



Working women in thirteenth-century Paris.

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WORKING WOMEN IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PARIS

by

Janice Marie Archer

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

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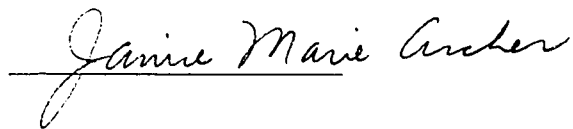
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SIGNED:

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Janine Marie Archer". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned below the "SIGNED:" label. The name "Janine Marie" is underlined with a horizontal line.

In memory of my father,
Rex Winslow Archer, who
taught me the uncommon
dignity of the common
man.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the role of women in the Parisian economy in the late thirteenth century. The *Livre des métiers* of Etienne Boileau offers normative provisions regarding societal structures that permitted but restricted the participation of women, while the tax rolls commonly known as the *roles de la taille de Philippe le Bel* furnish numbers which show their actual participation. While these sources are well known, they have not heretofore been rigorously examined. Conclusions about women based on them have been amorphous. Married women are nearly invisible in these records, but unmarried women and widows headed 13.6% of Parisian workshops. Women monopolized the Parisian silk industry. About one-third of Parisian women in the late thirteenth century worked in jobs traditionally considered “women’s work,” including the preparation of food and clothing, peddling food on the street, and providing personal services. The other two-thirds did nearly every kind of work that men did. A “putting out” system was well in place in Paris at this time. Women classified as *chambrières* or *ouvrières* worked at home, spinning and weaving raw materials provided by an entrepreneur and selling back to the entrepreneur the finished product. Working at home allowed a woman to combine household duties with production for the marketplace. Girls usually learned a trade by working alongside their parents. Formal apprenticeships were less common for girls than for boys. While women could and did participate in nearly every trade, their numbers were concentrated in the lowest-paid métiers. The few women who practiced trades dominated by men were much more successful financially.

CHAPTER 1. THE PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL SETTING

Peter of Limoges, a Parisian theologian of the late thirteenth century, spoke of the women of the French capital in a way that characterizes them as lazy and silly. "The women of Paris," he quoted a preacher as saying, "are real cows, except for one thing. For a cow eats, drinks, and sleeps. Just so do many Parisian ladies. But nature did not give them horns. So what do they do? What nature denied them, that is horns, they make for themselves."¹ The elaborate headdresses that Peter mocks were part of an industry that, even in the late thirteenth century, made Paris the fashion capital of the western world. The women who spun, wove and sewed the extravagant fashions of the time were neither lazy nor silly. They were part of a female workforce which was an integral part of the economy of medieval Paris.

This work is a study of Parisian women who spun, wove, and sewed fashions for rich and poor, of those who mixed mortar for cathedrals and made armor for fighting men, of those who made candles and hawked vegetables and laundered the clothing of their neighbors. Few of their contemporaries wrote about the women who supplied them with food, clothing, jewelry and services. Historians as well, for the most part, have ignored medieval working women. Richard Mackenney, in his study of guilds in Venice, explains this oversight in a wonderfully telling comment: "This book has gaps," he says "--

¹ "Quidam predicatorum dicebat quod mulieres parisius (ms.: de parisius) recte sunt vacca [leg. vacce], excepto uno. Vacca enim comedit, bibit et dormit. Sic faciunt domine parisienses multe. Sed cornua non dedit eis natura. Sed quid faciunt ipse[?] Quod natura eas negavit, ipse faciunt sibi, scilicet cornua." (Paris, BN lat. 16482, f^o 81v).

demography, the family, women, the neighborhood--because the evidence did not say anything significant about them."²

Histories of medieval workers are few in number. Existing surveys largely ignore female workers, or mask their participation by speaking in the "inclusive masculine." Fagniez describes the *gynecées* under the early Frankish rulers, where women carded wool, wove, fulled and tinted fabric. He also mentions the establishment in 1382 of a confraternity made up of *marchans et marchandes*.³ Otherwise, he speaks throughout of masters, journeymen, and apprentices, without distinction of gender. In an English text, the use of "he" to denote "he or she," of "master" to include "mistress," was accepted usage at the time Fagniez wrote, but in French the absence of the terms *ouvriere*, *apprentie*, and *maîtresse* suggests either that women did not exercise these roles or that their participation was not worth mentioning. Henri Hauser devoted a chapter to women's work in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but his work is not so well known as that of Boissonade, Caceres and Fagniez. In the more recent survey of Steven Epstein, he uses the phrases "boys and girls," "mother or father," and "son or daughter" in describing the relationship between apprentice and master, but provides no real analysis of how the apprenticeship of a girl or young woman compared to that of a boy or young man. He does offer a stunning comparison of men's and women's wages in Genoa in the first half of the thirteenth century, in which he claims that the highest-paid women earned less than the lowest-paid men. He theorizes that, while the primary determinants of a

² Mackenney, xiv.

³ Fagniez, 2, 286.

craft's prestige are length of apprenticeship and cost of raw materials, a large proportion of female workers in a given trade can offset those elements. For instance, the silk spinners of Paris required a relatively long eight-year apprenticeship. Silk was expensive. Yet available information suggests that the wages of silk spinners were low.⁴ Epstein's is an important contribution to the study of work, but his treatment of women leaves questions unanswered. I will show that, in late thirteenth-century Paris, women did indeed earn less than men, but the difference is not as dramatic as Epstein posits.

Bronislaw Geremek paints a vivid picture of the apprentices and journeymen who toiled in the workshops of others. He tells about the wives who worked beside their husbands and the widows who took control of the workshops of their dead husbands, but his is an exploratory and impressionistic work. It is based largely on prescriptive documents. He tells what wives and widows were allowed to do, but not what they actually did. He has little to say about single women, except to suggest that their situation was so desperate that they may have been driven to prostitution.⁵

Specialized studies of individual *métiers* tend to mention women only in passing, devoting most of their attention to other issues. In his study of medieval breadmaking, Desportes' only reference to women is to describe the sale of bread from the window by a baker's wife or daughter. He also relates the tradition that Sainte Geneviève, patron saint of Paris, was a breadmaker.⁶ Souchal points out statutes prohibiting women from

⁴ Epstein, 104-105, 141-144, 148.

⁵ Geremek 1968, 91.

⁶ Desportes, 107, 109.

working on oriental tapestries, but otherwise describes medieval tapestry weaving in masculine terms.⁷ Kouky Fianu provides valuable data for a study of working women with her lists of women active in the book trade and her description of family ties and of the transmission of businesses to widows.⁸ To see that such material is available for one trade makes one wish for a more general survey of the role of women in medieval business.

In the early part of the century, Eileen Power, Marion Dale, and Mary Beard argued persuasively for the importance of women in production and trade, but the post-World War II era, when Rosie the Riveter was sent back to the kitchen in order to open up jobs for returning servicemen, was not supportive of those who might have followed up what these women had begun.⁹ The decade of the seventies brought a renewed interest in the field. Most of the early essays posited a change in the status of women brought about by capitalism and industrialization. Kathleen Casey claims that “The traditional work role of women did not at any time before the seventeenth century have anything like the economically marginal character it has since acquired.” In the thirteenth century, she says, wages were essentially the same for men’s and women’s work (a statement directly contradicted by Epstein’s findings).¹⁰ Richard Vann blames the decline of guilds for the restrictions on women’s work. In medieval Europe, he says, women were admitted to the

⁷ Souchal, 44, 47, 53.

⁸ Fianu, 184-187, 191, 215-217.

⁹ See Goldberg, 3-5, for a discussion of the work of Power and Dale. Carroll, 26-41, critiques both Beard’s work and the lack of response by her contemporaries.

¹⁰ Casey, 228.

guilds and, as members, could enter contracts and were responsible for their own debts.

As guilds declined, men dominated the new forms of commercial organizations.¹¹

According to Theresa McBride, the separation of home from workplace characteristic of the industrial revolution led to a gender-based division of labor because a woman could no longer intersperse work with child rearing, cooking, and other household tasks.¹² These broad assertions were based on limited data, and most studies of working women since the seventies have attempted to flesh out one of the two assumptions implicit in this model:

1) that medieval women had access to the worker communities that regulated production and trade, and were relatively free to practice various trades and to conduct business independently, and 2) that women after the Middle Ages faced increasing restrictions on their economic activities. The latter assumption has been the subject of much more detailed research than the former. Merry Wiesner, in her study of cloth and clothing production, claims that “as early as the 15th century one begins to see the restrictions, which intensify in the 16th and 17th.” These hold true, she says, even in German cities where the Marxist model does not exist, and include: 1) limitations on master's widows, 2) restrictions on family background and conduct of the master's or journeyman's wife, 3) controls on or prohibition of the use of female labor by masters, and 4) restrictions on independent work by women. In Speyer in 1360, she reports, female weavers were limited to making narrow cloth, where previously they had made both the wide and narrow varieties. Women were forbidden to make bags and gloves in Nuremburg in the

¹¹ in Bridenthal and Koonz, 203.

¹² in Bridenthal and Koonz, 282-83.

1530's because their labor kept the prices low. When new dyeing techniques were introduced in Lübeck in the sixteenth century, only men were trained in them. Widows were limited in the length of time they could continue to run their deceased husband's shops.¹³ Martha Howell claims that women in Cologne and Leiden lost their high status roles in the trades as the family production unit declined in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.¹⁴ Both of these studies focus on women in the late medieval and modern period, with no supporting data for the alleged greater freedom of their predecessors. Honeyman and Goodman dispute the assumption that medieval women had greater economic opportunity, arguing that women's oppression is not a product of industrial capitalism, but is of very long standing.¹⁵

There can be no consensus as to the reasons for increasing economic subjugation of women until the economic role of medieval women is described and analyzed in a far more careful manner than has been done so far. In their two-volume survey, Anderson and Zinsser devote twenty-five pages to townswomen throughout Europe from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries.¹⁶ They rightfully portray women as active participants in the economy of household and town. They describe homes and shops, furniture and clothing, marriage contracts and the plight of the unwed mother. They name individual women who sold fish, crafted gold jewelry, and hawked products door to door. Yet by juxtaposing an anecdote from thirteenth-century Florence with one from fifteenth-century Paris and

¹³ Wiesner, 194-199.

¹⁴ Howell 1986, 87

¹⁵ Honeyman and Goodman, 608.

¹⁶ I, 353-77.

another from seventeenth-century Amsterdam, they suggest a unity that blurs important differences of time and place. “Preindustrial Europe” was a far more complex place than their brief treatment would lead one to believe. Bennett and Kowaleski, discussing medieval women in crafts and guilds, use statistical data and literary accounts from the early modern period and assume that they apply to the earlier period as well.¹⁷ Yet Wiesner and Howell provide contrary evidence.

David Herlihy claims that restrictions on the role of women in the economy began in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with the development of the “domestic mode of production,” which was in turn a part of the “putting-out” system. The entire family worked under the supervision of the (usually male) head of the household. They obtained raw materials from a merchant entrepreneur to whom they also delivered the finished cloth.¹⁸ His assertion that the “domestic mode of production” and the “putting-out system” were not common until the late Middle Ages is based to a large extent on his study of the Parisian tax rolls from the reign of Philip the Fair. There are three significant problems with Herlihy’s use of these tax rolls. First, there are seven tax rolls, of which Herlihy used the four that are easily available because they have been published: those for 1292, 1296, 1297, and 1313. These four are not comparable, for reasons that I detail in Chapter 2. The roll for 1292 is not a list of assessments at all, but merely a preliminary roster of persons who may be subject to the tax. The 1313 roll is for a different tax entirely, and taxability was determined on a different basis. The 1296 roll is incomplete.

¹⁷ Bennett et al, p. 14 fn. 9, p. 15, fn. 12

¹⁸ Herlihy, 185-86.

Yet Herlihy compares the numbers of men and women in the 1292 and 1313 rolls and concludes that both the number of households headed by women and the number of working women decreased during that time. Second, because some women are identified as “wife of x,” some as “wife of the late x,” and some by their own names standing alone, Herlihy assumes that the assessors were not concerned with the marital status of women. “In other words, in identifying responsible taxpayers,” he says, “the assessors did not routinely subsume women under their husbands’ names or households. In the eyes of the tax collectors, the women they assessed enjoyed (or were burdened by) fiscal, and surely in some measure economic, independence.” From this erroneous assumption he infers that most working women, married and unmarried, are included in these lists. From this inference comes his conclusion that the “domestic mode of production” and the “putting-out system” were not characteristic of production in Paris during the reign of Philip the Fair.¹⁹ The more careful analysis of all of the tax rolls, presented in this dissertation, reveals that the intact family of husband and wife or husband, wife, and children was indeed assessed under the name of the husband alone, save for a handful of cases where the wife practiced a *métier* different from that of her husband. The women listed are nearly all single women and widows. The family workshop with the husband as titular head was surely the dominant unit of production in Paris in the late thirteenth century.²⁰ Many of the single women listed in these rolls worked with raw materials supplied by another in a “putting-out” system.

¹⁹ Herlihy, 134, 135, 149, and 150.

²⁰ For a fuller discussion of this issue, see page 103

Herlihy treats much too lightly the problem of attributing occupations to the women in these lists. Both men and women are often identified simply by a baptismal name followed by the name of a *métier*, such as “Jeanne the baker.” For others, the baptismal name is followed by a nickname or surname plus the name of a *métier*, such as “Marie of Picardy, hairdresser.” When Geraud published the 1292 tax roll in 1837, he assumed that every mention of a *métier* was the *métier* practiced by the individual. Nearly everyone who has published on the tax rolls since disagrees with him. Herlihy acknowledges that there is a problem, but comes down on the side of Geraud, that is, he concludes that a *métier* listed after the baptismal name is usually not a surname. He bases this claim on the fact that the gender of the name always agrees with the sex of the bearer, “a phenomenon not to be expected of authentic surnames.” On the contrary, it is a consistent practice in these tax rolls to feminize family names when they are applied to women. A few examples are *Ameline la barbiere*, *dame feu Guiart le barbier*, *Jaqueline la buschiere*, *fame feu Raoul le normant*, *buchier*, and *Maheut la normande*, *fame feu Guillaume le normant*. (All of these names may be found in Appendix 1.) Herlihy also argues that surnames were uncommon in Paris at this time.²¹ However, if the *métier* in second position is a surname, then ninety-four percent of the men and sixty-nine percent of the women in the 1300 tax roll had surnames.²² If the *métier* is not a surname, the figures drop to about sixty-five percent and twenty-five percent. In either case, surnames were certainly “common.” Herlihy’s analysis of women’s occupations is further distorted by his

²¹ Herlihy, 142.

²² Bourlet 1992a, 8.

assumption that the term *chambriere* refers to a household servant. Household servants were not among the “bourgeois of Paris” who were subject to the tax assessed in these rolls. This study will show that the *chambrieres* listed in these rolls were women who worked in their rooms (*chambres*) on raw materials provided by others. Along with *ouvrieres*, they were central to the “putting-out” system in late thirteenth-century Paris.²³

Herlihy’s choice of late thirteenth-century Parisian records to illustrate the work of medieval women was a sound one. The rolls of the taxes assessed under Philip the Fair are not true population surveys. Nobles, the poor, and the clergy are absent, as are wage-earners. Yet for information on artisans and tradespersons, they are unequalled for this period. Paris also offers a collection of guild rules dating from 1268 entitled the *Livre des métiers*. An analysis of these statutes can provide insights unavailable from fiscal sources. Paris was almost surely the largest city in Europe in 1300. The royal court, the university, and the large population created a vast market and an unequalled economic diversity. The very primacy of thirteenth-century Paris argues against its being representative of all European women of this period. Nevertheless, if it is not possible to generalize from the experience of Parisian women, a clearer understanding of their productivity can point a direction for research and provide a standard for comparison.

