement ont été rédigés sur papier : le rouleau des plaidoiries d'Écouis (1 J 1300, 1459), une retranscription d'actes notariés (E 3539, 1451), tous deux des rouleaux ; plusieurs mémoires dans le cadre d'un procès, dont trois en rouleau (H 743, 1408) ; un fragment d'enquête concernant la dîme de Surtauville (G 1301, XIVe siècle) ; pour les rôles de fouage cette tendance avait déjà été notée par Nortier 1970, vol. 5, 10.

52 Il n'y a aucun cas de rouleau composé par collage dans le corpus ; cela pourrait toutefois être le cas de l'enquête concernant la dîme de Surtauville (G 1301), incomplète.

53 Le seul cas de bilinguisme du corpus est un document formant un véritable placard mais sur une seule membrane de parchemin, qui après un préambule en latin rapportant la fondation de la confrérie de charité de Saint-Clair d'Arcey, en énumère les membres, en français (2 F 2091, fin du XVe siècle).

54 Ces graphiques en «boîtes à moustache» représentent la répartition par quartile des rôles. La ligne foncée correspond à la médiane ; la boîte correspond aux deuxième et troisième quartiles de l'effectif. Les points correspondent aux valeurs extrêmes.

55 Ainsi le cartulaire-dossier de La Noë, évoqué plus haut.

56 Comme par exemple les pancartes composées dans les années 1080 à Jumièges (AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 26) et vers 1120–1130 à Lyre (H 438).

mentaires : sa mise en page, par exemple la rédaction en plusieurs colonnes ou l'articulation des informations entre le recto et le verso, conditionne la taille initiale du parchemin autant que l'inverse. Le recours à des colonnes multiples est par exemple fréquent dans le groupe des rôlets mais exceptionnel dans les rouleaux, alors que dans le même temps les largeurs moyenne et médiane des deux groupes demeurent proches, et qu'il ne ressort donc pas de corrélation significative entre la largeur d'un document et son nombre de colonnes.

Une seconde approche, d'autre part, consiste à introduire un élément typologique dans la comparaison. De manière générale, le type de contenu d'un document croise-t-il aussi des distinctions matérielles ou formelles ? Plus précisément, le recours à la forme du rouleau est-il davantage lié à certaines typologies documentaires ?

À la première question la réponse fournie par le corpus est positive. Des comparaisons sur des critères simples mettent en évidence rapidement de telles distributions. Les rôles de rentes se distinguent des autres par leur ratio hauteur/largeur (fig. 4) ; avec les rôles d'amende, ils se différencient d'autres typologies par une longueur par membrane plus importante. En revanche, le recours à une mise en page en colonnes est plus répandu dans les rôles de fouage, dont la moitié s'organise en deux colonnes, et ceux de montre, dont la moitié comporte trois colonnes ou plus (fig. 5). À noter également l'absence de rubrication ou d'ornement dans les rôles de fouage ou de montre, quelques initiales ornées parmi les rôles d'amende, mais leur présence plus régulière dans les rôles de rentes, par exemple.

La seconde question, toujours dans les limites posées par la relative modestie du corpus, fait apparaître une différence significative dans la répartition des rouleaux, complètement absents de l'ensemble des rôles de fouage et quasiment absents des rôles de montre et d'amendes, mais surreprésentés parmi les documents de gestion et les rôles de rentes ou d'enquêtes (fig. 6).

L'approche statistique, avec toutes les réserves déjà posées, peut ainsi servir d'outil pour réévaluer les typologies juridiques et documentaires de cette production ordinaire et ainsi aborder l'enjeu du jeu mutuel d'adaptation entre la forme matérielle, la forme juridique, son contenu documentaire et enfin les processus dont ils forment la trace archivistique.

Dans cette perspective typologique il convient à mon sens de mettre l'accent sur une distinction maîtresse, qui recoupe très largement la différence de forme entre le rouleau au sens strict et le rôlet : celle entre des productions notariées pour des administrations, les royales étant les mieux documentées, et des productions, qu'elles soient le fruit des mêmes professionnels de l'écrit ou de scribes propres, mais à usage interne à une institution, abbayes ou hôpitaux.

Les rôles publics

Le premier ensemble, celui des rôles que l'on pourrait qualifier «à usage public», est en fait le produit d'un groupe socio-culturel spécifique dans le cadre de sa pratique professionnelle de l'écrit. Les tabellions agissent dans un cadre administratif donné, comme spécialistes de cette technique, pour fournir des types de listes déterminés, devant comporter des informations essentielles pour répondre à leur fonction documentaire, et les munir des formes propres à en garantir l'authenticité.[57] L'enjeu que représentent la constitution et l'usage de la liste d'information dans la procédure administrative conditionne largement leur mise en page, et s'en nourrit en retour, comme l'illustrent quelques exemples.

Bien que le nom *fouage* se retrouve dans d'autres provinces, le terme désigne en Normandie un impôt bien spécifique, levé tous les trois ans au bénéfice du duc puis du roi et d'un montant unique de 12 deniers pour chaque feu, sauf les plus pauvres et les exemptés. Sa perception s'accompagne donc de la réalisation de listes de payeurs et d'exempts, mais aucun calcul d'assiette n'est nécessaire, et les indications sur le montant dû, toujours identique, sont souvent absentes. La plupart des rôles de fouage – qui se désignent d'ailleurs eux-mêmes comme des *rolles* – ne comportent donc qu'une liste ordonnée de noms selon leur statut: c'est d'ailleurs ce réservoir de noms et d'indicateurs sociaux qui a d'abord attiré les historiens vers cette source.[58] Cette distinction est conjuguée selon la matérialité même du document: le plus souvent, la liste des chefs de feu non-payeurs est notée au dos du rôlet.[59] Comme rappelé plus haut, Michel Nortier en notait la très grande diversité de mise en page. Plutôt que d'en établir un portrait moyen, il convient plutôt d'en décrire une gamme de profils variés, avec les réserves déjà posées, à partir des 33 rôlets du corpus: avec des dimensions très variables, de 18 cm à 70 cm, ils peuvent comporter d'une à quatre colonnes, sans relation entre le nombre de colonnes et la largeur du parchemin – la moitié d'entre eux ayant une seule colonne. Néanmoins, des évolutions se font jour sur la période: si la logique de présentation de l'information reste la même, la multiplication des colonnes s'affirme avec le temps, alors qu'en parallèle le ratio des dimensions se réduit (fig. 7): ce qui revient, toujours dans les limites d'une unique pièce de parchemin, à passer d'un modèle vertical suivant un seul axe de développement, tel un rouleau, à un modèle dont l'organisation verticale est segmentée en colonnes, finalement d'une manière pas si éloignée que cela d'une double page ouverte.

Les rôles de montre et de revue constituent un second cas intéressant. La conquête de la Normandie au XV^e^ siècle par les Lancastre permet une comparaison plus directe entre les pratiques françaises et anglaises. Les processus de contrôle des garnisons

57 Sur le tabellionnage normand, voir: Arnoux 2011; Bretthauer 2014.
58 C'est l'un des points donnés par Nortier 1970; voir pour des exemples locaux Vignal 1993a et 1993b.
59 Comme relevé déjà par Nortier 1970, vol. 5, 10.

sont en effet différents côté français[60] et côté anglais[61]. Pourtant, les documents par lesquels ils se traduisent conservent un air de famille très marqué. Il n'y a ainsi pas de solution de continuité quant à la mise en page. La seule exception est constituée par un rôle anglais, hybride entre le format d'un rôlet et un mode de validation tenant de l'endenture, impliquant la réalisation d'un original double.[62] L'information notée consiste essentiellement en la liste nominative des soldats attendus, ordonnée par catégorie (hommes d'armes, archers), souvent organisée en plusieurs colonnes, et pointée lors du contrôle ou de la montre. Aucun de ces documents ne s'intitule *rôle*; à tout le moins trouve-t-on quelques documents de la période anglaise se désignant comme des *contre-rolles*,[63] mais c'est alors par sa fonction plus que sa forme que le document se nomme lui-même. À travers ces différents critères, ces rôlets se distinguent nettement des rôles de fouage décrits précédemment. Toutefois, une évolution parallèle est décelable au tournant du XVI^e^ siècle, avec d'une part un élargissement des documents (s'ils restent plus longs que larges, le rapport entre les dimensions se réduit, fig. 8) et d'autre part l'organisation désormais systématique en colonnes, déjà fréquemment présentes. Néanmoins, à la fin du XVI^e^ siècle encore, certains n'ont toujours pas pris la forme du cahier ou du registre.[64] Dans le corpus, un seul de ces rôles se présente sous forme de rouleau proprement dit;[65] cependant, seule la première membrane en est conservée, ce qui ne permet pas d'en tirer d'observations quant à d'éventuelles particularités liées à sa forme.

Troisième ensemble notable, les rôles d'amende sont produits par différentes juridictions. L'enjeu fonctionnel est de mettre en relation les noms des parties avec les sommes dues à titre d'amende, en indiquant éventuellement son motif; la mise à jour de l'information est essentielle puisqu'il s'agit de suivre les paiements réalisés. Le corps du rôle adopte en conséquence une présentation en triptyque, laissant à gauche une marge dans laquelle sont portés au cours de la procédure plusieurs types de signes graphiques (du point à une lettre initiale pouvant vraisemblablement désigner ou le lieu du paiement, parfois donné entièrement, ou son terme de perception), et à

60 Voir en premier lieu Contamine 1972, 86–128.
61 Je ne renverrais ici qu'aux travaux anciens mais fondateurs de Newhall 1940 et aux recherches d'Anne Curry, notamment Curry 1999.
62 Montre de la retenue du comte de Suffolk, à Vernon, le 28 avril 1428 (2 F 4069); Newhall 1940, 12, en relève une quinzaine de cas. Ce mode de validation, exceptionnel dans d'autres contextes, se retrouve par exemple dans deux rouleaux anglais de copies d'actes: Davis 1958, nº 608 (chartreuse de Londres, au début du XV^e^ siècle) et nº 1199 (W. de Rolleston, prévôt du château de Pleshey, au début du XIV^e^ siècle).
63 2 F 4069 (4 documents entre 1431 et 1442); 1 J 1064 (1442).
64 Les montres les plus récentes sous forme de rôlet, sur parchemin, datent de 1594 (2 F 4069, pour la garnison de Conches). Une vingtaine d'années plus tard, la forme de la feuille pliée s'impose, par exemple dans une montre de la garnison de Pont-de-l'Arche en 1617 (2 F 4069).
65 2 F 4069, montre de la garnison d'Évreux, 13 mai 1431.

droite une présentation le plus souvent alignée des sommes à percevoir.[66] Cette organisation tripartite peut parfois elle-même être répétée en plusieurs colonnes.[67] Le jeu d'alignement explique le soin, plus grand que pour d'autres typologies, accordé aux réglures, verticale et parfois horizontale[68]. Du fait de leur implication dans la procédure judiciaire, ces rôles sont le plus souvent validés par le sceau de la juridiction: dans la partie finale, deux fentes parallèles sont découpées horizontalement pour permettre son apposition.

Dans tous ces cas, si le recours au rouleau peut s'interpréter comme une extension du rôlet par la nécessité d'ajouter des informations au-delà de la membrane d'origine, force est de constater que cette potentialité se réduit par l'évolution de la mise en page de ces rôlets. L'organisation en colonnes ou l'usage différencié du recto et du verso indiquent que le scribe projette déjà la forme qu'il souhaite donner au document final sur le format du parchemin et la structuration des informations qu'il y note. De plus, la mise en page en colonnes, en d'autres termes la juxtaposition horizontale d'une organisation verticale de l'information, obère peu à peu la possibilité de l'extension pour donner un rouleau, tout en anticipant le format du cahier, formé par simple pli. Notons pour finir que la chronologie du glissement, sans retour, vers cette forme du cahier diffère selon les typologies fonctionnelles.

Les rôles internes, des rouleaux?

Le second grand ensemble de rôles se caractérise à l'inverse par leur fonction interne à une institution. Ce sont des documents de gestion[69], inventaires de biens, de revenus[70], mais aussi de titres[71], ou de livres[72], produits pour une institution donnée[73]. Doit être soulignée la diversité des institutions concernées: établissements monastiques réguliers, certes, mais également hôpitaux, chapitre cathédral, confrérie de charité.

66 Cette organisation en colonnes dédiées rejoint plus généralement celle qui s'impose au même moment dans la réalisation des comptes: Mattéoni 2011; comparer avec Dewez 2011.

67 Un fragment de la fin du XIV^e^ ou du début du XV^e^ siècle, présente cependant une disposition originale, marquée par l'alignement strict en colonnes des sommes dues puis des noms: 2 F 4067.

68 Ainsi dans un fragment de rôle de la vicomté d'Orbec, autour de 1400: 2 F 4067.

69 Sur le réseau documentaire autour de l'économie des rentes, auquel appartiennent nombre de ces rouleaux, voir Bertrand 2015, 247–259.

70 Plusieurs ont été édités récemment pour la Normandie: Walmsley 2000; Jarry 2006.

71 Ainsi les deux fragments d'un inventaire des archives de l'abbaye de Mortemer: H 1747 (XIII^e^ siècle).

72 Le fragment du catalogue de la bibliothèque du prieuré de Carisbrooke, conservé à Évreux, semble plutôt provenir d'un codex (Le Pesant 1953), mais l'existence de catalogues sous forme de rouleau est bien attestée par ailleurs.

73 Le rôlet énumérant les coutumes de la ville de Vernon (2 F 3999) se rattache également à cette fonction interne, car il comporte des éléments de gestion propres à l'Hôtel-Dieu de Vernon, dont il est issu (Lebeurier 1855); il ne s'agit pas d'une production communale officielle.

Dans le cas des établissements monastiques, le caractère de production interne vient compléter le champ interne de l'usage de ces documents[74] – c'est un facteur qui explique le recours privilégié au latin, noté plus haut. Cependant il ne faut pas perdre de vue la porosité entre la sphère interne de certaines de ces institutions et la sphère du tabellionnage. L'Hôtel-Dieu de Vernon, par exemple, a recours à un tabellion établi pour établir son *Livre des rentes* à la fin du XIII^e^ siècle, et probablement une partie de ses rôles.[75] Dans tous les cas, interne également est la conservation du rouleau, quelle qu'ait pu être son éventuelle circulation.

Mais dans cet ensemble de rôles internes, l'exigence d'authenticité dans l'établissement et la transmission des informations, le caractère efficace autant qu'éphémère qui sont communs aux rôles publics cèdent le pas à une culture inscrite dans une continuité institutionnelle : ces documents internes ne portent pas de signes de validation, et n'accompagnent pas une action administrative ponctuelle mais reflètent des processus plus longs. Cette culture spécifique du recours au rouleau peut se traduire autant par le souci de garder à jour un rôle de rentes, avant d'investir pour en produire un nouveau, que par celui d'en marquer voire d'en orner les articulations, à des fins pratiques de repérage dans un document long, certes, mais dont on ne peut non plus exclure la dimension symbolique.

En relation avec la question de la matérialité des documents, le point essentiel à relever dans notre corpus (et qu'il conviendrait de confirmer par une plus large étude) est la corrélation forte entre ces rôles internes et la forme même de rouleau composé de plusieurs membranes. Trois rouleaux au sens strict sur quatre relèvent en effet de cette catégorie ; deux tiers des rôles internes sont des rouleaux à plusieurs membranes – que celles-ci aient toutes été conservées ou non.

Cette constatation amène d'une part à revenir sur les cas, exceptionnels, de rôles publics sous forme de rouleau, qui se rencontrent ponctuellement sur les typologies déjà présentées plus haut, ou, sans surprise, plus fréquemment dans le cas des rouleaux d'enquêtes et de plaidoiries.[76] Est à souligner la continuité du caractère officiel donné à l'écrit, du rôlet au rouleau. Ce souci d'attester l'authenticité du document accompagne ainsi le geste même de lier des membranes supplémentaires, pour les prémunir de toute tentative de mutilation ou de falsification, par l'apposition d'une signature ou d'un seing chevauchant la couture.[77] Par ailleurs, la logique de structu-

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74 Le même scribe semble ainsi avoir œuvré dans la production d'un rouleau de revenus et d'une charte pour l'abbaye Saint-Étienne de Caen, dans la première moitié du XIII^e^ : Jarry 2006, 3 ; ou, en la personne du chantre de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Gand, d'un rouleau d'inventaire et de chartes, également dans la première moitié du XIII^e^ : Gabdrakhmanov 2012.

75 *Livre de rentes de l'hôtel-Dieu de Vernon, manuscrit de la fin du XIII^e^ siècle*, éds. Louis, Pajot et Pouëssel ; voir également les travaux en cours d'Isabelle Bretthauer.

76 Je renvoie pour une approche plus resserrée des typologies documentaires particulières rencontrées dans le domaine judiciaire à la contribution dans ce volume de Lucie Tryoen.

77 Ainsi sur un rôle d'amendes des eaux et forêts pour Pont-de-l'Arche : 2 F 4067 (1413).

ration de l'information sur la page ne marque pas de rupture entre les simples rôlets et les exceptionnels rouleaux publics: l'addition de membranes est bien dans ce cas précis le simple moyen de prolongement matériel qui permet d'enregistrer le surcroît d'information, sans doute de manière très pragmatique.

D'autre part, la question de l'usage préférentiel du rouleau se trouve recentrée sur des milieux de production variés, mais spécifiques, porteurs pour certains de traditions fortes dans l'usage de l'écrit, qui ont déjà pu s'exprimer sous la forme du rouleau, qu'il s'agisse de rouleaux des morts[78] ou de cartulaires-rouleaux, sans être hermétiques ni aux influences et aux collaborations avec d'autres praticiens de l'écrit, ni aux innovations documentaires, telles celles qui approfondissent l'usage non-linéaire du codex notamment au XIII^{e} siècle.[79] Le fait que les rouleaux internes du corpus soient les plus anciens, par comparaison aux rouleaux publics dont la distribution est davantage centrée sur un long XV^{e} siècle, est un indice supplémentaire de cette inscription dans une culture traditionnellement ouverte à la forme du rouleau.

Quelques aperçus de cas permettront de poser quelques jalons, sans épuiser les réponses.

L'ensemble de fragments de rouleaux provenant de l'abbaye de Mortemer se caractérise par deux traits saillants.[80] D'une part, une très grande diversité, tant dans l'usage que dans la présentation. Le recours au rouleau a concerné un large spectre de besoins: pancartes, évoquées plus haut, inventaire de titres, liste de rentes. La variété paléographique, de l'écriture documentaire des fragments d'inventaire à l'écriture plus livresque d'un fragment de rôle de rentes, contrastant avec l'uniformité plus grande des écritures de tabellions, indique une composition probable au sein du *scriptorium* même de l'abbaye. La production des rouleaux est indissociable des pratiques d'écriture propres à l'établissement.

D'autre part, il s'agit bien de fragments: aucun de ces rouleaux n'a été conservé entier. Ce fait ne peut pas être simplement expliqué par l'aléa de conservation. Les rôles publics ne comportent que très exceptionnellement des marques d'archivage: ils ne sont pas produits pour être conservés à fin de recherches futures, mais pour être utilisés ponctuellement dans le cadre d'une procédure, avant d'être simplement amassés une fois devenus inutiles; ils ne sont plus alors considérés individuellement, mais comme une liasse (certains portent de plus des traces de lien pour les attacher par un point – et non pas de couture qui aurait formé un «méta-rôle» ou un rouleau comparable aux *pipe rolls* anglais, *exchequer fashion*) ou un ensemble unifié par son contenant, sac ou layette, qui peut, lui, porter une identification globale – comme

78 Delisle 1847.

79 Bertrand 2015, 173–197.

80 H 593 (deux fragments d'un même rouleau de 1404 en copiant un précédent, et un autre fragment, tous contenant des listes de rentes) et 1747 (deux fragments sans doute du même inventaire des chartes et deux fragments de listes de rente, tous probablement du XIII^{e} siècle); je considère à part la pancarte-rouleau du XII^{e} siècle (H 592).

c'est le cas à la période moderne pour les sacs de procédure. L'éclatement archivistique, rappelé plus haut dans le cas de la chambre des comptes, ne permet plus de saisir ces rôles dans leur contexte ancien de conservation. La négligence à archiver, donc à se débarrasser de ces documents devenus inutiles, a pu constituer alors, paradoxalement, un facteur de transmission jusqu'à nos jours. À l'inverse, c'est une volonté active de recycler le parchemin de rouleaux tombés en désuétude qui explique la préservation de fragments de rouleaux par leur remploi dans des reliures : victoire somme toute définitive du *codex* sur le *rotulus* ?… Dans un cas, la mention de la copie d'un rôle plus ancien témoigne à l'inverse d'un choix de conservation actif par ce biais.[81] L'archivage, ou pour mieux dire parfois son défaut, constitue donc une part à ne pas négliger de la praxéologie du rouleau.

Trois rouleaux, abîmés, non datés, sont conservés pour l'abbaye cistercienne féminine de Fontaine-Guérard.[82] Ils sont organisés par localité, dont le nom est complété du terme d'échéance des rentes ; suit la liste des tenants, chaque item étant repéré par un pied de mouche. L'écriture est cursive, sans soin particulier sinon l'emploi de caractères plus grands pour les rubriques de localité. Une main plus tardive a parfois ajouté, dans l'interligne, des compléments. La même impression de présentation simple, pour des documents de travail, se retrouve dans plusieurs des rouleaux de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Vernon.[83]

En revanche, s'en distinguent deux exemples de rouleaux auxquels bien plus de soin a été apporté lors de leur réalisation : un autre rouleau de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Vernon, datant sans doute de 1380,[84] et un rouleau de l'Hôtel-Dieu d'Évreux de 1376.[85] Leur dimension ostentatoire est affirmée. Ils se distinguent du reste de la production par une mise en page très précisément encadrée par un réseau de réglures, horizontales et verticales, à la mine de plomb, et une présentation aérée, laissant de larges blancs entre le corps d'une section et la rubrique de la section suivante. Ces rubriques sont tracées en grands caractères, à la calligraphie soignée, présentant souvent des initiales ornées. Les membranes, d'un parchemin de très bonne qualité, sont numérotées ; dans le cas du rouleau d'Évreux, elles sont de longueur régulière, entre 75 et 80 cm. Les auteurs de ces rouleaux sont inconnus.

La principale différence de conception matérielle entre les deux rouleaux tient à l'opisthographie, qui éclaire plus largement leur mode de production et au-delà leur sens. Si le rouleau de Vernon comporte des éléments au verso, il s'agit d'additions (pour certaines sans doute portées peu de temps après sa réalisation) ; se trouve même dans le texte principal une invitation à consulter au verso la suite des rentes dues à un

81 H 593 : *copie du roule [lequel] avoit esté fait en l'an mil CCC et XLV et fu copié en l'an mil CCCC et quatre*.
82 H 1233 (XIIIe siècle).
83 HDT Vernon 912–915 et 1105 (XIVe siècle).
84 HDT Vernon 1104, composé de 7 membranes pour une longueur totale de 3,84 m.
85 HDT Évreux B 8, composé de 8 membranes pour une longueur totale de 6,13 m.

autre terme (*tournés a tergo, sy trouverés la Tousains*). Les membranes avaient-elles été préparées de manière indépendante, avant couture? C'est difficile à dire, d'autant plus qu'il n'y a pas de correspondance entre le découpage intellectuel des sections par localité et terme et la séquence physique des membranes.

Le rouleau d'Évreux se distingue par son caractère opisthographe, certainement assumé dès sa production, mais aussi par la relation complexe qu'il entretient avec un registre contemporain. En effet, l'état des rentes qu'il présente, pour 1375–1376, correspond, dans sa structure, ordonnée par paroisse d'assise des rentes, et dans une très large part dans son contenu, à celui présent dans un registre sur papier, non daté, mais qu'une note d'archiviste attribue à 1380, ce qui est valable paléographiquement.[86] Une étude plus attentive des différentes mains du registre permettrait sans doute des rapprochements avec l'unique scribe du rouleau.

La comparaison rapide des deux éléments ne permet pas d'établir de lien univoque entre les deux documents. En effet, le rouleau est moins complet, puisque certaines paroisses y sont manquantes, l'une d'entre elles (Les Barils) fait bien l'objet d'une rubrique mais n'y figure aucun item, certaines rentes çà et là sont présentées de manière lacunaire (il y manque notamment le montant des sommes), et en fin de chapitre une série d'entre elles, bien que présentes dans le registre, ne figurent pas dans le rouleau. Il est indiqué par exemple que le doyen et le chapitre cathédral d'Évreux doivent des rentes dans la paroisse Saint-Gilles, mais leur nature et leur montant ne sont pas donnés, alors qu'un large espace blanc avait été laissé à cette intention. Néanmoins, certaines des corrections et mises à jour ajoutées par d'autres mains que la main principale du registre ont été, à l'inverse, intégrées dans le rouleau par son unique scribe.

Il faut donc plutôt imaginer un travail préparatoire mené dans le registre, où avaient été laissées de nombreuses pages blanches pour des compléments entre chaque paroisse (sans cependant jouer de la limite entre cahiers pour la faire coïncider avec celle des chapitres), et qui avait déjà fait l'objet d'annotations supplémentaires lorsqu'une mise au propre sur rouleau fut entamée en 1376. Cette entreprise est cependant restée inachevée. Par la suite, le registre a de nouveau été complété. La forme du registre sur papier, de dimensions modestes, est utilisée en parallèle pour l'établissement des journaux des rentes.[87]

Il est difficile de se prononcer sur la place du rouleau et son caractère inabouti, car il constitue un hapax dans l'état actuel du fonds de l'Hôtel-Dieu d'Évreux. Cependant, le cas présente un parfait exemple d'erreur de conception, d'autant plus intéressante à relever qu'elle permet de s'interroger de nouveau sur le caractère extensible du rouleau. Le scribe a assemblé, soit préalablement, soit au fur et à mesure de la copie, plusieurs membranes de parchemin. Arrivé au bout de la huitième membrane,

86 HDT Évreux B 9.
87 HDT Évreux B 7 (milieu du XIV^e^ siècle) et 10 (fin du XV^e^ siècle).

il a simplement retourné le rouleau pour noter la suite des rentes dépendant de la paroisse de Saint-Germain – le sens de lecture du dos est donc inversé par rapport au recto. Cependant, le scribe a mal estimé la place prise lors du passage du registre au rouleau ; alors qu'il laisse des espaces blancs entre les chapitres (par parallélisme avec les pages blanches laissées dans le registre), revenu à la première membrane il n'est pas parvenu à achever de noter les rentes assises à Saint-Aubin. Des traces de couture sur le bord supérieur de la première membrane indiquent qu'il a donc certainement attaché une peau supplémentaire pour y terminer sa copie, peau qui est certainement demeurée vierge d'annotations sur son recto. Ce bricolage pour rattraper l'erreur d'estimation a peut-être justifié l'abandon du rouleau ; en tout cas, cette peau supplémentaire a disparu avant le XVIII^{e} siècle, au cours duquel la cote du rouleau est notée au dos de la première peau. Cet exemple singulier nous fournit de plus un utile point de repère quant à l'espace requis pour noter une quantité relativement similaire d'informations, sur un rouleau et dans un registre : les huit membranes recto-verso, soit une longueur cumulée d'un peu plus de 12 mètres, renferment l'équivalent de près de 72 feuillets de papier.

Le rôle de Vernon témoigne quant à lui de plusieurs vagues de compléments, par l'indication de noms en marge, pouvant correspondre sans doute à de nouveaux tenanciers, par la cancellation de certains items, et par des ajouts portés dans l'interligne. La réalisation de ces rouleaux soignés, d'ailleurs très bien conservés, a représenté un investissement important, tant dans la collecte des informations qui y sont compilées que dans leur préparation matérielle. Dans le cas de Vernon, la volonté d'en assurer la mise à jour est d'autant plus notable qu'elle a été concomitante de la réalisation de rôles plus ordinaires. Cela confirme le caractère solennel de ce rouleau, perçu comme un document symbolique, récapitulant l'étendue des droits des nonnes de l'hôtel-Dieu sur leur environnement social, et dont la structuration graphique, sans rivaliser évidemment avec des rouleaux illustrés, introduit la possibilité d'un usage ostentatoire.

Ce dernier est évident enfin pour certaines catégories de documents, notamment les listes de confrérie, placardées dans l'église, et se traduit par le caractère solennel, l'épaisseur et la grosseur de l'écriture, la décoration du parchemin, mais aussi les traces de clous, comme dans le cas de la confrérie de Saint-Clair d'Arcey.[88] Cet affichage a plutôt joué en mal dans la conservation de ces documents ; en parallèle s'est donc développé l'inscription des confrères en registres, souvent richement décorés, justement réalisés à des fins mémorielles, afin de marquer la continuité, génération après génération, du service du saint.[89]

88 2 F 2091.

89 Ces registres sont nombreux à avoir été conservés en Normandie, par exemple celui de la confrérie de l'Assomption de Gisors, commencé en 1476 et poursuivi jusqu'en 1784 (G 2120).

Rôles et cultures documentaires

L'étude conjointe des rouleaux et des rôlets conservés aux Archives de l'Eure, malgré les difficultés pratiques qu'elle peut poser dès la constitution du corpus, permet une contextualisation plus dense de ces artefacts.

Le recours à l'outil statistique doit ici être pris avec humilité: il ne s'agit pas d'en tirer des traits universels, compte tenu du caractère étroit de l'échantillon, mais de l'employer à des fins heuristiques, en complément d'approches plus traditionnelles. Plusieurs pistes de réflexion ont été amorcées et appelleraient à être discutées sur la base d'un corpus élargi.

Une question portait sur l'approche de la relation entre rôlet, document sur membrane ou page unique, et rouleau, composé de plusieurs peaux ou pages, à l'aune de la notion, avancée par Johan Peter Gumbert, de «forme par extension». Dans le cas des rôles publics, terrain de manifestation d'une culture de tabellionnage qui dépasse les formes documentaires et les processus administratifs, si pour une typologie fonctionnelle donnée, l'organisation de l'information est similaire, marquée par sa structuration verticale et énumérative, alors le recours au rouleau, exceptionnel, apparaît effectivement comme une réponse pratique au problème de l'enregistrement d'un surcroît d'éléments, validant dans ce cas cette notion d'«extension». Mais cette dernière cohabite avec une autre virtualité de la membrane de parchemin ou de la feuille de papier, pliable et façonnable.

La diversité des rôlets et leur évolution conduisent à jeter un autre regard sur le lent processus qui a mené à l'abandon du rouleau, à travers la recherche d'autres formats, aussi maniables et modulaires, commodes à concevoir, et aptes à recevoir les mêmes types d'informations structurées: placard en colonnes, simple folio de papier ou de parchemin plié en deux, ou déjà cahier de plusieurs feuillets mais conservant l'aspect oblong du rouleau et ainsi sa verticalité.[90] Au final, le rôlet, document sur simple page, constitue une forme à la croisée des chemins, évoluant de la possibilité de devenir un rouleau, par extension verticale, à celle de former un cahier, puis un codex, par pli, que précède et annonce sans doute la segmentation en colonnes.

En parallèle, la préférence pour la forme du rouleau doit être replacée au sein des pratiques documentaires des institutions qui les produisent – ou les commanditent à des scribes professionnels – pour des usages internes. Cette forme y cohabite avec le codex, mais le recours aux deux s'inscrit dans une culture spécifique, non seulement de l'usage de l'écrit, mais aussi de la manipulation et de l'exhibition de l'objet – jusqu'à sa conservation ou sa perte. Ici le rouleau ne constitue pas l'extension d'une forme plus simple, mais bien une alternative culturelle au codex.

90 Sur le succès de la forme du cahier oblong, voir également Bertrand 2015, 135–139.

Annexe

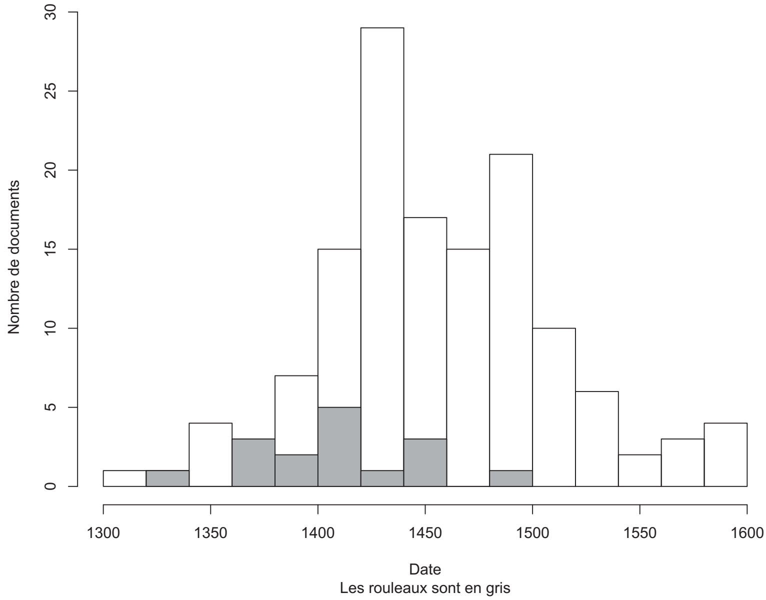

Fig. 1: Distribution chronologique des rouleaux et rôlets.

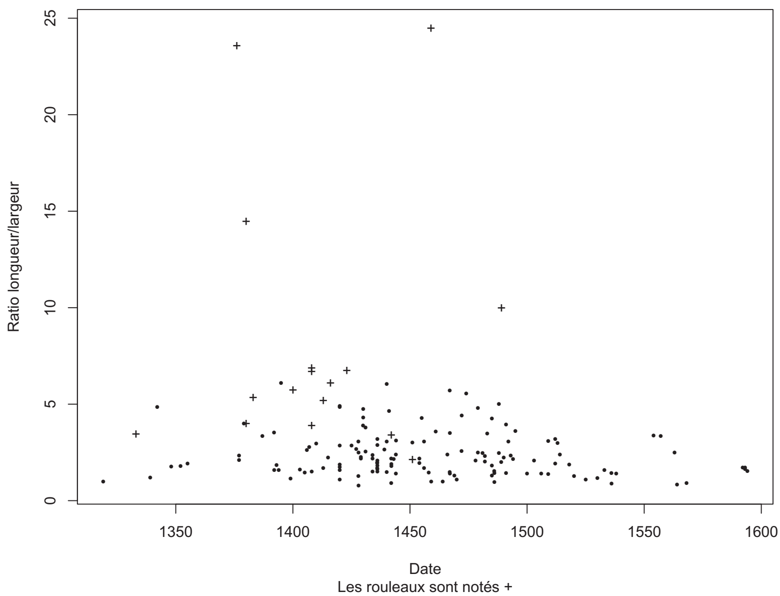

Fig. 2: Évolution des ratios des dimensions par forme.

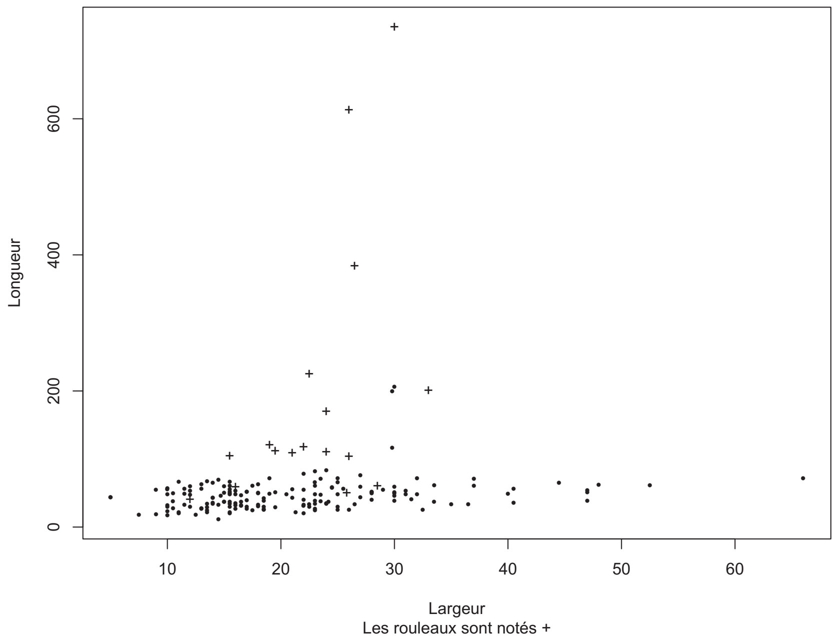

Fig. 3: Ratio longueur/largeur.

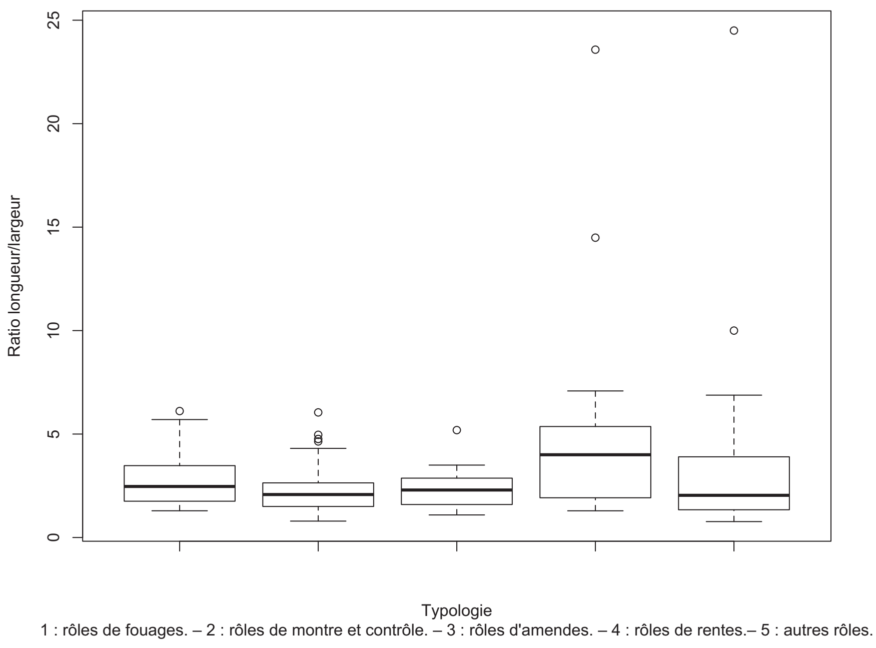

Fig. 4: Format des typologies documentaires.

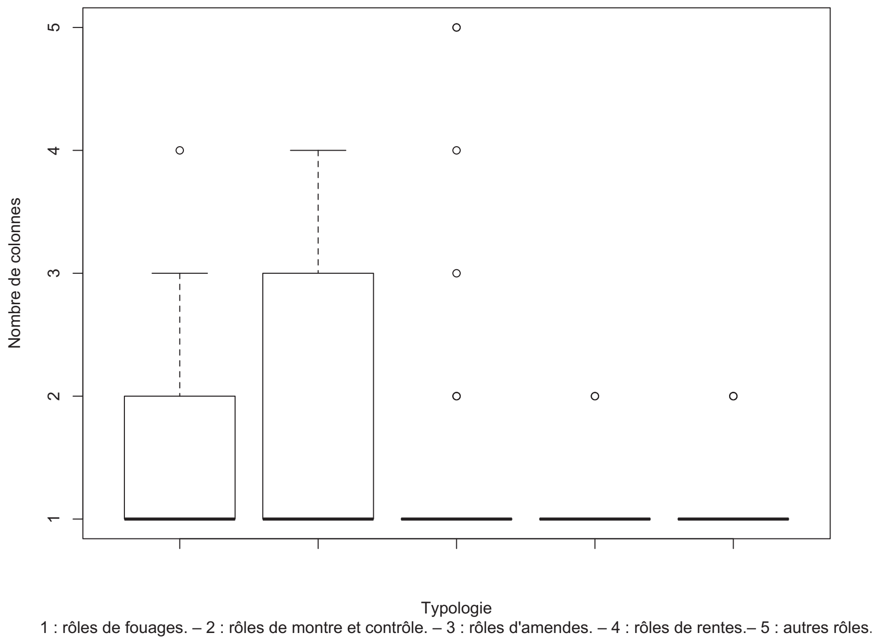

Fig. 5: Mise en page des typologies documentaires.

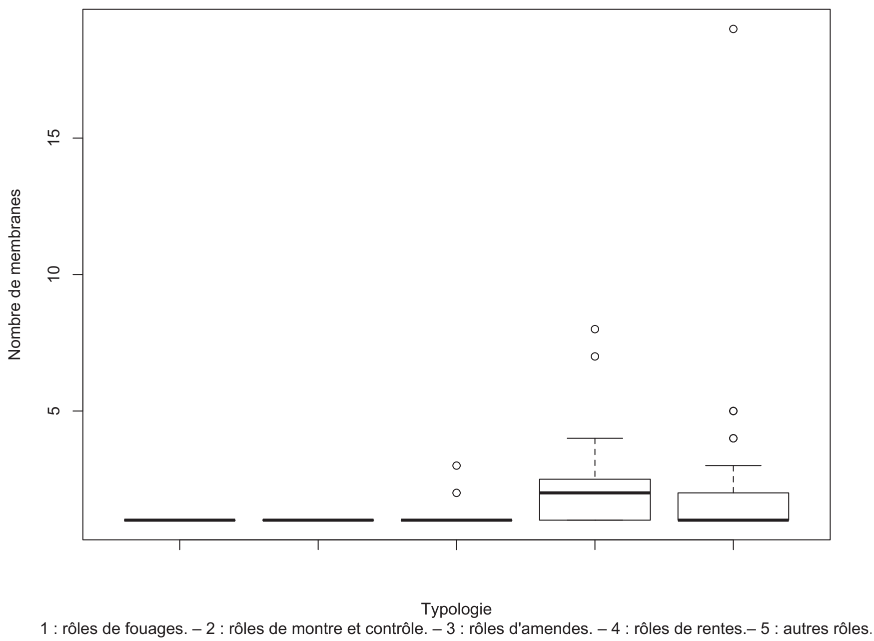

Fig. 6: Forme des typologies documentaires.

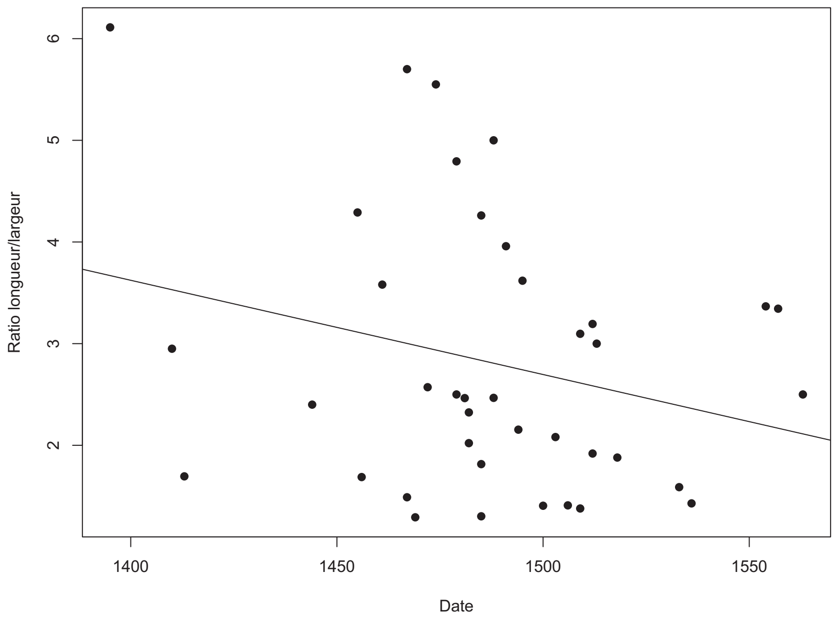

Fig. 7: Évolution du ratio longueur/largeur des rôles de fouage.

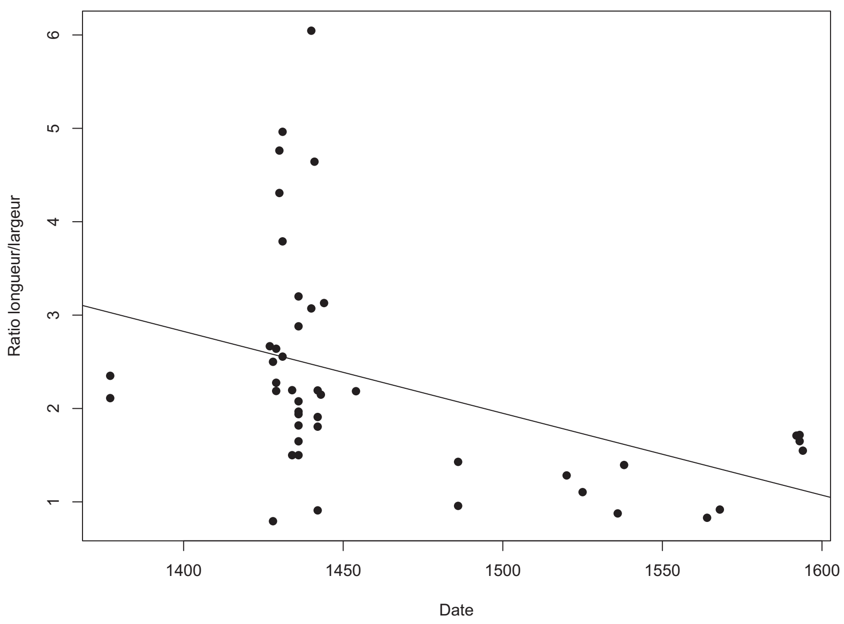

Fig. 8: Evolution du ratio longueur/largeur des rôles de montre et contrôle.

Manuscrits

Évreux, Archives départementales de l’Eure

E 960 (rouleau d’enquête de noblesse, 1489)
E 3539 (transcriptions d’actes notariés sur rouleau, 1451)
2 F 2091 (rôle de la confrérie de Saint-Clair d’Arcey, fin XV^{e} ou début XVI^{e} siècle)
2 F 3999 (rôle des coutumes de Vernon, 1392)
2 F 4000 (rôle d’assiette sur cahier, 1445)
2 F 4067 (rôles d’amendes, XIV^{e}–XVI^{e} siècle)
2 F 4069 (rôles de garnison, XIV^{e}–XVI^{e} siècle)
G 131 (rouleau de comptes, XIV^{e} siècle)
G 1301 (fragment de rôle d’enquête, XIV^{e} siècle)
G 2120 (registre de la confrérie de l’Assomption de Gisors, XV^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècle)
H 438 (pancarte de l’abbaye de Lyre, XII^{e} siècle)
H 592 (pancarte de l’abbaye de Mortemer, XII^{e} siècle)
H 593 (fragments de rouleaux de rentes de l’abbaye de Mortemer, XIII^{e}–XV^{e} siècle)
H 705 et H 1749 (fragments d’un cartulaire-codex de l’abbaye de La Noë, XIII^{e} siècle)
H 743 (pièces de procédure de l'abbaye Saint-Taurin d'Évreux, XV^{e} siècle)
H 1233 (rouleaux de rentes de l’abbaye de Fontaine-Guérard, XIII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècle)
H 1747 (fragments de rouleaux de rentes de l’abbaye de Mortemer, XIII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècle)
HDT Évreux B 7 et 10 (registres de rentes, XIV^{e}–XV^{e} siècle)
HDT Évreux B 8 (rouleau de rentes, 1376)
HDT Évreux B 9 (registre de rentes, XIV^{e} siècle)
HDT Vernon 912–915 (rôles de rentes, XIV^{e}–XV^{e} siècle)
HDT Vernon 1104–1105 (rouleaux de rentes, fin XIV^{e} siècle)
1 J 1064 (contre-rôle de la garnison de Vernon, 1442)
1 J 1300 (rouleau de plaidoiries devant le bailliage de Gisors, 1459)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

NAL 1990 (cartulaire-rouleau de l’abbaye de La Noë, XIII^{e} siècle)

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9 H 26 (pancarte de l’abbaye de Jumièges, fin XI^{e} siècle)

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Crédits photos

Fig. 1–8: Thomas Roche.

Lucie Tryoen Laloum

Le rouleau dans les procédures judiciaires au chapitre de Notre-Dame de Paris au XIIIe siècle

Juin 1276. Pris dans un conflit sur la perception des dîmes de terres nouvellement mises en culture près de Savigny, le chapitre de Paris et l'abbaye Saint-Martin-des-Champs décident de recourir à un arbitrage.[1] Le chapitre désigne maître Robert de Bercencourt[2], chanoine de Paris ; Saint-Martin-des-Champs frère Nicolas, le prieur de Saint-Nicaise près de Senlis. Un tiers-arbitre, maître Philippe d'Amblainville, chanoine de Beauvais, choisi par les deux parties, est chargé de trancher le conflit si les deux premiers arbitres ne parviennent pas à tomber d'accord sur une sentence. Dans les compromis d'arbitrage qui sont rédigés et scellés par chacune des deux parties, l'établissement du droit est soumis à la production par chacune des parties en litige de témoins, entendus à titre de preuve.[3] De ces dépositions, nous conservons aujourd'hui celles des témoins produits par Saint-Martin-des-Champs, sous la forme d'un rouleau de parchemin de 60 cm de long sur 24 cm de large.[4]

Le dépouillement des cartons du chartrier du chapitre de Notre-Dame de Paris, conservés aux Archives nationales, a mis au jour d'autres rouleaux inédits, consti-

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1 Le conflit oppose en fait l'Hôtel-Dieu de Gonesse (Val-d'Oise, ch.-l. cant.), le prieuré de Deuil (Deuil-la-Barre, Val-d'Oise, cant. Enghien-les-Bains) et le chapitre de Paris à l'abbaye Saint-Martin-des-Champs, aux moniales de Montmartre et à la dame de Savigny *Hauoysis*, représentée par Jean dit Briart, écuyer. La présence de toutes ces parties s'explique sans doute par une coutume appelée *reportagium aut carrucagium*, qui voulait que chaque partie exige la moitié de la dîme due par les cultivateurs résidant sur son territoire dîmier mais exploitant des terres sur le territoire dîmier de l'autre. On conserve des traces de cette pratique à Paris avec l'accord passé en juillet 1246 entre le maître de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Gonesse, le prieur de Deuil et le chapitre de Paris d'une part, l'abbaye de Saint-Denis d'autre part, au sujet de l'abandon réciproque que chaque partie a fait à l'autre de son droit de reportage dans le diocèse de Paris. Cet acte est copié dans *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, éd. Guérard, vol. 2, 543, nº XLIII. Voir aussi la confirmation de cet acte par l'évêque de Paris en août 1246 dans le cartulaire blanc de Saint-Denis, consultable en ligne dans les Éditions en ligne de l'École des chartes : http://saint-denis.enc.sorbonne.fr/cartulaire/tome1/pierrefitte/acte22 (dernier accès : 08.10.17).

2 *Robertus de Bercencuria*. Actuellement Bessancourt (Val-d'Oise, cant. Taverny).

3 *Nos firmum habituri et gratum atque ratum quicquid predicti Robertus et Nicholaus vel dictus Philippus cum ipsis vel cum altero eorumdem super premissis alte et basse pace vel judicio fuerint arbitrati valvis depositionibus testium a partibus supradictis super dita discordia alias productorum quantum de jure poterunt et debebunt esse salve.* (Compromis d'arbitrage intitulé au nom de Pierre, prieur de Saint-Martin-des-Champs, Mathilde, abbesse de Montmartre et Jean dit Briart, daté du mois de juin 1276, vidimé dans la sentence arbitrale du samedi avant la Toussaint 1277, Paris, Archives nationales, S195B nº 41).

4 Paris, Archives nationales, S195B nº 47.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110645125-003

tuant un ensemble de 15 documents de tailles et de statuts variés.[5] Un seul est aujourd'hui encore conservé sous cette forme,[6] les autres ayant été pliés en fonction de la taille des cartons qui les contiennent.[7] Qu'ils soient formés d'une seule peau ou de plusieurs peaux de parchemin cousues entre elles, les modalités de leur conservation à l'époque médiévale sous forme de rouleau sont clairement décelables sur ces documents, notamment à l'aide des mentions dorsales médiévales qui y ont été apposées, des marques de pliure et de l'adéquation potentielle entre ces deux éléments. Les rouleaux comportent ainsi généralement une mention dorsale située en tête ou en bas de document, en longue ligne – visible donc une fois le parchemin roulé – et pas de marque de pliure antérieure à la dernière campagne d'analyse archivistique menée par les archivistes du chapitre sur le chartrier au XVIII^e^ siècle,[8] voire antérieure à la conservation actuelle.

Ces rouleaux frappent par leur grande variété matérielle, formelle d'abord: de 33 centimètres pour le plus court à 3 mètres pour le plus long, de 12 centimètres pour le plus étroit à 36 centimètres pour le plus large. La préparation de la page, la numérotation des peaux – ou son absence, la présence de sceaux, les modalités de couture des peaux, les annotations marginales, l'utilisation ou non du verso divisent ensuite le corpus en deux. Le premier ensemble, regroupant sept rouleaux régulièrement écrits au verso, sans soin dans la préparation de la page (absence complète de réglure) ni dans l'écriture, est constitué de ce que j'appellerai ici des primo-rédactions.[9] Le second ensemble, à l'inverse, réunit huit rouleaux de plus belle facture, auxquels le rédacteur a prêté une attention plus importante: réglures, parfois bouts de ligne, voire scellement pour certains rouleaux.

Dans cette contribution, je souhaiterais réfléchir aux différents statuts de ces documents pour contribuer à mieux cerner l'usage du rouleau dans les pratiques documentaires de la France septentrionale au XIII^e^ siècle.[10]

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5 Cette contribution est issue de mon travail de thèse de doctorat, consacrée à l'écrit au chapitre de Notre-Dame de Paris au XIII^e^ siècle, que je poursuis à l'université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines sous la direction de Pierre Chastang.

6 Le plus long d'entre eux, long de 3 mètres: S371B nº 65.

7 Cette modification des conditions de conservation n'est pas exceptionnelle. Elle est par exemple signalée par Olivier Guyotjeannin pour son étude d'une enquête de 1218 entre l'évêque et la commune de Parme (Guyotjeannin 1985)

8 L'étude des différents traitements archivistiques menés sur ces fonds a été menée dans le cadre de ma thèse.

9 Il n'est pas question de brouillon, le brouillon supposant à mon sens une mise au propre prévue au moment de la rédaction du document initial. Ici, rien n'indique que ces documents aient fait l'objet d'une mise au propre systématique. Cf. *infra* sur l'explication de la variété matérielle des documents.

10 Aucun rouleau n'est daté, mais il est possible d'une part d'évaluer la période via une analyse paléographique rapide et d'autre part de recouper les documents avec les actes concernant les mêmes conflits conservés dans le chartrier. Tous les rouleaux étudiés ici concernent la période couverte par ma thèse, le XIII^e^ siècle. Un rouleau supplémentaire a été trouvé dans les cartons, mais je ne l'ai pas traité puisqu'il date du XIV^e^ siècle. Il s'agit du rouleau S285 nº 4.

En en dressant une typologie documentaire précise, la première partie de cette contribution permettra d'insérer l'ensemble de ces rouleaux dans le contexte qui les a produits : le règlement de contentieux. La seconde partie sera dédiée à une tentative de reconstitution de la confection du rouleau judiciaire, à partir des indices laissés sur les documents. Enfin, la dernière partie interrogera les modalités de leur conservation pour appréhender le statut de ces rouleaux à l'époque médiévale. Au fil de ces trois étapes, cet article se propose ainsi de contribuer à l'étude de la praxéologie du rouleau que met en œuvre ce volume, à travers le cas des rouleaux judiciaires.

Le contexte de production : contentieux et production de preuves

Les quinze rouleaux qui composent notre corpus ont été produits dans le cadre de contentieux. Au moins dix de ces rouleaux ont plus précisément été produits au cours d'un arbitrage,[11] « institution juridique qui permet le règlement pacifique des différends, en-dehors de la voix judiciaire ».[12] Institutionnalisée par les textes de Justinien et pérennisée par les *Décrétales* de Grégoire IX,[13] cette procédure spécifique appartient aux modes privés de règlement des conflits. Particulièrement développé parmi les ecclésiastiques, l'arbitrage permet de répondre à l'idéal chrétien de rétablissement de la paix sans conflit direct, dans l'amour du prochain et la charité.[14] Dans les cas de conflits entre ecclésiastiques et laïcs, il règle également l'épineux problème de la ju-

11 Si les informations brutes contenues dans les rouleaux sur les parties en conflit ou sur les causes du contentieux sont assez limitées, il est néanmoins possible de reconstituer leur contexte de rédaction en les croisant avec le corpus d'actes auxquels ils sont généralement associés. Parmi les rouleaux restants, trois autres ont peut-être été également produits dans le cadre d'un arbitrage, mais elles ne contiennent pas les informations nécessaires pour trancher et aucun acte du chartrier ne traite du même conflit.

12 Jeanclos 1977, 1.

13 Pour Justinien, voir C. II, 56, *de receptis arbitris* – D., 4, 8, *de receptis, qui arbitrum receperunt, ut sententia dicant*. – *Authenticae*, *Collat*. 6, titre 11, *Novell*. 82 ; pour Grégoire IX, X, 1, 43, *De arbitris, Capitulum* 1 à *Capitulum* 13 ; les références sont citées dans Jeanclos 1977, 2, notes 5 et 6.

14 Voir Paul, *Epître aux Corinthiens*, I, 1 à 6 : « Quand l'un de vous a un différend avec un autre, ose-t-il aller en justice devant les injustes et non devant les Saints ? … Et quand vous avez là-dessus des litiges, vous allez prendre pour juges des gens que l'Église méprise ! Je le dis à votre honte ; ainsi il n'y a parmi vous aucun homme sage, qui puisse servir d'arbitre entre ses frères ! », *Bible de Jérusalem*, cité par Jeanclos 1977, 67, note 80. La rhétorique développée dans les actes d'arbitrage met en effet en avant la volonté des parties d'apaiser le conflit, notamment via la formule *pro bono pacis*. Il ne faut cependant pas négliger les considérations plus matérielles, financières par exemple, qui pouvaient dicter le choix du recours à l'arbitrage (Combalbert 2014). Voir les remarques à ce sujet de Tock 1993, 55 ou Combalbert 2007, 155 et 162.

ridiction compétente devant laquelle le procès devrait normalement se tenir.[15] Parmi les contentieux dont on conserve la trace au chapitre de Paris au XIII[e] siècle, près de 40 % sont réglés par un arbitrage, témoignant de l'appétence de ce mode de règlement des contentieux au chapitre. Les arbitres, essentiellement des ecclésiastiques, sans doute pétris de droit romain et sensibles aux recommandations pontificales,[16] mettent en place le recours aux témoins comme mode de preuve privilégiée. Les rouleaux étudiés ici sont en partie le résultat de cette procédure testimoniale, puisque dix rouleaux sont des dépositions de témoins. Qu'en est-il des autres ?

La figure 1 détaille les différentes étapes d'un procès[17] et y insère les différents rouleaux qui composent le corpus étudié ici.

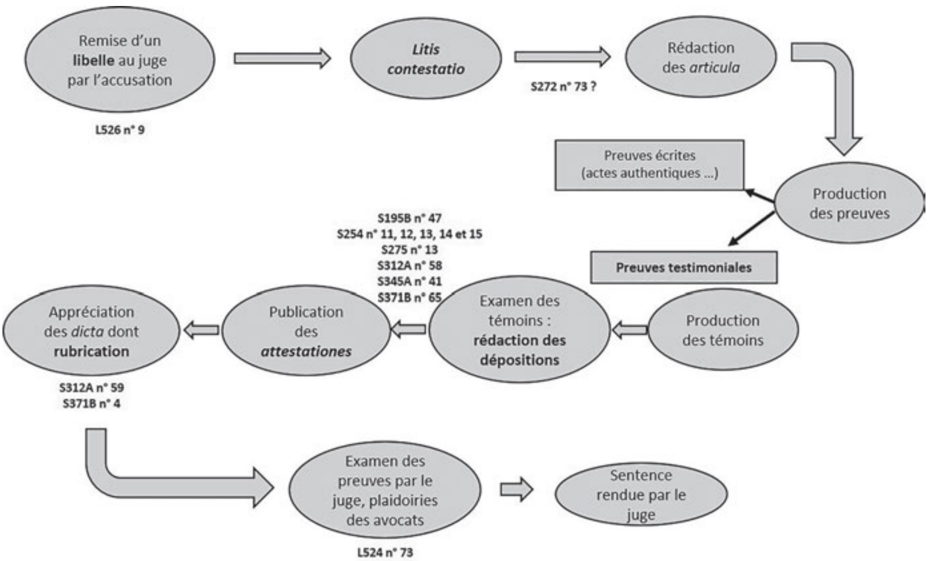

Fig. 1: Succession des étapes d'un procès avec mention des rouleaux correspondants.

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15 Jeanclos 1977, 52.

16 La procédure de témoignage est mise en avant par l'autorité pontificale dès le XII[e] siècle en lien avec le courant juridique réformateur qui suit la réforme grégorienne. Le recours aux témoins est par exemple rendu obligatoire en Auxerrois dans les juridictions ecclésiastiques par une bulle du pape Alexandre III du 13 février 1164 (n. st.), envoyée à l'évêque d'Auxerre. Cette bulle est publiée dans M. Quantin, *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne*, vol. 2, 163, nº CXLVIII. Cité par Jeanclos 1977, 201, note 37.

17 La procédure d'arbitrage n'étant pas foncièrement différente dans son déroulement, je ne la traiterai pas à part ici. Chaque arbitrage débute par l'établissement d'un compromis, « acte par lequel deux parties en différend choisissent une ou plusieurs personnes, appelées arbitres, pour mettre un terme à leurs litiges » (Jeanclos 1977, 25). Le compromis d'arbitrage précise généralement les noms des parties, la matière du conflit, les termes de l'arbitrage et des clauses permettant de garantir l'exécution

La procédure judiciaire débute par la remise par l'une des deux parties aux juges, aux arbitres ou à la cour de justice, d'un libelle qui liste les torts que l'autre partie est accusée d'avoir commis.[18] Le rouleau L526 nº 9 liste ainsi les torts que le chapitre cathédral accuse le prévôt de Paris de lui avoir causés et pour lesquels il demande justice au roi.[19] Le rouleau ne semble pas être un choix systématique pour cette étape de la procédure.[20]

À la suite de cette requête a lieu la *litis contestatio,* comparution des parties devant les juges.[21] Le rouleau S272 nº 73[22] mentionne explicitement cette *litis contestatio*[23] dans le cadre du conflit qui oppose le chapitre au comte Thibault de Champagne sur la jouissance des bois de Vernou[24]. Il n'en est cependant pas un compte-rendu, puisqu'il recueille les dépositions des deux procureurs des parties devant la cour du chapitre après la *litis contestatio*.

La confrontation des parties pendant la *litis constestatio* fait émerger les points litigieux qui sont rédigés sous forme d'*articula*. Ce sont ces articles dont les parties doivent établir la véracité en produisant des preuves. Ces preuves peuvent consister

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de la sentence arbitrale (souvent, clause pénale), parfois les modes de preuve qui vont être utilisées. Y est alors mentionné, comme c'est le cas dans l'exemple cité en introduction, la production des témoignages.

18 Voir la description rapide de la procédure de contentieux par Yves Mausen 2006, 6–7.

19 Aucun autre document au sujet de cette affaire n'est conservé dans le chartrier du chapitre de Paris.

20 Voir par exemple L463 nº 70, requête adressée par le procureur du chapitre à la cour du pape, listant les griefs adressés à l'évêque, passée en présence de l'official de l'évêque, de son garde du sceau et de son bailli, pourvue de six sceaux aujourd'hui perdus et des seings manuels de trois des témoins.

21 La *litis contestatio* est la grande absente de nos rouleaux. Elle donne cependant bien lieu a priori à la rédaction d'un document dont est conservé un exemple dans le chartrier du chapitre : l'acte S371B nº 5 débute ainsi par l'assignation des parties, avec précision du jour et du lieu (*Assignata est dies lunes post octabas natalis domini apud Latiniacum decano et capitulo Parisiensis et comitisse Campagnie ad interloquendum super exceptionibus istis qui secuntur*). S'ensuivent les paroles prononcées par le procureur de la comtesse de Champagne contre le chapitre, transcrites alternativement en style direct et indirect. Le rouleau se termine par une adresse aux juges au style direct : *Item petimus a vobis domini iudices* … Ce document a été produit sous forme d'un acte scellé. La forme rouleau n'a pas été choisie.

22 Le point d'interrogation dans le schéma vient de l'incertitude concernant la forme du rouleau pour ce document. Contrairement aux rouleaux, la mention dorsale du XIIIe siècle coïncide avec un pliage et elle n'est pas située le long du bord supérieur. De plus, il s'agit d'un document scellé avec un repli et le sceau, aujourd'hui perdu, s'est imprimé par apposition sur l'une des plages rectangulaires laissées par le pliage. Ces indices laissent penser plutôt à une conservation pliée. Néanmoins, le parchemin conserve des découpes sur l'ensemble de la largeur qui se superposent lorsque le parchemin est roulé, laissant deviner un mode de fermeture sous forme de rouleau.

23 Le rouleau débute par le serment du procureur du chapitre qui atteste de la véracité des propos avancés par le chapitre au cours de la *litis contestatio* : *Willelmus procurator capituli parisiensis, presbiter, post juramentum et pro juramentum prestitum de calumpnia in animas decani et capituli predicti, ponet quod omnia quod dicta sunt ex parte capituli parisiensis et nomine eius in litis contestatione vera sunt*. Même chose plus loin par le procureur de Thibault, comte de Champagne : *de quibus fit mentio in litis contestatione.*

24 Vernou-la-Celle-sur-Seine (Seine-et-Marne, cant. Montereau-Fault-Yonne).

en la production de preuves écrites devant la cour[25] ou, plus souvent, en l'audition de témoins, présentés aux juges par les parties. Une fois les témoins produits par les parties et leur prestation de serment entendue, l'examen consiste, pour les officiers chargés de l'enquête, à entendre les témoins en l'absence des parties.[26] Généralement, un notaire ou un tabellion rédige alors les dépositions des témoins, qui sont ensuite fermées et scellées jusqu'à leur communication aux parties. En effet, pour que les parties prennent connaissance des dires des témoins, les dépositions sont rendues publiques et sont alors désignées sous le terme *attestationes*.[27] Elles sont alors ouvertes, c'est-à-dire dépouillées de leurs sceaux et communiquées aux parties. Dans le but de pouvoir en contester le contenu, les parties ont droit à un exemplaire des *attestationes* ou, du moins, la possibilité doit leur être offerte de les transcrire, en présence du juge ou du tabellion afin d'éviter les fraudes. Parfois, la remise d'une copie des dépositions est précédée d'une lecture faite en présence des parties.[28] Sur les quinze rouleaux étudiés ici, dix sont des dépositions de témoins. Ces différentes versions de rédaction des dépositions, primo-rédaction par le notaire ou tabellion attaché aux juges ou aux arbitres, copie des dépositions par ce même notaire ou par un scribe mandé par le chapitre de Paris, expliquent sans doute en partie la grande variété matérielle de ces

25 Certaines sentences mentionnent ainsi la présentation aux juges ou aux arbitres de chartes ou d'actes authentiques ou leur lecture dans le cadre de la comparution des parties. C'est par exemple le cas d'une sentence de 1275 conservée dans le carton S435 (acte non numéroté). Les arbitres, Mathieu, abbé de Saint-Denis et Gautier dit Bardin, bailli du Vermandois, mentionne dans le cadre du conflit opposant le chapitre à Gérard de Viry sur la propriété de la mairie de Viry (Viry-Noureuil, Aisne, cant. Chauny) la présentation de chartes scellées par le chapitre à titre de preuve : *Super dicto negotio veritatem diligenter inquisivimus bona fide, testibus in dicto negocio ex parte dicti Givardi et eius uxoris productis juratis et examinatis, eorum depositionibus in scriptis redactis et publicatis, quibusdam instrumentis ex parte dictorum decani et capituli in modum probationis coram nobis exhibitis sigillis felicis recordationis Philippi et Ludovici dei gracia quondam regum Francie, Alienordam quondam comitisse Viromandie et G. quondam episcopi noviomensis sigillatis, lectis et expositis partibus antedictis.* Néanmoins, ces preuves écrites, lorsqu'elles sont avancées, ne se rencontrent qu'en complément de dépositions de témoins, la preuve testimoniale occupant une place particulière dans la hiérarchie des preuves. Sur cette hiérarchie des preuves, voir Lévy 1939 ou les remarques de Clère 2003. Voir aussi l'étude de Daniel Lord Smail sur la place des témoins dans les causes civiles à Marseille du XIII^e^ au XV^e^ siècle (Smail 2007). Il y souligne que peu de preuves dépendaient exclusivement de l'écrit. Certains plaignants prouvent l'existence de contrats par le moyen des témoins au lieu de produire le contrat lui-même, l'attestation orale d'un citoyen ayant plus de poids qu'un acte écrit (426–427).

26 Mausen 2006, 207.

27 Mausen 2006, 350. Les sentences mentionnent souvent ces différentes étapes de la procédure de production de la preuve testimoniale dans leur formulaire. Par exemple, la sentence arbitrale S195B nº 41 qui tranche le conflit entre le chapitre de Paris et Saint-Martin-des-Champs dont il a été question en introduction de cette communication précise avant la promulgation de la sentence : *Et nos magister Robertus et prior predicti testes quos utraque pars producere voluit in dicta causa compromissi prius juratos examinari fecimus et eorum depositiones in scriptis fecimus redigi et publicari, copiamque attestationum dictorum testium fieri fecimus partibus antedictis.*

28 *Ibid.*, 365.

documents.[29] Parmi ces dix dépositions, au moins quatre correspondent a priori à des primo-rédactions.[30] L'une d'entre elles conserve des traces du système de fermeture qui a précédé la publication des attestations.[31]

La suite de la procédure consiste pour les parties à analyser l'ensemble des témoignages remis par le notaire pour faire rejeter les témoins de la partie adverse. L'une des méthodes de questionnement des témoins est une pratique d'origine coutumière d'annotation et de réécriture des dépositions : la rubrication. L'avocat de la partie lit et relit les dépositions pour déterminer lesquels de ses articles ont été prouvés par les témoins : l'avocat coche les articles prouvés, indique dans les dépositions mêmes à quels articles se rapporte tel ou tel passage. Les résultats obtenus sont ensuite repris dans un nouveau document qui suit l'ordre des articles. Le rouleau S312A nº 59 est directement issu de ce travail de rubrication qui s'est appuyé sur les dépositions du rouleau S312A nº 58. Les rubriques concernent le conflit qui oppose le chapitre de Paris à Saint-Victor de Paris au sujet de la perception de la dîme sur des terres situées près de Chevilly et l'Hay[32]. Le début du rouleau reprend très précisément les détails du contentieux, sous la forme d'une longue énumération des terres sur lesquelles sont perçues les dîmes litigieuses. Des renvois directs aux lignes du rouleau des dépositions sont intégrés au rouleau de la rubrication,[33] tandis que dans le rouleau des dépositions, le responsable de la rubrication a numéroté les témoins, et indiqué les numéros de lignes qu'il utilise dans sa rubrique.

S'il n'est pas directement une rubrication, le rouleau S371B nº 4 appartient à la même étape de la procédure puisqu'il consiste en la traduction en latin et en version abrégée des dépositions de témoins du rouleau S371B nº 65 entendus dans le cadre du conflit opposant le chapitre de Paris à Blanche, comtesse de Champagne et comtesse palatine de Troyes, concernant les infractions causées par cette dernière dans la *villa* de Rozay.[34] Le responsable de la rédaction de ce nouveau rouleau résume ainsi les principaux points sur lesquels s'accordent les témoins produits par le chapitre.[35] Ces rubriques servent à la défense des parties devant le juge ou ses délégués et contri-

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29 La dernière partie de cette contribution reviendra sur cette variété matérielle.

30 S195B nº 47, S254 nº 11 et 12, S312A nº 58. Trois autres rouleaux ont peut-être ce même statut de primo-rédaction.

31 S254 nº 12. Comme pour le document S272 nº 73, des fentes ont été aménagées dans le sens de la largeur, qui se superposent lorsque le document est roulé.

32 Chevilly-Larue (Val-de-Marne, cant. Thiais), L'Haÿ-les-Roses (Val-de-Marne, ch.-l. cant.).

33 Par exemple sous les formes *in principio sue deposicionis* ; *in quarta linis sue deposicionis* ; *in septima / nona linis sue deposicionis*.

34 Rozay-en-Brie (Seine-et-Marne, cant. Fontenay-Trésigny). Le rouleau des dépositions est le seul du corpus qui ait été rédigé en français et non en latin. Sur la question de la langue et de la transcription des paroles prononcées, voir les remarques d'Alain Provost 2003.

35 Le rouleau porte d'ailleurs un titre : *Testes capituli super justicia de Roseto. Extracti et abreviati*. Alors que le premier témoin occupe 30 lignes dans le rouleau original, sa déposition est ici réduite à trois lignes. La suite du rouleau renvoie d'une déposition à une autre, sous la forme *X concordat cum Y*.

buent à l'étape d'appréciation des *dicta* par la cour ou les arbitres. Après avoir entendu les plaidoiries (*allegationes*) des avocats, le juge rend alors sa sentence.[36] Le rouleau L524 nº 73 semble constituer la version écrite de l'une de ces plaidoiries. La suite des deux peaux qui constituent le rouleau déploie les arguments de Saint-Victor de Paris en faveur de sa légitimité à percevoir les annuelles du pain et du vin que lui conteste le chapitre de Paris, arguments qui s'appuient à la fois sur des privilèges et sur l'usage.[37] Le producteur de ce rouleau est donc Saint-Victor de Paris dans le cadre du conflit qui l'oppose au chapitre de Paris en 1260 (n. st.).[38]

Malgré leur diversité matérielle et typologique, tous ces rouleaux partagent ainsi un contexte de production commun. Rédigés par une partie pour ouvrir une procédure en justice, par un notaire ou tabellion des juges ou des arbitres pour garder trace d'une étape de la procédure, ou par l'une des parties pour construire sa défense en justice, ils ont en commun d'attester la régularité d'une procédure judiciaire.

Le contexte de production de ces rouleaux étant désormais éclairci, il convient de s'interroger sur les conditions matérielles de leur rédaction. Témoins d'une procédure, ils sont aussi le résultat d'une pratique concrète que des indices matériels permettent de retracer.

Praxis du rouleau judiciaire

L'étude des modalités de confection des documents écrits, au cœur de la structuration du champ de l'histoire de la culture de l'écrit, commence seulement d'être appliquée aux rouleaux produits dans le cadre judiciaire.[39] Elle est pourtant essentielle pour

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36 On trouve trace de l'enchaînement des étapes de la procédure dans le formulaire des sentences. Un exemple avec l'acte S90B nº 86 : *facta litis contestatione, receptis testibus utriusque partis, publicatis attestionibus, auditi etiam rationibus et allegationibus hinc inde propositis* [...] *absoluimus per sententiam diffinitivam* [...].

37 *Tam ex verbis privilegiorum quam ex usu super hoc diu est observato, canonici sancti Victori debeant habere panem et vinum et alias obventiones prebendarum illorum qui cedunt vel decedunt parisiensis* (début de la deuxième peau).

38 Le conflit est réglé par un arbitrage de l'archidiacre de Paris, Geoffroy, et de deux chanoines, Jean de la Porte et Milo de Corbeil dont sont conservés aujourd'hui la sentence arbitrale de janvier 1260 (n. st.) au sein de chacun des deux chartriers (L524 nº 69 pour le chartrier capitulaire et L888A nº 55 pour le chartrier de Saint-Victor), la ratification de la sentence par Saint-Victor de Paris (L524 nº 70) et la ratification par le chapitre de Paris (L888A nº 54).

39 À l'exception notable d'Olivier Guyotjeannin qui s'intéresse précocement à ces questions dès 1985 dans l'article déjà cité qu'il consacre à une enquête de 1218 produite à Parme dans le cadre d'un conflit entre l'évêque justicier et la commune (Guyotjeannin 1985). Il dédie une vingtaine de pages à la description précise du rouleau tant dans sa forme matérielle que dans sa composition intellectuelle. Les études intégrant des analyses sur la confection des enquêtes judiciaires sont plus récentes : Provost 2003 sur la structuration des dépositions de témoins du procès de l'évêque de Troyes Guichard comprendre les pratiques qui sous-tendent l'écriture de ces documents. Les rouleaux de dépositions de témoins sont avant tout la mise par écrit d'une procédure orale qui passe par différentes étapes, des étapes qui se laissent lire dans la matérialité des documents qui nous sont parvenus.

De la citation à comparaître à l'examen : le rouleau dans la chaîne documentaire de la procédure testimoniale

Comme on l'a évoqué dans la partie précédente, l'audition des témoins se déroule en plusieurs étapes : la citation à comparaître ; la production au cours de laquelle les témoins sont présentés par les parties à la cour et prêtent serment ;[40] l'examen pendant lequel les témoins sont entendus par les officiers chargés de l'enquête en l'absence des parties.[41] Certains indices dans les dépositions conservées permettent d'appréhender ces étapes.

Le rouleau S254 nº 13 débute ainsi par une liste des témoins ayant prêté serment – a priori lors de la production.[42] La suite du rouleau, après un léger espace laissé blanc, annonce les dépositions des témoins en commençant par rappeler le sujet du contentieux – la vente contestée de la maison dite Cocherel par le chevalier Pierre de Brunanville – et les arguments avancés par le chevalier.[43] Un nouvel espace blanc sépare cette introduction des dépositions en tant que telles. Tous les témoins qui ont prêté serment semblent avoir ensuite effectué une déposition.[44] L'ordre des dépositions ne suit pas du tout celui de la liste des prestations de serments, ce qui corrobore l'hypo-

(1308–1314) ; Mausen 2006 sur la mise en forme des *attestationes*. Sur l'enquête dite administrative, voir Dejoux 2014.

40 La prestation de serment est obligatoire puisque c'est le serment qui donne foi aux paroles des témoins, comme l'atteste l'expression *non est testis, nisi juratus* (Mausen 2006, 193 *et sqq.*). Dans les dépositions, chaque témoin est ainsi systématiquement dit *juratus*.

41 Mausen 2006, 35.

42 *Hic sunt nomina illorum qui juraverunt : Guillelmus Malet, Odo de Monasterio, Odo Chofart, Simon Pelliparius, Gaufridus Moule, Robertus Burgensis, Petrus Lovee, Petrus Goufran, Radulphus de Vineis, Johannes Le Boucher, Colinus de Cocherel, Matheus Doublel, Hugo de Monasterio, Marthis, Johannes Ure, Johannes de Sancto Martino, Vincentius de Fresnes, maior de Espona, Givardus de Ballete, Fabian.*

43 *Hii sunt testes producti super contentione que vertitur inter capitulum parisiense ex una parte et dominum Petrum de Brunanville militem ex altera super ~~domo~~ vendis domus qui dicitur Cochereldi et aliis ad dictam contentionem pertinentibus. ~~Nicholaus de Cocherel~~ / Dictus miles, juratus et requisitus super premissis dicit quod …* Le nom barré *Nicholaus de Cocherel* correspond au premier témoin de la liste des dépositions, que l'on retrouve après le rappel des positions de Pierre de Brunanville.

44 Deux cas sont ambigus : un *Marthis* dans la liste des jurés, probablement identique au *Guillelmus Marthis* des dépositions ; un *Colinus de Cocherel* dans la liste des jurés, que l'on ne retrouve pas dans les dépositions, peut-être une erreur pour le *Nicholaus de Chorel* de la première déposition, mais sans aucune certitude.

thèse d'une distinction entre ces deux temps de la procédure – production et examen, qui donnent chacun lieu à une mise par écrit propre.[45]

Les rouleaux de dépositions du corpus étudié ici présentent deux autres exemples de listes de témoins. Ces deux listes figurent au verso de rouleaux que l'on peut nettement désigner comme des primo-rédactions.[46]

Le rouleau S254 nº 11 a été rédigé en 1225 dans le cadre du conflit opposant Amaury et Guillaume de Meulan, chevaliers, au chapitre de Paris concernant le droit de chasse que les chevaliers prétendent avoir sur la terre du chapitre près d'Epône[47]. Au verso du rouleau se trouve une liste sur deux colonnes des témoins du seigneur Amaury (fig. 2).[48] Trois noms de cette liste, manquants dans les dépositions, sont repérés dans la liste par un symbole Ø.[49] La liste est par ailleurs incomplète, se terminant par un autre signe ┼.[50] La présence de signes de repérage des noms manquants suggère ici une pratique de pointage des témoins du recto : cette liste, recopiée d'après un écrit antérieur à l'enregistrement des dépositions des témoins, sert probablement à repérer les personnes citées à comparaître qui n'ont pas témoigné.[51]

Le verso du rouleau S195B nº 47 comporte quant à lui les listes de témoins produits par chacune des deux parties, sur deux colonnes distinctes (fig. 3). Alors que le rouleau aujourd'hui conservé ne comporte que les dépositions des témoins produits par Saint-Martin-des-Champs, les listes au verso distinguent les témoins produits par Saint-Martin-des-Champs et ceux produits par le prieuré de Deuil-la-Barre.[52] Les annonces des listes sont cette fois explicites et désignent les témoins ayant prêté serment produits par chacune des parties.[53] Sur les 20 noms du verso, 13 sont affublés d'une croix, leur déposition étant copiée au recto du rouleau. Un seul témoin du recto, Martin Susanne, n'a pas son nom dans la liste, mais il est peut-être apparenté à André Susanne, dont le nom est affublé de deux croix au lieu d'une. Comme dans le cas de

45 La liste des témoins jurés en tête du rouleau S254 nº 13 ne correspond pas matériellement à cette mise par écrit du temps de la production, puisque l'écriture est de la même main que la suite du rouleau mais elle la reproduit intellectuellement.

46 Il s'agit des rouleaux S254 nº 11 et S195B nº 47.

47 Epône, Yvelines, cant. Limay.

48 *Testes ex parte domini Amaurici.*

49 Un autre nom, non présent dans les dépositions du recto, n'a cependant pas reçu de symbole.

50 Les dépositions du recto comportent huit noms supplémentaires par rapport à la liste du verso.

51 Cette liste des personnes citées à comparaître par Amaury aurait été transmise aux arbitres et c'est à partir de cette liste que s'effectue ici le pointage. Il semble peu probable qu'il s'agisse ici, comme dans le cas précédent, des témoins ayant prêté serment lors de la production puisque, l'examen intervenant généralement directement après la production, il semble étrange que certains noms disparaissent entre les deux étapes.

52 Colonne de gauche : *Hec sunt nomina juratorum capituli productorum ex parte prioris sancti Martini et eius consortium*. Colonne de droite : *Hec sunt nomina juratorum productorum ex parte ~~capituli~~ prioris de Diogilo et eius consortium*. Sur le détail du conflit, voir la note 1 de cette contribution.