This study will show that the role of women in the thirteenth-century Parisian economy was far more complex than has heretofore been recognized. Most married women are absent from the records analyzed here. The typical wife of an artisan must

²³ See page 56 for supporting evidence.

have worked within the family-owned workshop, of which the husband was the nominal head. She may have supplemented the family income by peddling, taking in roomers, or forestalling the market. That is, some women met importers outside the city gates to purchase food and other items, ostensibly for the use of the family. Some of these items were sold to neighbors and friends for a small profit.²⁴

Widows and never-married women, in contrast, were remarkably free to practice nearly every craft open to men. Widows in particular could become masters, taking over the workshops of their deceased husbands. They did not simply act as caretakers until their sons came of age, but often kept control of the family business while their sons went off to work elsewhere.²⁵ Some crafts were dominated by women. In these, young women served structured apprenticeships leading to a license to practice the craft independently. Nonetheless, the majority of women were clustered in the least lucrative crafts. Although a number of wealthy women are listed in these tax rolls, none are among the wealthiest Parisians.

In general, female artisans were assessed less tax than males, which probably indicates that they were less wealthy. This does not hold true, however, for all crafts. In métiers with only a few women, the average tax of women was higher than the average

²⁴ According to LDM 10:5-6, it was unlawful to intercept importers of cheese and eggs before their wares were unloaded at an official market, lest wealthy merchants buy up the whole supply and resell them at exorbitant prices. In LDM 100:5 the same prohibition is applied to fish, with the exception that a woman could intercept importers to buy for her own household or for gifts, but not for resale. This loophole allowed women to buy fish and peddle them door to door, as long as the quantity involved did not draw attention to their activities.

²⁵ This subject is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

tax of men. In métiers where women predominated, they paid less tax, on the average, than did the men in that trade.

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PARISIAN WOMAN

The bulk of this work is a study of numbers. How many medieval Parisian women were spinners? How many worked in so-called masculine trades, such as armorer and saddle-maker? How many were widowed? How many never married? An individual woman is never mentioned more than a handful of times. It is impossible to follow one woman from girlhood through apprenticeship, marriage, childbearing, working, playing, to her old age and perhaps widowhood. Yet the numbers found in these pages provide the merest shadow of the living, breathing women who walked the streets of Paris at the end of the thirteenth century, burdened with trays of fish, carts of straw, or stacks of clean laundry. To imagine the life of a typical Parisian craftswoman, one must visualize the overall structure of medieval Paris as a community and feel the rhythms which governed its days, its weeks, and its seasons. The balance of this chapter will attempt to paint a picture in words of the physical layout of medieval Paris as well as the political, economic and social structures that shaped the everyday life of its people. This section will serve to explain many medieval French terms that will be used throughout this work, terms that cannot be translated into English without loss of important nuances. I have organized them according to the various structures that governed thirteenth-century Parisians--the organization of physical space, of the social hierarchy, of time, labor and the family.

THE ORGANIZATION OF SPACE

Medieval Paris was divided into three parts: the island in the Seine called the *Cité*, the left bank, and the right bank. The cathedral and a relatively sedentary royal court shared the Ile de la Cité with fifteen parish churches. The Ile was smaller than today; what now comprises the downstream end was then two small islands, which would be attached to the main island in 1610. A part of the Ile Saint-Louis was then called the Ile des Vaches, for the cows that grazed there. Still, 1,155 merchants and artisans are listed in the 1292 tax roll for the parishes of the Cité.²⁶ With families, hired workers, and apprentices, probably 3,000 to 6,000 ordinary people shared the island with the nobility and clergy who were its primary inhabitants. Goldsmiths, tailors, and workers of luxury leathers flourished in the Cité, as did embroiderers and makers of chasubles. On the left bank the masters and students of the University of Paris lived, ate, and studied, mostly in rented quarters. The copying, binding, and selling of books flourished in their vicinity, as did many taverns. The right bank, with its natural port of La Grève, was the center of commerce.

The Seine itself was an important factor in Parisian life. Massive floods destroyed the Grand Pont in 1281 and both it and the Petit Pont in 1296.²⁷ The island was accessible only by boat until new bridges were built in April and November of 1297. A network of

²⁶ Geraud, 135-149.

²⁷ Fleuret, entries 1281, 1296.

trenches drained the *marais*, a swampy area which had once been the bed of the Seine. Entrails and other detritus dumped into the river by the butchers, located in that district, polluted the water until 1416, when Charles VI ordered that the slaughterhouses be moved downstream, “so that from now on the air of our town will not be infected and corrupted.”²⁸

Food, raw materials, and other goods for its large population came to Paris both by water and by land. La Grève, at the current site of the courtyard of the Hotel de Ville, was a place where the river bank had a gentle slope, forming a natural harbor. In 1214 Philip Augustus granted to the Marchands de l'eau, an organization of merchants who controlled commerce coming into Paris by water, the right to collect taxes from boats that unloaded at Paris in return for keeping up a commercial port there.²⁹ Philip also directed the construction of the first two market buildings at *Les Halles*, covered buildings which were closed at night with a key.³⁰ At first the buildings protected mainly the goods of the cloth sellers. In 1264 they were joined by the *merciers* and *corroyers*, to whom Saint Louis ceded a hall.³¹ In time, vegetables, fruits, birds, and other items were also sold at *Les Halles*. It also became a center for administering *basse justice*, that is, justice in matters not involving murder, rape, and treason. There was a pillory used to chastise dishonest merchants. Geraud reports that there was a cross where the bankrupt would come to give up their goods to their creditors and receive the green cap from the

²⁸ “Afin que l’air de nostre ville ne soit doresnavant infecté ne corrompu par les tueries et escorcheries.” (Franklin, 1905-06, 1).

²⁹ Lombard-Jourdain, 93ff.

³⁰ Jourdain 1935, 292.

hangman. I have found no other reference to the green cap nor to the punishment awaiting the bankrupt.³²

The streets of Paris were crowded, noisy and smelly. Official town criers strolled through the streets announcing the price of wine as well as deaths and meetings.³³ Adding to their clamor were the shouts of peddlers selling their goods from baskets on their backs or from small carts. The *regratiers* sold garden produce and other foodstuffs, while *colporters* sold small items manufactured by the seller in a local workshop. Still more cries came from artisans and merchants who stood at the doors of their workshops and called out to potential customers. Four worker associations had rules that prohibited a member from calling out to a customer who was bargaining with a competitor nearby. A seller of prepared foods was warned not to make insulting remarks about a competitor's dishes. A maker of purses could not send a worker to flaunt his merchandise in the face of a customer who was bargaining with a neighboring merchant.³⁴ It is not hard to imagine

³¹ Martineau, 38-39.

³² Géraud, 360ff.

³³ Cazelles, 196; LDM, Title 5.

³⁴ "Li conporteur de Paris ne puent ne ne doivent arrester ne eus asseoir devant les estaus aus Chanevaciens ou marchié de Paris, ainçois doivent aler et venir par les halles sanz arester. Et si s'asseoient ou arestoient devant les estaus au Chanevaciens en destorbant eus de leur denrées vendre, il seroient a v s. d'amende toutes les foiz qu'il en seroit repris." (LDM 59:7) "Item, que se aucune personne est devant estal ou fenestre de Cuisiniers pour marchander ou acheter desdictes cuisines, que se aucuns del autres Cuisiniers l'appelle devant qu'i s'en soit partiz de son gré de l'estal ou fenestre, si soit en la peine de v s. iii s. au Roy et ii s. aus dis maistres." (LDM 69.15) "Et est a savoir que se une persone barchaigne denrées a un marchant de ce mestier a son estal, que son voisin ne puet issir de son ouvrouer pour mostrer ses denrées a celui qui veut acheter a son voisin, devant que l'acheteur soit partiz de l'ouvrouer ou il barchaigne." (LDM 77.7) "Nus ne puet ne ne doit huchier ne acener nul acheteur qui soit par devant autrui estal ne devant autrui meison. Et

the insults, the boasts, and the tugging on sleeves that must have given rise to rules such as these. Many artisans sold their goods to passersby through the open doors and windows of their shops. Though Philip Augustus had ordered the streets of Paris paved, many shops were still located on muddy streets.³⁵ Jean of Jandun, writing in the early fourteenth century, claims that *Les Halles* is such an exciting place that "when you've walked half the length an impetuous desire carries you to the other end and when you've seen it all, you have an insatiable ardor to see it again, not once or twice but indefinitely."³⁶ Twice, as he tries to describe the multitude of articles displayed there for sale, he declares himself stumped by the lack of Latin words to describe what he sees. A woman of means could buy there crowns and bonnets, combs, purses and belts, mirrors, gloves and necklaces, "such as only the inventive minds of Parisian artisans could imagine."³⁷

Parisians at the end of the thirteenth century lived in one of the best fortified towns in the kingdom of France. Walls had been constructed on both the Left and Right Banks in the time of Philip Augustus. Heavy chains across the Seine protected the city from invasion by ship. The walls of the left bank were thirty feet high and seven feet thick. There were six gates, and towers every 60 meters.³⁸ By 1300, the city had outgrown its

se il le fait, il est a v s. d'amende a poier au Roi et a v s. a poier a la confrarie." (LDM 78.37).

³⁵ Rigord, 54.

³⁶ LeRoux de Lincy 1867, 51

³⁷ *ibid.*

³⁸ Boussard, 330.

walls. The tax rolls which are the subject of this study included persons living within and outside the walls.

For most purposes, Paris was not confined to the area within the city walls, but included the *banlieu*, that is the territory around the town in which the king could declare his *ban*, or monopoly on sales. The most common *ban* was the *banvin*, or monopoly on wine sales. The regulations of the Paris criers' association prohibited taverners from doing business while the king's *ban* was in effect. Criers could advertise only the king's wine during this time.³⁹ The *prévoté* was the area under the jurisdiction of the provost, the royal official who governed Paris for the king. The *viscomté* was a larger area nominally under the jurisdiction of the *viscomte*; its dimensions are unclear.⁴⁰

Ecclesiastical divisions served also as governmental divisions. The tax registers drawn up under Philip the Fair are organized by parish, with large parishes divided into *quêtes*, or wards. The *quête* was a group of streets, probably an area that could reasonably be covered by one assessor in the time allotted. Since each *quêteur*, or assessor, lived in the neighborhood he polled, the area may also have been limited to an area where he could be expected to know each potential taxpayer personally.⁴¹

³⁹ LDM 5:14. To avoid excessive footnoting, subsequent references to the *Livre des métiers* will be put in parentheses at the end of the sentence to which they refer. Numbers refer to Title and Paragraph.

⁴⁰ Strayer, 102

⁴¹ The first *quête* for St. Germain-l'Auxerrois was made, in 1296, by Rogier piquet, Robert de la porte, Adam le potier, Rogier le concierge and Nicholas de periers (Michaëlsson 1927, 30.) All are listed as taxpayers living or working in that same *quête*.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE CITY

Most medieval cities had two sections--one under the authority of the bishop and another devoted to commerce and secular activities, often governed as a commune. Paris was not a commune; its civil government was in the hands of a provost who was responsible directly to the king. Provosts were first established under Henry I (1031-1060) to exercise financial, judicial and political powers as officers of the king, wresting these powers from the hands of local feudal lords. Toward the end of the twelfth century, bailiffs were appointed to oversee the work of the provosts. The provost of Paris alone had no bailiff over him. Until the time of Etienne Boileau, the provost of Paris had been appointed by the local businessmen who governed the town, a practice which lent itself to favoritism. Saint Louis reformed the system, halting the sale of *prévôtés* as farms and making the provosts true royal officials, paying them salaries high enough to discourage corruption, if one believes Joinville.⁴² Etienne Boileau, redactor of the *Livre des métiers*, was the first provost of Paris under the new system.

The Parloir-aux-Bourgeois formed the municipal government of Paris, headed by the *prevôt des marchands* and the *échevins*. The Parloir-aux-Bourgeois developed from the Marchands de l'eau, the earliest known company of Parisian merchants. In 1121 Louis VI granted them the right to receive 60 sous from wine merchants bringing wine to Paris by boat.⁴³ By the late thirteenth century, men from many different crafts participated in

⁴² SHM, 427-28.

⁴³ Depping, xxii. See Cazelles, 197-222 for a much more detailed and nuanced description of Paris officialdom.

the leadership and affairs of this most important of Parisian merchant organizations. They appointed the criers of wine and measurers of wheat and salt. They exercised justice in certain cases, mainly those concerning commerce. In conjunction with the individual worker associations, they enforced the regulations regarding commercial transactions. They had also “farmed”, or auctioned off, the office of provost of Paris until the appointment of Etienne Boileau in the 1260’s.

The provost, whose headquarters were at the Chatelet, commanded the *guet*, the citizen militia that guarded the city after nightfall. The most complete description of the *guet* is in an ordinance of John the Good dated 1364. He claims that the system was ordered by his predecessors, kings of France, “such a long time ago that there is no memory to the contrary, for the security of the town, the relics at Sainte-Chapelle, the persons of our predecessors, prisoners in the Chatelet, as well as the persons of the merchants, people of the métiers, goods and merchandise, to prevent fires, robberies, murders, larceny and ravishing of women.”⁴⁴

Each métier served in the *guet* three weeks at a time. If anyone failed to show up for his watch, he was fined and the clerks used the fine to hire someone else. This unpaid militia was directed by a paid force of twenty men on horseback and six on foot. The militia carried whatever arms they happened to own. Some patrolled the walls of the Chatelet to make sure no prisoners escaped. Some were posted in the court of the palace to guard Sainte-Chapelle, others at Holy Innocents, at La Grève, and wherever the need

⁴⁴ Lespinasse, 44ff.

seemed greatest.⁴⁵ The only excuses for not participating were having a wife recovering from childbirth, being over sixty years of age, having been bled the day service was due, and being out of town.

Seven associations claimed that they were exempt from the *guet* because they worked for the Church or for important men.⁴⁶ Others used the occasion of compiling their regulations for the *Livre des métiers* to request exemption. The tailors claimed that they had to keep clothing belonging to important men, and needed to guard it overnight.⁴⁷ Gemstone cutters and those who made gold and silver leaf claimed that they had been exempt from the *guet* until Saint Louis went on crusade in 1248, and that their service was

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ "Nus Haubergiers de Paris ne doit point de guait, quar li mestiers l'aquite: quar li mestiers est pour servir chevaliers, escuiers et sergens, et pour garnir chastiaus." (LDM 26:6); "Li Barillier sont quite de leur gueit, quar il et leur mestiers servent les riches homes et les haus homes." (LDM 46:8); "Li preud'ome del mestier devant dit sont quite du guet, ne ne doivent rien de costume de chose qu'il vendent ne achatent appartenant a leur mestier: quar leurs mestiers n'appartient a nule ame fors que a sainte Yglise et aus princes et aus barons et aus autres riches homes et nobles." (sculptors, LDM 61:12); "Li Ymagier Paintre sont quite del guet, quar leurs mestiers les acquite par la reison de ce que leurs mestiers n'appartient fors que au service de Nostre Seingneur et de ses Sains et a la honnerance de sainte Yglise." (LDM 62:4); "Nus Chapeliers de ileurs de Paris ne doit point de guiet, parce que leur mestier est frans et que il fu establi pour servir les gentiuz houmes." (LDM 90:7); "Nus Chapeliers de paon ne doit gueit, se il n'use ou hante autre mestier ou autre marchandise. . .quar leur mestier les en aquite pour la reson de ce que leur mestier n'appartient fors que as eglises, aus chevaliers et aus haus homes." (LDM 93:4); "Nus Archiers de Paris ne doit point de gueit; Quar li mestiers l'aquite, quar le mestier est pour servir chevaliers et escuiers et sergens, et est pour garner chatiaus." (LDM 98:5).

⁴⁷ "Li preud'ome du mestier desus dit requierent qu'il soient quite du guiet si plect au Roy, pour les granz robes qu'il leur convient fere et garder de nuiz, qui sont aus gentiuz homes; et pour ce que il ont grant planté de meniée estrange que il ne puent pas touz croire ne touz garder; et pour ce que il convient que il taillent et cousent les robes aus haus houmes, ausi bien par nuit comme par jour, pour les essoines que li haus houmes et

intended to be temporary. They asked that their exemption be renewed. (LDM 30:14, 33:7) Measurers of grain were exempt because they earned so little. Measurers of liquids were also excused, perhaps for the same reason. (LDM 4:13, 6:6) The connection between income and service in the *guet* is not obvious, but may refer either to expenses incurred (members supplied their own weapons) or to income lost during the day because of lack of sleep at night.

The métiers whose laws contain provisions addressing themselves solely to women do not mention the obligation to participate in the *guet*. I have found no suggestion in any of the literature that women ever took part in the *guet*. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the streets of Paris were not safe for a woman after dark. The sellers of old clothes objected to the rule that, when a man was unable to perform his scheduled duty as part of the militia, he could not send his excuses by his neighbor or a male worker, but was required to send his wife "whether beautiful or ugly, old or young, weak or strong." It is unseemly, they said, to send a woman to the Châtelet after curfew "in a city such as Paris, with only a son or a daughter or neither, along strange streets." They begged the king to allow them to send their valets, their neighbors, or their *chambrières*, instead, to report their absences.⁴⁸ Apparently they did not have the same concern for hired female workers that they had for their wives. Another title suggests that Paris in the dark was safe for neither man nor woman. The bathhouse keepers were forbidden to cry their baths before

les genz estranges ont a la foiz d'aler hors, et que il convient que il rendent la taille qu'i font au soir a l'endemain au matin." (LDM 56:9).

⁴⁸ LDM 76:34.

daylight "because of the danger which can come to those who arise at their cry to go to the baths."⁴⁹

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the traditional medieval concept of the Three Orders (clergy, nobility, and serfs) was no longer sufficient to describe European society. A multitude of new terms were invented or adapted to accommodate the status of the merchants and craftspersons who lived and worked in the towns. The words *bourgeois(e)*, *haubanier(e)*, and *hansé(e)* are all used in statutes and court records to describe or designate residents of Paris who enjoyed special privileges and obligations which removed them from feudal jurisdiction and exempted them from certain taxes and tolls so as to make the conduct of business simpler. They are not interchangeable. Each denotes a person with a particular set of privileges and obligations. *Bourgeois* is the French translation of the Latin *burgensis*, which originally meant a citizen of a free town, a commune. Paris was not a commune, and its citizens were first more often referred to as *cives*, inhabitants of an episcopal city. The first use of *bourgeois* is in an act of Louis VII in 1134 when he granted the *bourgeois* of Paris the right to seize the goods of their debtors.⁵⁰ Gradually during the fourteenth century, the term was reserved to designate wealthy and influential Parisians, but in the last half of the thirteenth century, it seems to be used freely for anyone engaged in crafts or selling. It did not apply, as a general rule, to the nobility and clergy, but a nobleman could purchase *bourgeois* status and a cleric

⁴⁹ "...pour les perilz qui pevent avenir en ceus qui se lievent au cri pour aler aus estuves." (LDM 73:2).

⁵⁰ Terroine, 115-117.

who engaged in trade was required to take on the obligations of the *bourgeois*, such as paying the tax assessed by the rolls that are the subject of this study.

Foreign merchants (that is, non-Parisians) could join the Parisian *bourgeoisie* in two ways: by direct appeal to the king, usually accompanied by a payment or gift, or by residing in the city a year and a day. The easiest way to establish residence was to purchase a home and set up one's wife and children in it. Luccan merchants, asked to contribute to the *taille* in 1283, argued that, since they lived in rented quarters, they were not *bourgeois* of Paris and not subject to the *taille*. (Parisian officials sidestepped the issue by simply raising the special taxes on foreigners.)⁵¹ In 1303 the requirements for acquiring *bourgeois* status were clearly defined. It was necessary to purchase a house costing at least 60 sous per year and maintain residence there from Saint John's Day to All Saints' (June 24 to November 1). If the merchant needed to leave town on business, it was sufficient to leave his wife and children in residence. A bachelor could leave his valet.⁵² A bastard could only become a *bourgeois* by a special dispensation from the king.⁵³

The term *hanse*, in its general meaning, refers to an association of merchants which has a monopoly over merchandise transported by water. In Paris, the Marchands de l'eau enjoyed this monopoly. Individuals who enjoyed the privilege of unloading goods at Paris ports were referred to as *hansé(e)*.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, 139.

⁵² *ibid.*, 147.

⁵³ Olivier-Martin 1922, 1:132, #3.

A foreigner who wished to unload merchandise at Paris had to have a Parisian partner. In 1291, wine unloaded at La Grève by Renuche Espinel was confiscated because he was not *stacionaire* or *residens* of Paris. Though Renuche had himself lived in Paris for four years, his wife and child remained in Lombardy.⁵⁴ In 1293, fourteen muids of wine were confiscated from Michel Dean de Lay because he brought it by water from Essone unaccompanied by a man *hansé de l'iaue* of Paris.⁵⁵ In these two cases, the terms *hansé*, *stacionaire*, and *residens* seem to be used interchangeably. A 1220 census of merchants *hansés* was titled "census of the bourgeois of Paris."⁵⁶ Cazelles claims that, in order to be *hansé*, a Parisian had to pay 60 sous (25 if his father was *hansé*) and in return received a letter affirming his privilege.⁵⁷ He doesn't supply a date or documentation for this. The most likely explanation is that the definition of *hansé* became more precise as more citizens demanded a part in the lucrative river trade.

The term *haubanier(e)* is closely related to *hansé(e)* and *bourgeois(e)*. All refer to residents of Paris who are exempt from certain taxes and tolls relating to their businesses. The *Livre des métiers*, in Part 2, defines *hauban* as an old custom by which an *haubanier* is free and pays a lower tax on things pertaining to his business than those who are not *haubanier*. "Not every master at Paris is *haubanier*; nor can he be unless he is of the métier which has the *hauban*, or unless the king gives him a franchise, by gift or sale,"

⁵⁴ Leroux de Lincy 1846, 107.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, 120. A muid of wine was approximately two hectoliters. (Franklin, 1905-06, 381, fn. 6)

⁵⁶ Boussard, 331.

⁵⁷ Cazelles, 208.

according to another paragraph of the same chapter.⁵⁸ Bakers who lived on the king's lands in Paris or its *banlieu* had to purchase the *métier* from the king. Those who lived in certain ecclesiastical lands were exempt from this rule. They did not owe the *hauban*. (LDM 1:3) They could, if they chose, pay the *hauban* and enjoy the privileges of being *haubanier*. If they chose not to pay the *hauban*, they would be taxed as foreign (that is non-Parisian) merchants.

The *Livre des métiers* distinguishes between *métiers* which could be freely practiced by anyone who knew how and had the means, and those that had to be purchased. It appears that the *hauban* was related to the *métiers* which were purchased. Thus *haubanier(e)* had a narrower meaning than *bourgeois*. The regulations for the *fripier*s (sellers of used clothing) state that "The *fripier* buys the *métier* in the manner described above." That is, anyone who wanted to be *haubanier* of new and old furs and of new and old clothing had to be a resident in the *banlieu* of Paris. To become *haubanier*, he paid 25 deniers to the king and 14 deniers to the master who oversaw the *métier*, and 12 deniers to the *compagnons a boire*. (This may mean that he literally bought drinks or, more likely, a "pourboir" was already a payment in the nature of a tip.) Once he was *haubanier*, he owed the king 6 sous, 8 deniers each year, but he no longer owed any sales taxes, *tonlieu*, or other customs duties, except the fee for a stall or other

⁵⁸ "Haubans est uns propres noms de une coustume assise anciennement, par la quele il fu establi que quiconques serroit haubaniers, qu'il serroit frans et a mains de droitures païans del mestier et de la marchandise dont it serroit haubaniers, que cilz qui ne serroit pas haubaniers. (LDM II:8:14) "Tout li mestier de Paris ne sont pas haubanier. Ne nus ne puet estre haubaniers, se il n'a [esté] et est del mestier qui ait hauban, ou se li Roys ne li otroie par vente ou par grace." (LDM II:8:17)

selling location. (LDM 76:26-27) To be *haubanier* and to be entitled to practice a *métier* were not identical. A *fripier* could be "only a *fripier*, or only *haubanier*, or both together." (LDM 76:25) The *hauban* was originally set at a *muid* of wine per year.⁵⁹ Philip Augustus changed it to a cash payment of 6 sous. (LDM II:8:15) By 1268, however, when these regulations were compiled, the rate was variable. Some paid only 3 sous, some 6, and some 9. (LDM II:8:16) The *Livres des métiers* lists each *métier* with the amount of *hauban* which pertained to it. (LDM II:8:15)

Another term used freely to describe Parisian citizens is *preud'homme*, with its feminine counterpart, *preud'femme*. Godefroy defines *preud'homme* as "an honest and wise man." He gives two examples that state that a *preud'homme* cannot lie. He uses examples from the *Livre des métiers* to support a definition of "well versed in the knowledge of certain things." My reading of the *Livre des métiers* does not lead me to the same conclusion. The word *preud'homme* seems simply to denote a citizen, one who was considered a good and upstanding member of the community. This probably entailed having a fixed abode and not having been denounced, convicted of a crime, or banished from the town. The status of *preud'homme* or *preud'femme* may relate to the concept of *fama* in Roman law. Albertus Gandinus, a Florentine judge writing in 1288, said that "one who conducts himself according to good customs acquires a good reputation (*bonam famam*) and augments it."⁶⁰ It is likely that the French *preud'homme* was a man of *bonam famam*, or of good reputation. The term may have applied only to men who had a

⁵⁹ See footnote 55.

workshop or could otherwise show that they were self-sufficient. The term is used in the *Livre des métiers* to describe the *jurez*, those chosen to enforce the statutes of each métier. Thus the word *preud'homme* may have already taken on the modern meaning of a member of a tribunal which mediates labor disputes.

The *bourgeoisie* of Paris was a large and diverse group. In the tax roll for 1296, the smallest levy is 2 sous; the largest is 142 pounds, 10 sous, or 2,850 times the smallest assessment. The tax rolls for 1296, 1297, and 1298 reflect a division of bourgeois society which seems to be taken for granted, but for which I have found no definition. There are separate lists for the *gros gens*, those paying more than 5 sous, and the *menus gens*, those paying between 2 and 5 sous. In the list for 1292, the break between *menus* and *gros* is between 1 and 2 sous. The division of taxpayers into two groups is not unique to these tax rolls. In Mignon's inventory of financial documents, he refers to an "impositio grossorum civium Parisium," an imposition on the great citizens of Paris, for 1297. In the case of a levy for the army in Flanders in 1302, he shows two lists of taxpayers. One is taxed at a rate twice that of the other.⁶¹ The *menus gens* are not impoverished. They are prosperous enough to pay some tax. Many of them own a workshop and the tools of their trade. The terms *menus* and *gros* did not indicate a fixed status; some people passed from one group to another in succeeding years.

⁶⁰ " . . . qui bonis moribus se gubernat, bonam famam acquirit et augmentat." (Kantorowicz, 51, 53).

⁶¹ Mignon, p. 159, #1271 and p. 178-79, #1429.

The term *bourgeois(e)* probably refers only to those who engaged in manufacture or trade and therefore were liable for the taxes on buying and selling, the tolls, the *hauban*, and other charges involved in doing business. It was exemption from these charges that the *bourgeois* jointly purchased from the king. They also enjoyed the right to seize the goods of their debtors, and to unload wine at the port of La Grève.⁶² In addition to these businessmen and women, there were an unknown number of salaried employees, of itinerant workers, of vagabonds, the ill and the destitute in Paris. It is to these men and women that Geremek devoted his two studies. Some of these "marginal" or impoverished people were serfs. The saying *Stadtluft macht frei* did not apply to the air of Paris. Paris was not a commune and its air did not bestow freedom on a serf. A lord was free to recover a "man of his body" from Paris at any time.⁶³ In practice, they seldom did, and former serfs living in Paris often purchased their freedom.

The thirteenth century was a time of prosperity and even luxury for many Parisians. By contrast, the plight of the homeless and destitute was more obvious than in poorer times. Thus it was in the thirteenth century that many charitable houses were established. On the Ile de la Cité, the Hotel-Dieu provided succor not only for the ill, but also for pilgrims and the homeless. The Quinze-Vingts, founded by Saint Louis in 1254, housed three hundred blind people. *Confréries* (confraternities or brotherhoods), often linked to the associations of the various métiers, provided aid for ill members, and for widows and orphans. The Hôpital Sainte-Catherine sheltered the dead awaiting burial.

⁶² Cazelles, 95

⁶³ Olivier-Martin 1922, 1:143.

William of Auvergne had founded the Filles-Dieu in 1226, for prostitutes who wanted to live a more respectable life. In 1306, the Hôpital des Haudriettes was founded specifically for women. The Beguines of Paris, founded in 1264 by Saint Louis, escaped the general disbanding of the order in 1311.⁶⁴ Judging from the number of Beguines who appear in the tax rolls studied here, Beguines played an important role in the Parisian economy, particularly in the silk industry.

In an effort to provide for themselves in illness and in old age, and for their widows and orphans after they died, many Parisian workers joined confraternities. Besides functioning as a mutual-aid society, each confraternity was devoted to a patron saint and to a common goal. Members of the *confrérie* of Saint Jacques had made or vowed to make a pilgrimage to Compostela. Many of the worker associations whose rules are redacted in the *Livres des métiers* referred to a *confrérie du métier*, indicating that the two associations were closely related. Nineteen of the 101 associations which appear in the *Livre des métiers* specifically mentioned a *confrérie* as part of the worker community. Six others spoke of provisions for the poor without using the term *confrérie*. The goldsmiths took turns remaining open on Sundays and holidays, with the earnings from those days going into the "box" of the *confrérie*. From the money an Easter dinner was provided for the poor of the Hotel Dieu. (LDM 11:8) For ten associations, the main source of funds was a fee paid by a new apprentice or his master, or by each of them.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Cazelles, 60fn.

⁶⁵ LDM 22:5, 30:4, 37:5, 68:4, 72:4, 74:10, 78:27, 79:9, 87:4,5,6; 91:3.