53 Comme le signale l'emploi du terme *juratus*.

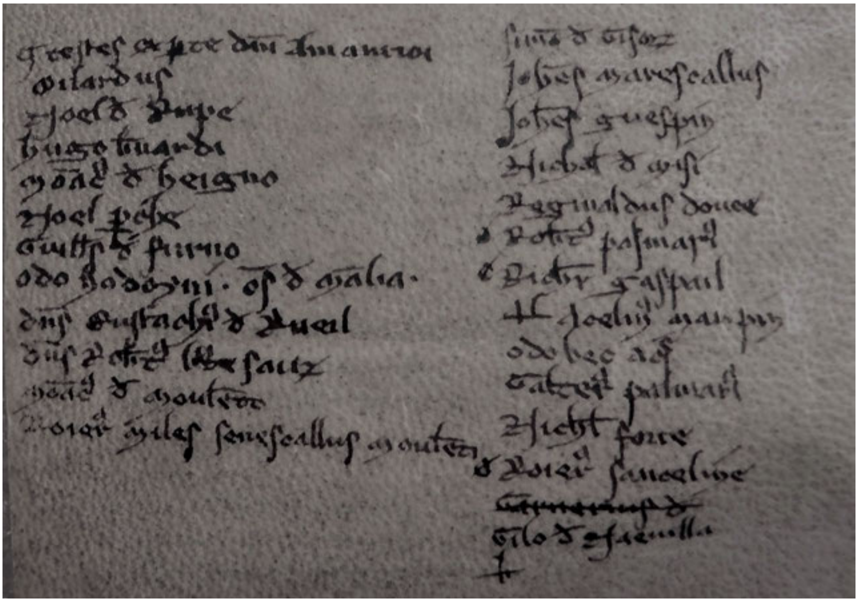

Fig. 2: Liste des témoins du seigneur Amaury copié au verso du rouleau S254 nº 11.

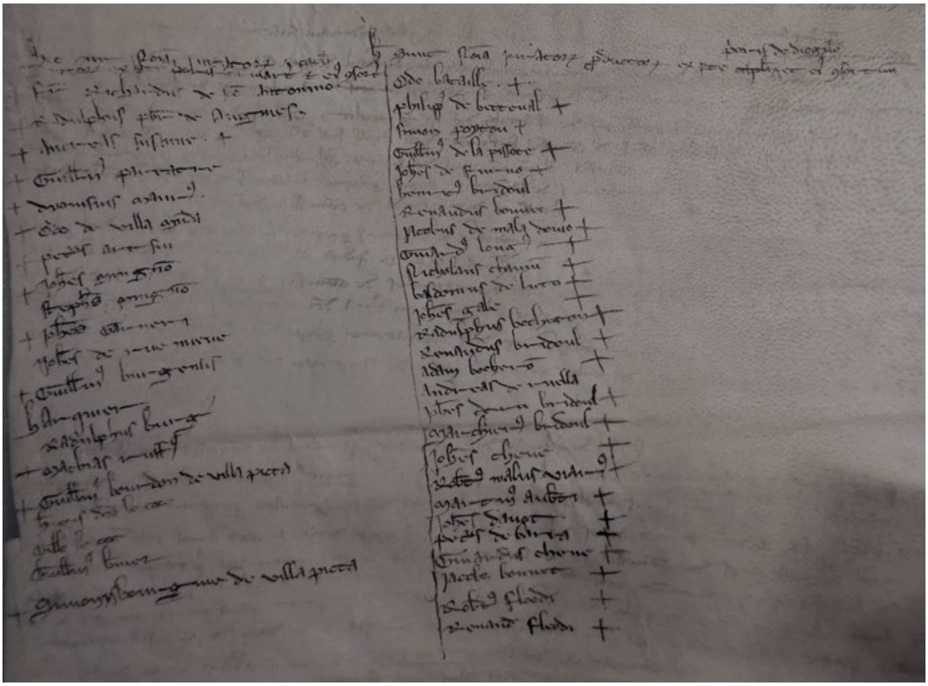

Fig. 3: Liste des témoins jurés produits par Saint-Martin-des-Champs et par le prieuré de Deuil-la-Barre copiée au verso du rouleau S195B nº 47.

la liste du rouleau S254 nº 11, la copie de cette liste au verso a servi au pointage des dépositions effectuées au moment de l'examen.

Il est difficile d'établir à quel moment ces listes ont été copiées au verso du parchemin. La présence de la liste sur la quatrième peau du rouleau S254 nº 11 suggérerait une copie postérieure à l'inscription des dépositions elle-même. En revanche, elles sont copiées à partir de listes établies en amont des dépositions et correspondant à une étape antérieure à l'examen des témoins.

Quoi qu'il en soit de la temporalité de leur rédaction, ces listes attestent en outre de la circulation des écrits entre les différentes étapes de la procédure de production et d'enregistrement des dépositions.

La confection des rouleaux en tant que tels est également soumise à une temporalité propre, celle de la production orale des témoins. Les primo-rédactions notamment enregistrent cette temporalité de la production, allant parfois jusqu'à suivre les itinéraires physiques du recueil des témoignages.

La confection des rouleaux, résultat d'un itinéraire temporel et spatial

La plupart des rouleaux de dépositions sont structurés en suivant une division claire entre les témoins produits par chacune des parties.[54] Certains rouleaux ne concernent ainsi que l'une des deux parties;[55] d'autres voient se succéder les témoins de l'une des parties, puis de l'autre.[56] Les rouleaux qui nous intéressent particulièrement dans cette partie sont ceux qui superposent à cette distinction une structuration supplémentaire, offrant un angle d'approche inédit sur l'organisation des dépositions de témoins et, à travers elle, sur la confection des rouleaux eux-mêmes.

Cette organisation peut faire intervenir plusieurs moments, plusieurs lieux, voire plusieurs acteurs de l'audition des témoins, les dépositions suivant alors un cheminement réel. La forme du rouleau permet dès lors de réunir en un seul document, par la

54 Un seul rouleau, S254 nº 15, au statut incertain, échappe à cette règle, les témoins du chapitre et de son opposant, le prieuré de Saint-Nicaise de Meulan (Meulan-en-Yvelines, Yvelines, cant. Les Mureaux), s'y côtoyant d'une déposition à l'autre. Chaque déposition précise le rattachement du témoin à l'une ou l'autre partie, sous la forme *X, testis,* ***productus ex parte*** ***, juratus, dicit* … Le rouleau est cependant composé d'une seule peau, les témoins y sont peu nombreux (8 pour le chapitre et 3 pour le prieuré) et les dépositions minimales.

55 C'est le cas des rouleaux S195B nº 47 (dépositions des témoins de Saint-Martin-des-Champs), S254 nº 13 (dépositions des témoins de Pierre de Brunanville), S254 nº 14 (dépositions des témoins de Saint Nicaise de Meulan).

56 Dans S345A nº 41 par exemple. Le rouleau débute par les dépositions des témoins produits par le chapitre, puis par celle des témoins produits par les habitants d'Orly (annoncés par une phrase en français : *Cil d'Orli amainnent ces tesmoinz a prouer que il ne desvent taille fors que au Roi per son ot.).*

couture, plusieurs peaux de parchemin écrites à différents moments ou en différents endroits, parfois par des scribes différents.

Le rouleau S254 nº 11, déjà évoqué au sujet de la liste de témoins qui figure au verso, voit ainsi se succéder deux temps de production de témoins différents, qui se matérialisent dans la succession des dépositions par une alternance entre des groupes de témoins produits par chacune des deux parties litigantes. La liste de témoins elle-même, écrite au verso de la quatrième peau de parchemin du rouleau, près du bord inférieur mais dans le sens inverse du sens d'écriture du recto, a été écrite en deux fois : un premier ensemble de neuf noms a été copié, puis deux noms ont été ajoutés à la première colonne et une deuxième colonne de 14 noms (dont un barré) a été écrite. La première partie de la liste correspond aux témoins annoncés après deux dépositions de la quatrième peau de parchemin.[57] Après ces témoins, le rouleau enregistre à nouveau deux témoins du chapitre de Paris[58] puis, après un espace laissé blanc, la suite des témoins du seigneur Amaury correspondant à la seconde liste.[59] Ces découpages laissent penser qu'il y a eu plusieurs productions successives de témoins.

Si l'on s'intéresse aux autres peaux de parchemin de ce rouleau et à leur contenu, on constate que les première et deuxième peaux ne comportent pas d'annonce explicite de la partie pour laquelle déposent les témoins, que le début de la troisième peau a été écrite par un scribe différent des autres peaux, et que les renvois inclus dans les peaux 1 et 2 font référence à des témoins produits par le chapitre de Paris et présents dans la troisième peau. L'organisation actuelle des peaux est ainsi erronée (tab. 1) et témoigne de la circulation de ces rouleaux en peaux séparées avant leur assemblement via la couture. L'absence d'annonce de la partie ayant produit les six témoins en début de troisième peau suggère qu'une partie des peaux a peut-être été perdue avant sa réunion sous forme de rouleau.[60]

Le rouleau S254 nº 12 offre un exemple d'un autre type de structuration des dépositions : les témoins ont été reçus par différentes personnes en différents lieux. Le rouleau contient ainsi des sous-titres qui, avant ou après chaque groupe de dépositions, précisent le lieu de réception des témoins ou les personnes les ayant entendus, divisant l'enquête en autant d'étapes.[61] Le rouleau ne comporte que les témoins

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57 Huit témoins, sous l'intitulé *Testes ex parte domini Amarici.*

58 *Testes ex parte beate Marie.*

59 Sous le même intitulé *Testes ex parte domini Amarici.*

60 C'est pourquoi la numérotation de la troisième colonne du tableau 1 est entre crochets. Rien ne permet d'affirmer que l'actuelle troisième peau était initialement la première peau de copie des dépositions.

61 Après les 32 premiers témoins : *Isti <supra dicti> sunt recepti apud Pruvinum*; *Isti qui secuntur a priore sancti Chosme quidam et quidam a priore sancti Nigasii.* Après 13 témoins : *Isti supra a priore sancti Chosme*; *Isti <infra> a priore sancti Nigasii* et après 3 témoins, à nouveau *Isti a priore sancti Chosme*. On ne conserve de cette affaire aucun autre document qui pourrait savoir si cette organisation de la réception des témoignages avait été initialement prévue par les juges et si elle figure explicitement dans la sentence.

Tab. 1: Etude de l'organisation des peaux du rouleau S254 nº 11.

Numérotation actuelle de la peau	Contenu	Place de la peau dans le déroulé des dépositions
1	12 témoins Renvois à la déposition de Noé de Varenne (*Petrus Vasalli* en premier témoin)	[3]
2	13 témoins (*Petrus Vasalli* barré en dernière ligne)	[2]
3	Main différente : 6 témoins 29 témoins du chapitre de Paris (dont Noé de Varenne)	[1]
4	3 témoins non identifiés 8 témoins d'Amaury de Meulan 2 témoins du chapitre de Paris 20 témoins d'Amaury de Meulan	[4]

produits par les seigneurs Amaury et Guillaume de Meulan.[62] La majorité d'entre eux ont été entendus près de Provins, probablement directement par les juges chargés de l'affaire, l'abbé de Saint-Jacques et le doyen de Saint-Quiriace[63], juges délégués par le pape. Les autres témoins ont été entendus soit par le prieur de Saint-Côme, soit par celui de Saint-Nicaise.[64] Pour ce faire, une cédule contenant les questions à poser aux témoins leur a été remise, ainsi qu'il en est fait mention dans certains témoignages.[65] Le rouleau contient une partie du mandement par lequel le prieur de Saint-Nicaise renvoie aux arbitres les dépositions qu'ils ont faites en leur nom :

> *Viris venerabilis et discretis abbati sancti Iacobi, decano sancti Quiriaci, judicibus a domino Pape delegatis, frater Willelmus, dictus prior sancti Nigasii de Mullento, salutem in domino. Noverit discretione vostra nos juxta Fonrum mandati vostri testes senos et valitudinarios quos domini Almericus et Willelmus, frater eius de Mullento milites, coram nobis produxerunt, ad probandam prescriptionem quam objecerunt coram vobis contra decanum et capitulum parisiensis, fideliter recipisse et diligenter examinasse in hunc modum.*

62 Le conflit concerne le droit de pêche de ces seigneurs dans la rivière de Mandre.
63 Ces deux établissements, l'abbaye Saint-Jacques et la collégiale Saint-Quiriace, sont attestés à Provins.
64 Il s'agit des prieurés Saint-Côme et Saint-Damien de Meulan et Saint-Nicaise de Meulan. Un témoin semble avoir été entendu deux fois, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'un homonyme : Robert Papillon, dernier témoin des premières dépositions faites auprès du prieur de Saint-Côme et premier de ceux entendus par le prieur de saint-Nicaise.
65 Par exemple, au début de la deuxième partie des dépositions reçues par le prieur de Saint-Côme : *Petrus Junio de Marila, miles, testis juratus,* ***respondit ad omnes interrogationes quod continentur in cedula*** ...

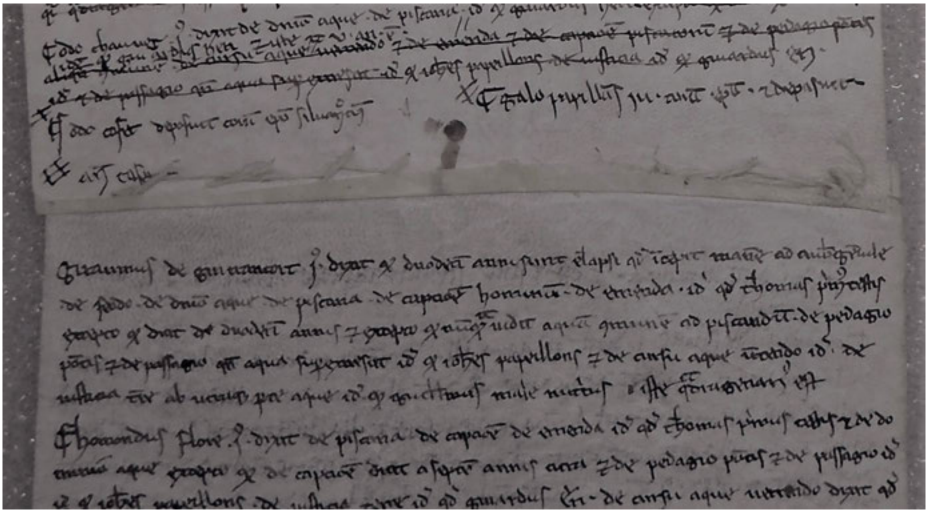

Fig. 4: Passage de la deuxième à la troisième peau de parchemin du rouleau S254 nº 12.

Trois témoins mentionnés dans ce rouleau ont enfin déposé auprès de l'évêque de Senlis, sans que la teneur de leur déposition soit copiée dans ce rouleau.[66]

L'ensemble des dépositions de ce rouleau semble copié par la même main, avec des inflexions dans l'écriture, un seul et même scribe ayant donc copié des dépositions reçues dans différents endroits par différentes personnes.[67] À nouveau, l'enchaînement des peaux plaide en faveur de leur circulation en partie séparées avec réunion par la couture. Ainsi, si les deux premières peaux forment un ensemble évident, la déposition du témoin chevauchant le passage à la deuxième peau, la troisième peau marque une inflexion indubitable (fig. 4): la deuxième peau se termine par un ensemble d'ajouts avec signes de renvois, le premier témoin de la troisième peau ne comporte pas de pied-de-mouche et une numérotation partielle des témoins de la troisième peau figure avant le quatrième témoin (numéroté *iiii*). Au verso de cette troisième peau a par ailleurs été ajoutée une déposition supplémentaire avec son propre intitulé.[68]

Si les peaux ont pu circuler de manière séparée, leur réunion était néanmoins prévue, l'espace nécessaire étant laissé en tête des peaux pour que la couture puisse

66 Leur déposition est simplement mentionnée: *Odo Coset deposuit coram episcopo silvanectensis; Johannes Serrant deposuit coram episcopo silvanectensis; Johannes Pucella, juratus, alias deposuit coram episcopo silvanectensis et ideo nolumus eum recipere.*

67 Il est difficile de savoir si le scribe a été envoyé aux prieurs délégués pour enregistrer les dépositions à la suite de celles reçues à Provins par les juges ou si les dépositions reçues par les prieurs ont été copiées après coup par le scribe attaché aux juges d'après un écrit indépendant transmis par les prieurs.

68 *Testis domini Almarici et est in fine scedule infrapresentis Arnulphus de Spedona <in origenalibus>.*

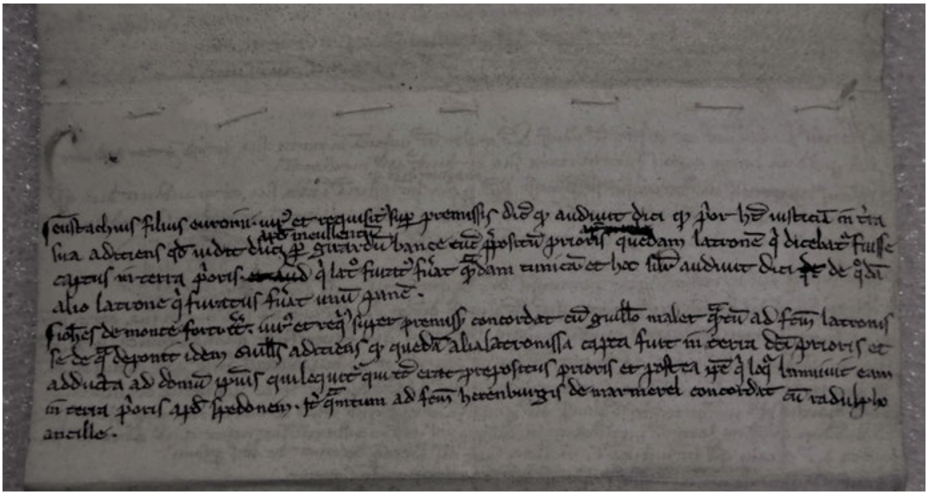

Fig. 5: Rapport entre l'écriture de deux dépositions au verso d'une peau de parchemin et la couture.

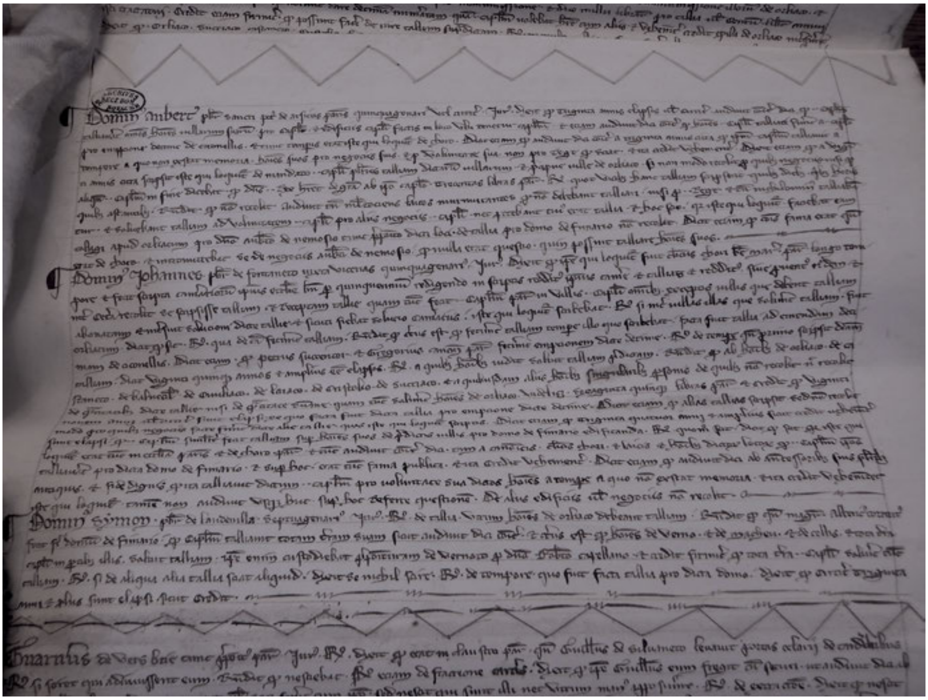

Fig. 6: Esthétique de la couture (S345A nº 41).

se faire sans recouvrir les écritures. Un même cas se retrouve dans le rouleau S254 nº 14. Les deux témoins ajoutés au verso de la deuxième et dernière peau du rouleau sont suffisamment espacés du bord pour que la couture ultérieure ne se superpose pas à l'écriture (fig. 5).

La couture, en permettant la réunion matérielle de l'ensemble des dépositions en un ensemble unifié, apparaît donc comme une étape centrale dans la constitution des rouleaux de dépositions de témoins. Les mises au propre reprennent cette symbolique de la réunion en portant une attention particulière, qui à la numérotation des peaux[69], qui aux formes matérielles de la couture. Le cas le plus significatif du corpus est le rouleau S345A nº 41, dans lequel la couture en dent de scie répond aux bouts de ligne, dans une forme d'esthétique de la couture indubitable (fig. 6).

Primo-rédaction ou mise au propre, ces rouleaux ont été conservés par le chapitre. Pour terminer cette analyse de la praxéologie du rouleau judiciaire, il convient donc dans un dernier temps de s'interroger sur les raisons de cette conservation. Au-delà de leur usage évident pendant le contentieux, quel statut a été accordé à ces différents rouleaux une fois la sentence promulguée ?

La conservation des rouleaux : quels statuts ?

Ces rouleaux sont aujourd'hui conservés aux Archives nationales au sein des cartons de l'ancien chartrier du chapitre. Dix d'entre eux sont associés, par proximité ou par un lien physique,[70] aux actes qui concernent l'affaire dans le cadre de laquelle ils ont été produits.[71] Pour les cinq autres en revanche, aucun acte concernant la même affaire n'a été retrouvé dans le chartrier.[72] Aucun de ces rouleaux n'a fait l'objet d'une conservation séparée par rapport aux actes du chartrier malgré la différence de forme.

En s'intéressant à la place accordée à ces rouleaux dans les archives, on constate qu'à la distinction entre primo-rédaction et mise au net du point de vue formel correspond une distinction dans le traitement archivistique dont ont fait l'objet ces rouleaux, traitement qui s'explique par une différence de statut dans les documents.

69 La seule numérotation des peaux présente dans le corpus correspond ainsi à une mise au propre : chacune des sept peaux du rouleau S371B nº 65 comporte dans le coin supérieur gauche une lettre, de a à g.

70 L'ensemble des actes concernant la perception des dîmes de Gonesse, avec le rouleau de dépositions S195B nº 47, ont été attachés par un lien en parchemin pour former un dossier. Les écritures encore visibles sur ce lien en parchemin semblent dater des XIVe ou XVe siècles, la constitution du dossier étant donc postérieure à cette époque.

71 Compromis d'arbitrage des différentes parties, sentences, prolongation des termes d'arbitrage …

72 Il s'agit des cotes S254 nº 12 et 13 et S275 nº 13 correspondant à des dépositions de témoins et des cotes S272 nº 73 et L526 nº 9 correspondant à d'autres étapes de procédure.

Des primo-rédactions à la conservation hasardeuse

Les rouleaux de déposition identifiés comme des primo-rédactions et conservés aujourd'hui n'ont reçu aucune mention dorsale avant le XVIIIe siècle,[73] à l'exception d'un rouleau, le S195B nº 47, sur lequel on peut lire, d'une main du XIIIe siècle: *Sunt testes priori de sancto Martino.* Néanmoins, cette mention est une simple identification de la partie et ne correspond sans doute pas à un traitement archivistique d'analyse du document au même titre que les mentions dont il sera question plus bas pour les mises au propre.

L'absence d'inclusion de ces rouleaux dans les campagnes d'analyse archivistique se justifie par leur statut ambigu. Utilisés à titre de preuve pendant le jugement du contentieux, ces rouleaux voient leur validité juridique remise en question une fois la sentence promulguée. En effet, si les rouleaux sont scellés avant leur ouverture, ouverts et possiblement copiés en présence des juges et des parties pour éviter toute fraude dans le contenu, une fois conservés par les parties, rien dans leurs caractéristiques formelles ne permet d'assurer sur le long terme l'intégrité de leur contenu par rapport au moment de la rédaction. Les dépositions font apparaître des ratures et des ajouts multiples, qui ne sont pas signalés comme tels, aucun bout de ligne ne permet d'empêcher les ajouts ultérieurs.[74]

La question de leur intégrité physique elle-même peut poser question. Certains des rouleaux étudiés ont ainsi été cousus improprement, et rien ne permet d'assurer qu'ils sont complets. Sur le rouleau S195B nº 47, la liste inscrite au verso du document détaille les témoins des seigneurs et du chapitre, mais seules les dépositions des seigneurs sont conservées sur le rouleau. Ce rouleau ne comporte qu'une seule peau de parchemin, sur laquelle n'est visible aucune trace de couture suggérant qu'une deuxième peau ait pu y être attachée. Cependant, si, comme on a tenté de le démontrer, certaines peaux ont pu circuler séparément avant d'être cousues, il est possible qu'une deuxième peau contenant les dépositions des témoins produits par le chapitre et destinée à être cousue à la première ait pu être perdue. De même, rien n'indique que les quatre peaux du rouleau S254 nº 11, également étudiées plus haut puisqu'elles ont été cousues dans le mauvais ordre, aient constitué l'intégralité des peaux de ce rouleau de déposition. Au contraire, le début de la première peau du rouleau,[75] écrite par une main différente de la suite, ne commence par aucune identification de la partie

73 Au XVIIIe siècle, après la création d'un office d'archiviste du chapitre tenu par un laïc, un long travail d'apposition d'analyses dorsales sur la quasi-totalité des documents conservés est mené par les différents archivistes qui se succèdent. Le traitement des archives du chapitre sur le temps long est étudié dans ma thèse en cours.

74 Au contraire, dans les actes du chartrier à valeur perpétuelle, lorsqu'un ajout interlinéaire a été ajouté au moment de la rédaction de l'acte, cet ajout est souvent reproduit sur la queue de parchemin destinée à recevoir le sceau afin d'attester de la présence de cet ajout au moment du scellement.

75 L'actuelle deuxième peau dans l'état actuel des coutures.

qui a produit les témoins, alors que les dépositions suivantes sont systématiquement précédées d'une indication de la partie, ce qui suggèrerait plutôt que cette première peau prend la succession d'une peau aujourd'hui perdue.

Ces rouleaux de dépositions sont des documents de la pratique, destinés à être utilisés comme preuves ou pour construire un discours juridique dans le cadre de contentieux.[76] Ils n'ont dès lors pas vocation à être conservés. Pour ces quelques rouleaux présents dans le chartrier capitulaire aujourd'hui, nombreux sont ceux qui n'ont pas survécu au passage du temps. Ainsi, sur les 175 actes du chartrier qui s'inscrivent dans le cadre d'un contentieux, 57 mentionnent explicitement le recours à l'enquête comme mode de preuve.[77] Il est difficile d'établir un ratio des pertes, mais la mise en regard de ces 57 mentions avec le chiffre de cinq rouleaux de dépositions conservés reste parlante.[78]

Des mises au propre au statut de preuves

Les dépositions mises au propre, ainsi que les rouleaux relevant d'autres étapes de la procédure, font l'objet d'un traitement archivistique différent. Les trois dépositions mises au propre ont ainsi chacune reçu une mention dorsale au XIII[e] siècle, tout comme trois des quatre rouleaux de procédure (tab. 2).

Les mentions présentes au dos des dépositions témoignent de la connaissance d'un vocabulaire juridique totalement absent des dépositions elles-mêmes : le terme *attestationes* au dos du rouleau S275 nº 13 insiste sur la mise par écrit des témoignages pour le chapitre.[79] La note dorsale ne revient pas sur l'objet du litige qui était claire-

76 D'où leur utilisation pour la réalisation de rubriques par exemple.

77 30 mentions renvoient à une enquête de manière assez laconique, souvent sous la forme *diligenti inquisitione facta*. Difficile pour ces mentions d'évaluer dans quelle mesure il y a vraiment eu dépositions de témoins. En revanche, 26 mentions annoncent explicitement les témoins, soit indépendamment, soit au sein d'une procédure plus large et détaillée : *inquisita tamen prius per ipsos arbitros veritate a testibus quos utraque pars super premissis duxerit producendos volentes* (S328 nº 4) ; *facta litis contestatione, receptis testibus utriusque partis, publicatis attestationibus, auditis etiam rationibus et allegationibus hinc inde propositis* ... (S90B nº 86).

78 Les trois rouleaux pour lesquels on ne conserve pas d'actes liés ne sont pas mentionnés dans ce chiffre. Il n'est pas possible de faire un ratio significatif entre le nombre de rouleaux conservés et le nombre de rouleaux censés avoir été produits puisque certains des 57 actes concernent la même affaire. De plus, parmi les dossiers qui ne mentionnent pas le recours à l'enquête, la sentence n'est parfois pas conservée, alors qu'elle est parfois la seule dans laquelle l'enquête est explicitement annoncée. Il n'est donc pas certains que les 118 actes ne mentionnant pas d'enquête n'aient pas vu néanmoins le recours à cette procédure.

79 Renvoyant au lexique juridique de Forcellini, Du Cange donne pour ce terme la définition suivante : *Attestationes sunt dicta testium, vel testimonia ordine juris in scriptis redacta* (« 1 attestatio » par les Bénédictins de St. Maur, 1733–1736), dans Du Cange 1883–1887[5], vol. 1, col. 457c. http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/ATTESTATIO1, (dernier accès : 27.10.17). La deuxième partie de la mention dorsale

Tab. 2: Mentions dorsales apposées sur les rouleaux.

Cote	Type de document	Mention dorsale
S272 nº 73	Dépositions des procureurs	*Acta coram auditore in camera capituli parisiensis*
S275 nº 13	Dépositions de témoins	***Attestationes** capituli parisiensis et transcriptum instrumenti de quo fit mentio in relatione*
S312A nº 59	Rubriques	*Testes super inquisitione facta super discordia incrementa inter capitulum parisiensem et monasterium sancti Victoris occasione quarumdam decimarum et aliarum rerum apud Civilliacum et Laiacum*
S345A nº 41	Dépositions de témoins	***Inquesta** super tallia de Orliaco*
S371B nº 65	Dépositions de témoins	***Informatio** de Roseto*
L524 nº 73	Plaidoirie	*Littere sancti Victoris et capituli non sigillate*
L526 nº 9	Libelle	*Gravamina illata per prepositum parisiensem*

ment établi via l'ajout d'un titre en tête de la rédaction.[80] Les deux autres rouleaux de dépositions sont identifiés comme *inquesta* et *informatio*, deux termes désignant la procédure d'enquête judiciaire, au sens de recherche de la vérité.

L'inclusion de ces documents dans les traitements archivistiques du chartrier leur confère un statut différent : ces rouleaux sont moins des documents de la pratique à usage temporaire que des documents ayant vocation à être conservés car attestant d'une procédure en justice ayant prouvé les droits du chapitre. Deux de ces rouleaux ont été scellés, renforçant leur valeur juridique : c'est le cas de la confrontation des deux procureurs après la *litis contestatio* (S272 nº 73) et de la copie des dépositions de témoins concernant la taille des hommes d'Orly (S345A nº 41). Aucun de ces sceaux n'est aujourd'hui conservé.[81]

Contrairement aux primo-rédactions, les copies des dépositions sont plus attentives à assurer l'intégrité matérielle et textuelle des rouleaux : numérotation des peaux

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fait référence à la transcription d'un acte probablement produit dans le cadre du contentieux. À aucun moment les dépositions ne font référence à un *instrumentum*. La transcription en question était sans doute copiée sur un autre parchemin attaché à celui-ci, ainsi que le suggère la déchirure du coin supérieur gauche du rouleau actuel.

80 Dans la marge supérieure : *Testes capituli parisiensis contra nobilem virum Th. comitum Campanie recepti in prima et secunda et tercia productione super negocio quod vertitur inter ipsos tam super proprietate quam super possessione nemorum quod dicuntur nemora Vernoti in terrarum ex nemoribus redactarum ad culturam et orti quod ad dicta nemora et terras pertinent.*

81 Le sceau du premier rouleau était vraisemblablement celui du chapitre, l'audition des procureurs s'étant tenue devant la cour du chapitre. Les trois sceaux du second rouleau étaient sans doute ceux des trois arbitres du conflit : Renault, évêque de Paris, Guillaume, évêque d'Orléans et Guy, évêque d'Auxerre.

de parchemin et confirmation de la collation portée au dos du document pour S371B nº 65,[82] bouts de ligne dans S345A nº 41. La copie de ces dépositions et leur conservation semblent ici le résultat d'un choix délibéré de la part du chapitre.[83]

Ce changement de statut des dépositions de témoins dans le cadre d'une copie qui puisse être juridiquement valide entraîne parfois l'abandon de la forme du rouleau. Le chartrier du chapitre conserve ainsi un exemple de deux ensembles de dépositions de témoins, sans doute initialement recueillis sous forme de rouleau, qui ont été transformés au moment de leur mise au propre en deux parchemins de très grand format scellés et conservés pliés à la manière d'un acte. Les documents S206 nº 21–1 et nº 21–2 contiennent ainsi respectivement les dépositions du chapitre de Paris pour le premier et de H., trésorier de Beauvais et Guy de Montfort, seigneur de Bréthencourt[84] pour le second au sujet du conflit qui les oppose en 1224 sur la possession des terres, moulins, hostises, jardins et pâturages des rives situées entre Bréthencourt et Corbreuse[85]. Chacun de ces parchemins était scellé de deux sceaux, aujourd'hui perdus.[86]

Recopiées et transformées pour être porteuses d'une valeur juridique à long terme, ces dépositions de témoins ont été copiées au sein du cartulaire du chapitre cinquante ans après leur production. Le Grand Pastoral, rédigé entre 1271 et 1283,[87] contient ainsi, au sein du livre 11 consacré à la prévôté de Corbreuse, les dépositions des témoins produits par les seigneurs sous la rubrique *Testes Guidonis de Monteforti et thesaurarii belvacensis de riparia Corberose* (numéros 18 à 32 de la numérotation des actes) puis celles de ceux produits par le chapitre sous la rubrique *Item sunt testes capituli Beate Marie parisiensis* (numéros 33 à 49).[88] Ces dépositions sont les seules à faire l'objet d'une copie au sein du cartulaire du chapitre. L'abandon de la forme

82 Sous la forme d'une mention portée au dos du rouleau : *Collatio facta est de verbo ad verbum.*

83 Les raisons de la copie de ces dépositions plutôt que d'autres nous échappent. Ni l'objet des contentieux, ni la nature des parties litigantes ne les distinguent spécifiquement des autres conflits. Peut-être ces conflits correspondaient-ils à des litiges que le chapitre s'attendait à voir se reproduire ou s'étant déjà reproduits et pour lesquels il était plus important de conserver des preuves valides dans la longue durée.

84 Saint-Martin de Bréthencourt (Yvelines, cant. Rambouillet).

85 Corbreuse (Essonne, cant. Dourdan).

86 Le conflit oppose deux parties, mais trois personnes, morale pour le chapitre et physiques pour les deux seigneurs. Il est donc peu probable que les deux sceaux soient ceux des parties. Le conflit a été jugé par l'abbé et le prieur de Sainte-Geneviève et le doyen de Saint-Marcel, juges délégués par le pape momentanément dessaisis au profit d'arbitres : les doyens, sous-chantre et chantre du chapitre de Paris. Les deux sceaux ne correspondent donc pas non plus a priori à ceux des juges ou des arbitres puisque le nombre de concorde pas.

87 Ce cartulaire est conservé aux Archives nationales sous la cote LL76. Sur la datation précise de la rédaction du Grand Pastoral et ses différentes phases, je me permets de renvoyer à mon mémoire de Master : Tryoen 2013.

88 Comme pour les rouleaux de déposition mis au propre, il est difficile de comprendre ce qui a entraîné ce choix documentaire, l'affaire en question n'ayant rien de spécifique a priori par rapport aux autres conflits dans lesquels a pu être impliqué le chapitre.

rouleau au profit d'une charte scellée donne aux dépositions de Corbreuse un statut privilégié qui justifie leur copie dans le cartulaire. Aucun rouleau, même pourvu de signes de validation, n'acquiert jamais cette légitimité au chapitre de Paris.

Conclusion

L'utilisation du rouleau au chapitre de Paris est liée avant tout à un contexte documentaire : celui du règlement de contentieux et notamment mais pas exclusivement, au sein de la procédure, à la production de preuve testimoniale.

Le choix de la forme du rouleau pour ces dépositions de témoins doit être compris au regard de la grande souplesse que permet la réunion par la couture de peaux conçues parfois indépendamment les unes des autres. Comme dans d'autres établissements[89] ou dans d'autres contextes de production,[90] des considérations techniques président ainsi sans doute en premier lieu au choix du rouleau.[91]

Au-delà de la praticité du rouleau pour son usage pendant le contentieux, le choix du rouleau s'est maintenu pour la mise au propre de certains rouleaux de témoignages et pour d'autres pièces de procédure qui, contrairement aux rouleaux de dépositions issus de primo-rédactions, ont été sciemment conservés et inclus dans les traitements archivistiques. Néanmoins, la forme du rouleau ne semble jamais avoir acquis, au chapitre de Paris, la solennité des chartes copiées dans les cartulaires, peut-être du fait de la complexité technique de garantir au rouleau une intégrité physique et textuelle qui puisse en attester l'authenticité.

89 Pour un autre exemple d'utilisation de rouleaux pour les dépositions de témoins, voire par exemple le cas déjà mentionné étudié par Olivier Guyotjeannin (Guyotjeannin 1989) ou celui de l'enquête de la cour des Mortemains du comté du Hainaut éditée par Léo Verriest (Verriest 1910, 519–552) et commentée par Nicolas Ruffini-Ronzani (Ruffini-Ronzani 2012a, 231 *et sqq*). Dans son étude, Yves Mausen liste également un nombre important de sources parmi lesquels figurent de nombreux rouleaux dont certains sont sans aucun doute des dépositions de témoins. Nombre de ces sources sont aujourd'hui conservées dans des dépôts d'archives en province.

90 On pense ici notamment aux rouleaux de comptabilités.

91 Ainsi que le pointait déjà Nicolas Ruffini-Ronzani en étudiant les comptes en rouleau, contrairement à la confection de cahiers qui exige que tous les bi-feuillets soient grosse modo de dimensions identiques, la hauteur des peaux composant un rouleau peut varier sans que cela suscite de difficultés particulières au moment de confectionner le rouleau (Ruffini-Ronzani 2012b).

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Crédits photos

Fig. 1: Illustration d'après la description de Mausen 2006, realisée par Lucie Tryoen Laloum.
Fig. 2–6: Avec la permission des Archives nationales Paris.

Marlène Helias-Baron

Une déclaration des biens de Notre-Dame du Val (1362)

Exigences fiscales, reconstruction seigneuriale et pratiques documentaires

Notre-Dame du Val est une abbaye d'hommes fondée en 1125 à proximité de la ville de Pontoise[1], sur le territoire de Mériel[2], par des Cisterciens venus de la Cour-Dieu près d'Orléans[3]. Située dans la châtellenie de Montmorency,[4] elle a reçu des dons des seigneurs de l'Isle-Adam dès les années 1130, imités par les seigneurs de Villiers et de Montmorency.[5] Cet afflux de donations a permis aux moines d'être à la tête, à la fin du XIIe siècle, d'un solide patrimoine constitué de terres, de bois, de vignes, de maisons, mais aussi de rentes.[6] Aux siècles suivants, les religieux ont continué à développer leur temporel, mais à un rythme moins soutenu et selon d'autres modalités, en privilégiant notamment les achats ou les échanges. À la fin du Moyen Âge, leur chartrier apparaît bien fourni, tant en originaux qu'en copies. Pour mettre de l'ordre dans la gestion des biens et des archives, ils ont entrepris de rédiger des «livres d'archives»,[7] dont nous conservons un cartulaire du début du XIIIe siècle, et plusieurs censiers des XIVe et XVe siècles, tout en diversifiant leur production documentaire en fonction de leurs besoins.[8]

Parmi les documents de gestion domaniale disponibles dans ce fonds et rédigés majoritairement sous forme de *codices* se trouve un rouleau daté de 1362 et mesurant

1 Pontoise: départ. Val-d'Oise, région Île-de-France.
2 Mériel: cant. Saint-Ouen-l'Aumône, arr. Pontoise, départ. Val-d'Oise, région Île-de-France.
3 Ingrannes: cant. Châteauneuf-sur-Loire, arr. Orléans, départ. Loiret, région Centre-Val-de-Loire.
4 Montmorency: cant. Montmorency, arr. Sarcelles, départ. Val-d'Oise, région Île-de-France. La châtellenie de Montmorency est mentionnée comme telle à partir de 1218. Selon Brigitte Bedos-Rezak (Bedos/Bautier 1980, 18), «ce n'est pas une terre du domaine, mais elle doit hommage au roi; elle est au nombre des châtellenies de la prévôté et vicomté de Paris».
5 Bedos/Bautier 1980, 124.
6 Foucher 1998.
7 Bertrand 2015, 155.
8 Paris, Archives nationales, L 944, S. 4166–4216. Cergy-Pontoise, Arch. dép. du Val-d'Oise, 44 H 1–6. Cartulaire: Paris, Archives nationales, LL 1541; état des cens à Froidmontel et à Amblainville de 1403: Paris, Archives nationales, S 4170, dossier nº 5; censier de 1406: Paris, Archives nationales S 4172, dossier nº 5; état des cens de L'Isle-Adam de 1408: Paris, Archives nationales, S 4192, dossier nº 4.

Avant toute autre considération, je tiens à remercier chaleureusement Olivier Mattéoni pour ses précieux renseignements sur Gilles de Nédonchel; Mathieu Deldicque et Hélène Jacquemard pour leur accueil bienveillant à la Bibliothèque et aux Archives du Musée Condé de Chantilly; Sébastien Barret, Isabelle Bretthauer et Judith Kogel pour leurs lectures attentives et leurs judicieux conseils.

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plus de 4 mètres de long.[9] Il apparaît comme un hapax dans la documentation du monastère, bien que ce type de rouleau de gestion ne soit pas rare pour la région parisienne au XIVe siècle.[10] Rédigé sous la forme d'un acte, avec protocole, dispositif et eschatocole, il s'agit d'une déclaration des biens du monastère, plus précisément d'un aveu et dénombrement de ses domaines et de ses possessions, mais aussi des rentes et des cens qu'il perçoit ou qu'il doit verser.[11] Récapitulant toutes les possessions implantées aussi bien dans le Vexin et le Parisis que dans la Plaine de France, il livre l'état du patrimoine d'une abbaye située dans un espace menacé par la guerre et les révoltes paysannes dans les années 1350, en cours de reconstruction après la paix de Brétigny en 1360.

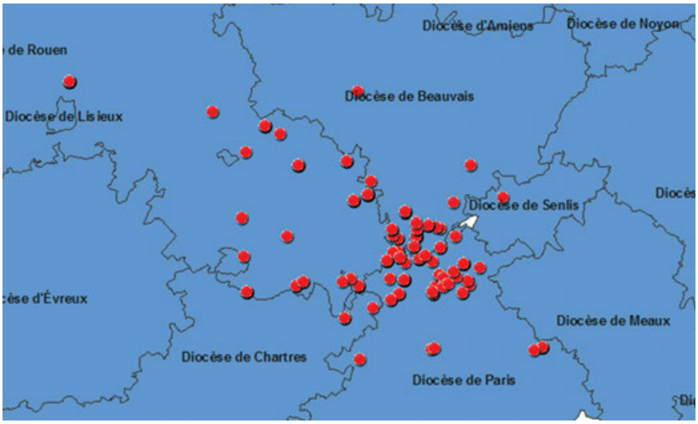

Fig. 1: Les possessions de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame du Val localisées dans les diocèses de Paris, de Rouen, de Beauvais et de Senlis (d'après la déclaration de 1362).

Au-delà de cette description patrimoniale, ce rouleau pose de sérieux problèmes d'interprétation, tant du point de vue de sa production, de son organisation et de sa fonction que de son insertion parmi les autres documents produits par ou pour les moines. Plusieurs questions se profilent : la première concerne le milieu qui a pris l'initiative de sa rédaction (les moines eux-mêmes, un agent royal, etc.) ; la deuxième porte sur les raisons pour lesquelles une telle entreprise a été mise en chantier. Il faudrait également s'interroger sur les usages auxquels ce rouleau était destiné, avant de déterminer comment il s'intègre dans la production écrite de l'abbaye.

9 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169, nº 15.
10 Weiss 2009, vol. 2, 738. Valentine Weiss a répertorié près de 200 censiers sous forme de rouleau pour la seule capitale, dont 34 originaux.
11 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169, nº 15, l. 1–3 : *C'est la declaration des heritages, domaines et possessions que tiennent et avouent a tenir sous le roi notre seigneur en mainmorte et tout amorti de lui es lieux qui ensuivent, les religieux abbé et convent de l'eglise du Val Notre Dame de l'ordre de Citeaux au diocese de Paris, fondés de mons. Ansel de l'Isle Adam chevalier, l'an mil trois cent soixante deulx, lesquelles choses les dis religieux baillent a noble et puissant seigneur monseigneur de Nedonchel chevalier et conseiller du Roy nostre dit seigneur*.

Une déclaration des biens rédigée sur place?

Analyse codicologique et paléographique du rouleau

La déclaration des biens de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame du Val a été rédigée sous la forme d'un rouleau vertical de 340 mm de large et de 4,503 mm de long regroupant 9 feuilles de parchemin assemblées les unes aux autres au point caché, en utilisant probablement du fil de chanvre. Les coutures n'ont pas été faites bord à bord, mais en prenant de 1 à 2 cm sur chaque feuille, ce qui donne une réelle solidité au résultat. Quatre de ces feuilles conservent une signature en chiffres romains. Le rédacteur les avait sans doute toutes numérotées pour qu'elles soient assemblées dans le bon ordre, suggérant donc une rédaction antérieure à la couture.

Tab. 1: Analyse codicologique du rouleau de la déclaration des biens de Notre-Dame du Val.

Feuilles	Hauteur de la feuille de parchemin sans tenir compte de la couture	Hauteur de la feuille de parchemin en tenant compte de la couture	Signature en chiffres romains dans la marge supérieure
1	500 mm	490 mm	
2	510 mm	490 mm	II
3	610 mm	590 mm	
4	540 mm	520 mm	IIII
5	530 mm	515 mm	V[a]
6	480 mm	460 mm	VI[a]
7	620 mm	605 mm	
8	650 mm	630 mm	
9	220 mm	203 mm	
Total	**4,660 mm**	**4,503 mm**	

Le parchemin utilisé est de qualité médiocre avec quelques trous. Des réparations ont dû être effectuées préalablement à la rédaction du document, comme la couture présente sur la sixième feuille. D'autres ont sans doute eu lieu plus tard, principalement sur la première feuille. Si cette dernière a subi d'importantes altérations postérieures à la mise en rouleau, c'est parce qu'elle était la plus exposée aux avanies; elle a donc été restaurée à un moment difficile à déterminer. Malgré la piètre qualité du support, la mise en page est soignée, avec une justification relativement bien respectée à gauche comme à droite. La réglure à la mine de plomb est encore visible sur l'ensemble du document, ainsi que le cadre de justification et les piqûres des deux côtés du parchemin. Le copiste semble avoir soigné la préparation de son document et en avoir eu une vision globale, puisqu'il a reproduit la même mise en page sur les 9 feuilles de parchemin avant leur assemblage. Par la suite, les deux marges latérales ont connu un traitement différent. Celle de gauche a servi à accueillir des annotations marginales contemporaines ou ultérieures, en écriture cursive, concernant majoritairement la localisation des biens mentionnés, ainsi que quelques *nota* pour attirer l'attention d'un éventuel lecteur. L'une de ces mentions, probablement ajoutée peu de temps après la rédaction du texte, est particulièrement visible. Écrite en gros format, en *textualis formata*, elle concerne la ville de Viarmes[12], sans que l'on sache pourquoi cette localité a été ainsi mise en évidence. La marge de droite, quant à elle, n'a reçu aucune note, aucune correction, aucun ajout. Dans l'esprit du copiste et de ses successeurs, elle avait peut-être pour rôle de donner de la clarté et de la lisibilité au texte en ménageant un espace blanc continu tout au long du rouleau.

Sur les 492 lignes que compte le texte, aucune décoration n'apparaît ; le copiste n'a pas utilisé d'encre rouge, ni de pieds de mouche, et n'a pas non plus mis en évidence les lettres initiales par un traitement décoratif. Trois titres en retrait apparaissent néanmoins pour différencier trois des quatre parties de la déclaration : *Premierement l'abbaye et ses appartenances* (l. 6), *Cy apres ensuient les boys que les dis religieux ont envuiron leur dicte esglise. Premierement* (l. 22), *Ensuivent les vignes* (l. 288). La troisième partie, qui concerne les cens et les rentes (l. 84), est signalée en marge par une main plus tardive. Les 232 notices de la déclaration sont généralement précédées d'un item et font l'objet d'un retour à la ligne. L'ensemble est très sobre, ce qui laisse supposer que l'objectif du rouleau est essentiellement fonctionnel, même si cette sobriété va à l'encontre d'une utilisation aisée.

Le texte en lui-même a été écrit par une seule main en une *cursiva currens* régulière,[13] proche de la « mixte » de la chancellerie royale.[14] En effet, les lettres ont toutes les caractéristiques décrites par Emmanuel Poulle et Marc Smith : des « a » simples, des « s » longs et fuselés en position initiale ou médiane, mais toujours courts en fin de mot, des « p » et des « q » avec des hampes effilées, des boucles supérieures semi-anguleuses, des « t » pourvus d'un jambage au-dessus de la barre, celle-ci ne dépassant pas à gauche[15] (voir fig. 5 dans l'annexe).

Le verso du document contient sept mentions s'échelonnant de la fin du XIV^e^ au XVIII^e^ siècle, outre la cote des Archives nationales (voir fig. 6 dans l'annexe).[16] Deux de ces notes permettent de localiser le lieu où se trouvait le document à la fin du Moyen

12 Viarmes : cant. Fosses, arr. Sarcelles, départ. Val-d'Oise, région Île-de-France.
13 Derolez 2003, 142.
14 Poulle 2007, 187–200.
15 Smith 2008, 283–284.
16 Les actes du Val datant du XII^e^ et de la première moitié du XIII^e^ siècle ont connu une campagne d'« archivage » qui a conduit à noter au verso et sur des languettes de parchemin cousues au repli des mentions concernant le domaine avec une numérotation en chiffres romains.

Âge et au début du XVII^e siècle. Lorsque le rouleau est en position fermée, il est possible de voir une première note en *textualis formata* datant probablement de la fin du XV^e ou du début du XVI^e siècle. Elle permet l'identification du texte parmi tous les documents du chartrier en indiquant : *Declaracion des biens de céans. 1362*. Elle laisse surtout supposer que le document était conservé au Val à cette époque. En revanche, la deuxième annotation fait état d'un changement de son lieu de conservation, désormais le couvent des Feuillants : *Feuillans. Rue St Honoré. Partie du nº 7. Carton 4*. En effet, le Val-Notre-Dame a été incorporé de manière définitive à la congrégation feuillantine en 1611.[17] Ses archives, ou du moins une partie d'entre elles, ont sans doute été transférées rue Saint-Honoré par la suite, ce que cette cote permet de prouver.[18]

Deux autres annotations datent également de l'époque moderne.[19] Écrites sous forme de courtes analyses, elles viennent compléter la cote précédente en donnant des précisions sur la nature diplomatique du document et en soulignant son caractère d'aveu adressé au roi, mais elles ne livrent aucune information complémentaire sur sa localisation dans les archives et son utilisation. Il faut néanmoins souligner que les trois types d'annotations modernes sont présents sur les autres documents destinés au couvent des Feuillants. Par ailleurs, dans un inventaire des titres de l'abbaye du Val dressé entre 1669 et 1671, placé dans la partie concernant *le tiroir cotté 4. Declarations*,[20] le document est mentionné en première position parmi huit autres déclarations et injonctions d'en rédiger, datées entre 1303 et 1513.[21] Le rédacteur de l'inventaire précise même qu'il s'agit d'« un rouleau de parchemin des biens du Val tenus et ammortis du roy en 1362 », preuve que sa forme particulière ne lui était pas indifférente, sachant que cinq autres documents rédigés sous cette forme ont également attiré son attention, notamment parmi les titres concernant les biens de l'abbaye

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17 Dans le fonds conservé aux Archives nationales, une liasse est consacrée à l'union de l'abbaye du Val Notre-Dame aux Feuillants (Paris, Archives nationales, L 944 nº 28). Selon Serge Foucher (Foucher 1998, 10), l'abbaye du Val a été confiée aux Feuillants par Henri III le 29 août 1587 ; le don est exécuté le 4 juillet 1611 par Louis XIII et confirmé en 1614 par le pape.

18 La majorité des archives de l'abbaye du Val est conservée aux Archives nationales et une petite minorité aux Archives départementales du Val-d'Oise ou aux Archives de Chantilly. Cette répartition pourrait être liée au transfert des documents antérieures aux années 1611–1614 rue Saint-Honoré. Les archives départementales ne conservent que des documents des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles et celles de Chantilly, des écrits concernant la famille de Montmorency.

19 La première de ces mentions indique : *Aveu rendu au roy l'an 1362 contenant la declaration du bien que possedoit pour lors l'abbaye du Val Nostre Dame* ; la seconde : *1362. Declaracion de tout le fond et revenu de l'abbaie du Val baillée au Roy l'an 1362.*

20 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4302.

21 Outre la déclaration de 1362, seule une de ces déclarations a été conservée sous forme d'une copie papier de l'époque moderne. Il s'agit d'une déclaration dressée en 1464, une dizaine d'années après la fin officielle de la guerre de Cent Ans. Paris, Archives nationales, S 4302. Un autre aveu, non mentionné dans cet inventaire, est conservé. Daté de 1420–1421, adressé au roi d'Angleterre, Henri V, devenu régent de France en vertu du traité de Troyes, il ne concerne que les possessions des moines dans le duché de Normandie. Paris, Archives nationales, S 4170 et 4179 ; Foucher 1998, 41–42.

à Bercagny[22]. Ainsi, toutes ces indications croisées montrent l'insertion complète du rouleau de 1362 dans la documentation feuillantine à la fin du XVII^e^ siècle.

Les trois dernières annotations, probablement contemporaines ou de peu postérieures à la rédaction du document, soulèvent quant à elles d'autres interrogations. Elles stipulent, pour la première : *Denombrement de toute la revenue que les religieux du Val Nostre Dame tiennent*; pour les deux autres : *Pour les religieux du Val Nostre Dame* et *Pour le Val Nostre Dame*. Elles n'ont pas été écrites par le rédacteur de la déclaration et ne sont probablement pas de la même main. Elles laissent surtout penser que ce document a été préparé à l'extérieur de l'abbaye ou, à tout le moins, a pu séjourner en dehors des archives monastiques quelques temps après sa rédaction avant d'être retourné aux moines. Dans ces conditions, déterminer le milieu de production de ce rouleau devient un enjeu majeur de compréhension des circonstances de sa rédaction.

Un rouleau rédigé en dehors du monastère par un professionnel de l'écrit

La déclaration est rédigée en langue vernaculaire et non en latin, dans ce que Serge Lusignan appelle le français de Paris,[23] c'est-à-dire un français qui subit l'influence de la chancellerie royale.[24] D'après son incipit, elle est adressée à un seigneur de Nédonchel, qualifié de *haut et puissant seigneur*, mais aussi de chevalier et de conseiller du roi de France.[25] Ces titres indiquent qu'il s'agit d'un personnage d'un rang nobiliaire relativement important,[26] solidement inséré dans les organes d'administration du pouvoir royal. La famille de Nédonchel est implantée dans le bailliage d'Arras, mais sa postérité est nombreuse au XIV^e^ siècle et il est difficile dans ces conditions d'identifier précisément le seigneur ici mentionné.[27] D'autres déclarations de biens ecclésiastiques, d'une vingtaine d'années plus tardives toutefois, enregistrées dans un des registres de la chambre des comptes, sont adressées à *Gilles de Nedonchel, chevalier, conseiller du roy nostre sire et commissaire en ses parties*[28]. Dans ces conditions, nous pouvons supposer qu'il s'agit bien du même seigneur. Il se pourrait en fait que le Gilles

22 Chars : cant. et arr. Pontoise, dép. Val-d'Oise, rég. Ile-de-France.
23 Lusignan 2012, 148–152.
24 Lusignan 2004, 116–126.
25 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169, nº 15, l. 2–3 : [...] *lesquelles choses les dis religieux baillent a noble et puissant seigneur monseigneur de Nedonchel chevalier et conseiller du roy notredit seigneur par protestation*.
26 Cazelles 1982, 66.
27 Caron 1995, 407–426.
28 Rodière 1904, 236–238. Arras, Arch. dép. du Pas-de-Calais, 7 J (Fonds Henneguier et Delhomel de Montreuil) (déclaration du prieuré de Maintenay). Paris, Archives nationales, P 129 : déclarations de l'Hôpital Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins, de Notre-Dame-des-Champs près de Paris et de Notre-Dame d'Argenteuil.

de Nédonchel cité dans ces déclarations soit celui qui a été gouverneur (ou bailli) du comté de Clermont-en-Beauvaisis de 1363 à 1377.[29] Seigneur de Cressonsacq[30], il est un proche conseiller du duc Louis II de Bourbon (1356–1410) également comte de Clermont, dont il devient le chancelier en 1377. C'est un homme maîtrisant l'écrit ainsi que les techniques de gestion des patrimoines et de contrôle des hommes. Il a notamment fait rédiger le livre des hommages du comté de Clermont, alors qu'il en était gouverneur.[31] Ce dénombrement, connu seulement par une copie faite par Gaignières, a été rendu par Louis II de Bourbon à Charles V qui avait exigé en 1371 le recensement pour chaque bailliage des fiefs et arrière-fiefs mouvants de la couronne.[32] Dans les années 1383–1385, Gilles de Nédonchel a également été chargé par le pouvoir royal de procéder à l'inventaire des fiefs et arrières-fiefs du bailliage de Melun.[33] Ainsi, le destinataire de la déclaration pouvait être au début de sa carrière en 1362; il aurait été désigné par le roi et la chambre des comptes comme commissaire aux biens de mainmorte pour recueillir les déclarations des biens des monastères, avant sa nomination comme bailli, mais il n'est sans doute pas lui-même le rédacteur de la déclaration, sachant qu'il pouvait avoir à son service un copiste capable d'établir un tel document, peut-être en activité à la chambre des comptes.

Pour déterminer de quel milieu est originaire celui qui a pris la plume, il est à présent nécessaire de revenir sur la déclaration en elle-même. Si trois des mentions dorsales laissent supposer une rédaction extérieure au monastère, il est difficile néanmoins d'identifier avec certitude son rédacteur, puisque aucune marque, ni aucune signature, n'y ont été apposées. Toutefois, un examen de l'écriture peut aider à formuler des hypothèses. Il s'agit d'une *cursiva currens*, dont les modèles sont à chercher du côté des actes produits par la chancellerie royale, peut-être plutôt par la chambre des comptes, destinataire final du document. Comme cette écriture se diffuse largement en dehors de ce milieu dans la première moitié du XIV^{e} siècle,[34] il est impossible d'affirmer de manière péremptoire que le copiste y travaillait. Toutefois, tout laisse penser que cet homme n'est pas un scribe non-qualifié[35], mais quelqu'un qui maîtrise parfaitement les techniques de l'écrit en vigueur à cette époque.

29 Carolus-Barré 1944: «1363, oct. – 1377, janv. Gilles, seigneur de Nédonchel, chevalier, gouverneur de le conté de Clermont» (voir dans le fonds de l'abbaye de Froidmont, le contre-sceau de Gilles de Nédonchel sur un acte daté de 1363: Arch. dép. Oise, H 4430). Mattéoni 1998, 211, 309; Mattéoni 2010, 48, 243–244.

30 Cressonsacq: cant. Estrées-Saint-Denis, arr. Clermont, départ. Oise, région Hauts-de-France.

31 Le livre des hommages original a été détruit, mais nous disposons de la copie faite par Gaignières au XVII^{e} siècle: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF), fr. 20082, 202, 297, 423, 453, 517; Popoff 1998, nº 201, 550, 1053, 1161, 1349.

32 Ritz-Guibert 2016, nº 61.

33 P 1362^{2}, nº 1047 et 1059; P 1378^{2}, nº 3066.

34 Smith 2008, 289–291.

35 L'expression «unskilled scribe» a été employée lors d'une journée d'étude organisée en 2016 pour désigner des scripteurs peu ou pas qualifiés: «The unskilled scribe. Elementary hands and their place in the history of handwriting», *Séminaire permanent Écritures cursives 9th Workshop*, Oxford, Weston Library – Bodleian Libraries, 30 sept. 2016.

Pourrait-il s'agir d'un moine? Certes des actes dressés au nom de l'abbé du Val, Jean, entre 1359 et 1384, conservés dans les archives des seigneurs de Montmorency à Chantilly, présentent des caractéristiques graphiques très proches de celles de la déclaration de 1362, mais la rédaction systématique des actes par les religieux, que l'on pouvait observer au XII^{e} siècle, n'est que rarement d'actualité dans la seconde moitié du XIV^{e} siècle. En effet, s'ils rédigent ou plutôt font rédiger par un tiers proche de leur établissement leurs documents d'administration et de gestion du patrimoine, notamment leurs cartulaires ou leurs censiers,[36] dès le début du XIII^{e} siècle, ils recourent de plus en plus fréquemment à la juridiction gracieuse des évêques et de leurs officiaux, puis aux agents royaux, prévôts ou baillis, et enfin aux notaires et tabellions.[37] Dès lors, les actes de l'abbé Jean du Val pourraient eux-mêmes avoir été élaborés, non par un scribe monastique, mais par le prévôt de Montmorency, également garde du scel, ou par le tabellion juré de la châtellenie.[38] Par ailleurs, l'emploi systématique dans la déclaration de 1362 de la troisième personne du pluriel et des expressions *les dis religieux* (111 fois) ou *yceulz religieux* (à 16 reprises) pour qualifier les moines, pourrait définitivement écarter l'hypothèse d'une rédaction réalisée par les moines eux-mêmes.

En comparant les écritures des actes produits au nom de Gilles de Nédonchel, alors bailli de Clermont, des actes du duc de Bourbon, seigneur et employeur de Gilles de Nédonchel en tant que comte de Clermont, ou encore ceux des actes donnés par le prévôt de Montmorency et par le tabellion juré de la châtellenie, on retrouve un type d'écriture similaire, c'est-à-dire une écriture imitant la «mixte» de la chancellerie royale, avec une formalité plus ou moins cursive selon les scribes.[39]

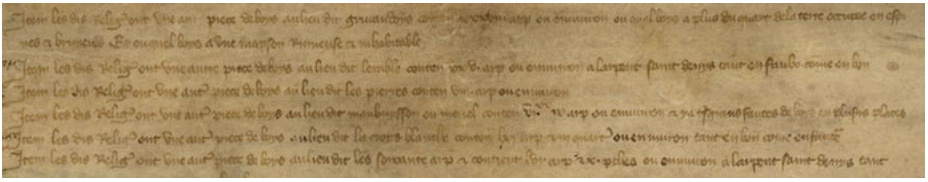

Fig. 2: Ecriture de la déclaration des biens de 1362. (Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169, nº 15, fol. 1).

36 Weiss 2009, vol. 1, 290–291, 322–344, 432–433.

37 Arnoux 2011, 11; Thibaut 2014, 45, 65.

38 La châtellenie de Montmorency dispose d'un garde du scel dès la fin du XIII^{e} siècle, mais cette fonction est absorbée par le prévôt au milieu du XIV^{e} siècle; elle a également un tabellion juré dès les années 1360. Selon Brigitte Bedos-Rezak (Bedos/Bautier 1980, 84–85), «dès 1325, Etienne Deleau, prévôt de Montmorency, remplit le même office que Robert Joie, alors garde du scel de la prévôté [...]. En 1391, Grégoire de Sagi, prévôt de Montmorency s'intitule aussi tabellion établi par le seigneur de Montmorency. L'affluence des actes avait, en effet, entraîné, aux environs des années 1360, l'apparition aux côtés du prévôt désormais aussi garde du scel, d'un tabellion juré établi par le châtelain de Montmorency, chargé de rédiger les actes».

39 Paris, Archives nationales, P 1362–2.

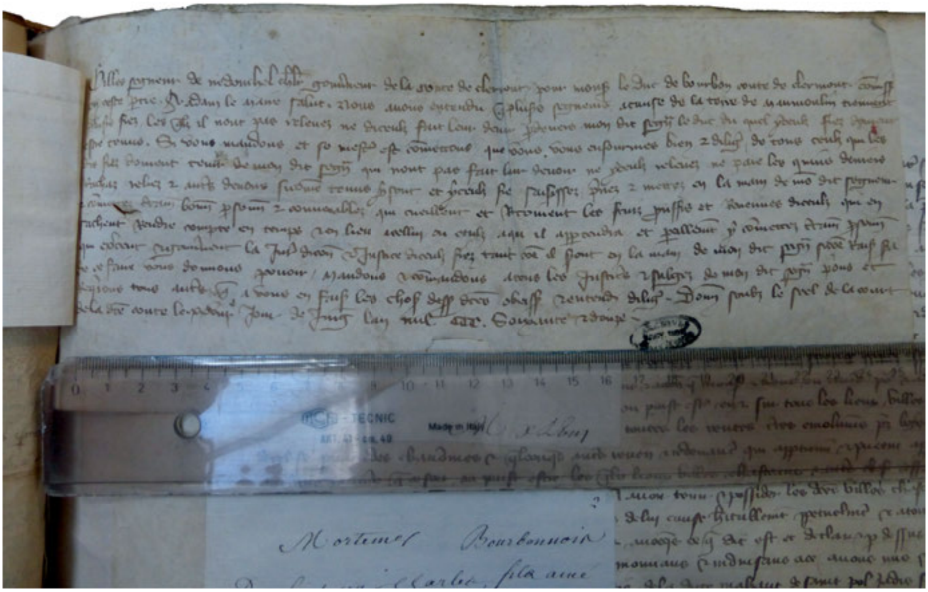

Fig. 3: Acte dressé au nom de Gilles de Nédonchel, gouverneur de Clermont, en 1372. (Paris, Archives nationales, P 1362–2).

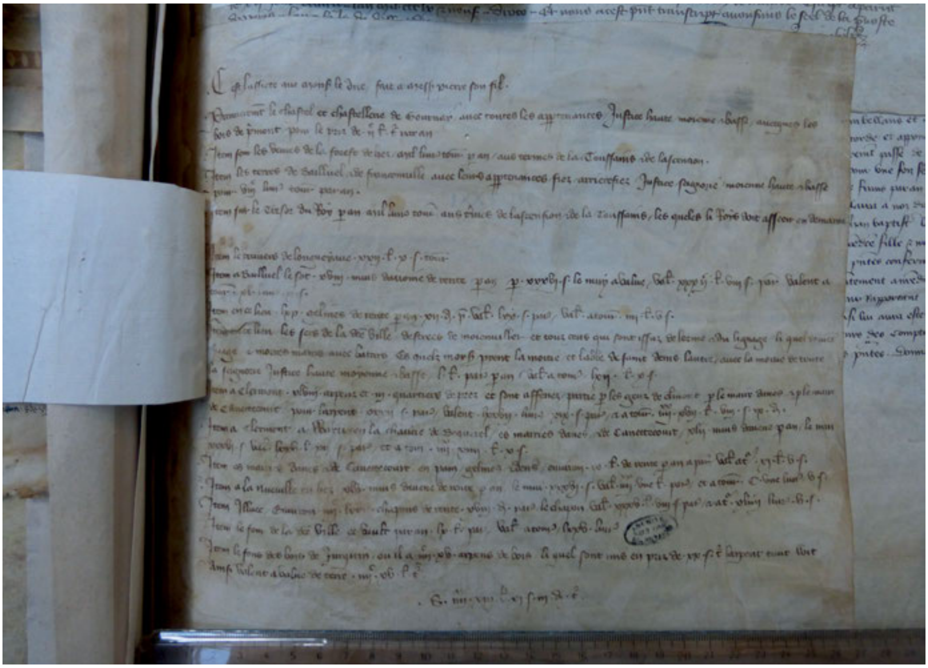

Fig. 4: Répartition par le duc de Bourbon d'une rente en faveur de son fils, s. d. (Paris, Archives nationales, P 1362–2).

Dans ces conditions, face à la circulation de types d'écritures similaires et à leur uniformisation progressive,[40] il est difficile d'identifier avec certitude le milieu dont est issu le rédacteur du document. Une chose est néanmoins certaine : il s'agit d'un spécialiste, en pleine possession des moyens graphiques de l'époque. Le destinataire, les notes dorsales contemporaines et les pratiques diplomatiques vont dans le sens d'une rédaction en dehors du monastère, par un agent royal, de la chambre des comptes, ou un notaire de proximité, peut-être le tabellion juré de la châtellenie de Montmorency dans laquelle se situe l'abbaye du Val.

Un document inachevé et non validé

Bien que sa rédaction ait été prise en charge par un professionnel et qu'il ait été adressé à un conseiller du roi, ce document semble avoir intégré les archives de l'abbaye peu de temps après sa rédaction et y être resté jusqu'au XVII^e^ siècle. Comment expliquer cette situation, somme toute paradoxale à nos yeux, d'un document de taille imposante, bien écrit et de présentation soignée, destiné à être compulsé par un agent royal d'après son protocole, et finalement conservé au sein d'une communauté monastique ?

À partir de la quatrième feuille, les espaces laissés volontairement blancs en vue d'apporter des précisions sur les mesures utilisées, sur les sommes à percevoir ou à verser, sur la superficie des terres concernées ou encore sur les noms des personnes et de lieux, se font plus nombreux, principalement sur les sixième et septième feuilles. Ils pourraient indiquer que le rédacteur avait l'intention de revenir sur le document pour le compléter en ayant les informations exactes, sans doute après une consultation plus approfondie des archives du monastère, mais qu'il ne l'a pas fait, soit par négligence, soit parce que cela n'était pas ou plus nécessaire. En effet, l'absence de scellement, même si les sceaux de l'abbé et du convent auraient dû y être apposés d'après la clause finale,[41] laisse supposer que le rouleau n'a jamais été achevé, ce qui pourrait expliquer qu'il soit finalement resté au monastère au lieu d'être conservé à la chambre des comptes. Cette hypothèse semble confirmée par l'inachèvement de l'eschatocole qui s'arrête sur les mots « qui furent faictes » sans date de lieu ni de temps.

Dans ces conditions, bien qu'il soit adressé à un agent royal, ce document pourrait être un exemplaire destiné à rester à l'abbaye du Val, comme le prouveraient les deux notes dorsales indiquant *Pour le Val* ; les gens de la chambre des comptes pourraient en avoir reçu une autre version, plus complète, et/ou en avoir fait une copie dans un de leurs registres.[42]

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40 Bertrand 2015, 224.

41 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169, nº 15, l. 491–492 : *En tesmoing de ce nous abbé et convent dessus dis avons scellé ces presentes lettres de nos propres sceaux des quelx nous usons ensemble*.

42 Des aveux et dénombrements des églises de la prévôté et vicomté de Paris du XIV^e^ siècle ont été

Ainsi, le rouleau de 1362 est un document écrit par un professionnel et adressé à un commissaire royal. Inachevé et non validé, il est resté à l'abbaye du Val. Il a ensuite été inséré dans les archives des Feuillants qui ont repris en main l'établissement au début du XVII^e^ siècle. Déclaration des possessions du monastère, il est le réceptacle des actions juridiques antérieures.

Insertion du rouleau de 1362 dans la production écrite de Notre-Dame du Val

À l'arrière-plan, un fonds documentaire important

Le fonds de l'abbaye du Val est un fonds important, actuellement partagé entre les Archives nationales, les Archives départementales du Val-d'Oise et les Archives de Chantilly. Le cartulaire du début du XIII^e^ siècle rassemble 115 actes produits entre 1127 et 1217 ; pour le XIII^e^ siècle, plus de 510 actes ont été pour l'instant recensés ; pour la première moitié du XIV^e^ siècle, ce sont près de 60 documents qui ont pu être identifiés. Cette abondance a en fait un écho dans le rouleau qui fait mention de quelques actions juridiques en faveur du monastère, notamment les dons de Charles de Montmorency[43] ainsi que la donation faite par l'écuyer et valet de chambre du roi, Gilles Malet, et son épouse, Nicole de Chambly.[44] Trois originaux en ont été conservés, mais établis une quinzaine d'années plus tard, en 1379.[45] Il s'agit d'actes, dont le premier est donné par l'abbé du Val, Jean, le deuxième par Hugues Aubriot, garde de la prévôté de Paris, et le troisième par *les conseillers du roy nostre sire sur le fait du demaine du royaume et les tresoriers a Paris* et adressé au vicomte de Rouen. Si l'acte abbatial se concentre sur la donation de la rente de 33 livres 6 sous 8 deniers sur les halles et moulins de la ville de Rouen, les deux autres font également la liste de tout ce qui a été donné à Rouen par les deux époux. Ce sont en fait des récapitulatifs de tout ce que Gilles Malet et son épouse ont transmis depuis des années au Val, sachant qu'en 1362, ils n'avaient sans doute fait don que de la rente. Seuls les dons de Charles de Montmorency et de Gilles Malet sont explicitement mentionnés dans la déclaration.

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enregistrés dans les registres de la chambre des comptes, Paris, Archives nationales, P 128–129, mais la déclaration de l'abbaye du Val de 1362 ne s'y trouve pas.

43 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4193 nº 3. Trois dons de Charles de Montmorency sont mentionnés dans la déclaration aux lignes 113–115, 116–117, 173–176.

44 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169 nº 15, l. 486–488 : *Item les dis religieux ont droit de prendre chacun an en et sur les halles et moulins de la ville de Rouen 33 lb. 6 s. 8 d. par. du dom de noblez personnes mess. Gilez Malet et de ma dame Nichole de Chambly sa femme, a les prendre chacun an tous admortis pour et en recompensacion de chascun jour une messe.*

45 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4200 nº 14, 21–22.

Il pourrait s'agir des actions juridiques les plus récentes, avec peut-être une volonté délibérée de la part des moines de mettre en évidence qu'il s'agit de donations et non d'autres modes d'acquisition.[46]

En fait, de manière générale, les items ne renvoient pas à un acte ou à une action juridique en particulier, mais on ressent pour chacun d'entre eux l'accumulation du patrimoine et la profondeur mémorielle du fonds documentaire. Ainsi, par exemple, la déclaration consacre 11 lignes (soit trois items) au domaine du Fayel[47], pour lequel au moins 40 actes ont été conservés pour les années 1191–1342.[48] En prenant le dernier acte produit et conservé, soit celui de 1342, on s'aperçoit qu'il s'agit de lettres royaux par lesquelles Philippe VI rend à l'abbaye les droits de justice qu'elle possédait au Fayel. Or, à la ligne 192, sont justement mentionnés ces droits de justice *basse et fonciere*[49]. Dans ces conditions, la déclaration pourrait être l'aboutissement d'un processus de transformation des données présentes dans les actes pour les réactualiser et les rendre disponibles à un lecteur averti, mais qu'elle n'a pas vocation à les rassembler et à les recopier comme le ferait un cartulaire.

Un outil de gestion interne du patrimoine?

La déclaration est organisée par items, selon un ordre qu'il est difficile de comprendre au premier abord. Il semblerait qu'il y ait eu une volonté d'organisation topographique, en partant du centre, à savoir du domaine de l'abbaye elle-même, dont les biens sont énumérés au début du document.[50] Cet embryon d'organisation est souligné par les additions marginales qui sont essentiellement des toponymes, mais la proximité géographique ne semble pas avoir été prise en compte de manière systématique et il est impossible de reconstituer le cheminement d'un hypothétique enquêteur, puisque l'on passe de la Plaine de France, au Parisis, puis au Vexin français sans solution de continuité. Par ailleurs, il est intéressant de constater que ce n'est pas un classement par grange qui a été adopté, d'autant plus que la mention de «grange» n'est pas ou n'est plus utilisée pour qualifier un domaine. Quand ce terme apparaît dans le docu-

46 Renault 2016, 25.

47 Baillet-en-France: cant. Domont, arr. Sarcelles, départ. Val-d'Oise, région Île-de-France. Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169 nº 15, l. 185–196.

48 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4182.

49 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169 nº 15, l. 192–196: *Item les dis religieux ont en la dicte ville de Fayel 1 fief a pieca admorti et y ont 5 ou 6 hostes, basse et fonciere justice avec le four d'ycelle ville ou les dis hostes sont baniers et vallent les revenuez dudit fief chacun an 6 lb. de menus cens ou envuiron 16 sextiers d'avoine jour de la Typhanie avec 60 et 5 s. par. ou envuiron que paient aucuns des dis hostes de ferme chacun an pour cause tant du dit four, d'une petite grange, comme d'une mayson et jardin appellée la Myrie et sur ce les dis religieux retiennent les dis four et grange et mayson et paient 40 s. de pension à J. baillif qui se prent garde dudit fief et justice*.

50 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169 nº 15, l. 6.

ment (22 reprises), il désigne plutôt un bâtiment d'exploitation ou, plus rarement, le centre névralgique de l'exploitation agricole. Ce dernier est généralement qualifié d'*hostel* (94 fois), comme à Fayel (l. 185), à Berville (l. 204), à Goussainville (l. 214) ou à Gonesse (l. 250). Il s'agit d'un espace clos de murs, dans lequel se trouvent plusieurs dépendances, comme on peut le voir avec la grange des Noues de Goussainville :

> Item en la parroysse de Goussainville les dis religieux ont 1 hostel nommé la grange des Nouez et est le dit hostel fermé de murs tout autour si comme tout se comporte et y a 2 granges dont l'une est arse par les angloys. Item 1 coulombier, vacherie, bercherie, estables pour chevaulz et pour autres bestauls, le puis avec 2 arpents de vigne en labour.[51]

En fait, d'après la présence des titres peu différenciés par l'écriture et la mise en page, le patrimoine a été partagé en quatre parties : le domaine de l'abbaye (l. 6), les bois (l. 22), les rentes et les cens (l. 84), ainsi que les vignes (l. 288), sans réelle rigueur toutefois dans leur contenu, surtout dans la dernière partie qui contient le plus d'espaces blancs. D'une manière générale, l'organisation suivie et la forme de rouleau ne rendent pas la consultation aisée, comme s'il était voué à n'être lu qu'une seule et unique fois lors de sa vérification par un agent royal, peut-être le commissaire lui-même, et qu'il n'était pas censé avoir ensuite d'autres usages. En effet, pour chercher une information et la trouver, il faut dérouler l'ensemble et le lire de manière linéaire.

Dans ces conditions, la déclaration peut-elle avoir été utilisée après sa rédaction pour gérer le patrimoine ou a-t-elle été laissée de côté ? Les annotations marginales laissent supposer qu'elle a été consultée à la fin du Moyen Âge ou au début de l'époque moderne et que celui ou ceux qui s'en sont occupé, conscients des difficultés de lecture, ont jugé utile d'y mettre quelques guides, notamment les fameux toponymes et *nota* déjà évoqués. En outre, les Feuillants qui ont pris en charge le domaine de l'abbaye au début du XVII^e siècle ont écrit au verso d'autres annotations, preuve que le rouleau a été déroulé au moins une fois à ce moment. Au-delà de ces marques d'utilisation ponctuelles, il est difficile d'affirmer que les moines médiévaux et modernes s'en sont servis pour gérer leur patrimoine, sachant qu'il s'agit finalement d'un document répondant à une demande ponctuelle, sans doute valable uniquement pour l'année 1362.

Autre question en suspens : la déclaration a-t-elle été utilisée pour rédiger d'autres documents, notamment les déclarations générales produites dans la seconde moitié du XIV^e et au cours du XV^e siècle ? Le texte d'un seul de ces aveux et dénombrements nous est parvenu : il s'agit de la déclaration de 1464 qui n'est disponible que sous la forme d'un cahier-papier rédigé à partir d'un rouleau de quatre feuilles de papier conservé à la chambre des comptes au moment de sa copie, sans doute au début du XVI^e siècle.[52] L'écriture est en effet typique de celle des actes produits avant 1550, avec

51 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169 nº 15, l. 215–216.
52 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4302. Ce cahier compte 128 pages, dont 125 sont paginées et écrites. Il mesure 305 mm de haut × 210 mm de large.

des caractéristiques de la *cursiva currens* de l'époque gothique. Le cahier est complété d'une table écrite par une main plus tardive et insérée au début et à la fin du document. Elle permet de l'utiliser avec une certaine facilité, puisqu'elle donne la liste des possessions du Val par ordre alphabétique avec des renvois aux pages où elles sont décrites, tout en suivant un ordre thématique : d'abord les biens amortis, puis les rentes en grain, les rentes en argent et les rentes sur les maisons. En fait, elle reprend l'organisation adoptée dans la déclaration. Dans cette dernière, des items précèdent chaque notice, dont certaines ont été copiées directement à partir de la déclaration de 1362. Dans les marges, des mentions, généralement des toponymes, ont été ajoutées par d'autres mains que celle du texte. Une d'entre elles est également intervenue dans les marges de l'aveu de 1362.[53] En tout état de cause, il semblerait bien que le rédacteur de la déclaration de 1464 se soit servi de celle de 1362 pour établir son texte et que les deux documents aient été ensuite consultés par les mêmes personnes, probablement par les nouveaux occupants du Val.

Quant aux censiers du début du XV^e siècle, par exemple celui contenant l'ensemble des revenus dus à l'abbaye de Notre-Dame du Val pour l'année 1406,[54] ils diffèrent en tout du rouleau de 1362. Matériellement parlant, le censier de 1406 est un codex en papier composé de trois cahiers de 300 mm de haut sur 220 mm de large. Sa présentation est celle que l'on retrouve dans les « livres d'archives » de cette époque :[55] des titres en *textualis formata*, des items rédigés en *cursiva currens* sous forme d'alinéas séparés par des espaces blancs, des marges importantes dont celles de droite réservées à l'accueil des données chiffrées. Il est organisé de manière rigoureuse par termes et, à l'intérieur de ces parties, par localisation et par types de prélèvements. Les notices sont toutes construites de la même façon : nom du ou des tenanciers, bien concerné avec ses tenants et aboutissants, somme à verser, ce qui n'était pas le choix du rédacteur de la déclaration. Ainsi, il semblerait que celui qui s'est occupé de composer le censier ne se soit pas servi du rouleau de 1362. En outre, le soin de la présentation, ainsi que sa standardisation, laissent supposer que son objectif était de rendre son travail le mieux consultable possible pour faciliter la recherche des informations et la perception des rentes dues à l'abbaye. Enfin, l'absence de livres de comptes conservés ne permet pas de savoir s'ils ont suivi la même organisation que les déclarations.

Le rouleau de 1362 intègre certains documents du Val et fait l'objet d'utilisations ultérieures, ce qui l'inscrit dans la production documentaire de l'abbaye. Il a surtout été rédigé à un moment crucial de la vie du royaume de France, c'est-à-dire après la paix de Brétigny, au moment où le roi Jean II doit payer une substantielle rançon à Édouard III et où les territoires touchés par les troubles doivent se reconstruire.

53 Par exemple, le toponyme « Esquouan » présente la même écriture et la même graphie. Voir : Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169, nº 15, feuille nº 3 et S 4302, p. 103.

54 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4172.