Six were funded from fines paid for infractions of the rules⁶⁶ and two by both.⁶⁷ Four organizations stated that the funds of the *confrérie* were to be used to sustain the poor of that organization.⁶⁸ The *corroyers* specified that the money would be used to teach and provide for orphans of *corroyers* who wanted to learn the *métier*. (LDM 87:7) Six other associations spoke of a fund for the poor without using the term *confrérie*.⁶⁹ The sheet-brass makers had a fund which "will be converted to the profit of all the masters," without specifying what it would be used for. (LDM 22:2) A second redaction of the statutes of the makers of wax writing tablets required that everyone who worked at this *métier* be a member of the confraternity. It further insisted that, when a man or woman of the *métier* died, the body be accompanied by at least one person from each workshop, indicating that taking care of funerals was a part of the mutual aid provided to members. (LDM 68 (II): 17, 18)

Confraternities made the established authorities, both clerical and lay, uneasy. An association of free men pledged to mutual aid threatened the traditional order in which each free man pledged to support his lord, his superior in the feudal hierarchy. Refusing to recognize the need for new kinds of social structure in an increasingly urban world, the councils of Toulouse in 1229, Montpellier and Arles in 1234, Valence in 1248 and Avignon in 1281 and 1326 forbade membership in confraternities.⁷⁰ Fearing a revolt,

⁶⁶ LDM 31:9, 38:8, 56:5, 61:11, 77:10, 88:13.

⁶⁷ LDM 28:2,7; 78:24, 27.

⁶⁸ LDM 56:5, 60:12, 84:12, 88:13.

⁶⁹ LDM 21:5,6; 51:13, 60:12, 69:14, 84:12, 100:2.

⁷⁰ Evans, 40.

Philip the Fair suppressed Parisian confraternities in 1306. In April 1320, Philip the Long authorized the fur-sellers to re-establish the confraternity of Notre Dame in the Church of the Holy Innocents.⁷¹ In October of the same year he authorized the *ouvrier* and *valet merciers* to meet once a year, "as had been the custom in the old days."⁷² The language of the grant indicates that he was still concerned lest these gatherings and the money that the association controlled be used to foment unrest. They could meet "by special grace," (that is, in his view, they had no right to meet), "in the House of the Blind at Paris (the Quinze-Vingts), and nowhere else, . . . in such a way that the oblations, offerings, alms, and all other benefits . . . cannot be converted except in the house of said blind and for their needs. . . . The provost of Paris or his deputy should be present on the day that this *confrérie* is held to guard against all dangers and conspiracies which might happen in the future."⁷³ There may be other explanations for the tensions between the authorities and

⁷¹ Fagniez, 281.

⁷² See pages 56 and 53 for definitions of *ouvrier* and *valet*.

⁷³ "Savoir faisons que, comme les valléz merciers de la ville de Paris eussent accoustumé à tenir chascun an ou temps passé en la ville de Paris une confrarie, la quele fu souldue avec plusieurs autres pour certaine cause, nous, considerans que il avoient establie la dicte confrarie en l'onneur de Dieu et de mon seigneur saint Loys. . . voulons et nous plaist, et otroions aus diz merciers, de grâce especial, que il puissent tenir une foiz touz les anz leur dicte confrarie, c'est assavoir en la maison des aveugles à Paris et non ailleurs, en tele maniere que les oblacions, les offerendes, les aumones et touz autres bienfaiz et quelcunques dependances et remanans qui demourront de la dite confrarie, en quelcunque maniere que ce soit, ne puissent estre convertiz fors en la maison des diz aveugles et pour leur neccessitéz, et, se par aveinture les dessus diz valléz merciers tenoient ladite confrairie ailleurs que en la maison des diz aveugles à Paris, nous voulons, ordenons et establissons que ladite confrairie soit nule, et que dès lors en avant il ne la puissent tenir en la vile de Paris. Toutevoies, nous voulons que nostre prevost de Paris ou autre personne convenable à ce deputés par ledit prevost ou celui qui par le temps sera, soit present à la journée que la dite confrarie sera tenue en la dite maison des aveugles, pour eschiver touz

the confraternities. The right to form or to re-establish a confraternity may have been sold and thus become an important source of revenue. To disband them and then allow them to begin again may have been a means of asserting control over groups that were becoming too independent.

THE ORGANIZATION OF TIME

Despite the invention of the clock,⁷⁴ the work and business of women and men in thirteenth-century Paris were regulated by the calendar and the church bells. Church time and merchant's time were thickly interwoven. A procession of relics opened proceedings for the commercial Fair of Lendit, and the promenading of the arm of Saint Sebastian signaled that selling could begin.⁷⁵

For many métiers, the year was divided into periods of *quarêsmes* and *charnage*, summer and winter. Winter began at Saint Remi (October 1) and ended at Mardi Gras or the beginning of Lent. Generally, work stopped at vespers in the winter and went on until compline in the summer.⁷⁶ Many métiers prohibited any work after dark, which made the workday much shorter in winter than in summer. Silk spinners and *corroyers* could work at night from Saint Remi to Lent, but not from Lent to Saint Remi. (LDM Titles 35 and 87) These exceptions allowed workdays of a more uniform length. From Easter to Saint Remi, fish had to be sold the day they were caught. From Saint Remi to Easter, they

perilz, conspirations et taquehanz qui en pourroient ensuir ou temps avenir." (Fagniez, 282).

⁷⁴ LeGoff, 67-69; Cipolla; Landes.

⁷⁵ "Dit du Lendit", in Franklin 1905-06, 751.

⁷⁶ LDM 16:5, 37:8, 35:3, 43:5.

could still be sold on the second day. (LDM Title 101) It is obvious that in the heat of summer, fish would spoil more quickly.

Hours for beginning and ending the work day were regulated, and were attuned to the clerical day. Quitting time for *crepiniers* was regulated by the tolling of the bell at Notre Dame. For brass buckle-makers and for *attachiers*, work stopped when vespers tolled at Saint Merri in *charnage*, but in *quarêsme* they waited for the second crier crying the prices of wine for the taverns. (LDM 22:9, 25:7) Comb-makers listened for the bells of Holy Innocents, *savetonniers* for those of Saint Opportune, and shoemakers for those of the parish in which they lived.⁷⁷ This difference may indicate that shoemakers were spread throughout the town, while each of the other métiers was clustered in a particular neighborhood.

Fires had to be extinguished at night or covered with a ceramic cover. A bell rang to announce *couvre-feu*. The curfew ended at sunrise when a member of the militia sounded a horn.⁷⁸

Holidays, called days of *chomage*, were mandatory. The regulations of the various métiers forbade work on Sundays and feast days. The most complete list of holidays is in the rules for the bakers, which detailed twenty-seven days in addition to Sundays in which bread could not be baked. On the eve of such a feast, work had to stop at vespers. (LDM 1:23-30) Other métiers stopped work on the feast day of their patron saint; many observed the feast of the Apostles (Sts. Peter and Paul, June 29) or the four feasts of the

⁷⁷ LDM Titles 67, 84 and 85.

⁷⁸ Henisch, 89; LDM 91:5.

Virgin Mary (Purification, February 2; Annunciation, March 25; Assumption, August 15; Birth, September 8.) Twenty-nine associations simply reported that they observed the *jour de fete que li commun de vile foire*, holidays proclaimed by the town.⁷⁹ The phrase *que li commun de vile foire* suggests that it was the city, that is the Parloir-aux-Bourgeois, that proclaimed the holidays. Regulations of the silk headdress makers, however, add the phrase "and which are ordered in the Holy Church."⁸⁰ A buttonmaker was forbidden to work on "feast days which are commanded *a foirier* in his parish."⁸¹ These days of *chomage* were feast days. Lespinasse and Bonnardot claim that the medieval worker's principal distractions were "in frequenting churches and in the spectacle of religious pomp."⁸² The use of the words *foirier* and *jours foirables* indicate rather that the days when one did not "work" were market days, when the principal activity was to exhibit one's goods at fairs or markets. In addition to the major fairs, such as Saint Denis and Lendit, each church had a fair on its saint's day.⁸³ Souchal says, in regard to the tapestry makers, that *jour que commun de ville foire* "no doubt means market days. The tapestry makers left their workshops on market days to spend the day selling."⁸⁴

Not all holidays were work days in disguise. A celebration on the eve of Saint John's Day featured a big fire in front of the Hotel de Ville, around which the people

⁷⁹ "... jour de feste que li quemun de vile foire," (LDM 12:2, 13:3, 14:3, 16:4, 17:10, 21:2, 22:7, 24:5, 25:6, 27:1, 30:9, 31:3, 33:3, 35:3, 36:2, 37:8, 38:3, 40:5, 44:2, 61:7, 65:4, 66:4, 67:3, 68:7, 71:5, 74:13, 79:12, 95:3, 97:4).

⁸⁰ "... et qui est comande en sainte yglise". (LDM 44:2).

⁸¹ "... jour de feste qui soit commandee a foirier en sa paroisse." (LDM 72:8).

⁸² LDM cxxx.

⁸³ Franklin 1905-06, 332.

⁸⁴ Souchal, 70.

danced, while entertainers sang and performed. The king or a member of the royal family lighted the first flame. Cats were suspended above the fire in a sack as a sacrifice. This seems to have been a wholly lay celebration; there is no evidence that the clergy participated. The sacrifice of the cats was probably a remnant of pre-Christian ritual. Jean Beleth, a twelfth-century theologian, described a comparable ritual, still practiced in his time, in which the bones of dead animals were burned at the edges of rivers. It was thought that the smoke would drive away the dragons who would otherwise pollute the river with their sperm.⁸⁵

Fiscal events were measured by the church calendar. Rents and mortgage payments were due at Christmas, Easter, Saint John's and Saint Remi, "the four customary times in Paris."⁸⁶

Another significant unit of time was "a year and a day." In many medieval towns, a serf who could maintain himself in the town for a year and a day became a free man. His lord had no further claim on him. This was not true in Paris, but Parisians used this unit of time in other ways. A foreigner could become a "bourgeois of Paris" by living in the town for a year and a day. In most métiers, a man or woman who had finished his or her apprenticeship had to work under the guidance of a master for a year and a day before she or he could open a separate establishment.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Lombard-Jourdain, 28-31. Beleth died in 1190.

⁸⁶ Terroine and Fossier, #120.

⁸⁷ LDM 25:16, 60:4, 87:17.

THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The basic economic unit in thirteenth-century Paris was the workshop. The medieval workshop is usually portrayed as having a clearly distinguishable hierarchy of master, journeyman, and apprentice. The medieval French word *valet* is often translated as "journeyman." While the relation of master to apprentice is clearly defined in the *Livre des métiers*, the man or woman who has finished his or her apprenticeship but does not own a workshop is not so well defined. I will avoid the use of the term "journeyman" because its equivalent does not appear in the sources and it suggests a more rigid hierarchy than existed in Paris at this time.

The terms *maître* and *mestresse* were used to describe a person who (1) had finished his or her apprenticeship, (2) was "established," that is, had set up a business practicing a craft, and (3) was allowed to take apprentices. In most métiers, it was necessary to work a year and a day after finishing the apprenticeship before being "established." It appears that to be master or mistress meant having one's own workshop; it was not simply a matter of being skilled and having experience. The statutes of the *chaussiers* list former masters who were working as *valets* because they had given up their own workshops.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ "Et est ordené par les preudeshomes du dit mestier que les vallez du dit mestier, dont les nons sont ci desoz nommez, porront commencer ledit mestier quant il voudront sanz acheter le ne riens paier au Roi, por ce que il ont esté grant tens au mestier avant cest establissement, et por ce que li pluseur d'aus ont esté aucune foiz mestres et sont devenuz vallez par povreté ou par leur volenté." (There follows a list of thirty-two names. LDM 55:10).

In order to work at most crafts in medieval Paris, it was necessary to learn the trade from a master or mistress. Thirty of the associations whose rules are redacted in the *Livre des métiers* allowed a master to have as many apprentices as he wished. Thirty-three limited a master or mistress to one "foreign" apprentice, that is, one who was not his or her own child. Fourteen specified that one's own child, in order not to be considered a "foreign" apprentice, had to be "born of legal marriage." The carpenters allowed sons and nephews to be apprenticed without limit. (LDM 47:2) The fullers extended this privilege to a son or brother. (LDM 53:2) Twelve métiers allowed two apprentices besides the children of the household; two others allowed two apprentices if both husband and wife exercised the métier.⁸⁹ In some métiers, a poor child could be apprenticed "for God," without a contract or payment, in addition to the others allowed.⁹⁰

Fourteen métiers directed that a contract between master and apprentice be witnessed by several members of the association; two insisted that the contract be recorded in writing.⁹¹ The length of apprenticeship ranged from four years for cord-makers, carpenters, and tapestry weavers to twelve years for brass wire drawers, bead-

⁸⁹ LDM 34:3, 37:3.

⁹⁰ LDM 78:25, 79:8.

⁹¹ The silk spinners, a predominantly (perhaps exclusively) female association had the most stringent requirements. The contract had to be made before the masters of the métier and before two or three women who were working members of the association. Six deniers had to be paid to the masters, who were required to use this sum to have the contract written and to keep the written contract so that, in case of a dispute, the truth could be discerned. ". . . et par ces vi d. sont tenu li mestre de fere escrire la convenance et de garder l'escrit devers aus, si que se contens est entre les parties, que par ce puisse estre sceue la verité." (LDM 36:5). See also LDM 51:10.

makers, and gem-stone cutters.⁹² The mean length was 7.67 years. The long apprenticeship served two purposes. First, in conjunction with the limitation on the number of apprentices allowed, it suppressed competition. An ordinance of 1321 illustrates this point, for several years of famine had reduced the population and made labor scarce. In these changed circumstances, the new ordinance allowed a master to have as many apprentices as he wanted, for whatever term he chose.⁹³ The second function of a long apprenticeship was to allow the master to recoup some of the investment she or he had made in the apprentice by earning money from the apprentice's work, once the apprentice had enough skill to produce items for sale. In twenty-five métiers, the length of apprenticeship varied with the fee paid by the apprentice or his or her parents. For instance, the weavers of silk cloth, a predominantly female group, required a payment of 4 pounds with an apprenticeship of six years, 40 sous if the apprenticeship was for eight years, while a girl who agreed to remain with the mistress for ten years would be taken on without a payment. (LDM 38:2)

During the apprenticeship, the master or mistress was required to provide food and clothing, and other things befitting the son of a *preud'homme*. The *braalliers* simply stated that an apprentice had to be governed as befitted the son of a *preud'homme*. (LDM 39:4) The wool weavers spelled out the master's obligation in more detail. He had to agree to provide clothing and shoes, drink and food, "and everything else."⁹⁴ The butchers,

⁹² LDM 13:2, 24:3, 28:4, 30:3, 47:2, 52:3.

⁹³ Lespinasse, entry dated 19/1/1322.

⁹⁴ "...de vestir et de chaucier, de boivre et de mangier, et de toutes autres choses." (LDM 50:13).

weavers, and *corroyers* required that the master who wished to take an apprentice be investigated to assure that he was wise enough and rich enough to teach and maintain the apprentice properly.⁹⁵ A provision in the rules of the *chapuiseurs* raises doubts as to how well some masters provided for their apprentices. It said that an apprentice who knew how to make a chef-d'oeuvre was to be granted a special status. He was to be given more honor and respect and not be sent into town to beg his bread and wine "like a boy".⁹⁶ Several métiers stated that, if the master was not able to complete an apprenticeship he had agreed to, other members of the association would assure that the child was placed with another master and not simply abandoned. (LDM 20:2, 50:16,17; 87:12)

Apprentice and master had mutual obligations which could not be lightly dismissed. Several associations did not allow the sale of an apprentice unless the master died, went on crusade or pilgrimage (*oultre mer*), or suffered a long-term illness. (LDM 29:3, 68:26, 87:14) Some associations allowed a master to sell an apprentice, but he couldn't take another until the full term of the former apprentice had expired. (LDM 27:3,4) Others insisted that the apprentice serve at least half his term before he could be sold. (LDM 50:10, 60:14) An apprentice could, in some métiers, pay for the remaining

⁹⁵ "Nus ne doit prendre aprentis, se il n'est si saiges et si riches que il le puist aprendre et gouverner, et maintenir son terme" (LDM 21:7); ". . .il doivent regarder se li mestres est souffisant d'avoir et de sens pour aprentiz prendre." (LDM 50:17); ". . .et conviant que li mestres regardent se cil qui l'aprentiz veut prendre est souffisans d'avoir et de sens; que li preud'ome qui leur enfans font aprendre a corroier ne perdent leur argent, et li aprentis son tans." (LDM 87:10).

⁹⁶ "Se li aprentis set faire 1 chief d'oeuvre tout sus, ses mestres puet prendre 1 autre aprentiz pour la reson de ce que, quant 1 aprentis set faire son chief d'oeuvre, il est reson qu'il se tiegne au mestier et soit en l'ouvroir, et est resons que on l'oneurt et deporté plus

service he owed, and thus be free of his master. In most cases, as when an apprentice was sold, the master could not take another until the term of the first had expired.⁹⁷ Several associations dealt with the problem of apprentices who ran away. In general, if the runaway wanted to return, he had to reimburse his master for the expenses incurred because of his absence. The tapestry weavers required that the master search for the runaway for one day at his own expense. If an apprentice locksmith ran away, the master was to pay for the first day's search, the father or pledge of the apprentice for the second day. A master had to take back a runaway bead-maker who returned within a year and a day. A runaway *baudraier* who was gone for a year and a day could never return to the métier. An apprentice *tabletier* who ran away could be replaced after twenty-six weeks. If an apprentice sculptor of knife handles ran away three times, neither his master nor anyone else in the métier could take him back.⁹⁸

An apprentice became more valuable to his master as she or he learned the trade and was able to produce salable goods. The wool weavers charged 4 pounds for a four-year apprenticeship, but if the apprentice left after the first year, he received no refund, "because the first year he earns nothing."⁹⁹ Carpenters took apprentices with them to work at jobs where they were paid by someone else. They were not allowed to charge customers a daily rate for apprentices in their first year, except 6 deniers for their

que celui qui ne le set faire; si que ses mestres ne l'envoie mie en la vile quere son pain et son vin ausi come l garcon." (LDM 79:11).

⁹⁷ LDM 27:3,4, 35:5,6, 37:6, 51:5, 66:3, 69:5, 71:4.

⁹⁸ LDM 16:4, 19:5, 27: 4,5,6; 50:12, 51:6, 68:10, 83:8.

⁹⁹ ". . .car le premiere annee ne gaaingne il riens." (LDM 50:15).

expenses.¹⁰⁰ After the first year, an apprentice would perform enough useful work to offset the cost of his upkeep and training. There was thus a temptation to hire away a partially trained apprentice, who would furnish labor unpaid except for his room and board. This practice was prohibited by the cutlers and the brass wire-drawers. (LDM 16:6, 24:7)

In general, an apprenticeship seems to have ended when the agreed term was completed. The making of a *chef-d'oeuvre* is seldom mentioned in thirteenth-century sources. It appears only once in the *Livre des métiers*. The apprenticeship for a *chapuisseur*, who made the wooden frames for saddles, was six years. An apprentice *chapuisseur* who knew how to make a *chef-d'oeuvre* "all his own" could exercise the métier and have his own workshop, and the master could take another apprentice. (LDM 79:11) A goldsmith's apprenticeship could also be cut short, but there is no mention of a *chef-d'oeuvre*. Rather, he had to be capable of earning 100 sous per year, in addition to his food and drink.¹⁰¹ Silk weavers had to be examined by the officers of the community before they could purchase the right to practice the craft. (LDM 40:1)

Apprentices in some métiers could be married. The rules of the *baudraiers* provided that a married apprentice who did not wish to dine or sup at the master's table was entitled to four deniers per working day for his food. (LDM 83:7)

¹⁰⁰ "... nus dudit mestier ne peut prendre aprentiz a mains de iiii ans, ne ne peut penre journée pour leurs aprentiz la premiere année, fors que vi d. pour ses despens jusques au soir." (LDM 47:2).

¹⁰¹ "Nus orfevres ne puet avoir aprentis privez ne estrange, a mains de x ans, se li aprentis n'est tex qu'il sache gaingnier c s. l'an, et son despens de boivre et de mangier." (LDM 11:5).

Only six métiers mentioned formal apprenticeships for women. Of these, three gave specific terms, ranging from six years to ten. Four of the six involved silk production.¹⁰² The statutes of the *braaliers* speak of an *aprantice de coudre*, an apprentice in sewing, but use only the masculine *aprentiz* for one learning the craft as a whole. An *aprentiz* served for six years, an *aprantice de coudre* only two. (LDM 39:7) The *attachiers* allowed a master to "put his wife to the métier," meaning that he could teach her on an informal basis. A master *corroyer* could do the same, but only if his wife was the daughter of a *corroyer*.¹⁰³ In contrast, thirty-nine communities speak of apprenticeships of a specific length for boys.¹⁰⁴ Two others mention formal apprenticeships, whose length and terms were to be agreed upon by master and apprentice. (LDM 14:2, 46:1) Ten simply said that a master could have as many apprentices as he wanted, on whatever terms he could get them.¹⁰⁵

A woman who was mistress of a métier could take an apprentice, since this is one of the rights that defines the *maîtrise*. Widows who took over the workshops of their dead husbands but were not, in their own right, mistresses of the craft, could, in some cases, supervise apprentices contracted for by their husbands.¹⁰⁶ Several communities, however, forbade widows to take new apprentices. The gem-stone cutters thought their

¹⁰² LDM 35:2,5,6; 36:8; 38:2; 44:4; 57:4; 95:3,4,5.

¹⁰³ LDM 25:12, 87:8.

¹⁰⁴ LDM 11, 13, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 60, 61, 65, 66, 67, 68, 71, 72, 78, 79, 83, 87, 91.

¹⁰⁵ LDM 55, 56, 63, 74, 75, 77, 80, 84, 85, 97.

¹⁰⁶ "If the master dies, his wife can hold the métier and the apprentice freely. (LDM 64:4); "If the master dies, the apprentice is required to finish his service with the widow." (LDM 53:5).

trade so difficult that "it seems that a woman cannot know the métier well enough to teach a child so that he can become a master."¹⁰⁷ The widow of a bead-maker who remarried a man outside the community could continue to work at the craft, but could not take apprentices. (LDM 28:8) A woman could become a master *corroyer* only if she was the daughter of a *corroyer*. Even then, she could not take an apprentice unless she was also the widow of a *corroyer*. (LDM 87:9, 16)

The status of a valet was somewhere between that of an apprentice and a master, but it was fluid. The term *valet* seems to denote a man who has finished his apprenticeship but does not have a workshop of his own. A valet worked for a master, in exchange for a salary. Some were hired by the day, some by the week, and some by the year. It was also possible to hire a valet for a particular task. For many métiers, a person who had finished his apprenticeship had to work at his craft for a year and a day before he could enjoy all the rights and privileges of a master. The term valet is sometimes used for a man who has his own shop but is in this interim period.¹⁰⁸ It was certainly not limited to those who had recently finished their apprenticeship. Former masters who have given up their workshops because they have fallen on hard times are called valets in the statutes of the *chaussiers*.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ "...quar il ne semble pas au preudeshomes du mestier que fame peust tant savoir du mestier que ele soufesist a aprendre l enfant tant que il en feust mestre; quar leur mestier est moult soutif." (LDM 30:8).

¹⁰⁸ "Il est acordé que nul vallet du mestier desus dit ne puisse prendre nul aprentis oudit mestier, devant qu'il ait tenu son mestier l an et l jour." (LDM 60:4) "Item, quant il aura fet son service, li aprentiz ne pourra commancier son mestier devant qu'il aura servi et gaaingnié une année acomplie." (LDM 87:17) "Se vallet du mestier prent fame qui ne soit du mestier, il ne puet pas a sa fame aprendre le mestier devant qu'il ait son ovrooir tenu an et jour." (LDM 25:16).

¹⁰⁹ See page 46 .

In some métiers, valets could take apprentices even while they themselves worked for another.¹¹⁰ Cazelles suggests that the valets who appear in the tax rolls are those who were allowed to take apprentices.¹¹¹ The regulations of the fullers are the most informative about the rights and obligations of valets. Valet fullers were expected to lunch with the master at the hour of prime. They could dine outside the workshop if they wished, but were to return to work within a reasonable time, without being summoned and without waiting for their coworkers. (LDM 53:19) For valets seeking work, there were gathering places where a prospective employer would come to find a hiree. (LDM 53:8) A valet fuller who was working by the day for a particular master could, at quitting time, agree to return the following day, bypassing the "hiring hall." (LDM 53:12)

The term *valet* was not synonymous with "journeyman," which is a more recent term. The bakers' association does use the term *joindre*, a possible predecessor of "journeyman," in LDM 1:13. It is used there as a synonym for a master valet.¹¹² The bakers were among the most highly organized communities and bakers had a greater variety of employees than most other métiers. The phrase "master valet" is not a common one in late thirteenth-century Paris.

¹¹⁰ "Se 1 vallet qui le mestier face ou 1 filz de mestre veut avoir un aprentis, il le puet avoir en la maniere devant dite." (LDM 34:5); "Li valet gantier de Paris ne puent tenir ne prendre ne fortraire les aprentiz a leurs mestres, ce ce n'est par leur congié." (LDM 88:12).

¹¹¹ Cazelles, 84.

¹¹² Describing the ceremony of initiation into the bakers' association, this regulation directs the inductee to appear at the house of the Master Baker, with all the bakers and the master valets, who are called *joindres*. ("... et aura avec lui le coustumier et touz les Talemeliers et les mestres vallès, qu l'on apele joindres.")

Both valets and apprentices are referred to as chattel, implying a state of quasi-serfdom. Many métiers prohibit hiring away either the apprentice or the valet of another master.¹¹³ It is obvious that an apprentice is a financial burden in the early years, but is an asset in later years. To hire away a partially trained apprentice would deprive his master of the apprentice's most valuable work. The reason for prohibiting hiring the valet of another master is not so clear. Geremek suggests that a master sometimes made loans to a valet, to be paid from future wages.¹¹⁴ The dice-maker's regulations speak of valets as well as apprentices who flee the master's workshop before finishing the agreed term of service. (LDM 71:7)

In most métiers, a valet was required to take an oath, similar to that of a master, that he would do good, legal work and report to the officials of the association any infractions of which he was aware. It was the responsibility of the master to assure himself that a valet had taken the oath before hiring him. The statutes of the saddlers allowed a master to hire a valet for one day without checking his status. He was also free of responsibility if he could show that the valet had worked for two days or more for

¹¹³ "Nus ne puet metre ovrier en oeuvre qui soit aloués ou aprentiz a autrui . . . quar autrui chatel ne doit il tenir." (LDM 66:5) "Se aucuns des aprentiz aus Deiciers de Paris ou aucun de leur vallez s'enfuist ou s'en part ainz qu'il ait fet ou paracompli son service, et il se coumende hors de la vile de Paris chiès aucun home du mestier, et icil home aporte ou envoie a Paris aucunes des denrées de son mestier pour vendre, nus Deicier de Paris ne puet ne ne doit achater nules des denrées devant dites de icelui ouvrier devant dont que il ait jetez d'entour lui le vallez ou l'aprentiz au Deycier de Paris, se icil ouvrier ne veut jurer seur Seinz et donner plegerie que il l'aprentiz ou li vallet devant dit metra hors d'entor lui dedenz le tierz jour que il s'en r'ira a son hostel." (LDM 71:6) See also LDM 16:6, 21:14, 22:12, 24:8, 29:3,40:3, 42:16, 60:18, 65:8, 67:10, 69:6, 72:11.

¹¹⁴ Geremek 1968, 63.

another member of the association, who would then be assessed the fine for such negligence.¹¹⁵ In some métiers valets had a part in governing the association.¹¹⁶ A contract for apprenticeship of a brass wire-drawer was witnessed by two masters and two valets. (LDM 24:6) In 1320, valet *merciers* were allowed to form their own confraternity, as was mentioned on page 41.

The terms *sergent*, *aide*, and simply *alouée* are also used to designate hired workers, but references to them are not frequent enough to determine whether they differ from valets.¹¹⁷ There is no female counterpart for the term *valet*.

Browsing through the *Livre des métiers* might lead one to think that the terms *ouvrier* and *ouvriere* refer to persons like *valets* who have finished their apprenticeship and are not yet established as masters or mistresses. A maker of golden headdresses could not have an *ouvriere* or an apprentice unless she had worked at the craft for a year after finishing her own apprenticeship. (LDM 95:7) No *ouvriere* of silk cloth could be a mistress until she had worked a year and a day at the craft after finishing her apprenticeship. (LDM 28:1) Franklin uses the terms *ouvrier* and *valet* interchangeably.¹¹⁸ Geremek says that *ouvrier* probably refers to a master artisan who was reduced by economic consider-

¹¹⁵ LDM 78:30; A similar rule for the *boutonniers* is found at 72:12.

¹¹⁶ Two masters and two valets are officials of the fullers' association. When their term has expired, new officials are selected by the provost of Paris according to recommendations made by the outgoing officials. (LDM 53:16, 18)

¹¹⁷ LDM 16:6, 25:3, 48:7, 65:5, 76:32; In 25:3 the terms "valet" and "sergent" seem to be used as synonyms: "Quiconques est Atachiers a Paris, il puet avoir tant de sergans que il li [pla]ira, por tant que li sergans aient esté vi ans au mestier au mains. Et de ce convient il que le vallet se face creable, par tesmoignage ou par serment.

¹¹⁸ Franklin 1905-06, 530-33, 719.

ations to working for others.¹¹⁹ Caceres claims that they are workers who do not belong to the association and can be hired only when no valets are available.¹²⁰ There is a better explanation than any of these. In response to Franklin, three *métiers* whose rules are contained in the *Livre des métiers* state that a master can have as many valets and *ouvriers* as he wishes. Another says that both *valets* and *ouvriers* must take an oath before they can begin work.¹²¹ If the two terms have the same meaning, it is redundant to use both. The rules of the *chaussiers* refute Geremek's suggestion. They use the term *valet*, not *ouvrier*, to denote former masters who have of their own free will given up the right to have a workshop, because of poverty, though they have worked at the craft for many years and several were once masters. The thirty-two men listed were promised the right to begin practicing the *métier* again whenever they liked without paying the entry fee of 20 sous. (LDM 55:10)

The true meaning of *ouvrier(e)* reveals an important, if small, "putting-out" system in Europe's largest city in the last half of the thirteenth century. The evidence strongly supports a definition of *ouvrier* and *ouvriere* as persons who worked in their own homes on raw materials provided by another. The *ouvrier* or *ouvriere* could be a qualified master or mistress or could work for a master. An *ouvriere* linen seller could have her own

¹¹⁹ Geremek 1968, 42.

¹²⁰ Caceres, 21.