55 Beck 2015, 31–46.

Les conditions de la mise en chantier du rouleau de 1362

Un contexte troublé : les ravages de la guerre et des épidémies

L'abbaye et ses possessions ont subi des ravages, comme on peut le comprendre à travers les mentions de bâtiments ruinés (qualifiés six fois de «ruineux» ou «en ruine») : il s'agit de deux maisons et d'un moulin situés dans les environs du monastère, d'un hôtel à Montmorency, d'une maison à Cormeilles-en-Parisis[56] et de trois parcs à poissons relevant d'un hôtel situé à Amblainville[57]. Les terres sont en friche (six mentions) et en *espines* (13 mentions), c'est-à-dire couvertes de ronces. Certaines sont qualifiées de *deserts* (trois mentions), mais dans deux cas, le terme *desert* est associé à *friche* ou à *espines*, de manière redondante mais habituelle dans les documents diplomatiques.[58]

Ces désagréments sont attribués à la guerre, terme qui revient quatre fois dans le texte, et dans une moindre mesure à la «mortalité», référence probable aux épidémies de peste, soit celle de 1348, soit une de ses récurrences.[59] Les coupables des déprédations sont désignés à cinq reprises : ce sont les Anglais qui ont brûlé[60] des moulins ou des granges, mais, comme pour l'abbaye cistercienne de Reigny en Bourgogne, les bâtiments monastiques en eux-mêmes ne semblent pas avoir été touchés.[61] Ces incidents pourraient avoir eu lieu lors de la chevauchée entreprise par le roi Édouard III vers Reims en 1359.[62] Toutefois, le terme «Angloys» peut désigner aussi bien des Anglais véritables que toutes autres sortes de brigands ou de pillards ne parlant pas la langue du pays, comme l'avait montré Jean Tricard pour les routiers du Limousin.[63]

Sachant que les moines ont dû abandonner leur abbaye en 1359,[64] la déclaration pourrait participer d'une tentative de reprise en main du patrimoine monastique, à un moment où les troubles sont censés avoir cessé. Sa finalité première serait néanmoins toute autre puisqu'elle a été commandée par un agent royal. Cette demande interviendrait dans un contexte où le roi et son conseil ont besoin de manière pressante de rentrées d'argent, ne serait-ce que pour payer la rançon du roi «fixée à trois millions d'écus d'or, payables, six cent mille, dans les quatre mois, à partir du moment où ce roi auroit été conduit à Calais, et le reste par annuités de quatre cent mille chacune,

56 Cormeilles-en-Parisis : cant. Franconville, arr. Argenteuil, départ. Val-d'Oise, région Île-de-France.
57 Amblainville : cant. Méru, arr. Beauvais, départ. Oise, région Hauts-de-France.
58 Les terres d'un hôtel situé à Saint-Leu sont dites : «en désert et en frische et sans labour».
59 Carpentier 1962, 1062–1092.
60 Le rédacteur utilise le verbe «ardre» au participe passé.
61 Helias-Baron 2010, 267–276.
62 Cazelles 1982, 372–373.
63 Tricard 2003, 765–782.
64 Bedos/Bautier 1980, 131.

jusqu'à final payement»[65]. Des instructions ont en effet été données aux commissaires chargés de lever la rançon pour obtenir le paiement de l'aide aussi bien des «habitants des bonnes villes et pays d'entour» que des gens d'église et des nobles.[66]

Un aveu et dénombrement rédigé à la demande du roi et de la chambre des comptes

Sous le règne de Charles V, en tant que régent puis en tant que roi de France, «l'impôt est régulièrement levé de 1360 à 1380. En trois étapes (1360, 1363, 1369), [il] est levé pour payer la rançon, pour lutter contre les compagnies et enfin pour financer la guerre après les appels gascons»[67]. Vu la date de la déclaration (1362), il pourrait s'agir d'un document demandé par le pouvoir royal aux monastères en vue d'obtenir des subsides pour le paiement de la rançon du roi suite aux accords de Brétigny et de Calais, sachant que Jean II, incapable de réunir facilement les 400 000 écus encore attendus par le roi d'Angleterre, est parti en août 1362 auprès du pape à Avignon dans l'espoir que ce dernier «lui prêtera[it] une partie de l'argent qu'il doit à Édouard III [...] [et lui accorderait] la décime de tous les revenus ecclésiastiques durant six années»[68], ce qu'il obtint finalement le 31 mars 1363 en échange de la promesse de partir en croisade.[69]

Pourtant, la déclaration ne correspond pas à la levée de la décime, ne serait-ce que par sa date de composition. En effet, son protocole précise explicitement qu'il s'agit de:

> [...] la declaration des heritages, domaines et possessions que tiennent et advouent a tenir sous le roi nostre seigneur en mainmorte et tout amorti de lui es lieux qui ensuivent, les religieux abbé et convent de l'eglise du Val Notre Dame de l'ordre de Citeaux au diocese de Paris [...].

L'abbé et les moines du Val avouent tenir du roi des biens de mainmorte, c'est-à-dire inaliénables, pour lesquels ils sont censés avoir payé ou devoir payer un droit d'amortissement au roi. L'emploi de la formule «advouent a tenir» qui se retrouve dans le protocole des aveux et dénombrements donne la nature de cette déclaration.[70]

Un aveu et dénombrement des possessions d'un fief est attendu par le seigneur au moment des changements de titulaire à la tête de la seigneurie ou des fiefs qui en

65 Dessalles 1850, 150.
66 Un exemplaire de registre de commissaire a été conservé sous forme fragmentaire à Arras, Arch. dép. du Pas-de-Calais (A 691). Il contient les instructions adressées aux commissaires, ainsi que la liste partielle des noms de ceux qui ont payé l'aide. Voir l'édition de ce registre: Richard 1875.
67 Scordia 2005, 81.
68 Cazelles 1982, 427.
69 Cazelles 1982, 436–437.
70 Cárcel Ortí 1994, nº 475–476; Guy Fourquin 1964, 129–130.

relèvent. Dans le cas de la déclaration, l'abbé Jean est déjà en place en 1359 et le roi de France Jean II ne meurt qu'en 1364. Dans ces conditions, elle pourrait plus certainement répondre à une demande royale obligeant toutes les personnes tenant du roi des fiefs et arrière-fiefs à les déclarer auprès des officiers royaux et être liée au besoin royal de réaffirmer sa suzeraineté sur l'ensemble des fiefs relevant de la prévôté et vicomté de Paris, dont fait partie la châtellenie de Montmorency, suite à la captivité de Jean le Bon et aux troubles qui ont agité le royaume depuis la défaite de Poitiers. Ce genre de document est adressé directement à la chambre des comptes chargée d'enregistrer les hommages, ainsi que les aveux et dénombrements dus au roi. Pour la déclaration de 1362, aucune indication sur cette procédure d'enregistrement ne peut être fournie puisqu'aucune trace de sa présence dans les archives de la chambre des comptes n'a pu être repérée. En revanche, la déclaration des biens du Val de 1464 adressée à Gilles de Saint-Simon, chambellan du roi, par ordre royal, se trouvait au XVIe siècle, au moment de sa copie pour les moines, à la chambre des comptes.[71] Dans ces conditions, nous pouvons supposer qu'un autre exemplaire de la déclaration de 1362 pouvait être également conservé à Paris, comme celle de 1464.

La forme de rouleau adoptée pour cet aveu et dénombrement ne laisse toutefois pas de surprendre et ne semble pas la norme pour ce genre de document.[72] Ainsi, Isabelle Bretthauer, analysant les aveux et dénombrements normands, signale que, sur le millier de documents qu'elle a pu rassembler pour sa thèse, aucun d'entre eux n'adopte cette forme et aucun ne donne autant de détails chiffrés sur les revenus et dépenses des avoués : ce sont plutôt des actes courts et scellés lors de plaids de justice par le prévôt ou le sénéchal du seigneur à qui l'aveu est rendu, ou par un tabellion, même s'il est toujours possible que l'avoué scelle de son sceau,[73] comme cela était prévu à la fin de la déclaration pour l'abbé et le convent du Val.

Dans ces conditions, la longueur de son dispositif peut expliquer le recours à la forme de rouleau. À partir des registres de la chambre des comptes conservés aux Archives nationales, peuvent être repérés des aveux et dénombrements rédigés par des établissements religieux. Ceux des institutions parisiennes et franciliennes, comme l'Hôpital Saint-Jean, Notre-Dame des Champs ou Notre-Dame d'Argenteuil au début des années 1380, occupent plusieurs feuillets, mais il est impossible de se faire une idée de la forme adoptée par l'exemplaire qui leur était destiné.[74] En dehors de la région parisienne, pour la ville de Saint-Quentin, Sébastien Hamel a pu également en étudier de fort détaillés, comme celui qui fut rendu par l'abbaye de Saint-Quentin-en-l'Isle le 25 août 1384.[75] Pour chacun de ces dénombrements, le détail des informations accumulées pourrait laisser supposer la rédaction d'un exemplaire sur rouleau,

71 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4203 : *Déclaration rendue au roy des biens de l'abbaye du Val l'an 1463*.
72 Marion 2003, 55–75.
73 Bretthauer 2011, 464, 467, 470–472, 475–478.
74 Paris, Archives nationales, P 129.
75 Hamel 2011, 191–192 ; Paris, Archives nationales, P 135.

même s'il est toujours possible qu'ils aient été plutôt rédigés sous forme de cahiers. Si cette pratique n'est pas courante, il se peut finalement que les moines du Val aient privilégié de leur propre chef la forme de rouleau pour les aveux et dénombrements qu'ils avaient à envoyer à la chambre des comptes. En effet, la déclaration de 1464 était elle aussi rédigée sous la forme d'un rouleau de quatre feuilles de papier.[76] Dans ces conditions, on peut supposer que le choix de cette forme particulière pour les déclarations répond à des besoins divers : pour le rédacteur, il permet une accumulation des informations et une certaine fluidité dans leur écriture ; pour les contrôleurs, il rend plus aisée la consultation des données et leur comparaison éventuelle avec les déclarations antérieures.

Il semble donc qu'un aveu et dénombrement de leurs possessions et revenus ait été demandé aux religieux du Val en 1362 par le roi et la chambre des comptes. Adressé au seigneur de Nédonchel en charge de ce dossier, il est finalement resté dans les archives de l'abbaye, soit qu'il ne les ait jamais quittées, soit qu'il ait bien été envoyé à la chambre des comptes qui ne l'a finalement pas gardé – peut-être en raison de ses lacunes.

Une déclaration des biens mettant en avant les difficultés du monastère

L'abbaye du Val est une abbaye riche et dynamique d'un point de vue économique au XIII^{e} et dans la première moitié du XIV^{e} siècle. En 1352, selon le compte établi pour lever le trentième (*tricesima*) sur les églises et monastères du diocèse de Paris, elle jouissait d'un revenu de 800 livres parisis,[77] comme l'abbaye des Vaux-de-Cernay, ce qui l'exposait à verser 26 livres 23 sous,[78] soit une somme relativement élevée. Dix ans plus tard, la situation s'est quelque peu détériorée, même si le patrimoine reste suffisamment important pour occuper 4,50 m de parchemin. Pourtant, dans le rouleau, de nombreuses mentions attirent l'attention du contrôleur sur la diminution des revenus subie par l'abbaye.

Dès le protocole, le rédacteur de la déclaration a pris soin de préciser que les biens du monastère, tenus en mainmorte du roi, sont déjà amortis. Sans doute s'agit-il d'une référence à un acte de Philippe VI amortissant en 1339 les biens acquis par l'abbaye ?[79] Pour plus de précautions toutefois, en plus de rappeler les destructions occasionnées

76 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4203, déclaration de 1464, verso de la table, marge inf. : *Cette declaration fut rendue par ordre du roy et de sa chambre des comptes au seigneur Gilles de Saint Simon comme il apert par l'injonction qui en fut faite aux religieux et abbé du Val signée et paraffée par Jean de Lorraine, sergent a cheval et ce escript en lettre gothique sur un rouleau de quatre feuilles de papier l'an 1464 et il est au tiroir des archives de Paris titre des declarations*.
77 Vatican, Archives du Vatican, Coll. 216, fol. 81–113^{v}.
78 Longnon 1904, 398 ; Bedos/Bautier 1980, 133.
79 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4194, nº 4.

par les Anglais, les terres en friche et en épines, il n'hésite pas à souligner les pertes de revenus subies par le monastère, parfois depuis 20 ans.[80] Ce laps de temps est mentionné à sept reprises dans le rouleau pour préciser que, pendant cette période, des bâtiments sont restés en ruine, des terres n'ont pas été labourées et surtout que des droits seigneuriaux, des rentes ou des cens n'ont pas été payés ou ont perdu de la valeur, que ce soit à cause du refus de payer de la part des héritiers des donateurs ou de la pauvreté des censitaires. Par exemple, à Cormeilles-en-Parisis, les religieux ont une rente de 8 livres parisis, à prélever chaque année à la Septembrêche[81], sur un clos de vigne, appelé le clos Gallon, mais comme le clos est en friche depuis 20 ans, ils n'ont rien pu y percevoir.[82] À Meulan, une maison doit 20 sous de rente, mais depuis 5 ans, rien n'a été payé *quar le proprietaire est povre*[83]. Les «pauvres» ne sont pas les seuls à être mauvais payeurs. Le roi et les grands seigneurs tardent également à s'acquitter des rentes promises au Val.[84] Ainsi, Charles de Montmorency (1325–1381) avait donné 100 sous sur le péage de Conflans pour fonder une chapelle dans l'église abbatiale, mais la dame de Montmorency empêche que cette somme ne soit versée aux moines.[85] Il avait également donné des vinages à Groslay et à Deuil qui rapportaient avant les guerres 10 tonneaux de 8 tous les ans, alors qu'ils ne valent plus que deux queues de 8 depuis les troubles;[86] les moines doivent en outre s'occuper eux-mêmes de la récolte et de la mise en tonneau du vin et en plus verser chaque année 60 setiers de vin aux religieuses de Gomerfontaine.[87]

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80 Dans un cas seulement (Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169, nº 15, l. 168–169), la période pendant laquelle rien n'a été payé est de 10 ans: *Item ilz ont a coustume de prendre chacun an de rente au terme saint Andrieu 3 sextiers et mine de ble a la mesure du lieu, si est vray qu'ils n'en puent riens avoir et n'en ont pas este paiez en 10 ans une foys*.

81 Fête de la Nativité de Marie (le 8 septembre).

82 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169, nº 15, l. 118–119: *Item a Cormeilles en Parisy ont droit de prendre chacun an de rente 8 lb. par. au terme de la Septembresche en et sur 1 clos de vigne appellé le clos Gallon. Le quel clos est en frische passé a 20 ans. Ainsy les dis religieux ne puent prendre leur rente et leur est* [deu] *grant comme d'arrierage*.

83 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169 nº 15, l. 317–318: *Item en la dicte ville sur la mayson du chappeau roge laquelle est fondue 20 s. de rente. Et y a 5 ans que riens n'en a peu estre receu quar le propriétaire est povre*.

84 Archives nationales, S 4169 nº 15, l. 138–139: *Item a Senliz les dis religieux ont droit de prendre chacun an 20 lb. parisis en et sur la recepte du demaine du roy notre s. mais ilz n'en sont point payés*.

85 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169, nº 15, l. 113–115: *Item au dit Conflans du dom mess. Charles de Montmorency sur sa part du dit travers au terme de la Chandelleur pour partie de la fondacion de sa chappelle en la dicte esglise du Val Notre Dame cent soulz par. a prendre et percevoir sur la part et porcion que y avait ja pieca mess. Erart de Montmorency des quelx cent s. par. dessusdits les dits religieux ne furent oncques paiez par l'empeschement qui met madame de Montmorency a present*.

86 D'après Fourquin 1964, 53–54, à la mesure de Saint-Denis, un tonneau vaut 772,992 litres, une queue, 386,496 litres (soit un demi tonneau), un setier, 11,712 litres; à la mesure de Paris, le tonneau vaut 804 litres, la queue, 402 litres et le setier, 16,75 litres.

87 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169 nº 15, l. 173–176: *Item les dis religieux ont droit de prendre chacun an du dom mons. Charles de Montmorency les vinages que doivent certains heritages seans a Grolez*

Par ailleurs, apparaissent également les redevances que les moines doivent verser pour les terres dont ils ne possèdent pas tous les droits. Ainsi, pour l'*hostel* de Goussainville[88], ils ont *400 arpens de terre labourables ou envuiron* […] *chargés chacun an envers plusieurs personnes tant en chef cens, en rentes de grain comme en dismes*.[89] Vient ensuite la liste de ceux à qui doivent être payées ces taxes avec les termes, soit 26 personnes[90], seigneurs laïcs ou ecclésiastiques, pour une somme totale de *4 lb. 6 d. 1 tournois ou envuiron*.[91]

Malgré toutes les indications chiffrées, un calcul précis des revenus reste difficile à faire, car s'y trouvent de nombreuses mentions très imprécises comme *de nulle valeur*, ou *de petite valeur*, ou encore *pauvrement payés et à grand peine*,[92] ainsi que de nombreux espaces laissés blancs, qui n'aident pas à quantifier. Il convient de ne pas oublier que ce n'est pas un compte qui a été demandé, mais un dénombrement des possessions tenues du roi par l'abbaye et de ses revenus. La rigueur mathématique que nous attendons à présent de ce type de document n'est pas ce qui préoccupait les hommes et femmes de cette époque, comme l'avait remarqué Christine Jéhanno pour les comptes de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris.[93] Pour les moines, comme pour leur commanditaire, il importait sans doute de disposer d'un écrit, qu'il soit en outre établi avec suffisamment de rigueur et de soin pour être consulté, mais sans doute pas d'avoir un état chiffré des recettes et des dépenses en bonne et due forme.

Le tableau ainsi dressé insiste sur les malheurs de Notre-Dame du Val, mais, malgré des difficultés qui semblent bien réelles, cette abbaye reste suffisamment solide au milieu du XIV^e siècle pour ne pas être incorporée par un établissement plus grand, avide de se réassurer une santé financière aux dépens d'un monastère plus petit, comme ce fut le cas pour de nombreuses abbayes cisterciennes de femmes qui disparurent au cours des troubles de la guerre de Cent Ans au profit des monastères masculins qui en avaient la garde.[94] Ce maintien est lié à l'importance de son patrimoine

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et Dueil et povent valloir avant que les guerres veinssent 10 tonniaux de 8 chacun an qui de present ne vallent que 2 queuez de 8 maluaisement et fault que les dis religieux les facent cueillir et enfuster chacun an. Et sont les dis vinages chargés chacun an en la somme de 60 sextiers de vin que prennent les religieuses de Gamefontaine avant que les religieux y puissent riens prendre. Située à Trie-la-Ville dans l'Oise, à proximité de Chaumont-en-Vexin où les moines du Val ont des biens, Gomerfontaine est une abbaye de cisterciennes fondée vers 1207–1208 dans le diocèse de Rouen à l'époque où entrent dans l'ordre cistercien de nombreuses communautés de femmes à l'exemple de Saint-Antoine-des-Champs ou de Port-Royal (Porrois). Ce fut d'abord un prieuré, avant de devenir une abbaye en 1226.

88 Goussainville : cant. Goussainville, arr. Sarcelles, départ. Val-d'Oise, région Île-de-France.

89 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169, nº 15, l. 214–219.

90 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169, nº 15, l. 220–245.

91 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169, nº 15, l. 246.

92 Paris, Archives nationales, S 4169, nº 15, l. 172.

93 Jéhanno 2015.

94 Par exemple, Cîteaux incorpore la Cour Notre-Dame après 1481, suite aux difficultés rencontrées par les moniales pendant les troubles de la guerre de Cent Ans et à la ruine matérielle et morale de leur abbaye, même si les dysfonctionnements signalés dans le prologue du cartulaire rédigé à la demande et à la protection des seigneurs de Montmorency qui permettent à la communauté de perdurer jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle.[95]

Conclusion

En 1362, une déclaration des biens du Val a été rédigée à la demande d'un agent royal sous forme de rouleau. Ce choix répond sans doute d'abord à la nécessité de rassembler en un seul bloc des données de grande ampleur pour rendre leur vérification plus aisée au moment du contrôle à la chambre des comptes.

Exemplaire destiné à l'abbaye d'après les notes dorsales médiévales, le rouleau de 1362 n'a semble-t-il plus quitté les archives monastiques jusqu'à son transfert dans le fonds des Feuillants au début du XVIIe siècle. La présence d'annotations marginales signale qu'il a été utilisé, notamment pour établir une autre déclaration des biens un siècle plus tard, mais au-delà de ce deuxième aveu, il ne semble pas avoir servi à la confection d'autres documents. Sa présence rue Saint-Honoré à l'époque moderne montre toute l'importance que les nouveaux possesseurs du Val lui accordaient, ne serait-ce que comme témoignage du patrimoine monastique sur lequel ils avaient mis la main.

Aveu et dénombrement produit pour les moines par un professionnel de l'écriture, il a été élaboré à un moment où le roi cherche des moyens financiers pour faire face au paiement de la rançon qu'il doit au roi d'Angleterre après sa capture à Poitiers et a la volonté de rappeler sa suzeraineté sur les fiefs relevant de la prévôté et vicomté de Paris dans un espace qui a été très affecté par la Grande Jacquerie et par les chevauchées anglaises. En effet, les religieux ne cessent de rappeler que leurs biens sont amortis et qu'ils ont subi de lourdes pertes à cause de la guerre et de la peste, de la pauvreté des tenanciers et de la mauvaise volonté des héritiers de certains donateurs. Au-delà d'un tableau des possessions du Val, cette déclaration livre toute la profondeur du fonds documentaire monastique dont quelques traces affleurent à travers les différents items.

de l'abbé de Cîteaux, Jean de Cirey, sont sans doute exagérés pour justifier l'incorporation (Arch. dép. Yonne, H 787. Le cartulaire rassemble 323 actes dont soixante pour le XIVe siècle et vingt-six pour le XVe siècle). Jordan 1985 ; Borlée 1999 ; Berman 2000 ; Lester, Jordan 2001. Morimond et Auberive incorporent Belfays et Vauxbons en 1389 et 1394 comme le montre Chauvin 1994 ; 2005.

95 Bedos/Bautier 1980, 133 ; Foucher 1998, 14, 165–255.

Annexe

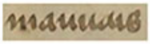
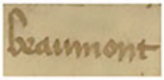
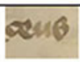
« a » simples 	En position initiale : 
	A l'intérieur du mot : 
Hastes à boucles semi-anguleuses 	« b » 
	« h » 
	« l » 
« s » longs et fuselés en position initiale ou médiane 	 
« s » courts en fin de mot 	

Fig. 5: Analyse paléographique de la déclaration de 1362: une cursiva currens proche de la «mixte» de la chancellerie royale française.

Fig. 6: Les mentions dorsales de la déclaration des biens du Val Notre-Dame:

Fig. 6a: La première mention dorsale (fin XVe – debut XVIe siècle).

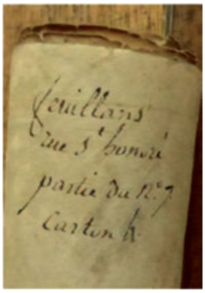


Fig. 6b: La cote du couvent des Feuillants.

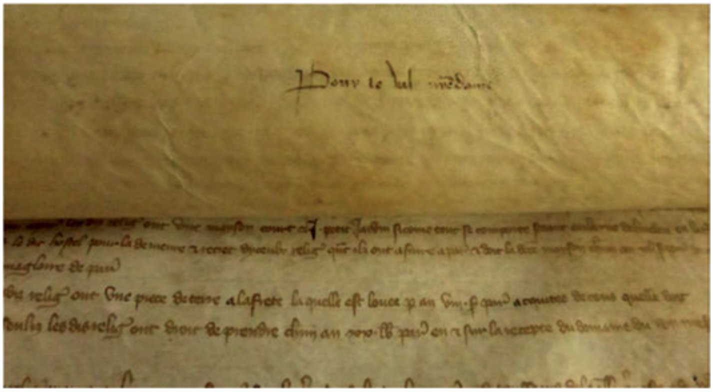


Fig. 6c: Une mention médiévale extérieure à l’abbaye ?

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7 J (Fonds Henneguier et Delhomel de Montreuil)
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Crédits photos

Fig. 1: Marlène Helias-Baron.
Fig. 2: Cliché des Archives nationales Paris, avec la permission des Archives nationales Paris.
Fig. 3, 4, 6: Clichés personnel, avec la permission des Archives nationales Paris.
Fig. 5: Arrangements: Marlène Helias-Baron. Photos: Clichés personnel, avec la permission des Archives nationales Paris.

Nicholas Vincent

Enrolment in Medieval English Government

Sickness or Cure?

In August 1834, Jules Michelet arrived in London as a senior official of the *Archives royales de France*, keen to observe the English way of doing things. England itself he found uninspiring: a nation of the fat and arrogant. The much-vaunted English countryside, in his opinion, was little more than a meat factory suited to a population of butchers. By contrast, England's medieval records were kept in far better conditions than those of France. At least twice Michelet visited the records in the Tower of London, meeting Henry Petrie, their chief custodian (a former dancing master), and the young Thomas Duffus Hardy. In the Tower, he viewed the serried ranks of chancery rolls in their oak presses, marvelling at the fact that the records, although stored in an eleventh-century *donjon*, were stored there free from damp.[1]

All of this in August 1834. Two months later, and in no small part in consequence of the determination to bring modern order to the cluttered memorials of England's medieval past, fire swept through what had once been England's chief archive, destroying everything in its wake. The great fire of Westminster (6 October 1834) was started when a quantity of medieval wooden tally sticks were deliberately burned as so much useless lumber.[2] It might easily have destroyed not just the tally sticks but the vast majority of England's medieval records. Indeed, had the chancery and exchequer rolls still been stored at Westminster, as the financial archives of France's kings were still stored in the *chambre de comptes* in 1737, we might today know as little of enrolment in medieval England as we do, say, of the great series of Scottish chancery and exchequer rolls, lost at sea in 1660 when the ship carrying them back to Edinburgh (from where they had been removed a decade earlier by Oliver Cromwell) went down with no cargo saved.[3] We might know even less of English enrolment than we do today of the exchequer and chancery rolls of Ireland, in theory totally destroyed in the explosion that ripped through the Dublin Four Courts in 1922, in reality not so entirely

1 Michelet, *Journal*, ed. Viallaneix, 123–160, esp. 128, 154 (visits to the Tower), 131 (English countryside).
2 Shenton 2012.
3 Thomson 1922, esp. 15–16, noting, by contrast, the survival of virtually all manuscript books, more than a thousand of which had already been returned to Edinburgh in 1657. For the survival of copies of various of the lost rolls, made by the antiquary Thomas Hamilton, see Taylor 2016, 351–354.

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lost as was once supposed.[4] Not only this, but had the English rolls been burned in 1834, it is doubtful whether any historian today would credit their true quantity or extent.[5]

Instead, although a large part of the archive of Parliament was burned in 1834, the rolls themselves survived. This was a welcome, some might think a miraculous deliverance. But it was also a reflection not so much of the perceived significance of the rolls as of their redundancy. Precisely because they were no longer required for the day-to-day functioning of government, as early as the 1270s, the early chancery rolls had gradually been transferred, away from the chancery at Westminster to gloomier incarceration, first in the Temple, later in the Tower of London.[6] Of the greater series of medieval enrolments originally stored at Westminster, the pipe rolls had been moved first to Gray's Inn (*c.* 1715), then (in 1793) to even more squalid neglect in the vaults of Somerset House.[7] Chancery rolls earlier than the reign of Richard III were kept at the Tower, but anything later than this remained scattered in promiscuous confusion across the Rolls Chapel and Rolls House in Chancery Lane.[8] Into the 1830s, it was reported, so dark was the place in which various of the patent rolls were stored that individual rolls could be located "only by guess matured into habit" (still, in many instances, the best means of locating a great deal of material, albeit now rather better catalogued, in the National Archives at Kew).[9] The medieval court rolls were even more widely dispersed. As late as the 1850s, a historian seeking to follow the sort of lead today easily traced in an hour or so at Kew, would instead have been obliged to travel backwards and forwards between half a dozen different London offices, frustrated at every turn by exorbitant fees, surly or incompetent custodians and the sheer chaos in which so many of the rolls were stored.[10] Even the early chancery rolls, whose state of preservation so impressed Michelet, remained both difficult to manipulate

4 Crooks 2013, with further details online at https://chancery.tcd.ie/content/irish-chancery-rolls#structure-and-form-of-the-irish-chancery-rolls (last accessed: 31.7.18). For what little survives of the Irish pipe rolls, otherwise destroyed in 1922, see the fragment of the roll, probably of 46 or 47 Henry III (1261–1262 or 1262–1263), preserved as London, BL, Add. Ch. 26515. Another fragment, from an original now lost, apparently from the roll 45 Henry III (1260–1261), is reproduced in *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland*, ed. Gilbert, vol. 2, no. 73. Rather more survives of the Irish judicial records, including an entire original eyre roll of the year 8 Edward II in 103 membranes (Dublin, NAI, KB 1/1) and a rather more fragmentary bench roll (KB 1/2, today disbound and severely cropped).

5 See here Vincent 2009, xvi–xvii, suggesting that had Domesday Book not survived, it too would be assumed to be a figment of the antiquarian imagination.

6 For the transfer of chancery rolls to the Temple in November 1267, but with clear expectation that they could be searched there or recalled to chancery, see *Close Rolls 1264–8*, 407. Thereafter, see Maxwell-Lyte 1926, 400–401; Wilkinson 1929, 54, 59–64.

7 Stenton 1952, 282–283, 286–290.

8 Wernham 1956, esp. 17–18.

9 Wernham 1956, 27.

10 For exorbitant search fees, see Stenton 1952, 283, 287–288. For general chaos, Jenkinson 1949, 8, noting in particular the fate of the ancient miscellanea of the king's remembrancer, removed from and expensive to use. Theirs was a story as much of neglect and sinecurism as of careful archival custodianship. It was nonetheless a story that suggests that the rolls themselves had become symbolic of the medieval origins of the modern British state. As early as the 1270s, six centuries before their neglect provoked the 1838 Public Record Office Act, they were already both a tool of government and one of government's most immediately recognizable icons.

I have written of the rolls, their origins and their making, in a number of contexts, and I do not propose here merely to rehearse ideas that I have expressed elsewhere.[11] Instead, I shall address a rather different set of questions, in particular seeking to understand the evolution of the parchment roll in England in its symbolic rather than its practical administrative guise. The key here must be to divorce the administrative history of the medieval state (the province of Thomas F. Tout, Joseph Strayer, or Robert-Henri Bautier) from the diplomatic realities of parchment and ink from which the rolls themselves were fashioned. Too often, the written records of medieval government have been treated not as a body of evidence in their own right, but merely as a stepping stone towards the processes by which government itself functioned. Duly edited and indexed as books, such records offer a feast for the historians of administration, not least for the access they allow to the career details of many thousands of individual medieval administrators. By contrast, in which follows I shall be chiefly concerned with artefacts rather than with processes, with parchment rather than people.[12]

Long before Michelet visited the Tower, indeed from the very earliest occasion when a member of the king's administration set out to describe the functioning of English government, the form of the parchment roll had already achieved iconic status. There is thus hardly a page of the printed edition of Richard fitz Nigel's *Dialogue of the Exchequer* (*c.* 1178) from which the word *rotulus* is absent. This is hardly surprisingly in a treatise whose avowed intent was to explain the making of the exchequer pipe roll. What later centuries came to know as the 'pipe roll' was referred to by Richard himself as the "great" roll, the "annual" roll, or more often simply the "annal".[13] Even so, in Richard's day its writing and calculations already involved considerable efforts not just at the exchequer but in most other departments of English government. Thirty years later, by which time not only the exchequer but the chancery had embarked on

Westminster Hall in 1830 to the King's Mews at Charing Cross (now Trafalgar Square), there to become "a mass of putrid filth, stench, dirt and decomposition".

11 See in particular here Vincent 2004, 2017; Vincent (forthcoming a and forthcoming b).

12 For access to the rolls themselves, there are invaluable images of long runs of many of the principal series of English enrolment at Robert Palmer's Anglo-American Legal Tradition website, sponsored by the University of Houston Law Center: Palmer/Palmer/Jenks (*s. d.*).

13 See *Dialogus de Scaccario*, eds. Amt and Church, for the pipe roll(s) as the *magnus rotulus* (106), *magnus annalis rotulus* (110, 118, 128), *annuali rotuli* (100), *annalis rotulus* (110, 124), *magni annales compotorum rotuli* (94), or merely as the *annalis* (140, 142, 146, 152, 156, 172, 186).

a major programme of enrolment, we find a similar identification between rolls and the outward panoply of government, in the so-called *Planctus super episcopis*: a satire directed against the courtier bishops of King John, including Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, "the warrior of Winchester, up at the exchequer [...] turning the king's roll".[14] By this time too, the vocabulary of enrolment was already richly developed, spawning not merely a host of references to *rotulus* and *rotuli*, but now shading into verbs and gerunds: *irrotulare*, *irrotulamentum*, *irrotulatio*, and in due course a host of ablative absolutes or references to "searches of the rolls": *inspectis* [...] *scriptis et irrotulationibus*, *visis et scrutatis rotulis*, *quarantur rotuli*, *vocauit rotulos* [...] *ad warantum*, and so forth.[15] As testimony to this fixation with the *rotulus*, from the twelfth century onwards, we already find the most famous of the treasury's written memorials misidentified not as a book but as a roll. Domesday Book thus became generally, albeit falsely, known as "the roll of Winchester".[16] No doubt because of the persistent assumption that English government was an administration conducted *per rotulum*, this was a terminology that stuck. Into the eighteenth century, the greatest of modern authorities on the medieval exchequer, Thomas Madox, continued to refer to Domesday not as a book but as a "rent roll" or *rotulus censualis*.[17]

Like Michelet, 130 years later, Madox in the early years of the eighteenth century was able to survey the rolls not simply one-by-one, so that he might enquire after particular historical details, but as a visual spectacle, arranged in sequence from the twelfth-century onwards. A woodcut image of the great oak presses in which the pipe rolls were stored in the Pipe Office at Westminster, cupboard by cupboard and shelf by shelf, accompanied Madox's written description of their arrangement first published in 1711, here referring to the cupboards, numbered from right to left, as *capsae* and each of their shelves as an *abacus* (fig. 1).[18] To assume, however, that the rolls were deliberately displayed in this way, as a symbol of English government, is to confuse the privileged access permitted to Madox, Michelet and a small band of semi-professional historians, with what a wider public was allowed to see of the medieval English

14 Wright 1839, 10: *Wintoniensis armiger presidet ad scaccarium* [...] *regis revolvens rotulum*.

15 For a host of instances here, see Ashdown/Howlett/Latham 2018, 1484–1485, here also citing *Curia Regis Rolls* 1922–2006, vol. 2, 299; vol. 5, 164–165.

16 For early instances here, see Clanchy 2013[3], 138–139, and cf. also *Curia Regis Rolls* 1922–2006, vol. 1, 263 (*Robertus <camerarius> ponit se super rotulum Wintonie quod terra illa pertinet a conquestu Anglie ad feudum quod ipse habet*, 1200). Round 1909[3], 215, long ago questioned whether various of these references to the *rotuli Wyncestr'* (sometimes in the plural), refer to Domesday or some other set of records of hidage, earlier than the 1160s.

17 Madox 1769[2], vol. 2, 456 (*Disceptatio Epistolaris*): *post Rotulum Censualem quem Librum Domesday vocant*, perhaps here influenced by the idea of the master exactory roll (the *rotulus qui exactorius dicitur quem quidem nominant breue de firmis* or *rotulus exactorium*) that, according to the *Dialogus* (*Dialogus de Scaccario*, eds. Amt and Church, 94, 188), was stored together with Domesday (here the *Liber Iudiciarius*) and determined many of the annual charges entered on the pipe roll.

18 Madox 1769[2], vol. 2, 455, 457: *Disceptatio Epistolaris*.

state. It is surely instructive that, in Madox's day, the rolls were displayed from right to left, reversing what we might consider a linear progression from the past into the present. Not only this, but for more than a century after Madox's description of the wooden cupboards in the Pipe Office, *c.* 1711, we have no visual record of the archival arrangements either of the chancery rolls at the Tower or of the pipe rolls in their various migrations from Westminster via Holborn to Somerset House. By the time we next catch sight of them visually, in a photograph perhaps of the early twentieth century, the earliest chancery rolls had long been retired from public view, locked away in a special 'Rolls Room' (built 1877) of the new Public Record Office in Chancery Lane (itself built 1851–1857).[19] Those using the search rooms at Chancery Lane, especially the splendidly-appointed new Round Room (begun 1863), were permitted to order up the rolls for consultation, one by one.[20] A special 'pipe roll stand' was constructed as a frame from which the bulkier rolls could be hung and read.[21] After 1902, visitors might inspect the Record Office's new museum, built on the site of what had formerly been the Rolls Chapel, itself part of the *Domus Conversorum* (1232) that, by the 1260s, was already colonized by clerks of the royal chancery.[22] In the Museum, they could view such iconic objects as Domesday, a sequence of original royal charters, the statute roll 11 Henry VII (1495), and several sixteenth-century king's bench plea rolls, presumably selected as those least likely to be ordered for use by readers (fig. 2).[23] No attempt, however, was made to display the full abundance of the rolls, even to those enterprising enough to visit or work in the Public Record Office. The Round Room, it is true, was abundantly furnished with shelves, reaching high up into its glass dome. But these were used to store books, especially calendars and indexes and, in the less accessible upper levels, the more redundant but visually attractive of uniformly bound codices.[24] From 1877 through to the Round Room's closure 120 years later, the intention was to display impressive lumber, not in any way to transform the medieval rolls into a spectacle of antiquity.

19 Cantwell 1991, 269 and plate 33, from Kew, TNA, PRO 50/59, no. 76, apparently with electric rather than gas lighting.

20 For the building of the Round Room, Cantwell 1991, 208–209, 225, and for images Cox et al. 1988, viii; Kew, TNA, PRO 50/59, nos. 77–78. As suggested by Hallam 1990, 40, almost certainly modelled on Sydney Smirke's domed reading room at the British Museum (1854–1857).

21 Image as the backcover to Cox et al. 1988, showing the stand in use by Norman Evans.

22 For the migration of chancery officials to the Domus as early as the 1260s, see Vincent (forthcoming b), focusing in particular on the chancery clerk Adam of Chesterton.

23 For the conversion of Chapel into Museum, see Cantwell 1991, 338–343. For its contents, see Maxwell-Lyte 1902[4]; Cox et al. 1988, 22–25. For an early photograph of Domesday and Little Domesday displayed, apparently with no protection other than an attendant, see Kew, TNA, PRO 50/59, nos. 47, 51, and for the display of rolls and charters, nos. 57–63, 71

24 David Crook, whose memory of the Round Room extends back to the 1970s, suggests that the books so displayed were either the 2,000 or more volumes of king's bench judgment books (Kew, TNA, J 20), or possibly the 2,934 volumes of chancery division cause books (Kew, TNA, J 12)

Fig. 1: Madox' woodcut illustration of the Pipe Office at Westminster (cf. Madox 1711[1], 63).

Fig. 2: Display in the Public Record Office Museum, *c.* 1910.

In this, the rolls' custodians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries merely followed medieval precedent. For a privileged few, most notably the officials of exchequer and chancery, and the sheriffs and others who attended at Westminster each year to render their accounts, the rolls were both a visual and a physical reminder of royal authority from at least the twelfth century onwards. To the vast majority of the king's subjects, however, with little or no idea of the rolls' contents or extent, they remained an invisible albeit symbolic resource. Our most detailed images of medieval Westminster at work—the so-called Whaddon Hall drawings (*c.* 1450), today preserved in the library of the Inner Temple—show us teams of clerks in the exchequer, the chancery and the law courts, scribbling onto long individual parchment sheets; even swathes of writs in chancery in the process of being sealed, but not a single true roll (fig. 3).[25] This, only a few decades after the 'Great Rumour' of 1377, in which the peasants of forty of more manors across southern England had proclaimed entirely specious expectations of the king's archives, believing that thanks to that mysterious thing, Domesday *alias* "The King's Book" or "The Book of Winchester", all labour services not mentioned in "The Book" were about to be abolished.[26] For royal officials and for a lucky few antiquaries, able to charm or bribe their way into the repositories in the Tower and elsewhere, from the sixteenth century the rolls became a significant store of historical knowledge. Even so, they remained a resource chiefly intended for the defence of royal rather than private right. They were thus accessible to the king's critics or to those in search of 'constitutional' precedents only under sufferance and the threat of draconian prosecution for anybody (most famously William Prynne) deploying historical records against the perceived interests of the crown.[27] This combined with their significance to a small army of sinecure holders, responsible for their upkeep and preservation, rendered them far from easy of access. With the exception of primitive attempts at listings, the earliest of them printed in 1631, no reliable inventory to any individual set of rolls was published before 1772 and Joseph Ayloffe's *Calendars of Ancient Charters*.[28] This very briefly summarized the principal series of enrolments, with an appendix of item-by-item listings of contents for the cartae antiquae, Welsh

25 Corner 1864, with better modern facsimiles, printed in Langbein/Lerner/Smith 2009, 277, and online at https://www.innertemplelibrary.org.uk/collections/manuscript-collection/four-illuminated-manuscripts/ (last accessed: 3.8.18).

26 Faith 1984.

27 For Prynne, see Lamont 1963, 1996. More generally, for an introduction to the polemical uses of the records in the Tower, see, for example, Douglas 1951²; Styles 1956; Sharpe 1979, and most famously Pocock 1987².

28 Powell 1622, heavily revised with the assistance of lists of individual rolls supplied by Agarde/Powell 1631, esp. 145–210, at 146–166, listing 66 charter, fine, close and patent rolls of the reign of John, and 300 of the reign of Henry III. For Agarde's inventory of exchequer records, see *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer*, ed. Palgrave, vol. 2, 311–335. Agarde and Powell's 1631 guide (8–9) also for the first time properly noticed the charter and cartae antiquae rolls at the Tower, at 11 recording the standard Tower search fee as 10*s*.

Fig. 3: Whaddon Hall drawing of the court of chancery.

and Scotch rolls.[29] For the vast majority of the king's subjects, meanwhile, the rolls remained inaccessible: symbolically powerful yet essentially mysterious.

Into the nineteenth century, and save for what circulated in manuscript copy amongst earlier antiquaries, the actual contents of the rolls remained unpublished. Selective extracts could be found in the work of such authorities as Prynne, Madox or Thomas Rymer. In search of monastic evidences, Roger Dodsworth, Sir William Dugdale, and in due course Thomas Tanner, all scoured the rolls, in Tanner's case publishing detailed listings of information scattered across a great variety of rolls of the chancery and the exchequer.[30] Even so, and despite the publication of the parliament rolls (in six volumes, 1767–1777, followed by an index in 1832) and Abraham Farley's edition of Domesday Book (1783, with indexes and *additamenta* in 1816), by 1800 not a single roll from the main series of chancery or exchequer enrolments had

29 Ayloffe 1772.
30 Tanner 1744².

been published *in extenso*. Even the Record Commission of 1801, intended to make good the shameful neglect of rolls and records, contented itself with the publication of calendars and extracts, for the most part woefully unreliable.[31] The only series of enrolments that the first Record Commissioners made any attempt to tackle *in extenso*, were either peripheral (the so-called hundred and Scotch rolls), or virtually useless as evidence for the chief thrust of English medieval government (as was the case with random excerpts from the originalia rolls, published between 1805 and 1810).[32] By 1830, indeed, the main series of English chancery rolls had been worse served than either the Scotch rolls (published *in extenso* between 1814 and 1819) or the Irish patent and close rolls preserved in Dublin Castle, calendared in 1828 by Edward Tresham (poorly, but even so with greater competence than had been displayed in dealing with their English equivalents).[33] No roll from the principal series of English chancery or exchequer enrolments was published *in extenso* until 1833, when (under the auspices of the new 1831 Record Commission) there appeared not only the first volume of Thomas Duffus Hardy's edition of the close rolls of the reign of King John and Henry III but also Joseph Hunter's editions of the pipe roll 31 Henry I and the chancellor's roll 3 John.[34] Even then, the collapse of the 1831 Record Commission ensured that, after barely a decade carrying publication of charter, patent and close rolls to the end of the reign of King John, in the forty years after 1844 no further volumes were added to the tally achieved by Hardy and Hunter.[35]

The subsequent decision to focus on chronicles and other "memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages", a venture directed after 1857 from the

31 Most notably in *Calendarium rotulorum chartarum et inquisitionum ad quod damnum* 1803 (offering virtually nothing save a list of beneficiaries, and even then inaccurately), and *Calendarium rotulorum patentium in turri Londoninensi* 1802 (from Astle's handwritten abstracts of 1775, a little better than the equivalent 1803 calendar of charter rolls). Superior to these, though even then far from ideal, were the excerpts from plea rolls published as *Placitorum in domo capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservatorum abbreviatio* 1811, and *Placita de quo warranto temporibus Edw. I. II. & III. in curia receptae scaccarij Westm. asservata* 1818.

32 *Rotuli Hundredorum* 1812–1818 (from Kew, TNA, SC 5/1–366); *Rotuli Scotiae in turri Londinensi et in domo capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservati* 1814–1819 (from Kew, TNA, C 71/1–113); *Rotuli originalium in curia scaccarii abbreviatio* 1805–1810 (from the medieval parts of the series now Kew, TNA, E 371/1–1102).

33 *Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum cancellariae Hiberniae calendarium* 1828, and cf. the extensive extracts from Irish records, prepared in 1829–1830 in full Latin transcript, eventually published as *Chartae, Privilegia et Immunitates* 1889.

34 *Rotuli litterarum clausarum in turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. Hardy; *Magnum Rotulum Scaccarii vel magnum rotulum pipae de anno tricesimo-primo regni Henrici primi*, ed. Hunter; *Rotulus cancellarii, vel antigraphum magni rotuli pipae, de tertio anno regni regis Johannis*, ed. Hunter.

35 Most notably with Hardy's editions of patent rolls 1835 and charter rolls *Rotuli chartarum in turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. Hardy, and his second volume of the close and patent rolls *Rotuli litterarum clausarum in turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. Hardy, this latter extending to 1227, the other series all ending with King John's death in 1216.

new Public Record Office by commission from the Master of the Rolls, led to a series of 250 still highly useful published volumes.[36] But in these hardly a single medieval 'roll' was consulted let alone newly edited. The only exception here, an enrolment of proceedings in council during Richard II's Irish expedition of 1392–1393, was published not from any English public record but from a manuscript then in private ownership at Kilkenny Castle, today preserved in the National Library of Ireland.[37] We are thus confronted by the irony that the much-feted 'Rolls Series' was published with virtually no regard for the chancery rolls from which its name derived. Not until 1891, and then, to begin with, only in inadequate calendared versions, did the Public Record Office make any serious attempt to repair such neglect.[38] Meanwhile, it was left to private enterprise, first by the Pipe Roll Society established in 1883, thereafter by the Frenchmen, Francisque Michel and Charles Bémont, to attempt what the Record Office was yet too timid to venture: full Latin editions of the earliest surviving chancery and exchequer rolls.[39] However iconic of medieval English government they may have become, into the 1880s the rolls themselves derived their reputation more from hearsay than from any attempt at public display or scholarly edition.

Why this reluctance to engage with the physical realities as opposed to the symbolic mystique of the rolls? The answer clearly resides in stupefaction induced by the sheer quantity of materials that by the 1830s had accumulated in a dozen or more record repositories across Westminster and London. Statistics here remain impressionistic but nonetheless staggering. If we take merely the three principal series of chancery enrolments, we find that the National Archives at Kew today house 200 charter rolls, 5,886 patent rolls and more than 20,900 close rolls, all preserving many hundreds, in some cases many thousands, of royal letters dispatched from the king or his chief writing office.[40] This before ever we approach the foothills of fine, liberate, cartae antiquae, Gascon, Norman or other chancery rolls, let alone the twin peaks of exchequer or judicial enrolments (pipe, chancellors', memoranda, curia regis, bench and eyre rolls, as well as vast heaps of miscellaneous enrolled materials, not least

36 The best introduction here remains that by Knowles 1963.

37 *A Roll of the Proceedings of the King's Council in Ireland*, ed. Graves, today Dublin, NLI, MS 2556/1, where it is less than perfectly preserved, heavily galled by its editor, dismantled from its original 'chancery' format, with each membrane now cut in two in order to bind them into a codex. See also, at the very end of the series, Maitland 1893, but for the most part merely reprinting enrolled materials long available in *Rotuli parliamentorum: ut et petitiones in parliament*, eds. Strachey et al.

38 The series of such calendars begins with Edward III (*CPR* 1891–1914), with prospectus noting interim efforts at vol. 1, v–xi, continuing thereafter with Edward I (*CPR* 1893–1901).

39 For the Pipe Roll Society, whose first three volumes, comprising editions of the pipe rolls 5–6 Henry II and a general introduction, appeared in 1884, see Stenton 1952, 292. For the Gascon rolls, see *Rôles Gascons*, eds. Michel and Bémont.

40 Kew, TNA, C 53 (charter rolls); C 66 (patent rolls); C 57 (patent rolls supplementary); C 54/1–20898 (close rolls, main series), supplemented in the case of the close rolls by the very earliest, now C 62/1–3, and the distinct series of C 55/1–19 (close rolls supplementary).

those of the exchequer of pleas). By 1880, even from the three principal chancery series, a mere 17 charter rolls, 16 patent rolls and 37 close rolls had been competently edited or calendared; from the exchequer side, a mere five (of the surviving 672) pipe and a single example (of the surviving 612) chancellors' rolls. For some idea of scale here, let us consider the 20,850 close rolls that in 1880 remained unedited. Even allowing an average length to these rolls of 10 metres (and most, unrolled, would far exceed that), we are dealing with a length of parchment that would stretch more than 200 kilometres: roughly the distance from Cardiff to London, or for those who prefer such things in German perspective, allowing just this one series amongst many others to be unfurled from Heidelberg all the way to Mannheim and back, not once but six times![41]

Statistics, of course, are easily distorted. Because many series of enrolment were begun in the Middle Ages but continued, as a result of tradition and sinecurism, through to the 1830s (in the case of the patent rolls even through to the present day), only a proportion of the enrolled material now preserved in Kew is truly medieval. If we place our cut-off point here at the end of the reign of Richard III in 1485, this would allow us to include virtually all of the 200 charter rolls, but only 615 of the 5,886 patent rolls and an even smaller proportion, 360 out of nearly 21,000 close rolls.[42] The close rolls are the chief distorting element here. Elsewhere, if we turn to the enrolments of exchequer and judiciary, we find that slightly more than a third of the principal exchequer rolls, and slightly less than half of the judicial rolls are medieval.[43] In three brief tables below (tab. 1–3 in the Appendix), I have set out lists of various more significant classes of enrolment from the chancery, the exchequer and the judiciary. The 31 series listed here make up only a proportion of those begun in the Middle Ages. Even from these 31 series, however, we find a total of more than 46,000 rolls. Of these, nearly 10,000 date from the medieval period, before 1486. As early as the reign of Richard II, when our earliest proper inventories survive, the chancery rolls already formed a substantial collection. Even if we include here only those documents reported as belonging to the first century of enrolment, through to the end of the reign of Henry III (1216–1272), by 1381 the chancery was already responsible for two sacks containing 378 charter, patent, fine, close and liberate rolls of the reigns of John and Henry III, together with 16 bundles from the same reigns relating to escheats and a five further sacks of miscellaneous early memoranda.[44] Long before this, indeed as early as the reign of King John, the chancery rolls had acquired their own specified keeper. This

41 As a sample, the penultimate roll in the main series, Kew, TNA, C 54/20897 (close roll 2 Edward VII part 36), is written on 38 membranes of parchment each approximately 60 centimetres long, making for a total length of just under 23 metres, or 75 feet!

42 Kew, TNA, C 53 (charter rolls), nos. 1–198 (excluding 2 rolls for the reign of Henry VII and the first 8 years of Henry VIII); C 66 (patent rolls), nos. 1–560, and from the supplementary series C 67/1–53 and 94–96; C 54 (close rolls), nos. 1–338, together with those displaced as C 62/1–3 and C 55/1–19.

43 See appendix below.

44 *List of Chancery Rolls* 1908, iv, from Kew, TNA, C 47/34/19 (Inventory of September 1381).

was an office originally without title, but by the 1260s already being designated as that of the *custos rotulorum*, subsequently "Master of the Rolls".[45]

For present purposes what matters here is not just the sheer number of the rolls but the abundance of their individual contents. After their beginnings in the reign of King John, the only set of close rolls to date edited in full Latin transcript are those of the reign of Henry III. Published over a period of 142 years, between 1833 and 1975, these today occupy 7,317 pages of octavo and 577 pages of double-columned folio print. These in turn are supplied with a further 1,761 pages of indexes, principally to persons and places, making for a total of more than 9,000 pages, more than 4.5 million words, occupying approximately 80 centimetres (2 ft 7 in) of shelf-space.[46] From the exchequer and judicial sides, even after more than 180 years of endeavour and more than 100 increasingly bulky volumes (occupying nearly four metres, or 14 feet of shelf-space), the publication of pipe and chancellors' rolls has reached no further than 1224; that of bench and curia regis rolls, in more than 20 volumes, no further than 1251.[47] The publication of memoranda rolls lags even further behind, with only four such rolls as yet printed either *in extenso* or calendar, even of the 95 that survive to the end of the reign of Henry III, let alone of the more than 500 surviving before 1486.[48] Taken altogether, and although in many cases printed merely in abbreviated calendar form, the modern editions of charter, patent, close, fine, liberate, Gascon, treaty, curia regis, pipe and exchequer memoranda rolls for the single reign of Henry III (1216–1272) are

45 For the emergence of this office, from 1215 onwards, see Vincent (forthcoming b), noting in particular *Rotuli litterarum clausarum in turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. Hardy, vol. 1, 196b; *Rotuli litterarum patentium in turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. Hardy, 137b; *CLR* (1916–1964), vol. 6, no. 2376 (1263); Hanworth 1935; Sainty 1993, 145.

46 *Rotuli litterarum clausarum in turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. Hardy, vol. 1, 293–655, vol. 2; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III* 1902–1938; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, ed. Morton.

47 For details here, see Mullins 1958–1983, vol. 1, 232–238, vol. 2, 83–88, and http://www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk/sources/pipe.shtml (last accessed: 5.8.18), the publication of exchequer records today having reached as far as the pipe roll for 8 Henry III (*The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Eighth Year of the Reign of King Henry III [Michaelmas 1224]*, ed. Amt), with thereafter isolated editions of the pipe rolls 14 and 26 Henry III: *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Third, Michaelmas 1230*, ed. Robinson; and *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the 26th Year of the Reign of King Henry III, A. D. 1241–1242*, ed. Cannon. The *Curia Regis Rolls* 1922–2006 continued a tradition of publication first established for the reigns of Richard I and John in *Rotuli curiae regis*, ed. Palgrave, and cf. http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C10030 (last accessed: 5.8.18).

48 *The Memoranda Roll for the Michaelmas Term of the First Year of the Reign of King John (1199–1200)*, ed. Richardson; *The Memoranda Roll for the Tenth Year of the Reign of King John (1207–8)*, ed. Brown; *Memoranda Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, ed. Brown. The two earliest Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer rolls (for the years 1 and 10 John) survive as Kew, TNA, E 370/1/3–4. Thereafter, see Kew, TNA, E 159/1–261 (King's Remembrancer memoranda rolls, ranging in date from 1217 to 1485), of which E 159/1–47 are of the reign of Henry III; E 368/1–258 (Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer rolls, of the same date range), of which E 368/1–46 are of the reign of Henry III. Thereafter, of the later rolls, only an isolated pair, covering the final year of Edward II's reign, are published in calendar form as Latham 1968.

sufficient in themselves to fill a decent-sized bookcase, occupying shelf-space that, for French or German comparison, would take half a dozen sets of the published five volumes of the *Layettes de trésor des chartes*, or an entire set of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*.

As these figures suggest, although not generally presented as a visual spectacle, the rolls achieved their iconic status through a combination of antiquity and sheer bulk. Part of their power, of course, derived from the perception that they were not only ancient but fully comprehensive, responding to the same all-consuming thirst for information that had the royal survey of 1086, to be known as 'Domesday', even before its chief product, originally called "The King's Book", was renamed as the *Liber Iudiciarius*, or in the English vernacular "Domesday Book".[49] This, as the peasants of the 1377 'Great Rumour' were to discover, was to over-estimate the true extent of the archives. As I have suggested elsewhere, wide swathes of English medieval government were never fully reported in the chancery enrolments, not least the more secret or diplomatically sensitive of royal correspondence. In the same way, the pipe rolls and records of the exchequer provide a year-by-year snapshot of royal finance, yet tend to omit many of the features that a modern historian might be most anxious to probe: how much money did the king actually receive and spend; what were the profits of war; what the real costs of his armies, his buildings, or his court establishment?[50] Even so, and despite these caveats, the sheer extent of the rolls in itself constitutes one of their more impressive features, obvious both to contemporaries and to subsequent enquirers. Why, though, this bulk? Why, in particular, did England take the turn towards laborious and repetitive enrolment of many tens of thousands of routine instructions and processes that in other medieval polities—in France, or at the papal court, for instance—were smoothed away by the decision to register selectively rather than in extravagant and ultimately futile abundance?

Various suggestions have been offered here. One lies in the paranoia of King John, the chancery rolls' first patron: a ruler, it has been argued, so determined to keep his finger on the administrative pulse that he commanded the copying of all his outgoing letters, from the most significant to the entirely trivial.[51] Another explanation might lie in the desire by royal government to lay claim to a degree of that same divine omniscience vested in the angels, frequently depicted with scrolls intended for use in God's Final Judgment of mankind. Here, indeed, the form of the rolls may deliberately reflect an association between enrolment and eschatology stretching back via Domes-

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49 *Herefordshire Domesday, circa 1160–1170*, eds. Galbraith and Tait, xxiv–xxviii, xxx; Hallam 1986, 32–51; and most recently Harvey 2016. See also *Dialogus de Scaccario*, eds. Amt and Church, 96; *Curia Regis Rolls* 1922–2006, vol. 10, 68 (1221).

50 Vincent 2004, 27–34, 43–44; 2007, 299–300 inviting a comparison between the reliability of the pipe rolls and the accounts of Enron or Elf-Aquitaine.

51 Carpenter 2004, 68.

day Book to the Old Testament and the scriptures of the Jews.[52] On a less apocalyptic plain, we cannot ignore the emergence of chancery enrolment from the needs of the exchequer, and in particular from the making of the annual exchequer pipe rolls, themselves in existence by 1129 and almost certainly for at least a decade before this. Hence the imperative to preserve details of many thousands of routine financial writs without which, as the *Dialogue of the Exchequer* makes plain, it would have been impossible to calculate the individual liabilities of the king's debtors, and in particular of the sheriffs.[53] As this in turn suggests, one other feature deserves attention here: the sheer power of stasis, or the weight of tradition. The rolls were made as they were because they had always been so made; or so at least it was believed by those members of the king's administration responsible for their making, even as early as the 1170s. Once put in place, bureaucratic process tends to wrap itself in the authority of the past, often with remarkable speed. As those of us who encounter bureaucracies are only too aware, ask a bureaucrat why things are done in a particular way, and you will be told that they are done like this because this is how they have always been done; even when the 'always' covers a period of only a few years or even months.[54] Not only this, but bureaucratic memory is often more fleeting than the processes it seeks to perpetuate. Bureaucrats themselves are all too inclined to remember process but to forget the purposes that such process was designed to serve.

Already, by the 1170s in the writings of Richard fitz Nigel, only a generation or two after the exchequer itself had first acquired a name and an official identity, the exchequer traditions of the 1120s were outmoded and in many circumstances positively deleterious to the efficient functioning of government.[55] Events and processes less than fifty years old were either garbled in memory or shrouded in deliberate mystery.[56] Yet the exchequer and its officials fought tooth and claw to preserve such traditional procedures.[57] They succeeded, to such an extent, indeed, that various aspects of what passed for protocol in the 1130s were still in place as late as the 1830s, when the very last annual pipe roll came to be written. At the foot of each individual membrane of the 1832 pipe roll, we still find the same style of written memoranda or docquets, reporting the name of the county to which this membrane applied, as in the pipe roll 31 Henry I for the year 1129–1130 (fig. 4).[58]

52 A possibility explored by Vincent 2018, with echoes already present in 'Domesday', as noted by Harvey 2016.
53 Vincent 2004, 20–25.
54 Vincent 2004, 26–27.
55 For example, *Dialogus de Scaccario*, eds. Amt/Church, 20–21, 62–63, 134–137.
56 Hudson 1992. Even in writing this paper, for which I have consulted a number of former officers of the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane, still functioning as recently as 1997, I have encountered various suprising lapses in collective memory.
57 For a particular instance of such residivism, see Jolliffe 1948. More generally, see Vincent 2017, 121–123.
58 Kew, TNA E 372/676 (pipe roll 2 William IV), with a corresponding chancellor's roll, today E 352/612.

Fig. 4: Pipe roll docquets 1832.

Not only this, but the docquets and the written headings of the 1129 pipe roll carry us back to an even more ancient tradition of such things. As pointed out by Alex Rumble, the capitalized headings and docquets of 1129 were themselves directly modelled upon the handwriting styles of Domesday Book.[59] And who can say what form of script Domesday Book itself was attempting to replicate? What we have here may well be something more ancient than either 1129 or 1086: a tradition, maintained into the 1830s, that carries echoes of the Anglo-Saxon past as far back as the time of Edward the Confessor, perhaps even further. Similar things occurred in the chancery. The king's itinerant scribes and clerks were undoubtedly responsible for the production of enrolments as early as the time of the first exchequer pipe rolls. Only after 1199 and the accession of King John, it seems, did they resort to more elaborate experiments in enrolment. But these innovations too were swiftly transformed into an age-old tradition, with the king's outgoing letters by 1201 already arranged by three-fold division into rolls of charters (continued through to 1517, and thereafter as confirmation rolls through to 1626), letters close (continued to 1903) and letters patent (the longest-lived of all the chancery series, still ongoing in 2019, some 818 years after its first surviving exemplar).[60] Other series with similar, if not quite such longevity, include the parliament rolls (more than 720 years of continuous existence from the 1280s to the present day), pipe rolls (at least 703 years from 1129 to 1832), close rolls (700 years, discontin-

59 Rumble 1991.
60 A point explored by Vincent (forthcoming b).

ued 1903), and the exchequer originalia rolls (638 years of existence, discontinued 1851).[61]

As this suggests, stasis itself can, on occasion, be used to recover details of the past that might otherwise go entirely unremarked. If we want to understand the workings of the thirteenth-century schools of Paris, a glance at the curriculum of sixteenth-century Oxford would be no bad place to start. If we want to visualize English government at work in the 1250s, we could do worse than look to the writings of Charles Dickens on the *Red Tape* of the 1850s.[62] Let us pause here with the pipe roll docquets of 1129, specifying the contents of the pipe roll county-by-county, still ongoing in 1832. The docquets, of course, were intended to enable those using the rolls to find their way speedily to particular details. More generally, however, they reflect a rather more significant aspect of organization within the king's archive. The pipe rolls were organized county-by-county or sheriff-by-sheriff. So too, of course, was Domesday Book. So too were various of the later attempts to update Domesday, including the great county-by-county surveys of 1212, 1242 and in due course, the hundred rolls enquiries of the 1270s.[63] So too, from the 1190s onwards, were the so-called feet of fines recording judgments in the king's courts.[64] County names were supplied in the margins to the judicial plea and exchequer memoranda rolls as a means of breaking down an otherwise indigestible body of information into identifiable subsections.[65] But, all told, this was a system of organization by 'shiring' that carries us back far beyond 1066, at least as far back as the reign of King Edgar (d. 975), and arguably King Alfred (d. 899).

By the 1160s, of course, when the king commanded the most ambitious inquest into landholding attempted since 1086, landholding itself was best investigated barony-by-barony, tenant by tenant, rather than on a county-by-county basis.[66] By the same token, according to the latest thinking, even the returns to the Domesday in-

61 Kew, TNA, SC 9/1–27 (exchequer parliament rolls, 1290–1321); C 54 (close rolls), with the very first in the series misidentified as liberate rolls, C 62/1–3, cf. above note 42); C 65/1–7866 (parliament rolls from Edward III onwards, 122 of these rolls being medieval); E 371/1–1102 (LTR originalia rolls 1213–1851, the first 250 of these being medieval).

62 A point explored by Vincent (forthcoming b).

63 Kew, TNA, SC 5, whence *Rotuli Hundredorum* 1812–1818.

64 Kew, TNA, CP 25/1, where the county-by-county arrangement dates at least to the fourteenth century, and probably earlier than this, although originally the files were divided between fines produced in the central courts (bench and king's bench) and those produced in the local eyres. The fines themselves are supplied by their scribes with county names, sporadically from May 1191, some time before the first institution of the Feet of Fines proper in 1195, with the process stabilized and standard by 1196: *Feet of Fines of the Reign of Henry II and of the First Seven Years of the Reign of Richard I, AD 1182 to AD 1196* 1894, esp. nos. 8, 13, 15, 18–19, 21.

65 As retained in the published editions of *Curia Regis Rolls* 1922–2006, and for images see, for example, Palmer/Palmer/Jenks (*s. d.*), http://aalt.law.uh.edu/H3/KB26_230/0001.htm (accessed: 24.8.18) and ibid., http://aalt.law.uh.edu/H3/E159no26/aE159no26fronts/IMG_0062.htm (accessed: 24.8.2018).

66 For the 1166 survey, and pending the appearance of Neil Stacy's new edition of the return (Pipe Roll Society forthcoming), see below note 108.

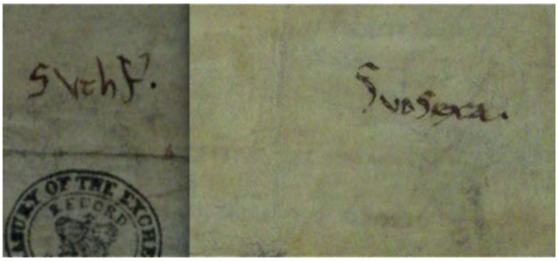

Fig. 5: Endorsements to the returns of 1166.

quest of 1086 involved a massive degree of baronial co-operation, returned for the most part on a self-certifying basis, baron by baron, and only then digested into a format that could be put for questioning before jurors, county-by-county or hundred-by-hundred.[67] The returns of 1166 were similarly self-certified, baron-by-baron. Only later were they rearranged in files in the king's archive, organized roughly county-by-county according to the shire in which any particular baron habitually resided or answered to the exchequer. It was in this county-by-county arrangement, fifty or more years later, that the files were awoken from their archival slumbers and copied into the two later registers known as the Black Book and Red Book of the Exchequer[68]. Even as early as the 1160s, however, when we examine the two originals that survive from what was once a series of more than 120 such returns dispatched to the king, these two, in the names of Hilary bishop of Chichester and Roger de Clare, earl of Hertford, are endorsed or docqueted, in the same or a very similar contemporary mid twelfth-century hand, typical of the exchequer or treasury, *Sudsexa* and *Suthf(olcia)* (fig. 5).[69] Following in the same tradition as the Black and Red Books, in 1302 the exchequer compiled a new and massive two-volume 'Book of Fees'. Into this were copied a series of feudal returns made in some instances more than a century before, from 1198 via the great surveys of 1212 and 1235 to that of 1242.[70] Most of these had been made on a county-by-county basis, surviving thereafter as small rolls stored in a box or other container in the king's archive, known from its outside markings as "Neville's Head" (*Testa de Nevill*). Even so, included here were a number of surveys originally made barony-by-barony, only later assigned to appropriate county heading in an arrangement still confusing for those perplexed to find returns, in theory for

67 This according to the recent thinking of Stephen Baxter, 'How and Why was Domesday Made?', a paper given at the 40th Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies (Paris 2018), soon to be published in the *Haskins Society Journal*, in many ways building upon Baxter's earlier enquiry into the Domesday return of Wulfstan of Worcester: Baxter 2001, esp. 81–93.
68 Kew, TNA, E 164/12 (Black Book), whence *Liber niger Scaccarij*, ed. Hearne, vol. 1, 49–340, also in TNA E 164/2 (Red Book), whence *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, vol. 1, 186–445.
69 Kew, TNA, E 198/1/3 nos. 1–2, whence *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, vol. 1, 198–200, 403–407, and facsimile opposite viii.
70 Kew, TNA, E 164/5–6, whence *Liber Feodorum*, ed. Maxwell-Lyte, printed earlier in a wholly inadequate edition as *Testa de Nevill sive Liber Feodorum in curia scaccarii*, eds. Caley et al.

a single county such as Staffordshire, in reality dealing with estates in up to half a dozen other shires.[71] It has been suggested that the 1302 'Book of Fees' followed an order, county-by-county that was essentially the same as that of Domesday.[72] This is to exaggerate the extent to which the county-by-county ordering of Domesday, the pipe rolls, the Red Book, or the 'Book of Fees', adopts any standard routine. At best, what we observe here is a tendency to view England from south-east to north, beginning with the counties closest to London, and thereafter extending in a more or less linear progress, via the south-west and the Midlands to Yorkshire and Northumbria.[73] Even so, the shire remained the organizing principle here, from the tenth century through to the fourteenth, indeed through to local government reform in the 1970s or even to the present day.

Meanwhile, endorsements, docquets, marginalia and other archival protocols organized county-by-county and office-by-office were already employed in the twelfth century to sort a vast mass of individual parchment sheets into usable sequence. This should come as no surprise. From the very earliest times, archival endorsements had been a feature of documents issuing from, or stored not only by the exchequer but by the royal secretariat, later chancery. It has recently been observed by Rob Gallagher and Katie Wiles, for example, that a high proportion of original single-sheet Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas, perhaps as many as 20 of those that survive in the British Library and elsewhere from the reign of Æthelred onwards, are endorsed in the pre-Conquest English vernacular, these endorsements reporting brief but relatively standardized details of their contents.[74] Long before royal letters and charters came to be copied into rolls in the chancery, or books came to be made in the exchequer from much earlier enrolled estate surveys, the king's archive was itself obliged to function in place of any more compact attempt at registration. For the creation of such a memory bank, its keepers were obliged to sift and sort things in ways that rendered them as (or in some cases rather more) useful than anything that a later registrar or copyist could achieve. This too should present few surprises, not least because it has long been recognized that other such medieval royal collections, not least the Capetian archive in Paris, were intended to function as just such memory banks. Louis IX's archive of original charters was duly arranged within individual *layettes*, collectively

71 Maxwell-Lyte 1920, x–xvii. The original returns are today Kew, TNA, E 198/2, including E 198/2/2–8 (returns from King John's reign, mostly to the survey of 1212); E 198/2/13–18 (accounts for the aid taken in 1235–6), and E 198/2/19–27 (returns to the survey of 1242).

72 Maxwell-Lyte 1920, xii, who suggests that although the arrangment of the county entries "is neither alphabetical nor geographical, [...] we may here and there perceive traces of an intention to follow the sequence of the counties as given in Domesday Book".

73 For the closest we come to a conjunction here, Domesday opens Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorset; *Liber Feodorum*, ed. Maxwell-Lyte, vol. 2 (Kew, TNA, E 164/6), Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire; the 1166 returns as copied into the *Red Book*, London/Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, Dorset, Somerset.

74 Wiles/Gallagher (forthcoming).

Fig. 6: A selection of the rolls used for the Book of Fees.

making up the so-called *trésor des chartes* stored in the shadow of the Sainte-Chapelle, albeit here as an essentially closed memorial rather than, as at Westminster, a still functioning part of royal government.[75]

Great Domesday Book, compiled a few months or years after the 1086 survey from which it was derived, achieved an almost miraculous feat of standardized summary. But how much more revealing, in due course, historians have found its rather untidier siblings. Little Domesday and Exon, let alone the so-called Domesday satellites for Cambridgeshire and elsewhere, testify directly to the process of surveying, bringing us even closer than Great Domesday to the gatherings of single-sheet returns from which the Book itself was later digested. These returns of 1086 were themselves founded upon a pre-existing substratum of geld rolls and other fiscal surveys, almost certainly circulating as enrolments rather than as books, that carries us back well beyond the Conquest of 1066.[76] Domesday itself offered so vast an assembly of facts that, by the mid twelfth-century the officers of the king's treasury where it was stored had already embarked upon attempts to abbreviate its contents or bring particular county surveys up to date.[77] The 1302 'Book of Fees' is likewise a vast and remarkable achievement, albeit without the organizational genius of Domesday. But how much more useful the 'Book of Fees' is today, now that its most recent editors have peeled away the layers of confusion and mis-transcription applied by the copyists of 1302 and returned us to the original enrolled returns of 1212, 1235 and 1242. These rolls are in many cases still carefully preserved in the National Archives, organized county-by-county within their particular series (fig. 6).[78] It was precisely the failure of its chief

75 Guyotjeannin/Potin 2005

76 For various of these earlier records, later embedded in Domesday, see Galbraith 1950; Mason 1954; Harvey 1971.

77 Hallam 1986, 42–47, noting Kew, TNA, E 36/284 (Domesday abbreviatio); E 164/1 (Domesday breviate); Oxford, Balliol College, MS. 350, whence Galbraith/Tait 1950, xxviii–xxix with details of further Domesday abbreviations or extracts in London, BL, MSS Arundel 153 and Cotton Vitellius C viii.

78 See above note 71.

editor, Hubert Hall, to undertake a similar process of restoration with the survey of 1166 and its successors that renders the modern edition of the Red Book of the Exchequer an object-lesson in how *not* to do such things.[79] In the meantime, by no means every great inquest or endeavour originally returned in single-sheet or enrolled form was later copied into the exchequer's books, at least to judge from those of the exchequer's books that survive.

The returns to the 1170 inquest of sheriffs, for example, were preserved in large numbers, for the most part as small square or rectangular parchment slips but extending on occasion to rather larger rolled up parchment sheets. To judge from the scattered remnants that have survived, returned either by towns or by the tenants of particular manors or baronies, these too were organized within the treasury on a county-by-county basis. Having served their purpose in 1170, however, they were not considered worth digesting into book form, even though they were preserved with a degree of care, or at least benign neglect, in the exchequer archive. Only in the 1890s were attempts made to assemble and edit them as a single, albeit heavily depleted body of materials, this edition of 1896 achieving for the enrolled scraps of 1170 what the Red Book had already achieved, more than 600 years earlier, for the *disjecta membra* of 1166.[80] Like the returns from 1170, Henry II's 1185 inquest into widows and wards, returned hundred-by-hundred, was never recopied or indexed, but instead survives as a roll of twelve membranes, each membrane dealing with a particular county, varying in size from a single entry for Middlesex to several dozen from Lincolnshire.[81] For analogies here, we might turn not only to the miscellaneous records of the Parisian *chambre des comptes*, clearly of vast extent although today largely unfathomable as a result of their wholesale destruction in the fire of 1737, but to other such European archives that have survived more or less intact. These would include the records of the fourteenth-century *chambre des comptes* at Lille, and perhaps most obviously analogous to the parchment slips of Henry II's 1170 inquest, various of the mid twelfth-century fiscal accounts and petitions from Catalonia, today preserved in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón at Barcelona.[82] Across medieval Europe, in other words, administrations constructed stores of memory for themselves in which geography (the shires

79 Whence, notoriously, Round 1898.

80 Today mostly surviving as a series of 59 small fragments written in a variety of hands, now Kew, TNA, E 198/1/3, no. 3, parts 1–59 (whence *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, vol. 2, cclxvii–cclxxi), with strays now C 47/34/7 (endorsed *Wirecestresira*, and C 146/10018, whence Tate 1924; Richardson 1940 (with facsimile); Suggett 1942–1943. Of these, there are contemporary endorsements to E 198/1/3, no. 3, parts 28 (*Baronia Henr(ici) de Ria*), 40 (*Baronia Roberti filii Hug(onis)*), and 46 (*Bar(onia) Rob(erti) de Waliunnes*).

81 TNA E 198/1/2, whence *Rotuli de dominabus et pueris et puellis de xii comitatibus (1185)*, ed. Round, esp. 88 for Middlesex.

82 For Paris, Nortier 1965. For Lille, Santamaria 2012. For Barcelona, *Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia Under the Early Count-Kings (1151–1213)*, ed. Bisson, esp. vol. 2, facing page 167, for a series of facsimiles; Bisson 1998.

of England, the duchies and regions of the *trésor des chartes*, the various towns and administrations of Catalonia) was adopted as a key organizing principle.

Meanwhile, far from representing some sort of primitive stage along the highway of progress from medieval to modern, the English roll form can in many instances prove more useful, more revealing and even more enduring than the codex form into which it is considered to have evolved. English government's addiction to enrolment was, to this extent, the result not merely of bureaucratic stasis but of very practical considerations of utility. Here we need to approach these records rather less like modern scholars, convinced of the pre-eminence of the book, the alphabetical card index or the electronically searchable database, and rather more like royal officials of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries aware of different priorities and restraints. To its modern users, the roll form may appear impractical, both in manipulation and sheer quantity. It is taken for granted that a modern edition, like that of the 'Book of Fees', with its careful pagination and its massive index collating and identifying thousands of individual person and place names, is necessarily an improvement over anything that the twelfth or thirteenth centuries could produce. Only when digested or reduced into such modern editions, it is supposed, can the rolls themselves be properly 'used'. But in reality, the rolls were used, with a fair degree of satisfaction to their makers and readers, long before they were properly listed in the seventeenth century, let alone transformed by editorial or indexing conventions into modern scholarly editions. For an analogy, take the example of the Bible. Scripture was read, memorized and subjected to intense exegetical scrutiny long before its division into numbered books and chapters, and even longer before the emergence of the first, only partially successful, alphabetical concordances.[83] In the same way, the rolls served functions and facilitated enquiries that we today might consider unimaginably difficult without the particular research tools to which we have in many cases only recently grown accustomed.

As a starting point here, let us consider the pipe rolls of the royal exchequer, themselves so often cited as an instance of bureaucratic anachronism run riot. There is no doubt that the priorities of compiling the pipe roll, from the 1120s onwards, lay behind the making of other formats of enrolment, not least the later chancery fine and close rolls, these latter beginning as rolls of writs or settlements negotiated in the itinerant royal court, considered essential to the accounting processes of the exchequer. As we have seen, the great roll of the exchequer was known to the author of the *Dialogue* as the "annual roll" or indeed merely as the "annal", a terminology still being employed in the fourteenth century.[84] But already, from at least the 1290s, it had acquired another more familiar name: *rotulus pipae*, or "pipe roll". The *Dictionary of Medieval*

83 R. Rouse/M. Rouse 1974, and more generally, of course, Carruthers 2008².

84 *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, vol. 3, 850 (*grant roule qi est appelle roule annal*), 858 (*roule annal*), both from 1323.

Latin suggests that this terminology of 'pipe' rolls can be traced as far back as the 1160s.[85] But the *Dictionary* is at fault here for citing references that in reality identify the Staffordshire place-name "Pipe" (as in Pipe Ridware and so forth) in the exchequer roll for 1167.[86] In reality, the *Dictionary*'s earliest citations of "pipe" or "pipes" used in the sense of parchment sheets of account dates from after 1300.[87] These in turn reveal the modern term 'pipe roll' (in French *la pipe*) to be a mistranslation of Latin that invariably includes a genitive element *rotulus pipae*.[88] We are in fact dealing here with "a roll of the pipe", or occasionally, in the plural, with "a roll of pipes": in other words with a gathering together of parchment sheets that both individually and collectively were known as *pipa/pipae*, almost certainly because they could be rolled up into something resembling a pipe or hollow tube.[89]

To modern readers, these rolls may appear both bulky and baffling. To their users, however, they offered a variety of practical advantages. Sheet by sheet, or as we should perhaps refer to them 'pipe by pipe', the individual membranes that later went to make up each roll could be handled, marked up and corrected, much as a modern copy-editor might correct a large sheet of galley-proofs. In the exchequer itself, as this should remind us, the pipes were handled, to begin with, not in bulky roll form, but one-by-one as single, large parchment sheets. Echoes of this practice can be found in the surviving loose sheets of exchequer pipe and memoranda rolls, from the thirteenth century onwards, today surviving in distinct National Archives classes.[90] Even when the pipes were sewn and rolled up together into a pipe roll, with each parchment membrane joined to its fellow membranes head-to-head, the outcome was something that in basic form was little different from a book, albeit a book presented in giant picture format, 'sideways on', with the sewing together of the membranes

85 Ashdown et al. 1975–2013, 2287.

86 *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of King Henry II, AD 1166–1167* 1889, 52–53.

87 *Account of the Executors of Richard Bishop of London 1303 and of the Executors of Thomas Bishop of Exter 1310*, eds. Hale and Ellacombe, 104, referring to various debts *que currebant in pipa*, owed to the King. Slightly earlier than this, see, from 1297 onwards, references in the so-called pipe rolls of the bishops of Winchester to money spent on buying parchment *ad pipas*, as noted by Mayberry 1988, 5.

88 *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, vol. 3, 850 (*La Pipe* alias the *grant roule qi est appelle roule annal*, 1323), 858–860 (noting that the *roule annal/grant roule* should involve writing with capitalized headings and without erasure and that *tutes les pipes de tutz les accomptes renduz en lan bien et pleynement examinez avant qe eles soient mises ensemble, et roule fait de eles a la fyn del an*), 874 (*lacompte en Pipe*), 936 (*et qe les pipes des acountes soient bien escrites et examinees*, 1326).

89 Ramsay 1911 (nonetheless striving to render the word 'pipes' not as related to tubes but in some way to strips or staves, as in musical notation); Poole 1912, 150–151. By contrast, the Exchequer officials themselves, from at least as early as the seventeenth century, peddled much nonsense suggesting that the name derived from the idea of the treasury as a reservoir into which all revenue was drained via one main conduit (or 'pipe'): *Introduction to the Study of the Pipe Rolls* 1884, 42–43, with echoes thereafter in Madox.

90 Kew, TNA, E 160/8–25; E 352/613–614; E 389/323.

Fig. 7: Detail from Luca della Robbia's *cantorie*, Florence.

equivalent to the binding of a modern codex, but with the roll itself still 'openable' in essentially the same way as a book.[91] It was precisely this format of enrolment, head-to-head, that was adopted not only in the exchequer but in the king's law courts, all of which continued to produce rolls that were in essence monstrously oversized books presented 'sideways on'. Rather like the giant liturgical rolls or codices used by choirs (portrayed most famously in Luca della Robbia's *cantorie* in the Duomo at Florence), they possessed a further advantage in that they could be consulted from two or three sides and hence by upwards of two or more readers simultaneously (fig. 7). Not only this, but with only a stiff layer of polished sheepskin rather than heavy wooden boards to serve as their outer-covering, even when sewn up into rolls, they remained far lighter, and hence more easily transportable than any book of an equivalent size. This would have been a distinct advantage for records of an office like the exchequer that, even as late as the fourteenth century, continued to migrate between London and York. With their docquets and annotated feet, moreover, the rolls prefigured such later

91 Carpenter 2004, 67.

administrative inventions as the docqueted account or address book, today marketed with dividers or stepped 'cut away' pagination in place of docquets, but according to principles similar to those already adopted for the pipe rolls as long ago as 1129. Far from being impractical, therefore, it was the very utility of the parchment sheet, and in due course, the gathering together of such sheets into rolls that determined their selection as a form of choice by both the exchequer and the king's justices.