¹²¹ "Quicunques est Baterres d'or et d'argent en feuille, a Paris, il puet avoir tant vallès et d'ouvriers et d'apprentiz cumme il li plest." (LDM 33:2) "Li mestre del mestier devant dit pueent avoir tant vallez et ouvriers coume il leur plaist." (LDM 61:6) "Quiconques soit Tabletier a Paris, il puet avoir tant de vallès et de ouvriers lous qu'il li plaira." (LDM 68:6) "El mestier devant dit ne puet ne ne doit nus ouvrer conme vallez ou conme ouvrer,

workshop. (LDM 57:6) An *ouvriere* silk spinner could have an apprentice. (LDM 36:6) A master potter could not hire an *ouvrier* who had a wheel in his home, nor could he fire a pot which the *ouvrier* had made in his own home. (LDM 74:12) Neither mistress nor *ouvriere* weaver of headdresses could buy silk from Jews, from spinners, or from anyone else other than silk merchants. Nor could they pawn silk given them with a Jew, a Lombard, or anyone else. (LDM 44:5,8) If the *ouvriere* were working in the workshop of her mistress there would have been no question of her buying or pawning raw materials, since these would belong to the mistress. If she worked at home, she had the opportunity to do these things.

This definition would explain the presence of an estimated 77 *ouvrieres de soie* and 4 *ouvriers de soie* in the tax rolls for each of the years 1297-1300. The term *tisserand de soie* appears only once.¹²² The *ouvriers* and *ouvrieres de soie* were the weavers of silk. Title 40 of the *Livre des métiers*, which is obviously concerned with weaving, refers to its members as *ouvriers de draps de soye*. They were not hired workers but were in business for themselves. They worked in their own homes, usually with silk supplied by a client, who would also buy the finished cloth. Wool weavers in Paris, on the other hand, worked in large workshops with a number of looms. A master weaver of wool was not allowed to have under his jurisdiction any looms outside his workshop, but in it he could have three (two wide and one narrow) for himself, three for each of his unmarried sons, three for his brother and three for his nephew. The others must have been manned by

se il ne se fet creables, au mains par son serement, que il ait ouvré a son mestre bien et loiaument, tant que ses mestres l'ait quité." (LDM 51:11).

valets. The prohibition against “putting out” is repeated and the exact relationship of the sons, brother and nephew are minutely detailed.¹²³ There are no such prohibitions in Titles 38 and 40, which concern makers of silk cloth. In fact, Title 38 speaks of mistresses who sent outside the city of Paris to have work done. Such work had to be inspected for quality before it could be sold.¹²⁴ The small size of a silk loom must have lent itself to decentralization, while a wool loom would probably not have fit into a normal home or room.

Masters of workshops banded together in sworn associations, through which they governed the economic life of Paris. These associations are the worker communities whose rules were redacted in the *Livre des métiers*. It was through these associations that the quality of goods was controlled, regulations were enforced, and competition was restricted. All members of a Parisian worker community were *jurez*, that is they took an oath on relics that they would uphold the rules of the association. The term *jurez*, though, was used primarily to designate the members appointed to enforce the rules, to inspect the

¹²² See Appendix 4.

¹²³ “Chascun Toissarrans de lange de Paris puet avoir en son hostel ii mestiers lés et l'estroit; et hos de son ostel ne puet il avoir nul, se il ne le veut ansi que uns estranges les porroit avoir.” (LDM 50:3) Paragraph 4 states that each son of a weaver, as long as he remains in the guardianship of his father or mother, can have 2 wide and 1 narrow loom, as long as he knows how to weave “with his own hand.” Paragraph 5 grants the same privilege to one brother and one nephew. Sons, brother, and nephew are not required to buy the métier from the king, nor do they owe the taxes or serve in the *guet*. Paragraph 6 repeats the prohibition against “putting out,” this time applying it to the sons, brother, and nephew: “Li mestre Toissarrans de lange ne puet pas, par la reson de ses filz males ou de l'un de ses freres ou de l'un de ses neveux, avoir les mestiers desus diz hors de sa meson.”

¹²⁴ “Il est ordené ou devant dit mestier que toutes les mestresses qui envoieront hors de la ville fere oevre, la mouterront a celes qui seront establies por garder le mestier, aveques l'uevre de lor hostiex, por savoir se il a nulles mesprantures.” (LDM 38:7)

merchandise, to settle disputes relating to the *métier*. Most associations had two, three, or more *preud'hommes*, selected by the association or "hired and fired by the provost of Paris," who filled this post. In most cases, the *jurez* were changed after three months, six months, or a year. They often received a portion of fines collected, to compensate them for these duties.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FAMILY

The tax rolls from the last decade of the thirteenth century make it clear that some medieval Parisian women had their own shops. Others worked beside their husbands and children in family businesses. Widows continued to run the workshops of their deceased husbands. In some families, a son or daughter eventually took over the family business; in others, the widow remained in charge while the children set up their own businesses in new locations.¹²⁵ In order to understand the data presented there, it is necessary to know something about the definition and structure of the family, and the laws of inheritance in medieval Paris.

In the thirteenth century there was no unified law for France, nor was there any written collection of the customary law of Paris comparable to Philippe de Beaumanoir's *Coutumes du Beauvaisis*. The *Etablissements de Saint-Louis* claim to be "the establishments of the King of France, according to the usage at Paris and at Orleans," but they contain only sparse information about family life, and little that concerns urban people

¹²⁵ The transmission of family businesses from one generation to the next is dealt with at length in Chapter Four.

specifically.¹²⁶ Olivier-Martin's synthesis of the customs of Paris, derived from his study of written charters and of acts of the Parlement de Paris up to the year 1350, is the best treatment of the subject.¹²⁷

Toward the end of the thirteenth century, urban law was increasingly differentiated from laws developed for feudal relationships. In the early part of the century, the customs of Paris were also the customs of France, at least the part comprising the Ile-de-France, the territory directly under the control of the king. In 1212, Simon of Montfort declared that, in Toulousan lands conquered in the Albigensian crusade, questions would be settled according to the *usus et consuetudines Francie circa Parisius*. Beaumanoir speaks of the *coutumes de France qui queurt à Paris*. After 1230, the phrases *usus et consuetudines Francie* and *usus et consuetudines Parisienses* seem to be used interchangeably. At the end of the thirteenth century, these phrases are gradually replaced by the more specific *coutumes de la ville et vicomté de Paris*, or *coutumes de la prévôté de Paris*, or *coutumes de la prévôté et vicomté de Paris*.¹²⁸

Women in thirteenth-century Paris were generally subject to fathers or husbands, not specifically because they were women, but because all members of a household were subject to the *patria potestas*, the authority of the father. A household was an economic and social unit, represented in public by its head. In principle, important decisions were

¹²⁶ ESL, 643: "cy finissent les establissemens le Roy de France, selon l'usage de Paris et d'Orleans."

¹²⁷ Olivier-Martin, 1922.

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, 28-37.

made by the family as a whole, and a single woman (unmarried, divorced or widowed) could exercise the *patria potestas*.

According to the customs of Paris, a widowed mother with children remaining at home exercised the *patria potestas*.¹²⁹ This term encompassed the more specific terms *tutelle* and *curatelle*. *Tutor* and *tutelle* were the guardian and guardianship of the person of a minor child. Guardianship of the child's property was called *bail*. In the tax rolls studied here, several nieces are described as being *en bail*.¹³⁰ *Curatelle*, according to Carron, was a prolongation of *tutelle*. The *curator* represented the adolescent as a counselor rather than an authority. "In legal acts, he stands beside his pupil, not in his place."¹³¹

The mother generally exercised *tutelle* and *curatelle* of her minor children unless she refused or requested that these responsibilities be handled by someone else. For instance, in 1281, Ermengart, widow of Gautier Belier, asked the provost of Paris to name Henri Gonnor tutor and curator of her minor sons, Jeannot and Colin.¹³² Henri Gonnor was a man of wealth and influence, as evidenced by his numerous appearances in the records. Perhaps Ermengart hoped thus to provide her sons with a mentor who could give them more advantages than she could supply. Sometimes, however, *tutelle* and *curatelle* were taken from the mother without her express consent. In 1286, for example, the

¹²⁹ *ibid.*, 152.

¹³⁰ 1292, f°23, "Dame Contesse, 40 sous; une seue niece, qui est en bail, 12 deniers;" 1292, f°46, "Meresse; sa niece, qu'elle tient en baill, 10 sous."

¹³¹ Carron, 109.

¹³² Terroine & Fossier, #4.

provost confided to Alan the Irishman the *tutelle* of Colinet and the *curatelle* of his brothers, Guillot, Ferri, and Richardus, sons of Arceline and of the deceased Richard the Oublaier. There is no mention of Arceline playing any part in this action. Carron claims that the mother was less favored to manage her children's affairs in the Ile-de France than elsewhere in France.¹³³

The term *en sele* refers to a child who has reached the age of majority but remains in the family home without a partition of property. Property acquired by a child *en sele* belonged to the parents, not to the child. A child who left the family foyer received his or her share of family property. In doing so, he or she gave up all rights to property that the family might acquire in the future. For a daughter, this division of property was usually made at the time of her marriage, and formed her *dot*.¹³⁴

The extent to which the family controlled its members depended on their age, their status, and, where property was concerned, the nature of the property. As to control of behavior, little is known.¹³⁵ One would expect that when a child began an apprenticeship, at the age of ten or twelve, the child's parent or guardian would have entered into a contract with the master. Certainly it was the parent who paid the fee. Yet the regulations found in the *Livre des métiers* speak always of a contract between master and apprentice. Thirteen of the métiers represented in the *Livre des métiers* have regulations that mention a contract for apprenticeship. In only two cases are parents mentioned, and

¹³³ Carron, 91.

¹³⁴ Olivier-Martin, 1922, 1:159

¹³⁵ Olivier-Martin claims that the father was responsible for his children's delinquency, but provides no evidence. *Ibid.*, 152.

they are mentioned only in connection with the money they would have wasted if an apprenticeship were not successfully completed.¹³⁶

A son could not go to court without his father's consent, except in case of emergency, nor could a child be sued without the father's consent, but the child could take action against his father and be represented in court by a friend or relative.¹³⁷ The most common examples of this are cases where a child has left the family home to study and the parents have failed to provide for his needs.

Because of the many variations by region, jurisdiction, and the status of both the individual and the property he or she controls, it is impossible to make a comprehensible general statement about the age of majority. A previously mentioned charter of 1286 confiding the tutelle of Colinet, *fils mineur* of Arceline and of the deceased Richard the Oublaier, states that minors were those of less than 25 years.¹³⁸ Young women mentioned in the Parisian tax rolls for the late thirteenth century were subject to tax when they reached the age of fourteen. Evidently, the age of majority depended on the context in which the question was raised.

Chapter Four of this work deals with family companies, that is, associations of related persons who conducted business together and were taxed jointly. The company was a common medieval economic unit. It consisted of persons who owned property

¹³⁶ LDM 17:5, 21:7, 24:6, 28:9, 30:4, 36:5, 37:4, 50:17, 51:10, 55:2, 60:5, 87:10, 91:10. Titles 21, 50, and 87 require that the master demonstrate that he has sufficient goods and knowledge to adequately train the apprentice so that the apprentice will not waste his time nor his parent (or father) waste his money.

¹³⁷ Martin, 1922, 2:154.

¹³⁸ Terroine and Fossier, #25.

together and often conducted business together. Many of the Lombards, or money lenders, listed in the tax rolls analyzed here are shown as groups of *compagnons*. The family company and the conjugal company were specialized forms of the company.

A family company was formed when relatives lived together without a partition of property. In its most common form, a family company was established when, after the death of both parents, children remained in the family home without dividing their goods. The *Sentences du Parloir-aux-Bourgeois de Paris* refer to this principle in 1294, in a case which cites examples of companies formed by children and some by cousins.¹³⁹ Examples of family companies formed in this way can be seen in Appendix 5, family type D and some in types E, F, and G.

A family company could be formed without a clear intention of the parties to do so. Philip of Beaumanoir warns that, for the Beauvaisis, a company could be formed inadvertently when people shared bread and hearth (*manoir ensemble a un pain et a un pot*) with a relative for a year and a day. "Many rich men," he warns, "have lost their goods to a poor nephew or niece or parents this way."¹⁴⁰ One of the problems that could be created by the formation of a such a company is demonstrated in Title 106 of the *Etablissements de Saint-Louis*, which provided that, if one member of a company wanted to divide the property and the other didn't, the former could sue for a division.¹⁴¹

In the case of a husband and wife the company had a special character, because of the rights inherent in the marital relationship. The conjugal company was apparently a

¹³⁹ SPB, 120.

¹⁴⁰ Beaumanoir, 621.

new concept, developed during the thirteenth century, which gradually extended but did not replace earlier legal rights and obligations of husbands and wives toward each other. Most rights of the wife came into being upon her marriage, when she received her *dot*, that is, her share of the property of the family into which she was born.¹⁴² Her *dot* became a part of the common property of the new household she formed with her husband. If, instead of forming a new household, they lived with the husband's parents, only the *meubles*, or moveable property, became the property of her new family. If she died childless, any *immeubles*, or real property, that formed part of her *dot* would return to her family, that is to her parents or their descendants.

The sale of a vineyard by Johannes Herpin and his wife Heloise to the abbey and convent of Saint Magloire illustrates three of the legal rights that a wife enjoyed in property that she owned with her husband. Heloise testified that she would not come in the future to protest the sale, nor to make a claim against the abbey "*ratione dotis, dotalicii sive donacionis propter nuptias*."¹⁴³ The *ratio dotis* would be a claim that the property was part of the *dot* she received from her family when she married. The *dotalicii* was the dower right which went to a wife when her husband died, and the last was a marriage gift from her husband.

The dower right, also called *douaire*, was the personal right of a widow to the use of the *biens propre* of her husband. It lasted for a lifetime, but was not transmissible to

¹⁴¹ ESL, #106, p. 495.

¹⁴² Olivier-Martin, 1922 (II), 159

¹⁴³ Terroine and Fossier, #3.

her children. (If they were children of the marriage they had rights of their own.) Unless otherwise fixed, it consisted of half the goods of the husband at the time of marriage plus one-half the inheritance he might have received in a direct line during the marriage.¹⁴⁴ If the husband disposed, without her consent, of goods in which the wife had a dower right, she could reclaim them.¹⁴⁵ The *Etablissements de Saint-Louis* specifically extended the dower right to a surviving spouse of either sex. Title 136 provided that if a man and woman bought land together and one died, the one who survived would have use of the land. At the death of the survivor, it would go half to his lineage, half to hers.¹⁴⁶ The latter statement presumably applied to a childless couple.

Rights concerning moveable and real property were clearly distinguished, as were those concerning inheritance and *acquêts*. *Acquêts* were property acquired by the individual by his or her own actions (*ex conquesto suo*). Many of the charters of Saint Magloire show that women as well as men acquired property in this way.¹⁴⁷ The individual who was separated from the parental foyer had control over his or her *acquêts*, but required the permission of the whole family to alienate property which was a part of his or her inheritance. When a person died, his or her *acquêts* were either handed on to the children or returned to the parental family, at which time they became inherited property. The new owner could not alienate them without the permission of the family.

¹⁴⁴ Olivier-Martin, 1922, 2:268.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 273.

¹⁴⁶ ESL, 536.

¹⁴⁷ Terroine & Fossier: #1, Marguerite of St. Magloire, 1280; #2, Henry Gonnor, before his marriage to Madeleine, 1280.