Elsewhere, in the preservation of royal letters rather than accounts or pleas, things developed rather differently. The 'pipe roll style', favoured in exchequer and law courts, is characterized by the sewing of its many long membranes head-to-head. This was a format intended for consultation and use. In the chancery, by contrast, and in that part of the exchequer concerned to preserve copies of chancery-produced letters in the so-called cartae antiquae rolls, the individual membranes on to which royal letters were copied were stitched not head-to-head but head-to-foot, creating in the process a single spool of parchment sometimes tens of metres long. Broken only by stitch marks, rather like a modern lavatory roll, this could then be laboriously rolled and unrolled (fig. 8). The intention here, in deliberate differentiation from the exchequer format, was to create a format suitable for record rather than daily use. Those today confronted by rolls in this 'spool' format are often disconcerted by the format's inconvenience. It requires considerable time and patience to unroll the longer records, and, as with a spool of modern microfilm, there is always the risk that the process will gather excess momentum, propelling lengths of parchment across desk and then floor, much to the reader's embarrassment. Yet here too there was an element of utility, suited to a format intended for record rather than use. Anyone who has consulted the inner membranes of such a spool can testify to the relatively pristine conditions that pertain on all save the outermost membranes of the chancery rolls. In other words, and by contrast to the relatively exposed membranes of an exchequer-style enrolment, the membranes used in chancery served as self-preserving wrappers, each new layer affording greater protection to the membranes that were rolled up further towards the centre. As with the exchequer rolls, so with the unbound rolls of the still itinerant chancery, the lack of heavy boards made transportation more practical. Given the chancery's apparently limitless access to copyists, parchment and ink, even the difficulties of manipulating the rolls assume a rather different significance. Far from representing a difficulty, indeed, they may have appeared of very practical advantage to those who first commanded the making of such rolls.

To understand this, let us return to one of the more important distinctions between medieval enrolments and their modern editions. The medieval rolls were organized according to clear principles. The chancery rolls, on the whole, followed date order for the copying of individual letters, so that once categorized as letters patent, letters close, or as charters, individual items were copied and preserved in roughly chronological order. The more solemn charter rolls were further supplied with marginalia identifying the beneficiaries of particular charters, the other rolls with marginal notations of a rather less formal variety. The rolls of the law courts were likewise chronologically

Fig. 8: Unrolled chancery roll.

arranged, with case following case according to the dates at which hearings occurred, but with marginalia identifying each entry by its particular county.[92] The rolls dealing with royal finance were in some instances chronological, as with the receipt and issue rolls recording payments to and from the exchequer. The pipe and memoranda rolls, however, were differently organized. The pipe rolls were arranged county-by-county, but enrolled in no fixed order (say from Kent to Yorkshire) but roughly according to the date at which each sheriff accounted, from Michaelmas onwards. The exchequer memoranda rolls were arranged according to a series of criteria determined first by the basic type of business transacted, these sub-sections then arranged in more or less chronological sequence according to the principle terms at which the exchequer convened,

92 To date, these marginalia have gone largely ignored. Adam Chambers, of King's College London, is presently engaged on a more detailed study of the process of enrolment in chancery under Henry III.

with marginalia identifying the particular counties concerned.[93] Modern editions, on the whole, preserve these basic divisions, and in some instances the marginalia, but with an assumption that modern readers expect to find not only marginalia but a concluding, detailed and alphabetically arranged index.

The rolls themselves had no such indexes. Instead, their readers made do with rather less efficient searching aids. In chancery, these included marginalia intended to offer guidance to particular items of business. In the exchequer, it extended to the docquets at the foot of each membrane, and thereafter the careful arrangement of business either into distinct 'paragraphs' in the pipe and chancellors' rolls, or 'sections', themselves with marginal headings county-by-county, in the case of the memoranda rolls. By such means, the rolls could be searched. Even earlier than this, the scribe of Domesday and its various satellites had striven to make the pages of the book, and the membranes of various rolls, less visually monotonous, with clear breaks and spacings, capitalized headings and other aids to consultation.[94] Rather than make the good the enemy of the best, we should recognize the thought and effort that went into such an apparatus. Certainly, we can hardly ignore the fact that the rolls, far from being unsearchable, were regularly and often successfully scoured for information. The expectation of such searches was a feature of the pipe rolls from their first inception. Later, in the case of the chancery enrolments, it spawned its own subseries of 'extract rolls', in which copies were made from close, patent and charter rolls, for particular needs and in particular circumstances.[95]

From the time of the earliest surviving records of the king's law courts, we read of many such record searches. As early as 1200, these included searches of court and justices itinerant rolls, apparently reaching as far back as the 1170s, on one occasion referring to such a court roll as the *magnum rotulum*.[96] From much the same time we read of searches made in the rolls of county courts (now entirely lost for this early

93 Conway Davies 1957, esp. 107–20, with further information online at http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C6604 (last accessed: 31.7.18).

94 For a sometimes over ingenious survey of such devices, see now Roffe 2016.

95 Kew, TNA, C 59/1–47 (Henry III–Edward III). Apart from this 'official' series, many dozens of such rolls of extracts could be found, scattered across the records of chancery and exchequer. See, for example, Kew, TNA, E 132/1–3 (66 rolls or single-sheet copies, continuing the series of cartae antiquae rolls C 52); E 163/1/7 and E 163/1/9 (chancery style, enrolled copies of the 1250s, from charter, close and patent rolls, including extracts from the lost charter rolls 18 and 40 Henry III, relating to Wales, Ireland and Gascony). The existence of a now lost extract roll covering at least part of the reign of King John is implied by *Curia Regis Rolls* 1922–2006, vol. 10, 125 (*de ballia Iohannis regis patris nostri ad voluntatem suam sicut patet in rotulo de extractis*, 1221).

96 *Curia Regis Rolls* 1922–2006, vol. 1, 57, 181, 208 (of the time of Richard de Lucy), 402; vol. 2, 19, 197, 262–263; vol. 3, 20 (a "roll of Theobald"), 168, 170; vol. 4, 35–36; vol. 6, 260, 308, and cf. vol. 2, 218; vol. 3, 45, for one such early court roll referred to as the "Roll 1 Richard I". For the deliberate archiving of such plea rolls in the treasury, see *Curia Regis Rolls* 1922–2006, vol. 8, 114, reporting the presence there of an earlier roll (for the year 1200, cf. Ibid., vol. 1, 216).

period), and of searches amongst the final concords.[97] On occasion, too, we find the courts commanding searches of the exchequer archives, including pipe rolls.[98] It is nonetheless highly significant that at this early date we find no references to chancery, as opposed to exchequer enrolments being searched. A charter of King John in favour of Robert of Thurnham, said to have been found in 1219 "enrolled at the exchequer", may be the first such chancery enrolment whose use was reported in the plea rolls.[99] Alternatively this might just as easily refer to the exchequer's cartae antiquae rolls, as was undoubtedly the case with other royal charters reported as being *in rotulis de scaccario* from about the same time.[100] Thereafter, we have to wait until 1239 to find specific chancery rolls being cited as evidence in the king's law courts. None of the rolls here cited is earlier than the reign of King John.[101] Even so, on rare occasion we find the chancery rolls being used to verify or disprove royal charters of John's reign, as for example in 1280, when the justices of Edward I were able to prove that a charter supposedly granted to the men of York, dated in the year 4 John (July 1202), had in fact been deliberately falsified by erasure, thereby backdating liberties in reality not granted until 1212.[102] Before the late 1230s, meanwhile, the absence of references to judicial search of chancery enrolments supplies one of our more powerful arguments, necessarily *ex silentio*, that the chancery possessed no such rolls earlier than the reign of King John.[103] The fact that in 1201 the king's justices employed the term *rotulos de Westmonasterio* to refer to their own court rolls rather than evidences of either the exchequer or the chancery, points in much the same direction.[104]

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97 *Curia Regis Rolls* 1922–2006, vol. 1, 245 (final concord of the time of Richard de Lucy); vol. 2, 260, 296 (possibly county court rolls for Oxfordshire as early as 1203); vol. 6, 208, 230 (county court roll for Gloucestershire, 1212).

98 *Curia Regis Rolls* 1922–2006, vol. 1, 436 (*rotulos scaccarii*, 1201); vol. 8, 295; vol. 12, no. 319; vol. 13, nos. 612, 1735, 2201.

99 *Curia Regis Rolls* 1922–2006, vol. 8, 46: *Rex Iohannes* [...] *cartam suam inde fecit que inrotulata est ad scaccarium*, referring to a grant to Robert, apparently as *Rotuli chartarum in turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. Hardy, 173b (15 December 1207).

100 *Curia Regis Rolls* 1922–2006, vol. 11, no. 891 (a charter of John granting quittance of toll to the bishop of London and his men, *inrotulatum ad scaccarium*, probably as Kew, TNA, C 52/1, no. 12, whence *The Cartae Antiquae Rolls 1–10*, ed. Landon, 4–5, no. 12), 2619 (a charter of Richard I granting privileges to the bishops of Ely, *transcriptum* [...] *in rotulis de scaccario*, almost certainly that of 10 October 1189, copied into the cartae antiquae roll Kew, TNA, C 52/2, no. 17 and C 52/33, no. 43, whence *Cartae Antiquae Rolls*, ed. Landon, 30, no. 17).

101 *Curia Regis Rolls* 1922–2006, vol. 16, nos. 1001, 1493–1494, 1626, 1758.

102 Kew, TNA, KB 27/53 (Coram Rege plea roll Easter term 8 Edward I), m. 33, noting deliberate erasure of part of the date of a charter, the proof here being obtained in the exchequer (*compertum est in scaccario r(egis) quod predicta carta facta fuit anno r(egni) predicti I(ohannis) reg(is) quintodecimo (sic) et dat' in predicta carta rasa*). The charter is otherwise preserved as *Rotuli chartarum in turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. Hardy,187 (9 July year 14, i. e. 1212).

103 Vincent 2004, 43.

104 *Curia Regis Rolls* 1922–2006, vol. 1, 408.

Such searches were not, of course, as they would be today, conducted with the aid of alphabetical indexes or carefully paginated editions. By no means all were successful. In 1203, indeed, we read of the first reported search of the pipe rolls that *failed* to produce a particular item of information, here as the starting point for those many tens of thousands of fruitless searches that have since been conducted, either by government officials or by the scholarly community of more recent years.[105] But the fact that searches were neither easy nor invariably successful does not in any way imply that the rolls themselves were unsearchable, let alone more difficult to search than codices. Books there were, even in the king's law courts, as early as the reign of King John.[106] By the reign of Edward I, perhaps in deliberate imitation of Flemish or Sicilian practice, the Wardrobe was a department of books as much as of rolls. Yet the fact that so many of these books have themselves been either lost or dispersed away from their original resting place in what were to become The National Archives, is itself an indication that books were by no means necessarily more durable, or more 'useable' than rolls.[107] Meanwhile, whether through stasis or perceived utility, the roll form continued to proliferate. Even in assuming that stasis or ease of access were primary considerations here, we once again risk imposing modern scholarly priorities upon circumstances in which ease and speed were by no means invariably the chief priorities.

On occasion, twelfth- and thirteenth-century English government was capable of breath-taking efficiency. Take, for instance, Henry II's great survey into English knights' fees. Whether the writs initiating this enquiry were sent out early in 1166, or as has recently (and unconvincingly) been suggested, late in 1165, they allowed only a few weeks for upwards of 300 barons to hold enquiries and dispatch detailed returns, commanded to reach the king by 13 March 1166.[108] King John initiated his great inquest into tenancies in chief with even greater dispatch. By writs dated 1 June 1212, he commanded his sheriffs to reply to the exchequer by 25 June, barely three weeks later.[109] Since the sheriffs' responses are in many cases endorsed with the date of their

105 *Curia Regis Rolls* 1922–2006, vol. 2, 299: *Nicholaus Presbiter venit et vocauit rotulos magni* [? recte *magnos*] *scaccarii ad warantum quod terra capta fuit in manu domini regis, et cum misit nomina thesaurario si ita esset vel non, idem thesaurarius defuit ei de waranto quia non fuit inuentum quod ita esset*.

106 See, for example, the *liber Martini*, apparently a book including names of those to be attached, belonging to the clerk and future chief justice Martin of Pattishall, recorded in *Curia Regis Rolls* 1922–2006, vol. 4, vii , 177.

107 For the wardrobe books, many now dispersed from the National Archives, surviving in collections in London, Manchester and elsewhere, see Vincent 2017, and Stefan Holz in the present volume.

108 For the specification of the term for information to be submitted, see the return sent by the archbishop of York, *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, vol. 1, 412, and cf. Round 1898, 62–63. For the date of the initiating writs, see Stacy (forthcoming), correcting Moore 2011. Compare a later survey, commanded on 22 February 1177, by which sheriffs were expected to report on the service owed by tenants-in-chief in time for the Easter exchequer that year: *Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis*, ed. Stubbs, vol. 1, 138.

109 An original writ of 1 June survives sewn to the Nottinghamshire return, Kew, TNA, E 198/2/6, return, we know that only one sheriff (ironically enough, from the most distant county of Cumberland) met the deadline set.[110] By 2 July, however, and still within a week of the original deadline, returns for a further nine counties had been submitted, leaving only those of the sheriffs of Nottinghamshire/Derbyshire (returned 6 July), Dorset/Somerset (returned 23 July), and Northumberland (not returned until 5 August).[111] As a further example, take the Great Cause of the 1290s. Here we find King Edward I writing to the monks of Evesham on 8 March 1291, requesting that they search their chronicles and histories for evidence of relations between the kings of England and Scotland. The monks answered from Evesham, in considerable detail, on 12 March, only 5 days later.[112] Similar speed undoubtedly governed the Domesday inquest of 1086, and would have governed the hundred rolls enquiries of the 1270s, if only the sheer quantity of information requested had been kept within more reasonable bounds.[113] In all of these enquiries, the words of Macbeth might have served as chief motto: "If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well it were done quickly".

On other occasions, however, haste or expedition were almost the last things that government demanded of its records. We should recall here the advice supposedly given to Henry II by his mother, the Empress Matilda: that he prolong cases indefinitely as a means of wringing the best possible terms out of those obliged to litigate in his courts.[114] Never decide today what could be more advantageously negotiated tomorrow, as Henry II's dealings with the famous case of Richard of Anstey more than amply proved.[115] The returns of 1166 or 1212 were very speedily gathered but were acted upon with far less haste. Delay, in this reading, and even a degree of deliberate inefficiency, were amongst the more powerful weapons of kingship. The significance of such delay, indeed, shines out from the text of Magna Carta in 1215, with its insistence that the king do "nothing to sell, deny or *delay* justice" (*nulli vendemus,*

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m. 5, whence *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, vol. 2, cclxxxv; *Liber Feodorum*, ed. Maxwell-Lyte, vol. 1, 52, with an undated copy of the same writ also surviving as part of the sheriff's return from Staffordshire, Kew, TNA, E 198/2/5, m. 3.

110 Dates here assembled in *Liber Feodorum*, ed. Maxwell-Lyte, vol. 1, 55–63, at 53 noting that various of these returns were also able to include replies to a royal letter of 7 June 1212, requesting information on alienations made by the exiled clergy. The Cumberland return is ibid., vol. 1, 197–200.

111 *Liber Feodorum*, ed. Maxwell-Lyte, vol. 1, 56, 61–62.

112 Kew, TNA, E 39/100/160, whence *Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland and the Transactions between the Crowns of Scotland and England*, ed. Palgrave, 89–92, and cf. Taylor 2017, 173–174.

113 Raban 2004.

114 Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. James, revised by Brooke/Mynors, 479 (*quod omnia protelaret omnium negocia*), 485 (*dispendiosus est in suorum negociis*), and cf. Gerald of Wales, *De Principis instructione liber*, eds. Brewer, Dimock and Warner, vol. 8, 160 (*iustitie venditor et dilator*); *Radulfi Nigri Chronica: The Chronicles of Ralph Niger*, ed. Anstruther, 169 (*in causis differendis cavillantissimus ut saepe ius venderet*), various of which references I owe to Henry Summerson.

115 Barnes 1962.

nulli negabimus aut differemus rectum aut iusticiam)[116]. It is no coincidence, given its importance to all aspects of the rule of law, that this is one of the few clauses of the 1215 Magna Carta that remains on the English Statute Book after more than 800 years.[117] Yet Magna Carta was a document deliberately *not* enrolled in chancery, at least through to its final iteration in the 1290s.[118] Chancery, in other words, like other royal offices, was as expert at forgetting or deliberately misremembering as it was in preserving accurate records of the past.

To a researcher today, working with modern indexes and scholarly editions, less than an hour's work will generally be sufficient to trace the descent of a barony or individual manor from Domesday in 1086, through to the *inquisitiones post mortem* of Edward I's reign and beyond. By contrast, to those who compiled such records, both in their originally enrolled form, or later as fair copies transcribed into books, no such feats were achievable. But speed and efficiency were not necessarily the chief priorities here, however much their absence may be deplored by modern researchers driven by 'research assessment' exercises and the capitalist work ethic.[119] Without indexes, Domesday, or the Red Book, or the 'Book of Fees', could be accessed only with difficulty and with severely limited expectation, as vast thickets of partially digested fact, impenetrable save with expert labour and a high degree of serendipity. However, far from being a disadvantage, to the clerks who compiled the rolls and records, or to the individuals who searched them, this was proof that the royal archives were indeed a place of power and awesome majesty.

With this in mind, let us turn to two final questions: to what extent was the roll form a distinctively English or Anglo-Norman phenomenon, and in what ways did its adoption help 'shape' the later medieval English state? In certain places, the adoption of rolls rather than registers does indeed testify to direct English influence. Such was undoubtedly the case in Ireland, and in due course, from the 1260s, Scotland. Similarly deliberate imitation explains why the roll form was adopted from *c.* 1215 for the earliest English episcopal "registers", drawn up as rolls under both Hugh of Wells and Lincoln and Walter de Gray at York, in both cases by bishops who were previously servants of the royal chancery, Hugh as clerk and datary, Walter as one-time chancellor.[120] Elsewhere, however, regimes that adopted the roll form, especially for their accounts, were not necessarily copying English practice so much as arriving at common solutions to problems experienced across medieval Europe: a process of convergent development, or 'homoplasy', rather than parallel evolution from a shared ancestor. Parallels there undoubtedly were. The procedures of the English exchequer, let alone

116 For an online edition of Magna Carta see: http://magnacarta.cmp.uea.ac.uk/read/magna_carta_1215 (last accessed: 6.8.18).
117 See here the commentary to Magna Carta clause 40 Summerson (*s. d.*).
118 Vincent (forthcoming b).
119 In general here, see Warren 1984; Dyer 2000 and various of the essays in the same collection as Dyer.
120 Clanchy 2013^3, 76–77; Cheney 1950, 104–108.

its distinctively Romano-Sicilian vocabulary, already testify, as early as the 1120s, to influences from across the Alps, most obviously from the Arabists of Spain, and the administrative procedures of Norman Sicily.[121] Sicily and Italy more generally continued to exert a degree of influence over European accountancy, long into the thirteenth century and beyond.[122] But to suggest that all regimes that adopted the roll form for their accounts were necessarily aping English methods would be as ridiculous as to suggest that the exchequer in Westminster was merely a pale shadow of some archetype in Palermo or Cordoba.

Just such direct English influence has been inferred both in Poitou and Toulouse, where the administration of Louis IX's brother Alphonse was conducted using a combination of registers and enrolled accounts, and in Savoy, where the roll form became ubiquitous for comital accountancy, from the 1250s onwards. Both Poitou and Savoy undoubtedly enjoyed close associations with the Plantagenet kings of England. Yet in neither Poitou nor Savoy did the roll form, as adopted, conform to the conventions of the English royal exchequer. Nor are the Savoyard or Poitevin rolls presented in the same format as their English equivalents, not least because they record fair copies of accounts already rendered, by contrast to the English exchequer pipe roll which was itself an instrument, not merely a record, of account.[123] Not only this, but by contrast to England, neither Poitou nor Savoy adopted the enrolment of chancery as opposed to financial records. The exceptions here—the chancery registrations attempted for Alphonse of Poitiers, and a very early cartulary roll closely associated with Peter of Savoy—tend merely to prove the rule. Alphonse's registers followed Capetian French example. Peter's cartulary roll (recording 63 deeds, preserved on seven parchment membranes) was made for his English lands and survives in the English royal archives, almost certainly as a result of English royal initiatives after Peter's death in 1268, rather than as a record generated by Peter's own chancery.[124]

Meanwhile, did the English enrolments in any way help 'shape' the trajectory of the later medieval English state? Attempting to avoid the teleology and determinism that lurk behind most concepts of state-building, not least behind such concepts as the 'evolution' or 'growth' of the nation-state, historians over the past twenty years have adopted a variety of alternative vocabularies. These emphasize not growth but structural development, the 'thickening' of social or constitutional textures, and even 'co-evolution': essentially a new-fangled equivalent to 'symbiosis', as processes hardened into institutions and as initiatives first launched by the social elite implicated a widening social spectrum in affairs that were increasingly both bureaucratized

121 Poole 1912, 47–53, 68–69; Loud 2003, esp. 550, and more generally, Vincent 2017.

122 Sivery 1978. For further potential channels of transmission here, linking the administrative practices of Sicily and Flanders, see Dunbabin 2011. More generally, see Todeschini 2002; Berkhofer 2004; Lachaud 2010; Sabapathy 2014.

123 Chiaudino 1930, 1933–1938; Guilleré/Gaulin 1992; Chenard 2017, esp. 349 ff.

124 Kew, TNA, C 47/9/1, with a full study forthcoming by Huw Ridgeway.

and politicized.[125] None of these vocabularies, I would suggest, is entirely free from anachronism. Some, in steering clear of the Scylla of determinism, risk drowning in a Charybdis of fate. Nor, as any number of middle-aged weight-watchers can testify, is it ever a simple matter to distinguish 'thickening' from 'growth'. Ignored, but surely implicit in all of this we tend to overlook a more subtle process of accumulation, both of evidence and experience, that does indeed tell us important things about the shaping of the state. As archives accumulated, so the body politic acquired not merely an enhanced degree of authority and maturity but a memory that itself helped mould the state's identity. The experience of using these archives conditioned both government and its subjects to an approach to the past that in turn helped shape the future. Without fully accepting here the anthropomorphic fallacy of the state as an entity born or nurtured, growing through infancy towards maturity; the mere accumulation of records by 1250, and hence the sheer abundance of the rolls, endowed medieval English government with both a facility and an outlook on the world that it could not have claimed, two hundred years before. This outlook and facility continued to 'thicken', 'evolve', 'mature' thereafter (or for that matter 'coalesce', 'coagulate', 'congeal' or even 'curdle'), as a significant component of late medieval state power.

From the Empress Matilda to Jules Michelet, the English medieval rolls have quite rightly been viewed as a massive, even as a stupefyingly precious resource. In the twenty-first century, as in the 1830s, their users continue to rely upon a degree of 'guess(-work) matured into habit'.[126] Such reliance on habit, indeed, continues to distinguish the archive-mole, rooting for earthworms in Kew, from his or her more theory-obsessed colleagues, staring at moonbeams in Paris or New York. In proceeding thus, however, even we poor moles may, from time to time, count our worms by moonlight. It is to be hoped that we may do so in future with a conceptual awareness hardly less refined than that of our superlunary colleagues.

125 Watts 2009, esp. 205 for the 'process of constitutional thickening', with a sensitive review by A. Kosto at https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/16952 (accessed: 31.7.18). For 'co-evolution', see Forrest 2015.

126 For guess and habit, see above note 9.

Appendix

Tab. 1: Principal classes of enrolment in chancery.

Roll class	Reference (all to Kew, TNA)	Dates	Number
Charter rolls[127]	C 53	1199–1517	200 rolls (198 before 1486)
Fine rolls	C 60	1199–1648	553 rolls (295 before 1486)
Close rolls	C 54	1200–1903	20,921 rolls[128] (380 before 1486)
Norman rolls	C 64	1200–1422	17 rolls (17 before 1422)
Patent rolls	C 66	1201–2012	5,886 rolls[129] (615 before 1486)
Scutage rolls	C 72	1214–1338	13 rolls (13 before 1338)
Liberate rolls	C 62	1226–1436	234 rolls[130] (234 before 1436)
Treaty rolls	C 76	1234–1675	222 rolls (170 before 1486)
Extract rolls	C 59	1242–1352	47 rolls (47 before 1352)
Gascon rolls	C 61	1253–1468	144 rolls (144 before 1468)
Welsh rolls	C 77	1276–1294	7 rolls (7 before 1294)
Statute rolls	C 74	1277–1469	8 rolls (8 before 1469)
Scotch rolls	C 71	1290–1516	113 rolls (106 before 1486)
Roman rolls	C 70	1306–1358	25 rolls (25 before 1358)
Confirmation rolls	C 56	1483–1626	114 rolls (7 before 1486)
			Total: 25,504 (2,266 before 1486)

127 TNA C 53/1–200 (charter rolls), continued as C 56/1–114 (confirmation rolls, 1483–1626); C 54 (close rolls), spawning a subsidiary series, C 62 (liberate rolls, from 1226 to 1436); C 66 (patent rolls), the latest in the series so far deposited in Kew being C 66/5726 (for the year 55 Elizabeth II, 2006–2007).
128 Including here C 62/1–3 and C 55/1–19.
129 Including the supplementary series C 67/1–96.
130 Excluding here C 62/1–3, counted above as close rolls, but including the series now E 403/1200–1288.

Tab. 2: Principal classes of enrolment in exchequer.

Roll class	Reference (all to Kew, TNA)	Dates	Numbers
Pipe rolls	E 372	1129–1832	676 rolls (330 before 1486)
Receipt rolls	E 401	1160–1782	1,561 rolls (954 before 1486)
Chancellors' rolls	E 352	1162–1832	612 rolls (276 before 1486)
Norman pipe rolls	E 373	1180–1203	18 rolls (18 before 1203)
Cartae antiquae rolls	C 52	1189–1327	47 rolls (47 before 1327)
Originalia rolls	E 371	1213–1851	1,102 rolls (250 before 1486)
Issue rolls	E 403	1216–1834	*c.* 2,006 rolls (863 before 1486)
Memoranda rolls (LTR)	E 368	1217–1835	804 rolls (258 before 1486)
Memoranda rolls (KR)	E 159	1218–1994	811 rolls (261 before 1486)
Exchequer plea rolls	E 13	1236–1875	1,502 rolls (170 before 1486)
			Total: 9,139 (3,427 before 1486)

Tab. 3: Principal classes of enrolment in justice.

Rolls series	Reference (all to Kew, TNA)	Dates	Numbers
Curia regis rolls	KB 26	1193–1272	236 rolls (236 before 1272)
Eyre and justice itinerant rolls	JUST 1	1198–1528	1,603 rolls (1,602 before 1486)
Coroners' rolls	JUST 2	1228–1426	279 rolls (279 before 1426)
Gaol delivery rolls	JUST 3	1271–1476	> 300rolls (300 before 1476)
King's bench plea rolls	KB 27	1273–1702	2,149 rolls (896 before 1486)
Court of common pleas, plea rolls	CP 40	1273–1874	4,135 rolls (893 before 1486)
			Total: 8,702 (4206 before 1486)
			Total of all rolls: 46,445 (of which 9,879 date before 1486)

Manuscripts

Dublin, The National Archives of Ireland (NAI)

King's Bench:
KB 1/1–2

Dublin, National Library of Ireland (NLI)

MS 2556/1

Kew, The National Archives (TNA)

Chancery: Chancery Miscellanea:
C 47/9/1
C 47/34/7
C 47/34/19
Exchequer and Chancery: Cartae Antiquae Rolls:
C 52/2
C 52/33
Chancery: Charter Rolls:
C 53/1–200
Chancery and Supreme Court of Judicature: Close Rolls:
C 54/1–20897
Chancery: Supplementary Close Rolls:
C 55/1–19
Chancery: Confirmation Rolls:
C 56/5726
Chancery: Extract Rolls:
C 59/1–47
Chancery: Liberate Rolls:
C 62/1–3
Chancery: Parliament Rolls:
C 65/1–7866
Chancery: Patent Rolls:
C 66/1–560
Chancery: Supplementary Patent Rolls:
C 67/1–53
C 67/94–96
Chancery: Scotch Rolls:
C 71/1–113
Chancery: Ancient Deeds, Series C:
C 147/1018
Court of Common Pleas, General Eyres and Court of King's Bench: Feet of Fines Files, Richard I–Henry VII:
CP 25/1
Court of King's Bench: Plea and Crown Sides: Coram Rege Rolls:
KB 27/53
Exchequer: Treasury of Receipt: Miscellaneous Books:
E 36/284

Exchequer: Treasury of Receipt: Scottish Documents:
E 39/100/160
Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Transcript of Deeds and Charters:
E 132/1–3
Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Memoranda Rolls and Enrolment Books:
E 159/1–261
Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Memoranda Rolls, Loose Rotuli:
E 160/8–25
Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Miscellanea of the Exchequer:
E 163/1/7
E 163/1/9
Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Miscellaneous Books, Series I:
E 164/1–2
E 164/5–6
E 164/12
Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Records relating to Feudal Tenure and Distraint of Knighthood:
E 198/1/3
E 198/2/2–8
E 198/2/13–27
Exchequer: Pipe Office: Chancellor's Rolls:
E 352/612–614
Exchequer: Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer: Memoranda Rolls:
E 368/1–258
Exchequer: Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer and Pipe Office: Miscellaneous Rolls:
E 370/1/3–4
Exchequer: Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer: Originalia Rolls:
E 371/1–1102
Exchequer: Pipe Office: Pipe Rolls:
E 372/676
Exchequer: Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer and Pipe Office: Miscellanea, New Series:
E 389/323
Records of the Supreme Court of Judicature and related courts: Records of the Chancery Division: Chancery Division Cause Books:
J 12
Records of the Supreme Court of Judicature and related courts: Records of the Queen's (King's) Bench Division: Formerly King's Bench Division Judgment Books:
J 20
Public Record Office: Maps, Plans and Photographs of the Chancery Lane Building:
PRO 50/59
Special Collections: Hundred Rolls and Eyre Veredicta:
SC 5/1–366
Special Collections: Parliament Rolls, Exchequer Series:
SC 9/1–27

London, The British Library (BL)
Additional Charters:
Add. Ch. 26515
Arundel:
MS Arundel 153
Cotton:
MS Cotton Vittelius C viii

Oxford, Balliol College
MS 350

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Richard Cassidy

The Rolls Behind the Rolls

The English Pipe Rolls and Their Preliminary Documents

The National Archives in London contains a mass of documents from the English exchequer of the thirteenth century, many of which have not yet been studied in any detail.[1] These documents, mostly in the form of parchment rolls, can help us to understand the procedures of the exchequer. They show a complex system of interlocking written records, intended to minimize fraud and to enable the central government to maintain control over its agents throughout the country. The pipe rolls stood at the apex of this pyramid of parchment. They were still being produced in the eighteenth century, when Thomas Madox, the antiquary and exchequer clerk, wrote:

> Amongst the Records of the Exchequer the *Great Roll* of the *Pipe* must be placed first, by reason of its pre-eminent Dignity. It was and is the most stately Record in the Exchequer, and the great Medium of Charge and Discharge, of Rents, Farms, and Debts due to the Crown. Into it the Accounts of the royal Revenue entered through divers Channels, as Rivers flow into the Ocean.[2]

These "rivers" flowing into the ocean of the pipe rolls included various sources of royal revenue, each of which produced their own accounts of outstanding debts, or of income and expenditure. Such accounts were checked by the exchequer, and summaries were recorded in the pipe rolls. Some of the background material which the exchequer used in this process still survives. These subsidiary rolls have received little attention, but they can show both how the various branches of government operated, and how the exchequer set about its task of collating, checking and summarizing a mass of information. This information grew so voluminous that the exchequer was obliged to try a series of expedients to reduce the amount of documentation produced, in the process generating yet more rolls. This paper will attempt to describe the exchequer's system of rolls in the thirteenth century; some of the ways in which information about government financial activities was delivered to the exchequer; and the exchequer's attempts to limit the size of the rolls it produced as part of this process.

It is necessary to begin with a brief description of the system of rolls in the thirteenth century, because that century still has no equivalent to R. L. Poole's classic account of the exchequer in the twelfth century.[3] The exchequer's procedures changed over time, and its activities in the reign of Henry III were no longer adequately described by the *Dialogue of the Exchequer*, produced in the reign of Henry II. The *Dia-*

1 All manuscript references are to documents in Kew, The National Archives.
2 Madox 1769², vol. 2, 112.
3 Poole 1912.

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logue provides a unique contemporary account of the audit of accounts as a face-to-face confrontation of sheriff versus exchequer officials. It is not, however, a reliable guide to all the details of the process. It implies that the pipe rolls were written on the spot during the audit process, as the sheriff presented his accounts. This was not necessarily the case at the time, as some parts of the pipe rolls were clearly prepared in advance, leaving gaps where figures could be entered later.[4] Ulla Kypta has recently pointed out many other aspects of the twelfth-century pipe rolls which were not accurately reflected in the *Dialogue*, which cannot be read as a manual of office procedure.[5] Further differences from the process described in the *Dialogue* emerged later, in the thirteenth century; the audit process, for example, took much longer than the *Dialogue* would imply. The *Red Book of the Exchequer* has a table of the number of days assigned for sheriffs to account at the exchequer, ranging from one day for Cornwall and Rutland, up to twelve days for Essex and Hertfordshire. Other accounts might take even longer: keepers of episcopal vacancies could have to stay at the exchequer for several weeks to render their accounts.[6] The pipe rolls themselves expanded and became more complex, covering much more than just the sheriffs' accounts for the counties.

Unfortunately, the publication of the continuous annual sequence of pipe rolls has yet to progress beyond the roll for 1224.[7] Only a few exchequer rolls dating from the last three-quarters of the thirteenth century have been published.[8] It may therefore be helpful to outline the major flows of written information to and from the exchequer in the mid-thirteenth century, beginning with the rolls concerning the collection of cash. The chancery recorded offers of cash, in the form of fines, in its fine rolls; these fines were copied onto the originalia rolls, together with other useful information such as the appointment of officials; the originalia rolls were sent to the exchequer.[9] The various courts recorded their decisions in plea rolls, and notes of the amercements imposed were then made in the estreat rolls, also sent to the exchequer.[10] The exchequer sorted this information by county, and produced lists of debts to be collected; these summonses were then sent to the appropriate sheriffs. The debts were also copied into the pipe roll for the year, at the end of each county's account in the section headed *Nova oblata*. The sheriffs collected the debts in the counties, issuing wooden tally sticks as receipts. As well as payments from debtors, the sheriffs collected the tra-

4 *Dialogus de Scaccario*, eds. Amt and Church, 60–61; Hagger 2009, 68–69.

5 Kypta 2018, 201–209.

6 *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, vol. 3, 838–839; Howell 1962, 101.

7 The pipe rolls for 1230 and 1242 have also appeared, and the Pipe Roll Society has plans to publish the pipe rolls for 1225, 1226 and 1259.

8 For example: *The Pipe Roll for 1295 Surrey Membrane*, ed. Mills; *Memoranda Rolls 16–17 Henry III*, ed. Brown; *Receipt and Issue Rolls for the 26th Year of the Reign of King Henry III*, ed. Stacey.

9 Dryburgh 2015, 31–37.

10 Meekings 1979, 128–140.

ditional revenues of the counties, such as amercements in the county courts, which made up the county farm. The sheriffs delivered the cash to the treasury, and the amounts paid into the treasury were recorded on the receipt rolls. Payments made at the *adventus*, when sheriffs came to the exchequer at the beginning of the Michaelmas and Easter terms, were also noted in the memoranda roll.[11] Full or partial payment of outstanding debts was duly recorded in the pipe roll. The memoranda roll recorded the dates set for auditing sheriffs' accounts and listed the actions to be taken on debts in each county.

Further rolls were needed to cover the expenditure of cash. The chancery sent writs to the exchequer, instructing it to make payments. These were recorded in two sets of liberate rolls, in the chancery when they were sent and in the exchequer when they were received. When a cash payment was made from the treasury, it was noted in the issue roll. Local officials, such as sheriffs, could also be instructed to pay out cash, for example to buy supplies or to make religious or charitable donations. The exchequer was again informed of these instructions, noted in the liberate roll, so that it could make the appropriate allowance to the local official when he came to account. The official had to produce evidence that the payment had actually been made: tally sticks; the evidence of expert witnesses, particularly for building works; or written itemized accounts of expenditure. Such payments then appeared in the pipe roll, set against the debt which the official was required to deliver.

Although the pipe rolls were originally concerned mainly with the accounts of the sheriffs of each county, they expanded to cover much else. Within the county accounts, an increasing number of boroughs dealt directly with the exchequer, rather than having the sheriff as an intermediary. Such boroughs paid their own farm, delivering cash at the *adventus* and making payments locally as instructed by writs. In addition to the county accounts, the pipe rolls covered numerous other sources of government finance, in the so-called foreign accounts. These included escheators, the keepers of the exchanges, and administrators of episcopal vacancies. The manors of the royal demesne, which had been managed by the sheriffs until the reforms of the 1230s, had been largely granted away or farmed out, but occasionally returned to direct management.[12] When this happened, their custodians had to produce separate manorial accounts, which also appeared in the pipe rolls. All these accounts required documentary evidence of receipts and expenditure, and some of these records survive, as will appear below. The wardrobe, which administered the finances of the king's household, also presented its accounts to the exchequer from time to time, but this has been the subject of a thorough recent study by Benjamin Wild.[13]

The pipe rolls were known by contemporaries as the 'great rolls', presumably reflecting both their size and their significance. Their size is certainly impressive. A pipe

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11 Cassidy 2011, 615.

12 Stacey 1987, 73–91.

13 *The Wardrobe Accounts of Henry III*, ed. Wild.

roll is made up of a number of rotulets, written on both sides, sewn together at the head. Each rotulet is made up of two parchment membranes, sewn head-to-tail. The rotulets measure about 400 mm wide and up to 1,500 mm long. In the mid-thirteenth century, the period with which this paper is most concerned, there might be twenty or thirty rotulets in a pipe roll, containing 200,000 words or more. The rolls kept growing, despite repeated attempts to cut them back, reaching fifty-one rotulets in 1315.[14]

The exchequer produced a pipe roll each year, nominally to cover the financial events of the preceding year ending at Michaelmas (29 September). There was also a duplicate copy, the chancellor's roll, recording the same information with slight variations; the relationship between these rolls has not yet been subject to investigation. The main part of each pipe roll was a series of accounts for each county, or pair of counties, under the name of the relevant sheriff. The sheriff answered for the debts he owed to the king, beginning with the fixed sum he owed for the farm of the county. Other debtors from the county were also listed, in a series of entries showing: the name of an individual or of a body, such as a borough or the men of a manor; the amount owed; the reason for the debt; any payments made against that debt, in full or in part; and a final statement that the debt had been paid in full, if that was the case. Unpaid debts were carried forward to appear again in the following year's roll, when new debts were added at the end of each county's section. There was no attempt to add together debts and payments, in order to give county or national totals, or to act as a check on efficiency. The pipe rolls were not intended to be profit-and-loss accounts or records of national income and expenditure. Their purpose was simply to record the amounts owed, and the amounts paid, by those who owed money to the king.

The rolls were kept for reference, and occasionally annotated, for many years after their compilation. The 1259 memoranda roll, for instance, includes references back to the originalia roll of 1241 and the pipe roll of 1239.[15] Entries in the pipe rolls show that debts from the distant past could still be pursued, and occasionally paid. A payment of 28*s*. 8*d*. for the tallage of the city of London, imposed in 1227, was received in 1267.[16] The 1259 pipe roll includes a debt for a fine "as contained in the first roll of King John" (1200); what is more, an instalment of 40*s*. had actually been delivered towards paying off that debt.[17] The continuing use of the pipe rolls in the exchequer's archive is shown by the addition of a note to the 1259 roll referring to an allowance recorded in the 1279 roll.[18] The exchequer was well aware of the value of its archive and made efforts in the early fourteenth century to catalogue and summarize records, which might

14 E 372/160.
15 E 159/32, m. 15^{d}, 20.
16 E 372/111, rot. 18^{d}.
17 E 372/103, rot. 14.
18 E 372/10, rot. 2^{d}. These examples would seem to contradict the claim in Wickham 2017, 154, that the growing number of documents "might be a sign of obsession rather than complexity, for there is little sign that these rolls were regularly consulted".

be of use in pursuing ancient debts.[19] Old debts from estreats were transcribed into new compendium rolls. These were used to draw up summonses sent to the sheriffs, who were expected to follow up these debts. In 1324, the sheriff of Surrey and Sussex was sent a summons based on some seventy-five compendium rolls, including debts dating back as far as the Surrey eyre of 1229 and the forest eyre of 1240.[20]

It will not have escaped notice that the records mentioned are all in the form of rolls. Nevertheless, the exchequer did make use of books. Its most ancient record is the Domesday Book.[21] Additionally, its Red and Black Books, the compilation of which began in the early thirteenth century, were used to record material which might be needed for repeated reference, including precedents, summaries of early pipe rolls, returns from surveys, and the text of the *Dialogue of the Exchequer*.[22] But most of its records were enrolled, despite the apparent disadvantages of large, cumbersome rolls for indexing and reference; in the pipe rolls, the accounts of large counties might be spread over several rotulets, without any marginal annotation, making individual entries hard to trace. As Michael Clanchy said, the reasons for adopting the roll form remain largely a mystery.[23] Nevertheless, the exchequer persisted with its several series of rolls and one has to assume that it was subject to the bureaucratic inertia which will be familiar to anyone who has worked in an office. It kept using parchment rolls long after they were blatantly obsolete (the memoranda rolls were produced until 1927, when they were replaced by enrolment books). This attitude of persisting with established practices, despite the existence of better alternatives, was already apparent in the words of the *Dialogue*: "I've told you what actually happens, not what perhaps ought to happen."[24]

The memoranda rolls are much easier to consult than the pipe rolls, as they are smaller (single membranes of about 200 mm wide × 750 mm length, sewn together at the head), with marginal notes identifying each entry in the main part of the roll, the *communia*. In the mid-thirteenth century, the two series of memoranda rolls, produced for the King's Remembrancer and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, were largely identical and around thirty membranes long. They diverged later in the century, and, like the pipe rolls, grew to an unmanageable size, sometimes well over a hundred membranes. They grew still more vast in the fourteenth century; the length of the membranes also increased, a development which has been attributed to the introduction of larger breeds of sheep.[25]

19 Buck 1983, 167–177.

20 Meekings 1957, 248–251.

21 Strangely, Domesday Book was sometimes referred to as a roll, *rotulus Wintonie*: *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, s. v. *rotula*.

22 *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, vol. 1, lxii–lxiii.

23 Clanchy 2013³, 142–143

24 *Dialogus de Scaccario*, eds. Amt and Church, 159.

25 Davies 1957, 153–154; Larson 1938, 12.

While the pipe rolls and memoranda rolls were sewn head-to-head, the other exchequer rolls were generally long continuous rolls, sewn head-to-tail. The issue and receipt rolls were also intended for long-term preservation. They were fair copies, produced in triplicate, using membranes about 400 mm wide. The rolls produced by the local administration could be of all shapes and sizes, generally around 200 mm wide or less. These rolls might not have been expected to have a long-term archival value: local officials submitted their accounts; the key information was enrolled in the pipe rolls for storage and reference; the preliminary accounts, with all the background detail, could then be discarded. There was no particular reason to keep much supporting information, but for some categories of documents, such as the sheriffs' particulars and the exchange records, reasonable numbers remain. This may just be a matter of luck. For other categories, such as estreat rolls, we have only a few examples, because there were deliberate decisions to discard obsolete records. Taken together, the records of those presenting their accounts at the exchequer, and the exchequer's own records, can show us how the exchequer system worked in the thirteenth century. The proliferation of varieties of record described above demonstrates how far removed the accounting process had become from the simple system described in the *Dialogue*.

Some accounting records were only required when counties and royal manors were being administered by custodians, rather than being farmed out. The survival of such custodians' accounts provides detailed evidence both about local administration and about the exchequer's systems for collating and summarizing information. The revenues produced by custodians could serve as a check on the appropriate level to set for the sum required from those who farmed manors or counties, which was the more common procedure. Sheriffs were normally appointed as farmers of their counties, who agreed to pay a fixed sum each year; if they collected less, they had to make up the difference; if they collected more, they could keep it for themselves. The exchequer had no interest in the details of the sources of revenue when counties were farmed, being concerned only to receive the fixed sum for farm and profit. Farmer sheriffs had a clear personal incentive to squeeze their counties for as much cash as possible. Custodian sheriffs, on the other hand, were expected to deliver all the revenues of the county to the exchequer, in return for a fixed payment for their services. This approach required the sheriffs to produce detailed particulars, showing all the sources of their revenue, to demonstrate that they were acting honestly. But, as John Sabapathy pointed out, the exchequer was interested in the sheriffs' fulfilment of their duties to the crown, not in their conduct in the counties. Sheriffs were accountable to the exchequer for the revenue they delivered, but not usually to the people of the counties which they governed.[26]

Custodian sheriffs were appointed by the reformers who took over the government in 1258, and by Simon de Montfort's regime in 1264, as a gesture towards less

26 Sabapathy 2014, 132–134, 228–229.

oppressive rule in the counties. A reasonable proportion of these sheriffs' particulars has survived, even if sometimes incomplete or barely legible, (eighteen rolls for 1258–1259 and nine rolls for 1264–1265).[27] They vary widely in shape, size and content, reflecting both the differing sources of revenue in the counties and the fact that they were clearly produced locally by each sheriff's own staff. The one thing they have in common, where the final membrane survives, is a note at the end of the roll giving the total revenue and comparing it to the fixed amount of the *corpus comitatus* (the traditional county farm minus the *terre date*, a sum which seldom altered from year to year). These notes appear to have been added in a different hand, using a set formula, implying that they were written at the exchequer, when the sheriffs' particulars were being checked as part of the pipe roll production process.

For example, the Northamptonshire particulars for 1258–1259 conclude:

> Total of totals both for perquisites and for fixed fines, £90 15*s*. From this, £4 13*s*. 10*d*. is deducted to make up the *corpus comitatus*. And there remains £86 14*d*. for which he [the sheriff, Eustace of Watford] answers in the great roll for the profit of the county.[28]

And in the great roll, the pipe roll for 1258–1259, the Northamptonshire account begins:

> Eustace of Watford as custodian answers for £230 7*s*. 4*d*. blanched for the farm of the county. In the treasury, nothing. And in the *terre date* [...] [list of deductions for manors farmed out etc.] And he owes £4 13*s*. 10*d*. [...] The same sheriff answers for £86 14*d*. for the profit of the county.[29]

In a rather convoluted manner, these two rolls match up, and show the complex calculations carried out by the exchequer. The £90 15*s*. total revenue from the county was made up of fixed fines exacted from the hundreds of the county, and a long list of perquisites and amercements from the county court (typically 6*d*. or 1 or 2*s*. for trespass, default, brewing against the assize, and so on). The exchequer compared the total revenue to the custodian sheriff's liability for the *corpus comitatus*. What remained was called a profit. Both *corpus* and profit were to be paid into the treasury, so that the exchequer received all the net revenues of the county. The sheriff was supposed to be rewarded with a fixed sum as payment for his efforts, but many had to wait a long time to receive their payment. In the case of Eustace of Watford, it was not until 1266 that he was awarded 40 marks for his custody of the county in 1258–1259 (set against the sum he still owed for the profit of that year).[30]

Sheriffs also had to account for any cash they had spent in their counties, following instructions sent in royal writs. This could be deducted from the debt they owed

27 Cassidy 2015, 48–49; 2018, 15–17.
28 E 389/105.
29 E 372/103, rot. 5.
30 E 372/110, rot. 3.

for farm and profit. In January 1259, Eustace of Watford was ordered to pay for repairs to the gaol in Northampton castle, because it was "so weak and ruined that robbers could not be kept in it."[31] It was simpler and quicker for him to use £7 3*s.* 7½*d.* out of the cash he had collected in his county, rather than the exchequer sending that money from London to Northampton. The exchequer was then ordered to allow him the money he had spent, setting it against the revenues of the county, and it appeared in his account in the pipe roll.[32] Such expenditures are listed very briefly in the pipe rolls. Building expenses are sometimes stated to have been verified "by the view and testimony" of expert witnesses, to show that the money had actually been spent, and that the works were not excessively expensive; larger building projects required their own written statements of account.[33] Otherwise, there is usually no indication of the way in which the exchequer controlled local expenditure. Presumably, statements of expenditure were thrown away when they had been checked and the pipe roll had been compiled.

An exception to this is a brief statement of expenses for transporting lead, which may have survived because it was attached to a sheriff's particulars.[34] There is a fairly full record trail for this transaction. The original order to the sheriff of Lincolnshire was sent by the chancery and recorded in the liberate roll on 28 April 1259: he was to pay for 63 cart-loads of lead, and arrange for it to be transported from Boston to Westminster.[35] The lead was for the roof of Westminster Abbey, Henry III's favourite building project.[36]

The sheriff paid for the lead delivered at Boston during St Botolph's fair, and was duly allowed this expenditure in the 1259 pipe roll:

> And to Ralph Bugge in part-payment for 63 cart-loads of lead [...] 100*m.* by the king's writ. And for carriage of the same lead from St Botolph by water to Westminster for the king's works there, £8 22½*d.* by the same writ.[37]

The pipe roll thus has a single sentence about the transport of lead. Behind this sentence was a statement itemizing eight smaller payments, duly adding up to £8 22½*d.* These included £6 6*s.* for two ships to carry the lead, and payments for weighing,

31 *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, 1256–1259, 356.
32 *CLR* (1916–1964), vol. 4, 520; E 372/103, rot. 5.
33 For example, in the pipe roll E 372/103 there are 16 references to witnesses for works carried out. Examples of building accounts for larger projects, such as Westminster Abbey, in *Building Accounts of King Henry III*, ed. Colvin.
34 The Lincolnshire sheriff's particulars for 1258–59 are E 389/88 and E 389/89; the lead account is E 389/90.
35 *CLR* (1916–1964), vol. 4, 458.
36 Brown/Colvin/Taylor 1963, 138.
37 E 372/103, rot. 8.

stowing and carrying the lead from land to the ships, and the fees of the pilots who guided the ships out of the port.

This document not only shows the level of detail required to back up the sheriff's claim for expenditure; it also demonstrates that such documents were produced locally by clerks with an elementary Latin vocabulary. The payment for stowing the lead begins *pattatus pro stouwag'* [...]; for the porters, *pattatus beremannis*; and for the pilot *pattatus conductor' qui vocatur ladderman*.[38] Clerks in local sheriffs' offices and in manors were doing their best to make Latin out of the English words they knew for technical terms. The important point is that a clerk working for the sheriff of Lincolnshire could write (poor) Latin and draw up simple statements of expenses. This pragmatic literacy could evidently be assumed throughout the country, and was not confined to an academic or ecclesiastical élite. It reached down to the village level.[39]

The widespread availability of basic literacy is shown by the growth of manorial accounting, in a period when demesne farming was the norm. This meant that the lords of estates installed officials on each manor to be responsible for all profits, rather than leasing out manors for fixed rents (similar to the appointment of custodian rather than farmer sheriffs for the counties). Demesne farming had been generally adopted by the 1220s, and from the 1240s onwards estate owners were reading advice about the best way to manage their properties, including the need for written records. Several treatises on manorial accounting were compiled during Henry III's reign, which circulated among professional managers, who had to account for manorial output and profitability.[40] P. D. A. Harvey observed from the sources that thirteenth century manorial accounting could be divided into two phases: in phase one, diverse written accounts were drawn up by a central organization of a small number of estates, which were agreed final accounts; in phase two, the writing of accounts was organized locally in a fairly uniform manner. By the end of the thirteenth century, written accounts were the norm on all manorial estates. An important feature of this development was that the phase two accounts were similar in structure, produced on the spot by manorial officials and unagreed. They were the accounts compiled before audit, subject to negotiation and amendment during the process of accounting to the owner of the estate.[41] This shift assumes that suitable clerks were available for each manor.

Most manors of the royal demesne were unaffected by this shift. They were largely farmed out for fixed sums. Occasionally, however, the exchequer entrusted manors to custodians, who would have to account for manorial revenues. In 1236–1240, for ex-

38 *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* gives citations from 1300 s. v. *stouagium*, and from 1224 s. v. *bermannus*, meaning porter.

39 Clanchy 2013^3, 48–50.

40 Denholm-Young 1937, 121; Oschinsky 1971, 196, 226.

41 *Manorial Records of Cuxham, Oxfordshire*, ed. Harvey, 16; Harvey 1997, 109, 114–115; Sabapathy 2014, 71–72.

ample, there was an experiment with direct management, with custodians for groups of manors, and their accounts appeared in the pipe rolls. These accounts were based on rolls of particulars, prepared each year by local bailiffs, but these have not survived.[42] Later ventures into custodial management might be entrusted to the appropriate sheriff, who would include the manor in his pipe roll accounts (as with the sheriff of Kent, who accounted for the manor of Milton).[43] More often, a manor would be managed by a separate custodian, reporting directly to the exchequer with a set of accounts for the manor. A few of these survive from the mid-thirteenth century.[44] Generally, such accounts conform to the conventions of manorial accounting which were found on private estates. They begin with the financial results, itemizing the sources of income, such as rents and sales of produce, and then the expenses of the manor, such as ploughs, carts, livestock and wages, before calculating the net revenue which the custodian owes. They list the amounts of each crop produced, broken down to show how much was sold, how much reserved for seed, and how much consumed on the manor for feeding the workforce and animals.

Similar details were required from the keepers of other manors which came temporarily under royal control. When a tenant-in-chief died, the king could take immediate possession of their lands. The king retained custody until the heir paid a sum known as relief. If the heir was a minor, the custody lasted until the heir came of age. Such wardships could be granted as rewards or favours, but custody was often entrusted to officials known as escheators, who administered property on behalf of the king. The escheators divided the realm between them. From the late 1240s there was one north and one south of the Trent, having representatives (sub-escheators) in each county.[45] As with the custodians of royal demesne manors, these officials were expected to provide particulars of cash revenues and crops produced. Summaries of their accounts appeared in the pipe rolls. Behind these summaries, there were several layers of more detailed accounts, down to the level of individual manors, or even to specific activities within manors, such as stock accounts and grain accounts.[46]

These particulars provide further information about the exchequer's procedures, and show how individual cases can be tracked through the various rolls. The 1262 pipe roll includes the accounts of the sub-escheator for Bedfordshire, including revenues from manors which had belonged to William de Beauchamp of Bedford. William's heir was his younger brother John, who was a minor. The manors were taken into the king's hands and were in the escheator's custody from 20 August to 26 November 1262. The initial orders to the sheriff of Bedfordshire and the escheator are in the fine roll, dated 21 August, copied to the exchequer in the originalia roll: the chancery had

42 Stacey 1986, 920–923.
43 For instance, for 1259: E 372/103, rot. 10.
44 For instance, the manor of Brill, 1250–1251: SC 6/759/28.
45 Waugh 1988, 105–113; Waugh 2015, 261–265.
46 Howell 1962, 94–104.

learned that William had died; he was a tenant-in-chief; the royal escheators were to take possession of his lands and keep them until further orders. The Bedfordshire escheator produced particulars for the Beauchamp manors, for the time they were in his custody. This roll includes details of the revenues of the manor of Haynes, listing fifteen items such as rents, pannage, the mill, customary payments, and the pleas and perquisites of the manor court. The roll gives the total as £13 9*s.* 11¾*d.* The manor's account has been marked up with a line in the margin, and the note *In R'* (*In rotulo*, In the roll). The total for the manor has been transferred to the pipe roll, but the exchequer scribe did not need to copy any further details.[47]

Later in the year, the patent roll recorded that William's estates were to be surveyed and valued. Some of these valuations were recorded in the *inquisitiones post mortem*. Under royal control, the estates provided income for William's widow, and for royal supporters, the justiciar Philip Basset and the knight Enguerrand de Fiennes.[48] This continued until May 1265, when John de Beauchamp came of age, in a period when Simon de Montfort was in control of the government and Henry III was effectively his puppet. The fine and originalia rolls recorded that the king had taken John's homage for his inheritance. John was to pay the relief due, this debt being recorded in the pipe roll, and the escheator was to give him possession of his lands.[49] The conclusion of this story is in the chronicles: a few months later, in August 1265, John de Beauchamp "raised his banner for the first time" at the battle of Evesham and died fighting for Simon de Montfort.[50]

The escheator's account shows one way of summarizing the finances of an estate, recording only the total revenue for each manor in the pipe roll. There was another approach, adopted by Richard de Clifford, as custodian of the archbishopric of Canterbury. Archbishop Boniface died in Savoy on 14 July 1270. Clifford, the escheator south of the Trent, was put in charge of the archbishopric on 26 August. The vacancy lasted for over two years and produced net revenues of £5,040. Clifford's vacancy account was voluminous—four rotulets, each with up to four membranes about 205 mm wide and 670 mm long.[51]

The first rotulet of Clifford's account, for the revenues of 1270–1271, gave details for twenty-four manors, with the usual details of the sources of revenue for each one. Income from the manor of Bishopsbourne in Kent, for example, was shown in thirteen categories, such as rents, hens, eggs and underwood. This list was then marked up, each item underlined and with a symbol in the margin against it. This system of underlining and symbols was applied to all the manors, so that all entries for sales of

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47 E 372/106, rot. 21^{d}; *CFR*, 1261–62, nos. 960–961; E 136/1/1.
48 *CPR* (1906–1913), 1258–1266, 235, 243, 251; *CIPM* 1904, no. 516.
49 *CFR*, 1264–65, no. 498; E 372/111, rot. 21.
50 *The Chronicle of William de Rishanger of the Barons' Wars*, ed. Halliwell, 47; Sanders 1960, 10–11.
51 *CPR* (1906–1913), 1266–1272, 457, 469; Howell 1962, 215; SC 6/1128/1. The incomplete roll of escheats south of Trent, E 136/1/2, shows the extent of Clifford's other responsibilities.

wood are marked with a symbol like an arabic *2*; poultry and eggs with *y*; fines and pleas from the court with *f*; rents with *7*; revenue from the mill with *a*, and so on. There were even sales of wine from vineyards on the archbishop's manors. These signs were used consistently, so that all the sales of wood, for example, could be easily identified and added together. Underlining showed that every item had been included. The exceptions, which were not underlined, were entries for the sale of hides, which had a marginal note reading "Not yet in the roll". In the pipe roll, this information was boiled down to the annual totals for each category, excluding the detail about revenues from individual manors. The pipe roll just shows such totals as £105 for sales of timber and underwood or £23 for poultry and eggs. In all, manorial income for the year was over £3,500.[52] Such a sum was a significant addition to government revenue. In comparison, the *adventus* of sheriffs and boroughs bringing cash to the treasury delivered only £2,151 in the same year.[53] The accounts of the escheators and other custodians of estates thus deserved close attention, to ensure that the exchequer was not cheated of its full dues.

This was also the case with the exchanges, which handled very large amounts of cash. Exchanging money was effectively a royal monopoly. Foreign merchants who came to England to buy wool had to exchange their foreign currency or silver ingots for English pennies. In the absence of any significant silver mines in England, this was the only source of new silver for coining, and the exchanges and mints were run as a single operation. In the 1250s and early 1260s, they produced net revenues of over £1,000 per year. They were the subject of repeated investigations into possible malpractice.[54] Perhaps for this reason, a reasonable number of the documents produced by the keepers of the exchanges has survived. They show something of the workings of the exchanges and of the checks carried out by the exchequer.

The pipe roll accounts for January 1262 to January 1263 show that the London exchange manufactured £26,163 8*s*. 5*d*., and the Canterbury exchange £24,008 15*s*. 1*d*. (by weight). The rolls of silver purchases from both exchanges survive. The London roll is slightly damaged, but its seven membranes record some 336 transactions during the year, showing the date, the name of the person bringing silver to be exchanged, the amount of silver, and the rate charged for minting the silver, depending on the quality of the silver. Some of these transactions could be very large: on 24 April, for example, Peter Berard, a merchant from Cahors, brought £1,040 7*s*. to the London exchange. In the course of that week, the exchange handled over a ton of silver. From that more than 650,000 penny coins could have been minted. Similarly, the Canterbury exchange roll of five membranes records some 240 transactions.[55] In each case, the total amount of silver brought to the exchange matches exactly the amount minted

52 SC 6/1128/1; E 372/119, rot. 21^{d}.
53 Cassidy 2011, 617.
54 Cassidy 2013, 138–141, 147.
55 E 372/106, rot. 21; E 101/288/6; E 101/288/5.

(as it should, since the rolls of silver purchases were a check that no silver was disappearing). Many calculations of weekly totals have a marginal note *Prob' (probatur)*, to show that the arithmetic had been checked, presumably during the audit. Each roll ends with the calculation of the revenues owed to the king. This 'seigniorage' was assessed at a rate of 6*d.* per pound minted (or one-fortieth). The London exchange thus produced revenues of £654 20*d.* for the king. There were further adjustments to this sum, to allow for the fact that the mints produced 242 penny-coins from each pound of silver and to cover the expenses of the exchange.

The attention to detail in auditing exchange accounts is shown by the Dublin account for 1251–1254. This appears in the 1254 pipe roll. Two of the documents used in preparing the account still survive: a roll of expenses and a roll of pleas.[56] The pipe roll shows revenues of £1,080 19*s.* 3*d.* from exchanging and minting, plus income of £19 9*s.* 3¼*d.* from pleas of the exchange. The roll of pleas shows the revenue from nine pleas, for currency offences like clipping and forging coins. It has been marked up with the marginal note *In R' (In rotulo)*, to show that the sum had been transferred to the pipe roll. The pipe roll also shows the expenses of the exchange, totalling £37 6*s.* 6½*d.* Major expenses, such as rent of a building and the wages of watchmen, are listed separately. Additionally, there is a sum for "small and necessary expenses". The roll of expenses gives the detail of these small items, for purchases such as parchment, a knife, and the cloth for covering the exchequer of the exchange (showing that the exchange used a chequered cloth for calculation, with columns for counters, just like the exchequer in Westminster). The roll of expenses has been marked up very thoroughly, with each item thickly crossed out, as the totals were calculated and transferred to the pipe roll. The overall total was written in the margin in a different hand, when the addition was checked. The most notable evidence of careful auditing is the item of the expenses for a chest for storing coins and a lock. In the roll of expenses, this was originally shown as 12*s.* Above these items, there is "16*d.*" written in a darker ink. This reduction in the expenses is reflected in the pipe roll, where the amount allowed for small expenses is given as 35*s.* 8½*d.* rather than the 46*s.* 4½*d.* implied by the original document.

The survival of such records illuminates the way in which the exchequer checked and summarized the information provided by the officials of various branches of government. We have much poorer records for another important source of revenue: the various courts which imposed judicial fines and amercements and ordered the confiscation of the chattels of convicted criminals. In some years during Henry III's reign, in the 1240s, such judicial issues could make up as much as one-fifth of total cash

56 The pipe roll account is E 372/98, rot. 6^{d}, but this has been slightly damaged. The duplicate chancellor's roll account, E 352/47, rot. 13^{d}, is more legible. The background documents are E 101/230/1 and E 101/230/3. At this time, the Irish exchange accounts appeared in the English pipe roll. Later Irish accounts were recorded in the Irish pipe rolls, which were destroyed in 1922 during the Irish civil war.

revenues.[57] These were years of particularly intense judicial activity, as the justices of the general eyre travelled around the country, hearing criminal and civil cases in each county. The plea rolls of the courts recorded the cases heard and the justices' decisions. At the end of the proceedings, the justices held a fiscal session, where amercements were assessed and recorded on an amercements roll, attached to the plea roll. When the amercements roll was complete, a copy of it, the estreat, was sent to the exchequer. The exchequer could then include the information about the amounts to be collected in the summons sent to the appropriate sheriff, with debts and payments recorded in the pipe rolls. Unfortunately, few estreats survive from this period, possibly because they were no longer needed after 1316. On 5 August 1316, Edward II pardoned "the people of England" from all amercements imposed on them or their ancestors up to the beginning of the twentieth year of his father's reign, 20 November 1291. The amercements shown in the rolls and memoranda of the exchequer were to be cancelled. This made the old estreats obsolete. Any other information which they included was copied onto new compendium rolls. Only a few estreats were left over.[58]

These survivals contain evidence of the exchequer's use of estreats as a response to the continuing problem of the growth of the pipe rolls. The summons sent to the sheriffs of London after the eyre in 1276 contained nearly 700 fines and amercements. It would clearly be ridiculously laborious to write out such a list again in the pipe roll. The pipe roll for 1277, in the London account, simply records: "Amercements before Master Roger de Seyton and his colleagues at the Tower of London. The sheriffs account for £137 3*s.* 4*d.* from the amercements of men before whose names is placed a letter *t* in the roll of that eyre."[59]

The exchequer marked up the estreats, indicating when payment was made for the bulk of the debts that they recorded. Only the aggregate amount collected was noted on the pipe roll, in the appropriate county. In 1258–1259, for instance, the justiciar Hugh Bigod travelled through several southeastern counties to hear complaints. A number of plea rolls survive, recording his activities, but no estreats. In the 1259 pipe roll, there are references to sheriffs in nine counties accounting for lump sums, representing the amercements of people whose names were marked with a *t* in the roll of amercements before Hugh Bigod. In some counties there is a further note: "Debts for amercements before Hugh Bigod in various counties are not in the roll." This indicated that the full lists of names and debts were not copied into the pipe roll, but were only to be found in the estreats.[60] The exchequer had thus saved itself a great deal of labour and time, by simply marking up the estreats and recording only the lump sums which the sheriffs had to collect.

57 Stacey 1987, 206.
58 E 159/90 m. 11; Crook 1982, 43–44.
59 *The London Eyre of 1276* , ed. Weinbaum, nos. 525–786; E 372/121, rot. 18[d].
60 Hershey 1995, 83–84; *The 1258–9 Special Eyre of Surrey and Kent*, ed. Hershey, xxxviii–xlv; E 372/103, rot. 1, 3, 5, 7, 10, 16, 19, 20, 21.

The evidence of this practice can be seen in the few surviving estreats. There is one for weights and measures offences in Somerset and Dorset in 1250–1251, which has been annotated in the left margin. Most entries are marked *t*, but a few exceptions (Richard de Lymesy, the town of Ilchester) are *In R' (In rotulo)*. This is echoed in the 1251 pipe roll:

> The sheriff accounts for £71 10*s*. for the fines of certain towns and men before whose names is placed a letter *t*, with these signs, Dorset and Somerset, in a schedule of those fines.
> Richard de Lymesy and other men, 1*m*. for a fine for measures.
> Town of Ilchester, £10 for the same.[61]

There was a further stage in the processing of estreats, visible, for example, in the estreat of the Staffordshire assizes in 1284–1285.[62] Those debts which were initially included in the summons to the sheriff were marked *t*. The remaining debts were marked *d*. In a later year, these remaining debts were summoned, and a *t* was added in the estreat. The rolls now showed them as *td*. This process could be repeated several times, with additional summonses indicated by the addition of dots. When such debts were listed in the pipe roll, this information was included to show repeated summonses. For example, for a forest eyre in Worcestershire: "The sheriff accounts for £4 9*s*. 6*d*. for the amercements of men and towns before whose names is placed a letter *t* with a letter *d* with four dots placed above in the roll of that eyre."[63] The pipe roll entry included a row of four dots above the *t*.

The same convention of marking with a *t* was used in the pipe rolls themselves. The Oxfordshire account in the 1258 pipe roll includes the usual long list of relatively small debts for amercements and for fines to have writs. Seven of these have been marked with a *t* above the entry. In the following year's pipe roll, the Oxfordshire account includes: "The sheriff accounts for 6*m*. for the debts of several people before whose names is placed a letter *t* in the previous roll."[64] This saved the effort of copying their names and individual debts; all that was needed was simply to record that the money had been received.

That expedient avoided writing out again debts which had been paid and were no longer of interest. Trivial unpaid debts could also clog the pipe rolls. It must have become obvious at some point that there was no immediate prospect of recovering many of these debts. For example, the 1249 pipe roll, at the end of the Oxfordshire account, where new debts were added, recorded that Robert Crumpe of Oxford owed half a mark for unjust detention. This entry was repeated year after year in successive pipe rolls, until 1260. After that year's pipe roll had been drawn up, the exchequer, in one

61 E 137/131/1/1; E 372/95, rot. 14^{d}.
62 E 137/41/1.
63 E 371/103, rot. 16.
64 E 372/102, rot. 18^{d}; E 372/103, rot. 3.

of its repeated attempts to remove obsolete material from the rolls, went through the Oxfordshire account, and marked about twenty entries *In pullo*. These entries, including Robert Crumpe's debt, were copied to the *Rotulus pullorum*, the roll of offshoots, in which the exchequer occasionally listed unpaid debts which were no longer to be included in the pipe roll. There was then no need for the debt to be copied into the pipe rolls of subsequent years.[65] The *Rotulus pullorum* consists of rotulets the same size and shape as those used in the pipe rolls. It was intended as a permanent record, to be consulted from time to time, because there was always the possibility that these debts might one day be paid, and should therefore not be forgotten. And indeed, there is evidence of efforts occasionally being made to chase up such debts: the Essex account in the 1261 pipe roll includes a note that debts included *in pullo* should be summoned. A few such debts were eventually cleared. Two from the 1260–1261 section of the *Rotulus pullorum* were marked as having been paid in 1278.[66]

A similar approach, also using a roll of rotulets the same size as a pipe roll, was adopted to produce a separate record of the *corpus* of all the counties. The county farm was a fixed sum and the list of *terre date* had also become static, with the manors of the royal demesne long ago granted away or farmed out. There was thus very little change from one year to the next in the opening section of each county's pipe roll account, covering the *corpus comitatus*. The exchequer therefore took the *corpus* of each county as it appeared in the 1283 pipe roll and copied it into a new *Rotulus de corporibus*. From then on, each county's account in the pipe roll could simply record that the corpus was recorded on the *Rotulus de corporibus*, thereby saving some effort and parchment. Taking Hampshire as an example, the 1283 pipe roll took eleven lines to record the farm, the *terre date*, and the resulting surplus attributed to the sheriff. All this information was copied into the *Rotulus de corporibus* together with old debts from the county for which there was little hope of payment—the "desperate debts". The *corpus* was replaced in the 1284 pipe roll by a statement that "The *corpus* of this county is not recorded here, but recorded in a roll in which are written all the *corpora* of the counties of England [...] together with the dead farms and desperate debts." This was to be read out each year to the sheriff, to check whether there had been any changes or payments, but did not need to be copied. In the 1285 roll and thereafter, all this was reduced to a single line at the beginning of the account: "The *corpus* of this county is recorded in the *Rotulus de corporibus comitatuum*, as contained in roll 12 [1284]."[67]

Despite such expedients, the work of the exchequer and the pipe rolls continued to grow. Another initiative to reduce the size of the pipe rolls was the Cowick ordinance (1323). Among other things, this provided for desperate debts to be removed from the

65 E 372/93, rot. 12; E 372/104, rot. 14; E 370/2/20, rot. 9; Meekings 1957, 234–235.
66 E 372/105, rot. 11; E 370/2/20, rot. 9^{d}.
67 E 372/127, rot. 12; E 372/129, rot. 1 (the *Rotulus de corporibus*); E 372/128, rot. 13; E 372/130, rot. 24; Meekings 1957, 244–245.

pipe rolls to yet another set of records—the exannual rolls. These were again similar in format to the pipe rolls. As with the *Rotulus de corporibus*, they were to be read to the sheriffs when they accounted each year, to see whether any debts could be collected. If so, the debts would be written back into the pipe roll to be cleared.[68] Once again, the exchequer's solution to the problem of the pipe rolls becoming cluttered and bloated was to create yet more spin-off rolls to contain obsolete or irrelevant information.

The exchequer was well aware of how cumbersome and difficult to use the pipe rolls had become. The proliferation of parchment may have made it more difficult to collect revenues and keep control of local officials, rather than easier. Devices such as custodian sheriffs, demesne management and detailed manorial accounting were tried in the thirteenth century, but later abandoned as too complex and expensive.[69] The exchequer's various expedients to keep a check on the size of pipe rolls were studied sixty years ago by C. A. F. Meekings, but have received little further attention.[70] Indeed, there is no comprehensive account of the way in which the various documents used by the exchequer contributed to the overall process of collecting, checking and distributing royal revenue. The rolls which contributed to the compilation of the pipe rolls have also been largely ignored. As this paper has shown, there is much still to be learned about the procedures of the exchequer in the thirteenth century; the obvious place to start would be with further investigation of the many and various rolls which have been briefly described here.

68 *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, vol. 3, 855; Meekings 1957, 247–248.
69 Sabapathy 2014, 250–253.
70 Meekings 1957.

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E 101/288/5
E 101/288/6
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E 136/1/1
E 136/1/2
Exchequer: Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer and King's Remembrancer: Estreats:
E 137/41/1
E 137/131/1/1
Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Memoranda Rolls:
E 159/32
E 159/90
Exchequer: Pipe Office: Chancellor's Rolls:
E 352/47
Exchequer: Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer and Pipe Office: Miscellaneous Rolls:
E 370/2/20
Exchequer: Pipe Office: Pipe Rolls:
E 372/93
E 372/95
E 372/98
E 372/102
E 372/103
E 372/104
E 372/105
E 372/106
E 372/110
E 372/111
E 372/119
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Stefan G. Holz

The *Onus Scaccarii* Rolls Under Edward I (1272–1307)

The main task of royal financial administration was to provide the king with (monetary) resources. While the exchequer at Westminster collected the revenue of the realm, the wardrobe, as the itinerant financial department of the royal household, provided the king directly with cash. To fulfil its task, the wardrobe received cash from a variety of sources. The treasury (lower exchequer) was the main supply of cash for the wardrobe. However, not all of this money was paid to the wardrobe directly. Rather, creditors of the king received large amounts of cash from the treasury in the name of the wardrobe and its officials. To keep track of the cash flow, both institutions—the exchequer and the wardrobe—had to fall back on written records.[1] This written communication between the exchequer and the wardrobe lies at the centre of this paper. The *onus Scaccarii* rolls are the key source of this inter-institutional communication under Edward I.[2] Drawn up in the treasury, the onus rolls kept the ward-

1 The exchequer also received information about cash flow from the chancery in form of the originalia rolls. They are a copy of the fine rolls on which the scribes in the chancery noted the fees paid to the chancery for the expedition of royal charters (see for the originalia rolls Kypta 2014, 234–235; Dryburgh 2015; Dryburgh [*s. d.*]).

2 The name *onus Scaccarii* comes from the two Latin nouns: *onus* meaning 'load' or 'burden', and *scaccarium* meaning 'chessboard'—the denomination of the accounting cloth of the exchequer, from which the financial institution draws its name. Therefore, the *onus Scaccarii* rolls are the rolls of the monetary burden of the exchequer. Contemporaries sometimes also called them *onus Garderobe* (see footnotes 22, 33, 35). As these rolls are called *onus Scaccarii* in archival finding aids (i. e. *List of Documents Relating to the Household and Wardrobe* 1964, 13), this denomination is used throughout the article. Scholars have not yet studied the onus rolls in any detail. They are only mentioned in some works (i. e. Young 1840, 249; Tout 1920–1933, vol. 1, 22, 236 [also for Edward II]; C. Johnson 1923, 57, 59; J. Johnson 1929, 81 [for Edward II]; Steel 1929, 501; Barratt 2005, 37). The earliest surviving onus rolls are from the later years of Edward I's reign. It is most likely that the rolls were in use before, but did not survive. Not only for the onus rolls but also for most other wardrobe related records, the later years of Edward I are a true goldmine. The abundance of records from the mid-1290s onward is no coincidence. The turbulent political and financial years from the war with France (from 1294) and the war with Scotland (from 1296) led to a wave of records. They survived because of unsettled debts and accounts, which had to be resolved after Edward's death. Therefore, these records served as a written

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robe informed about all the payments the treasury made to or on behalf of the royal household. The wardrobe clerks used the onus rolls to compare them with their own records and compile a final account for audit with the upper exchequer. By examining the process of production and use of the onus rolls, we can grasp the different steps of compiling accounts in both financial institutions. Furthermore, the onus rolls can open a window to the ways records were used in the exchequer and the wardrobe. With few exceptions, the exchequer almost exclusively used rolls for its record keeping.[3] The wardrobe, however, started to use codices for its accounts alongside rolls from the reign of Edward I onwards. Through an artefact biography of the onus rolls, focussing on their materiality and praxeology, we can get a closer understanding of the use of written records in general, and in particular the choice of the form (roll or codex) in different administrative contexts.

The paper addresses the main questions in four parts. The first chapter discusses the context and function of the onus rolls. Having set the background, the second section will turn to the question of how the onus rolls were compiled in the exchequer. The third part deals with the use of the rolls in the wardrobe. Finally, the fourth brings together the different threads, asking: why were rolls and why codices used in the financial institutions of royal government under Edward I?

Context and function of the onus rolls

The exchequer collected the revenue of the realm, mainly through the officials (sheriffs) of the local administrative districts (counties). The treasury forwarded the collected cash from the counties after assay and audit to the wardrobe for the king's needs.[4] Particularly in times of war, when the king constantly needed liquid assets to finance his campaigns, sending money from the exchequer in Westminster to the king, who could be as far away as Scotland or France, was often too slow and inflexible. Therefore, the household officers attempted to resolve this issue through two main ways. When cash from the exchequer was depleted and the king was out of reach for an immediate resupply from the treasury, the officers of the wardrobe acquired the

memory for the later accounting processes under Edward II and Edward III (for this point see also C. Johnson 1923, 53; Prestwich 1997, 105–106). We owe their survival, therefore, to the war-dominated years (1294–1307) of Edward I's reign (Germ. Überlieferungschance). But the wars of the king did not only affect the survival of administrative documents but also their physical size. The overall size of exchequer rolls, particularly the memoranda rolls, as well as legal rolls expanded greatly in the 1290s.

3 See Cassidy in this volume.

4 For the financial relation of the wardrobe and the exchequer and the documentary procedures around it, see J. Johnson 1929, 77–84; and B. Lyon/M. Lyon/Lucas 1983, xxxvi–xxxvii. Johnson writes about the reign of Edward II. However, the administrative procedures did not change much from Edward I to his son.

income of local officials. Such local officials and other creditors had two options for reimbursement: either the king sent a writ of payment (*breve de liberate*) to the exchequer for a payment to the creditor to be made,[5] or the creditor received a bill of debenture (*billa*) from an official of the king, with which he could collect the money from the exchequer or the wardrobe[6]. The local officials, whose income was lowered through the credit to the king, would have to pay less at the end of their annual audit with the exchequer. The king's chancery wrote a writ of allowance (*breve de allocate*) to the exchequer, informing it that the local official's account at the exchequer should be reduced, because he paid money for the needs of the king and his administration.[7] The lower exchequer compiled records in order to keep track of the many payments made by the exchequer directly to the wardrobe and to creditors of the king. The receipt rolls (E 401, *rotulus magne recepte*) recorded all money paid into the treasury during the accounting period. Often, the receipt rolls did not record real cash receipts, but instead payments made by local officials to the royal wardrobe and its officials.[8] These transactions were noted on the receipt rolls, since the local officials should have delivered the cash to the treasury in Westminster.[9] The second main set of rolls in the treasury were the issue rolls (E 403, *rotulus exitum*). They record all expenditure made out of the treasury in the course of an accounting period.[10] Both sets of rolls were drawn up twice a year, in triplicate, according to the two main auditing periods: Easter to

5 For a typical writ of payment during Edward's reign: Kew, TNA, C 47/35/15, no. 12 (1285, 18 June.—Westminster).

6 See e. g. Kew, TNA, E 101/11/20, no. 25 (1304, 18 August.—Berwick-upon-Tweed).

7 These writs of allowance were written in the chancery after the king ordered them through a warrant of issue. A typical example can be found in: Kew, TNA, C 81/1684A/47 (26 Edward I, 1297–1298, calendared in: Bain 1881–1888, vol. 2, no. 978, 250). For a writ of allowance from the keeper of the wardrobe: Kew, TNA, C 81/1328/18 (1301, 29 October.—London).

8 These payments are marked in the receipt rolls with a marginal entry on the right hand side, stating the designator of the payment, either wardrobe or a person, and sometimes the proof of payment, see e. g. Kew, TNA, E 401/154, m. 2: *Somerset': Philippo de Guerdon' 676 £ pro totidem denariis receptis de G' de Bere et H' de London', collectoribus 12^{e} in comitatu Somersetensis. Garderoba. Duodecim*, m. 3: *Sutht': Willelmo Russel, custode Insule Vecte, 148 £ 16 s. 2 d. de remanenti compoti sui. Sandal'*, m. 7: *Bed' Buk': Waltero de Molesworth, vicecomite, 10 £ de firma comitatum. Garderoba. Eodem 8 £ pro eodem. Garderoba per breve clausum de privato sigillo.*

9 These payments were annotated with 'wardrobe' and sometimes the proof of payment was given: e. g. Kew, TNA, E 401/151: 1: *Gloucestr': Waltero de Bello Campo, custode castri Gloucestrie, 11 £ de firma sua.—Garderoba*, Kew, TNA, E 401/153, m. 1: *Essexia: Waltero de Reynes, custode terre abbatisse de Cadamo, 60 £ de exitu ballie sue pro Waltero de Fferstede.—Garderoba per unam litteram.*

10 There are two types of issue rolls. A detailed and an abbreviated version. While the first gives all the individual payments, the latter only states the main liberations of the treasury. These two types were also distinguished by the contemporaries of Edward I's administration. The abbreviated version was called *roll of spendings* (e. g. Kew, TNA, E 403/113: *Rotulus exitum in termino sancti Michaelis, anno regni regis Edwardi tricesimo finiente. Anno 30*). On the other hand, the detailed issue roll did not bear a main title on the recto side, most of the time, but only a dorse title naming it the *membrane of rememberings* (e. g. Kew, TNA, E 403/111, m. 1^{d}: *Pellis memorandorum de termino Pasche, anno regni*

Michaelmas and Michaelmas to Easter. Internally, the rolls are further divided into the four accounting terms: Michaelmas, Hilary, Easter and Trinity. Both sets of rolls were crucial for the auditing of the wardrobe with the exchequer.

From the reign of Henry III, the wardrobe's two major officials, the keeper or treasurer of the wardrobe (*custos/thesaurarius*) and the controller of the wardrobe (*contrarotularius*), had to audit wardrobe accounts at the exchequer. The auditing process was required for two reasons: to keep track of and check state finances, and more importantly, to hold officials to account.[11] The auditing sessions of the wardrobe were quite different from the ones of the sheriffs. While the latter had to come to Westminster twice a year—at Easter for first review of accounts and payments and at Michaelmas for the final auditing—the wardrobe, as the king's private treasury, was not under direct authority of the exchequer. Therefore, auditing, for most of the thirteenth century, did not take place yearly but at irregular intervals.[12] Despite the lack of systematized auditing periods, the wardrobe had to render accounts containing detailed information about income and expenditure at the exchequer eventually every few years. Hence, the clerks of the wardrobe had to keep preliminary records and memoranda themselves. Detailed information about the money paid out by the treasury to creditors of the wardrobe had to come from the exchequer itself, as the clerks in Westminster were the only ones recording the details of these payments. The institutionalisation of the exchequer from the royal household in the twelfth century forced the officials to develop intermediary documents that enabled a written communication between the institutions. The onus rolls, therefore, connect the non-itinerant exchequer and the itinerant wardrobe as an intermediary record, sending information about payments from one administrative institution to another.[13] The materiality of the onus rolls, in particular their format, suggest that they were sent after the two main accounting intervals, Easter and Michaelmas, from the exchequer to the ward-

regis Edwardi, filii regis Henrici, tricesimo, tempore Willelmi, Coventrensi et Lichesfeldensi episcopi, thesaurarii. Anno 30).

11 This function of accounts does not only hold true for England, but also the Continent. While Mersiowsky 2007 centres the function of medieval accounts around the accountability of the official who rendered the account. Arlinghaus 2006, for example, additionally recognises the financial purpose of accounts. Most recently, for England in particular, Sabapathy 2014 stressed the importance of accountability for the production of written records. Nevertheless, Sabapathy acknowledges an important step forward in the way accounts were used under Edward I, when counterbalances were introduced (see Sabapathy 2014, 83).

12 For the various reasons regarding irregular accounting periods between the exchequer and the wardrobe in the reign of Henry III: Wild 2012, xvii–xx, xxxvii–xxxviii. From 1258 onwards, the accounting between the two financial centres were done on a regular basis. From 1299/1300 until the death of Edward I in 1307, the auditing sessions were not held until early in the 1320s when Edward II began reviewing some of the later accounts of his father (C. Johnson 1923, 53–54; Prestwich 1988, 144–145).

13 In this respect, they are related to the originalia rolls, another intermediary record, which transmitted information about fines for royal grants from the chancery to the exchequer, see footnote 1.

robe. The wardrobe clerks then used the onus rolls to compare the money spent by the treasury with their own lists and accounts. This could ensure that outstanding debts and credits could be crossed out in the wardrobe's accounts. Afterwards, the wardrobe clerks used the onus rolls to compile the detailed receipt section in the wardrobe account books, which would then be sent back to the exchequer for auditing.

Writing the onus rolls in the exchequer

An onus roll was created when payments were made from the treasury to or on behalf of the wardrobe. The king or one of his higher officials ordered the chancery to issue a writ of payment (*breve de liberate*) through a warrant of issue.[14] The chancery sent the writs of payment to the treasury, after enrolling them on the chancery's liberate roll (C 62, *liberate et allocate*).[15] At the exchequer, the writ was enrolled on the exchequer's liberate rolls (E 403, *brevia persoluta*) to keep track and have proof of incoming payment orders.[16] There were two different sets of writs of payment. The first was one for a smaller amount of money, paid directly to the keeper of the wardrobe. The second type could frequently encompass up to £20,000.[17] Since the treasury did not have such large sums at its disposal, the requested amount was disbursed over the course of many weeks and months in a multitude of payments (*liberationes*). To keep track of all these payments, the treasury clerks kept memoranda, leading to the compilation of the issue rolls. When compared with modern accounting methods, the system of money disbursed by the treasury in the name of the wardrobe resembles a petty cash system. The wardrobe ordered cash in advance through the writs of payments. The treasury forwarded the cash most often to local officials or individual creditors who ei-

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14 See e. g., Kew, TNA, C 81/1668/11 (1303, 13 January.—Odiham, calendared in: Bain 1881–1888, vol. 2, no. 1387, 355).

15 The chancery's liberate roll of the reign of Edward I were 'chancery style' rolls with only a left margin for the name of the beneficiary of the writ of payment. For an enrolled writ of payment: Kew, TNA, C 62/77, m. 1: *Pro Johanne de Drokenesford: Regis thesaurio et camerariis suis salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilecto clerico nostro, Johanni de Drokenesford, custodi Garderobe nostre, decem milia libra ad expensas Hospicii nostri, inde faciendas testimonio regis, apud Rypon', 21 die novembris per billam de Garderoba.*

16 For an enrolled writ of payment of the wardrobe: Kew, TNA, E 403/1280: *Johannes de Drokenefford, custos Garderobe regis: Edwardus Dei gratia et cetera thesauraris et camerarius suis salutem. Liberate de Thesauro nostro dilecto clerico nostro Johanni de Drokenefford, custodis Garderobe nostre, 20,000 marcas ad expensum Hospicii nostri, inde factis. Teste me ipso apud villam Sancti Johannis de Pertz, 15° die julii, anno regni nostri tricesimo primo: Summa 20,000 marce.*

17 E. g. some of the writs of payment for the keeper of the wardrobe enrolled on the exchequer's liberate roll from the later years of Edward's reign: Kew, TNA, E 403/1278 (Easter 1302: £20,000), E 403/1279 (Michaelmas 1302: £20, 000), E 403/1280 (Michaelmas 1303: 20,000 marks), E 403/1284 (Michaelmas 1304: £20,000), E 403/1286 (Easter 1305: £20,000), E 403/1288 (Michaelmas 1305: £20,000).

ther paid for the king and his household in advance or were not paid by the wardrobe for his services immediately. When the pre-ordered amount of money from the initial writ of payment was reached, a new writ had to be produced.

The wardrobe's final accounts contain two sections: one for receipts and another one for expenses.[18] While the expenditure of the final accounts under Edward I had more than a dozen sub-sections, the receipt was only split into two: the money forwarded by the treasury (*recepta de Scaccario*, *liberationes de Scaccario*), and all other receipts (*recepte forinsece*).[19] A review of the account books of the wardrobe reveals that the payments of the treasury constitute the main source of income of the royal household. In the later years of the reign of Edward I, the treasury payments have a share of 75 %.[20] Given the importance of the payments of the treasury, detailed accounting for these receipts in the wardrobe was necessary. In order for the wardrobe to render correct accounts of their income, the exchequer had to provide comprehensive information about all payments made throughout the two accounting periods. The onus rolls fulfilled that purpose.

The onus rolls are a partial compilation of the issue rolls.[21] At the end of the accounting term, an exchequer clerk would copy and extract all relevant parts of the issue rolls about payments for the wardrobe onto a new onus roll.[22] Often, the onus rolls start with a heading, stating the accounting period as well as the regnal year, in most

18 E. g. the final wardrobe account rolls compiled at the exchequer: Kew, TNA, E 101/364/14, m. 1: *Recepta* [...] *Expensa* [both are headings in the left margin].

19 For the receipt sections: London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 7966A: First section: four exchequer liberations: *liberationes de Scaccario* (fol. 1–11^{v}), second: foreign income: *recepta forinseca*, such as perquisites of merchants (fol. 13–14^{v}), sale of stock (fol. 14^{v}), siege of Bayonne (fol. 15), great seal (fol. 15^{v}), sale of jewels (fol. 15^{v}), monetary restitution (fol. 15^{v}), sale of corn and other goods in the counties (fol. 16), sale of victuals (fol. 16–17^{v}), sale of stock from the queen's household and other income (fol. 17^{v}), tax (fol. 18). For the expense sections of the wardrobe books of Edward I: B. Byerly/C. Byerly 1977, xi–xv.

20 This percentage is for the available years of the last decade of Edward's reign. The data is based on Tout's calculation (Tout 1920–1933, vol. 1, 80–83). If Tout does not provide data, I used data from manuscripts where possible: 1. 1295–1296: 61 %, 2. 1296–1297: 71 %, 3. 1287–1298: 77 %, 4. 1299/1300: 84 %, 5. 1300–1301: 82 %, 6. 1301–1302: 61 % (Kew, TNA, E 101/360/25, m. 6), 7. 1302–1303: 83 % (Kew, TNA, E 101/364/14, m. 1), 8. 1305–1306: 78 %.

21 The onus rolls might have been compiled from the issue rolls directly, or from a draft of the issue roll. The direct connection between the issue and onus roll is not only evident in the almost identical structure of both records, but also in some references in the onus rolls to the issue roll, see e. g. Kew, TNA, E 101/364/24, m. 1: *Eidem eodem die 113 £ 13 s. 11½ d. in quatuor talliis factis Johanni de Wemgrave, vicecomiti Essex' et Hertford', sicut patet in rotulo magne recepte presentis die per unam litteram dicti custodi patentem, cuius data est apud Eboracum 17° die aprilis, anno regni regis Edwardi 31°, penes camerarium residentum liberantur eundem*. However, the onus rolls are not a *verbatim* copy as J. Henry Johnson 1929, 81 has stated.

22 Not many traces of the scribes themselves can be found on the rolls. An exception is e. g. Kew, TNA, E 101/361/12, m. 16^{d}: *Scriptus manu J', clerico domini R' de Sch'*.

cases even offering a contemporary designation for the roll itself.[23] Every accounting period begins with the enrolled writ of payment, constituting the legal framework for all expenditures of the treasury. These writ entries follow a formula: starting with the name of the keeper of the wardrobe as the beneficiary of the payments; followed by an authorizing document (writ of payment) with the total sum of payment as well as the date and location of issue. While the exact wording may differ slightly, all writ entries include the same elements.[24] The individual payment entries comprise the date of payment, followed by the sum, the recipient's name of the payment and the purpose, often with the written proof presented at the treasury. If more than one payment occurred on one day, which was very frequent, the following entries begin with the phrasing *to the same at the same day* (*eidem eodem die*). Even though the onus rolls are text block accounts, the exchequer scribes tried in many cases to separate individual entries from one another. They mainly used three methods to achieve this: one, with a pilcrow (¶ or cc); two, by separating two entries with a space; three, by writing the letter of the first word, mostly *E* for *eidem*, in a larger font. The scribes used this type of separation and formula in many other records. The best example of this is found on the pipe rolls.[25]

To understand the copying and compilation process from the issue rolls to the onus rolls, sections of the Michaelmas 30 Edward I (1301/2) and the corresponding onus roll are compared. The lengthy table is necessary to grasp all the minor changes the scribe made while extracting and copying the issue rolls. These minor details reveal how the scribes of the treasury worked.

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23 See Kew, TNA, E 101/355/9, m. 1: *In termino sancti Michaelis anno 26to finiente*; E 101/358/17/11, m. 1: *Recepta domini Johannis de Drokenesford, Michaelis anno 35to*; E 101/361/12, m 7: *In termino Pasche anno 30°*; E 101/366/24, m. 1: *Onus Garderobe de anno tricesimo tertio, videlicet: de termino sancti Michaelis anno 32° incipiente 33°*; E 101/368/26, m. 1: *Onus Garderobe de anno regis Edwardi 34to*; E 101/684/4, m. 1: *Onus Scaccarii termino Pasche anno 28°*. In some cases, such as the latter three examples, the heading was probably not written down by the exchequer clerk but the wardrobe's.

24 For sum–recipient–reason–proof–date: see e. g. Kew, TNA, E 101/366/24, m. 2: *20 marce liberavit Huetto de la Ruele, valletto regine, de dono domini regis eunti ad partes suos per preceptorium Thesaurarii, 13° die januarii*. For sum–date–proof–recipient–reason: see e. g. Kew, TNA, E 101/366/24, m. 1: *11 £ 8 s. liberavit eidem tertio die decembris in una tallia, facta Laur' de Preston', de firma de Gretton' per unam litteram dicti custodis patentem, cuius data est apud Dunolm', 20 die septembris, anno 32°, penes camerarium.*

25 See for the construction and layout of the pipe rolls: Kypta 2014, 51–63.

[Issue roll, Kew, TNA, E 403/111, m. 1^{a}, beginning of first section]

[1] *Domino Johanni de Drokenesford, custodi Garderobe regis, super breve suum de liberate continente 20,000 £, cuius data est apud Lynliscu, 21° die novembris, anno regis Edwardi 30°.*

[2] *2 die maii: 89 £ 6 s. 6 d. in una tallia, facta Philippo de Geyton', vicecomite Warrensis et Lincolniensis, de remanenti compoti sui per unam litteram dicti custodis patentem, cuius data est London', nono die aprilis, anno regni regis Edwardi 30, penes et cetera.*

[3, …, end of first section] *Eidem 8° die maii: 30 £ in una tallia, facta priori de Hermodesworth', pro taxacione domus sue per unam litteram dicti custodis patentem, cuius data est London' 24^{to} die marcii, anno presenti et cetera.*

[4] *Eidem eodem die: 296 £ 6 s. 4 d. in decem tallias, factas Hugoni de Bussey, vicecomite Lincolniensis, quarum una in rotulo magne recepte et nonem in rotulo religiosarum presenti die per unam litteram dicti custodis patentem, cuius data est London, 16° die aprilis, anno presenti et cetera.*

[5] *Summa istius panelli: 1,640 £ 12 s. 2 d. probatur.*

[6] *Summa omnium liberationum, factarum dicto domino Johanni de Drokenesford, tam in pelle presenti quam in pelle de termino sancti Michaelis proxima, preceptum super breve suum de liberate continente 20,000 £, cuius data est apud Linliscu, 21 die novembris anno regis Edwardi 30°: 20,147 £ 5 s. 5½ d. Et sic persolvitur breve. Et hec ultra summam in dicto brevi continentam: 147 £ 5 s. 5½ d., de quibus oneratur in proxima brevi suo de liberate in mediate sequentur continente 20,000 £, cuius data est apud Devises, vicesimo die aprilis, anno 30°.*

[Onus roll, Kew, TNA, E 101/361/12, m. 7, beginning of first section]

[1] *In termino Pasche anno 30°:*
Domino Johanni de Drokenesford, custodi Garderobe regis, super breve suum de liberate continente 20,000 £, cuius data est apud Linlichku, 21 die novembris, anno presenti.

[2] *Secundo die maii: 89 £ 6 s. 6 d. in una tallia, facta Philippo de Gayton', vicecomite Warrensis et Lyncolniensis, de remanenti compoti sui per unam litteram dicti custodis patentem, cuius data est London', 9 die aprilis, anno 30°, penes camerarium residentum liberantur eidem.*

[4, …, end of first section] *Eidem 8 die maii: 296 £ 6 s. 4 d in 10 talliis, factis Hugoni de Busseye, vicecomite Lincolniensis, quarum una in rotulo magne recepte et 9 in rotulo religiosarum, presenti die per unam litteram dicti custodis patentem, cuius data est London', 15 die aprilis, anno presenti et cetera.*

[3] *Eidem eodem die: 30 £ in una tallia, facta priori de Hermodesworth', pro taxacione domus sue per unam litteram dicti custodis patentem, cuius data est London', 24^{to} die marcii, anno presenti et cetera.*

[5] *Summa a principio termini Pasche usque huc—1,640 £ 12 s. 2 d. probatur.*

[7, beginning of second section]
Prime liberationes brevis sequentur:
Domino Johanni de Drokenesford, custodi Garderobe regis, super breve suum de liberate continente 20,000 £, cuius data est apud Devises, 20° die aprilis, anno 30°.

[7, beginning of second section] *Domino Johanni de Drokenesford, custodi Garderobe regis, super breve suum de liberate continente 20,000 £, cuius data est apud Devises, 20 die aprilis, anno regni regis Edwardi 30°.*

[8] *147 £ 5 s. 5½ d. de superplusagio predicti brevis immediate precedentis, quas recepit ultra summam, in eodem brevi continente liberabitur eodem 8° die maii.*

[9] *Eidem 9° die maii: 70 £ liberavit domino Waltero de Burdun' in persolutionem 100 £, quas debuit recepisse in ultimo medio tempore in 40ti de domino Radulpho de Dalton', que dictus dominus Walterus primus recepit 30 £ per manus Johannis de Cambhou, vicecomitis Northumbrie, sicut patet 4to die maii.*

[9] *70 £ liberavit domino Waltero de Burghdon' in persolutionem centum librarum, quas debuit recepisse in ultimo medio tempore in 40ti de domino Radulpho de Dalton', que dictus dominus Walterus primus recepit 30 £ per manus Johannis de Cambhou, vicecomitis Northumbrie, sicut patet 4to die maii, liberavit eidem 9 die maii.*

[10, …, end of second section, m. 1[a–b]] *Eidem 9° die junii: 3 s. liberavit Williamo de Coshals', clerico, in persolutionem 4 £ 13 s. pro 62 petitionibus scribendis de libro, qui vocatur librum de feodis, videlicet pro petitione 18 d.*

[10, …, m. 8, end of second section] *Eidem 9° die junii: 3 s. liberavit Willelmo de Coshale, clerico, in persolutionem 4or librarum 13 s. pro 62 petitionibus scribendis de libro, qui vocatur liber de feodis, videlicet pro petitione 18 d. Brevis usque huc.*

[11] *Summa istius panelli de prime onere istius brevis usque huc: 1,677 £ 2 s. 7½ d. probatur.*

Although at first glance, the section beginnings and ends of the two rolls seem almost identical, some noteworthy differences occur. The first is the altered order of individual entries at the end of the first section (nos. 3 and 4). The scribe switched around the sequence of the last two entries. This is an indicator of an unintended modification, which can occur during the copying process. Other minor differences are mostly connected with the spelling, particularly of place and personal names. Beside these minor differences and unintended alterations, the exchequer copyist actively excluded some information (nos. 6 and 8). This is explicable by the internal exchequer proceedings. When the exchequer received a writ of payment, the clerks kept track of all expenditure, until the initial sum of the writ of payment was exhausted. Since the payments seldom added up to exactly the sum in the writ, a carryover remained, which had to be accounted for with the next writ of payment. These transferral accounting steps were noted on the issue roll for internal exchequer proceedings, but rarely copied onto the onus rolls, as they were not relevant to the accounting of the wardrobe.

The scribes of the exchequer did not have a uniform layout formula for the onus rolls. Each roll consists of multiple parchment membranes. All of the rolls are drawn up in chancery fashion, which means that the membranes are sewn together foot to head.[26] The stitches was executed in multiple ways. The most common is similar to modern sewing seams, such as open and closed seams, or overlapping seams.[27] In general, the exchequer clerks wrote only on one side of the onus rolls.[28] The individual membranes could be of varied formats and not align with each other.[29] A striking example for inconsistent formats within one roll is the onus roll for 30–31 Edward I (1301–1303).[30] It is not only the longest roll, covering two regnal years with twenty-seven membranes but also the roll with membranes deviating from one another the most. The width of the membranes fluctuates between 180 mm and 295 mm; with an average width of around 200 mm. The membranes' lengths could also vary between 195 mm to 725 mm, while the average length is around 500 mm. With most other onus rolls, there is less variation between the widths of each membrane, whereas the lengths are mostly inconsistent. The scribes tried to use membranes of a certain width and to a lesser extent length within one roll. This is a strong indicator that the scribes actively chose similar membranes for a particular accounting period and altered the format when they started with a new one. A good example is again the onus roll for 30–31 Edward I (1301–1303). After membrane five, the Lent term (*Quadragesima*) starts with a new membrane width. The same occurs just one membrane later, at the transition of membranes six and seven, when the new Easter term (*Pascha*) commences. While the break between membranes five and six is not as obvious from a textual standpoint, the change between membrane six and seven is clearer. Membrane six ends with a final sum for all spending of the mid-accounting term (*medium tempus*) and membrane seven starts with a new heading for the Easter term.[31] This clear break between the two membranes (six and seven) can be explained with the interval between the accounting terms Michaelmas 1301/2 (m. 1–6) and Easter 1302 (m. 7–11). A similar interval also appears between the issue roll for Michaelmas 1301–1302 (issue roll lost) and Easter 1302 (E 403/111). The exchequer scribe started with a new membrane (m. 12) in a very

26 Rolls in the royal administration of medieval England come mainly in two forms: firstly, the 'chancery style', which in continental Europe is most often defined as a *rotulus* (Cárcel Ortí 1997², no. 38, 29), and secondly, the 'exchequer style', composed of one- or two-membrane chancery style *rotuli,* which were sewn together at their heads to form a multi-layered roll (Giele/Peltzer/Trede 2015, 680–681).

27 An example for the latter case is Kew, TNA, E 101/361/12 where membranes 6 and 7, both written at different stages of the exchequer year, are connected with a continuous seam. The same roll also provides an example for the first case: the current seam connecting membranes 4 and 5 is a later addition, as previous stiching holes show.

28 Kew, TNA, E 101/684/4. Additionally, only membrane 3 of E 101/361/12 was inscribed on both sides.

29 See the table of surviving onus rolls in the appendix of this article.

30 Kew, TNA, E 101/361/12.

31 Kew, TNA, E 101/361/12, m. 6: *Summa huius medii temporis apud Westmonasterium—4,585 £ 9 s. 2½ d. Summa totalis eius Johannis de Drokenesford presentis pellis super breve suum de liberate continet 20,000 £, cuius datum est apud Linliscu, 21 die novembris, anno presentis—13,575 £ 19 s. 11½ d.*, m. 7: *In termino Pasche anno 30°*. In contrast, m. 5 starts with the heading: *Solutiones ffacte domino Johanni de Drokenesford, custodi et cetera, apud Westmonasterium in Quadragesima, anno regis Edwardi 30.* Membrane 5 ends only with a membrane sum: *Summa istius rotuli—1,122 £ 16½ d. probatur*.

divergent format. Some transitions are not as apparent. The next start of a new accounting period, Easter 1303 (E 403/114), did not change the format of the membranes of the onus roll (m. 17–18).[32] This leads to the conclusion that the exchequer scribe did not send the onus rolls immediately after each accounting period to the wardrobe, but sometimes kept them over multiple accounting periods and sent them together.

Most of the onus rolls are sum- and heading-divided text block accounts.[33] Even though a general pattern lies behind them, the layout of the onus rolls also changed slightly from accounting period to accounting period. This is largely to do with the scribal habits and the parchment available. In comparison to other more important roll series (such as the pipe, receipt or issue rolls), the format and shape of the membranes and the entire roll did not matter much. The scribes could chose the parchment they used. The headings of the rolls and the individual segments mirror the titles in the issue rolls. They generally refer to the accounting periods of the exchequer and in some cases to the keeper of the wardrobe and the writ of payment.[34] Most of the time, they were written larger or highlighted. Section sums also helped to structure the text and to calculate the money sent.[35] Frequently, these section sums were not

32 Furthermore, the exact same ruling of the left margin is a second important indicator that the exchequer scribe continuously used the Michaelmas 1302 onus roll for the Easter 1303 term.

33 The classification of different styles according to their layout has been introduced by Mersiowsky 2000, 337–344.

34 See e. g. Kew, TNA, E 101/355/9, m. 1: *In termino sancti Michaelis anno 26[to] incipiente,* [...] *Item receptum eiusdem domini Johannis in termino sancti Hillarii*, m. 3: *Liberationes, facte in medio tempore in 40[a] apud Westmonasterium,* [...] *In termino Pasche anno 27°,* m. 6: *Item liberationes, facte eidem domino Johanni post festum Sancte Trinitatis,* m. 8: *Item in medio tempore,* m. 9: *In termino sancti Michaelis anno 27° finiente*; E 101/366/24, m. 1: *Onus Garderobe de anno tricesimo tertio.* [later addition by the same hand] *Videlicet de termino sancti Michaelis anno 32° incipiente 33°,* [...] *Liberationes in medio tempore facte domino Johanni de Drokenesford super breve suum, continente 20,000 £,* [...] *Liberationes facte domino Johanni apud Westmonasterium post festum Sancti Hillarii super dictum breve suum de liberatione continet 20,000 et cetera,* m. 2: *Item liberationes facte domino Johanni de Drokenesford, custodi Garderobe regis, in medio tempore post festum sancti Hillarii per breve suum de liberate continete 20,000 £, cuius datum est apud Brustewyk' 21° die novembris, anno tricesimo secundo,* m. 3: *Adhuc de onere Garderobe et cetera, videlicet de termino Pasche anno tricesimo tertio. Item liberationes facte domino Johanni de Drokenesford, custodi Garderobe regis, super breve suum de liberatione continet 20,000 £, cuius datum est apud Brustewyk' 21° die novembris, anno regni regis Eduardis tricesimo secundo,* m. 4: *Item liberationes facte domino Johanni de Drokenesford, custodi Garderobe regis, post festum Sancti Trinitatis super breve suum de liberate continet 20,000 £, cuius datum est apud Brustewyk 21° die novembris, anno regni regis Edwardi 32°,* [...] *Prime liberationes brevis sequentis,* m. 5: *Item liberationes facte domino Johanni de Drokenesford, custodi Garderobe regis, in medio tempore super breve suum de liberate continet 20,000 £, cuius datum est apud Lewes 26[to] die junij, anno regni regis Edwardi 33°,* [...] *Item liberationes facte domino Johanni de Drokenesford, custodi Garderobe regis, super breve suum de liberate, datum est apud Lewes 26[to] die junii, anno regis Edwardi tricesimo tertio,* m. 6: *Prime liberationes brevis sequentis.*

35 See e. g. Kew, TNA, E 101/366/24, m. 3: *Summa totius oneris Johanni de Drokenesford istius termini usque huc—8,726 £ 2 s. 8½ d.*, m. 5: *Summa istius panelli et cetera 15,661 £ 11 s. 6½ d.*

only written larger, but also indented to set them visually apart from the main text. The exchequer accounting periods and sometimes a contemporary title of the roll itself is found on the dorses.[36] These dorse titles helped to identify the roll in its closed form, as these titles were written either on the last or first membrane. After their compilation in the treasury, the onus rolls were sent to the wardrobe as means of written communication.

Using the onus rolls in the wardrobe

The wardrobe kept detailed records of receipts during the accounting year. These records had very different forms and formats. We have small rolls, which seem more like drafts, covering only very short periods and recording expenditure as well as receipts.[37] These rolls might have been used by the scribe as a *minute* from which to draw a neater record. Early in the reign of Edward I, the wardrobe clerks wrote down well-structured receipt rolls covering the whole accounting year.[38] Later in the reign,

36 It is yet not clear if these endorsements were written by the exchequer or wardrobe scribes. The last two examples are definitely from a wardrobe scribe: Kew, TNA, E 101/355/9, m. 9[d]: *Recepta Garderobe de onere Scaccarii de anno 27°*; E 101/361/12, m. 16[d]: *Onus Garderobe de termino sancti Michaelis anno 30° finiente, scilicet a 12° die octobris usque 8 diem decembris, utroque die computatur*; E 101/368/26, m. 1[d]: *Onus Garderobe pro anno 34[to];* E 101/364/24, m. 1[d]: *De anno 27°*; E 101/366/24, m. 1[d]: *Onus Garderobe regis a die sancti Edmundi usque festum Pasche* [second hand] *Onus per Scaccarium de anno 31°* [third hand] *Vacant omnes isti rotuli, quod continentur in maioribus rotulis*; E 101/366/24, m. 1[d]: *De anno 33°* [later addition by the same hand] *Intratur totum et examinatur*; E 101/368/26, m. 1[d]: *Onus Garderobe per Scaccarium de anno 34[to]*. [later addition by the same hand] *Examinatur et intratur*, m. 9[d]: *Onus Garderobe regis de anno tricesimo quarto.* [later addition by the same hand] *Examinatur*; E 101/684/4, m. 1[d]: *Onus Scaccarii termino Pasche anno 28°.*

37 See e. g. Kew, TNA, E 101/357/11, no. 3: short roll of receipts and expenses, where the receipt section only has one entry: *De Reginaldo le Portor, vicecomite Wygornensis, de exitu ballie sue comitatus in denariis per ipsum solutis pro carriagio venatoris de Ffekenham usque London', anno 27, quam pro frumento et avena provisis per ipsum infra balliam suam predictam ad expensis Hospicii regis ac etiam pro aliis particulis diversis pro rege, anno 29, in una littera sibi facta thesaurarii et camerariorum de Scaccario sub sigillo domini Johannis de Drokenford, cuius data est apud Eboracum, 21 die januaris, anno 30.—128 £ 16 s.* [..., lost text].

38 See. e. g. Kew, TNA, E 101/351/10, m. 1: *Rotulus recepte denariorum in Garderoba domini Edwardi, illustris regis Anglie, a festo sancti Edmundi regis et martiriis, anno regni predicti regis Edwardi incipiente undecimo usque ad idem festum, anno regni eiusdem regis finiente duodecimo, incipiente tertiodecimo tempore magistri Willelmi de Luda, tunc custodis Garderobe regis, et Thome de Gunneys, contrarotulatoris sui, a predicto festo sancti Edmundi anno 11° usque festum assumptionis Beate Virginis, anno eodem. Et post idem festum tempore magistri Willelmi de March, contrarotulatoris sui, in eadem Garderobam usque festum sancti Edmundi regis, anno regni eiusdem regis Edwardi finiente duodecimo et incipiente 13°.* This receipt roll has a very evident structure. The left margin gives the origin of the received money, while the right margin states the individual entry's sum. Furthermore, every group of receipts ends with a collective sum, indented to the middle of the membrane. The scribe added several at least from the mid-1290s, the final receipt rolls of the wardrobe were accompanied by receipt account books.[39] Additionally, the wardrobe kept cash journals in codices.[40] The cash journals contained daily preparations of income and expenditure as well as a balance of ready cash at the end of a day.

The wardrobe kept books for their accounting from the late 1270s.[41] In the course of Edward's reign, more and more records of the wardrobe were kept in books in addition to or rather than rolls.[42] At the end of the accounting year, a wardrobe clerk compiled a final account book, which was sent to the upper exchequer in two copies for audit.[43]

The wardrobe clerks used the onus roll in two ways: copying their textual content into the wardrobe's account book receipt section and comparing the entries of the onus roll with their own records. We have to bear in mind, however, that the scribes did not fall back on the wardrobe's own receipt records to compile the exchequer receipt section in the final account book, but relied exclusively on the information conveyed on the onus rolls. To see the similarities between the two records, even though they were written in two different forms—roll and codex—it is vital to compare two similar sections from both records in detail. This does not only reveal similarities, but also shows minor interventions by the wardrobe's scribe. The entries are from 34 Edward I (1305/6).

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subtotal sums (see e. g. m. 2: *Quarta summa totalis istius rotuli 30,466 £ 17 s. 3 d.*), adding up to a final total sum at the end of the roll (m. 2: *Summa totalis totius istius rotuli 101,952 £ 17 s. 2 d.* The same final total sum can be found on m. 1[d]).

39 See e. g. Manchester, John Rylands Library, Lat. Ms. 230, title on cover: *Recepta Garderobe regis Edwardi de anno regni sui vicesimo secundo 22. Recepta anno 22°.*

40 The journalia accounts had two columns: the left one for income and the right one for expenditure, e. g. London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 37655, fol. 5[a]: *Die mercuri, 27° die julij, anno 34[to] de denariis in Garderoba remanentibus 7 s. 2 d. De Scaccario per manus Nicholai de Chileham et Willelmi de Rikethorn' liberaverunt denaria in Garderoba apud Sherreve Hounton' 400 £.*

41 The oldest extant fragment of a wardrobe account book dates from 1275–1276 or 1277–1278 (TNA Kew, C 47/3/51/10).

42 The introduction of the codex in the accounting of the wardrobe has not yet been explained. T. F. Tout only recognised the introduction of the codex in the royal wardrobe (Tout 1920–1933, vol. 1, 47–48). In general, scholars (e. g. Ramsay 2008, 422) acknowledge their existence, even describing some in detail (B. Byerly/C. Byerly 1977; Parsons 1977, 3–28; B. Byerly/C. Byerly, 1986, i–vi; B. Lyon/M. Lyon 2004, vii–viii) but not explaining them. Only M. C. Prestwich has brought forward the hypothesis, drawing on the research by George Sivery for the financial administrations of Flanders, that Italian accounting might have influenced the wardrobe (Prestwich 1997, 96). Possible origins of the introduction of the codex into the royal wardrobe and their contexts of use will be discussed in my upcoming PhD thesis at Heidelberg University.

43 Before the 1290s, the wardrobe books were not as well structured. Afterwards they had a first section for receipts and a second larger section for expenses. See the editions of early Edwardian wardrobe books *Records of the Wardrobe and Household*, eds. B. Byerly and C. Byerly; *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290*, ed. Parsons; *Records of the Wardrobe and Household*, eds. B. Byerly and C. Byerly and for the late Edwardian wardrobe books *Liber quotidianus contrarotulatoris garderobae*, ed. Topham; *The Wardrobe Book of 1296–1297*, eds. B Lyon and M. Lyon (only a partial edition).

[Onus roll, Kew, TNA, E 101/368/26, m. 1, beginning of the roll]

[1] *Domino Johanni de Drokenesford, custodi Garderobe regis, super breve suum de liberate continente 20,000 £, cuius data est apud La Thele, 21 die augusti, anno 34to.*

[2] *46* £ *1 marca liberavit domino Waltero Reginaldi, custodi Garderobe domini principis Wallie, per manus Thome de Petvenes, die mercurii, 24to die novembris, super expensis dicti domini principis per preceptum J' de Dirk' tenentur [..., unreadable].*

[3] *Eidem die sabbati, 27to die novembris: 13* £ *liberavit magistro Johanni de Claxton' super expensis dominorum [Thome et Edmundi], filiorum regis, per preceptum dicti Johannis et cetera.*

[4, ..., end of section and beginning of new section] *Eidem eodem die: 20* £ *liberavit Tome Brun, puletario regis, per manus Ade Brun super officio suo per breve sub privato sigillo regis continente 200* £, *cuius data est apud Kynemerefford, 6 die decembris et cetera.*

[5] *Item liberationes facte eidem in medio tempore post festum sancte Lucie super dictum breve.*

[6] *Domino Johanni de Drokenesford et cetera super dictum breve de 20,000* £, *cuius data est et cetera.*

[7] *13* £ *liberavit magistro Johanni de Claxton', die lune, 13 die decembris, super expensis dominorum Thome et Edmundi, filiorum regis.*

[8, ..., m. 3, end of first writ of payment and beginning of second one]
Eidem 17 die maii: 4,798 £ *16½ s. in una tallia, facta Berto de Ffriscobaldi et sociis suis mercatorum de societate mercatorum de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentina, collectorum custume lanarum, coriorum et pellium lannarum de exitus eiusdem custumen in Anglie et Hibernie, sicut*

[Final wardrobe account book, Kew, TNA, E 101/369/11, fol. 1, beginning of receipt section]

[1] *De domino Waltero de Langeton, thesaurario et camerariis de Scaccario, de Thesauro regis ad expensum Hospicii eiusdem, inde faciendum super unum breve de liberate continente 20,000* £, *cuius data est apud La Thele, 21° die novembris, anno 34to, per manus diversorum infra annum presentem prout patet inferius et videlicet:*

[2] *Per manus domini Walteri Reginaldi, recipienti denariis ad expensum Hospicii domini principis Wallie, inde faciendum 24to die novembris 46* £ *13 s. 4 d.*

[3] *Per manus magistri Johannis de Claxton' super expensis Hospicii dominorum Thome et Edmundi, filiorum regis, 27 die novembris 14* £.

[4, ..., fol. 1^{v}] *Per manus Thome Brun, puletario regis, super officio suo per breve sub privato sigillo regis continente 200* £, *cuius data est apud Kynemerefford', 6to die decembris et cetera, eodem die 20* £.

[7] *Per manus magistro Johanni de Claxton' super expensis Hospicii dominorum Thome et Edmundi, filiorum regis, 13° die decembris 14* £.

[8, ..., fol. 4^{v}, end of first writ of payment, beginning of second one]
Per manus Bertini de Ffrisconbaud' et sociorum suorum mercatorum de societate Ffrisconibaldorum de Florentia, collectorum custume in Anglia, in una tallia, eisdem facta, pro tot denariis, quos idem mercatores solverunt in Curia Romana et alibi pro negotiis regis, 17 die maii: 4,798 £ *16½ s.*

patet in rotulo magne recepte presenti die, pro tot denariis, quos iidem mercatores solverunt in Curia Romana et alibi pro negotiis regis, unde liberaverunt particulas eiusdem Johannis de Drokenesford in Garderoba dicti regis.

[9a, m. 4] *Liberationes facte eidem super breve de liberate continente 20,000* £, *cuius data est apud Ffarnham, 16to die maii, anno 34to:*

[9b] *Summa totalis solute super isto breve de liberate continente 20,000* £, *cuius data est apud La Thele, 21° die novembris, anno presenti 34to: 20,000.*

[10] *Domino Johanni de Drokenefford, custodi Garderobe regis, super breve suum de liberate continente 20,000* £, *cuius data est apud Ffarnham, 16to die maii, anno regni regis Edwardi 34to.*

[10] *De eisdem thesaurario et camerario de Thesauro regis ad expensum Hospicii ipsius regis, inde faciendum super unum breve de liberate continente 20,000* £, *cuius data est apud Ffarnham, 16° die maii, anno 34to:*

[11] *1,029*£ *11s. 1½d. liberavit eisdem, 17° die maii, in una tallia, facta Berti de Ffriscobaldi et sociis suis mercatorum de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia, collectorum custume lanarum, coriorum et pellium lanarum [de exitus eiusdem custumen] in Anglie et Hibernie, sicut patet in rotulo magne recepte presenti die, per preceptum Thesaurarii pro tot denariis, quos idem mercatores solverunt in Curia Romana et alibi pro negociis regis, unde liberaverunt particulas eidem Johanni de Drokenefford, [custodi Gardeorbe] regis .*

[11] *Per manus Berti de Ffriscunibaldi et sociorum suorum mercatorum de societate Ffriscunibaldorum de Fflorentia, collectorum custume lanarum, coriorum et pellum lanarum in Anglie et Hybernie in una tallia, facte eisdem mercatoribus, pro tot denariis, quos idem mercatores solverunt in Curia Romana et alibi pro negotiis regis, 17 die maii: 1,029* £ *11 s. 1½ d.*

The copying process in the wardrobe changed entries. Some were not copied at all. Mostly, the omitted entries relate to the internal accounting terms of the exchequer and had therefore no value for the final records of the wardrobe. The clerk slightly shortened most of the entries. Information, which for the scribe did not deem necessary, was cut out. In general, the scribal interventions of the wardrobe's copying were less than that of the treasury. Finally, the cycle ended with the final wardrobe account roll, prepared for enrolment on the pipe rolls. Multiple membranes of the onus rolls, transferred and already shortened to several pages for entry into the wardrobe's final account book, were further condensed to just one single sentence in the final account roll.[44]

44 In the case of 29 Edward I (1300–1301), 33 pages of treasury receipts in the wardrobe book (London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 7966A, fol. 1–18) were condensed to one sentence in the ready-to-enrol wardrobe account of the same year (Kew, TNA, E 101/360/25, m. 1: *Idem reddit compotum de 29,031* £ *16 s. 2 d. receptis de Thesauro regis ad Scaccarium, receptis de Waltero, Coventrensi et Lichesfeldensi episcopo, thesaurario et camerariis de Scaccario, per quatuor brevia de liberate hoc anno 29°. Scilicet per manus diversorum, sicut continet in libro de particulis prefati custodis et in libro predicti contrarotulatoris, inde in Thesauro liberantur, et etiam in pelle memorandorum dicte recepte de terminis sancti Michaelis et Pasche hoc anno 29 et termino sancti Michaelis anno 30° incipit*).

The clerks of the wardrobe did not only copy and extract the onus rolls, but also used them by comparing payments made by the treasury with their own records. The left hand margins in the onus roll, drawn by the exchequer's scribe, bear testimony to this. An inspection reveals section and membrane sums, possibly introduced by the wardrobe's clerk to check the payments made by the treasury.[45] The marginal notes also helped the wardrobe to track down payments in their own records. For that reason, most marginal notes reveal the name or function of a beneficiary[46] as well as additional accounting information.[47] The right margin, if apparent, was seldom used.[48] At the end of the copying and checking process, the wardrobe's scribe marked the roll with a small note on the dorse or at the end of the roll.[49] In some cases, the scribe put down these notes in the middle of the roll or after a membrane.[50] This shows that the copying and examining process was frequently not finished in one go but rather took several sessions. The small notes served as an indicator from where to continue the extraction process. The onus rolls were therefore more than just a vehicle of copying information from one record to another.

The onus rolls were used to transmit information from one branch of royal government (treasury) to the other (wardrobe), and as such were an intermediary form. They were not part of the audit of the wardrobe with the exchequer.[51] They were not meant to be kept, as the final product of the audit—the pipe rolls—fulfilled that purpose.

45 Kew, TNA, E 101/355/9, m. 1: *Summa 3,260 £ 18 s. 5 d.* [...] *Summa 1,049 £ 9 s.* [...] *Summa a festo sancti Hillarii usque huc 2,007 £ 18 s. 7½ d.*

46 See e. g. Kew, TNA, E 101/366/24, m. 2[a]: *De Bello Marisco* [...] *Clericus coquina* [...] *Ffriscobaldi* [...] *W' Regin* [...] *Sandale pro jocalia* [...] *Cofferus Londoniensis* [...] *Memorandum clericus marscalie* [...] *De Rokesle* [...] *Memorandum clericus marescalie* [...] *Sandale*.

47 See e. g. Kew, TNA, E 101/366/24, m. 2[a]: *Summa* [...] *Unde respondebitur* [...] *Non reparatur istium debitum de 10 £* [...] *De onere, quod in exitu per jornale* [...] *Memorandum de istius 2[bus] summis*.

48 In the case of the first onus roll, the scribes used the left margin only two times. Firstly, to add text, which had been forgotten during the copying process, and secondly, to mark the spot up to where the roll had been examined: Kew, TNA, E 101/355/9, m. 7: *3,021 £ 8 s. 8½ d. probatur*, m. 8: *examinatur usque huc*. In a later onus roll, the scribe made use of the right margin for several annotations. Nevertheless, compared to the left margin, the right one was barely used: Kew, TNA, E 101/358/27, no. 13, m. 1: *Cancellavit, quod in anno 34[to]*, m. 2: *Cancellavit, quod isto billa immunetur*, E 101/358/27, no. 11, m. 3: *Quod intratur in titulo de dona anni presentis*, [...] *Claxton'*, m. 4: *Usque huc*.

49 See e. g. Kew, TNA, E 101/361/12, m. 27: *Extractur per Bed'*; E 101/366/14, m. 1[d]: *Intratur totum et examinatur*; E 101/368/26, m. 1[d]: *Examinatur totum et intratur.*

50 See e. g. Kew, TNA, E 101/364/24, m. 1[a]: *Examinatur*; E 101/366/14, m. 2[a]: *Extractur usque huc*; E 101/366/24, m. 2[a]: *Extractur usque huc.*

51 That the onus rolls were not used during the wardrobe-exchequer audit can be derived from the entries of the receipt section of the final wardrobe account to be enrolled onto the pipe rolls. They state that the information about the payments came from the wardrobe's books and the issue roll of the treasury: Kew, TNA, E 101/364/14, m. 1: [...] *sicut continuit in libro de particulis dicti custodis et in libro predicti contrarotulatoris, eidem Thesauro liberavit et etiam in pelle memorandorum dicte recepte de terminis sancti Michaelis et Pasche hoc anno 31 et termino sancti Michaelis anno 32 incipiente*.

Why rolls?

The choice of the roll form for the onus rolls ought to be explained with the practices of the institution in which they were produced: the exchequer. Since the twelfth century, it kept all of its accounts in the form of rolls. Scholarship has shown the impetus of the exchequer's bureaucratic routines. Within the royal administration, those routines were the main reason why other branches of government—such as the wardrobe, the chancery, and the judicial benches—adopted the roll for their record keeping.[52] Furthermore, the practice of the royal administration was a model for other institutions, such as the English bishoprics.[53]

Even though bureaucratic routines are a convincing explanation for the dominance of the roll form in the administration of the kings of England, they do not explain why the roll was adopted in the first place. To add to this uncertainty, another question has to be raised, which stems from the administrative practices around the onus rolls: why did the wardrobe's scribes go off the 'well-trodden path' and start to use codices for some of their accounts?

Scholarship has offered a multitude of explanations for the choice of the roll form. The major problems with almost all of these explanations are firstly their monocausality and secondly their generalisation. Most researchers have tried to explain all facets of the roll's use with very few reasons. I scrutinize these common hypotheses and offer an alternative approach for the issues of form, content and function. In order to keep the argumentation streamlined, the only hypotheses discussed are the ones connected to England and its royal administration. The strongest claim suggests an intrinsic connection between the medium's content and its form. Some scholars have stressed that the roll was used in the Middle Ages almost exclusively for accounting and judicial records.[54] A glance over Western European archives seem to support this hypothesis. Rolls were used throughout (Western) Europe for accounting from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.[55] Nevertheless, if one widens the view, it becomes evident that the roll form was not merely limited to accounting or even administrative record keeping in general, but can be found in almost every field of medieval literacy.[56] Although scribes in very different contexts chose the roll as their medium of

52 For the development of the different roll groups and their similarities with each other, mainly from a semantic point of view, stressing the importance of routines, see Kypta 2014, 222–272. For the origin of the chancery rolls see the discussion between Vincent 2004 and Carpenter 1997, 2009. My PhD thesis will further investigate the importance of the exchequer for the spread of the rolls in England.

53 Vincent 1994.

54 Favier 1993, 831; Brown 2007, 180.

55 For Northern France and the Low Countries, see B. Lyon/Verhulst 1967; Lalou 2006. For the Empire, see Mersiowsky 2000, 84, 95–96. For the Iberian Peninsula, see Aragó 1979; Bisson 1984, 13.

56 See e. g. Studt 1995; Lalou 2006: "Le format du rouleau, le 'rotulus', a été utilisé au Moyen Âge à côté du codex ou registre pour recopier des actes, des chartes (ce sont les cartulaires en rouleau), pour recopier des armoriaux ou des arbres généalogiques, des documents judiciaires mais surtout des writing, one cannot deny that rolls were prominent in administrative record keeping. Since they were often inscribed with non-administrative texts, explaining a manuscripts' form solely by its content is insufficient. Instead, we have to turn away from the question of 'form and content' and move towards a 'functional' approach. The premise 'form follows function' enjoys great popularity not only among architects since the late-nineteenth century, but also among historians.

Firstly, we consider the production processes of the roll and codex, and whether the roll was 'easier', 'quicker', and 'cheaper' to create. One could argue that the overall perceived 'efficiency' and 'flexibility' of the roll's production process is a prominent reason for the use of rolls in the administration of the kings of England. Perhaps the roll is easier to expand in comparison to the codex and could be produced at a lower cost. Both arguments hold true for some cases, but not for others. Most administrative rolls were indeed cheaper to produce than codices with a wooden covering, which required the services of a professional bookbinder. There are no such codices in the wardrobe for accounting. All of the accounting books were limp-bound codices. Most of the more voluminous examples were bound outside the court by bookbinders, increasing costs. Even so, the administration could save money with the codex, as its pages were inscribed mostly on both sides, while the roll's membranes—if drawn up 'chancery style'—as a rule bore text on only one side. On the other hand, many if not most 'exchequer-style' rolls present text on both sides of its membranes. These examples already show the dilemma of finding a functional explanation for the choice of the roll: there are so many different styles of rolls and codices, ways of producing them, and also different contexts in which they were used, making it almost impossible to come to a valid generalisation.

Before diving into the depths of the argumentation for and against the roll's production advantages over the codex, it is worth noting that this hypothesis is one of the more valid ones. The production and inscribing process of rolls—independent of their form or format—did not require the planning that was necessary with a codex. At the core of this lies the quire structure. The scribe had to pay attention to when to stop adding double pages in the middle and instead to continue writing on the second half of the quire. Many codices bear witness to this problem, as they have single or double pages attached at the end of an otherwise regular quire. Therefore, constructing a codex was more difficult than a roll. Another advantage of the roll form was the wide use of parchment pieces in different shapes. Unlike for codices, all kinds of parchment 'leftover' pieces could still be used to form a roll. The roll was much easier to extend than a codex. This point holds only true for unbound books, and—very importantly—unbound 'exchequer-style' rolls. Once bound, the codex and the 'exchequer-style' roll

documents comptables, en grand nombre à partir du XIII^{e} siècle. Il nous reste quelques exemplaires de rouleaux utilisés pour copier des textes littéraires, un évangile aux femmes, un ou deux rouleaux contenant des pièces lyriques, plusieurs chroniques universelles en rouleaux."

had to be unbound in order to add membranes or pages at a certain point.[57] As all the account books of Edward I's wardrobe were bound only after they had been inscribed, the problem of unbinding them for further extensions was not frequent. Therefore, this is a reasonable argument, even though it does not convince in all cases and for all types of records.

Some scholars opted for a possible advantage of the roll form in accounting, since the individual *rotuli* of the 'exchequer style' roll could have been written or copied by several scribes simultaneously, increasing the efficiency of the process.[58] As much as this point is valid for the rolls of the exchequer, it also holds true for the codices. Because quires—as with the *rotuli* of the exchequer rolls that often linked to a certain ledger account or administrative unit—were inscribed and copied individually, allowing for multiple scribes to work on one codex. Therefore, several scribes could work on various membranes for a *rotulus*, as well as various quires for an eventual bound codex. Scribes working simultaneously were not a roll-related feature.[59]

The second part of the 'form follows function' premise leads to the use of the manuscripts. The only argument brought forward by scholarship for the choice of the roll is their portability.[60] As with the production process, this generalisation cannot easily stand its ground against the plurality of sizes and types of documentation in the royal administration. The portability argument is twofold: firstly, weight and size, i. e. the materiality of the manuscripts; and secondly, transportation practices. While the former (material) reasons are mostly incorrect, the latter causes (transport practices) are valid. The assertion that the roll is more transportable than the codex rests on an odd comparison: frequently, scholars juxtapose small and medium sized rolls (w. < 250 mm × l. < 500 mm per membrane) with codices that bear heavy wooden bindings. Certainly, with these format specifications, rolls are easier to transport, as they are much lighter and more flexible than the codex. But again—as already seen with the argument for the roll's cheaper costs of production—this comparison is lame. Turning the argument around, large rolls could then be compared to small, limp-bound codices, leading to the result that codices are lighter and therefore easier to transport

57 The only advantage the 'exchequer style' roll had over a codex was that a *rotulus* could be added at the very end of the roll without unbinding it.

58 Clanchy 2013³, 143: "[…] the separate membranes of which they [rolls] were composed could be of slightly different sizes, and they could be compiled separately by different clerks and then stitched together in appropriate order […]". E. Lalou also suggest this point, while in the same sentence dismissing it again, see Lalou 2006: "Le Rouleau était peut-être plus facile à écrire simultanément par plusieurs personnes, encore qu'il fût possible, dans le cas d'un registre, de distribuer des cahiers à plusieurs scribes.".

59 Most of the wardrobe books were bound after the individual quires had been inscribed. Therefore, multiple scribes could compile different quires, as most of the quires were structured around a specific ledger account.

60 For England, see Vincent 2004, 42, and in this volume. For rolls in general, see Studt 1995, 326, 328, 330–331, 336; Robinson 2008, 45; Skemer 2012, 72; Kössinger 2015, 164.

than rolls. Since the accounting books of the wardrobe never bear heavy bindings and are instead limp bound, the whole justification about the disadvantage of the codex due to its weighty binding becomes obsolete. Furthermore, a 'chancery-style' roll of accounts, inscribed only on the recto side that bore the same amount of text as a limp bound codex, in which both the recto and verso were used, would be lighter, because less parchment was needed. Rolls were not *per se* anticipated as the more transportable medium. The very large 'exchequer-style' rolls, like the pipe and memoranda rolls, were not made to be very transportable. With a format of roughly 350 mm in width and 1,500 mm in length, even rolled up they do not serve as a transportable form. Those examples highlight that such sweeping explanations are meaningless.

Rather, it is important to look at the different functions that the documents served. A small codex (w. < 100 mm × l. < 200 mm) could be as transportable as a small roll since practicality was the main goal. On the other hand, the large pipe rolls were the exact opposite of their small counterparts. A large wooden-bound cartulary is the opposite of a small limp bound codex—they represented the institution that produced them.

The way in which rolls and codices were kept and transported differs. The royal administration kept rolls usually in leather or hemp bags. We can derive this from the surviving pouches as well as from the records, e. g. inventory lists.[61] Codices were never stored in bags or pouches. They found their way directly into leather or wooden forcers and coffers, which were then placed in larger wooden chests. The chests and some of the forcers and coffers were fitted with multiple locks to secure their content. Evidence of this practice is found from the written records and the few surviving chests from the thirteenth and early fourteenth century.[62] When transferred into long-term storage, the rolls were also placed in these chests, as were other administrative and diplomatic documents of value. What is striking is that the medieval contemporaries did not associate the administrative codices with the idea of easy transportation. Small format codices are very rare in the English administration in the thirteenth century. Medium or large codices dominate. On the other side, rolls survive in a greater variety of formats and sizes as codices, with many being very small and trans-

61 For a surviving pouch see e. g. Kew, TNA, E 199/96/1, front title: *Bedford' et Buck' de anno regni regis Edwardi* [...; lost text]. For an inventory with rolls e. g. Kew, TNA, E 101/337/21, no. 2: [...] *In 1 pucha compotum Samps' de Gretham de manerio de Sabrichtesworth anno 22°. Item 1 alba bursa de corio particule compotum Johannis, filii Thome, et Unifr' de Waled' Dunsterr' de exito Insule Verte anno 22°* [...].

62 Most of the chests are help today under the reference: Kew, TNA, E 27 (e. g. E 27/3: oak chest with three locks, reinforced with iron plates; w. 1,670 mm × l. 770 mm × h. 920 mm; *c.* 1255). Many of the chests were at the former Museum of the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane (see Maxwell-Lyte 1926[12], 71–72). Today, only two or three such chests are exhibited in the Museum of The National Archives at Kew. For inventories with codices in chests, see e. g. London, BL, Add. Ms. 7966A, fol. 39^{v}: *Reparatio coffrorum: Domino Johanni de Langeford pro reperatio coffrorum cum librum Garderobe, ut in serruris, bendis, ferris et aliis per eiusdem coffrum neccesariis per manus proprias apud Lincoln', 14° die februariis—20 d.*

portable. The use of bags for protection and storage as well as easy transportation is another indicator for the contemporaries' association in royal administration: the roll was the more portable of the two book forms. In theory, rolls did not offer much of an advantage for transportation, nonetheless, in practice, it seems as the medieval contemporaries connected an idea of transportability with most rolls—not with all, as we have seen with the large rolls series. Eventually, the scholarship's argument for an easier transportation of the roll versus the codex has to be partly acknowledged for the administration of medieval England—not from a theoretical point of view but from a practical one.

French-speaking scholars have discussed the 'life-span' of writing.[63] Two aspects of this idea are worth following up. Firstly, how long the documents were in active use, and secondly, how frequently they were consulted during their life. Many of the wardrobe's account books were used over the course of multiple years. Some of them, most prominently the credit and debt books, were consulted up to two decades after their initial compilation. The same holds true for many of the exchequer's codices. Those records with 'handbook character', i. e. documents that had to be consulted regularly, were not written onto rolls but rather into codices. The best examples for this type are the *Red and Black Book of the Exchequer* as well as the *Domesday Book* and its abbreviations, and finally the *Books of Fees*.[64] Both exchequer and wardrobe clerks referred to rolls for records that had a short life span—e. g. such that served as preliminary documentation—or were not consulted frequently. An exemption from this rule seem to be the pipe rolls. Even though they were only written down for the sake of accountability with the sheriffs and other officials for a specific year, the pipe roll's importance was to enable the exchequer to keep track of unsettled payments. Therefore, the pipe rolls were consulted over a long period (up to two or three decades).[65] Nevertheless, in comparison to most of the codices of the exchequer, they did not serve as 'handbooks'.

Consultation is key for the understanding of the codex. One has to be cautious, however, as consultation practices were not limited to the codex form. The 'exchequer style' rolls offered much of the same easy access and consultation as did codices.[66] This might have been one of the crucial factors why the exchequer did not introduce codices and kept continuing writing down its accounts on rolls. For consultation purposes, the exchequer-style rolls were sufficient. The wardrobe never used 'exchequer-style' rolls. Instead, they fell back on the codex for their frequently consulted

63 See Bertrand 2015, 29–78 ("La vie des écrits": "Longue durée" and "Temps court").

64 For editions, see *Liber niger Scaccarij, nec non Wilhelmi Worcestrii annals Rerum Anglicarum, cum preafatione et appendice Thomae Hearnii ad editionem primam Oxoniae editam*, ed. Hearne; *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall; *Liber feodorum*, ed. Maxwell-Lyte; *Domesday Book*, ed. Morris (an updated and corrected online version of this edition can be found on http://www.domesdaybook.net/ [last accessed: 23.8.18]).

65 See Cassidy 2012; Giele/Peltzer/Trede 2015, 690–691.

66 Clanchy 2013[3], 142. See also Cassidy and Vincent in this volume.

accounts. Scholarship has offered an explanation for their different choice of form: Italians.[67] Never before did an English king rely so intensively on Italian credits as did Edward I for his wars in Wales, Scotland, and on the Continent.[68] Since the early thirteenth century, Italian bookkeeping with its many long-term cash and credit transactions relied heavily on the codex.[69] The intensified connection of Italian merchants—in particular the Ricciardi of Lucca from the 1270s to mid-1290s and the Frescobaldi of Tuscany in the late 1290s and 1300s—to Edward I can be seen as one of the main reasons for the introduction of the codex in the bookkeeping practices of the wardrobe.

One final aspect closely related to routines: institutional identity. The onus rolls and their record context present this idea at its best. The bookkeeping of the English exchequer was inseparably linked with its rolls; primarily its 'exchequer-style' pipe rolls. Consequently, when sending the wardrobe information about payments made on its behalf, the exchequer's clerks would routinely use the roll. At the wardrobe, at least from the 1290s, under the leadership of Walter Langton and John Droxford, the routine of presenting multiple rolls at the regular audit with the exchequer was abandoned. Instead, the keeper and controller presented mainly codices. For that purpose, the clerks had to copy the content of the onus rolls into the final wardrobe book. Using codices was a new and defining moment for the wardrobe, and symbolized its great significance as a financial institution. Much debate in scholarship has focused on the institutional independence (or not) of the wardrobe, precisely during this period, the 1290s. Recent scholarship is right in stressing that the exchequer and the wardrobe should not be separated so much, as they worked closely together to serve the same purpose: providing the king with monetary resources.[70] The materiality, in particular the form of the surviving documents, supports the older scholarship's idea of a rivalry between the two branches.[71] The wardrobe became so influential that its officials wanted to set it apart from the ever so strong routines of the exchequer. At the end, both viewpoints do not exclude each other but rather have to be taken together: there was a 'rivalry' between the two institutions showing itself in an institutional identity while at the same time both branches did work closely together.

By analysing the onus rolls, we can get a glimpse of the practices and routines of English financial administration under Edward I. Those practices and routines are key to understand why a certain form of documentation was adopted. Both institutions

67 This theory has been brought forward by Prestwich 1997, 96. My PhD thesis further investigates the reasons and implications for the introduction of the codex in the wardrobe under Edward I.

68 For the credit relationships of Edward I with Italian bankers C. Johnson 1903; Whitwell 1903; Goldthwaite 1973; Kaeuper 1973a, 1973b, 1973c; Prestwich 1979; Del Punta 2002; *Accounts of the English Crown with Italian Merchant Societies, 1272–1345*, eds. Bell, Brooks and Moore; Bell/Brooks/Moore 2011.

69 Santini 1877; Castellani 1958; Lee 1972, 1973a, 1973b; Arlinghaus 2004, 2006.

70 See for this standpoint in particular Barratt 2004, 2005.

71 For this earlier standpoint, see in particular Tout 1920–1933, vol. 2. Following him e. g. B. Lyon/M. Lyon/Lucas 1983, xxxi, xxxxix–xl.

had their routines: for the exchequer it was the unlimited use of the roll for bookkeeping, for the wardrobe, the roll for the daily and preliminary accounting and the book for the final accounts. The choice of a particular form of record keeping relies on a multitude of factors. Firstly, it was slightly easier to produce a 'chancery-style' roll like the onus roll than a codex. Secondly, portability was a factor for the medieval officers and scribes, even though in theory, the roll did not offer any advantages over the codex. Small and medium sized rolls, such as the onus roll, were somehow associated with transportability. As the onus rolls were transported from the exchequer to the wardrobe, the association with portability played a part in the choice of the roll form. Thirdly, most of the codices were used as the form of long-term storage and repeated access. On the other hand, most rolls—a notable exception being the pipe rolls—were connected with short-term information storage. Lastly, the choice of a particular form was deeply rooted in the institution's routine. The exchequer recorded all its accounts on rolls—hence the choice of the roll form for the onus rolls. Furthermore, a medium's form can be interpreted as a sign of institutional identity: the exchequer's use of its special 'codex-like' rolls and the wardrobe's refuse of adopting this system but rather introducing a new form with the codex bear witness to this.

Even though the wardrobe began to use books in the late thirteenth century, rolls remained the main medium of the administrative literacy after 1300. In fact, books very much remained a medium of the wardrobe and later the chamber until the end of the Middle Ages. The routine of keeping rolls was so strong that for most records it remained unchallenged until the early modern period. Rolls were the symbol not only of the exchequer but also of royal administration itself.

Appendix

Tab. 1: The surviving onus rolls under Edward I (1272–1307)

Regnal years	Dates of accounting	No. of m.	Format (width × height in mm)	Margins (in mm)	Reference (all to Kew, TNA, E 101)
26–27	1297, 28 November – 1298, 17 November	9	**Total:** 195–220 × 4,450 **Membranes:** **1:** 215–220 × 715; **2:** 210–215 × 280; **3:** 210 × 605; **4:** 210 × 260; **5:** 205–215 × 425; **6:** 215–220 × 520; **7:** 205–210 × 575; **8:** 205 × 420; **9:** 195–200 × 650	m. 1–7, 9: l.: 30–35, r.: 25–35, m. 8: l.: 25, r.: 30, 35	355/9
27–28	1299, 24 September – 1300, 13 October	2 + 1 *cedula*	**Total:** 220–230 × 1,135 **Membranes:** **1:** 220–230 × 679; **2:** 225–230 × 455	l.: 15	684/4
30–31	Before 1301, 13 November – 1303, 19 November	27	**Total:** 180–295 × 13,460–13,480 **Membranes:** **1:** 205 × 450; **2:** 200–205 × 575; **3:** 195–205 × 380; **4:** 205 × 260; **5:** 205 × 400; **6:** 285–295 × 520; **7:** 205 × 580–590; **8:** 200–205 × 595; **9:** 205 × 575; **10:** 205 × 450; **11:** 210 × 245; **12:** 240–245 × 540–550; **13:** 195–200 × 690; **14:** 185–190 × 635; **15:** 185–190 × 530; **16:** 180–185 × 585; **17:** 185–190 × 585; **18:** 190 × 275; **19:** 190 × 195; **20:** 185–190 × 590; **21:** 185–195 × 575; **22:** 185–190 × 420; **23:** 185–190 × 610; **24:** 185–195 × 400; **25:** 200 × 710; **26:** 195–200 × 725; **27:** 190–195 × 365	l.: 10/15/ 25/35	361/12

Tab. 1 (continued)

Regnal years	Dates of accounting	No. of m.	Format (width × height in mm)	Margins (in mm)	Reference (all to Kew, TNA, E 101)
31–32	1303, 30 October – 1304, 16 May	6	**Total:**195–200 × 3,010 **Membranes:** **1:** 200 × 405; **2:** 195 × 390; **3:** 195 × 405; **4:** 195 × 645; **5:** 195 × 565; **6:** 195 × 600	l.: 20	364/24
33	1304, 20 November – 1305, 20 November	7	**Total:** 220–235 × 3,675–3,685 **Membranes:** **1:** 230–235 × 690; **2:** 230–235 × 495; **3:** 235 × 585; **4:** 230–235 × 525; **5:** 220–230 × 570; **6:** 230–235 × 525; **7:** 235 × 285–295	l.: 35–40	366/24
34	1305, 24 November – 1306, 22 November	9	**Total:** 220–235 × 5,460 **Membranes:** **1:** 220 × 640; **2:** 225–230 × 620; **3:** 225 × 625; **4:** 230 × 650; **5:** 230 × 625; **6:** 225–235 × 595; **7:** 230–235 × 550; **8:** 230–235 × 605; **9:** 230–235 × 550	l.: 25	368/26
35 Edw. I – 1 Edw. II	1306, 13 December – 1307, 15 July	6	**Total:** 165–270 × 2,355–2,365 **Membranes:** **1:** 260 × 420; **2:** 270 × 415; **3:** 265 × 240; **4:** 270 × 430–440; **5:** 265 × 410; **6:** 165 × 440	l.: 25, r.: 35	358/27, no. 13
35 Edw. I – 1 Edw. II	1306, 19 November – 1307, 8 August	2	**Total:** 260–265 × 775 **Membranes:** **1:** 260–265 × 445; **2:** 265 × 330	l.: 25	358/27, no. 11

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Kew, The National Archives (TNA)

Chancery: Chancery Miscellanea:
    C 47/3/51/10
    C 47/35/15
Chancery: Liberate Rolls:
    C 62/77
Chancery: Warrants for the Great Seal, Series I:
    C 81/1328/18
    C 81/1668/11
    C 81/1684A/47
Exchequer: Treasury of Receipt: Chests:
    E 27/3
Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Accounts Various:
    E 101/11/20
    E 101/337/21
    E 101/351/10
    E 101/355/9
    E 101/357/11
    E 101/358/27
    E 101/360/25
    E 101/361/12
    E 101/364/14
    E 101/364/24
    E 101/366/24
    E 101/368/26
    E 101/369/11
    E 101/684/4
Exchequer: King's Remembrancer and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer: Sheriffs' Accounts, Petitions, etc.:
    E 199/96/1
Exchequer: Exchequer of Receipt: Receipt Rolls and Registers:
    E 401/151
    E 401/153
Exchequer: Exchequer of Receipt: Issue Rolls and Registers:
    E 403/111
    E 403/113
    E 403/1280

London, The British Library (BL)

Additional Manuscripts:
    Add. Ms. 7966A
    Add. Ms. 37655

Manchester, John Rylands Library (JRL)

Latin Manuscripts:
    Lat. Ms. 230

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Les cartulaires-rouleaux de l'abbaye de Margam

Matérialité et fonctions des rouleaux cisterciens au pays de Galles au XIII^e siècle

Fondée en 1147 par Robert, comte de Gloucester et seigneur de Glamorgan, l'abbaye de Margam est l'une des premières abbayes cisterciennes au pays de Galles.[1] Sa fondation est liée à la fois à l'expansion de l'ordre cistercien sous Bernard de Clairvaux et à la stabilisation du pouvoir anglo-normand sur l'ancien royaume gallois de Morgannwg.[2] Dès les premières années du XIII^e siècle, Margam entreprend la mise en rouleau de ses chartes. Recueils de documents diplomatiques transcrits, parfois seulement en partie, à l'initiative d'une personne physique ou morale pour leur conservation et leur consultation,[3] les cartulaires prennent très rarement la forme du *rotulus* ou rouleau au Moyen Âge. Une quinzaine de rouleaux ou fragments de rouleaux sont aujourd'hui conservés à la National Library of Wales à Aberystwyth.[4] Le catalogue des *Penrice and Margam Estate Records* établi par Walter de Gray Birch à la fin du XIX^e siècle résume chaque acte copié dans les cartulaires-rouleaux de Margam, dont le plus récent a été copié entre le dernier quart du XIV^e siècle et le début du XV^e siècle.[5] Dans son *History of Margam Abbey*, publiée en 1897, Birch référence 287 actes originaux copiés dans les cartulaires-rouleaux, dont une large proportion est toujours conservée au sein des *Penrice and Margam Estate Records* et de la *Harley Charters Collection* à la British Library à Londres.[6] Certains actes sont copiés à plusieurs reprises, puisque les rouleaux présentent au total 346 items. À la fin du XIX^e siècle, George T. Clark en édite quelques-uns, mais de manière parcellaire et sans les identifier comme des actes provenant des cartulaires-rouleaux.[7] Quelques autres ont fait l'objet d'une édition moderne par David Crouch parmi les actes des évêques de Llandaff en 1989 et par Huw

1 Abréviations : AD 49 : Archives départementales de Maine-et-Loire, Angers. *AWR* : *The Acts of Welsh Rulers, 1120–1283*, éd. Pryce. BL : Londres, The British Library. *Cartæ* : *Cartæ et alia munimenta quæ ad dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent*, éd. Clark. *EGC* : *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, éd. Patterson. NLW : Aberystwyth, The National Library of Wales. *P&M* : *Penrice and Margam Estate Records*. *Rot. de Lib.* : *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Præstitis Regnante Johanne*, éd. Hardy.

2 Cowley 1998, 12; Patterson 2002, 34.

3 Cárcel Ortí 1997², 35.

4 NLW, P&M, nº 288, nº 289, nº 290–291, nº 292, nº 293, nº 294, nº 295, nº 296, nº 543, nº 544, nº 545, nº 546, nº 2089, nº 2090, nº 2091, nº 2092, nº 2093.

5 NLW, P&M, nº 296.

6 Birch 1897, 291.

7 *Cartae*.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110645125-008

Pryce parmi les actes des princes gallois en 2005.[8] En 2002, en étudiant le fonctionnement du *scriptorium* de la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle au milieu du XIIIe siècle, Robert B. Patterson publie une analyse paléographique des chartes et des rouleaux de l'abbaye, accompagnée de l'identification d'un certain nombre de scribes, mais son analyse des rouleaux reste très succincte.[9] À l'exception de cette analyse paléographique, aucune étude codicologique et diplomatique des rouleaux n'a encore été menée de manière approfondie.

Les cartulaires-rouleaux de Margam sont à développement vertical et composés de plusieurs pièces de parchemin oblongues jointes bout à bout par collage ou par couture. Organisé en une seule colonne, le texte est ponctué de repères aidant la lecture. Une rubrique inscrite à l'encre rouge précède chaque acte copié qui est lui-même signalé par une initiale peu élaborée. Les rubriques reprennent le plus souvent les mentions apposées au dos des actes originaux. Dans la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle, l'abbaye adopte un «système d'identification» des actes.[10] Dès cette époque, les actes originaux sont probablement pliés et stockés dans un coffre,[11] comme l'attestent les chartes encore pliées dans la *Harley Charters Collection* et les traces de pliure sur celles des *Penrice and Margam Estate Records*. Afin d'éviter de déplier les actes pour en connaître le contenu, un résumé précisant le nom du donateur, le nom et parfois la taille de la parcelle de terre transférée est inscrit au verso du parchemin. Cette «étonnante explosion» des mentions dorsales au tournant des XIIe et XIIIe siècles coïncide avec le processus de cartularisation des actes originaux à Margam.[12]

Grâce à l'analyse paléographique de Robert B. Patterson, qui a identifié précisément onze mains ayant travaillé sur les cartulaires-rouleaux de Margam,[13] les débuts du processus de cartularisation peuvent être datés des années 1205–1210. Les transformations documentaires de Margam résultent entre autres du violent conflit qui l'oppose à sa voisine, l'abbaye cistercienne de Neath, dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle. De la concurrence économique entre les deux monastères cisterciens est née une dispute autour des titres de propriété donnés par leurs bienfaiteurs laïques.[14] Chacune des deux abbayes cherche alors à connaître en détail les biens qu'elle possède. Pour cela, les deux *scriptoria* produisent les preuves indispensables à la défense de leurs communautés. Connu sous le nom de *Register of Neath*, le cartulaire de Neath est certainement compilé avant 1300.[15] La mise en rouleau des actes originaux à Margam semble également liée à l'expansion du domaine monastique dans la première

8 *Llandaff Epsicopal Acta*, éd. Crouch; *AWR*.
9 Patterson 2002.
10 Patterson 2002, 49.
11 Patterson 2002, 50.
12 Patterson 1992, 209; Patterson 2002, 49.
13 Patterson 2002, append. III, 114–115, 121–122.
14 Sur le conflit entre Margam et Neath, voir Papin 2016, 412–421.
15 Merrick 1983, 148.

moitié du XIII^e siècle. En 1250, les possessions de Margam s'étendent jusqu'à Stormy Down, Llangewydd, Laleston, Bonvilston, Llanvithyn et More dans la vallée du Glamorgan, appelée *Bro Morgannwg* en gallois, et à Resolven et Llangeinor sur les plateaux, nommés *Blaenau Morgannwg*.[16] L'accroissement et l'éloignement de ses biens contraignent l'abbaye à trouver un nouvel instrument aidant leur administration et leur gestion.

Chaque entreprise de cartularisation découlerait à la fois d'un contexte historique, de logiques institutionnelles et d'un possible modèle régional.[17] Le choix de la forme du rouleau par Margam est surprenant au regard de la domination de la forme du *codex* dans la production des cartulaires au pays de Galles, en Angleterre et sur le continent aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles ; d'autant plus que l'idéal d'unité de l'ordre cistercien se prolonge dans la recherche d'unité liturgique inscrite dans la *Charte de charité*. Celle-ci insiste sur la possession de livres de chœur identiques dans tous les monastères de l'ordre, suggérant une certaine volonté d'unité manuscrite.[18] Cette recherche d'unité manuscrite s'étend-elle à la conception de l'écrit pragmatique ? Sur le continent, les Cisterciens privilégient la forme du *codex* pour les cartulaires de leurs granges. Les cartulaires-rouleaux de Margam attirent l'attention sur les éventuelles particularités des pratiques documentaires du monastère et l'adaptation des moines à leur environnement culturel dans lequel la forme du rouleau prospère, en particulier dans les pratiques de la monarchie anglaise. Le recours au rouleau est-il lié aux avantages qu'il présente par rapport au *codex*, à des préférences culturelles ou bien à des habitudes régionales ? Les raisons de la mise en rouleau des chartes de Margam sont au centre de cette réflexion afin de dégager les influences qui poussent le *scriptorium* cistercien à adopter la forme du rouleau pour saisir le regard porté par les contemporains sur cet objet et l'écrit qu'il contient.

Aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles, comme sur le continent, les cartulaires gallois et anglais prennent le plus souvent la forme du *codex*. Le dépouillement du catalogue *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland* de Godfrey R. C. Davies – révisé en 2010 par Claire Breay, Julian Harrison et David M. Smith – confirme ce déséquilibre entre *codices* et *rotuli* dans la documentation ecclésiastique. L'abbaye de Margam n'est pas la seule à choisir la forme du rouleau pour ses cartulaires. Un cartulaire-rouleau, tout du moins le fragment d'un cartulaire-rouleau, est référencé dans ce catalogue pour une autre abbaye cistercienne en Angleterre. Fondée en 1135, l'abbaye de Buildwas dans le Shropshire met ses chartes en rouleau à la fin du XII^e siècle. L'unique membrane de parchemin conservée présente la copie de quatre actes originaux relatifs à la soumission des abbayes Sainte-Marie de Dublin et de Basingwerk (Flintshire).[19] Un inven-

16 Cowley 1998, 12 ; Williams 1990, carte nº 20, 103.

17 Chastang 2006, 31.

18 *Les plus anciens textes de Cîteaux*, éds. Bouton et van Damme, 92, 122 ; Allen 2016, 42.

19 Davis 2010², #87.1, 21. Sur les pratiques du *scriptorium* de Buildwas, voir Sheppard 1997.

taire des rouleaux produits au pays de Galles et en Angleterre aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles sera, certes, nécessaire afin de déterminer pour quels types de documents la forme du rouleau est privilégiée au pays de Galles et quelles abbayes cisterciennes des îles Britanniques préfèrent ce format pour cartulariser leurs actes originaux. Néanmoins, la concentration de cartulaires-rouleaux dans la marche galloise apparaît de façon remarquable dans les premières investigations menées. Au début du XIIIe siècle, l'abbaye cistercienne de Flaxley (ou Dene) dans le Gloucestershire compile ses chartes en rouleau.[20] Peut-être par souci de communiquer plus facilement avec ses dépendances les plus éloignées, l'abbaye Saint-Florent de Saumur sur le continent rassemble dans un rouleau des actes relatifs aux prieurés de Monmouth au pays de Galles et d'Andover en Angleterre dans le dernier quart du XIIe siècle. Ce «dossier» contient également deux listes des églises qui dépendent de Notre-Dame de Monmouth au milieu du XIIe siècle.[21]

Bien que plusieurs monastères de cet espace, Margam au pays de Galles, Buildwas et Flaxley en Angleterre, optent pour un cartulaire en rouleau, il serait toutefois un peu rapide de conclure que cette forme constitue un modèle privilégié dans la marche galloise. Les institutions ecclésiastiques du proche voisinage de Margam ne choisissent pas la forme du rouleau pour leurs cartulaires. Au cours du XIIIe siècle, l'abbaye de Neath compile probablement ses actes originaux dans un registre. Le citant à plusieurs reprises dans sa *Morganiae Archaiographia*, Rice Merrick aurait consulté le cartulaire de Neath auprès d'Edward Stradling de Saint-Donat's († 1609) dans les années 1570, mais depuis la rédaction du *Monasticon Anglicanum* par Dugdale au XVIIe siècle, le cartulaire a complètement disparu. Il ne s'agissait probablement pas que d'une simple compilation des chartes du monastère cistercien et celle-ci contenait probablement des passages narratifs. L'extrait du cartulaire copié par John Stradling († 1637) comprend en effet une histoire de la seigneurie de Gower au XIIe siècle jusqu'au début du XIIIe siècle.[22] La description du manuscrit du *Register of Neath* par Rice Merrick suggère que «le Livre de l'abbaye de Neath» prenait la forme d'un *codex*.[23] Produit également en Glamorgan, le *Liber Landavensis* (*Book of Llandaff*) est rédigé sous la forme du *codex* pendant l'épiscopat d'Urbain (1107–1134). Il contient une documentation très variée: des chartes; les *Vies* de Dyfrig, Teilo et Euddogwy, saints patrons et fondateurs de l'évêché de Llandaff; les *Vies* de Samson et Elgar, compagnons de Dyfrig; des bulles pontificales de la première moitié du XIIe siècle; des extraits de conciles du XIIe siècle; quelques lettres; des passages narratifs sur Rome, les origines

20 Londres, BL, Add. MS 49996.

21 AD 49, H 1838; Lécuyer 2018, 113, 299, 307-314.

22 Merrick 1983, xxviii; Lewis 1937–1939, 149; Davis 2010², #685A, 137.

23 Merrick 1983, 39: «*registered in the Book of the Abbey of Neath, being written in a fair text hand in parchment*».

de Llandaff et les voyages de l’évêque Urbain; et, enfin, une liste des consécrations de l’évêque Herewald († 1104).[24]

Se distinguant des pratiques scripturaires de la majorité des monastères cisterciens, les trois abbayes cisterciennes de la marche galloise font néanmoins un choix identique en privilégiant la forme du rouleau pour leurs cartulaires. L’appartenance au réseau cistercien et les liens qu’elle entretient avec les autres abbayes de la marche ont-ils influencé les pratiques scripturaires de Margam? Le contexte de production des cartulaires-rouleaux éclaire les origines potentielles de cette préférence documentaire à Margam. L’abbaye se lance certainement dans la mise en rouleau de ses actes originaux pendant l’abbatiat de Gilbert entre 1203 et 1213. Venu d’Angleterre, l’abbé Gilbert peut effectivement être considéré comme l’un des principaux acteurs de l’introduction de cette pratique archivistique à Margam. Moine de l’abbaye de Kirkstead près de Lincoln, Gilbert est nommé abbé de Margam par des «visiteurs étrangers», peut-être des représentants du chapitre général de Cîteaux, selon Giraud de Barri.[25]

Très rapidement au début de son abbatiat, le 20 novembre 1203, il obtient du pape Innocent III un privilège confirmant les possessions du monastère.[26] Cependant, son abbatiat ne se déroule pas longtemps dans une atmosphère apaisée. En 1206, il subit une révolte des frères convers de l’abbaye contre sa volonté de s’attaquer au relâchement du comportement de la communauté.[27] Le parcours de l’abbé Gilbert et son administration de l’abbaye sont assez bien connus grâce aux attaques virulentes de Giraud de Barri à l’encontre de l’abbé dans son *Speculum Ecclesie* rédigé en 1218.[28] Il est possible que les deux hommes se soient rencontrés lorsque Gilbert était encore moine à Kirkstead et que Giraud étudiait à Lincoln en 1196–1198.[29] Rempli d’animosité envers l’abbé cistercien, Giraud de Barri accuse Gilbert de semer la discorde dans sa communauté et ainsi de lui porter préjudice, allant jusqu’à dire que l’abbé anglais lutte de toutes ses forces pour anéantir son abbaye établie par des abbés pieux et saints.[30] Pour ses mauvaises actions, Gilbert est puni par Dieu. Victime d’épilepsie, il fait des crises à plusieurs reprises en présence de visiteurs officiels. Il est alors ren-

24 Davis 2010², #594, 119.

25 *Giraldus Cambrensis*, éd. Brewer, Dimock et Warner, vol. 4, *Speculum Ecclesie*, III, 1, 130: [...] *donec monachus quidam de borealibus Angliæ finibus originem trahens, unde viri versutiores magisque versipelles Angliæ totius exire de consuetudine solent, per visitatores advenas supervenientes, domui ditiori præfectus in abbatem fuit*.

26 NLW, P&M, nº 83 (*Cartae*, nº 282).

27 Cowley 1982, 11.

28 *Giraldus Cambrensis*, éds. Brewer, Dimock et Warner, vol. 4, *Speculum Ecclesie*, III, 1, 141–142.

29 Cowley 1982, 5; *Giraldus Cambrensis*, éd. Thorpe, 17, note 39.

30 *Giraldus Cambrensis*, éds. Brewer, Dimock et Warner, vol. 4, *Speculum Ecclesie*, III, 1, 141: *Porro dictus abbas et totiens repetitus, borealis patriæ pariter et nutrituræ, quoniam ab aquilone mala plerumque pandi solent, mores innatos mutare non prævalens, quoniam ‹natura expellas furca, etc.;› sicut vicinis ordinis ejusdem viris, per apertas injurias, sic et domui propriæ per intestinam discordiam molestus* voyé du monastère et déposé.[31] L'annaliste de Margam confirme qu'en juin 1213, l'abbé est déposé par des représentants de l'abbaye de Clairvaux, abbaye-mère de Margam.[32] Il raconte que Gilbert se retire alors à Kirkstead où il meurt en mai 1214.[33]

La rébellion des convers en 1206 suggère l'esprit réformateur dans lequel s'inscrit l'abbatiat de Gilbert. L'étendue du domaine et l'éloignement des granges du monastère compliquent le contrôle du comportement des convers. La décision des visiteurs de Clairvaux de nommer Gilbert à la tête de l'abbaye est inhabituelle et semble vouloir mettre fin aux excès des convers, notamment en ce qui concerne leur consommation de bière.[34] La révolte naît probablement depuis la grange de Llanvithyn à la suite des réformes de Gilbert. Les convers conspirent contre l'abbé et l'attaquent. Le cellérier qui l'accompagne est projeté de son cheval. Ensuite, les convers poursuivent les deux hommes sur plusieurs kilomètres avant de se barricader dans le dortoir et de confisquer la nourriture des moines. Gilbert réussit finalement à restaurer son autorité et les meneurs de la révolte sont punis par le chapitre général de Cîteaux, dont les statuts rapportent les faits.[35] La nomination de Gilbert par des visiteurs de Clairvaux et la punition des convers par le chapitre général de Cîteaux soulignent l'influence de

existens, statum domus suæ, per abbates religiosos et sanctos olim ordinatum, in pejora pervertere et male permutare viribus totis est conatus.

31 *Giraldus Cambrensis*, éds. Brewer, Dimock et Warner, vol. 4, *Speculum Ecclesie* III, 1, 142: *Sed Judex ille justissimus, qui nullum malum relinquit impunitum sicut nec bonum irremuneratum, quin et delinquentium quorundam, præsertim autem enormiter excedentium, pœnas interdum in terris inchoat quas postmodum in gehenna continuat, dictam beluam duplici temporali contritione punivit*; *nam et morbo epidemico, qui vulgari vocabulo gutta cadiva sive caduca vocatur publice laboravit, adeo ut ad majorem ignominiæ suæ cumulum, coram visitatoribus ipsis illuc transmissis, in terram quandoque corruerit dentibus stridens et ore spumam ejiciens, necnon clamorem horribileme emittens. Item a domo quam male vexerat, turpiter expelli meruit, et a dignitate pastorali, qua dictis abuti modis præter modum et modestiam omnem non abhorruit cum confusione deponi*.

32 *Annales de Margam*, éd. Luard, 32: *MCCXIII. Recolendæ memoriæ Gillebertus abbas de Margan, cessit in visitatione facta de mandato abbatis Clarevallensis xv. kal. Julii; et eodem die successit ei Johannes monachus ejusdem domus*.

33 *Annales de Margam*, éd. Luard: *MCCXIV. Obiit idem Gillebertus apud Kerkestede, ubi monachus fuit, quarto idus Maii*.

34 Dans les années 1190, l'abbé Conan (1156–1193) est réprimandé par le chapitre général de Cîteaux pour la consommation excessive de bière à Margam, *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, éd. Canivez, 123, 138, 194, 222–223.