Immeubles, or real property, property which cannot be moved without changing its character, such as land, vines, and houses, belonged to the family as a whole. This included not only the horizontal family--the current members--but also the vertical family, including those of past and future generations. Real property could not be disposed of without "familial consent." There seems to have been no recognized list of the family members whose consent had to be obtained. Anyone who might conceivably at some future date make a claim on the property had to agree to its alienation. Those most obviously concerned were husband and wife and children living under the family roof.

A charter of Saint Magloire illustrates that even children living apart from the family might have a claim to real property alienated by their parents. In 1260, after a long dispute which was settled by arbitration, William Olearius and his wife Alice gave up their rights to a house in Paris. William's children by a former marriage appeared with them to renounce any rights they might have to the property. In addition, William and Alice promised that if any other children of William by any of his wives should later make a claim, they would indemnify the buyer.¹⁴⁸

The principle that real property of a childless couple must return to the family whence it came is dramatically expressed in chapter 141 of the *Etablissements de Saint-Louis*, which states that, if a gentleman or *coustumier* has taken a wife and has built houses or planted vines on his wife's land, and his wife dies without children, the improvements will go to the wife's family, "for nothing is earned by one who improves the

¹⁴⁸ HD #690, p. 352.

inheritance of another."¹⁴⁹ The stipulation that this provision applied both to "gentle" people and to *coutumiers*, that is those who by paying the *coutumes* of the city enjoyed the rights of the bourgeois, also supports Olivier-Martin's claim that, in Parisian law, the quality of the property was much more important in determining its juridical situation than was the personal condition of the owner.¹⁵⁰

A conjugal community could not be dissolved as simply as other companies. In the thirteenth century it was ended only by death or *divortium quoad thorum*, that is by living or sleeping apart.¹⁵¹ The 1292 tax roll lists *Gautier de chambeli ferpier*, taxed at 16 sous, followed by *sa femme qui est departie de li*, taxed at 18 sous.¹⁵² The wife living apart from her husband was assessed a greater tax than the husband left behind. This entry suggests that she had taken a substantial part of the conjugal property with her.

By the early decades of the fourteenth century a separation of goods was also possible without physical separation. If the husband was mismanaging the couple's property, the wife could request a separation and take over the management of her own goods.¹⁵³ She could also request a division of property and restraints on her husband's behavior even if they continued to live together. In 1319, Pierre of Dicy and Emmeline, his daughter, sued Emmeline's husband, Guiart, "bourgeois of Paris," because of "villainies, insults, and oppressions." In a settlement ordered by Jean of Cherchemont,

¹⁴⁹ ESL, #141, p.541.

¹⁵⁰ Olivier-Martin, 1922, 1:121.

¹⁵¹ Olivier-Martin defines *divortium quoad thorum* as the cessation of a common life. *ibid.*, 2:206

¹⁵² 1292, f^o9v.

¹⁵³ Olivier-Martin, 1922, 2:206.

canon of Paris, Guiart was ordered to cease striking his wife, beating her, tearing her clothing, and calling her names such as "*mauvaise*" and "*folle femme de corps*." Should he do any of these things, or have relations with another woman, he was subject to a 1,000 pound fine. (The fine did not apply if he was simply inflicting a just and honest correction "as a *preud'homme* to his *preud'femme*.") He was also ordered to turn over certain sums to his wife, over a period of three years, which would be her separate property.¹⁵⁴

Olivier-Martin claims that, in the thirteenth century, a company could not be formed between a surviving spouse and children; in the fourteenth century, he says, a son who was of age could form a company with the surviving parent or, by marrying, could create a new company with its own interests, even while remaining in the family home.¹⁵⁵ From the evidence of the tax rolls it is clear that, in the last decade of the thirteenth century, widows and their adult children did form companies which continued to run the family business. The subject is discussed at length in Chapter Four. Appendix 5 is made up of examples of such companies as they appear in the tax rolls.

¹⁵⁴ Paris, AN ms. JJ59, #262, published in SHM, 204-5.

¹⁵⁵ Olivier-Martin, 1922, 1:156.

CHAPTER 2. SOURCES FOR THIS STUDY

Given the importance of Parisian women as owners of property and of businesses, as heads of households and of workshops, a likely place to find specific evidence of their place in the economic life of medieval Paris is in fiscal sources and documents recorded to regulate the conduct of business. It is just those kinds of sources on which this study is based.

1. The *Livre des métiers*

Before the reign of Philip Augustus (1179-1223), the Capetians ruled over little more than their personal domains. During Philip's reign, he quadrupled the territory under royal control. Perhaps the most important transformation he made was in the nature of the government. The early Capetians were nomadic, moving constantly to oversee their lands, which were administered by local bailiffs and seneschals who held their offices as farms. Philip established a fixed capital at Paris and founded there a bureaucracy which was directly accountable to the king and his officers. Philip's grandson, Louis IX, continued and refined Philip's policies. He took financial and judicial authority over the new capital from the hands of a provost chosen by the Marchands de l'eau and gave it, in about 1258, to his chosen provost, a true royal official, directly responsible to him.

Etienne Boileau was the first man to hold the office of provost of Paris under this new reform. Little is known about Etienne, except that he was married in 1225 and made a partition of property with his brothers in 1228. From these events, his birth date is assumed to be somewhere around 1200. He is reported in various lists and documents as

provost of Paris in 1267. He had been replaced by 1270, and nothing further is known of him. Presumably he died between 1267 and 1270. He is said to have joined Louis on crusade in 1248 and to have been taken captive with him subject to a ransom of 2,000 livres d'or, but evidence to support this story is lacking.¹

Joinville speaks in glowing terms of Etienne's honesty and capable administration. According to his description, Parisian government before Etienne was corrupt; the *menu peuple* were deprived of their rights and were deserting the city for lands where they could find justice; the king's lands were empty; the countryside was full of malefactors and robbers. The king, he says, abated the crushing taxes and provided justice for rich and poor alike, while Etienne rid the land of robbers, murderers, and evildoers. People began to come to the king's territory for the justice to be found there. Sales and purchases doubled in value.²

One of the ways in which Etienne improved the administration of the city was to put into writing the rules of the associations of the *métiers*, which had heretofore been handed down by oral tradition. The accepted date for the redaction of the statutes is 1268 or thereabouts, as Etienne is thought to have died then, perhaps before finishing this task. In his introduction Etienne says there will be three parts to the work, of which only two are known.³

¹ DBF, 791; BU, 589.

² HLF 104-114; SHM, 427-28.

³ The original manuscript was destroyed in a fire of the Chambre des Comptes in 1737. The work exists today in four principal copies. The first is the Sorbonne manuscript, BN Fr. 24069, which Lespinasse claims is nearly contemporaneous with the original (LDM cxlix). It contains many erasures, words and sections crossed out, and additions,

The *Livre des métiers* contains the bylaws of 101 worker communities whose members enjoyed the privileges of being *bourgeois(e) de Paris*, a term which is more fully defined in Chapter 1. Basically, a *bourgeois(e)* was a citizen of Paris, a businessman or woman who enjoyed an exemption from certain taxes and from feudal dues in return for accepting the responsibilities of citizenship. Business in Paris was regulated by these worker communities. Many métiers could be practiced only by those who had purchased them, either directly from the king or from a vassal to whom he had given the right to issue the privilege. For instance, the locksmiths paid annual dues to the master marshal, "to whom the king has given it," (LDM 18:1) the carpenters were subject to Fulk of the Temple (LDM 47:1), and those who fished in the king's waters had to buy the métier from Guerin du Bois, on whose ancestors Philip Augustus had bestowed it. (LDM 99:2)

Whether purchased or free, no metier could be practiced except by those who promised to abide by the customs and usages established by the community. Not all worker

suggesting that it was used and corrected as changes were made in the regulations. Lespinasse and Bonnardot do not date the additions. This copy contains marginal drawings believed to date from the fifteenth century, illustrating some of the products and tools of various metiers. The second copy is a manuscript called "du Chatelet", KK 1336 in the Archives Nationales, Paris, from the early fourteenth century. The third manuscript, called "de Lamare," dates from the early fifteenth century. It is arranged in alphabetical order and contains no erasures or additions. (BN Fr. 11709). The fourth is a seventeenth century copy contained in BN Fr. 8117, in which the text is accompanied by notes; articles in the chapters are numbered. According to Lespinasse, this manuscript contains many defective readings.

While I have consulted the Sorbonne and de Lamare manuscripts, I have relied for the most part on the edition of Lespinasse and Bonnardot, which includes variant readings and notes changes in hand-writing, interlinear notes, erasures and marginal additions. I have also consulted Depping's edition. I have consulted individual studies of some metiers, such as those of Souchal and Bourlet, for dating of some additions and changes. The quotations provided here are from the edition of Lespinasse and Bonnardot.

communities had their bylaws registered under Etienne Boileau. The butchers, whose rights had been confirmed by Louis VII in 1162, and the furriers are among the most prominent communities missing from the collection.

The style in which the *Livre des métiers* is written makes it clear that these regulations were not handed down from the provost's office, but were dictated by members of each community to scribes. Etienne claims in his introduction to the collection that, when the rules had been compiled, they were read aloud to an assembly of "the wisest, the most loyal and the oldest men of Paris and to those who ought to know these things," and that they were approved by the assembly.⁴ The communities often claim a long tradition, especially when invoking special privileges. Stone cutters and *mortelliers* claimed that they were exempt from the *guet*, the citizen militia, and had been since the time of Charles Martel "as the *prud'hommes* have heard it said from father to son." (LDM 48:22) The canvas-sellers reported that they gave thirty-one *aunes* of cloth for the price of thirty, "as has been the practice since the time of King Philip." (LDM 59:10) When the workers found current obligations unfair, they nonetheless reported them, while asking for relief. Usually the request was supported by appeal to an earlier practice. The tapestry weavers asked to be exempt from the *guet* "as they were exempt in the time of the present king until three years ago, and in the time of his father Louis and of his grandfather Philip." (LDM 51:16)

⁴ LDM introduction, ii.

One cannot assume that the regulations found in the *Livre des métiers* applied to all Parisians in the occupations addressed. Within and outside the walls of Paris were several ecclesiastical establishments which had jurisdiction over both clergy and laymen living within their lands. Did the regulations recorded in the *Livre des métiers* apply to residents of these lands? The rules of the bakers' community specifically exclude residents of ecclesiastical lands except for those who choose to be included. In the lands of "Saint Marcel, Sainte Germain des Près outside the walls of Paris or in the old territory of Sainte-Geneviève, or in the lands of the chapter of Notre Dame de Paris situated in Garland, in the lands of Saint Magloire within and outside the walls of Paris, and the lands of Saint Martin of the Fields situated outside the walls of Paris" bakers could exercise the métier without buying it from the king. (LDM 1:1) A baker living in these lands could elect to be *haubanier*, that is to be regulated as a Parisian baker, by paying the *hauban*. If he chose exemption as an ecclesiastical subject, he would be subject to taxes and tolls as if he were a foreigner (that is, a non-Parisian.) Blacksmiths came under the jurisdiction of the master marshal. They claim that his jurisdiction includes "all the lands of the justice of Paris, including episcopal lands and others, except the lands of Sainte-Geneviève and Saint Martin of the Fields," whose lords interfere with his exercise of justice there "against God, law, and reason." (LDM 15:14) It appears that issues of lay versus ecclesiastical jurisdiction and of the extent of the power of local lords vis-a-vis that of the king were as yet unsettled. Jurisdiction was decided in terms of individual cases, as the need arose.

These exceptions bring up a more general difficulty in interpreting the by-laws. Were there blanket rules which applied to all worker communities, whether or not they are delineated in the individual regulations? Rules for the bakers and the wool-weavers have fifty paragraphs each. Those for the wiredrawers and the coral beadmakers have only four each. It is possible that some rules were so well-known and widely accepted that it was not thought necessary to list them again for each corporation. The bakers' rules list twenty-seven feast days per year, in addition to Sundays, on which no work was allowed. Twenty-nine métiers simply declare that no one may work on the accepted holidays.⁵ The bakers' regulations include a description of an elaborate ceremony by which new bakers were initiated into the community. It is the only such ceremony mentioned in the *Livre des métiers*, but others mention oaths that must be taken by both masters and valets. Surely these oaths were made during some kind of ceremony.

Rather than assuming that the elaborate rules worked out for the bakers and wool weavers applied to all worker corporations, I think it more likely that large corporations, and those most important to the welfare of the town, had more elaborate rules, while those with fewer members were less structured, adding rules as questions arose.

⁵ LDM 1:23-30. "jour de feste que li quemun de vile foire", LDM 12:2, 13:3, 14:3, 16:4, 17:10, 21:2, 22:7, 24:5, 25:6, 27:1, 30:9, 31:3, 33:3, 35:3, 36:2, 37:8, 38:3, 40:5, 44:2, 61:7, 65:4, 66:4, 67:3, 68:7, 71:5, 74:13, 79:12, 95:3, 97:4

2. Rolls of the *Taille* imposed under Philip the Fair

There are seven lists of Parisian taxpayers from the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries which furnish the name, location, sometimes the *métier*, and the amount of tax imposed on each taxpayer. Such detailed information concerning working people is scarce for this era, for Paris and elsewhere; a source of this type for Paris is not available again until the tax rolls for the years 1421, 1423 and 1428, which have been recently published by Jean Favier. While a comparison of the two sets could furnish valuable information on the effects of the Black Death and the Hundred Years' War, their dissimilarities make such an approach impractical for this work. The later rolls are much shorter (1,332 taxpayers for 1421, 502 for 1423, and 578 for 1438) and include only the wealthiest heads of families.⁶

The titles of the rolls for 1296 and 1297 indicate that they are the fourth and fifth years of a tax totalling 100,000 *livres tournois* levied over a period of eight years. The rolls for 1296, 1297, 1298, 1299 and 1300 are apparently the last five years of this levy; the records of the first three years have been lost or destroyed. While the tax was levied in *livres tournois*, it was collected in *livres parisis*, at the rate of 10,000 *livres* per year.⁷

The five available rolls appear in one volume at the *Archives Nationales*, at KK 283. Karl

⁶ Favier 1970, 3, 5.

⁷ 8 *livres parisis* was equal to 10 *livres tournois*. The 100,000 *livres tournois* was equal to 80,000 *livres parisis*, or 10,000 *l.p.* per year to be collected. There were 12 *deniers* to a *sou* and 20 *sous* to a *livre*. (Guerot, 385). Philip Augustus had encouraged the spread of the *parisis* and the *tournois*, which gradually but not completely replaced local coins. Louis IX required that these two royal coins be recognized throughout the kingdom, while the coins of the local barons were restricted to their own lands. See Dumas and Spufford for more information about money in France.

Michaëlsson began editing these rolls, but he completed only those for 1296 and 1297 before his death and no one has yet finished the work he began.⁸

The 1313 list was drawn up to levy the aid due from Parisians for the knighting of the future Louis X, eldest son of Philip the Fair.⁹ The manuscript is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 6736, and has been edited by Michaëlsson.¹⁰ It is a shorter list--about 6,000 taxpayers compared to 9,000-11,000 for the earlier years. For those taxpayers who appear on both this and the earlier lists, the amount of tax differs substantially and not necessarily proportionately, suggesting that this tax was computed in a different manner from the others. The assessments for 1313 are recorded in *livres tournois*, while those for the other lists are recorded in *livres parisis*. The money had been devalued during the period between 1300 and 1313, which makes comparison of this roll with the others even more problematic.¹¹

The 1292 roll, found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. french 6220, was published in 1837 by Jean Geraud and was reprinted in 1991, with an index added by Caroline Bourlet and Lucy Fossier.¹² It has no title and, unlike the others, does not include notations of payment, leaving its precise function unknown. An inventory of the registers of the *Tresors des Chartes*, drawn up in 1371 by Gerard de Montaigu, describes

⁸ Michaëlsson, 1958 and 1962.