35 *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, éd. Canivez, 324: *Conversi de Margan qui, conspiratione facta, insurrexerunt in abbatem, et cellerarium de esuo eiecerunt, et insequentes armata manu abbatem usque ad XV milliaria, qui etiam se in castellaverunt in dormitorio suo, et negato victu monachis, per omnia conspiratorum sententia puniantur, ita quod qui magis culpabiles inventi fuerint, tam de emissis quam de emittendis, ad portam Claraevallis pedites veniant, inde ad nutum abbatis Claraevallis per domos Ordinis dispergendi, hoc observato ne ultra conversi novitii in domo illa de Margan recipiantur, nisi de consensu Capituli generalis. Abbates de Fontaniis et de Fordis et de Balduals accendentes ad locum hoc ipsum diligentius exequantur*. Sur le parcours de l'abbé Gilbert et la rébellion de 1206, voir Cowley 1977, 119–121, 123–125.

l'ordre cistercien sur les réformes mises en place à Margam dans les premières années du XIII[e] siècle. Le processus de cartularisation des actes originaux s'inscrit dans cette logique réformatrice et répond à la nécessité de mieux administrer et gérer les granges monastiques. Le rôle de l'abbé Gilbert dans ce processus semble essentiel, apportant d'Angleterre de nouvelles pratiques documentaires qu'il aurait apprises au *scriptorium*.

La réflexion collective menée lors d'un récent colloque consacré aux rapports entretenus par les Cisterciens avec l'écrit a mis, notamment, en exergue l'unité relative des pratiques documentaires des abbayes de l'Ordre.[36] Analysé par Chantal Senséby, le recours des Cisterciens au chirographe dans le Val de Loire souligne leur respect des normes locales, mais également la circulation et la réception de modèles documentaires entre les institutions et le rôle des laïcs dans la conception de l'écrit pragmatique.[37] Dans une perspective comparable, les cartulaires-rouleaux de Margam pourraient être considérés comme un témoignage de l'adaptation des moines au modèle régional du rouleau. Lorsque Margam se lance dans la compilation de ses actes originaux dans les années 1205–1210, la forme du rouleau est déjà bien établie dans les pratiques de l'administration royale anglaise. Le terme latin de *rotulus* semble d'une grande banalité dans le *Dialogue de l'Échiquier* rédigé vers 1179 à destination des clercs de l'institution. Le trésorier du roi et évêque de Londres Richard fitz Nigel y décrit plusieurs types de rouleaux: «rôles du trésor», «grands rôles annuels des comptes» ou «rôles de la chancellerie» ...[38] Dès les années 1130, sous le gouvernement d'Henri I[er], l'échiquier commence en effet à produire annuellement les «grands rôles», plus connus sous le nom de *pipe rolls*.[39] Les comptes rendus annuels de l'échiquier sont enregistrés à la Saint-Michel sur des membranes de parchemin cousues bout à bout pour former des rouleaux d'une longueur moyenne de deux mètres. Une fois tous les comptes de l'année enregistrés, comté par comté, les rouleaux sont empilés et accrochés les uns aux autres par une cordelette fixée à leur tête; cette méthode de groupement est qualifiée de *exchequer style*.[40] Un second format de rouleau est utilisé par l'administration royale, celui des *close*, *patent* ou *charter rolls* produits par la chancellerie. Celle-ci enregistre ses documents dans des rouleaux à partir de 1199 ou bien – il n'y a pas de consensus sur cette question – antérieurement, la date de 1199 pouvant n'être que celle des rouleaux les plus anciens qui ont survécu.[41] Le format des rouleaux de la chancellerie diffère de celui des rouleaux de l'échiquier. Plutôt que d'être superposées, dans le *chancery style*, les pièces de parchemin sont cousues

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36 Tock 2016, 15-28; Morelle 2016, 337–346.
37 Senséby 2016, 161–162.
38 Clanchy 2013³, 138.
39 Vincent 2004, 20.
40 Ramsay 1911, 329; Clanchy 2013³, 142.
41 Vincent 2004, 34; Carpenter 2009, 1–6.

bout à bout jusqu'à former de très longs rouleaux, parfois de plus de quatre mètres de long.[42] D'autres institutions insulaires imitent le gouvernement royal en mettant leur documentation en rouleau. Si elles suivent parfois indifféremment les modèles des *pipe rolls* ou des *chancery rolls,*[43] Margam choisit un format qui correspond au modèle des rouleaux de la chancellerie.

L'adoption de la forme du rouleau par l'abbaye cistercienne peut être le reflet de l'importance des relations du monastère avec ses patrons, les comtes de Gloucester, notamment Jean sans Terre, sur les pratiques documentaires du monastère. Fondée par Robert de Gloucester, fils illégitime du roi d'Angleterre Henri Ier, l'abbaye entretient des relations, certes plus ou moins proches, mais constantes avec ses patrons, les comtes de Gloucester. Les aléas successoraux à la tête du comté entraînent la mise sous tutelle du comté de Gloucester et de la seigneurie de Glamorgan par Henri II Plantagenêt entre 1183 et 1189. Par son mariage avec la fille et héritière du comte de Gloucester, Isabelle, Jean sans Terre (alors comte de Mortain) prend la tête du comté en 1189. Couronné roi en 1199 et malgré l'annulation de son mariage avec la comtesse de Gloucester en 1200, Jean sans Terre garde une forte influence sur le comté de Gloucester et la seigneurie de Glamorgan jusqu'à sa mort en 1216. La tutelle royale d'Henri II, puis le contrôle étroit de Jean sans Terre sur la seigneurie constituent d'excellentes opportunités pour introduire de nouvelles pratiques documentaires dans la seigneurie de Glamorgan, comme celle des concordes finales adoptées progressivement à la cour comtale de Cardiff à la fin du XIIe siècle.[44]

S'inscrivant dans la tradition familiale des rois anglo-normands, Jean sans Terre entretient une relation particulière avec les Cisterciens.[45] Sa grand-mère paternelle Mathilde – et demi-sœur de Robert de Gloucester – est par exemple à l'origine de cinq fondations cisterciennes en Angleterre et en Normandie. Le roi Jean se situe dans la continuité des pratiques dévotionnelles de ses ancêtres en vénérant la Vierge comme son arrière-grand-père Henri Ier et maintient le soutien royal aux fondations monastiques de ses prédécesseurs.[46] Dès les premières années de son abbatiat, Gilbert obtient plusieurs confirmations royales. En 1205, Jean sans Terre octroie une importante charte de confirmation à Margam et place l'abbaye sous sa protection.[47] En 1207, il confirme à nouveau les donations faites au monastère.[48] Le roi poursuit en réalité sa politique de soutien à Margam commencée bien avant son accession au trône. Le 4 mars 1193, alors comte de Mortain et époux d'Isabelle de Gloucester, Jean

42 Clanchy 2013³, 142.
43 Clanchy 2013³, 143.
44 Sur l'introduction des concordes finales dans la seigneurie de Glamorgan, voir Papin 2016, 384–388.
45 Sur la relation de Jean sans Terre avec les Cisterciens, voir Webster 2015, 61–71.
46 Webster 2015, 196.
47 NLW, P&M, nº 289–30 (*Cartae*, nº 287); NLW, P&M, nº 96 (*Cartae*, nº 288).
48 NLW, P&M, nº 98 (*Cartae*, nº 306); NLW, P&M, nº 99 (*Cartae*, nº 309).

confirme le don des bourgeois de Kenfig (Glamorgan) et le service d'Hugues de Hereford à l'abbaye.[49] À la suite de l'interdit jeté sur le royaume d'Angleterre par le pape Innocent III en 1208, Jean sans Terre place Margam sous sa protection. Le monastère échappe alors aux persécutions que les Cisterciens subissent de la part du roi. En 1210, avec l'abbaye de Beaulieu fondée par Jean,[50] Margam est exemptée des taxes auxquelles sont soumis les Cisterciens du royaume, comme le racontent les *Annales de Margam*.[51]

Durant l'été 1210, le roi embarque pour l'Irlande avec son armée à Cross-on-the-Sea près de Pembroke après avoir traversé le sud du pays de Galles.[52] Sur son chemin, il séjourne à l'abbaye de Margam où il est accueilli par l'abbé Gilbert.[53] L'armée royale passe l'Ascension à Margam, puis s'y arrête une seconde fois à son retour d'Irlande, le 28 août.[54] Au XIIIe siècle, la chancellerie suit constamment le roi dans ses déplacements.[55] Pendant la campagne d'Irlande, près de six cent quarante peaux parcheminées sont acheminées pour enregistrer les nouvelles inféodations.[56] Ces peaux ont certainement servi aussi à rédiger le *praestita roll* pour l'année de règne de l'Ascension 1210 à l'Ascension 1211. Il s'agit de l'un des rouleaux de comptes produits chaque année par les clercs de la chancellerie, avec les *misae rolls*.[57] À côté des listes nominatives et des *prests* versés, la date et le lieu de distribution des sommes d'argent sont notés permettant de retracer avec précision l'itinéraire du roi à travers le pays de Galles en 1210.[58] Des *prests* sont ainsi versés à Margam les 28 mai et 28 août 1210 et enregistrés dans le *praestita roll*. Responsable de ces paiements et des dépenses de la campagne irlandaise et clerc de la *camera* royale depuis 1207, Richard Marsh est sans aucun doute présent à Margam en 1210.[59] Ces deux séjours des officiers de la chancellerie royale à l'abbaye constituent une opportunité intéressante, favorisée par la relation de confiance entre le roi et l'abbé, pour une discussion des pratiques d'archivage de l'abbaye et, peut-être, pour suggérer l'emploi de la forme du rouleau pour les

49 NLW, P&M, nº 1947 (*EGC*, nº 138).
50 Sur la fondation de Beaulieu par Jean sans Terre, voir Webster 2015, 61–71.
51 *Annales de Margam*, éd. Luard, 29–30 : *MCCX.* [...] *Idem mense Junio transfretavit in Hiberniam, ubi hostibus ad votum subactis, mense Septembri, nimis infestus omnibus viris Cisterciensis ordinis rediit* [...]. *Duae tamen domus ejusdem ordinis ab hac exactione tunc immunes fuere, de Margam scilicet in Wallia, eo quod hospitatus ibi fuisset rex cum exercitu eodem anno iens Hiberniam, et inde rediens ; et de Bello Loco in Anglia, eo quod ipsa est de eleemosyna ejusdem regis*.
52 Sur la campagne militaire en Irlande en 1210, voir Duffy 1996 ; Church 1998.
53 Sur les relations de Jean sans Terre avec Margam dépeintes dans les *Annales de Margam*, voir Papin 2016, 247–251. Sur les raisons des deux séjours de Jean sans Terre à Margam et le poids de l'hospitalité sur les relations entre les monastères et leurs patrons, voir Jenkins 2012, 137–139, 220–226.
54 *Rot. de Lib.*, 173, 229 ; Hardy 1835, xlix–lxxiv.
55 Carpenter 2004, 56.
56 Duffy 1996, 3.
57 Church 1998, 47.
58 Duffy 1996, 3 ; Church 1998, 48.
59 Vincent 1996, 47–53 ; Church 1998, 49 ; Clanchy 2006, 41–42.

cartulaires monastiques sur le modèle des rouleaux de la chancellerie. Des circonstances similaires peuvent également avoir influé sur l'adoption de la forme du rouleau à l'abbaye de Flaxley. Compilant ses chartes en rouleau au début du XIIIe siècle, le monastère cistercien accueille lui aussi Jean sans Terre et, par conséquent, la chancellerie royale à plusieurs reprises[60]. Les officiers de la chancellerie pourraient bien être ainsi les principaux acteurs de la diffusion du modèle du rouleau. Les premiers registres épiscopaux en Angleterre suivent eux aussi le modèle de la chancellerie royale. Deux anciens officiers de la chancellerie sont à l'initiative de ces cartulaires-rouleaux épiscopaux: Hugues de Wells, évêque de Lincoln (1209–1235), et Gautier de Gray, archevêque d'York (1214–1255). En tant que chanceliers de Jean sans Terre, ils «ont vu – et probablement assisté aux origines de l'enrôlement à la chancellerie dans les premières années du règne du roi Jean».[61]

Pour Michael Clanchy, le fait que seule l'Angleterre dans l'Occident médiéval privilégie principalement la forme du rouleau pour conserver ses documents écrits «reste en grande partie un mystère»[62]. La forme du rouleau possède ses propres atouts que l'analyse de son usage et de ses fonctions éclaire. Le rouleau est plus simple, facile et rapide à produire qu'un *codex*. Il permet l'emploi de pièces de parchemin de tailles différentes et, surtout, le travail simultané de plusieurs scribes avant de rassembler les membranes dans l'ordre désiré.[63] Si les copistes de Margam ne semblent pas avoir travaillé tous en même temps, ils optimisent néanmoins l'emploi du parchemin. Se souciant du gain d'espace, ils utilisent fréquemment les chiffres romains pour abréger les nombres et les initiales pour abréger les noms de personne, contrairement aux actes originaux où les nombres et les noms propres sont inscrits en toutes lettres.[64] Même si la forme du rouleau ne permet pas vraiment d'économiser des pièces de parchemin par rapport au *codex*, en raison notamment de la grande taille des membranes de parchemin parfois utilisées, elle offre la possibilité d'assembler des membranes au fur et à mesure de sa production, dont les moines de Margam usent jusqu'au milieu du XIVe siècle. Sur le modèle des rouleaux de la chancellerie royale favorisant l'enregistrement, ils ajoutent progressivement des items dans les cartulaires-rouleaux. Certes, l'évolution du *codex* est aussi possible si les derniers feuillets des cahiers restent vierges, mais laisser des pièces de parchemin inutilisées est plus coûteux et cela nécessite, par conséquent, une réelle anticipation du devenir du manuscrit.[65]

60 Sur les raisons des quatre séjours de Jean sans Terre à Flaxley (en 1207, 1212, 1213 et 1214), voir Jenkins 2012, 224, 226.
61 Clanchy 2013³, 76.
62 Clanchy 2013³, 142.
63 Clanchy 2013³, 143.
64 Par exemple, NLW, P&M, nº 289–48.
65 Clanchy 2013³, 142–143.

Compacts et de petite taille, les cartulaires-rouleaux de Margam peuvent être conservés assez aisément dans des coffres aux côtés des actes originaux. Leur légèreté facilite leur transport à l'image des rouleaux des morts et des rouleaux de la chancellerie anglaise qui suivent les officiers royaux, transportés par le *portejoye* ou «le sergent des rouleaux de la chancellerie», de place en place.[66] Les cartulaires-rouleaux de Margam circulent peut-être entre les granges de l'abbaye pour en faciliter l'administration.[67] Ils peuvent éventuellement être amenés devant la cour comtale de Glamorgan ou le chapitre général de Cîteaux afin de plaider la cause du monastère et, ainsi, éviter de déplacer les actes originaux. Pour Walter de Gray Birch, le contexte de frontière soumet Margam aux attaques de ses voisins gallois et impose au monastère d'être en capacité de déplacer rapidement ses archives en lieu sûr.[68] Considérés comme des objets aussi précieux que les reliques, les actes originaux constituent le trésor de l'abbaye qu'il faut transmettre aux successeurs et, par conséquent, protéger.[69] L'explosion du nombre de documents écrits conservés aux XII^{e} et XIII^{e} siècles entraîne la mise en place de nouvelles formes de protection, dont les cartulaires représentent une des principales dimensions.[70] Plus faciles à emporter que l'ensemble du chartrier, les cartulaires-rouleaux de Margam se présentent ainsi comme un moyen de sauver une trace écrite des actes originaux en cas d'attaque du monastère.

Cependant, quelques réserves peuvent être émises quant à la praticité des rouleaux. Leur longueur, notamment dans le cas des rouleaux continus comme ceux de la chancellerie anglaise, rend leur consultation peu aisée ; sans index, il est compliqué d'y trouver une information précise.[71] Pourtant, consultés et amendés, les cartulaires-rouleaux de Margam s'avèrent en grande partie liés à la gestion du chartrier et à l'administration du temporel de l'abbaye au début du XIIIe siècle.[72] Rédigée par un scribe non identifié aux alentours du milieu du XIII^{e} siècle, une copie est rayée d'une grande croix à l'encre rouge.[73] Le contenu de la rubrique correspondante a été corrigé à l'encre noire: le nombre d'acres concédées par Thomas Gramus, un petit propriétaire terrien du voisinage de l'abbaye, a été rayé puis corrigé. Cette modification pourrait aussi bien résulter d'une banale erreur de copie que d'une invalidation de l'acte original par une nouvelle transaction qui aurait entraîné l'annulation de la copie dans le cartulaire. Aux débuts du processus de cartularisation, les cartulaires-rouleaux ne

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66 Cheney 1985, 104; Clanchy 2013³, 166.

67 Les cartulaires cisterciens sont généralement organisés en fonction des granges monastiques. Chaque grange élabore son propre cartulaire. Or, le *scriptorium* de Margam produit les cartulaires pour l'ensemble des granges de l'abbaye.

68 Birch 1897, 281.

69 Clanchy 2013³, 156–157.

70 Bertrand 2009, 75–92; Clanchy 2013³, 159.

71 Clanchy 2013³, 142–143, 170.

72 Les exemples présentés ci-dessous ont été mis en évidence dans l'étude des rapports entre le processus de cartularisation et l'administration de ses biens par l'abbaye de Margam, Papin 2019, 11–25.

73 NLW, P&M, nº 289–44 (*Cartae*, nº 717).

sont pas conçus comme un inventaire du chartrier. Privilégiant la copie complète des actes originaux, les moines semblent accorder une place secondaire à l'utilisation des cartulaires comme outil de référencement des actes originaux. Cependant, l'usage des cartulaires semble peu à peu évoluer. Vers le milieu du XIII^e^ siècle, deux *memoranda* sont rédigés au verso d'un rouleau afin de localiser les actes originaux dans le chartrier.[74] Le premier *memorandum* explique qu'une charte a été déposée avec celles qui ont été copiées auparavant. Le second est une note précisant que la charte – un chirographe – est attachée à la charte précédente.

Une autre fonction est généralement attribuée aux cartulaires monastiques par l'historiographie. La mémoire d'une communauté monastique se fixerait par les documents écrits produits dans le *scriptorium* du monastère. Associés aux actes originaux, aux chroniques ou aux annales, les cartulaires détiendraient une valeur mémorielle.[75] Bien qu'ils soient de potentiels objets mémoriels, les cartulaires-rouleaux de Margam ne sont pas historiés et la narration y est presque inexistante ; presque inexistante, car une rubrique offre toutefois l'opportunité à un copiste de rédiger un court récit. Le scribe y raconte les circonstances de la libération de *Canaythen* ap Robert ap Einion, otage du comte Guillaume de Gloucester (1147–1183).[76] Morgan ap Caradog d'Afan († v. 1208) a livré *Canaythen* comme otage au comte avant de se rebeller contre son seigneur. Le comte ordonna alors d'arracher les yeux de l'otage. Pour compenser la perte de ses yeux, Morgan octroya à *Canaythen* la terre de Resolven dans la vallée de la Neath. *Canaythen* donna ensuite la terre à Margam avec le consentement de son seigneur et devint convers de l'abbaye. Cette rubrique narrative fonctionne comme une introduction au cartulaire-rouleau en précisant que *Canaythen* est « le premier » à avoir donné la terre de Resolven à l'abbaye. Elle est suivie des actes de donation et de renoncement des héritiers de *Canaythen*, notamment ses frères *Ruathlan* et Einion, au cours de la première moitié du XIII^e^ siècle.[77] Se caractérisant par sa singularité, cette rubrique offre au scribe la possibilité de remémorer cet épisode dans le but d'expliciter les actes copiés ensuite. Elle remplace peut-être la copie de l'acte de donation de *Canaythen*, qui aurait dû logiquement être placée en tête du rouleau. Cette organisation chronologique des copies reflète le souci de répondre aux préoccupations

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74 NLW, P&M, nº 289–67 à nº 289–69.

75 Chastang 2006, 28.

76 NLW, P&M, nº 2091–1 : *Carta Ruathlan et Eynani fil[ii] [R]oberti filii Eynani de terra de Rossowlin. Canaythen primo dedit terram [de R]ossowlin domui de Margan ey consensu domini sui et postea factus ei conversus victime is domini et [..]tissime vixit omnibus diebus vite sue. Morganus ab Cradoc tradidit Canaythen filium Roberti ab Eynon obsidem pro se domino suo Willelmo comiti Glovernie per modicum tempus rebellavit contra dominum suum. Hoc audito comes precepit erruere occulos obsidis et remitere ad propera. In reconpensatione occulorum Morganus dedit ei terram de Rossowlin et ille ex consensus domini sui dedit ecclesie Beate Marie de Margan* (transcription de l'auteur). La forme moderne du nom personnel gallois *Canaythen* n'est pas identifiée.

77 NLW, P&M, nº 2091–1 à nº 2091–5. La forme moderne du nom personnel gallois *Ruathlan* n'est pas identifiée.

mémorielles de la communauté religieuse en retraçant l'histoire de la parcelle de terre de manière linéaire.

En revanche, la copie «tardive» de la charte de fondation de Margam conforte l'idée que la fonction administrative prévaut sur la valeur mémorielle des cartulaires-rouleaux. La charte de fondation est copiée par une main du milieu du XIIIe siècle au verso d'un rouleau intitulé *Confirmationes et Protectiones H. Regis Angl'* («Confirmations et protections d'Henri, roi d'Angleterre»).[78] N'introduisant pas un rouleau, elle ne constitue pas le point de départ d'une organisation chronologique des cartulaires-rouleaux. De plus, la structure interne des cartulaires-rouleaux n'est pas construite autour de la charte de fondation, c'est-à-dire autour d'un noyau central à partir duquel l'expansion des biens monastiques s'est effectuée et l'histoire de l'abbaye, par conséquent, s'est déroulée.[79] Aucun élément ne distingue la copie de la charte de fondation parmi les autres actes de ce rouleau dédié aux actes royaux et comtaux. Comparable aux sections de «prestige» introduisant régulièrement les cartulaires en *codex*,[80] ce rouleau contient les actes des rois Henri II, Jean sans Terre et Henri III au recto du parchemin et, au verso, les actes du comte Guillaume de Gloucester accompagnent la copie de l'acte de donation du comte Robert de Gloucester aux Cisterciens. La volonté de distinguer certaines copies en leur accordant plus de prestige se retrouve dans le travail du scribe 20 dans le premier quart du XIIIe siècle.[81] À l'inverse de ses prédécesseurs, ce scribe ne copie pas les listes de témoins des actes originaux, à l'exception des actes du comte Guillaume de Gloucester. Pour ces derniers, le scribe prend le temps de copier le nom du premier témoin de la liste: «Havoise, comtesse de Gloucester».[82] La copie du nom de l'épouse du comte Guillaume et la précision de son titre suggèrent que les moines accordent une certaine importance à ce témoin particulier qui renforce la valeur de l'acte original. Rassemblant les actes royaux et comtaux, ces cartulaires-rouleaux de «prestige» mettent en exergue l'ancienneté des liens entre l'abbaye et ses patrons et participent ainsi à la fabrication de la mémoire monastique.[83]

Toutefois, la comparaison de la structure interne des cartulaires-rouleaux de Margam avec le cartulaire de l'abbaye cistercienne de Rievaulx (Yorkshire) souligne la fonction administrative des cartulaires-rouleaux de Margam. Étudié par Emily Jamroziak, le cartulaire de Rievaulx est rédigé sous la forme du *codex* et organisé selon les bienfaiteurs du monastère, leurs proches et leurs tenants à la fin du XIIe siècle. Les relations locales de l'abbaye structurent ce cartulaire dans le but de célébrer et

78 NLW, P&M nº 2089.
79 Papin 2019, 16–19.
80 Genêt 1992, 351.
81 Les numéros des scribes mentionnés correspondent à ceux attribués par R. B. Patterson, Patterson 2002, append. I, 81–100, append. II, 101–104, append. III, 105–130.
82 NLW, P&M, nº 544–1 à nº 544–11.
83 Papin 2019, 20–21.

de commémorer ses bienfaiteurs.[84] Cet aspect semble très secondaire dans les cartulaires-rouleaux de Margam dont la structure est fondée sur un classement géographique des possessions du monastère, s'appuyant sur l'identité des bienfaiteurs seulement dans un second temps.

Au cours du second quart du XIII[e] siècle, la rédaction des *Annales de Margam* – dans lesquelles les relations de la communauté monastique avec ses patrons sont valorisées–sous la forme du codex peut avoir concurrencé la valeur mémorielle accordée aux cartulaires par les moines.[85] Cette hypothèse est renforcée par le fait que le *scriptorium* ne semble pas avoir produit de cartulaire sous la forme du *codex*.[86] La mise en rouleau des chartes constitue-t-elle une simple copie de sauvegarde sans aucune intention de produire quelque chose qui traverse l'histoire de l'institution monastique, à l'inverse des annales rédigées dans un *codex*? La perception de ces deux types de documents se reflète-t-elle dans leur forme; l'un historiographique sous forme de *codex*, l'autre pragmatique sous forme de rouleau? Les cartulaires-rouleaux semblent constituer avant tout un instrument pratique au service de l'administration et de la gestion des biens de l'abbaye. La valeur mémorielle du document écrit paraît plutôt accordée par les moines de Margam aux *Annales* que la forme du *codex* rend peut-être plus prestigieuses et sacrées à leurs yeux.

Analysant les rouleaux des généalogies royales anglaises des XIII[e]–XV[e] siècles afin de saisir la conception et de la représentation du pouvoir au bas Moyen Âge, Olivier de Laborderie observe que si la forme du rouleau pouvait «servir à traduire visuellement l'ancienneté et donc à accroître le prestige du texte qu'il portait ou la vénération qu'on devait lui témoigner, dans une société où l'autorité était souvent proportionnelle à l'ancienneté»[87]. Quels éléments donnent sa valeur au cartulaire-rouleau? La forme du rouleau en elle-même ferait autorité, puisque «le recours au rouleau aurait alors pour objet d'exprimer, dans l'esprit du concepteur comme aux yeux de l'utilisateur, le caractère ‹antique et solennel› du texte qui était consigné sous cette forme»[88]. En Angleterre, l'ascendance de la monarchie sur la culture écrite peut avoir entraîné une association de la forme du rouleau à l'autorité royale dans l'esprit des concepteurs et des utilisateurs.[89] Le texte copié sur un rouleau aurait alors plus de valeur, plus d'autorité, car il correspondrait au support des documents administratifs, notamment ceux de l'échiquier et de la chancellerie royale.[90] Le rouleau aurait ainsi un caractère officiel reconnu à la fois par ses concepteurs et ses utilisateurs.

84 Jamroziak 2005, 25.
85 Sur le patronage comtal et la mémoire des Annales de Margam, voir Papin 2016, 241–251.
86 Aucun cartulaire n'est connu sous cette forme pour Margam.
87 Laborderie 2013, 70.
88 Laborderie 2013, 70.
89 Laborderie 2013, 70.
90 Laborderie 2013, 70.

Dans cette perspective, l'autorité de la forme du rouleau appuierait la preuve si l'objet est présenté lors d'un procès. Les litiges concernant l'abbaye de Margam sont jugés à la cour comtale de Glamorgan, créée par le comte Robert de Gloucester dans les années 1130, puis consolidée durant la tutelle royale d'Henri II Plantagenêt sur la seigneurie de 1183 à 1189.[91] Les moines auraient alors adopté une forme documentaire dont l'autorité est reconnue par tous et la copie des actes à valeur légale témoignerait de la valeur juridique des cartulaires. Cependant, les copies dans les cartulaires-rouleaux de Margam ne révèlent pas une volonté de reproduire les chartes à l'identique pour les produire en justice, mais plutôt pour en faire des documents de travail. La mise en forme, les signes de validation et, souvent, les listes de témoins ne sont pas reproduits lors de la copie des actes originaux.[92] Si la forme du rouleau octroie directement une autorité à leur contenu, il ne serait pas nécessaire de s'attarder sur la copie à l'identique des actes originaux.

Pourtant, les cartulaires-rouleaux de Margam ne semblent pas avoir détenu une importante valeur probatoire. À l'inverse des actes originaux, les cartulaires-rouleaux ne sont jamais évoqués dans les résolutions de conflit en Glamorgan. La dispute entre Margam et l'abbaye de Neath au cours de la première moitié du XIII^e^ siècle est assez bien documentée. Ni les accords conclus entre les deux monastères ni les statuts du chapitre général de Cîteaux n'évoquent un possible recours aux cartulaires-rouleaux pour résoudre le litige. En 1234, alors que la pratique des cartulaires-rouleaux est désormais bien établie à Margam, les cisterciens produisent deux actes devant les arbitres d'un litige les opposant au Gallois Rhys Goch Fychan. L'évêque Hélie de Llandaff et Morgan Gam d'Afan rendent leur décision sur la terre de Llangeinor à partir d'une charte (*per cartam*) de Guillaume de Londres et une autre de Rhys Goch *senior* et de ses frères et grâce à des témoignages oraux (*per vivam vocem*).[93]

Finalement, le contexte de production des cartulaires-rouleaux permet d'entrevoir les multiples influences poussant l'abbaye de Margam à mettre en rouleau ses chartes dans les premières années du XIII^e^ siècle. Outre le contexte concurrentiel avec sa voisine de Neath, d'autres facteurs sont à prendre en considération dans le processus de cartularisation des actes originaux à Margam. Apparaissant comme un agent réformateur de l'ordre cistercien, l'abbé Gilbert impulse certainement entre 1203 et 1213 la mise en rouleau des chartes monastiques dans un souci d'améliorer l'administration et la gestion des biens de l'abbaye. L'introduction de ces nouvelles pratiques documentaires et archivistiques à Margam semble également liée à la relation étroite qu'entretient le monastère avec son patron Jean sans Terre et à la proximité avec la

91 Papin 2016, 366–368.
92 Sur la fiabilité des transcriptions dans les cartulaires et la méthode de travail des cartularistes, voir Morelle 1991, 91–104.
93 Londres, BL, Harley Ch. 75 A 25. Sur l'arbitrage entre Margam et Rhys Goch Fychan, voir Papin 2016, 405–412.

chancellerie royale qui en découle. Cette proximité entre les deux institutions joue probablement un rôle dans l'adoption de la forme du rouleau par le *scriptorium* cistercien et, plus particulièrement, du modèle du rouleau continu utilisé par la chancellerie. Pour autant, la difficulté à appréhender l'usage et la valeur des cartulaires-rouleaux souligne la complexité de la conception de cette documentation dans l'esprit des contemporains. Si la praticité de l'objet en fait clairement un outil d'administration et de gestion du domaine et des granges monastiques, les valeurs mémorielle et probatoire qui peuvent y être associées sont moins transparentes. Cette première approche des cartulaires-rouleaux de Margam laisse de surcroît de nombreuses questions en suspens sur leur usage public et leur audience. Les bienfaiteurs laïques de l'abbaye ont-ils accès à cette documentation ? Peut-être plus familiers de la forme du rouleau comme le suggère Michael Clanchy[94], quel rôle ont-ils joué dans le processus de mise en rouleau des actes ? Face à la pression institutionnelle de l'ordre cistercien et à la pression princière des comtes de Gloucester et des rois d'Angleterre dans le processus de formation des cartulaires-rouleaux, la place des bienfaiteurs laïques de Margam doit désormais être évaluée. Enfin, l'usage et les fonctions des cartulaires-rouleaux doivent eux aussi être examinés à l'avenir sur un temps long, puisque la production et l'utilisation des cartulaires-rouleaux par les moines de Margam perdurent jusqu'aux XIVe et XVe siècles.

94 Clanchy 2013³, 144–145.

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Marigold Anne Norbye

Roll or Codex for '*A tous nobles*'?

The Physical Expressions of a French Genealogical Chronicle

Cy fine des Bretons [...] *jusque a la nativité Jesu Crist et trouverés le demourant en l'aultre roulle* [...] ("Here finish the Britons until the birth of Christ; you will find the rest in the other roll").[1] This statement is situated half-way down a lengthy roll, seventeen metres long, which contains a universal chronicle that starts at the Creation and ends in the fifteenth century. Two other similar statements mentioning 'the other roll' are located in parallel columns of text nearby. After a brief gap in the writing across all four columns, the text starts again in the middle of the same membrane, picking up the thread of the historical tale at the beginning of the Christian era.

Apart from the gap that breaks up the text mid-membrane, there is no other physical hint of the change of roll mentioned in the statement, not even the start of a new membrane (which could have suggested that two original rolls had been stuck together). The reader is faced with a direct contradiction between the practical guidance found in the text—to find the next episode of the story in another, separate roll—and the material reality of the text's support, i. e. a single manuscript containing both the pre-Christian and the Christian histories in one roll.

This anomaly is not limited to that specific manuscript: all twenty-seven rolls containing this particular universal chronicle include the same statements. Indeed, most of them do not even have the convenient gap in the text block enabling the reader to find the place where the Christian era begins. Instead, the text concerning this new era follows immediately after the stories of the Old Testament period, located at different heights in the separate columns, leading to a staggered effect (fig. 1).[2] Thus the reader is not only puzzled by statements that do not correspond to the physical reality, but also loses the awareness of a new beginning in the history of mankind with the arrival of Christ that the author of the original statements had wanted to convey.[3]

1 This example is in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 176, half way down the roll, before the white space starting with 'Explicit'. For a full colour reproduction of one of these universal chronicle rolls, which I call 'version H' and which Lisa Fagin Davis has named *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle*, see the online copy of Cambridge, Harvard University Houghton Library, MS Typ. 41, https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:3828490$1i (last accessed: 6.3.18). Davis has illustrations of a representative selection of rolls and a CD with images of an entire roll, see *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle*, ed. Davis.

2 In the Harvard roll cited in note 1, the change to the Christian era is on seq. 9, and is particularly difficult to spot, as not only is the text staggered between the columns, but in this roll, there are no illustrated medallions at this stage to mark the change visually.

3 In this 'version H', a paragraph about the Sixth Age of Man and the Final Judgement is inserted at the beginning of the third column that subsequently has the narrative of the kings of France.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110645125-009

Fig. 1: Paris, BnF, MS nouv. acq. fr. 1493, fol. 14, version H. By permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. – Change from Old Testament period to Christian era. Col. 1: life of Christ followed by popes headed by St Peter. Col. 2: Julius Caesar (being murdered in the medallion) and Roman emperors. Col. 3: the Sicambrians sail down the Rhine and occupy Gaul, renaming it France (standard medallion with men in ship); beginning of the resumed *A tous nobles* text (*Vous devés savoir*); the Franks defeat the Romans (standard medallion with battle scene). Col. 4: last pagan kings of Britain, mythical "Lucie" first Christian king of England (standard medallion with king in majesty). Note the staggered effect of the text and medallions marking the change of period in the different columns.

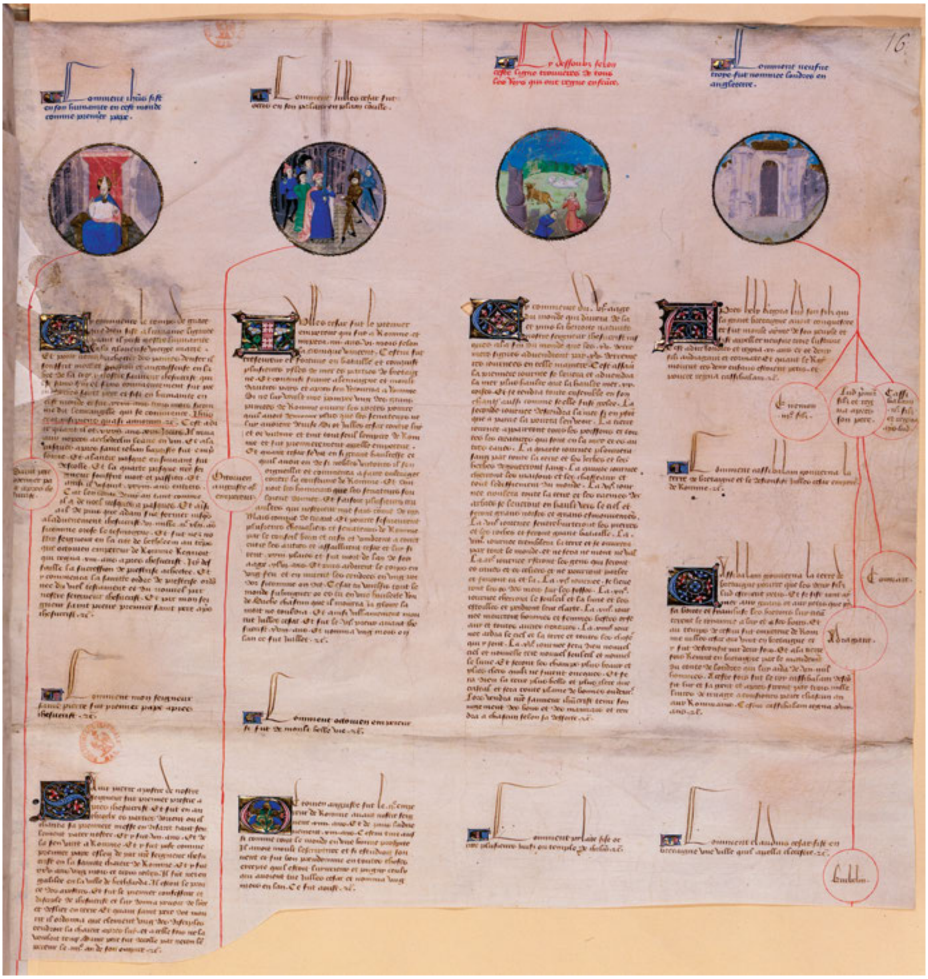

Fig. 2: Paris, BnF, MS nouv. acq. fr. 1494, fol. 16, version H. By permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. – Change from Old Testament period to Christian era made clear in the layout. Medallions: St Peter as first pope, the murder of Julius Caesar, the Nativity (as the *A tous nobles* section is preceded by a long paragraph on the arrival of the Sixth Age of the world), the foundation of London by King Lud.

The few manuscripts where the physical layout shows a break between the Old Testament period and the Christian era demonstrate the value of such a visual device in strengthening the message in the text (fig. 2).[4]

4 See Davis 2014, 19, for a list of the manuscripts that do or that do not show the break between the eras in their layout. Out of 22 fully preserved rolls, only three mark this division across the entire width of the manuscript.

The fact that the scribes of most of the manuscripts chose to ignore this evocative layout reinforces the sense that a basic disconnection took place at some stage between the materiality of the initial version and the later copies: two rolls became one, and in most instances no effort was made to distinguish between the two historical eras in any other material way. It raises questions about how this universal chronicle was originally designed and subsequently altered, how the rolls were used, and for whom they were made. The chronicle also brings up another, more basic issue: why was it copied in the roll form in the first place, rather than in the codex form?

This article considers these questions through the prism of more than seventy manuscripts containing a fifteenth-century genealogical chronicle of the kings of France named *A tous nobles* after its most common incipit.[5] This work is either embedded within universal chronicles, including the one introduced above, or stands alone as a separate entity. It is found in at least twenty-six textual versions, and all but five of these versions are accompanied by a genealogical diagram, usually formed of circles and lines.[6] The diagrams also exist in separate versions, linked to the textual ones. The divergences between the versions range from minor textual variants (e. g. using synonymous words or phrases) to the insertion or omission of significant factual content. The survival of so many copies and versions suggests that *A tous nobles* was a popular work in its time. Many of its readers or copyists were sufficiently interested in its contents to take the trouble to amend the text and accompanying diagram to create new versions.[7]

Not only does *A tous nobles* display numerous textual variations, it also survives in a large variety of manuscript forms, formats and layouts. These include codices and rolls, large and small, with or without genealogical diagrams near or within the text, drawn vertically or horizontally, written in single or multiple columns. Regarding their materiality, there are great differences: many manuscripts are made of fine parchment, decorated in coloured inks and gold, some of them with various iconographic elements; others are plain paper books, devoid of any decorative features.[8]

The surviving copies of *A tous nobles* provide fertile ground for examining the different ways in which the same basic text could be materially presented and used. To do this, it is worth exploring the various manuscripts in some depth from a codicological perspective in order to gather the data for a praxeology of this versatile genea-

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5 For a very short introduction to *A tous nobles*, see Norbye 2010a, vol. 1, 1. More information in Norbye 2007a, which should now be complemented by the updated list of manuscripts here in the Appendix.
6 Note on terminology: the diagrams will also be referred to as 'trees' throughout this article, except in the case of version 3 where there are no lines linking the circles; in that specific case, only the term 'diagram' will be used.
7 For detailed discussions on the geographic origins and the owners of *A tous nobles* manuscripts, see Norbye 2007b, and for deliberations on those writers (*remanieurs*) who remodelled the text and tree, Norbye 2008a.
8 See my survey of the decorative aspects of *A tous nobles* manuscripts in Norbye (forthcoming).

logical chronicle.[9] The codicological analysis will serve the reader as a *Quellenkunde* of *A tous nobles* genealogies. After this detailed survey of the manuscripts in both form and content, I will propose some tentative conclusions, in particular about the use of the roll form and how the makers of codices coped with the challenges of laying out the same work in a different book form.

Identifying manuscripts of *A tous nobles*: textual contents and sources

The first challenge is to identify manuscripts containing *A tous nobles* among the numerous anonymous abridged chronicles of the kings of France produced in the late Middle Ages.[10] The work *A tous nobles* derives its name from its prologue's incipit: *A tous nobles qui aiment beaux faits et bonnes histoires* […] (spelling varies). It is usually but not always preceded by a heading or rubric using variants of: *Cy s'ensuivent les lignees des roys de France, et comment les generations sont descendues l'une de l'autre* […]. The first paragraph of the chronicle itself starts with the Creation (*Vous devez savoir que Dieu forma Adam et Eve* […]), and swiftly moves on to the destruction of Troy and the mythical Trojan origins of the Franks via the Trojan prince Francio, who was believed to be an ancestor of the Merovingian kings. The core text finishes with King Charles V of France who died in 1380, although many versions provide continuations that take the story to his son Charles VI (d. 1422), and some to Charles VII (d. 1461) or even later.[11]

The text of *A tous nobles* exists in at least twenty-six versions with significant variations between them, but all have a substantial body of text in common, and most contain the prologue (with its characteristic incipit), although with minor variants. All but five versions are accompanied by corresponding variations of some form of genealogical diagram: all these are characterised by the same factual error relating to the two kings preceding King Philip IV (Philippe le Bel, d. 1314)—an error that is often reflected in the accompanying text—which thus serves as a supplementary marker to aid the identification of the work.[12]

9 The term 'praxeology' denotes an analysis of how, where, when and in which context an artefact was used, with particular focus on the reciprocal relationship between user and artefact, see for example Dickmann/Elias/Focken 2015.
10 See the Appendix of this article for an updated table of manuscripts, indicating the version of their contents and their physical form. Sanford Zale identified the first seven versions, see Zale 1994, 76–78 (v 1), 78–83 (v 2), 98–107 (v 3 and 4), 107–108 (copy of v 5 with tree), 122–124 (v 6) and 134–136 (v 7) respectively.
11 On the dating of *A tous nobles*, see Norbye 2007a, 299–300. I reckon the earliest versions could date from 1409–1415, judging by information in the tree, and the latest are from the early sixteenth century.
12 See Norbye 2007a, 313, for details about the error.

A tous nobles is disseminated either as an independent, stand-alone chronicle (easily identifiable thanks to the prologue's incipit) or incorporated into a universal chronicle. The stand-alone *A tous nobles* may exist on its own within a manuscript, or occur with other texts, some on closely related topics.[13]

The most common occurrence of *A tous nobles* is in the large rolls mentioned in the introduction (my version H).[14] These contain the most popular version of a long universal chronicle that starts at the Creation; there are two other versions of this long chronicle in which *A tous nobles* is also found.[15] The chronicle's narrative covers the Old Testament in parallel with ancient history concerning dynasties with biblical connections such as those of Persia, Ptolemaic Egypt and Rome, as well as mythical events such as the adventures after the fall of Troy of certain Trojan heroes seen as the ancestors of the Romans, the Britons and the Franks. In the Christian era, the text is divided into four columns, covering respectively sequences of popes, of Roman and medieval emperors, of the kings of France (versions of *A tous nobles*, but usually omitting the prologue), and of the kings of England.[16] Version H is always found in roll form, with one known exception, whereas the other two versions are in codex form.

In the vast majority of the universal chronicles in roll form I have examined, the section on the kings of France contains the text of *A tous nobles*.[17] However, in the most common version of the long universal chronicle, as well as in one other version of this chronicle (version U), it loses its prologue (*A tous nobles qui aiment* [...]).[18] One therefore has to search for *A tous nobles* both in the Old Testament portion—where

13 Version 4 is significantly different from the others: it is much longer and without any diagrams, but usually found in manuscripts together with the shorter version 3 which does have diagrams. I have not studied it in detail.

14 This version was initially the subject of study by an art historian, Nathalie Hurel, hence my naming it 'version H', see Hurel 1992 and Hurel 1994. I thank Mme Hurel for sending me her articles in the early days of my research. More recently, it has been comprehensively analysed, edited and translated by Lisa Fagin Davis under the name *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle*. For a brief introduction, see Davis 2010.

15 Versions F and U.

16 The column for the kings of England in version H digresses at one stage into a genealogy of the Latin kings of Jerusalem.

17 I have not examined all the universal chronicles produced in France at that time, but those listed in Fossier 1980–1981, 173–174, which he treats as a fairly homogeneous group. Virtually all these are in roll form. To complement this, I investigated those codices described as 'croniques universelles' in the Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (henceforth: BnF) catalogue index: out of 47 copies, two contain a version of *A tous nobles*, and another has small sections of *A tous nobles* within it, as discussed below. There are no doubt further copies in other libraries.

18 However, version U starts its *A tous nobles* section with: *Or vous dirons une partie de ceulz qui partirent de Troye la deserte* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, LJS 266, fol. 16^{v}), introductory words that are more or less the same as in one of the short universal chronicles, version L (see below). That leaves version H, where the incipit of the relevant section is: *Comment Priamus le jeune fonda la cité de Sincambre sicomme dient les histoires. Priamus le jeune dessus nommé se partit de Troye* [...] (Paris, BnF, MS nouv. acq. fr. 1495, fol. 6).

several paragraphs talk of the Trojans who founded Sicambria and eventually moved westwards to Gaul, where they called themselves Franks, founded Lutetia (Paris) and became Roman subjects—and in the Christian period, when the story of the Franks under the rule of the Roman emperor Valentinian I (d. 375) is resumed.

Whereas the long universal chronicles begin with the Creation, there are five shorter versions that start after the birth of Christ.[19] In those shorter universal chronicles, identification of *A tous nobles* is usually straightforward: the main *A tous nobles* text follows immediately after the standard heading (*Cy s'ensuivent les lignees des roys de France* [...]) and is always situated in the third column. In all but one version (L), it starts with its characteristic prologue.[20]

My list remains provisional, as further manuscripts may yet be revealed.[21] Nor do occurrences of the text of *A tous nobles* stop there: Sanford Zale has identified another unofficial French history of the fifteenth century which had entire sections of *A tous nobles* embedded within it in combination with at least one other text.[22] He also referred me to a universal chronicle with elements in common with *A tous nobles*, including the error concerning the predecessors of Philip IV.[23] There is also an incunable, a very early printed edition of a 'Chronique universelle abrégée', where the wording relating to some of the mythical events of French history is identical to that in *A tous nobles*, and some other sections contain the reporting of identical events in slightly reworded text.[24] This incunable has a very similar counterpart in manuscript form.[25] A high degree of borrowing is noticeable between one of the universal

19 Versions 2, C, Y, G and L. Although in all versions the columns related to the popes and emperors begin at the deaths of Christ and Julius Caesar, in version 2 the column concerning the kings of England starts at a later period (at the *adventus Saxonum*, illustrated with a diagram of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy). The third column, covering the genealogy of the kings of France, always opens with the mythical Trojan origins of the Franks.

20 The version L prologue starts: *Or dirons d'une partie de cheulx qui partirent de Troye la grant* (London, British Library, Harley Roll O.1). This is more or less the wording also used to introduce the *A tous nobles* section in the version U long universal chronicle (see above).

21 In the past decade since I last wrote on *A tous nobles* I owe my discovery of the manuscripts of the 'new' versions D, E and G to Karen Fresco, E. A. R. ("Peggy") Brown and Jaclyn Rajsic, plus news of various copies or fragments of versions H and U from Lisa Fagin Davis. Gillette Labory pointed me to the important prototype manuscript of version H now in Saint Petersburg, and a conversation with Natalia Elaguina at the library in Saint Petersburg led to the discovery of the version L codex there. Maree Shirota alerted me to the existence of the Caen copy of version T. My grateful thanks to them all.

22 Paris, BnF, MS fr. 24976, in Zale 1994, 120–122.

23 Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9688, highlighted in a personal letter of 16 June 2003; see also Zale 1994, 90–94.

24 Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS Œ XV 760, described in the *Gesamtkatalog* 1934, col. 486, no. 6680, as possibly printed in Paris by Denis Meslier, circa 1490. The *Gesamtkatalog* lists seven other similar "Chroniques abrégées des rois de France" published by other printers: cols. 485–488, nos. 6678–6679 and 6681–6685.

25 Paris BnF, MS fr. 5704, a luxury manuscript with a full-page painting of the arms of the dauphin Charles (who had just become King Charles VIII, according to the narrative of the text) inserted at the beginning.

chronicles containing *A tous nobles* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 23017, version U), the universal chronicle reported by S. Zale (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9688) and the 'counterpart' of the incunable (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5704), from the prologue onwards.[26] However, after common beginnings for the coverage of the mythical Trojan ancestors, the text in the latter two manuscripts becomes much expanded for the historical kings of France, losing all direct links with the much shorter text that makes up the common core of the versions of *A tous nobles*.[27] They all appear to have been part of a complex textual tradition of abridged chronicles characterised by a large degree of borrowings between texts, whose influence extended to other works containing historical information.[28]

This raises the question of the sources for the text of *A tous nobles*. Its prologue claims that the chronicle is based on the histories by Orosius and Martin of Troppau, and on the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, considered among the main authoritative historical texts of the time. Much of its material appears to derive from the *Grandes Chroniques*. However, one particular example of a story not found in the *Grandes Chroniques* indicates that the original author must have had access to at least one further source: probably a version of the *Chronique Abrégée* by Guillaume de Nangis (one of the authors of the *Grandes Chroniques*), which was written as a "guidebook for visitors to the royal tombs at Saint-Denis", or the second redaction of the same author's universal chronicle, the *Chronicon*, which existed in "relatively numerous copies".[29]

Lisa Fagin Davis, in her comprehensive study of *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle* (the universal chronicle with version H of *A tous nobles*), identified the various sources making up the work, which include Orosius and Martin of Troppau (for the

26 The first two of these manuscripts are available in the BnF Gallica online collection of digitised documents. Search for 'français' followed by the call number, directly or via the BnF online catalogue of manuscripts. Note that most of the Gallica reproductions are currently digitised versions of black and white microfilms.

27 It could also be interesting to compare the text of version 4 (a much longer textual version, without a diagram) with that of these various universal chronicles; even a cursory glance reveals that they have numerous elements in common. See Paris, BnF, MS fr. 4990 (available on Gallica).

28 Kathleen Daly has alerted me to some resemblances between the genealogy of the kings of England alongside *A tous nobles* and the treatise *Pour vraye congnoissance avoir* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 15490; available on Gallica). Many more such parallels can probably be found.

29 Spiegel 1978, 103 and 107. The story itself concerns the revenge that Louis IV took on Herbert II de Vermandois who had imprisoned his father. According to Lauer 1900, 295–299, this was an apocryphal story, which eventually appeared in the *Chronicon* of Guillaume de Nangis (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 4918, fol. 307; available on Gallica). Guillaume's source was likely to have been the Anonymous chronicler of Laon; see Lauer 1910, 86–90. Sanford Zale, with whom I discussed this observation, followed up this lead and examined the first and second versions of Guillaume's *Chronique abrégée*, and found the story in the second version (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 10134, fol. 22^v–23^v; available on Gallica). I thank him for sharing this discovery with me. However, the actual text of *A tous nobles* is not directly derived from that of Guillaume's chronicle.

biblical and ancient world and for the popes and emperors respectively).[30] We both conclude that the *Grandes Chroniques de France* and Guillaume de Nangis are the most likely sources for *A tous nobles*. However, no *Urtext* from which all versions of *A tous nobles* derive has been identified. Nor can one be sure which came first, *A tous nobles* or the universal chronicle, although Lisa Fagin Davis states that "the possibility remains that *ATN* [… was] extracted from [its] French sources by the compiler of" the prototype manuscript of version H (Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MSS Fr. F.v.I.9 & Fr. F.v.IV.14), as opposed to being borrowed by him as a fully formed existing work. Davis further posits that *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle* might have been compiled at the library of the dukes of Bourbon "under the auspices of Duke Jean I and Duchess Marie" around 1410 "by a courtly scholar".[31]

When considering the origins of *A tous nobles* and *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle*, one needs to consider not only the textual sources, but also the stimulus for the creation of the accompanying genealogical diagrams and for the use of the roll form. The most likely inspiration is the *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* by Peter of Poitiers, written about 1200: a summary of Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* in diagrammatic form, using mainly simple circles and lines. It was created to help students memorise the genealogy of Christ and other elements of biblical and ancient history thanks to visual aids (as explained in the prologue).[32] Some of the early copies of the *Compendium* were in roll form, although there is no evidence as to the form of Peter's original exemplar.[33] His work became popular beyond France and was soon expanded, with interpolations inserted and continuations added to include Roman and medieval emperors, as well as popes, and in some cases the kings of England and France, thus turning the revised *Compendium* into a universal history.[34]

Meanwhile in England, the last quarter of the thirteenth century saw the emergence of rolls with genealogical diagrams of the kings of England, accompanied by a brief narrative text. Olivier de Laborderie emits the plausible hypothesis that the chronicler Matthew Paris may have been involved in their creation in the 1250s, with a roll of the *Compendium* or a *Compendium*-based universal chronicle possibly inspiring the choice of form and layout.[35]

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30 Davis 2014, 25–46, with summary table on 42.

31 Davis 2014, 43 and 94–95. The Bourbon library inventory of 1524 "includes numerous texts that can be potentially identified with the source material of the *Chronique*", and Duchess Marie, daughter of the bibliophile Jean de Berry, "is the likeliest intended audience". She was "part of an elite group of literate, learned royal women" who could have commissioned this work with its "utilitarian" manuscript as an "educational text".

32 On Peter of Poitiers, see Klapisch-Zuber 2000, 121–132; Norbye 2010b; Worm 2010, 2013.

33 Panayotova 2001, 332, comments that numerous surviving codices had been copied from rolls; one can tell this from the way names or roundels were split from one page to the other, or from the methods used to help the reader track the various lines from one page to the next.

34 See Monroe 1990, vol. 1, 23–24 and Panayotova 2001.

35 See de Laborderie 2008, 51; 2010; and 2013, 131 and 142–143.

In France, apart from rough sketches in the margins of one manuscript of Guillaume de Nangis' Latin version of his *Chronique abrégée des rois de France*, there was no attempt to combine a genealogical diagram with a short chronicle of the kings of France until the early fourteenth century when Bernard Gui, down in the south, wrote his *Arbor genealogie* in codex form, with one tree per page.[36] No writer used the roll form for such a purpose until around 1410 when *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle* and early versions of *A tous nobles* emerged. What prompted this development? In the absence of any conclusive evidence, one can posit that the compiler of the *Urtext* and the *Urbaum* of *A tous nobles* or of the *Chronique* may have been inspired by a roll containing the *Compendium* or a genealogy of the kings of England.

Constituent elements of *A tous nobles* manuscripts

The contents of the *A tous nobles* manuscripts, in terms of both text and graphical elements (genealogical diagrams, other figures), are made up of various constituent elements whose combination can vary from version to version, or even between manuscripts of the same version, and which could repay further study beyond that of *A tous nobles* itself.

Every manuscript contains at the very least the abridged chronicle of the kings of France which I call the 'text' of *A tous nobles*. Most versions are accompanied by a genealogical figure of the kings of France and their close relatives, to which I usually refer as the 'tree' or the 'diagram'. The diagram may contain other information, of a non-genealogical nature: the most common category concerns various religious establishments, churches or abbeys, whose foundation is attributed to a king or queen. Usually this is represented by an archetypal church, accompanied by its name and that of its founder. Under this category one also finds the foundation of various eleventh- and twelfth-century religious orders. Most diagrams contain this information. Another element is only found in some diagrams: episodes relating to the very early days of the church, mainly to do with fourth- and fifth-century saints but with the occasional non-religious events such as the death of Seneca, usually put into small roundels in the margins or alongside the diagram. A small number have roundels with supplementary information, mostly dates or activities concerning the early popes (similar to the entries on popes found in the universal chronicles), but again with some authors from Antiquity included, such as Ovid, Lucan or Origen (fig. 3).

A further element of interest, in particular for art historians, is the series of miniatures, some of them illuminated, found in medallions within the diagram of the main

36 Guillaume de Nangis: Paris, BnF, MS lat. 6184, fol. 1–15^{v} (available on Gallica). See Klapisch-Zuber 2000, 168–171, illustration plate 23. Bernard Gui: for example, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 5929, fol. 1^{v}–15 (available on Gallica). See Klapisch-Zuber 2000, 174–176, illustration plate 25.

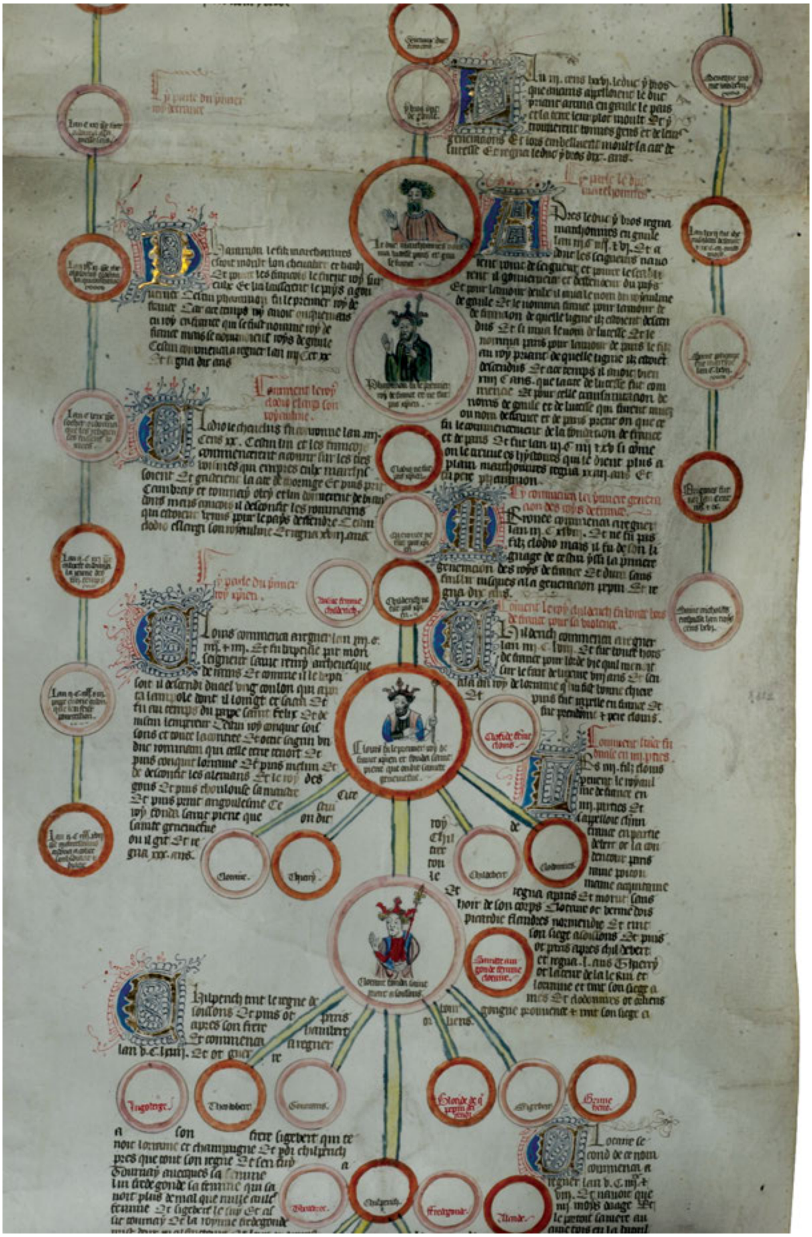

Fig. 3: Princeton, University Library, Princeton MS 56, near the very top of the roll, version P. Courtesy of Princeton University Library. – The only manuscript with portrait busts of kings in the roundels. Top medallion: Marcomir, mythical "duke" of the Franks (not wearing a crown). Second medallion: Pharamond, mythical first king of the Franks. Third medallion: Clovis I, first Christian king. The narrative alternates from left to right by paragraph. The small roundels in the left and right top margins contain brief captions about the acts of the early popes as well as the names of some ancient authors, here Origen (last roundel to the right).

universal chronicle (version H).[37] They consist mainly of representations of towns (their foundation or destruction) and rulers in majesty, but also little scenes illustrating events in the text, such as battles or migrating peoples sailing in ships (fig. 1). Some of the short universal chronicles (versions C and Y), in the column relating to Britain, have diagrams representing the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy, or the dioceses of Brittany. One manuscript is particularly important for the history of cartography: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 4991 (version 5) contains detailed representations of cities, as well as a map of France and one of southern England.[38]

It should not be forgotten that in two-thirds of the copies, *A tous nobles* exists as one work embedded within the universal chronicle, and that the remainder of the contents—the pre-Christian history and the parallel successions of popes, emperors and kings of England—are also worth further investigation.[39] Stand-alone genealogies of the kings of England also exist within the same manuscript as *A tous nobles* for some versions; they are similar to those found in the universal chronicles and also come in different versions.[40] The other texts found in some codices with *A tous nobles* can provide clues about the audience of these books, and the intellectual and literary context of *A tous nobles*.[41]

37 The iconography of these chronicles was the subject of art historian Nathalie Hurel's thesis. See Hurel 1994, 303 first note. Raynaud 1992 gives a useful overview of a typical example of the universal chronicle and the issues it evokes, and she provides an interesting interpretation of its imagery. However, neither of them were aware of the full extent of the corpus of version H manuscripts, which affected some of their views (see Davis 2014, 81 note 6). Davis 2014, 68–93, has made a systematic study of the illustrative cycle of version H manuscripts.

38 See Serchuk 2006. The entire manuscript is available on Gallica in colour.

39 See the critical edition by Davis: *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle*, ed. Davis. Pickering 1998, has studied the section on the kings of Jerusalem found within the genealogy of the kings of England. I thank him for giving me a copy of his article.

40 Jaclyn Rajsic is currently working on these parallel chronicles of the kings of Britain and England, which she calls *Les Chroniques d'Engleterre Abrégiées* (*LCEA*): the main source material is the Prose *Brut*, but this chronicle is a distinct work in the same way as *A tous nobles* is, and it too has different versions parallel to those of *A tous nobles* (communication at the London Medieval Manuscripts seminar on 24.11.2015). See also Rajsic 2016.

41 For the version 3 codices, see Norbye 2007b.

Typology of manuscripts: form and textual content

The typology of the manuscripts is best summed up in the table below, with details in the Appendix.[42]

To date, 26 different versions of *A tous nobles*, which differ in text and in corresponding diagram, have been identified.[43] The sigla for the versions can be in the form of a number (1–7, corresponding to the seven versions identified by Sanford Zale) or a letter. Some can be grouped together into 'families' that share numerous common traits. Rather than creating a second set of sigla for the families, I named them by combining the sigla of their constituent versions, e. g. family '23RE' consists of versions 2, 3, R and E.[44]

Tab. 1: Manuscripts of *A tous nobles*: summary of relationship between textual versions and manuscript types ('v' = 'version')

Form	*A tous nobles* only	Short univ. chronicle	Long universal chronicle
Codex	v 1 and 7: single copies, text alone in MS v 5: 2 copies, 1 text alone in MS, 1 with other texts v 3 and/or v 4: 7 copies, with other texts v 6: 2 copies, probably with other texts v B: 1 copy, with other texts v E: 1 copy, with one other text v D: 1 copy, with one other text	v 2: 1 copy v L: 1 copy	v F: 3 copies v H: 1 copy v U: 6 copies, of which one with other texts
Roll	v P: 1 copy, text alone in MS v A and V: single copies, text alone in MS v T and R: 2 copies, text alone in MS v O: 1 copy, with kings of England v W: 1 copy, with rulers of Hainault/Flanders	v L: 2 copies v C: 1 copy v Y: 2 copies v G: 1 copy v F: 1 copy	v H: 28 copies v H-type1: 1 copy v H-type2: 1 copy
Total 74 MSS	25 ATN-only: 16 codices + 9 rolls	9 short UC: 2 cod. + 7 rolls	40 long UC: 10 cod. + 30 rolls
26 versions: 11 codex only, 12 roll only, 3 both; Form: 28 codices, 45 rolls, 1 accordion book (v W)			

42 To avoid overburdening readers with endless detailed references to individual manuscripts in this codicological survey, I refer them to the list of manuscripts in the Appendix (tab. 2), and I will only cite specific manuscript shelf marks when not doing so might cause confusion.

43 For my initial lists of manuscripts, see Norbye 2007a and 2008a, lists now superseded by the Appendix to this article. I now count the two version H manuscripts on my list (Paris, Archives Nationales, MS AE II 419 and Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 523) as being two versions separate from H, one contemporary with the prototype copy of version H, and the other a late and expanded version from the sixteenth century. See Davis 2014, 15 note 1, 39–41.

44 See the families in the Appendix.

Of the 74 known manuscripts, 49 contain the universal chronicle (long or short), and 25 have *A tous nobles* on its own or with one other genealogical chronicle.[45] Thus in about two thirds of cases, *A tous nobles* is incorporated into a universal chronicle. In material terms, 28 manuscripts are in codex form, written on parchment or paper. Most copies of *A tous nobles* are written on parchment rolls: the current tally is 45 rolls (plus one accordion book made up of a roll folded to resemble a codex) representing just over 60 % of the corpus.[46]

These rolls between them contain fifteen versions of *A tous nobles*. Most of these versions only exist in one or two copies. The major exception is the version H long universal chronicle with its 28 rolls (plus two more manuscripts with closely related version H) which ensures the dominance of the roll form in the corpus of *A tous nobles* manuscripts. The remaining 28 copies of *A tous nobles* are in codex form. Codices hold nine stand-alone versions (several surviving in only one or two manuscripts), as well as two codex-only versions of universal chronicles and three versions found in both forms.

Most codices contain stand-alone versions of *A tous nobles*. Two copies, where *A tous nobles* is the only text, consist of unique versions, 1 and 7, each of which only exists in one manuscript.[47] The copy of version B includes several other texts: the abridged *Chronique de Baudouin d'Avesnes*, continued by the abridged *Chronique Normande*, and, following *A tous nobles*, a genealogy of the kings of England until Henry IV (1399–1413) similar to that found in the universal chronicles, and a list of religious events usually found incorporated in the margins of some versions of *A tous nobles*. A more luxurious manuscript has used version E of *A tous nobles* as a preliminary text to the *Grandes Chroniques de France*.[48] Both these codices belonged to the libraries of high-ranking aristocrats: the dukes of Burgundy and the duke of Nemours, Jacques d'Armagnac. The text of version D, a close sibling to version 6, follows one other work, Christine de Pizan's *Faits d'armes et de chevalerie*.[49] Two codices contain version 5: in the first, *A tous nobles* is the only text (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 4991); in the

45 I have counted as one manuscript the three fragments that make up the copy of version H that Lisa Fagin Davis lists as MS X, and have done the same for the three fragments of her MS Y: these therefore make up six separate items on my list in the Appendix, but they are counted as two copies of *A tous nobles* which is what they would have been originally. See Davis 2014, 3. Where a copy of version H is physically made up of two separate parts, I have counted this as one roll in the statistics.

46 New manuscripts keep cropping up, so the numbers will vary, but the general proportions have remained more or less the same so far.

47 Both are available on Gallica.

48 See Hindman/Bergeron-Foote 2014, 120–131 for the provenance of the manuscript (now in a private collection). As the cataloguer did not seem aware of the numerous other copies of *A tous nobles*, some statements about the origins of *A tous nobles* should be treated with caution, but the juxtaposition with the *Grandes Chroniques* is indeed of interest. This catalogue with three photos of the manuscript is available online.

49 See Fresco 2016, who concludes that it is impossible to tell whether the two texts were bound together initially or at a later stage. I thank her for this article and for sending me the photographs that enabled me to identify this version.

second, it is located between two other genealogical chronicles, one of the Dreux and Coucy families (starting with the conquest of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon), the second of the house of Burgundy.[50] Version 6 exists in two copies.[51] The first is a two-quire pamphlet containing *A tous nobles* plus a list of French kings, subsequently bound with other unrelated texts (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5734). The second contains an acephalous text of *A tous nobles*, an incomplete extract from Sir John Mandeville's 'Travels' and a later eighteenth-century text; many leaves of this codex have obviously been lost.[52]

Six codices include version 3 (stand-alone), of which three also contain version 4 (the atypical, longest version of *A tous nobles*). A seventh copy contains version 4 without version 3.[53] They are combined with various permutations of texts.[54] Among these texts are the so-called *Débats et appointements* (a polemical piece of the early fifteenth century against the pretensions of the king of England), the genealogical chronicle of the kings of England and short historical documents relating to France, Normandy and Brittany.[55]

The final nine codices contain the universal chronicle. Paris, BnF, MS fr. 23019 begins with some diagrams of virtues and vices, before displaying a genealogical tree from the Creation to Christ, illustrated by various medallion miniatures, of the type found in the universal chronicles, but omitting the accompanying text.[56] It then includes a short universal chronicle, covering the Christian era only, with version 2 of the text of *A tous nobles* in the third column. Version F of the long universal chronicle exists in three codices.[57] The most common version of the universal chronicle (version H) is only found in rolls, except for one codex, Arras, Bibl. Mun., MS 146.

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50 Paris, BnF, MS fr. 4991, available on Gallica.

51 Both are available on Gallica.

52 It is rare among copies of *A tous nobles* in having some marginal annotations by an early sixteenth-century reader, drawing attention to certain events. The other copy to have some marginal notes is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. Rolls 2, although they are fewer in number, concerning mainly battles and changes of French dynasties.

53 See a detailed list of these manuscripts with their contents in Norbye 2007b, 126. Paris, BnF, MSS fr. 5059, 10139, 19561 and 4990 (available on Gallica).

54 The variety of combinations of the contents of these seven manuscripts is the subject of an article by Lewis 1995. It should be noted however that he does not distinguish between version 3 and other 'short' versions of *A tous nobles*.

55 The *Débats et appointements* are published in *L'honneur de la couronne de France*, ed. Pons, 45–79. This text is also discussed in Pons 1982. My special thanks go to Nicole Pons who generously gave me her notes on the manuscripts.

56 Panayotova 2001, 329, points out that trees of virtues and vices were often found in manuscripts with Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium*. The version 2 manuscript (Paris, BnF, fr. 23019) is available on Gallica, and a few colour images in the BnF Banque d'images.

57 There is also a roll of a short universal chronicle, Montpellier, Bibl. Universitaire, MS 586, whose text is basically that of version F, but whose corresponding tree diverges from that version. Paris, BnF, MS fr. 61 is available on Gallica as a colour reproduction of the original manuscript.

The third version of the long universal chronicle (version U) is only found in codex form.[58] It has a layout different to that of all the other universal chronicles with *A tous nobles*, irrespective of their length or form. Instead of several columns of text with parallel narratives, it has only one column, with sections of text setting out the various stories consecutively, sometimes interrupting one strand to pick up another, and returning to the first one later. In twin copies (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 23017 and Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, LJS 266) the chronicle, after a section on emperors, finishes at the end of the narrative about the French kings, and does not keep the promise made in the prologue to narrate the history of the popes and of the kings of England (elements which are found in all the other universal chronicles). This chronicle and its accompanying tree occupy the entire codex. The same applies to three other copies (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Cod. Gall. 13, and Paris, BnF, MSS fr. 694 and 695). However, these three have a couple of significant textual differences from the previous two manuscripts: the prologue does not mention the popes, and the chronicle has an extra continuation containing the life of Charles VI which is identical to the text for this king in the second recension (using the Davis typology) of version H.[59] Like the first two manuscripts, these copies do not have the kings of England, nor the popes. In the final copy of version U (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1370), the section on the popes is included as the final part of the universal chronicle, but again the kings of England are missing. This manuscript has no diagrams, no decoration, and is written in cursive script. The rest of this codex (60 % of its length) contains an assortment of religious and moral texts, ranging from a Life of Pilate to short prayers in French.

Finally, version L, a short universal chronicle, exists in both forms: two rolls and one codex.[60] The latter has two columns of parallel texts instead of the usual four, starting with the genealogies of the kings of France and England, and then moving to the narratives of the popes and the emperors in the second half of the book.

58 Paris, BnF, MSS fr. 694, 695, 1370 and 23017 (available on Gallica). Search online for "UPenn LJS 266" for a full colour reproduction. There are some images of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Gall. 13 in Melville 1987a, 143–145.

59 Transcription of this prologue in Melville 1987a, 153.

60 See Figure 6 for the roll London, British Library, Harley Rolls O.1. Digital Scriptorium has a full colour reproduction of the other roll, New York, Columbia University Plimpton, MS 286.

Typology of manuscripts: genealogical diagrams and layout

It was not just the text of *A tous nobles* which was subject to numerous revisions; the accompanying genealogical diagrams were equally likely to be remodelled, not just in contents, but in appearance.[61] The trees are thus interesting in two ways. Firstly, they are as important as the text, and their contents too reflect the historical and political choices of the authors.[62] Secondly, as a graphical device, they have a major impact on the layout and visual aspects of the manuscript. The degree of lavishness of a diagram's decoration is reflected in the rest of the physical makeup of the manuscript; indeed, it is inseparable from it in most cases. Just as for the textual variations, one is struck by the variety of visual forms encountered, which again reveals the involvement and inventiveness of the makers of the manuscripts.[63]

All manuscripts of *A tous nobles*—apart from versions B, 4, 6, D and 7, and one copy each of versions 5 and U, which only contain the text of the chronicle—include diagrams of some sort. Most common is a circle and line diagram producing a 'tree', formed by a thick central vertical trunk or stem representing the main line of succession, usually to the eldest son, with younger offspring on side-branches. Graphically, the tree is articulated around roundels containing the names of the kings or their family members, and lines joining the generations, usually emanating from the father. The children are placed on the next horizontal axis; generally the lines from the children's roundels converge onto the father's central roundel, creating a radiating effect. In some more complex diagrams, several generations descending from cadet lines may be shown. The designer of this tree mastered the technique of depicting intricate genealogies via this structure; the mistakes that occur probably originate from inaccurate information rather than from design faults.[64]

The basic structure described above depicts the relatively simple genealogies of the French kings, but similar diagrams were used for the biblical genealogies of the Old Testament and for other historical or mythical dynasties mentioned in the univer-

61 Two seminal studies on the use of graphical devices for genealogies are Melville 1987a (supplemented by Melville 1987b for some of the ideological underpinnings) and Klapisch-Zuber 2000. For a useful summary and bibliography, see Worm 2010.
62 I have discussed the contents of the trees and their accompanying text in several articles. Three focus on *A tous nobles*: Norbye 2007a, on the trees in particular see 305–306, 309–311, 313–317; 2007b, 127–128, 133, 138; 2008a, 180, 183, 185. In the context of the political messages found in French genealogical diagrams: 2008b, 87–89, 92–93, 96, 97, 99.
63 For a study of the resemblances of the diagrams with real vegetal trees, see Norbye 2014, 78, 82–86.
64 For the genesis and use of this type of genealogical tree, see Klapisch-Zuber 2000, in particular on the graphical choices of Peter of Poitiers (127–132), and the subsequent chapters on universal chronicles (139–157), royal chronicles and genealogies (159–185), and genealogies of nations and families (187–206).

sal chronicles. The stand-alone *A tous nobles* text was written in two columns, with the tree placed in the central margin, but the universal chronicles were divided into four columns (sometimes three or five during the Old Testament period), with several parallel trees drawn in the outer margins and between the columns of text, leading at times to some very intricate designs.

There are several ways of depicting this basic underlying structure. By far the most common, found in all the universal chronicles irrespective of form, in all the rolls of the stand-alone *A tous nobles* and in one codex (Enluminures, catalogue 18, 120), is a tree formed of smallish roundels (typically 20–30 mm in diameter), usually outlined in black or red ink and linked by thin red lines. A series of larger roundels (henceforward referred to as 'medallions') of about 45–85 mm in diameter are often placed either on the central vertical axis (for certain important kings) or in parallel with the main tree, free-standing in the margins or embedded in the accompanying text. These medallions might, like the roundels, merely contain a caption with the king's name and other data, but more often, they are filled with the drawing of a building (usually religious) whose foundation is attributed to a ruler or his wife, or with a stylised representation of the monarch. Princeton, University Library, Princeton MS 56 is exceptional in that the medallions contain half-length portraits of rulers and no buildings (fig. 3).[65] The more lavish manuscripts have medallions representing scenes from the Bible or historical events, such as the destruction or foundation of cities, armies or people on the move, or important battles (figs. 1 and 2).

Two rolls of the stand-alone *A tous nobles* (version R) convey a slightly different visual impression, as instead of lines radiating from a king's roundel to his offspring, they have horizontal or vertical lines going at right angles to each other, much in the way of modern printed genealogical tables (fig. 4). Moreover, they have an elaborate system of colour coding to distinguish between descendants of different cadet branches. The central trunk and its large medallions are drawn in alternating bands of three colours. However, the basic structure remains the same.

The layout described vividly represents to the reader the continuity of the lineage and is most appropriately conveyed on a roll that was read from top to bottom, with the circle-and-line diagram following a vertical axis.[66] However, if such a layout was copied into a codex, as it was in Paris, BnF; MS fr. 23019 (version 2, part of a short universal chronicle), the sense of continuity was lost.[67] Here the four columns of standard

65 Images of the entire manuscript in ArtStor and in the Index of Medieval Art (formerly Index of Christian Art).

66 On the appropriateness of the roll form for genealogical trees, see Melville 1987a, 104, 106–107 and Klapisch-Zuber 2000, 132–134. In his magisterial study of the genealogical rolls of English kings, Olivier de Laborderie 2013, 59–75, evokes several possible reasons for the adoption of the roll form for these genealogies, without being fully convinced by any of them. I thank him for very generously sharing his work in progress with me when we were both doing our doctoral research.

67 Scrolling through the manuscript images on Gallica gives some idea of this loss.

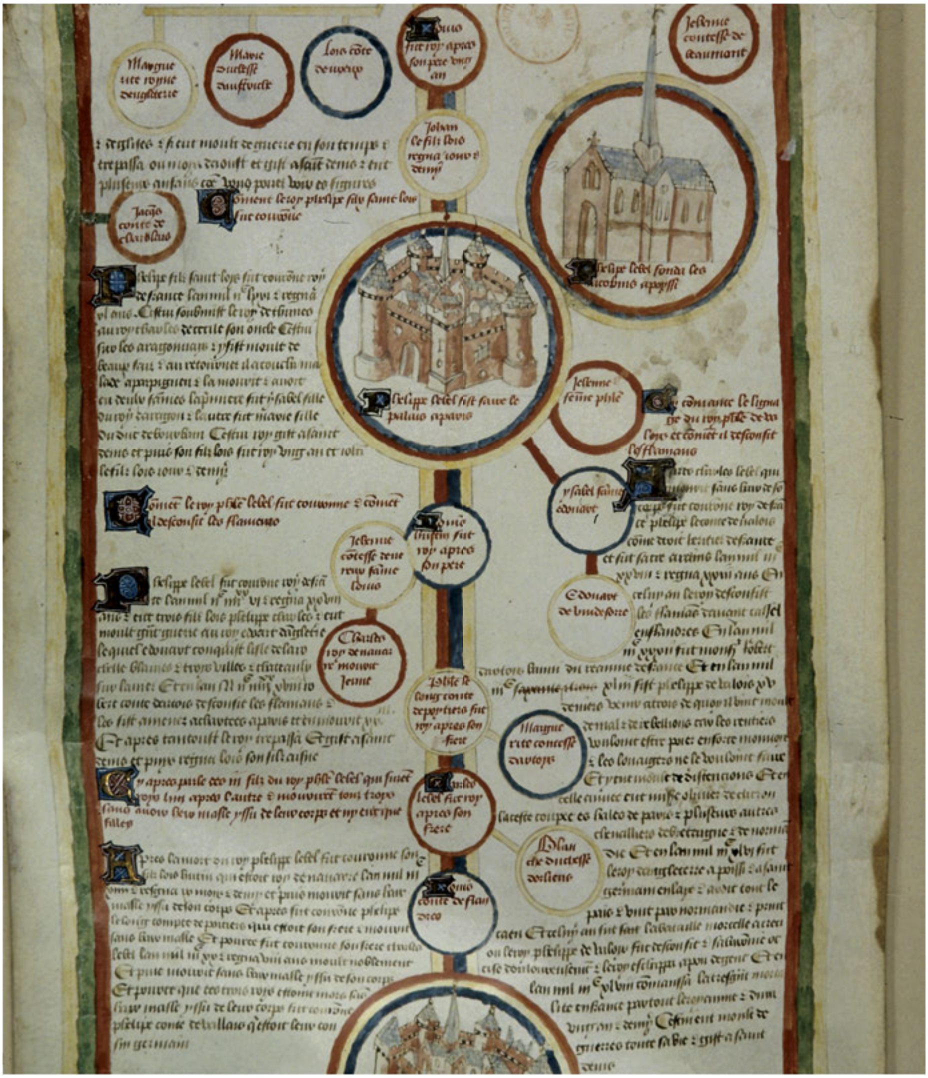

Fig. 4: Figure 4: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 6470, in the latter part of the roll, version R. By permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. – In the central axis, two roundels with the common *A tous nobles* error: “Louis” and “Jean” inserted as kings before Philip IV (the actual son and successor of Philip III). Medallions with pen and colour wash drawings of buildings founded by Philip IV: the Palace in Paris, and the church of the Jacobins in Poissy. Three roundels in the kings’ central axis correctly show the three sons of Philip, successive kings who died without male heirs; incorrectly, a fourth roundel is placed there for their cousin Louis of Flanders. The top of the medallion for their cousin Philip VI of Valois is just visible. The blue roundel to the right below that of Philip IV is for Isabella his daughter, followed by the roundel of her son Edward III of Windsor, claimant to the throne against Philip of Valois.

circle-and-line diagrams were copied across the opening of the book, with two on the left hand page, and two on the right, to be read in parallel, but the eye follows the tree vertically down the page, and has to jump upwards again when turning the leaf. The same arrangement is found in the only copy in codex form of the most popular universal chronicle (version H), Arras, Bibl. Mun., MS 146.

Another universal chronicle (version U) was produced in codex form, but with its narrative material arranged consecutively rather than in parallel columns. In the five copies with a genealogical diagram, the tree was placed in the margins of the page, with some encroachment into the text area, using the usual circle-and-line structure. Continuity was provided by drawing a line to the bottom edge of the page, with the caption "this branch goes to [name of the first person on the next page]", and another line from the top of the next page, with the caption "this branch comes from [name of the last person on the previous page]". Changes of narrative sections (e. g. interrupting the story of the Romans to pick it up in a later section) also used this graphical device.[68] This avoided misunderstandings, but as in the previous manuscripts, the sense of a linear connection was lost.

The visual problem of a continuous genealogical diagram in a codex was solved to an extent by the designer of Paris, BnF, MS fr. 4991 (version 5, a stand-alone *A tous nobles*). The basic structure of the diagram is preserved, but the axis is horizontal rather than vertical. The main line is about one third of the way down the page, and as one turns the page, the eye travels to the same level on the next page, maintaining a greater sense of linear continuity. Secondary branches are drawn as parallel lines, at the top or bottom of the page. The text, divided into two columns, is distributed above and below the horizontal line. The tree is depicted as a rose bush: the lines of transmission are painted as thick green boughs, with the new shoots of the next generation entwined around this main branch and then flowering into a rose with a bust of each king (and occasional queen). Like the more traditional diagrams, thin lines link kings to their younger offspring, who are represented in small roundels captioned with their names and titles. The cities, religious foundations and historical scenes, normally circumscribed within medallions, invade the page as illustrations. The visual effect is very different to that of the other trees, but the basic structure follows the same principles.

A horizontal axis was also used by the designer of the accordion book (version W) which is in the physical form of a roll, i. e. membranes stuck together to form a long strip, but folded in pleats to be read as a codex, turning the folded 'pages' in the normal way.[69] As in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 4991, there are small blocks of text above and below a horizontal genealogical circle-and-line diagram. There are often several narratives

68 Melville 1987a, 101–104, describes this in more depth. Illustrations 143–145 of the Munich manuscript.

69 Digital Scriptorium has colour images of the entire manuscript.

at once (e. g. *A tous nobles* and genealogies of the counts of Hainault), leading to at least two parallel horizontal diagrams leading the reader onwards down the generations.

Another solution was adopted by the designer of the model for Paris, BnF, MS fr. 61 and Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 520, the two codices containing version F of the universal chronicle, as well as by the writer of the only codex copy of version L (Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Fr. F.v.IV.11).[70] They had turned the leaves of each quire around by 90 degrees before writing the text and the diagram in parallel vertical columns in the usual way. Thus, when one opens the book, in order to read the text one has to rotate the book so that the central gutter is horizontal rather than vertical, laying the codex flat. The advantage is that the tree can thus extend down across both the pages of any given opening, and as one flips the leaves over, the line continues over the edge of the page.

Another, less common, type of genealogical diagram consists of free-standing roundels placed singly or in clusters in the margin or between paragraphs. This is only found in the six codices of version 3 (fig. 5).[71] Near the text entry for each king is a roundel for him and for his queen(s) when known. Younger offspring are shown, starting from the early Capetian Philip I (d. 1108). For the Valois kings, roundels go down several generations in some cadet lines. The roundels of descendants are clustered around a given king, in vertical or horizontal groupings. Most roundels of kings and queens, especially from the Capetians onwards, are distinguished from those of their offspring with a stylised crown. The absence of lines between roundels makes a clear genealogical reading difficult, particularly of some of the later clusters, where several generations of cadet branches are grouped together.

The final type of diagram is found in one manuscript codex only, Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5697 (version 1).[72] The genealogical figures are based on a central stylised tree trunk, representing the line of royal succession, containing one or more roundels of kings and occasionally of some queens. Usually these are surrounded by other roundels or captions of queens and/or offspring. Royal religious foundations are depicted in additional roundels capped by a special triangular shape. They appear either above or below the main tree trunk, or on their own on a given page, individually or in clusters (vertical or horizontal). The tree trunk, although crudely drawn to look like a real tree, is not shown as continuous: a sawn-off trunk appears for each king or group of kings depicted on any given page. There are lines between some of the roundels, but they do not follow any logic: they are found linking spouses as well as parents and offspring, and sometimes join up persons who are not related. The designer of this particular manuscript has not fully exploited the potential of the 'tree' image, nor

70 A reminder that there are colour images of Paris, BnF, MS fr. 61 (available on Gallica).
71 My grateful thanks go to my friend and colleague Camille Serchuk for photographing this for me.
72 Available on Gallica, with some colour images in the BnF Banque d'images.

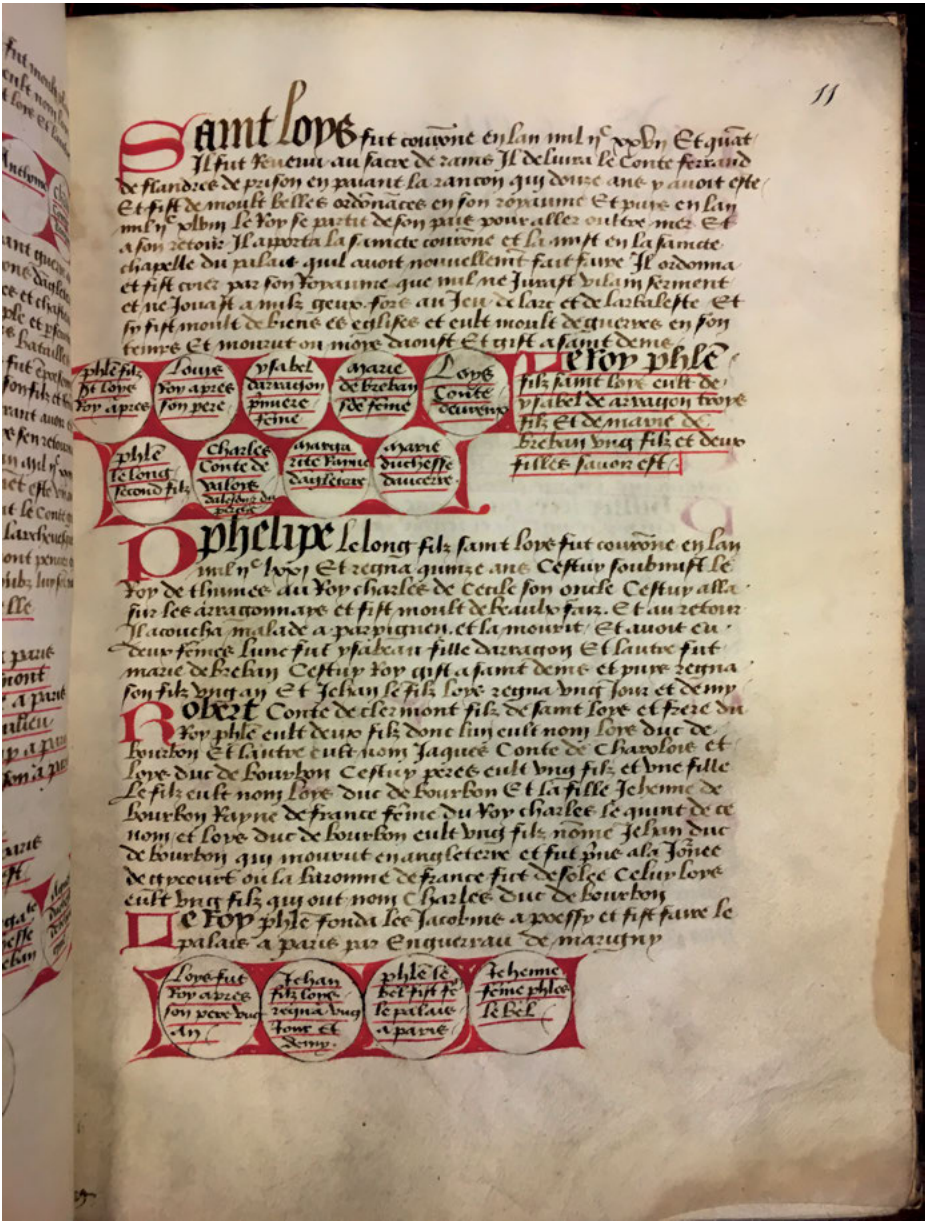

Fig. 5: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 10139, fol. 11, version 3. By permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. – One of the more polished copies, with the clusters of roundels framed in a red background. In the bottom cluster, the *A tous nobles* error, with Louis and Jean placed before Philip IV. Standard paragraphs on Louis IX and Philip III are followed by an extra paragraph typical of this version, giving a genealogy of a cadet line down several generations, in this case that of Robert of Clermont, a younger son of Louis IX, who was the ancestor of the Bourbon branch of the Capetians.

understood the purpose and the practicalities of a genealogical diagram in showing the relationships between members of the same family. It may not be a coincidence that this copy seems to be one of the earliest extant versions of *A tous nobles*. The visual and graphic elements are not worked out in the sophisticated manner found in the 'standard' diagram typical of most manuscripts.

One kind of variation found in many of the genealogical diagrams is that they contain extra roundels, especially in the early sections, with captions relating to various Christian martyrs and saints, and other events of note. These roundels are usually tucked in the outer margins, or they might be clustered around some of the central medallions, sometimes prefaced by a rubric. They tend to peter out around the time of the later Merovingians. For later periods, such roundels might reappear to indicate the foundation of the main religious orders; in the more decorated manuscripts, medallions depicting religious buildings illustrate such foundations. In most cases, these non-genealogical events are clearly differentiated visually from the main genealogical figure; the main exception is the less sophisticated Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5697 (version 1), where the two sets of information might appear in the same cluster of roundels.[73]

Typology of manuscripts: other material aspects

Another aspect that illustrates the sheer variety of manuscripts of *A tous nobles* is their format (defined as the various properties of the form). The most obvious is size, which is often linked to layout. A universal chronicle with parallel narratives in four columns will require a larger width than a stand-alone version of *A tous nobles* written in one or two columns. Dimensions vary enormously. By far the largest manuscript is an early sixteenth-century roll (version H-type 2), Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 523, whose narrative ends in 1520. It is 650 mm wide, which is consistent with many version H rolls, but is an extraordinary 32.7 metres long. The standard version H rolls range in length from about 11 metres to about 18 metres, with the Rouen roll being the longest at 21.88 metres and *c.* 30 membranes. Their width ranges from 500 to 680 mm which easily accommodates the four columns of text and tree. Their length makes them awkward to handle. The most practical way is to unroll just a section at a time on a flat surface, and to keep rolling and unrolling bit by bit, limiting the amount visible at any one time. Just to reach the other extremity of the roll is time-consuming: it takes eight minutes to get as fast as possible from the end all the way back to the beginning of the 17.7-metre long Paris, BnF, MS fr. 15373, for example. Most users do not have access to a space or table measuring ten metres or more in length to unroll the manuscript in full, and even if they did, reading over such a long distance would entail constantly moving along the roll. The sheer volume of parchment means that the manuscript is

73 Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5697, fol. 6^{v} and 26^{v} show this clearly.

heavy to carry, too bulky to be grasped by one hand, and impossible for one person to open up and consult without some form of physical support for the roll.

As mentioned in the introduction, the text in version H suggests that it originally existed in two rolls. This was indeed the case: the prototype of version H still exists (now in Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MSS Fr. F.v.I.9 & Fr. F.v.IV.14), in two rolls that contain the text and tree of version H, in a more manageable format: each roll measures under 2.5 metres and is only 280 mm wide. The text blocks are denser and the trees more compact, as there are no large medallions with miniatures in this prototype. It has small roundels (14 to 26 mm in diameter) and medallions ranging from 30 to 36 mm, a far cry from the miniatures of 65 to 85 mm in the fully developed version H. As Lisa Fagin Davis points out, the prototype rolls were "easily portable" and probably "intended for [...] educational purposes".[74] Their relatively short length makes it reasonably straightforward to search for information within them, which is not the case for the standard version H rolls. The plainer, smaller prototype rolls were made for consultation, whereas it is likely that the large later rolls were made partly for ostentatious display, with less concern for ease of handling.[75] Whoever decided to convert the modest exemplar (the Saint-Petersburg rolls or a now-lost similar copy) into one huge roll with large legible writing, illuminated initials and decoration, and a tree studded with big illustrated medallions, had created a winning formula: nearly thirty of these large rolls are known to survive, with others possibly still awaiting discovery.[76]

The other rolls with a universal chronicle contain the short history, starting at the Christian era (versions C, F, L and Y). The briefer narrative is reflected in the length of the rolls, which are usually about 5 metres long.[77] As the text is still in four columns, their width (510 or 560 mm) is commensurate with that of the version H rolls. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. Rolls 2 (version O) contains *A tous nobles* and the genealogy of the kings of England in two parallel columns of text and tree. Its length is similar to that of the short universal chronicles (5.3 metres) and it has generous space for each column with its total width of 540 mm, similar to the rolls with four columns. The remaining rolls contain just *A tous nobles* (versions P, A, T and R in order of size) and are written in two columns with the tree in the central margin. They range from 3.9 to 8.25 metres long and 300 to 390 mm wide. The longest are the two copies of version R which have a fuller genealogical tree with numerous cadet branches going down several generations in the later sections.

74 Davis 2014, 141.

75 We do not know the owners of most of the rolls, but Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS IV 1003 belonged to Arthur de Montauban, nobleman and later archbishop of Bordeaux, and Cambridge, Harvard University Houghton Library, MS Typ. 41 has the arms of the aristocratic Flemish family of Liederkerke (see online copy cited in note 1, final image). It is likely that many of these rolls went to similar owners.

76 In terms of timing, the prototype dates from 1409–1415 (same as several other early versions of *A tous nobles*), whereas the developed version H appeared during the reign of Charles VII (1422–1461), with most copies datable to after his death.

77 London, British Library, Harley Rolls O.1 is slightly longer at 6.7 metres.

The final ‘roll’ is the accordion book (New York, Columbia University, Smith Western MS 06; version W) which is read horizontally, not vertically like the other rolls, with a horizontal axis for its genealogical diagrams. Its length is similar to that of other rolls (5.7 metres), and it has a width (or, in this case, height) of 370 mm.

The codices are fairly homogeneous in size and fall into two main groups. Firstly, there are the two codices of version F (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 61 and Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 520), a universal chronicle in four columns that was rotated 90 degrees.[78] The books are therefore quite tall before rotation, as their height corresponds to the width required to accommodate the four columns (450 and 400 mm). Their width when closed is 300 mm. When the book is open and rotated, this gives a double page opening with a vertical length of 600 mm equivalent to a manageable-sized section of an open roll. The other codex that gets rotated, St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Fr. F.v.IV.11 (version L), has unusual proportions when closed: it is wider (310 mm) than it is tall (250 mm). When open and rotated, the 250 mm side is wide enough to contain two columns of text plus trees, and the double page opening (620 mm vertically) is again similar to that of a manageable segment of a roll.

All the other codices are of fairly standard octavo sizes and proportions, ranging in length from 350 to 185 mm and in width from 210 to 125 mm, with most clustering around 280 mm long and 200 mm wide. The smallest manuscript of *A tous nobles* discovered so far is Paris, BnF, MS fr. 5734 (185 mm × 125 mm; version 6) which is also the most modest in every other material way: no diagrams, undecorated, written in the most cursive script, and made of paper.

The great majority of copies are made of parchment, with only seven codices being made of paper (version B, the four copies with version 4, and the two copies of version 6). It is probably no coincidence that these paper copies are collections of texts, probably used for more practical purposes (e. g. to consult their historical, polemical or devotional contents) than many of the other manuscripts of *A tous nobles*.

There is often a correlation between the script and the degree of quality of the manuscript. Thus, the luxury rolls of version H were copied mainly in a large neat French *bâtarde* hand. Some manuscripts are written in Gothic textura, but many are in *bâtarde*, or in some form of semi-cursive *bâtarde* or secretary hand. Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS 10233–36 (version B), despite being made of paper, was carefully presented and rubricated, as befitted a book in the library of the dukes of Burgundy, and was written in *bâtarde*, whereas the paper copies of versions 3, 4 and 6 were copied in more informal cursives.

Finally, the decoration ranges from the painted miniatures of the medallions of the version H rolls (of variable degrees of artistic merit and execution), numerous pen and ink drawings with colour washes of ecclesiastical buildings, representations of

78 There are fragments of a third codex Paris, BnF, MS nouv. acq. fr. 5386 which I only saw on microfilm.

kings, some illuminated initials and decorated borders, multicoloured genealogical trees, lavish use of red ink for the diagrams and rubrication, to no decoration or coloured ink whatsoever.[79]

The choice between roll and codex: who made the decisions for *A tous nobles*?

As seen from the codicological survey above, *A tous nobles* was presented in a large variety of ways, whether in its textual context (i. e. alone or with other texts), in its layout together with its genealogical tree, or in its form (roll, codex and even accordion). For every version of *A tous nobles*, and sometimes for individual manuscripts containing that version, someone was making decisions, not only about the contents of the text and the tree, but also about the form, format and layout of the artefact. I have discussed elsewhere the question of the *remanieurs*, those who not only remodelled the intellectual content but also its physical presentation.[80] To sum up my arguments, for each version, someone took the initiative to amend the text and tree, whether significantly (e. g. by adding or omitting chunks of text, even altering the bias of the chronicle) or very slightly (minor changes of words, paraphrases, and other such changes that did not alter the basic tenor of the text).

The versions with minor textual variants tend to fall into groups or 'families'. The interesting point is that within the same family, there can be huge variations in the physical characteristics of the manuscripts of the 'sibling' versions, in terms of form, format and make-up of the book. Compare for example the luxury rolls of H, the rotated codices of F, and the elegantly produced codices of U with their consecutive narrative blocks. Contrast them with the sixth copy of U and the copies of versions 6, 7 and D, plain codices devoid of decoration, written in a cursive hand, often on paper, and lacking any genealogical trees. The same can sometimes apply to the manuscripts of the same version, for example the two codices of version 5. One is idiosyncratically filled with a horizontal tree in the form of a rose bush. The other, without a tree, presents a standard late medieval appearance: *bâtarde* script with headings in textura, with alternating red and blue initials of decreasing sizes. This evidence suggests two types of *remanieurs*: those who made the significant changes of content that are common to all versions of the same family, and those who made the minor

79 Readers wanting to explore images online can refer not only to the BnF Gallica site, but to the French website Enluminures that links to the IRHT database Initiale (also accessible directly), with pictures from French municipal libraries for the Caen, Orléans, Rouen, Tours and Verdun manuscripts. Decorated Sainte-Geneviève manuscripts ought to be available through Liber Floridus, the database of images from French university libraries.
80 Norbye 2008a.

content changes that distinguish the text and tree of sibling versions but who used their creativity to produce physically distinct and sometimes unique manuscripts, in roll or codex form.[81]

Who was responsible for these changes? In each case, someone had taken an existing copy of *A tous nobles* and deliberately amended its contents, or produced a different physical object from the exemplar, or done both. For the contents, I have argued that *A tous nobles* may have been the product of intellectual circles where people were interested in history and its impact on contemporary politics.[82] The *remanieurs* may have been members of government circles or of the nobility. Some of them might have been clerics associated with a secular patron. The *remanieurs* of the contents were not necessarily scholars. There are some historical errors in the text and tree which remain unchallenged in all the versions.[83] Whoever the *remanieurs* were, they used their initiative to change the contents of the exemplar (or exemplars, judging from the amount of cross-fertilisation between versions and between families) at their disposal.

Questions on the practical aspects of the process come to mind, most of them unanswerable due to lack of evidence. In the case of some of the more modest, cursively written copies, it is possible that the *remanieur* and the scribe were the same person, the 'writer' in both senses of the word. In the case of the more professionally written copies, who decided on the changes? Particularly for the material changes in presentation, whether it be the form of the manuscript, the use or not of diagrams, the page layout etc., was it the patron or the scribe who made the choices? Was there a collaborative effort between the person who emended the text and the scribe who wrote out the manuscript? In this context, another question arises: who was the end user? Was it the person who commissioned the manuscript, the *remanieur* who revised the contents, or the scribe who physically produced the copy? In the case of some of the changes to the physicality of the manuscript, one can posit that the end user was involved in the production process, helping to create a book in the form and format that he found the most convenient or best suited to his purposes.

In all these questions above, I am focussing on the creation of the first (and often only) copy of a version or of an individual manuscript variant within a version, i. e. the copy where something new and different was produced, intellectually or physically. One should not forget that *A tous nobles* was also a work that in some versions and physical manifestations was manufactured in very similar multiple copies.

81 A reminder that versions L, F and H, exist in both forms, and that all three main families use both forms.
82 Norbye 2008a, 185–189. In the context of the Hundred Years War and its focus on competing claims to the throne via the bloodline, this seems likely.
83 However, Davis 2014, 65, notes that some mistakes were corrected in her subgroup R2a of the version H universal chronicle.

A clear example is version H and its twenty-seven known large rolls. There are plenty of subtle differences in content and in appearance, as masterfully analysed by Lisa Fagin Davis, but they all follow a certain pattern, and on stylistic grounds, it is safe to say that some groups of rolls must have been written or decorated in the same workshop or based on a common model.[84] Two copies of version U (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 23017 and Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, LJS 266) are quasi twins. All five copies with genealogical diagrams of that version have such similar layouts that the same information is found on the same page for each one, with at most only a few lines of text being out of sync with the other manuscripts. In the case of both these versions, the manuscripts were of high quality, decorated with miniatures or illuminated initials and borders, suggesting that professional scribes and illuminators were carefully reproducing whichever exemplar they were using. At the other end of the scale, the scribes of version 3, where some of the six codices are copied in a cursive and untidy way which suggests that writers made copies for their own personal use as part of a compilation of useful historical and polemical texts, nevertheless all respected the same basic structure and layout, as well as the common text and tree.

These examples show that it was possible to produce homogeneous groups of copies of *A tous nobles*. Yet nearly half of the known manuscripts do not belong to these three groups. Most of them are unique in appearance or content, or only have one or two close sibling manuscripts. Presumably, these artefacts fulfilled a need on the part of their producers or users to create a manuscript which bore their personal imprint, and which was best suited to the uses to which they wished to put it.

Consequences of the choices: challenges posed to the users

We may speculate about the identity and motivations of those who made the choices that affected the materiality of the manuscripts of *A tous nobles*, without reaching any definite answers due to lack of evidence. However, we are on firmer ground when it comes to gauging the user's relationship with the manuscripts themselves, simply because we ourselves are users of the same manuscripts. We handle the same artefact and encounter similar difficulties as medieval users, even if we nowadays might react to them differently. In what follows, I reflect on some of the challenges posed by the copies of *A tous nobles*, such as I encountered them, or such as they might have been to medieval users, as evidenced by traces (often errors) left by the scribes. In other words, how user-friendly are they?

At the most basic level, is the choice of the roll form for genealogical diagrams necessarily the best one? As mentioned earlier, there is no incontrovertible evidence

84 See Davis 2014, 78–80, for her conclusions on the iconography of the copies of version H.

that Peter of Poitiers' original *Compendium* was in roll form. All we know is that about one third of the surviving manuscripts are on rolls.[85] The roll form appears to be the optimal way of visually conveying the continuity of a line over time, be it a series of office holders such as Old Testament judges or popes, or rulers keen to stress their legitimacy through bloodline.[86] However, as Olivier de Laborderie points out, the concept of dynastic bloodline was stronger in France than in England, yet it was in England that genealogical chronicles on rolls had flourished since the mid-thirteenth century.[87] Rolls of *A tous nobles* and the version H universal chronicle only emerged in France in the early fifteenth century. Before then, no one seems to have felt the need to imitate the English in depicting royal genealogies on rolls.[88] The advantages were perhaps not as obvious as they may seem to us.

On the other hand, two designers of codices (versions F and L) chose to rotate their books by 90 degrees to create a more roll-like effect, suggesting that some users at least wanted the sense of continuity created by a roll. The creator of the copy of version 5 (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 4991) with its horizontal 'rose bush' tree also seems to have wanted to avoid the disadvantages of using vertical columns in a codex. Readers of all these volumes get more of a sense of genealogical continuity, although rotating the book is initially an awkward gesture which makes one more aware of the physicality of the book.

The other codices with genealogical circle and line diagrams show that for this type of figure, the roll has a clear advantage. Apart from the visual discontinuity of page breaks in the vertical axis, there is the challenge of ensuring that the line is carried over to the next page in the right place, and that there is no confusion caused by several parallel lines. In the case of version 2 of *A tous nobles*, towards the end in particular, where the French and English trees occupy the entire double page opening, with several cadet lines as well as the main royal line (fol. 33^{v}–34), it is quite demanding to remember what the origin of each line was.[89]

Codex version U avoided the problem of parallel lines by using single blocks of narrative where sections were interrupted at suitable points and picked up again several pages later. This created its own challenge of suspending the circle and line diagram and resuming it in a way that enabled the reader to take up the thread again. The solution was ingenious and effective: to put little labels on each broken end of the line announcing the interruption and then the resumption of the tale. However, the narrative is disjointed, and the reader has to find the correct continuation of particular

85 Laborderie 2013, 68, using the data in Monroe 1990.

86 See Melville 2015 and Norbye 2015, about genealogical trees as legitimising devices for rulers.

87 Laborderie 2013, 72.

88 The earliest rolls of *A tous nobles* are the three sister versions A, C and Y (Yale copy), and the Saint Petersburg prototype of version H.

89 Panayotova 2001, 332, points out how this problem occurred in codices of Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium*.

storylines. Moreover, the scribe of the first exemplar of this version may have got himself confused, as he never put in the final two sections of the chronicle that had been announced in the prologue: the popes and the kings of England.[90]

Most universal chronicles, however, kept the original concept of parallel histories physically positioned alongside each other that Peter of Poitiers had adopted in his *Compendium*. This posed other challenge, irrespective of the form of the manuscript: how to present the parallel narratives in an intelligible way for the user. Peter of Poitiers had set a fine example with a coherent set of diagrams, but as more and more interpolations were introduced, and his *Compendium* was integrated into a wider universal history, keeping track of the various strands of narrative became more difficult.

Overall, in *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle* (version H), the designer has managed this quite well, keeping a specific lineage or succession within the same line in the genealogical diagram. The text also tends to be arranged so that one narrative usually remains in the same column throughout, but there are instances where the reader has to hunt for the next part of a specific narrative in a neighbouring column. The tree is usually easier to follow, as it shows a succession of rulers along the same vertical line, even in cases where the text concerning these rulers jumps from one column to the next (as it does, for example, for the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt). For the user, navigating around the chronicle is feasible but not easy, even with the unbroken continuity of the roll.

Another difficulty is the lack of chronological concurrence between the events in the different columns. There is no horizontal alignment between the narratives or the trees.[91] The designer of the genealogy did not try to create a grid defined by set chronological boundaries. However, there were attempts in two versions of the short universal chronicle to match up the rulers in the Christian era for whom accurate dates were available from the beginning, namely the popes and the emperors. In versions L (roll) and 2 (codex), the trees have lines linking the roundels of the popes and of the emperors who were their contemporaries, with more than one line emanating from a roundel if any given emperor ruled at the same time as several popes, or vice versa (fig. 6). In some versions such as H, a line was sketched between the roundel of Charlemagne (d. 814) as king of France in column 3 and that of Charlemagne as emperor in column 2, often quite a distance apart given the lack of chronological alignment (fig. 6).[92]

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90 Either that, or he was prevented from finishing his task, and another scribe used his copy as an exemplar for the manuscripts that have come to us. It is interesting to note that the five sister codices all have this omission, whereas the scribe of Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1370, a less elegant collection of texts in a cursive hand, included the section on the popes: did he copy the book for his own use, using his initiative more than the other scribes?

91 Morrison/Hedeman, 2010, 245 also note this phenomenon.

92 One can note in passing how Charlemagne illustrates the dual nature of the lines, which may show succession by blood lineage (e. g. royal dynasties) or by office (e. g. popes). In the French line, he is part of a blood line from his father Pippin (first Carolingian king, on the main trunk of the tree), then up a side branch to his great grandfather Pippin of Herstal, Mayor of the Palace. Pippin of Herstal

Links between columns could have greater significance than just matching up contemporary rulers. I have discussed elsewhere in detail the attitudes within *A tous nobles* towards the thorny issue of female succession, in a period when the Hundred Years War was raging or had just finished, with the main bone of contention being Edward III of England's claim to the throne of France through his mother Isabella, daughter of Philip IV.[93] In the main, most versions ignored Edward III's claim in both text and tree. The only exceptions are versions 3 and O. How did the universal chronicles, with their parallel columns of kings of France and England, represent visually the relationship between Philip IV, Isabella, her husband Edward II, and Edward III? Did they show any link between them that might help the reader see the connections?

The answer depends in good part on a couple of material considerations: the degree of chronological disparity between the columns with kings of France and England, leading to a longer or shorter distance between the position of Isabella in the French column and that of her husband, and whether the manuscript is a codex or a roll. In a codex, if the distance between husband and wife is too great, the scribe does not attempt to draw a line between them. This is the case in both version 2 (fol. 32 and 33) and version F (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 61, fol. 29v and 30v), where a page turn would disrupt any attempted link. In the version F codex, the designer partly overcame the problem of distance between Isabella and Edward II by not placing her among her father's children, but in a roundel with her husband, captioned as the daughter of Philip IV. Such captions are also the only link in the roll of version C: Isabella and Edward II, in their respective columns, are each accompanied by a roundel or a caption identifying their spouse. This is reinforced by the roundel for Edward III that describes him as son of the daughter of Philip IV. In both cases, it is the captions that inform the reader, not the lines of the tree.

The lack of synchronicity between columns can lead to a discrepancy between manuscripts of the same version. In the rolls of version Y, only one of them shows a line drawn between Isabella and Edward II in columns 3 and 4.[94] In this roll, there is a long gap between the two, but it is not insuperable. However, the second version Y roll has no line: the distance is too great, as the tree for England is long over by the time the tree in column 3 reaches Isabella.[95] In the rolls of version L, Edward II appears opposite French persons two generations above Isabella. To resolve this, her roundel is placed above that of her father, enabling a line to be drawn between Philip IV and

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however is shown as the successor to a line of Mayors, the men who held the real power in parallel with the Merovingian kings (whose blood line is shown in the central trunk). In the imperial line, Charlemagne is shown as the successor to a Byzantine emperor, i. e. he has taken over the office, not inherited by blood right. The reader of the genealogy can tell lines of succession from the diagram but cannot always be sure whether there is also a blood link or not.

93 Norbye 2007a, 311–316, discussion on the question of female succession to the throne of France.

94 Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Fr. 54.

95 New Haven, Yale University Beinecke Library, MS Marston 180.

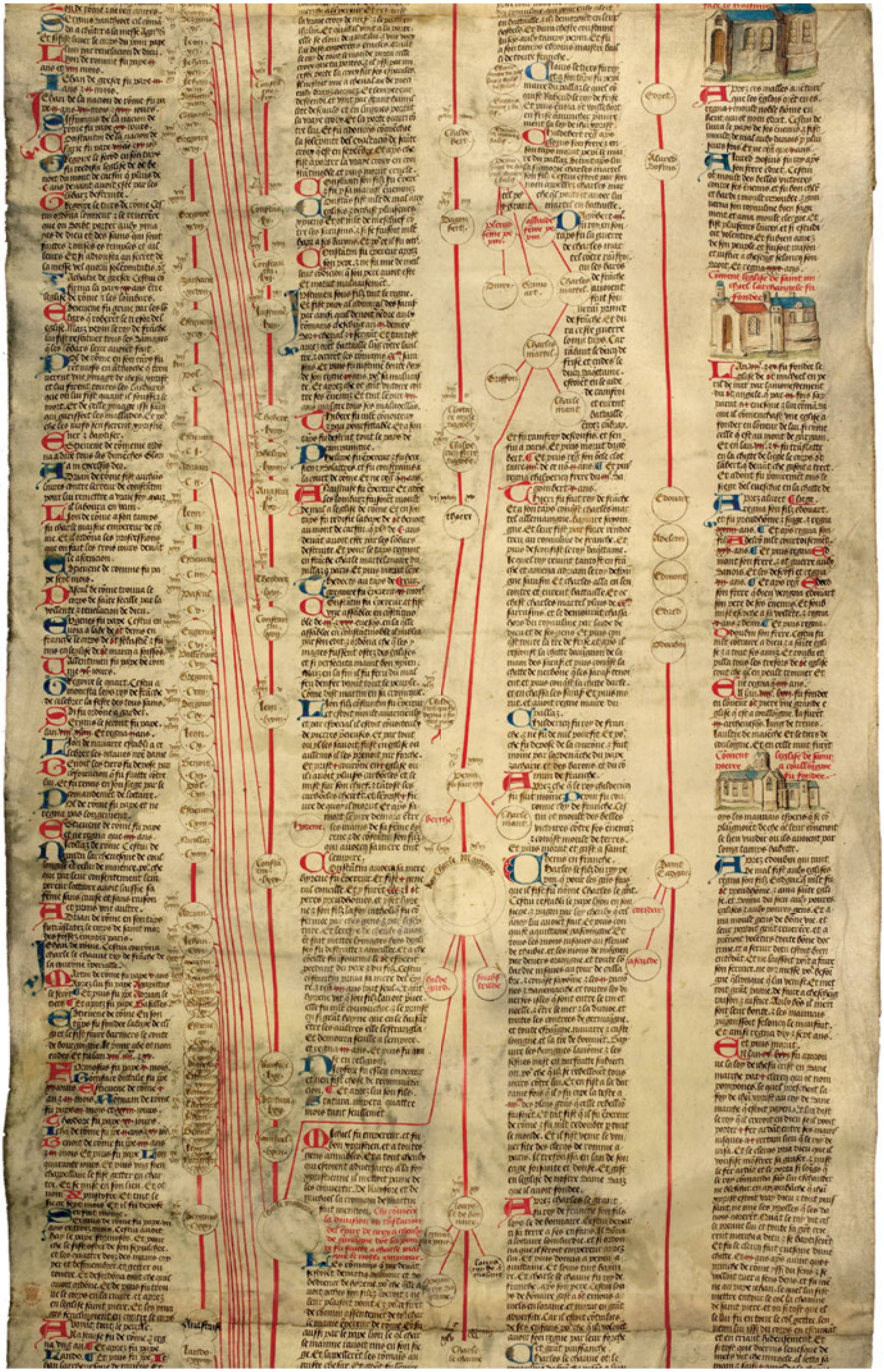

Fig. 6 (opposite page): London, British Library, Harley Roll O.1. By permission of the British Library Board. – Short universal chronicle in four columns. Note the lines between columns 1 and 2 linking each pope to the emperor(s) contemporary with his term of office. In the central tree, the line of the Merovingian kings of France is terminated; Pippin I, from a line going up to his grandfather Pippin of Herstal and beyond him to a succession of early Mayors of the Palace, takes place in the centre as the first Carolingian monarch, followed by his son Charlemagne in the large medallion. From there, one line goes to the line of emperors in column 2, where Charlemagne appears a second time in a medium-sized medallion following from the Byzantine Roman emperors. Column 4 contains the kings of England, but the illustrations do not relate to English churches but to French or imperial buildings.

Edward II through her. In this case, the roll form is more advantageous compared to a codex, making it easier to draw lines over long distances. In the version H rolls, a line is drawn between Isabella in her position as daughter of Philip IV and her son Edward III. Her husband also has a roundel with her name beside his. The link is clearly made, at about the same level. This connection also appears in one of the stand-alone versions of *A tous nobles*: in the manuscript of version 5 with the horizontal tree, there is a parallel line of kings of England added from the marriage between Edward I and Margaret, daughter of Philip III (d. 1285).[96] A line connects together Isabella and her husband, and a caption for Edward III states that he wished to be king of France. Finally, the version which shows the link most clearly in text and tree is version O, a roll with parallel genealogies of France and England. Its *remanieur* was pro-English. Therefore, not only is Isabella shown linked to her father and her husband, but her son appears both in the English tree and in a large medallion in the French tree, together with his wife, with a caption stating clearly his claim to the throne.[97] The designer of this version was making quite sure that the reader would get his message.

The visual presentation of the link between Isabella and her son, a link that had important implications for the political narrative of the chronicle, shows how different the impression would have been on the user depending on which manuscript he was viewing. In both codex and roll, there were structural constraints, such as the relative positioning of the generations of French and English kings, that affected the way the links could be shown, above and beyond any deliberate choices made by the designer of the tree as to whether to highlight or not the relationship between the two royal houses. Modern readers should beware of overinterpreting the significance of certain elements in the trees: they may simply be due to physical considerations, as in the two differing copies of version Y.[98]

96 Paris, BnF, MS fr. 4991, fol. 16–17^{v}.

97 See more details in Norbye 2007a, 316, and Norbye 2018, 188–190.

98 This example shows how our interpretations can be affected by the randomness of survival (or discovery) of manuscripts: if only one of these rolls had survived, one could have read into the presence (or absence) of a line, a deliberate intent on the part of the version Y *remanieur*.

Reading parallel histories might be confusing for the user (who could be the scribe copying the next generation manuscript as well as any reader), but even stand-alone texts of *A tous nobles* could lead to misunderstandings. In the rolls of *A tous nobles* on its own, the text is placed in two columns, one on either side of the genealogical tree that occupies the centre. Each king's reign is written in a separate paragraph (except for some short-lived Merovingians who are grouped together), and the normal pattern is to have king number 1 in the left-hand column, then king number 2 in the right-hand one, king number 3 on the left under number 1, and so on. This layout of the narrative of *A tous nobles* on a roll was probably the cause of a mistake made by the scribe of the exemplar of version F, a universal chronicle where the *A tous nobles* text about the kings of France only occupies a single column. In this column, for a long stretch one king (or paragraph) out of two is missing, from the early Merovingians (Chilperic I, d. 584) to the Capetian Louis VIII (d. 1226), via the Carolingians (even Charlemagne himself is missing). The most logical explanation is that the scribe was only copying the text on one side of the tree of a roll containing a now lost stand-alone copy of *A tous nobles*, thus omitting all the kings from the other column. There is a similar set of omissions in version D.

Misunderstandings linked to layout also occur at the end of rolls, particularly for universal chronicles where the narratives of the popes and the emperors tend to finish first. They are followed by the kings of England, leaving space for the history of France to spill out of the confines of its third column and enter the empty adjacent columns. This may happen in an orderly fashion, as it often does in version H rolls. For example, in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 176, as soon as the kings of England narrative stops in the fourth column, the text for France spreads across to occupy the third and fourth columns, thus doubling the length of each line of writing, whilst the final part of the French tree extends its branches into the space vacated in columns 1 and 2 after the end of the papal and imperial histories. Once the tree is complete, the text for France moves across the entire width of the roll, occupying what used to be all four columns. In this instance, navigation is straightforward, although the user finds the text much more uncomfortable to read, as the reader's eyes are obliged to travel across lines of writing about half a metre long.[99]

In other cases, rather than gradually widening the text once the other narratives came to an end, scribes chose to use the space left in the other columns, by inserting blocks of the text of *A tous nobles* into these columns, paragraph by paragraph. This could lead to some confusing situations where the inexperienced reader might not

99 The Harvard roll available online (see note 1), Cambridge, Harvard University Houghton Library, MS Typ. 41, shows a less extreme example of this: at the end, when the text for the emperors is complete in column 2, the text for the kings of France spreads across columns 2 and 3, ignoring the red line of the French tree that separates the columns, so that many individual words straddle the line.

know in which order to read the text blocks. It is made all the more challenging because at the end of many versions, the entries for the later kings are much longer and tend to occupy more than one paragraph, so the reader cannot use the first sentence with the name of the new king as a guide. Undoubtedly, scribes unfamiliar with the text were also confused, and perpetuated or worsened any muddled situation they encountered in their exemplars. In the roll of version G, London, College of Arms, MS 9/48, the scribe has put the text relating to the final king, Charles V, on both sides of the tree. On the right, he has put the lengthy paragraph relating to Charles as regent for his father, which wraps around the tree and finishes across the entire right-hand half of the roll at the very bottom, giving the impression that it is the final text. However, it is not: some way above, on the left-hand side of the tree, there is the final paragraph with the story of Charles' reign as king. Something similar happens in the roll of version C, London, British Library, Cotton Roll XIII.33. The latter part of the story of Charles' regency, which ought to be the penultimate paragraph, is written across the bottom of the roll below the tree, whereas the paragraph relating to his reign is placed above it on the right, opposite the paragraph containing the first part of the regency. A reader unfamiliar with the text would read the story of the king's reign and then be taken back to his regency. A modern cataloguer would indicate an explicit for the manuscript which is not the appropriate explicit for the text. The risk of such confusions occurring is probably magnified by the roll form, where the text can be taken down and across in an undisciplined fashion, without the constraint of the page. Thus, the material characteristics of the medium and the process of copying between different forms and layouts can explain some of the mistakes and inconsistencies.

Finally, another challenge for the user of the genealogical diagrams can be the way the text wraps around the lines of the genealogical trees. Most diagrams were probably sketched out before the copying of the text began, since in most manuscripts, the text carefully avoids the branches. In narrow columns, when some branches intrude too much into the text block area, this leads to text being broken up into very small units, sometimes even just a few letters, filling every bit of space around the tree. This makes for laborious reading for the user who does not see complete words and whose eye is distracted by the circles and diagonal lines of the diagram.

Conclusion

A tous nobles, thanks to its relatively high number of copies presented in such a variety of forms, formats and layouts, provides an important case study of how a reader can engage with different types of manuscript all containing the same base text. The fact that about half of the manuscripts are rolls makes the user all the more aware of the impact that the materiality of the book can have.

Some advantages and disadvantages of the roll form become clear. For a global view of a dynastic or national narrative, an understanding of the ramifications of a family tree, or the presentation of parallel narratives, a roll provides a powerful tool where visual impressions can reinforce and promote intellectual understanding, so long as the designer or the scribe produce a clear layout and avoid confusions and errors. The rewards are higher, but so are the risks. However, when it comes to a working instrument for readers wanting easy reference to specific information, the codex often has the advantage over the roll, especially once the roll gets past a certain size. The user of a codex can flick through its pages rapidly, note down the page or folio number, or put in a bookmark.[100] Once consulted, a codex can be closed immediately, whereas it can take several minutes to roll up a roll.

Physically, it is usually easier to consult a codex than a roll, unless the latter is small, in which case the roll presents the advantage of being scanned through at a glance. We cannot be sure how medieval readers used their rolls. Theories that grand rolls such as *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle* or the English genealogies of the kings of England might have hung on walls of tall rooms have been discredited. From a practical point of view, it makes no sense, since the rolls would have been impossible to read.[101] It is more likely that they were laid flat on a table, or possibly draped on a gabled lectern or writing desk, such as the one depicted in a portrait of the author and scribe Jean Miélot widely disseminated nowadays.[102] One of the large rolls of version H has a wrought iron rod at the end with a crank handle, which suggests that at some stage, this handle was used to turn the roll.[103] Perhaps the roll was hooked by its rod onto some sort of vertical frame; currently the only way to use the handle is to lay the roll right at the edge of a table, so that the handle can be turned in the empty space beyond the table edge. The big version H rolls are so unwieldy that they are unlikely to have been used for study or consultation, unlike their smaller prototype.[104] From their size and their decoration, they were more likely to be used as display objects, although that would not preclude a reader from being edified by its contents.

One other disadvantage of a roll is that one cannot easily add texts to it. It can be lengthened with additional membranes at the end—this can be handy for prolonging genealogical trees—but it is not very practical otherwise: one cannot easily insert extra elements in the middle of a roll, nor form a collection of related texts bound together. It is no coincidence that the diffusion of Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium* was

100 Medieval readers probably could find a way of affixing some sort of bookmark to their roll, an option that is not open to modern scholars.

101 Laborderie 2013, 67–68.

102 Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9198, fol. 19, miniature by Jean Le Tavernier. Available on Gallica and numerous websites.

103 Paris, BnF, MS fr. 15373.

104 Some have even been cut up in modern times: Paris, BnF, MSS nouv. acq. fr. 1493, 1494 and 1495 are now bound as large folio volumes.

increased by it being joined with the text that it was summarising, Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, in a codex form, or with the Bible itself, also in codex form.[105] *A nous nobles* is often combined with other non-genealogical texts, but always in a codex, never in a roll. For both these works, the codex form enabled users to refer to the genealogical information whilst also consulting the other works in the manuscript, which would not be easy to do with a roll.

Despite these drawbacks, rolls are the most rewarding medium with which to view genealogical diagrams, and the physical act of scrolling through them does give a tangible sense of history unrolling before one's eyes. As for the mistakes and inconsistencies found within them, they are a touching reminder of the humanity and foibles of the scribes who wrote them. They even provide an insight into how unquestioning people can be: did none of the copyists of those twenty-seven large rolls of version H ever stop to ask themselves why they were reproducing a statement about *l'aultre roulle* as they copied their way down their single roll? We will never know what was going through their minds, but we can still appreciate the result of their hard labours and engage in our turn with these remarkable artefacts.[106]

105 Panayotova 2001, 327.

106 A description of several projects where scholars are currently closely engaging with rolls can be found on https://digitalrollsandfragments.com/ (last accessed: 18.9.18). See also the Medieval Scrolls Digital Archive on http://medievalscrolls.com/about (last accessed 1.6.2019)

Appendix

Tab. 2: Manuscripts with *A tous nobles* (updated August 2018). Organised by versions or groups of related versions.
Legend: UC: universal chronicle, containing *A tous nobles* within it. Short UC: universal chronicle starting with Christ and Julius Caesar, rather than at Creation. ATN: *A tous nobles* as stand-alone chronicle. BnF: Bibliothèque nationale de France. All manuscripts have genealogical diagrams unless specified otherwise: circle-and-line type unless indicated. Former shelf marks (in brackets) or provenance are indicated when these can identify the manuscripts mentioned in older secondary literature.

Shelfmark	Version	Form	Comments
Text common with other versions, few unique features			
London, British Library, Harley Roll O.1	L (short UC)	roll	4 columns with parallel diagrams.
New York, Columbia University Library, Plimpton 286	L (short UC)	roll	4 columns with parallel diagrams.
St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Fr. F.v.IV.11	L (short UC)	codex	Rotate book 90 degrees; 2 parallel columns: kings of France and England. Popes and emperors in the second half of the book.
Paris, BnF, MS français 5697	1 (ATN)	codex	Segments of diagram on each page.
Close siblings: B and P (related to 1)			
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10233–36, fol. 281–289	B (ATN)	codex	No diagram. Followed by genealogical chronicle of the kings of England. Other historical texts before.
Princeton, University Library, Princeton MS 56	P (ATN)	roll	2 columns, diagram in central margin. Bust portraits of kings in diagram.
Family 23RE (+ long version 4)			
Paris, BnF, MS français 23019, fol. 13–34^{v}	2 (short UC)	codex	In 4 parallel columns, 2 per page.
Paris, BnF, MS français 5059, fol. 2–24^{v}	3 (ATN)	codex	All version 3 MSS: diagram consisting of circles only, no lines linking them.
Paris, BnF, MS français 10139, fol. 2–14^{v}	3 (ATN)	codex	All version 3 MSS: co–located with other contemporary texts including a genealogy of the kings of England.
Paris, BnF, MS français 19561, fol. 2–21	3 (ATN)	codex	

Tab. 2 (continued)

Shelfmark	Version	Form	Comments
Family 23RE (+ long version 4) (continued)			
Paris, BnF, MS français 4990, fol. 1–39ᵛ, 42–54	3 & 4 (ATN)	codex	Version 4: no diagram.
Paris, BnF, MS nouvelle acquisition française 7519, fol. 15–85ᵛ, 94–115	3 & 4 (ATN)	codex	
Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 1994, fol. 1–62, 70–77ᵛ	3 & 4 (ATN)	codex	Several texts incomplete, including both versions of ATN.
Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 1993, fol. 5–67ᵛ	4 (ATN)	codex	Co-located with other texts. Several incomplete, including ATN.
Paris, BnF, MS français 6470	R (ATN)	roll	2 columns, diagram in central margin.
Chicago, Newberry Library, 132	R (ATN)	roll	2 columns, diagram in central margin.
Privately owned (Enluminures catalogue 18 (2014), 120)	E (ATN)	codex	ATN precedes the *Grandes Chroniques de France*. 2 columns, diagram in central margin.
Family YCATWG			
New Haven, Yale University Beinecke Library, Marston 180	Y (short UC)	roll	4 columns with parallel diagrams.
Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Fr. 54	Y (short UC)	roll	4 columns with parallel diagrams.
London, British Library, Cotton Roll XIII.33	C (short UC)	roll	4 columns with parallel diagrams.
London, British Library, Additional MS 26769	A (ATN)	roll	2 columns, diagram in central margin.
Caen Bibliothèque Municipale MS 0345 (514 in-fol. 155)	T (ATN)	roll	2 columns, diagram in central margin.
Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1039	T (ATN)	roll	2 columns, diagram in central margin.
New York, Columbia University, Smith Western 06	W (ATN)	roll-type	Accordion book, to be read like a codex. Horizontal diagrams, parallel lines of France, Hainault, Flanders.
London, College of Arms, 9/48	G (short UC)	roll	4 columns with parallel diagrams.

Tab. 2 (continued)

Shelfmark	Version	Form	Comments
Related: 5 and V			
Paris, BnF, MS français 4991	5 (ATN)	codex	Horizontal diagram.
Paris, BnF, MS Picardie 6, fol. 40–58	5 (ATN)	codex	No diagram. With lineage of Dreux & Coucy families, genealogy of the house of Burgundy, and misc. info.
Verdun, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 31	V (ATN)	roll	2 columns, diagram in central margin.
Family HFU67D			
Paris, Archives Nationales, AE II 419	H-type 1 (UC)	roll	Early variant of version H.
St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Fr. F.v.I.9 & Fr. F.v.IV.14	H (UC)	roll	Prototype, 2 rolls. All version H MSS have 2 columns later splitting into 4.
Paris, BnF, MS français 15373	H (UC)	roll	
Paris, BnF, MS français 15374	H (UC)	roll	
Paris, BnF, MS nouvelle acquisition française 1493	H (UC)	roll	Now cut into sections and bound.
Paris, BnF, MS nouvelle acquisition française 1494	H (UC)	roll	Now cut into sections and bound. Incomplete: ends at Louis IX.
Paris, BnF, MS nouvelle acquisition française 1495	H (UC)	roll	Now cut into sections and bound.
Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 522	H (UC)	roll	
Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 F 2	H (UC)	roll	Incomplete: ends at Charlemagne.
Boston, Public Library, Pb. Med. 32	H (UC)	roll	Provenance: formerly at Ashburnham Place.
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV 1003	H (UC)	roll	Incomplete: ends at Philippe VI. Now cut into two equal-length rolls.
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 176	H (UC)	roll	
Cambridge, Harvard College Houghton Library, Typ. 41	H (UC)	roll	
Cambridge, Harvard College Houghton Library, Fr. 495	H (UC)	roll	Fragment 2 of Fagin Davis MS Y. Acquired from Quaritch in 2008.

Tab. 2 (continued)

Shelfmark	Version	Form	Comments
Family HFU67D (continued)			
Columbia, University of South Carolina Libraries, Irvin Dept of Rare Books & Special Coll., Early MS 148	H (UC)	roll	Fragment 1 of Fagin Davis MS Y. Acquired from Sotheby’s 23/5/2017.
Croydon, Archive Services, ‘Chronique du monde’	H (UC)	roll	
Hanover, Dartmouth College Rauner Library, MS 461940	H (UC)	roll	Fragment 1 of Fagin Davis MS X. Acquired in 2009.
Krakow, Czartoryski Library, 2851	H (UC)	roll	Incomplete: ends at Philippe VI.
Leeds, University Library, Brotherton Collection 100	H (UC)	roll	Provenance: Rosenheim collection until 1923.
London, British Library, Additional MS 27539	H (UC)	roll	
Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Fr. 99	H (UC)	roll	Text edited and translated by Lisa Fagin Davis.
New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library, M.1157	H (UC)	roll	Sold at Christies 26/11/1997. Given to Morgan Library in 2006.
New York, Public Library, MA 124	H (UC)	roll	
Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 470	H (UC)	roll	
Orléans, Centre Jeanne d’Arc, 35	H (UC)	roll	Fragment 2 of Fagin Davis MS X.
Princeton, University Art Museum, y1932–32 (MS 5)	H (UC)	roll	Incomplete: starts with Clovis II.
Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1137 (U.018bis)	H (UC)	roll	
Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 975	H (UC)	roll	
Privately owned (Jay Walker collection, Connecticut, USA)	H (UC)	roll	Hauck Scroll until 2006. Fully reproduced by Lisa Fagin Davis.
Privately owned (Enluminures catalogue 18 (2014), 133)	H (UC)	roll	Fragment 3 of Fagin Davis MS X. Sold in 2014.
Privately owned (Mark Mersiowsky collection Fragment ms 318, Tübingen)	H (UC)	roll	Fragment 3 of Fagin Davis MS Y. Bought in 2011.

Tab. 2 (continued)

Shelfmark	Version	Form	Comments
Family HFU67D (continued)			
Privately owned	H (UC)	roll	Last sold by Semenzato in Venice, May 2003, lot 148.
Privately owned	H (UC)	roll	Fragment. Sold by Reiss & Sohn in 2012, lot 1477.
Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 146	H (UC)	codex	Vertical diagram, 2 columns per page.
Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 523	H – type 2 (UC)	roll	Late variant, 32.7 metres long.
Paris, BnF, MS français 61	F (UC)	codex	Rotate book 90 degrees; four parallel columns.
Paris, BnF, MS nouvelle acquisition française, 5386, fol. 16–21v	F (UC)	codex	Rotate book 90 degrees; four parallel columns. Fragments only, in a modern collection of misc. fragments.
Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 520	F (UC)	codex	Rotate book 90 degrees; four parallel columns.
Montpellier, Bibliothèque Universitaire, MS 586	F (short UC)	roll	Tree differs from other version F trees. First 2 membranes missing.
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Gall. 13	U (UC)	codex	Diagram mainly in margins. Single column with consecutive narrative sections, lacks final sections on popes and on kings of England.
Paris, BnF, MS français 694	U (UC)	codex	Diagram mainly in margins. Single column with consecutive narrative sections, lacks final sections on popes and on kings of England.
Paris, BnF, MS français 695	U (UC)	codex	Diagram mainly in margins. Single column with consecutive narrative sections, lacks final sections on popes and on kings of England.
Paris, BnF, MS français 1370, fol. 1–51v	U (UC)	codex	No diagram. Lacks final section on kings of England. First text in a collection of misc. texts, mostly religious.

Tab. 2 (continued)

Shelfmark	**Version**	**Form**	**Comments**
Family HFU67D (continued)			
Paris, BnF, MS français 23017	U (UC)	codex	Diagram mainly in margins. Single column with consecutive narrative sections, lacks final sections on popes and on kings of England.
Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, JS 266	U (UC)	codex	Diagram mainly in margins. Single column with consecutive narrative sections, lacks final sections on popes and on kings of England.
Paris, BnF, MS français 5734, fol. 93–111^{v}	6 (ATN)	codex	No diagram. Part of a modern collection of misc. MSS.
Paris, BnF, MS français 20145, fol. 2–13^{v}	6 (ATN)	codex	No diagram. Part of a modern collection of misc. MSS.
Paris, BnF, MS français 5696	7 (ATN)	codex	No diagram.
Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 815, fol. 157–173^{v}	D (ATN)	codex	No diagram. Follows the *Le livre des faits d'armes* by Christine de Pizan.
Amended by pro-English author			
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. Rolls 2	O (ATN)	roll	In two columns, with parallel genealogy of the kings of England.

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Fig. 6: By permission of the British Library Board.

Maree Shirota

Neither Roll nor Codex

Accordion Genealogies of the Kings of England from the Fifteenth Century

English royal genealogical chronicles are a combination of text and diagrams, with or without illumination and illustrations, which trace the history of the kings of England. The genealogies follow the succession of kings on a 'main' lineage and are sometimes further elaborated with supplementary lineages of relatives of the king, along with a commentary text.[1] They are a manifestation of the preoccupation with descent and ancestry, and interest in historiographical works of the late medieval period.[2] Therefore, they are an important source for late medieval historiography and political culture.[3] The royal genealogical chronicles from fifteenth-century England have survived in various forms.[4] One form that has not received much attention in scholarship is the 'bound accordion'.[5] Due to its initial appearance, a reader may expect to read a codex—only to be surprised by a manuscript that is constructed rather differently. The accordion form is neither a codex nor a roll, but a hybrid of these two.[6]

1 For a summary on the structure of genealogies, see Croenen 1999, 84–85.
2 For the convergence of genealogical historical literature in Western Europe, especially in Britain, see: Fisher 2008; Radelescu 2008.
3 For an example on how a royal genealogy can be analysed for political ideas about depositions, see: Shirota 2015.
4 The earliest royal genealogical rolls are from the thirteenth century in England. For more on royal genealogies from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in England, see: Laborderie 2013.
5 For French royal genealogies in rolls and codices, see Norbye in this volume.
6 The term to describe these manuscripts has not yet been definitively established in scholarship. This article uses *accordion*, or more specifically, *bound accordion*, in order to introduce a precise term for this particular type, based on codicological definitions. *Concertina* and *roll-codex* are terms used in de la Mare's catalogue, which includes an excellent description of the form: De la Mare 1971, 82–83. However, *roll-codex* is likely to cause confusion, especially when describing manuscripts that were a bound accordion, but then later unbound and rolled up for storage. Such a manuscript is London, British Library, Harley Roll C.9, which could be described as both a roll and codex during different points of the manuscript's life, making *roll-codex* an unclear term. *Concertina-style* has been used interchangeably with *accordion-style* in literature, see Mooney 2008, 184. However, *accordion* is the term used in codicological studies, and *accordion* by itself implies an unbound, folded book, see Muzerelle 1985, 58. Therefore, *bound accordion* is the most suitable term for these manuscripts.

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This article starts with an introduction of the known royal accordion genealogies, before a discussion about the relationship between form, content and function of this particular body of manuscripts.

In terms of scholarship, there is very little about the different forms of royal genealogies. Many studies thus far about royal genealogies have tended to focus on the text, which has resulted in the neglecting of the materiality of the manuscripts.[7] This means that questions regarding the unusual form of the accordion—and its implications—have not yet been asked. The sole exception are catalogue entries that describe the physical appearance of accordion genealogies in detail.[8] However, as observational descriptions, catalogues do not offer much in the way of analysis or contextualisation. I seek to fill this gap in the literature through a codicological analysis of the accordion manuscript genealogies.

The article first introduces the fifteen accordion manuscripts that have survived from the fifteenth century. After providing the historical context to this unique group of genealogies and a summary of their contents, the article summarizes how the manuscripts were produced. Using material and textual analysis of the accordion genealogies, combined with the broader cultural and social trends, the last section discusses the reasons behind the development of the accordion. This sheds light on the reasons behind the needs of the users for such a manuscript form. Although there is no contemporary written explanation for the accordion genealogies, the article argues that a combination of materiality, the genealogical text and wider cultural movements contributed to the creation of these manuscripts.

The accordion genealogies

By ‘accordion genealogies’, this article refers to a type of genealogical manuscript that was designed and created as a folded book and bound at one edge. A long roll is folded in alternating directions in evenly sized sections (pages), creating a ‘zig-zag’ accordion-style ‘book’. One of the long edges is then bound, so that the folded and flattened roll opens like a codex. The result is a manuscript that appears initially to be a codex, but upon closer inspection, is revealed to have a folded ‘accordion’ construction, rather than one based on quires.

7 Allan’s thesis on Yorkist propaganda provides an analysis of the genealogies as part of a broader literary push towards legitimising Edward IV: Allan 1981. Rajsic has published on adaptations of the Brut chronicle on a genealogical roll and transmission of Arthurian narratives in English genealogies, both of which tend to focus on literary aspects: Rajsic 2016, 2017.

8 Catalogue entries for accordion genealogies include Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell MS 33 (De la Mare 1971, 80–85), and Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 207 (Scott 1996, 315–317). Both entries classify groups of manuscripts by textual variations, although Scott includes a more detailed summary of the illustrative features.

The bound accordion is an unusual form that experienced a short-lived popularity for genealogies in England.[9] There are at least fifteen accordion or formerly accordion royal genealogies made from parchment.[10] They survive from a period approximately between 1461 and 1473, which corresponds to the reign of Edward IV (d. 1483). It is possible to deduce the approximate earliest year for a genealogy's creation through the names of figures depicted or the accompanying commentary. This dating method relies heavily on the births of Edward IV's children and any mention of Edward IV's coronation (1461) or the death of Henry VI (1471). The following table (tab. 1) shows that there appears to have been a short-lived burst of the accordion form during the period between 1461 and 1473.[11] London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 456 is likely to be one of the earliest surviving genealogies of Edward IV's reign and one of the first bound accordions. It lacks circles for his children and his wife, Elizabeth, whom he married in 1464. Furthermore, it describes his proclamation as king on 4 March 1461, but not his coronation, which took place in June of the same year. This potentially narrows the window of its creation to between March and June of 1461.[12] After five years on the throne, his first child, Elizabeth, was born in 1466, which could explain the creation of New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS B.30.[13] Two more daughters, Mary and Cecily, followed in 1467 and 1469, whose circles were added to new versions. At least four accordion genealogies include Edward's first son and heir, Prince Edward, who was born in November 1470. Henry VI had been briefly restored to the throne between October 1470 and April 1471. He died in May 1471, and a number of accordions mention his burial, but do not include the birth of Edward's fifth child, Margaret, who was born in April 1472. Edward's second son, Richard, was born in 1473, and appears beside his siblings on the accordion from St John's College, Oxford. All of the dates suggest that a new version of the genealogy was drawn up after each royal birth and either after the death of Henry VI or Edward's restoration. At least one accordion

9 Only one known royal French genealogy exists in accordion form: New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Smith Western MS 06 (Norbye 2007, 301).

10 See the Appendix for a full list and details of the accordion genealogies identified and discussed in this article. No known accordion royal genealogies survive before the fifteenth-century.

11 There is one other known royal genealogy in accordion form: London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 19. It is dated to *c.* 1533, made of paper, and textually differs from the fifteenth-century manuscripts. Due to these differences, it has not been included in this study.

12 A roll of the same genealogy, Winchester, Winchester College, 13 A, may also have been produced between March and June 1461, since it also only mentions the proclamation and not Edward IV's coronation. Another very similar roll, Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Brogynton II.52 includes a sentence about the coronation: *Et coronatur in regem Anglie eodem anno apud Westmonasterium XXVIII die mensis iunii anno Domini MCCCCLXI.* The significance of Lansdowne 456 as an early Edward IV genealogy was first pointed out by Allan: Allan 1981, 276–279.

13 A total of three genealogies, including PM B.30, and two roll genealogies, New Haven, Yale University, Marston 242 and Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS NKS 1858 folio are attributed the earliest date of 1466, as all depict Edward's daughter Elizabeth.

genealogy was produced almost every year between 1466 and 1473, suggesting that there was continuous demand for this particular type of manuscript.

Tab. 1: Earliest dates for royal accordion genealogies produced in fifteenth-century England.

Date	Latin	English
1461	London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 456[14]	
1466	Christie's, *Valuable Books and Manuscripts*, 11.7.18, sale no. 16018, lot 53.[15]	New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS B.30
1467		Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e. Mus. 42[16] Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 207
1469		Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell MS 33
1470	Cambridge, Queen's College, MS 35	London, College of Arms, Arundel 23 London, British Library, RP 9264[17]
1470?	London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1170[18]	London, British Library, Stowe MS 73[19]
1471	Oxford, Brasenose College, MS 17 Cambridge, Trinity College R.4.3[20] Sotheby's, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, 6.7.10, sale no. L10240, lot 24[21]	
1472	London, British Library, Harley Roll C.9[22]	
1473	Oxford, St John's College, MS 23	

14 Allan 1981, 276–277.
15 Online catalogue: https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/genealogical-chronicle-of-the-kings-of-england-6154518-details.aspx (last accessed: 7.11.18).
16 Available to view online at the Digital Bodleain website: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/3601a05c-effd-4647-b046–66ecad5e4451 (last accessed: 30.10.18).
17 Currently in a private collection. Only photocopies of this accordion manuscript are accessible at the British Library. This is the same manuscript sold at Sotheby's, Western and Oriental Manuscripts, 4.12.07, sale no. L07241, lot 49. See online sale catalogue: http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2007/western-and-oriental-manuscripts-l07241/lot.49.html (last accessed: 7.11.18).
18 MS 1170 is cut off at King Vortigern, making it impossible to narrow down the date of creation. It is closely related to Cambridge, Queen's College, MS 35, which suggests that it may have also been produced in 1470.
19 London, British Library, Stowe MS 73 is also imperfect at the end. The last king is Edward IV, and the genealogy ends with a line leading from him to his children, with the last section missing. The suggested year of 1470 is based on another genealogy that is considered a sibling manuscript: London, British Library, Stowe MS 72, a Latin roll (c. 1470). The relationship between the two genealogies was identified by Allan 1981, 282.
20 Available fully digitized at: http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=1453 (last accessed: 30.10.18).

Playing the accordion: legitimacy and continuity

All the accordions on table 1 were originally produced in support of Edward IV's claim to the throne of England. As manuscripts created during the 'Wars of the Roses', the genealogies were part of a broader body of documents and literature that tried to explain and justify the succession of Edward IV.[23] The majority of English royal genealogies produced during the reign of Edward IV trace the succession of English kings back to mythical and biblical beginnings. Although a genealogy from Edward III (d. 1377) would be sufficient to show the direct biological connection between the Plantagenet kings and Edward IV, the manuscripts tend to track the entire royal ancestry well-beyond the immediate past. The genealogies usually begin with the biblical ancestors (such as Adam and Eve or Noah), then traces the Trojans (who left their destroyed city), focusing on Brutus (the Trojan founder of Britain), who is followed by a succession of British, Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and Plantagenet kings, leading to the Lancastrians and the first Yorkist king, Edward IV. The inclusion of the 'complete' history from the Creation provided the readers with an abridged biblical history and brief summaries of previous kings. Furthermore, the genealogies may have had some educational value for their users, as they are simpler and shorter than a chronicle that covers the same type of content.[24] Beginning with biblical history or Antiquity, the genealogies summarize the history of the English kings and the peoples of England, as well as biblical stories.

The genealogies have survived in three major forms: roll, codex, and accordion. The roll is very common for genealogies from the period.[25] They are usually created

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21 Online catalogue: http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2010/western-manuscripts-and-miniatures-l10240/lot.24.html (last accessed: 7.11.18).

22 Scott's catalogue states that this was copied by one scribe in around 1454 and was later extended by the same scribe working in 1472–1473, see: Scott 1996, 316. This is probably due to the change in ink that occurs after the section about Henry VI. The commentary and circles for Edward IV and his children appear to have been added later. However, the prologue to the manuscript ends with [...] *ab illo usque ad Edwardum quartum post conquestum linealiter descendendo.* Since it would have been near-impossible to add this last sentence afterwards and there appears to be no scraping or modification marks, it suggests that the manuscript was written after Edward IV was declared king in 1461 and not during Henry VI's reign. Henry VI's death and burial in 1471 is not mentioned, although Edward's daughter Margaret (b. 1472) appears beside her older siblings. Although difficult to date compared to some other manuscripts, this was probably first created after 1461 and then updated in 1472. Since the scribe was probably the same, the second date has been used in the table.

23 For Yorkist efforts to promote their legitimacy, see: Allan 1981. For Yorkist royal genealogies, Anglo 1961–1962. For 'Yorkist' literature, see Pearshall 2013.

24 Allan 1979, 173. Cf. with de Laborderie, who discusses earlier genealogical rolls (from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) as a possible "aide-mémoire" and their potential pedagogical uses: Laborderie 2013, 65–69, 145–246.

25 This essay differentiates between the multi-metre rolls and poster-rolls. The latter refers to a type of manuscript that is similar to a modern poster in size and function. These also tend not to include the lineage beyond a few centuries. For instance, London, British Library, Harley Roll 7353 measures in a vertical orientation (*rotulus*) although rare horizontal examples exist (*volumen*).[26] The rolls tend to be stored 'rolled up' into a cylindrical object. Genealogies in codex form exist in both limp-bound and hard bound versions.[27] They could be drawn in two different orientations. The first is the typical medieval codex, written with the script along the short edge of the page. The other orientation requires the reader to turn the codex ninety degrees clock-wise, as the text is written parallel to the long edge of the page.[28]

The manuscripts often tell us specifically why the original version was created by the compiler/author. Almost all accordion genealogies include one of the four incipits, which all mention why the manuscript was produced: to provide a summary of the past kings to interested readers.[29] However, the ascension of the first Yorkist king, Edward IV, offers an explanation for the popularity of such manuscripts. Typically, the diagrams for vernacular accordion genealogies from Edward III to Edward IV are arranged in a way similar to that on figure 1.[30] As the layout shows, the king is always on the central axis—but a line may not necessarily connect all kings one after the other. It is the positioning of the kings' circles on the central axis that signals their status as kings. The lines between the circles are related to biological relationships. The diagram not only explains Edward IV's link to Edward III through the dukes of York, but also his 'British' ancestry. Edward IV was the grandson of Anne Mortimer, who was the granddaughter of Philippa of Clarence (daughter of Edward III's second surviving son, Lionel) and her husband Edmund Mortimer (d. 1318). The Mortimers could trace their ancestry to the marriage of Gwladys Ddu, daughter of the Welsh Prince Llywelyn the Great (d. 1251), and Ralph de Mortimer in 1230. The accordion genealogies (that trace the Mortimer genealogy further back than the fifteenth century) start the Mortimer lineage with *Hughe Mortymer,* and a small annotation reading *Thys*

1,750 mm long × 535 mm wide and has a genealogy from Henry III (at the bottom) to Edward IV, as well as five pairs of colour miniatures depicting scenes from Edward's reign. This is because the size of the parchment and writing suggests that all major elements are legible and understandable when pinned or hung onto a wall at eye-level, unlike rolls, which require the reader to either unroll in sections or walk alongside an unfurled roll in order to read it properly. Poster-rolls were rolled up for storage, which prevented creasing on the genealogy.

26 For a horizontally orientated example: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS 22.

27 A limp bound example is Oxford, All Soul's College, Codrington Library, MS 40, which is a typical codex (the reader does not have to rotate the codex in order to use it). A hard-bound codex example is found in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Add. MS 3170.

28 This type of codex genealogy will be referred to as a 'rotated codex' or 'rotated genealogy'.

29 For instance: *Consideryng the greet desire of many men that wold have knowledge of olde cronicles of kynges that afore tyme regned in thys londe and of har succession I have put my laboure to bring ham in to thys litel werke* from London, College of Arms, Arundel 23, an unbound accordion.

30 Figure 1 is a simplified version of the genealogical diagram that appears on Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 42 and Lyell MS 33. The latter has been called a "good example of the 'standard' roll" for Edward IV, and is similar to the diagrams found in contemporaneous rolls: Sutton/Visser-Fuchs 1997, 138.

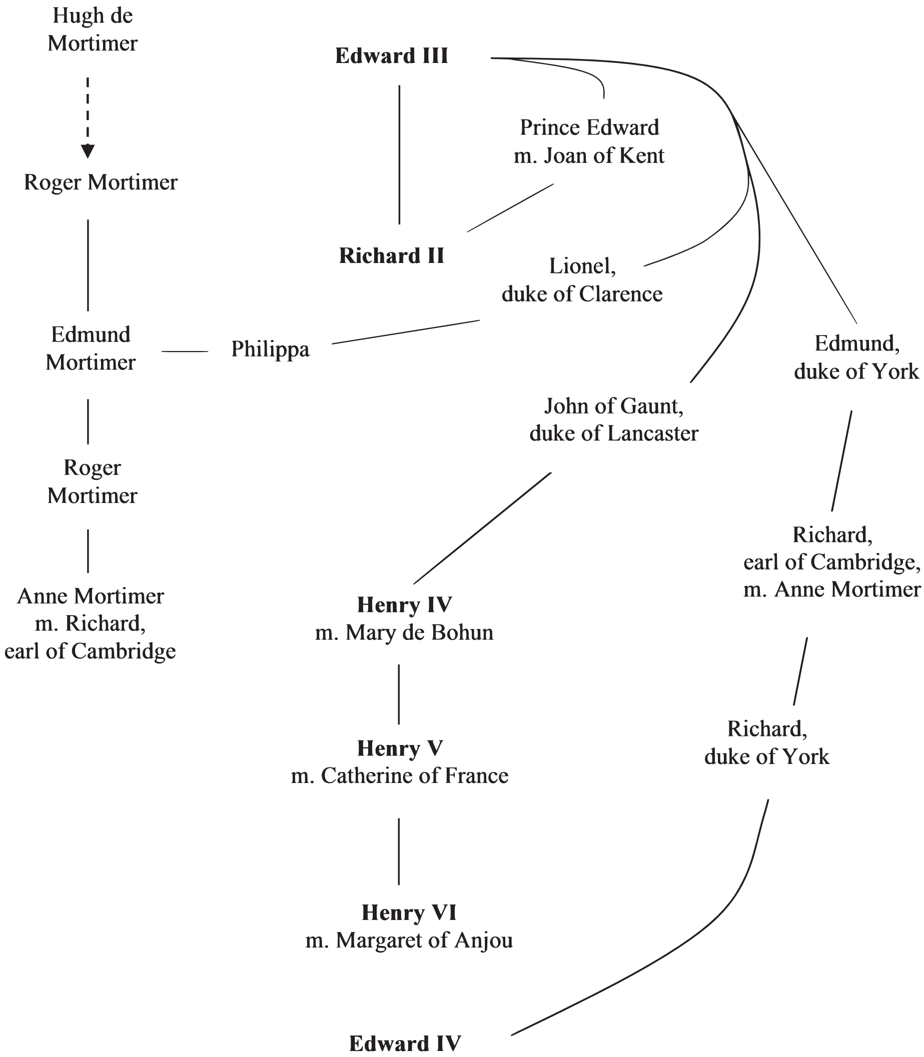

Fig. 1: Genealogy from Edward III to Edward IV, based on Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e. Mus. 42 and Lyell MS 33.

Hughe Mortymer come inne with William Conqueroure.[31] The genealogies depict Hugh's grandson, *Raufe*, with another circle connected to him that reads *Gladus Duy the doughter of Lewelyn wife to Raufe*.[32] The genealogy shows the connection between the

31 Ralph de Mortimer (*fl.* d.1104), son of Roger I de Mortimer (*fl.* d.1080), was the first Mortimer to be an English landowner: Lewis 2004.

32 Transcription comes from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 42.

Mortimers and the Welsh. According to medieval authorities, Llyweln's lineage traced back to Rhodri Mawr (d. 878) and then to Cadwaladr, the 'last king of the Britons'.[33] Though not explicit, the genealogies imply Edward IV's descent from the last British king. The genealogies infer that Geoffrey of Monmouth's prophecy of the eventual return of the Britons to rule England was fulfilled by Edward.[34] The Latin accordion genealogies generally do not depict the Mortimer lineage further back than Edmund Mortimer, Philippa's husband.[35] However, almost all the accordions show Edward's Yorkist descent.[36] Edward IV had won the crown by defeating Henry VI, but he also needed to show his legitimacy through hereditary right. This is directly mentioned in some genealogies: [he] *recevid the kyngdome of Englond which was dewe to hym by iuste title of enheritans* and in Latin versions: [ille] *recipiens regnum Anglie ante dictum sibi de iure tenebat hereditario* [sic].[37]

Production of an accordion genealogy

The production process of an accordion genealogy can be deduced to an extent by examining the manuscripts themselves. Although many accordions are still bound (and the vast majority show evidence of being re-bound after the late medieval period), there are a few that have lost their binding threads and are currently not stored as accordions, including two genealogies, one held at the British Library (London, British Library, Harley Roll C.9) and the other, London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1170. These two are currently stored as rolls, but both used to be accordion genealogies. When unrolled, it is possible to see the fold and binding marks on both of them. It is reasonable to speculate that both were unbound, flattened and rolled into their present form at some point after the fifteenth century. Another surviving unbound copy is London, College of Arms, Arundel 23. This manuscript is still folded, but the binding threads have been removed. The front and back of the accordion are attached to parchment bound hard cover boards. The three unbound accordions are examples of how certain stages of the production process may have appeared.

Accordion genealogies originally started out as blank pieces of parchment, which were all cut to a similar width. The parchment pieces were of a similar thickness and

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33 Anglo 1961–1962, 21–22.

34 Anglo 1961–1962, 22.

35 An exception is Cambridge, Queen's College, MS 35, which does not follow the diagram layout shown in figure 1, but nonetheless Edward IV to the Welsh princes through the Mortimers.

36 Cambridge, Trinity College, R.4.3 is one genealogy that includes neither the children of kings nor diagram relating to Edward's ancestry. It mentions Henry VI's death and burial, which dates it to 1471.

37 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell MS 33 (English) and London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 456 (Latin).

quality. The membranes were then pasted together, short edge on short edge, until a long single piece (roll) was created. The roll was then measured and folded into even-sized sections in a zig-zag manner (see fig. 2). These sections would eventually become the 'pages' of the accordion. After folding, the scribes could work with the parchment folded or unfolded at different sections. Either after the folding process or before, guiding lines were drawn. When folded, these lines were the equivalent of the head/foot and left/right margins. One folded edge would have been chosen as the 'binding' edge. The margins on either side of the 'binding edge' prevent the drawing or writing from being obscured by the gutter of the binding. The non-bound, 'free' edge would also have a margin, so that the text and diagram remain on the page and do not appear directly on the folded edge. These are all indicators that the scribe planned the whole manuscript in advance, or at least had a model, before he even started with the copy. The margins are often visible throughout the entire accordion manuscript, and show little irregularities between parchment membranes or sections. This suggests an effort to keep all pages/sections uniformly identical. The planned 'pages' set this form apart from genealogical rolls that were originally created as a roll and later folded into an accordion.[38]

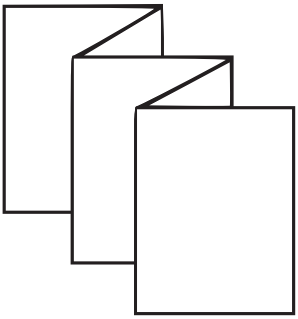

Fig. 2: 'Accordion' folds.

The genealogical diagram was carefully planned and evenly arranged on the parchment roll, before it was folded and bound to an accordion. If crowns for the kings' circles were planned, appropriate gaps were left at this stage.[39] This is because without adequate spaces between the circles, the crowns would possibly interfere with the circle-and-line-scheme. The genealogy is drawn to run down the length of the long

38 Such a manuscript is San Marino, Huntingdon Library, HM 264, which was originally a roll before being folded and bound.

39 Accordions with crowns for the kings of England include: Cambridge, Queen's College, MS 35; London, British Library, Harley Roll C.9; London, College of Arms, Arundel 23; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1170; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS B. 30; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 42; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell MS 33; Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 207; Oxford, St John's College, MS 23.

parchment roll. The line would therefore be continuous. Some pin pricks still visible in the middle of circles, showing the use of measuring tools and compasses. After the diagram was mapped out, the inking processes began. The circles were coloured and labelled. The commentary text was copied from a template source on either side of the circle-and-line-diagram. This ensured that all features were arranged in an aesthetically pleasing manner, without the diagram and commentary overlapping each other, or any text spilling over into the margins. Broadly speaking, a similar colour-scheme is used across all accordion genealogies. The Latin and English non-abbreviated versions use blue and gold for the central line of Christ's genealogy, while red and green lines are used for all other biblical lines. Alternating circles of red and blue are used to represent the kings of England, and thin red circles symbolize most other non-biblical and non-royal figures. The abbreviated genealogies use the blue-red alternating colour scheme for both the biblical and royal circles. After the text and circle colouring was complete, most copies were further elaborated with ornamentation. Notable decoration is found at the very beginning of accordion genealogies, on the first membrane, as a border framing. If the manuscript had crowns for each king-circle, these were illuminated in gold. Once all illuminations were completed, the manuscript was folded, any uneven edges trimmed, and bound with thread. Some accordions have traces of gold edges, which may have been added at this point. Each 'page' would be composed of a parchment membrane that was folded and has the thickness of two membranes. This makes the accordion form heavier and thicker than codices with the same number of folios. It is highly probable that anyone who handled an accordion would have noticed a difference from other codices of a similar size. Moreover, as the pages were turned, the reader would feel that the edge was folded. This suggests that the users of accordions were aware of the unusual physical features.

Hard cover binding was probably the popular choice for accordions, although the lack of surviving original bindings makes this difficult to determine. There is one English royal genealogy in accordion form with what appears to be the oldest binding among surviving manuscripts: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 207.[40] This binding is a heavy wooden cover that was fully clad in tooled leather and a fore-edge flap. The cover includes four leather straps featuring a criss-cross laced design. One laced strap wraps around the middle of the 'book'. The exact point where the wrap-around strap meets itself is damaged, although it is likely that there was a metal clasp. MS 207 is bound in a way that prevents any text or circles from being obscured by the gutter of the binding. This is in contrast to most other bound accordions, which, despite the gap left by the scribe, have some text obscured or are difficult to read by the deep gutter binding. This is a likely indicator that these manuscripts were rebound later without taking into consideration the legibility of the manuscript.

40 The binding is attributed to John Reynes of London (after 1520): Thomson 2011, 101.

Genealogies in various forms: codices, rolls, accordions, and 'bat books'

The content depicted on accordions is not particularly unique to the form. The same genealogies are found in codices and rolls. There are four major *textual* groups of royal genealogies ending with Edward IV that are found in codex, accordion and roll forms.[41] The existence of the same content across different forms is strong evidence that, at least for these genealogies, there appears to have been no significant link between the narratives presented in a genealogy and the form. The different forms were related to the function of a particular copy and wishes of the original owner. The following is a summary of the known manuscripts of the four textual groups in various forms.[42] This demonstrates that the form did not affect the textual content of the genealogical chronicles.

'Long Latin': a genealogy type beginning with the incipit *Considerans historie sacre prolixitatem necnon et difficultatem* [...], which includes the following manuscripts: Oxford St John's College, MS 23 (accordion), London, British Library, Harley Roll C. 9 (formerly an accordion, now a roll); Lansdowne MS 456 (accordion), Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS 1858 folio (roll), Cambridge, Trinity College, R.4.3 (accordion),[43] Aberystywth, National Library of Wales, Brogynton II.52 (roll), and Winchester, Winchester College, MS 13 A (roll). A related subgroup, which was not originally identified by de la Mare, includes Cambridge, Queen's College, MS 35 (accordion) and London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1170 (originally accordion, now kept as a roll). This sub-group is different from the other three as it depicts the popes, and emperors, succession lines.

'Long English': the English version of the same genealogy that begins with the incipit *Conisderyng the lenght and the hardenesse* [...]. This group includes: New Haven, Yale University, Marston MS 242 (roll), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 33 (accordion), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e. Mus. 42 (accordion), Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 207 (accordion), London, British Library, King's MS 395 (codex), and London, College of Arms, Arundel 53 (codex).[44]

'Short Latin': a short genealogy that is similar in style to the first two types. The Latin abbreviated incipit begins with *Veterum cronicorum de successione regnum Anglie* [...]: Oxford, Brasenose College, MS 17 (accordion), London, British Library,

41 First identified by de la Mare. Since her classifications, Allan and Scott have added manuscripts to her categories: Allan 1981, 270–288; Scott 1996, 315–317.

42 Manuscripts within a certain textual group does not necessarily mean that they are identical. Most are grouped according to approximate date of creation and similar texts and diagrams.

43 This group is named *class B* by de la Mare and "Long English" by Allan.

44 Class *A*, according to de la Mare. London, College of Arms, Arundel 53 was not included by de la Mare, but subsequently Allan and Kauffman both considered the unfinished codex to belong to the same group Allan 1981, 272; Kauffmann 1984, 210.

Stowe MS 72 (roll). A related sub-group that begins with Brutus includes Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS 146 (codex), and Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 5112 (roll).

'Short English': the English shorter genealogy has the incipit *Consideryng the greet desire of many men that wold have knowledge of the olde cronicles* [...]. Identified manuscripts are: London, British Library, Add. MS 31950 (roll); Stowe MS 73 (originally accordion, now cut and bound), Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 2244 (roll) and London, College of Arms, Arundel 23 (unbound accordion).

Despite the lack of a clear pattern in relation to the form and the specific text of a genealogy, it is worth discussing whether accordions were associated with other non-codex, non-roll manuscripts of the period. Accordions are unusual manuscripts in fifteenth-century England, and they could be considered a type of 'folded book'. However, even among medieval folded books, accordions are unique. Other types of medieval folded books are often what Gumbert calls 'bat books', which are defined by three major characteristics: first, each leaf is folded and the text cannot be properly read without it being unfolded; second, each leaf has a tab that is connected to other leaves; and third, the entire book is held together by the tab.[45] Manuscripts that are classified as 'bat books' include mostly late medieval almanacs, astrological tables, and calendars.[46] Most of them are constructed out of six to eight folios, which have been folded to eighths or tenths and attached together by a strip of parchment at one edge.[47] Although both 'bat books' and accordions are created by folding parchment membranes, the genealogies do not subscribe to the criteria determined by Gumbert.[48] In most accordions, each folio does not have to be unfolded individually for reading. Only two accordion manuscripts required unfolding before legibility and nei-

45 Carey discusses the many terms that have been used to discuss and describe such manuscripts. She argues that *folded almanac* or *folding almanac* are the most suitable terms, since others such as *vade mecum* and *girdle book* are too vague and do not accurately describe the contents nor the form, Carey 2003, 483–486. Gumbert introduces his own term, *bat books*. He argues that *girdle book* is misleading, as it can be associated with and confused with another type of book that was hung on belts, the *Beutelbuch* (which is a type of small codex with an extended leather cover that can be tied to a belt), Gumbert 2016, 17–19. I agree with both Carey and Gumbert—however, the term *bat books* defines only the form of a manuscript, unlike *folding almanac* which refers to both the form and content.

46 Gumbert's catalogue details almost thirty English examples dated from the late fourteenth century until 1508: Gumbert 2016, 121–206. Also see Table A1 found in the appendix to Carey 2003, 505–507.

47 Some examples of fifteenth-century folded almanacs include: London, British Library, Sloane MS 2250 (*c.* 1400–1425), which is constructed of eight folded leaves sewn together at the lower edges with parchment cover. Also London, British Library, Sloane MS 807 (*c.* 1444) is made up of six folded leaves, and London, British Library, Add. MS 28725 (*c.* 1463), which is similarly composed of seven folded folios.

48 Accordions are created from one large parchment piece and each 'page' can be read without being individually unfolded.

ther have tabs.[49] Accordions are similar to 'bat books', but they ought to be classified as a different kind of folded manuscript. Nevertheless, folding the writing support is a key common feature between accordions and 'bat books'. Moreover, both forms are 'expandable' or 'extendable' through unfolding. The leaves of a 'bat book' could 'unfold' into a size eight or ten times larger than its dimensions when folded. An accordion could have its alternating folds opened out to become a multi-metre roll.[50]

One folded almanac is exceptional for bridging the gap between the 'bat book' form and genealogies. London, British Library, Add. MS 17358 is a folded almanac (*c.* 1431), which is unique among English samples, since it includes a genealogy of Christ (an interpolation of the *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* by Peter of Poitiers) along with calendars, zodiac tables, two tree-shaped diagrams (a tree of vices and a tree of virtues) and two hand-shaped diagrams (*manus dyaboli* and *manus Ecclesie*).[51] The notion of genealogies as reference diagrams for the biblical genealogy is supported by a roll at Cambridge (University Library, Dd.3.56), which depicts the *Compendium* on the recto. On the dorse, the Cambridge roll also has trees of virtues and vices, and two hand diagrams.[52] The two manuscripts (London, British Library, Add. MS 17358 and Cambridge, University Library, Dd.3.56) are the only known non-codex copies from England with the same diagrams and text (Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium*, the trees of virtues and vices, and the hands of the devil and the church).[53] Although both contain biblical genealogies rather than royal, as a diagrammatic representation, Christ's genealogy could have been considered a variation of the reference charts and tables that a folding almanac usually comprises. On the almanac, Christ's genealogy is found on fol. 8–14^{v}. It is not very well prepared for the folded form. For instance, the other folios make use of the parchment area that is visible after it is folded, which provides a guide for the contents of that particular folio, whereas the genealogical section does not, and furthermore often the genealogical diagram cross folds, which makes some areas harder to read.[54]

49 Christie's, *Valuable Books and Manuscripts*, 11.7.18, sale no. 16018, lot 53 requires unfolding of the 'flaps' on either side of each 'page'. London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 456 show signs of having also been folded in a similar fashion, although now it is stored as a typical accordion and the 'flaps' have been flattened out.

50 A bound accordion would have to have its binding and covers removed.

51 London, British Library, Add. MS 17358 includes Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium*, and is also unusual for being much longer (seventeen folios) than most other folding almanacs from England during this period, Carey 2003, 486; Gumbert 2016, 160–161.

52 Cambridge, University Library, Dd.3.56 is a roll depicting Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium*. On the roll's dorse, there are several diagrams, including, the Tree of Virtues, Tree of Vices, five hands (*manus Dei, manus Ecclesie, manus diaboli* and two *manus meditationis).*

53 The trees of vices and virtues were often found with Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium* in codices, see Panayotova 2001, 329,

54 Carey 2003, 488.

Royal genealogies were adaptable to different forms, as seen by the survival of similar texts in rolls, codices and accordions. The flexibility of the text does not account for the use of the accordion during the late fifteenth century. Since the content did not necessarily dictate the form of a manuscript, the article turns to other considerations that may account for the development of the accordion form for royal genealogies.

The accordion as a roll-codex

Accordion genealogies look similar to rotated codex genealogies.[55] The physical movements associated with using either the accordion or rotated codex are the same, since once opened, both must be turned clockwise ninety-degrees for reading. A commissioner simply could have requested a codex or a roll—but they went out of their way to order the accordion. One argument is that the accordion was easier to produce than the codex. In a codex genealogy, the diagrams and text must be drawn and written into each quire, before all quires were bound together. The scribe had to keep in mind that the text and circles should not be drawn near the binding of each quire or the folio edges. Furthermore, the quire structure of the codex itself needed even more planning than the pre-prepared roll for the accordion manuscript. There is also the potential for confusion when creating a codex genealogy, such as connecting the wrong quires to each other. These possible errors may have been minimized by the accordion production process. However, the production of an accordion does not have many clear advantages in comparison to a codex. Experienced scribes and bookbinders surely would have had no problems producing rotated codices or accordions. The survival of at least one rotated genealogical codex from the 1460s is evidence that royal genealogies were not exclusively copied onto rolls or accordions.[56] The bound accordion has a few key features that immediately differentiate it from this codex: it is thicker and heavier once bound since the entire underside of the accordion is invisible and not used, unlike a codex, which employs both sides of a parchment folio. The accordion requires therefore more parchment than the codex. The same 'inefficiency' is found in rolls (since many only use one side of the parchment). If the accordion was a form that shared many similar characteristics with a rotated codex, but used more parchment and may have caused confusion to some readers, the question arises: why were the accordions even created? The motivations for the choice of an accordion were proba-

55 By 'rotated codices', this article refers to the genealogies that are found in codices that were the text was written on the long edge the codex. These genealogies are orientated so that the text and diagram are drawn 'vertically' on the rotated double-folio spread.
56 See Cambridge, University Library, Add. MS 3170.

bly not grounded in the production process, but rather had something to do with the materiality of the accordion form.

This article argues that the 'hidden' form of the roll within an accordion is key to the creation of the accordion genealogies. When deconstructed, an accordion is to a roll—one that has been folded. Among the various forms in which royal genealogies have survived from late medieval England, the roll is the most popular. This is related to both the functional and symbolic significance of the roll form, which corresponds to the content and purpose of the genealogies.[57] In order to discuss the importance of the accordion form for genealogies, it is necessary to start with a brief explanation of the roll and its symbolism. Roll genealogies have been linked to a sense of continuity that the form provides for the content. For instance, lines of a genealogical diagram can run down the entire length of a roll without interruption. The long roll form provided the illusion of a continuous, uninterrupted succession of the kings of England. This is contrary to the reality, particular in the fifteenth century. In 1399, Richard II was deposed by his cousin, Henry IV. The latter's grandson, Henry VI was deposed by Edward IV in 1461. On genealogies, the transmission of power for each of these depositions is represented by continuous lines or columns connecting one king to the next, offering an illusion of stable continuity of succession of the institution of kingship. The open-ended and continuous roll also allows for easy extension by simply pasting on another membrane when more writing space is required. Even when a membrane is not added, the possibility of doing so makes the roll an attractive form for royal genealogies. The roll idealises England's royal lineage as continuous line of 'on-going' succession. This is clearly shown by roll genealogies that have been extended by a later hand.[58] Visually, the impact of a multi-metre roll laid out across long tables in a great hall is inimitable by a codex. In particular, roll genealogies were suitable for displaying a large section or all of the manuscript at once.[59] This is particularly true for rolls with illumination or illustrations which were likely created with the intention to display them. The roll, as a linear long form, was an excellent medium upon which to project the ideal image of the succession of kingship and display it to

57 Another argument for the use of the roll for genealogies is that the roll was seen by contemporaries as a 'royal form'. This hypothesis was introduced by Laborderie as one possible explanation of the first royal genealogies in roll form during the thirteenth-century. He argued that the roll was the ubiquitous medium for record keeping in the English royal administration. Therefore, he suggested that the scribes possibly chose the roll for royal genealogies, due to the association between the roll and the royal sphere, Laborderie 2013, 77–79. Although this hypothesis is attractive, it fails to consider that the roll was not only used in English royal administration, but throughout Western Europe, including many non-royal administrations, as seen in other articles in this volume. The roll was not a particular royal form, but a widely-used form of written documentation.

58 Many genealogical rolls produced during the reign of Henry VI were later altered to include Edward IV: Christchurch (NZ), University of Canterbury Library, MS 1; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marshall MS 135 R.

59 Allan 1981, 308.

a large audience. It was well-suited to the genealogical content and its function as an object for display. The relationship between form, content, and function is one explanation for the popularity of the roll form for genealogies.

An accordion allows the integrity of the roll form to remain intact. Although folded and bound, an accordion can be unbound and unfolded into a roll again.[60] The possibility of extending an accordion is realized on a copy that traces the genealogy to Charles II (d. 1685).[61] Evidently, extending a genealogy is not restricted to the form, as there exists also a codex genealogy that was modified by a later scribe, who traced the genealogy to James I (d. 1625).[62] However, in an accordion, the parchment is kept as one whole piece, unlike a codex, which is made of many smaller pieces of parchment cut to the desired size. Since the roll was already a known and accepted form for genealogies, why was there a need to create a roll that was used like a codex?

The use and popularity of the codex form for genealogies in Western Europe was a gradual process, which provide a backdrop for the development of bound accordion genealogies. The codex had some attractive features, which contributed to the idea of folding a roll into a codex-like book. For many uses, the codex is far more practical than a roll. It is easier to reference or consult text than in a roll. A codex only needs to be opened at the correct folio, whereas a roll must be unrolled to a certain section. On long rolls, the unrolling process may take minutes. A codex can be bookmarked to open at particular sections. Additionally, a codex can often be held and manipulated by just two hands (without a desk) or opened on a small flat surface. Unfurling a genealogical roll is not very practical. In terms of storage, a codex fits neatly with other volumes on bookshelves or reading lecterns, and can be stacked in a chest or box. A roll could be placed in a bag, then onto a shelf or into a chest– but there is always the danger of it becoming squashed by other heavier, larger items in the latter. When kept on a shelf, it may be difficult to see exactly which roll it is, since there is no spine that may differentiate it from other rolls, nor does it have a spine plate naming the content of the volume.[63] The practical advantages of the codex are but one aspect of why the accordion form was developed for genealogies.

It would, however, be too narrow to limit the discussion to the practical aspects. Other factors have also to be taken into account. The codex has many advantages over the roll within certain contexts and uses. Broader trends in literacy and reading

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60 See with London, British Library, Harley Roll C.9 and London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1170.
61 Oxford, St John's College, MS 23, is a bound accordion that had originally had 22 folios. The last membrane was extended with a new foot and three additional leaves: Hanna 2002, 39. Cf. with Cambridge, Queen's College, MS 35 which was extended twice, firstly to Arthur, prince of Wales and son of Henry VII, and then to his brother, Henry VIII, by another hand. The extension on MS 35 did not require more leaves, since the extra circles continued on the last 'verso' (i. e. the verso of the folded leaf).
62 Cambridge, University Library, Add. MS 3170.
63 Rolls, at least in the royal administration, may have been fitted with a tag to identify the content. Nevertheless, most rolls were stored in sacks, on which a title was written.

culture during the fifteenth century contributed to making the codex attractive for the owners of the accordion genealogies. For instance, there were gradual developments towards private reading and private book collections.[64] Broad trends towards a growing library culture are reflected in increasing spaces for reading and storage of codices, such as library-rooms and furniture, including bookshelves, cabinets and reading lecterns.[65] While public lectures were still important, private and silent reading were increasing.[66] Universities such as Oxford had regulations stating that libraries were a place of quiet. The layout of university libraries also facilitated individual quiet reading by arranging desks and chairs next to each other.[67] Library-rooms dedicated to the storage and reading of books were built by universities, cathedrals and royal residences during the fifteenth-century.[68] Codices are far more user-friendly for these kinds of reading environments than a roll.

In addition to the developments of libraries and literary culture, there is a connection between the form and language of some accordions. Almost half of the accordion genealogies are in the vernacular, which is a significant change from the earlier fifteenth-century royal genealogies (in rolls and codices) which were all in Latin.[69] At least some owners of the early accordions wanted an English translation *and* the accordion form, instead of a Latin accordion version which already existed from 1461. The survival of so many vernacular accordions strongly suggests that a large portion of the owners were more comfortable reading English.[70] Speaking and reading French was common among the aristocracy in fifteenth-century England, but gradually from the middle of that century, English started to supersede French.[71] This was probably connected to the increasing use of English in administrative and governmental documents.[72] In the late 1430s, the number of official documents in English began to overtake those in French. For instance, by 1450 almost all supplicant crown records were

64 Fifteenth-century kings of England are strongly associated with the development of what became the royal library: Stratford, 255.

65 For the building of rooms dedicated to the storage and reading, see: Willoughby 2017, 6. For types of furniture in late medieval libraries, see: Clark 1902; Attar 2015, 18.

66 Saenger 1997, 258.

67 Saenger 1997, 262–263.

68 Libraries at Christ Church, Canterbury, and York Cathedral were constructed in the early fifteenth century, Harris 1995[4], 102. For royal residences: Henry IV had a study created at Eltham palace: Stratford, 260.

69 Royal genealogies from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were often in Anglo-Norman French, and the fifteenth-century Lancastrian genealogies produced between 1428 and 1460 were mostly in Latin.

70 For literacy in late Medieval England, see: Trapp 1999; Parkes 1991, 275–298.

71 Bell 1999, 232.

72 Origins of a standard written English dialect is obscure. Richardson argues that Henry V's reign was crucial to the transition from French to English among public records. After Henry V started using English in his correspondence after 1417, the chancery also began to use English as an acceptable language for official documents, leading to the use of 'chancery English', Richardson 1980, 726–727.

in English.[73] By the time the first accordions in English were produced from the mid-1460s, English was common for official documentation. Private book collections from the mid-to-late fifteenth century also tended to have vernacular books.[74] Even among princes, vernacular works were popular.[75] Unfortunately, knowledge of secular private libraries in late medieval England is 'scanty', especially in comparison to Burgundian or French collections.[76] Nevertheless, we know that Edward's brother, Richard III, owned at least two French texts, ten English and seven Latin works.[77] Earlier in the mid-fifteenth century, a notable humanist patron, Humphrey of Gloucester (d. 1447), had commissioned both Latin works and translations into English.[78] Nonetheless, Latin genealogies continued to be produced into the 1470s, suggesting that readership of royal genealogies in the latter half of the fifteenth-century was a mix of Latin and English proficient individuals. The first English translations in the 1460s is in line with the general trend towards the increasing use of English during this period. However, it is possible to identify a specific catalyst that triggered the English language genealogies: the dynastic interests of Edward IV. From 1461 until 1471, Edward IV reigned while his predecessor and greatest rival for the throne, Henry VI, was still alive. The risk of Henry VI seizing back the crown became reality in 1470. A few months later, Henry VI and his son, Edward of Westminster, both died, and Edward IV was restored. In 1470 and 1473, Edward IV's queen, Elizabeth, gave birth to sons, providing the king with two male heirs. During this period, Edward IV's supporters needed to emphasise the legitimacy of Edward's rule. In this political context, the vernacular genealogies may have reached a wider audience, especially for readers who otherwise may have struggled with Latin.

The accordion incorporated symbolic and practical elements of the roll and codex. The hybrid form was exceptionally well-suited to its content (royal genealogies). Extant roll genealogies highlight the symbolic importance of a roll's length in relation to the diagrammatic structure of genealogical chronicles. Furthermore, the roll was a

73 Thirty years after Richardson's article, scholars have questioned how great the impact of the chancery's use of English really was, especially since Latin and French continued to be used for many roll series, including the pipe rolls in fifteenth century. Dodd's investigation of the petitions and bills suggest that it was in in the 1430s, after Henry VI's minority, that the number of English documents began to overtake the French. There were more private petitions in English than French after 1436, and more Chamberlain's bills in English than French from 1438 onwards, Dodd 2011, 118–124.
74 Petrina 2004, 155.
75 Seventy-eight percent of the 1469 inventory of the library of the dukes of Burgundy were French, and only fifteen percent were in Latin: Wijsman 2013, 89. Cf. with the library of the dukes of Savoy in the fifteenth century, which had a fairly even division between Latin and vernacular works: Edmunds 1970, 327.
76 Green 1980, 91. In comparison, the library of the dukes of Burgundy was exceptional for its many inventories and number of lavish manuscripts: Wijsman 2013, 94.
77 Sutton/Visser-Fuchs 1997, 17.
78 Petrina 2007, 347.

fitting medium to display on long tables the 'entirety' of succession of the kings of England, without constantly having to turn the pages. However, for many other uses of genealogies, such as a tool for individual study or as a quick reference guide or as part of a book collection, the roll form was cumbersome and impractical compared to the codex. Since a codex was unable to convey the sense of continuity of a roll, the bound accordion (a folded roll-codex), was an ingenious solution to maintain the integrity of the roll. Nonetheless, the hybrid form was misunderstood by some users. Some folded edges of a 'page' of a bound accordion were cut open.[79] The original owners were probably keenly aware of the accordion form, but later users were sometimes confused by its uncommon construction. Although it is impossible to date when exactly the folds were cut, they show that the accordion caused confusion among those who handled them. It is reasonable to assume that a reader may have suspected that there was text hidden on the underside of an accordion page and cut it open—only to find nothing.

Conclusion

Royal genealogies are a manifestation of historiographical and genealogical interests of the late Middle Ages. For Edward IV and his supporters, acceptance of his hereditary legitimacy was crucial to establishing his claim as the rightful king of England. Genealogies were produced in various forms and formats during his first reign (1461–1470), as well as immediately after his restoration. The genealogies were part of the greater scheme of establishing Edward IV as king. The accordion combined the symbolism of the roll and the practicalities of the codex. The unique mix of text and diagram made genealogies adaptable to different forms and for different users. They were products of a period when changing needs of readers and manuscript owners affected the form in which adaptable texts, such as genealogical chronicles with diagrams, could appear. Although the fifteenth-century accordion genealogies were a short-lived phenomenon that lasted a little over a decade (*c.* 1461–1473), they are a testament to the significance of both the cultural and intellectual interests of their readers and owners, as well as the creativity of the scribes who adapted an existing model into a new hybrid form.

79 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 42 is a bound accordion which has had two of its 'folded pages' cut open. In Oxford, St John's College, MS 23, what used to be the fourth folio was cut open, so that its verso is now a blank recto.

Appendix

Tab. 2: The royal accordion genealogies from fifteenth-century England.

Shelfmark	Form	Dating	Language
Cambridge, Queen's College, MS 35	Bound accordion	1470 or later	Latin
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R 4.3	Bound accordion	1471 or later	Latin
London, British Library, Stowe MS 73	Bound accordion, now codex	After 1461, prob. 1470	English
London, British Library, Harley Roll C.9	Bound accordion, now roll	After 1461, *c.* 1472–1473	Latin
London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 456	Bound accordion, folds cut	1461 or later	Latin
London, College of Arms, Arundel MS 23	Bound accordion, now unbound	1470 or later	English
London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1170	Bound accordion, now roll	After 1461, prob. *c.* 1470	Latin
New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS B. 30	Bound accordion	1466 or later	English
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 42	Bound accordion	1467 or later	English
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell MS 33	Bound accordion	1469 or later	English
Oxford, Brasenose College, MS 17	Bound accordion	1471 or later	Latin
Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 207	Bound accordion	1467 or later	English
Oxford, St John's College, MS 23	Bound accordion	1473 or later	Latin
Christie's, *Valuable Books and Manuscripts*, 11.7.18, sale no. 16018, lot. 53	Bound accordion with fold-outs	1466 or later	Latin
Sotheby's, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, 6.7.10, sale no. L10240, lot 24	Bound accordion	1461 or later	Latin
Sotheby's, *Western and Oriental Manuscripts*, 4.12.07, sale no. L07241, lot 49. (London, British Library, RP 9264)	Bound accordion	1470 or later	English

Manuscripts

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales
Brogynton II.52
MS 22

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library
Dd.3.56
Add. MS 3170

Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys
MS 2244

Cambridge, Queen's College
MS 35

Cambridge, Trinity College
R.4.3

Christchurch (NZ), University of Canterbury
MS 1

Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek
MS NKS 1858 folio

London, British Library
Add. MS 28725
Add. MS 31950
Add. MS 17358
Harley Roll C.9
Harley Roll 7353
Lansdowne MS 456
Sloane MS 2250
Stowe MS 72
Stowe MS 73
King's MS 395

London, College of Arms
Arundel 23
Arundel 53

London, Lambeth Palace Library
MS 19
MS 1170

Manchester, John Rylands Library
MS 146

New Haven, Yale University
Marston MS 242

New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library
Smith Western MS 06

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
MS B.30

Oxford, All Soul's College, Codrington Library
MS 40

Oxford, Bodleian Library
MS e. Mus. 42
Lyell MS 33
Marshall MS 135 R

Oxford, Brasenose College
MS 17

Oxford, Corpus Christi College
MS 207

Oxford, St John's College
MS 23

Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève
MS 5112

San Marino, Huntingdon Library
HM 264

Winchester, Winchester College
13 A

Private Collection
Christie's, *Valuable Books and Manuscripts*, 11.7.18, sale no. 16018, lot 53
Sotheby's, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, 6.7.10, sale no. L10240, lot 24
Sotheby's, *Western and Oriental Manuscripts*, 4.12.07, sale no. L07241, lot 49 (copy found in London, British Library, RP 9264)

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Fig. 1, 2: Maree Shirota.

Katherine Storm Hindley

The Power of Not Reading

Amulet Rolls in Medieval England

Faced with a text to copy, a medieval scribe or patron might also be faced with a choice: what form should the new copy take? As discussed elsewhere in this volume, certain types of document and certain bureaucratic institutions tended towards using either the roll or the codex. For many other texts, however, the decision of whether to create a copy in a codex or a roll seems to have been dictated neither by the text's content nor by the workshop making the copy. For example, the same fifteenth-century workshop produced genealogical chronicles with closely related texts in roll form, codex form, and as a hybrid 'roll-codex'.[1] The religious poem 'O Vernicle' is another instance of a text that circulated in multiple forms. It survives in twenty manuscript copies, ten of which are codices and ten of which are rolls.[2] The decision to produce such texts in roll form likely rested, therefore, on a combination of factors relating to the preferences of the scribe or patron, the practicalities of each form, and the interaction between the content of the text and the cultural meaning of the roll. This article examines amulet rolls as one type of manuscript in which the practicalities and impracticalities of the roll form contributed profoundly to the meaning of the textual object. The form adds to the object's amuletic power through the orientation of the writing and through the physical interactions it encourages. As I argue here, the features of the amulet roll assure its user that its texts will function whether or not they are read.

Surviving medieval parchment amulets, intended to protect their users from harm, frequently take the form of a roll. Other examples were written on sheets, while some instructions for the production of amulets or written charms mention copying text onto a 'scrowe', a word that can mean a scroll, or simply a scrap.[3] As amulets were

1 Mare 1971, 81–85.
2 Nichols 2014, 319–345.
3 Http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED39074 (last accessed: 13.1.18). The word is used in the context of written charms in the recipe for a *hawe* in the eye recorded in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Additional MS 9308, fol. 22^{v}–23; London, British Library, Additional MS 33996 and MS Sloane 1314, fol. 14^{r-v}, and Wellcome Library, MS 542, fol. 6. An example of a surviving possible amulet in the form of a sheet is the mid-thirteenth-century Canterbury amulet, Canterbury, Canterbury Cathedral Library, Additional MS 23. This manuscript is discussed in detail in Skemer 2006, 199–214. There is an edition of the text at 85–304.

I visited the manuscripts discussed in this paper over the course of several research trips thanks to a Short-Term Fellowship from the Bibliographical Society of America, the Hope Emily Allen Dissertation Grant from the Medieval Academy of America, and Start-Up Grant No. M4082133.100 from Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. I am extremely grateful to these institutions for their support.

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carried by their users in order to provide protection from a range of potential harms, it is not surprising that their forms should be small, light, and portable. The roll form, when small, lends itself well to this. It has also been suggested that certain types of roll were perceived as having their own amuletic power. Mary Agnes Edsall, examining manuscripts of the poem ‘O Vernicle’, has argued that “[t]he narrow roll format very well might have contributed to what I will call an ‘amulet effect’: the potential perception and use of some of these rolls [...] as ‘functional objects’ of ‘practical devotion’”.[4] Edsall’s article defines narrow rolls as being rolls “around five inches or less in width (ca. 13 cm)”.[5]

While Edsall draws valuable attention to the meanings created by the size or form of a manuscript, she pays little attention to the length of the rolls in question. Amulet rolls indeed tend to be narrow, at least in part because they have to be portable. However, width alone is insufficient to determine how a medieval reader would have handled and experienced a particular manuscript roll. I suggest that the physical experience of handling a narrow roll that is also very short is significantly different to that of handling a narrow roll that is extremely long. London, British Library, Harley Ch. 43 A 14, for example, is a small roll containing an amuletic drawing of a cross said to be one-fifteenth the height of Christ, as well as related prayers to Saints Ciricus and Julitta.[6] The roll is 70 mm wide but only 475 mm long: less than the height of two A4 pages.[7] It can be easily unrolled to its full extent in a single movement. By contrast, the manuscript birth girdle New Haven, Beinecke Library, Takamiya MS 56, which I discuss in more detail below, is just 10 mm wider, but more than a metre and quarter longer.[8] Its narrow width means that it can be carried almost as easily as the Harley roll, but its length makes it significantly more difficult and more cumbersome to roll and unroll. Its reader must therefore work harder to access the text it contains. I argue that this difficulty is both significant and deliberate.

There survives a particular subset of amuletic rolls which are not only narrow, but disproportionately narrow relative to their length. Among the forty-five narrow rolls

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4 Edsall 2014, 188.

5 Edsall 2014, 188.

6 The cross image is accompanied by the following promises of protection: *þ(a)t day þ(a)t þ(u) beryst it upon þe or lokist þ(er) vpon þ(u) shall haue þise gret giftis þ(a)t folowyth. The furst is þ(u) schall die no soden deth The seconde is þ(u) schall not be hurte nor slayne w(i)t(h) no maner of wapyn The iij*^{d} *is þ(u) shall haue resonabull godis 7 helth vn to þy lyuys ende The iiij*th *is þyne enmys shall neu(er) ouyr com þe The v*th *is no man(er) of preson nor fals witnes shall neuyr greue þe . The vj*th *is þ(u) shalt not die w(i)t(h) oute the sacramentt(is) of the chirche The vij*th *is þ(u) schall be defendid from all maner of wykkid spir[it]s tribulac(i)o(n)es 7 dissesis 7 from all Infirmitees 7 sekenes of þe pestilence The viij*th *is yf a woman be in trauell of childe lay þis vpon her wombe 7 þe childe schall haue cristendom 7 þe moder schall haue purificac(i)on*. The manuscript has been digitised at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_Ch_43_A_14 (last accessed: 15.7.18).

7 Http://searcharchives.bl.uk/IAMS_VU2:IAMS040–003380324 (last accessed: 27.2.18).

8 The manuscript measures 1,730 mm long and 80 mm wide. Morse 2013b, 269.

examined by Edsall, two stand out as being exceptionally long for their width.[9] The mean width to length ratio of the narrow rolls in Edsall's sample is approximately 1:11, meaning that the roll is eleven times longer than its width.[10] This number is skewed by the fact that some of the rolls in the sample have lost membranes or partial membranes through damage. However, it does serve to emphasise the extraordinary format of the two longest rolls in the selection, both of which are amuletic. One of these, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 245 (R), has a width to length ratio of roughly 3:368, making it more than one hundred and twenty–two times the length of its own width.[11] The other, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley Rolls 26, has a width to length ratio of 17:4,663—roughly two hundred and seventy-four times longer than it is wide.[12] By contrast Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS 32, a roll containing the Middle English poem 'The Stacions of Rome' and the manuscript with the next most extreme width to length ratio, is just forty-six times longer than it is wide.[13]

I suggest that the noticeable length of both of these examples is directly related to their function. The narrowness of the rolls can be explained by the need for them to be portable. Their length, which makes them unwieldy to roll and unroll, appears to be connected to the fact that amuletic images can function without being seen. I argue that there is a relationship between the amuletic protections offered by these manuscripts and the fact that their format makes them difficult to read. People could own and carry these protective objects but were not necessarily expected, or even encouraged, to engage with their text. The length of the roll allows each manuscript to contain more protective texts and images, while also discouraging casual reading. Although amulet rolls are not always extremely long, the long and narrow format of the examples mentioned is both a product of the amuletic purpose of the text and a way of physically differentiating powerful texts from texts to be read in ordinary ways.

The idea that unread or unreadable text might have power is not unique to medieval amulet rolls, or to England. As Richard Gordon has argued, the *charaktêres* used in ancient magic were developed by Greco-Egyptian magicians in the second century AD as the ability to read and write hieroglyphs declined. The Greeks viewed hieroglyphs as divinely created symbols representing complete ideas and providing access to the divine world.[14] This interpretation was important to their magical practice, so as they lost the ability to write true hieroglyphs they replaced them in ritual contexts with hieroglyph-like characters. In the context of magical practice, the important element of the hieroglyphs was not the verbal meaning of the text being recorded, but the reception of the hieroglyphic writing system itself. Traditions of using esoteric or even

9 Edsall 2014, 206–209.
10 The median ratio is approximately 2:27, suggesting a roll that is 13.5 times as long as its own width.
11 By my measurements, MS e Mus. 245 (R) is 120 mm wide and 14,723 mm long.
12 By my measurements, Bodley Rolls 26 is 34 mm wide and 9,326 mm long.
13 Saenger 1989, 56.
14 Gordon 2014, 260–262.

illegible scripts in amuletic and magical contexts appear in religions and cultures across the globe, from antiquity to the present.[15] Passing across cultural boundaries, this idea of powerful symbols appeared in Western Europe from the twelfth century.[16]

In the medieval English context, numerous medical recipes provide instructions for using unread or unreadable text for protection or healing.[17] Texts might be deliberately hidden from the patient, as in the charm for insomnia that instructs a practitioner to write a text, and then *let this wrytyng und(er) his* [i. e. the patient's] *hed þ(at) he know it not*.[18] Alternatively, they might be written in scripts that could not be easily understood by non-specialists. A famous example is John Arderne's textual amulet against spasm and cramp, which, he tells his reader, he writes in Greek letters lest it be seen by "common people".[19] While these patients might see the powerful writing of the charm, the sound of the words would be recoverable only by those who could read Greek, or by practitioners who had access to Arderne's instructions.

In other cases, amuletic texts and written charms exploit the visual trappings of literacy to give the impression of an underlying textual meaning even when no such meaning is present. Here I refer only to a decodable linguistic meaning, not to the social or cultural meanings inherent in any human artefact. These 'texts' range from strings of recognisable alphabetic characters which do not form readable words, to more complex symbols with no necessary relationship to the standard alphabet. A fourteenth–century example in the Bodleian Library's Ashmole MS 1447, for instance, states that the letters *P. G. C. p. E. v O. x. a. c. 7. I. I. N. M. 7. c.*, written on parchment in two lines and bound between the thighs, will stop bleeding.[20] In appearance,

15 See, for example, Mullen 1996, 672; Robson 2008; Spadola 2014; Cook 2016, 124.

16 Gordon 2014, 290–291.

17 I have discussed this phenomenon more fully elsewhere, see Hindley 2017.

18 Durham, Durham University Library, MS Cosin V.III.10, Part C, fol. 30v. A similar charm appears on fol. 38 of the same manuscript, as well as in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Additional MS 9308, fol. 48v; Durham, Durham Cathedral Library, Hunter MS 100, fol. 107; London, British Library, Additional MS 33996, fol. 150v, Harley MS 978, fol. 34v, and Sloane MS 3466, fol. 27v; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 84, fol. 5v.

19 Found in Arderne 1968, 103: [...] *solebam scribere istud literis grecis, ne a laicis perspicietur* [I usually write it in Greek letters, lest it should be seen by the common people]. Another version of the same charm in John Bradmore's translation of the surgical treatise *Philomela*, found in Lang 1998, 56–57, gives similar instructions, telling the practitioner to write the words of the charm in Greek *ne a quolib(et) de leui p(er)cipia(n)t(ur)* ['lest they should be seen by any trivial people'].

20 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 1447, part 1, p. 1. The manuscript reads: *Onoþ(er) Writ þes lettr(e)s in p(ar)chemyn in to lynes 7 bind by twene þe þy3es Anoþ(er) 3if þou ne leuest not þis writ þes lettr(e)s on a knyf 7 þer w(i)t(h) sle a swyne 7 þe ernynge of þe blod schal be þe lasse þes boþ þe lettr(e)s. P. G. C. p. E. v O. x. a. c. 7. I. I. N. M. 7. c.* Similar strings of readable letters, intended to treat a range of conditions, appear in late medieval manuscripts including Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 878, p. 181; London, British Library, Cotton MS Julius D viii, fol. 79, Harley MS 1680, fol. 7v, Royal MS 15 A viii, fol. 44, and Sloane MS 3466, fol. 48r–v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby MS 88, fol. 78v, Douce MS 84, fols. 4 and 8v, and MS Wood empt. 18, fol. 9. Many earlier examples also survive.

this string of letters is similar to the twelfth-century charm in Durham, Durham Cathedral Library, Hunter MS 100, which was to be written on a lead cross and hung around the patient's neck: *Ardeo. sentio. fugio. Dext(er)a. d. f. u. d. d. e. m. d. d. f. u.*.[21] In the Durham manuscript, however, the initial word *dextera* serves to identify a longer text whose subsequent words are represented by their initial letters: "Dextera domini fecit virtutem, dextera domini exaltavit me, dextera domini fecit virtutem", lines from Psalm 117.[22] Unlike this example, Ashmole MS 1447's lack of an initial word prevents ready expansion of the string of letters. If the letters did originally represent a longer text, their meaning was lost over time. The string of characters *E. v. O. x. a.*, one of the more stable parts of this charm, appears elsewhere as *o. z. o. x. a.*, as the shorter string *e. v. x. a.*, and as a word, *anexa*.[23] Such a range of versions suggests that any expanded text that may have been behind the letters went unrecognised by scribes.

In some cases, unreadable symbols were explicitly described as texts with a linguistic meaning, although not always one that could be accessed by their user. For example, a series of symbols incorporating the word *tetragrammaton* in the mid-thirteenth-century Canterbury amulet is explained as having been given to St Columbanus by an angel.[24] The text continues: *siquis fidelis hanc figuram in qua scripta sunt nomina dei ineffabilia sup(er) se habuerit nulla uis dyaboli aduersus eum preualebit*.[25] The use of the plural *nomina* clearly suggests that in addition to the name represented by the word *tetragrammaton*, the figure contains more names, none of which are legible to a human reader. Instead, the text assures its user that the figure has angelic provenance: even if the amulet's owner cannot read the names written within it, they are legible to angels. The explanatory text redefines the illegible symbols, framing them as a form of supernatural communication that will request protection for the user of the amulet. This idea—that texts might be read by supernatural beings—was common enough to cause concern among churchmen. Magical practices involving written signs were condemned not because they were superstitious, but because, unknown to their user, the signs might communicate with demons.[26]

Illegible 'texts' can be seen but not read. Their power is accessed through physical contact, by carrying them as an amulet, or by looking at their designs. Their efficacy

21 Durham, Durham Cathedral Library, Hunter MS 100, fol. 117. The charm is for fever.

22 Ps. 117:16: "The right hand of the Lord has wrought virtue. The right hand of the Lord has exalted me. The right hand of the Lord has wrought virtue."

23 In London, British Library, Sloane MS 431, fol. 13 (twice) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 388, fol. 19. Other versions of the charm appear in London, British Library, Cotton MS Julius D viii, fol. 79 and Sloane MS 431, fol. 44^{r-v}; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86, fol. 15 and MS Ashmole 1447, part 1, p. 1 (an alternate copy).

24 Canterbury, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Additional MS 23, column 5.

25 Translation: If any of the faithful has upon him this figure in which are written the ineffable names of God, no power of the devil will prevail against him.

26 See, for example, the influential argument made in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiæ*, eds. Gilby et al., 2a2ae. 96, 4: vol. 40, 80–85.

derives from their illegibility. Written charms that make use of illegible texts and abbreviations demonstrate that some amuletic uses of writing relied on creating distance between the charm text and ordinary text in order to foster a sense of hidden power. The texts were understood as communicating not with human readers, but with divine beings such as saints or angels or, more worryingly, with demons. Instead of using text as a way of communicating with someone too far away for a face-to-face conversation, or with a future reader, these amuletic texts attempt to transmit messages beyond the boundaries of existence, to supernatural readers who do not need the texts to be physically displayed.

In the charms and written amulets discussed above, the texts themselves are illegible, either because they use letters or non-alphabetic symbols with no linguistic meaning, or because the texts themselves must be hidden. The texts of some amulet rolls, however, are written in ordinary alphabets and could be read by any literate reader, but their unusual long, narrow format obstructs access to them in other ways. As we have already seen, their layout precludes easy reading. This is further evidence, I contend, of the same desire for illegibility or para-legibility that can be seen in the invented alphabets and pseudo-abbreviations of the charm texts.

Although not all very long and narrow rolls are amuletic (death inventories and prayer rolls, for example, occasionally take a similar format), a significant number of amulet rolls also share another feature that exacerbates the difficulty of reading.[27] Their texts run lengthways along the whole manuscript. In most cases, a reader has to move through the roll in its entirety in order to read a single line of the text.[28] This experience is clearly very different from the experience of following a text that progresses down the roll in the normal medieval English fashion, or from reading a horizontal scroll with text columns such as those from antiquity. With a limited number of words visible in each open section of the roll, the reader would have to manipulate it more often, drawing attention to its physical form. Moreover, the motion of scrolling through it would cause further defamiliarisation for its reader, who would have to hold the roll horizontally rather than in the more common vertical position.

Two examples of amuletic rolls which include text running lengthwise along them are the Wellcome Library's MS 632 and the Beinecke Library's Takamiya MS 56.[29]

27 Among the manuscripts discussed in Edsall 2014, Chicago, Newberry Library, MS Case 32 and London, British Library, Additional MS 88929 (digitised at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_88929 (last accessed: 15.7.18) are both examples of long, narrow devotional rolls. London, British Library, Additional MS 30064 is an example of long, narrow death inventory.

28 London, British Library, Additional MS 25311, a seventeenth-century amulet roll containing magical signs for protection against danger and disease on one side and prayers on the other, is an exception. Although the prayers are written horizontally along the roll, the roll is divided into sections so that a single prayer can be viewed completely once the user reaches its position on the roll.

29 On London, Wellcome Library, MS 632, see Olsan 2015. On New Haven, CT, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Takamiya MS 56, see Morse 2013b.

Both are strikingly long and narrow. Even though each seems to have lost a small amount of text at the head of the roll, Takamiya MS 56 is still about twenty-one times longer than it is wide and Wellcome MS 632 is about thirty-three times greater in length than in width.[30] In both cases, the text that runs lengthwise appears on the dorse, while the text on the face runs widthwise down the roll. In this change of orientation, it is possible also to see a change of purpose. Both of these rolls are examples of manuscript birth girdles—rolls that imitate the protective functions of the relic of the Virgin Mary's girdle.[31] Manuscript birth girdles, like girdle relics, would have been wrapped around a woman's abdomen before or during childbirth, with the goal of protecting both mother and child.[32] Each of these manuscript girdles combines texts that were primarily intended for devotional reading with texts that serve a more practical amuletic purpose. All the texts on these rolls are legible and written in ordinary scripts. However, the lengthwise text on the dorse is physically harder to access than the widthwise text on the face. In order to read the dorse text, the user must unroll the manuscript and hold it horizontally. From this position, it resembles the girdle relic the manuscript imitates, and is also oriented in such a way that it can be wrapped around the woman. The direction of the dorse text therefore emphasises the object's amuletic status.

Wellcome Library MS 632 is a heavily worn parchment roll, 3,320 mm long and only 100 mm wide. On the front it includes common amuletic images such as the measured cross and related prayers to Saints Ciricus and Julitta, as well as images of the three nails with which Christ was crucified, the five wounds of Christ, and the instruments of the Passion. In typical medieval fashion, these texts run across the width of the manuscript all the way down the roll. On the dorse of the roll, however, are two texts which run in two lines along almost the entire length of the manuscript.[33] One

30 New Haven, CT, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Takamiya MS 56 is 1,730 mm long and 80 mm wide. London, Wellcome Library, MS 632 is about 3,320 mm long and 100 mm wide.

31 On birth girdles generally, see Dilling 1913–1914; Gwara/Morse 2012; Morse 2013a; Jones/Olsan 2015.

32 In Yorkshire alone the 1535 visitation of Layton and Legh recorded sixteen belts or girdles kept by churches and used for protection in childbirth, as well as eleven others whose purpose is not specified. The girdles for protection of pregnant women are those of St Francis at Grace Dieu, St Bernard at Melsa and Kirkstall, St Ailred at Rievaulx, St Werburgh at Chester, St Robert at Newminster, St Saviour at Newburgh, Thomas of Lancaster at Pontefract, St Margaret at Tynemouth, the former prior of Holy Trinity in York, Mary Nevill at Coverham, and of the Virgin at Haltemprice, Calder, Conishead, Kirkham, and Jervaulx. Legh/Layton 1789, 77–111.

33 The main dorse inscription reads: […] *mesure of the length off ou[re] lorde [J]esu* […] *of hys dere mother oure blessyd lady seynt mary whych was wryttyn in letters of gold and send ffrome hevyn by an Aungell to the pope leo that tyme beynge in Rome and sayd to hym in thys man(er) wyse / who so beryth thys mesure vppon hym wyth trewe ffayth and good devocyon sayinge v pat(er) nosters v aves ⁊ a credo in the worshypp of hym that thys mesure ys of / he shall never be slayne in batell nor wyth no devyll be combred by day nor by nyght / nor wyth thunder* […]*ned nor wyth no soden deth be smyttyn nor dye wyth owte howsyll and shryfte / nor byfore no juge wrongefuly dampned / nor wyth no thevys be* lists the dangers from which the roll will protect its user, including the promise that *yf a woman travell wyth chylde gyrde thys mesure a bowte hyr wombe and she shall be safe delyverd wyth owte p(ere)ll and the chylde shall have crystendome 7 the mother puryfycatyon*. The other includes the claim that the roll is the length of Christ and of his mother Mary. These inscriptions make it absolutely clear that the manuscript was used, or was intended to be used, as a girdle; that a physical interaction specific to its roll form was meaningful to its use; and that its length was crucial to its amuletic power. There is therefore an inherent relationship between the roll form of the manuscript and the symbolic power of its texts.

The dorse of New Haven, Beinecke Library, Takamiya MS 56 carries a similar inscription, identifying the practical benefits offered by the roll and describing its possible use as a birth girdle.[34] However, the texts on the face of Takamiya MS 56 differ somewhat from those on the face of Wellcome MS 632. The dorse, with text running lengthways along the manuscript, promises physical protection from a range of possible harms, thereby emphasising the roll's amuletic qualities. By contrast, the texts and images on the front of the roll, on which the text runs in the conventional widthwise orientation, contain promises that are spiritual in nature rather than physical or material. Several prayers carry promises of indulgence, for example, while the measure of the Crucifixion nails is accompanied by a text assuring its reader that *he shall haue grete grace of allmyghty god and for to putt a waye from hym all dedely synnysx*, even though in other manuscripts its powers are said to be amuletic.[35] The images of the side wound and cross, usually associated with protection from harm, here carry no promises at all. For this manuscript, the movement from the front to the dorse of the roll, and the shift from widthwise to lengthwise writing, also signals a change in

robbyd on see nor on lond / nor perysshed wyth ffyer nor water / nor blastys ne wyndys on water ne on lond shalnot greve hym / nor of the pestylence dye / And yf he be in dedly synne he shalnot dye ther yn / And he shall encreace yn worldly goodd(es) / And yf a woman travell wyth chylde gyrde thys mesure a bowte hyr wombe 7 she shall be safe delyverd wyth owte p[ere]ll and the chylde shall have crystendome 7 the mother puryfycacyon. A second, shorter inscription, also written in two lines but apparently unfinished, reads: *+ Thus moche more ys oure lady seynt mary lenger + by vertu of thys holy length oure Savio(r) Jhesu crist and of his dere mother oure lady seynt.*

34 The inscription reads: [...]*antyne the nobyl* [...] *was closyd yn golde and take to hym for these vertues. That is to wete. That whate man or woman that berythe hytt apon wythe trewe faythe and deuoc(i)on worshyppynge thys mesure euery daye wythe .iii. Pater noster .iii. A[v]e maria. In the worshyppe of hym that thys mesure ys of. For sothe th[a]t daye th*[...] *may go safe yn all man(er) of p(er)illis and tribulac(i)ons. And ther shall no desese greve the. And a woma(n) that ys quyck wyth chylde g*[...]*rde hyr wythe thys mesure and she shall be safe fro all man(er) of p(er)illis. + Iesus autem transiens per mediu illor(um) ibat in pace. + Marcus + Matheus + lucas + Iohannes + Iasper + Melchior + Balthasar + In nomine patris + et filii + 7 sp(irit)us sancti + Amen. Thys moche more ys oure lady mary* [...] *+.*

35 The image of the nails in the devotional rolls London, British Library, Additional MS 88929 and Harley Roll T. 11, and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Glazier MS 39 is associated with practical protective benefits. In Glazier MS 39, for instance, its earthly benefits include protection against sudden death, weapons, enemies, false witnesses, poverty, wicked spirits, pestilence, and fevers.

the manuscript's intended use by shifting focus from the spiritual realm to the practical, earthly one.

In both of these manuscript birth girdles the amuletic text on the dorse of the roll is legible, but its orientation is unusual and resists easy reading. In order to read the inscriptions that identify the manuscripts as birth girdles, or to read the instructions explaining how to use the girdles, the reader must change the orientation of the roll and the way in which she—or he—interacts with the object. While a reader would hold the manuscript vertically to read the prayers on the recto, it would have to be held horizontally to read the text on the back, or to wrap the parchment around a woman. Held horizontally, the manuscript's resemblance to the girdle relic is emphasised, strengthening the association between relic and roll. I argue that these inscriptions run along the length of the roll precisely because they encourage their reader to handle the roll in an unusual way—one that reveals the similarity between the manuscript and the protective relic that it imitates.[36]

Just as the dorse texts of the birth girdles force their readers to approach their manuscripts in an unfamiliar way, so do the texts on the two purely amuletic rolls I turn to now. Both of these rolls, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 245 and MS Bodley Rolls 26, are exceptionally long relative to their width, and both have texts which run horizontally along their full—or almost full—length. Although Bodley Rolls 26 includes a short section in which the text runs in the roll's vertical direction, both of these rolls deliberately deviate from the normal layout expected for their form.

MS e Mus. 245, copied in England in the sixteenth century, is 120 mm wide, and 14,723 mm long.[37] The roll is formed of twenty-four parchment membranes. Its construction is not entirely consistent—in three of the twenty-three joins, the new membrane is added over rather than under the preceding membrane—but the same scribal hand wrote the text throughout. Although it may have been re-sewn in places, much of the stitching must be original: ink from the text has transferred to the threads, suggesting that the membranes were either sewn together when the ink was still wet, or, more likely, that the text was written after the membranes had been sewn together. The manuscript may have some connection with Salisbury, as it is now kept wrapped in a seventeenth century document settling some of the estates of William Cecil, second Earl of Salisbury, after the death of the first earl in 1612. Place names mentioned include the manors of *Ashpurton Stratton* and *Yarkehill als Yarkehall*, all in Herefordshire. Although there is no necessary connection between the roll and its wrapper, there is a transfer of ink on the dorse of the roll that includes the word Salisbury. The

36 Although I argue that the dorse text is central to the amuletic function of these objects, the roll form is not. A text very similar to that on the dorse of Wellcome MS 632 appears, for example, on fol. 120^{v} of the medical miscellany New Haven, CT, Yale Center for British Art, R486.M43 1450, a codex.
37 This manuscript is described in Madan/Craster/Denholm-Young 1937, 678, SC 3550. It is also briefly discussed in Skemer 2006, 212–13.

roll must therefore have been put on top of a document mentioning Salisbury while it was still wet.

MS e Mus. 245 opens with a large and dramatic textual diagram in red and black. Although the text runs in unusual directions, it can be read. Written in three bands around the edge of a semi-circle, for example, is the sentence *+ EMITTE + NOBIS + DOMINE + AXILIVM + + DE + CELIS + VT + PROTEGAMUR + AB + + OMNIBVS + INIMICIS + NOSTRIS +*.[38] Other texts run around the edge of a large triangle, or are contained within it, or within circles or stars. For most of the roll, however, text and image are not so closely intertwined (fig. 1). A line of large text, interspersed with roundels, runs along the top of the roll and sometimes also along the bottom. Three lines of smaller text run lengthways along the body of the manuscript. The text along the bottom consists of just three words: *tetragramaton*; *agla*, a magic word derived from Hebrew; and four characters which appear to represent the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew.[39] The text along the top is more varied, listing names of God including *Adonay*, *Amphyneton*, and *Resamaraton*. Many of these, or variants of them, can be found in the list of one hundred names of God given in the *Liber Iuratus Honorii*, a magical treatise that existed at least by the fourteenth century.[40] At both the top and bottom of the roll, the individual names are separated by roundels containing red crosses, in the corners of which are either the four Hebrew letters representing the Tetragrammaton or the letters AGLA.

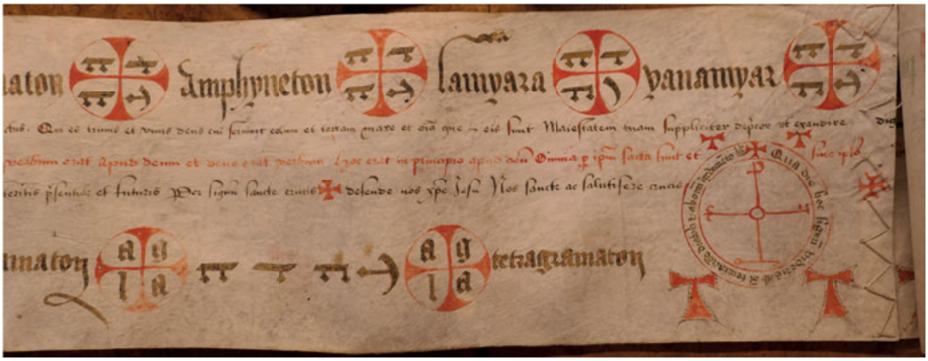

Fig. 1: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 245 (R).

38 Send out help for us, O Lord, from the heavens, to protect us from all our enemies.
39 The letters AGLA stand for the Hebrew phrase *Attah gibbor le'olam 'Adonai'*, meaning 'Thou art strong for eternity, Lord'. This phrase had become common in Church Latin. Cole 2016, 34–35.
40 Boudet 2002, 880, 853.

The three lines of text running down the middle of the roll all extend along its entirety, so that to read them fully a reader would have to scroll through the whole manuscript three times. The top line consists primarily of invocations and prayers, some of which are spoken to the honour and glory of God's names.[41] The second line principally consists of quotations from the Bible and the liturgy, starting with the opening of the Gospel of John.[42] This text was the reading for the daytime Mass on Christmas Day. It is followed by the collect for Christmas, beginning *Concede q(uaesu)m(u)s o(m)nip(otens) deus vt nos vnigeniti tui noua*.[43] Then comes a text from the Gospel of Matthew, followed in turn by a collect and prayers to the Virgin and Christ.[44] There is a text from the Gospel of Luke, with prayers, and a final gospel reading from Mark.[45] These were well-known texts that an audience would have encountered before, making the difficult reading process simultaneously one of fulfilled expectations. As Roger Wieck notes, these portions of the gospels often appear in Books of Hours because of their use in Mass celebrations for the major feasts of Christmas (John 1:1–14), the Annunciation (Luke 1:26–38), Epiphany (Matt. 2:1–12), and Ascension (Mark 16:14–20).[46] As the reading from Matthew ends unfinished in this roll, it is possible that a membrane has been lost. The third line of text contains further prayers and invocations, including prayers to the sign of the cross.

While the text is already difficult to read because of its orientation along the entirety of the roll, it is even more difficult to navigate because of the frequent insertion of roundels and diagrams. These diagrams do not appear at grammatical breaks in the text, and they can separate consecutive words by quite a large distance. At one point, just before the passage from Luke, a roundel containing a five-pointed star, five crosses, several names of God, and a quotation from the Psalms partially covers the text itself.[47] If the text of manuscript was intended to be read, it was certainly not expected to be read easily—although the familiarity of the texts might have mitigated some of the obstacles to reading caused by the roll's physical layout. The orientation of the text, the disproportionate length of the roll, and the interruption by roundels all disrupt the normal reading experience.

The inscriptions surrounding the roundels in MS e Mus. 245 provide further evidence of a deliberate impediment to reading. Towards the beginning of the roll, there appear roundels with inscriptions around their edges explaining what benefit the symbol inside them will bring. At the start of the manuscript's second membrane, for

41 Latin: *in honorem et gloriam no(min)is tui*.
42 John 1:1–14.
43 Földváry et al. 2018.
44 Matt. 2:1–12. The collect begins *Deus qui vnigenitu(m) tuu(m) gentibus stella duce revelasti*.
45 Luke 1:26–38; Mark 16:14–18.
46 Wieck 2008, 400.
47 Ps. 83:10: *+ PROTETOR NOSTER ASPICE DEVS + ET RESPICE IN FACIEM XP(IST)I TVI* [Behold, O God our protector: and look on the face of thy Christ (Douay-Rheims Ps. 84:9)].

example, is a roundel that promises to dispel anger and inspire love, while another at the beginning of the third membrane assures its reader that no one who carries it will die an evil death. The last of these roundels, promising protection from visible and invisible enemies, demons, and all other perils, appears a little over two metres into the roll at the beginning of the fifth membrane. Beyond that point, the amuletic benefits of the roundels are no longer explained. Furthermore, only two of the roundels explicitly state that they must be seen in order for their benefit to take effect. One appears at the end of the second membrane, roughly seventy-five centimetres into the roll.[48] The other appears at the end of the fourth membrane, about two metres into the roll.[49] While some roundels are surrounded by inscriptions stating that their protection is activated when they are carried, nothing beyond the fourth membrane specifies that it needs to be seen in order to work.[50] This is not to say that a roll would never be read to its end, but its user could benefit from its protections without ever having to unroll its full length. The extreme length of this amulet roll thus allows for the provision of further protections that might be 'read', as in the case of the charms discussed above, only by supernatural beings.

The combination of extreme length and lengthwise-oriented writing also appears in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley Rolls 26.[51] Its catalogue entry describes it dramatically (if implausibly) as "A magical roll, written in blood".[52] By my measurements, Bodley Rolls 26 is 9,326 mm long. Although it is considerably shorter than e Mus. 245, its width varies between just 44 and 34 mm, making it far longer in terms of proportion. However, its present length is not its original length. Bodley Rolls 26 is now made up of fourteen membranes, but it appears to have been made in two parts. At some point, the owner of the original roll—a manuscript of four membranes, about two and a half metres long, with text written in the normal fashion—decided to modify his possession by adding ten more membranes in which the text runs lengthwise. The two sections can be distinguished not just because of the orientation of the text, but also because of their physical construction. The first four membranes are on thicker parchment, and when they are joined to their subsequent membranes the overlap

48 Its inscription reads *+ Qua die hoc signu(m) videris ab o(mn)i temtacio(n)e diaboli & ab om(n)i i(m)pedime(n)to lib(erabis).* [+ On whichever day you see this sign, you will be freed from all temptations of the devil and all hindrance].

49 Its inscription reads *+ hoc est signu(m) filij dei viui i(n) q(ua)cu(m)que die videris no(n) p(er)ibis i(n) igne n(e)c i(n) aqua* [+ this is the sign of the son of the living God. On whatever day you see it you will not perish in fire nor in water].

50 For example, the roundel at the beginning of the third membrane states *+ Qui hoc signu(m) sup(er) se portauerit mala morte more non poterit* [+ Whoever carries this sign upon himself will not be able to die an evil death].

51 In my discussion of this manuscript, I make use of images digitally enhanced by Ian Green to improve the legibility of faded areas of text. I am grateful for his help. This roll has also been discussed in Edsall 2014, 201.

52 Madan/Craster/Denholm-Young, 1937, 590, SC 3115.

between the pieces of parchment averages forty-four millimetres. In the second part of the manuscript, however, the parchment is noticeably thinner and the membranes overlap by an average of just over eighteen millimetres, excluding two joins that have clearly been repaired.[53] Where the two sections join, the much less worn upper membrane—presumably belonging to the newer portion of the manuscript—partially covers some of the symbols on the lower membrane. A short and legible manuscript has therefore been greatly lengthened and modified in a way that makes it much less legible. While the amuletic status of the roll is enhanced by the addition of new text, the layout of that text makes it difficult to access.

The manuscript begins with images of the three nails of Christ and a text that identifies them and promises amuletic benefits to those who worship them. These benefits are typical, including protection from sudden death, swords, and enemies. Next, there is an image of the side wound of Christ, followed by a long list of the names of God, one to a line, flanked by crosses. Following these are three assertions relating to circles: that a circle has been made, established, and finally concluded. This section of the roll finishes with more of the God's names. Sewn onto this original section of Bodley Rolls 26 is a text written lengthways along the roll in a single line, with crosses above and below. It lists numerous names of God, separated from one another by crosses. These largely repeat, in the same order, the names from the first section of the roll. Next is the opening of the Gospel of John, which was popular in magical contexts, and then the same three statements about circles that appeared in the earlier part of the roll.[54] Towards the end of the roll are the Lord's Prayer in Greek, transliterated into the Roman alphabet, and more words separated by crosses—perhaps further names of God. That the texts in the two parts of the roll largely repeat each other suggests that they were not joined together with the intention that someone would read the whole roll. Apart from the well-known Gospel of John and the Lord's Prayer, every text could have been read in the first shorter section of the roll. The extension therefore changed the physical structure of the roll significantly more than it changed the text. In this case, the length of roll appears to affirm its amuletic power, for once again the later texts might be expected to exercise their protective function unread.

In all four of the rolls I have discussed, the unusually long and narrow format combines with the use of text running lengthwise along the roll to contribute to the amuletic nature of the object. In each case, this layout of text signals that the rolls should be used in ways that do not prioritise reading. For the birth girdles, the manuscripts encourage an unusual physical interaction with the parchment. In the case of

53 The fifth membrane is torn and the join between it and the sixth membrane is roughly sewn. A scrap of another membrane, containing crosses clearly taken from this manuscript, is also sewn at this join, perhaps preserving a piece lost from the fifth membrane. The join between the twelfth and thirteenth membranes is now glued, but there are visible sewing holes from a previous attachment and some of the parchment has been torn and lost.

54 Skemer 2006, 87.

the amulet rolls, the texts towards the innermost part of the roll either duplicate earlier texts or make no demands that the user read them. As the charm texts discussed demonstrate, the presence of symbols viewed as divine or supernatural text could seem more important or powerful than a decipherable meaning. Thus it would appear that the long, narrow roll format produced a similar effect in physical terms, allowing its owner to trust in the mere presence of texts whose mysterious power operated without the intervention of a reader.

Manuscripts

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library
Additional MS 9308

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
MS 388

Cambridge, Magdalene College
Pepys MS 878

Canterbury, Canterbury Cathedral Archives
Additional MS 23

Chicago, Newberry Library
MS Case–32

Durham, Durham Cathedral Library
Hunter MS 100

Durham, Durham University Library
MS Cosin V.III.10

London, British Library
Additional MS 25311
Additional MS 30064
Additional MS 33996
Additional MS 88929
Cotton MS Julius D viii
Harley Ch 43 A 14
Harley MS 978
Harley MS 1680
Harley Roll T. 11
Royal MS 15 A viii
Sloane MS 431

Sloane MS 1314
Sloane MS 3466

London, Wellcome Library
Wellcome MS 542
Wellcome MS 632

New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library
Takamiya MS 56

New Haven, Yale Center for British Art
R486.M43 1450

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
Glazier MS 39

Oxford, Bodleian Library
Ashmole MS 1447
Bodley Rolls 26
Digby MS 86
Digby MS 88
Douce MS 84
MS e Mus. 245 (R)
MS Wood empt. 18

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Fig. 1: By permission of the Bodleian Library Oxford.

Jean-Marie Moeglin

Conclusion

Le colloque dont ce volume est issu s'inscrivait dans les recherches menées par le SFB *Materiale Textkulturen* de l'université d'Heidelberg dont un des objectifs est de montrer qu'il n'est pas possible d'isoler dans les documents historiques le fond de la forme, d'étudier les contenus sans se préoccuper des contenants et également des modes de conservation et d'archivage que l'on a mis en œuvre avec ces documents.

Cette révision est importante et nécessaire, car elle rend possible, et Jörg Peltzer l'a bien mis en valeur dans son introduction, une nouvelle approche des documents laissés par le Moyen Âge que l'on voit s'affirmer lentement depuis quelque deux ou trois décennies. Fondamentalement, elle s'inspire de l'idée que les documents que nous a laissés cette époque n'avaient pas pour fonction première de décrire une réalité, mais qu'ils étaient produits pour agir sur cette réalité, établir des droits ou créer une hiérarchie par exemple; il s'agissait par conséquent de transformer la réalité en même temps qu'on la décrivait ou que l'on feignait de la décrire. Or, cette idée ne peut être véritablement étayée qu'en mettant au centre de l'analyse la matérialité des documents, la forme que leurs commanditaires ont choisi de leur donner. Il faut tenir compte de l'unité inséparable que le contenant constitue avec le contenu.

Le support choisi par les organisateurs du colloque a été le rouleau. L'idée est judicieuse, car il faut bien reconnaître que bien des travaux sur les sources écrites médiévales conservent encore l'idée que le livre (codex) ou registre aurait été le seul mode de conservation pérenne de l'écrit; l'emploi du rouleau n'aurait été qu'une bizarrerie propre à quelques esprits qui ne peuvent rien faire comme les autres, les Anglais, ou la conséquence d'un retard à prendre le train de la modernité. Il ne s'agit bien sûr pas de nier l'importance que le codex ou livre a eue dans la culture médiévale, mais le rouleau ne peut en aucune façon être considéré comme un support négligeable; il constitue par conséquent un objet idéal pour poser la question des raisons et des modalités du choix de tel type de document, du point de vue de sa matérialité, plutôt que d'un autre.

L'intérêt des communications réunies dans ce volume – et il faudrait aussi évoquer la qualité des échanges tenues durant le colloque – prouve que les organisateurs ont fait le bon choix et il n'est pas facile de mettre en valeur cette richesse en un petit nombre de pages.

Ces contributions montrent d'abord 1) qu'il est vrai, certes, que l'Angleterre a fait un emploi massif et beaucoup plus systématique qu'ailleurs des rouleaux, mais que les rouleaux sont partout en usage et notamment en France ceux qui sont conservés sont encore très nombreux et le seraient encore beaucoup plus si les rouleaux de comptes de la monarchie française n'avaient pas disparu dans l'incendie de la chambre des comptes en 1737, 2) que les usages qui en sont faits ne sont pas foncièrement différents

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sur le continent de ceux que l'on peut observer en Angleterre; cela vaut pour les rouleaux généalogiques, même si l'Angleterre semble être un peu en avance sur le continent à cet égard, mais aussi pour les rouleaux-documents, les rouleaux «ordinaires».

Bien sûr, il est incontestable que du XIII^e au XIV^e siècle il existe une tendance dans certaines régions à passer du rouleau au codex, mais ce n'est pas systématique et la curie pontificale avignonnaise, par exemple, que personne ne soupçonnera de retard bureaucratique et administratif, continuera à faire un usage intensif des rouleaux.

Il faut bien reconnaître, par conséquent, que l'usage des rouleaux a été beaucoup plus important et significatif que l'on a bien souvent voulu le dire. Si l'on a mis du temps à en prendre conscience, c'est aussi parce que les méthodes de conservation de ces rouleaux ont parfois fait qu'ils ont été aplatis ou bien transformés en livres, et aussi au fait qu'ils sont souvent mal signalés dans les inventaires archivistiques anciens.

Dans cette permanence de l'emploi du rouleau, des transferts directs ou indirects d'une aire à une autre ont pu jouer un rôle, mais les spécialistes des transferts culturels ont montré depuis longtemps qu'il ne peut y avoir de transfert imposé et de réception passive: un transfert se réalise lorsqu'il arrive à point nommé dans un contexte économique, social et culturel précis, qu'il peut y remplir une fonction ou combler un vide. En tout état de cause, des emplois similaires des rouleaux en différentes régions ou pays ont été mis en évidence sans que l'on puisse alléguer un phénomène de transfert.

Une fois reconnues cette permanence et cette importance du recours au rouleau, l'expliquer reste néanmoins délicat, ceci pour au moins deux raisons. La première est que le rouleau n'est pas une forme uniformisée; quoi de commun en effet entre les somptueuses généalogies royales et princières en rouleau et le modeste rouleau d'un relevé d'amendes? La seconde est qu'il n'existe pas de contenu qui ne puisse être porté à la fois sur un rouleau et dans un codex.

Pour tenter d'éclairer les choix qui ont conduit à privilégier la forme rouleau plutôt que la forme codex, des approches diverses ont été pratiquées et c'est une des richesses de ce volume.

D'un point de vue schématique, deux voies d'exploration sont possibles: d'abord partir de l'institution ou administration productrice et rechercher combien, quand et quels types de rouleaux elle a produit. La monarchie anglaise et ses institutions bureaucratiques, tout particulièrement l'échiquier, constitue à cet égard un objet d'investigation idéal que plusieurs communications ont bien éclairé; mais une même étude, plus modeste évidemment, peut être faite au simple niveau d'un monastère ou un chapitre. L'autre voie est de partir de l'objet, le ou les rouleaux produits, et de chercher à remonter de l'objet à l'institution productrice. L'idéal évidemment, et c'est ce que les auteurs ont tous cherché à faire, c'est d'aller de l'institution productrice à l'objet produit et de l'objet produit à l'institution productrice. Il est évidemment plus difficile de suivre ce double chemin pour les rouleaux généalogiques ou pour les rouleaux-amulettes car nous connaissons assez rarement les commanditaires de ces objets ; bien souvent, seule l'analyse de l'objet lui-même permet de tenter de parvenir à des conclusions sur l'institution ou la personne productrice ou commanditaire.

Deux grandes catégories de rouleaux ont été examinées : les rouleaux généalogiques d'un côté, les rouleaux documentaires de l'autre ; leur apparence extérieure les oppose *a priori*, les uns ayant souvent une valeur esthétique importante, les autres lui accordant moins d'importance sans pour autant la négliger forcément. Les rouleaux-amulettes ont néanmoins introduit un élément de diversité bienvenu. L'on aurait sans doute pu prendre en compte encore d'autres types de rouleaux (les rouleaux monastiques des morts étudiés par le regretté Jean Dufour par exemple, ou encore les rouleaux liturgiques), mais en tout état de cause la diversité des types de rouleaux était bien représentée et cela a permis d'aller plus loin dans l'exploration des potentialités de la forme rouleau et donc des raisons qui ont conduit à y recourir.

Si l'on tente un bilan au terme du colloque, l'on peut dire que nos connaissances se sont réellement enrichies en trois registres différents. Le premier est celui de la géographie et de la chronologie de la production et des usages, dans toute leur diversité, des rouleaux. Le deuxième est celui de la constitution d'une typologie des rouleaux articulant leur matérialité et leurs contenus. Le troisième enfin est celui du pourquoi du recours aux rouleaux.

Il est clair bien sûr que la troisième question est la question essentielle qui a été au cœur de tous les exposés ; mais on ne peut la résoudre que si l'on a préalablement apporté des réponses aux deux premières.

En ce qui concerne la question de la géographie et de la chronologie de la production des rouleaux, il va de soi que le colloque ne pouvait donner que des éclairages partiels et non pas une synthèse d'ensemble.

Des études précises avec des angles d'attaque différents ont été menées sur l'administration royale anglaise et sur différentes institutions ecclésiastiques, tandis qu'une approche synthétique était réalisée à partir d'un fonds d'archives tel qu'une longue histoire l'a constitué. L'on a également poursuivi l'inventaire de la production de rouleaux généalogiques en Angleterre et en France et un inventaire de ces rouleaux hors-norme que sont les rouleaux-amulettes est en bonne voie.

Il ne s'agit bien évidemment – comment aurait-il pu en être autrement ? – que de réponses partielles, mais elles ajoutent de nouvelles pièces au puzzle qui pourra peut-être un jour être assemblé dans son intégralité.

S'agissant à présent de la forme des rouleaux, il importe d'abord de les replacer à l'intérieur d'une typologie générale de l'écrit et de préciser les données de l'opposition classique entre le livre / codex et le rouleau / rôle : le déroulement d'un côté, tourner les pages de l'autre ; afficher contre un mur, déployer sur une table, montrer un ensemble d'un côté contre la lecture page après page de l'autre ; le haut et le bas comme principe organisateur du rouleau, la gauche et la droite pour le livre ; la présence normalement d'une reliure qui enserre dans un livre un nombre déterminé des unités codicologiques que sont les cahiers et qui clot l'espace-livre, contre l'accroissement potentiellement infini des rouleaux auxquels l'on peut toujours ajouter des membranes, qui peuvent même être cousus les uns après les autres, voire attachés à une même tige autour de laquelle ils pivoteront. D'autres formes matérielles, intermédiaires entre codex et rouleau, ont aussi été évoquées au cours du colloque, les pancartes et surtout l'accordéon, dont on a montré qu'il pouvait prendre l'une ou l'autre forme.

Une fois défini le rouleau par rapport aux autres formes matérielles de l'écrit, reste cependant à identifier les critères signifiants, d'abord au niveau de la matérialité du rouleau, qui permettent d'en dresser une typologie. Citons quelque peu en désordre : support utilisé (parchemin ou papier) ; longueur et largeur des membranes utilisées ; nombre de peaux et donc longueur de l'ensemble (ce qui signifie aussi, temps et place qu'il faut pour le dérouler) ; type de liaison entre les membranes, coutures, collages ou entailles ; horizontalité ou verticalité ; utilisation du recto uniquement ou également du verso (et pour y mettre quoi ?) ; configuration de l'espace de la membrane (place des marges, repères visuels, disposition en colonnes ...) ; dimension esthétique recherchée ou non.

Cette étude de la matérialité des rouleaux ne doit pas être menée pour elle-même mais avec la volonté de la mettre en rapport avec la diversité des contenus et des usages des rouleaux. Quel type de rouleau pour quel type de contenu et d'usage ?

À l'évidence en tout état de cause, derrière le mot unique « rouleau » que nous utilisons (mais l'on a attiré avec raison l'attention sur la diversité des termes médiévaux en latin comme en français), c'est en fait une multiplicité de formes qui se profile et l'on a le sentiment que les commanditaires et producteurs de rouleaux connaissaient parfaitement l'éventail des possibilités existantes et faisaient leur choix en connaissance de cause. Cela conduit par conséquent à la question essentielle, celle du pourquoi du recours au rouleau.

Le choix du rouleau et plus particulièrement de tel type de rouleau pouvait sans doute être dû à des préférences culturelles – les Cisterciens, apparemment, n'aimaient pas les rouleaux – ou à des habitudes régionales ou nationales, on pense à l'Angleterre. Au fil du temps, bien sûr, pouvait jouer un rôle, on l'a rappelé, une forme de routine et de poids de la tradition qui font que l'on n'abandonne pas facilement un type de de document auquel on est habitué, qui a fait ses preuves autrefois, même si un autre à présent serait peut-être plus adapté ; une administration ne réforme pas volontiers les procédures auxquelles elle est habituée. L'échiquier anglais reste fidèle aux rouleaux, même si sur le continent les administrations financières tendent à passer à la forme livre et que les *pipe rolls*, ces grands rôles annuels de comptes, deviennent toujours plus imposants et de moins en moins maniables. Il reste que le choix du rouleau était d'abord dû au fait qu'il répondait à des besoins spécifiques que la forme livre ne pouvait pas satisfaire.

D'une certaine manière, l'on peut, ce n'est pas illégitime, opposer les facilités de l'usage du livre aux possibilités symboliques et de mise en scène, et même performatives du rouleau : d'un côté le livre comme objet dont l'on se sert professionnellement et que l'on n'expose pas, de l'autre le rouleau comme objet que l'on montre à un public mais que l'on n'a pas besoin de lire. De fait, les rouleaux-amulettes ne sont pas destinés à être lus ; le texte qu'ils portent est souvent composé de caractères non intelligibles et quand ils le sont, la disposition de l'écriture et le format du rouleau rendent la lecture quasi impossible ; on peut aller jusqu'à dire que la forme rouleau a été précisément choisi pour empêcher l'accès au contenu dont le déchiffrement risquerait de faire perdre son autorité et son efficacité au rouleau-amulette.

Il reste que l'extrême diversité des rouleaux empêche d'en rester à cette simple opposition. Il faut à tout le moins considérer que les potentialités du rouleau n'ont pas été utilisées de la même manière par les rouleaux généalogiques et pour les rouleaux documentaires.

S'agissant des généalogies, la force fondamentale du rouleau est qu'il est en mesure de montrer l'ensemble d'une généalogie dans toute sa complexité ; toutes les lignes latérales peuvent être représentées graphiquement, tout en permettant de bien mettre en valeur la ou les lignes principales qui sont celles de la transmission du sang et de la transmission du pouvoir et des territoires. Les lignes horizontales et obliques s'organisent ainsi autour d'une ligne centrale verticale et continue ; il est possible de montrer graphiquement comment la ligne verticale continue de la transmission du pouvoir et de la couronne dans un pays se confond et doit se confondre, malgré quelques accidents possibles mais qui doivent être et seront corrigés, avec la ligne de la transmission du sang héréditaire dans une même famille : la *linea sanguinis* qui est celle de la légitimité dynastique et occupe dans la généalogie la ligne centrale verticale finit toujours par se confondre avec celle de la transmission du pouvoir. La continuité, si essentielle à la démonstration de la légitimité d'un pouvoir, pouvait ainsi être magnifiquement mise en évidence et illustrée par les rouleaux généalogiques.

Mais le rouleau a aussi une faiblesse majeure : il n'est pas histoire ; il permet de montrer et de mettre en scène ; il ne permet pas de raconter et de démontrer ; il est le soubassement et le fil directeur visuel d'une histoire nationale et dynastique mais il ne peut éclairer les ressorts de cette histoire, la manière dont concrètement l'histoire d'un pays s'est insérée dans l'histoire d'une dynastie à tel point que leurs destinées se sont confondues.

C'est ce travail de fond que le moine Primat de Saint-Denis dans les années 1270 voulait réaliser. Primat n'était pas, comme l'a montré Bernard Guenée dans son ultime livre, un simple traducteur/adaptateur, mais un grand historien ; il était convaincu que l'histoire de la lignée des rois de France était l'épine dorsale et la matrice de l'histoire du royaume de France et de ses habitants, mais il fallait le prouver ; il importait de montrer comment la dynastie royale avait su incarner les destinées du royaume de France et de ses habitants. Et les *Grandes chroniques de France*, à l'origine desquelles le *Roman des rois* se situe, sont restées des livres dans lesquels l'on ne trouve d'ailleurs pas de généalogies figurées.

Mais au milieu du XIV^{e} siècle, la dynastie royale française a été confrontée à une formidable mise en cause de sa légitimité. Le roi d'Angleterre Édouard III et ses descendants ont prétendu avoir un droit dynastique supérieur à celui des Valois. Il devenait alors important de montrer graphiquement que la légitimité dynastique de Philippe de Valois et de ses successeurs était supérieure à celle des rois anglais. Les rouleaux généalogiques d'*A tous nobles* ont pris leur importance à partir du moment, le début du XV^{e} siècle, où les Français ayant inventé la loi salique, il devenait possible – et nécessaire – d'établir graphiquement, contre les prétentions insupportables et intolérables du roi d'Angleterre, que les Valois prenaient bien leur place sur la *recta linea* de la succession au royaume de France.

Peut-être pourrait-on esquisser une démonstration comparable pour le royaume d'Angleterre entre le *Brut* et les généalogies en rouleaux.

Venons-en alors aux rouleaux documentaires. Alors que la dimension esthétique apparaît comme une caractéristique fondamentale des rouleaux généalogiques, elle ne joue à l'évidence dans leur cas qu'un rôle secondaire, mais doit parfois être prise en compte, notamment grâce à la possibilité d'insérer des initiales décorées. Ce qui apparaît fondamental quant aux usages des rouleaux documentaires, c'est le fait qu'ils répondent à un souci pragmatique d'efficacité ; le rouleau apparaît comme un outil de gestion.

Le choix de la forme rouleau pouvait sans doute être favorisé par des influences extérieures ; au monastère cistercien de Margam très lié aux puissants *earls* de Gloucester puis au roi Jean sans Terre, l'influence des pratiques de la chancellerie anglaise pourrait bien avoir poussé l'abbé Gilbert à privilégier à la fin du XII^{e} siècle la forme du rouleau pour la cartularisation des actes du monastère. Mais à Margam comme ailleurs, le choix du rouleau s'expliquait d'abord par leur capacité à s'insérer de façon efficace dans un processus bureaucratique de gestion administrative et de circulation de l'information. Il peut s'agir de collecte d'argent et d'établissement et de vérification de comptes comme le montre avec éclat l'exemple des rouleaux de l'échiquier de la monarchie anglaise – mais l'on peut observer un processus similaire à la curie pontificale – comme il peut d'agir d'une insertion dans les nombreuses étapes d'une procédure judiciaire.

La routine administrative pouvait donc jouer un rôle ; il n'empêche que le choix de rester fidèle sur la durée au rouleau ou d'y avoir recours brutalement a toujours une explication pratique. Le monastère cistercien Notre-Dame du Val ne semble pas avoir eu l'habitude d'utiliser des rouleaux, mais lorsque le gouvernement royal lui demande en 1362 un dénombrement de ses biens, il produit un rouleau car cette forme est apparue comme le plus adapté à la mise par écrit (pour l'émetteur) et au contrôle (pour le destinataire) d'une masse importante d'informations.

C'est à la lumière de ces observations qu'il faut revenir sur l'observation faite plus haut : il n'existe aucun contenu donné dans un rouleau que l'on ne puisse retrouver sous forme de livre et vice-versa et c'est d'ailleurs ce qui fait que le même document peut nous avoir été conservé sous forme rouleau et sous forme codex. Cela ne veut pas pour autant dire que ces documents au contenu identique mais à la forme différente soient interchangeables et aient eu la même fonction; ils s'insèrent en réalité à une place différente dans un processus de gestion administrative et politique.

J'en prends un exemple qui m'a longuement occupé récemment. À la fin du XIII^{e} siècle, le patriciat de Valenciennes, en conflit ouvert avec son seigneur le comte de Hainaut, voulut démontrer au roi Philippe le Bel que la ville appartenait de toute antiquité au royaume de France et non à l'Empire et que Philippe devait donc faire valoir ses droits vis-à-vis du comte de Hainaut. Pour mieux le prouver, sans doute en 1296, les bourgeois de Valenciennes ont constitué un recueil de diplômes mérovingiens et carolingiens, transcrits en latin et en traduction française, qui devaient prouver que les anciens rois de France étaient bien les maîtres de Valenciennes. Nous conservons deux exemplaires de ce document. L'un est un rouleau (Archives départementales du Nord, B 1495 I), l'autre est un petit livre (Archives nationales, JJ 22). Ces deux exemplaires sont en ce qui concerne le contenu quasi identiques. Pourquoi avoir alors produit ce même document sous deux formes différentes? L'on peut en fait montrer que le registre anciennement conservé au trésor des chartes est l'exemplaire d'apparat doté de belles initiales ornées que les Valenciennois avaient offert au roi Philippe le Bel avec l'espoir, qui sera déçu, que sa lecture pourrait convaincre le roi d'intervenir et de les tirer des griffes du comte de Hainaut. Le rouleau lillois, en revanche, qui ne présente aucun caractère esthétique, était à l'évidence l'exemplaire de conservation des Valenciennois. L'un et l'autre avaient au demeurant probablement été recopiés à partir du rouleau initial (non conservé) qu'un notaire ou copiste avait constitué sur l'ordre du Magistrat de Valenciennes en se rendant de monastère en chapitre cathédral (Maroilles, Cambrai, Saint-Denis …) pour trouver, copier et traduire les documents jugés pertinents. C'est-à-dire que le contenu du rouleau et du codex était le même, mais que les usages auxquels ils étaient destinés l'un et l'autre n'étaient pas du tout identiques.

Il me semble que cette approche est validée par les communications rassemblées dans ce volume. En Angleterre, mais aussi en bien des régions du continent, l'on a utilisé le rouleau pour prendre des notes, constituer un brouillon, mettre au net un compte remis à l'échiquier, à la garde-robe ou à la chambre, ou bien encore à un juge. Dans un deuxième temps, l'on procède à l'enregistrement qui donne aux documents insérés, soit toujours dans un rouleau (en Angleterre) soit dans un codex, une valeur d'authenticité, de mémoire officielle, de monument; ou bien l'on conserve une sentence dans un registre d'arrêts.

Le rouleau-document pourrait ainsi avoir souvent eu un rôle de document intermédiaire à l'intérieur d'un processus administratif. Les travaux d'Elisabeth Lalou ont d'ailleurs montré qu'on a utilisé à la chambre des comptes en France des tablettes de cire mais aussi des rouleaux avant d'établir des registres sous forme du codex faisant autorité et qui devaient être conservés.

L'administration royale française était ainsi passée au codex pour les documents définitifs alors que l'Angleterre est globalement restée fidèle au rouleau même si, à la fin du XIII^e^ et au début du XIV^e^ siècle, la garde-robe, au moment où les guerres d'Edouard I^er^ donnaient à cette institution toute son importance, a pu adopter le forme du codex pour quelques comptes prestigieux.

Des choix différents, par conséquent, mais nul ne doit douter qu'ils aient fait l'objet d'une véritable réflexion dans le cerveau collectif des bureaucrates qui entendaient exercer le pouvoir.

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