⁹ Guerot, 395.

¹⁰ Michaelsson, 1951.

¹¹ See Spufford, 1986, 168 for fluctuations in the value of *livres parisis* against the Florentine *florin*. Sales recorded in the *Cartulary of St. Magloire* for the years 1306, 1307, and 1309 specify payment in "weak money" or "good and strong money of St. Louis" (Terroine and Fossier, #134, 135, 141, 143).

¹² Geraud, 1837 and 1991.

it as containing the "*quête* on taxes of Lombards and other bourgeois of the town of Paris." The most likely theory is that this was a list drawn up in anticipation of the 100,000-pound levy which would begin in 1293, to determine the ability of each household to contribute to the total sum required.¹³

The number of taxpayers remains relatively stable from 1296 to 1300 and the tax paid by an individual does not vary a great deal from year to year. The payment is in lieu of a tax on commercial transactions; the people paying it are thus involved in business of some kind. Nobles, clergy and salaried workers are, in general, not found here. There are, of course, some exceptions. Nobles did engage in business and sometimes received from the king the right to enjoy the privileges and undertake the obligations of a *bourgeois*.¹⁴ Foreigners (non-Parisians) who had not earned or purchased *lettres de bourgeoisie* are not included, except for Lombards and other lenders, who are listed separately, as are Jews. There is also a separate list of the dead for all years except 1298. For 1313, the dead are further divided into those who have paid and those who have not paid.

For 1292, 1297, and 1298 there are separate lists for the *gros* and the *menus gens*. In 1292 the *menus* are those imposed at 12 deniers, or 1 sou. In the later years the *menus* pay 5 sous or less. The roll for 1296 includes only the *gros*, though a note gives the total collected from the *menus*, 562 livres 10 sous 6 deniers. This indicates that there was a

¹³ Guerot, 390-91.

¹⁴ Terroine, 166ff.

separate list for the *menus*, which is no longer part of the manuscript. Michaëlsson estimates that 4,000 households (or ateliers) are missing from the 1296 roll.¹⁵

The lists were drawn up by parish, with the larger parishes divided into *quêtes*. It is not clear whether people were taxed at their home or at the workshop, but the latter seems more likely, since people of a given *métier* often appear in close proximity in the rolls. For instance, many cheese-sellers appear in the *rue des fromaggers*, barrel-makers in the *rue saint-bon*, and saddlers on the *rue saint germain*. A number of studies have explored the topographical distribution of *metiers* in Paris, using these rolls.¹⁶ A comprehensive work on this subject is now under way by Caroline Bourlet. The task of making up the lists was given to selected men who lived in the parish and *quête*, called *quêteurs*.¹⁷ It is not clear whether the individual concerned provided the name and *métier* listed, or whether the *quêteur* simply identified people in the manner in which they were known in the neighborhood. There is a great deal of fluidity in names, especially the second name, which may indicate origin or *métier*, or may be simply a nickname.

All seven tax rolls have been entered into a computer by the staff of the *Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes* to make the data more accessible. This study would have been impossible without the full cooperation and assistance of Caroline Bourlet, who

¹⁵ Michaelsson, 1958, ix.

¹⁶ Bourlet on the *tabletiers*; Fianu on book-makers and sellers.

¹⁷ Michaëlsson, 1927, 43; Michaëlsson, 1958, 1: "La premiere queste Saint-Germain-l'Auceurrois, faite par Rogier Piquet, Robert de la Porte, Adam le Potier, Rogier le Concierge, et Nicholas de Periers." All are taxpayers listed in this *quête*. In the 1313 roll, Baudoin le riche, tavernier is shown as owing no tax. In the margin is the note "il fist la queste de Saint-Merri." (Michaëlsson, 1951, 111, fn. 2).

freely provided me with the results of her own research as well as a computerized index to women in the tax rolls. The program used at the I.R.H.T. was designed for indexing rather than for statistical analysis. All of the information contained in the tax rolls has been entered, that is, first name, family name, other names, *métier* when it is given, parish, street and *quête*, and the amount of tax. Since the computerized study is as yet unedited, I have done extensive checking in the published rolls and in the unpublished manuscripts; any remaining errors are my own.

This study focuses on the women who appear in the tax rolls, for the reasons mentioned earlier. A crucial problem in doing a gender analysis based on the data in the tax rolls was to determine the gender of each person on whom the tax is levied. Some are identified by relationship to another taxpayer: wife, daughter, son, nephew, husband. When the *métier* is given, it is usually in the form "la peletiere" or "le peletier". If the article is missing, the masculine or feminine ending indicates the gender. A person whose gender is not specified on one roll may be more fully identified on another. Most baptismal names indicate gender, but some are used interchangeably, such as Denis(e) and Giles. In the few cases where gender cannot be definitely established, I have assumed that the persons concerned are men. Where taxpayers are listed simply as *enfanx* I have arbitrarily assumed that one-half the children are female, except in a few entries where the word obviously means sons. For instance, in the entry "Guerin le chanevacier, ses enfanz et ses filles," the word "enfanx" obviously means sons.¹⁸ There are many more examples,

¹⁸ Geraud, 1292, 45, note a.

however, where children listed in one year as *enfanz* are later shown about equally as *fille* or *fuiz*.

Do the tax rolls include all Parisians or only the wealthier ones? For 1292, there is a separate list of the *menus gens*, for whom the tax is a uniform 12 deniers.¹⁹ Others on the list paid 2 sous or more. For 1296, the list of *menus gens* is missing, except for the Temple and four parishes outside the walls on the Left Bank. For 1297 and 1298, there are separate lists of *menus* and *gros*; the *menu peuple* paid 2 - 5 sous parisis (that is, in Parisian money), while the *gros* paid 6 sous or more.²⁰ For 1299 and 1300 there is no such distinction.

The inclusion of those who paid a small minimum is one indication that perhaps all Parisians with a fixed residence and a regular income are included. At first glance it appears that many of the *menus gens* are taxed only every second or third year, disappearing and reappearing from one roll to the next. I believe this to be an erroneous impression, as I explain more fully in Chapter Four.

The question of who may be missing from the tax rolls cannot be answered without considering the larger question of the total population of Paris at this time. If not every household is represented, how many are missing? Estimates of the population of Paris in 1300 range from 60,000 to 200,000. The tax records on which this study is based list about 15,000 households, but they do not include all the residents of Paris. Since the

¹⁹ 12 deniers parisis = 1 sous; 20 sous parisis = 1 livre; 8 livre parisis = 10 livres tournois. Both the *obole* and the *maille* were equal to half a denier.

tax was assessed against the *bourgeois de Paris*, that is, those who enjoyed special tax privileges as citizens doing business in the town, it does not include nobles, clergy, and those in the jurisdiction of various ecclesiastical powers (with some exceptions). Nor does it include the very poor--vagabonds, beggars, the ill or incapacitated. A survey made for all of France in 1328 gives a total number of households for "la ville de Paris et de Saint-Marcel" of 61,098.²¹ Assuming an average of 3.5 persons per household, if one accepts this survey as valid, Paris had about 200,000 residents in 1328. Some historians are hesitant to accept the figure of 61,098 households, first because it is surprisingly large and second because existing manuscripts show only the total number of households; the detailed lists which would corroborate the totals have been lost or destroyed.²² Jean Favier estimates the Parisian population a century later, in 1423, at 100,000.²³ If one assumes a diminution of fifty per cent in the fourteenth century, from famine and the Plague, this is consistent with the 200,000 figure for 1328, which is preferred by Cazelles.²⁴ I see no reason to reject the figure of 61,098 households for 1328, though it would be reassuring to have it supported by other evidence. If it is correct, then only about one quarter of Parisian households are included in the tax lists. Either the remaining three quarters are nobles, clergy, salaried workers, or unemployed, or there were

²⁰ Although the total due for the 8-year levy was assessed in livres tournois, the Parisian list is in *monnaie de paris*. For 1313, the assessment is for Parisian money, but the accounting is done in *livres tournois* (Michaëlsson, 1958, ix).

²¹ Fourquin, 63-91.

²² Dollinger, 35-44.

²³ Favier, 1970, 10.

²⁴ Lot, 1929, 51-107, 256-315; Cazelles, 383.

merchants and artisans who do not appear on these lists. The issue of the total population of Paris at this time has engaged the attention of many of France's foremost historians, without a consensus as yet. I have no better answers than those already suggested.

One of the concerns of this work will be to compare the tax assessed against Parisian women with that assessed against men, in the hope of showing their relative wealth. This task would be easier if there were evidence to show just what the tax is based on, but there is none. It is reasonable to assume that the wealthy were expected to pay more tax than the poor. Members of the most prominent families paid high taxes. Perhaps it was similar to the tax collected in 1302 "for the army in Flanders", which was based on both property and income. The wealthy were assessed 5 percent on personal property and 20 percent on revenue; the poor, 2½ per cent on personal property and 10 per cent on revenue.²⁵ I will suggest later that the taxes imposed by Philip the Fair were based on personal property related to the business--that is, on tools and inventory, and perhaps on revenue, but there is evidence to support only the barest speculation.

3. Other sources

In addition to the *Livre des métiers* and the tax rolls detailed above, I have used published charters, wills, and criminal proceedings from Saint Magloire, Notre Dame de Champs, the Hotel de Ville, the Hotel Dieu, the sentences of the Parloir-aux-Bourgeois and of the Chatelet, and other public records to place Parisian women who engaged in

²⁵ Mignon, pp. 178-79, #1429. See also Chapter 5, footnote 1.

business in the larger context of city life. My study of these latter sources is in no way exhaustive, but they help to explain, to confirm, and to expand the understanding of medieval Parisian women that comes from the legislative and fiscal sources.

METHOD

The statistical data for this study, found in Appendices 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7, come from my own computer-based analysis of the tax rolls.²⁶ For my main database, I recorded all of the information contained in the tax rolls for each woman. When it was possible to identify the same woman over several years, I combined the data for those years into one record. There are surely many, however, who appear more than once because I could not be sure that the second mention was indeed of the same woman and not another woman with the same or a similar name. This problem is discussed in more detail where it is crucial to a particular argument. The fields included in that database are:

1. first name, e.g. "Jeanne."
2. surname (often clearly a family name, but perhaps just a nickname), e.g. "la rousse," "de st-cloo."
3. métier, e.g. "la regratiere."

²⁶ I began with the database program AlphaFour by Alpha Software. While the program proved to be well suited to the type of statistical analysis I wanted to do, difficulty in getting technical support led me to change to Paradox by Borland Corporation. Most of the appendices, with their accompanying graphs and charts, were made with the help of Paradox.

4. surname/métier for a name appearing in second place which is the name of a métier but which may function as a family name. For example, Marie la couturiere may be a seamstress, but it may be that La Couturiere is a family name. This problem is discussed in more detail in chapter Three.
5. parish.
6. quête (division of a parish).
7. street.
8. relationship to another taxpayer, if noted, such as "wife of . .," "daughter of . ."
9. first name of related taxpayer.
10. surname of related taxpayer.
- 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. assessment for each of the years 1292, 1296, 1297, 1298, 1299, 1300 and 1313.
18. if the taxpayer is part of a company, the total number of persons sharing in the assessment. The type of entry concerned here is the type found in Appendix 6a, such as "Dame Agnes la gueiniere; Thomas son fuiz, 70 sous." This indicates that Agnes and Thomas operate one workshop as partners. Thus both are liable for the tax.
19. related persons who are part of the family company noted in field number 18.
20. miscellaneous information that does not fit into the other fields.

In a second database, I entered the names of 459 different métiers, with, for each year, the number of men and the number of women designated as practicing each. This information was supplied to me by Caroline Bourlet. I noted separately those whose

métier is reliably indicated and those persons, such as "Bietriz la fileresse," for whom the name in second place may be a family name rather than the métier practiced. This issue is discussed in detail in Chapter Three. Mme. Bourlet also provided information concerning the taxes paid by men and by women in each of nine métiers. This information makes up a third database, which was used for Chapter Five, where the taxes imposed on men and on women are compared.

CHAPTER 3 WOMEN'S WORK IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PARIS

The lists of Parisian taxpayers drawn up at the turn of the fourteenth century, usually referred to as the *rôles de la taille de Philippe-le-Bel*, pique our curiosity by suggestively juxtaposing the names of women with the names of métiers ranging from the mundane to the exotic. Did *Gile la maconne* really work beside men, lifting heavy stones and cementing them in place? Were the numerous spinners, seamstresses, and tavern keepers married women or single? If married, were they working with their husbands or alone? What kind of work did female artisans do? The scarcity of other information on medieval working people, especially working women, begs for the maximum exploitation of these records, while their laconic nature makes it risky.

In this chapter, I use two main sources to determine what kind of work women did in the last half of the thirteenth century in Paris, and how their participation in the workforce compared with that of men. The *Livre des métiers* of Etienne Boileau, drawn up about 1268, contains the regulations of 101 organizations of craftspersons in Paris. Its careful use of gender-specific nouns and pronouns for the practitioners of the various crafts reveals, at least in a general way, which crafts were normally exercised by men and which by women. The silk industry was, for the most part, a female preserve. Twenty-two of the 101 métiers included in the book use the feminine form of nouns such as *mestresse*, *aprentice*, *ouvriere*, and the feminine pronouns *nule* and *aucune* to indicate that women were active in these métiers. (Though *nule* and *aucune* are negatives, they indicate that females were present in these métiers, as in *nule fillaresses de soie a grans*

fuisseaus ne puet ne ne doit avoir que ii apprentice--"no female spinner of silk on large spindles may have more than two apprentices." [LDM 35:2]) Women were prohibited from only one craft--that of making "Saracen" carpets, because it was too arduous (*trop greveus*.) (LDM 51:7) The information contained in the tax lists for 1292-1313, commonly referred to as *rôles de la taille de Philippe-le-Bel* is sparse: a baptismal name, sometimes a surname, sometimes a métier, and sometimes a designation of relationship to another taxpayer, ending with the amount of tax imposed and, for some years, an indication of payment. Between ten and fifteen per cent of the women listed are designated only by a relationship; not even their baptismal name is noted.¹ Two problems had to be solved in order to make this data useful in describing women's participation in Parisian businesses: (1) For most of the men and many of the women listed in these tax rolls, a trade or occupation is mentioned as part of the description of the taxpayer. More than half the women, however, are designated only by a name or relationship; there is nothing to indicate what type of work they did. I refer to women for whom no métier is indicated as Group C. (2) Where the name of a métier is juxtaposed with the name of a taxpayer, it is not always clear whether it is the métier practiced by that person; in some cases, it is simply a surname. I refer to entries with a métier in second position, immediately following the baptismal name, as Group B. The ambiguity of the latter group has been recognized by nearly everyone who has studied these tax rolls, but has not yet

¹ Bourlet 1992a, 8.

been satisfactorily resolved.² In this chapter I assign métiers to the women in Groups B and C by extrapolating from the information available. I label Group A the women whose métier is explicitly stated.

IDENTIFYING WOMEN'S CRAFTS

Entries for women follow five models, which I list in order from the most informative to the least informative. I show them as they appear in the tax rolls, with no punctuation, no accents, and only the baptismal name capitalized.

<u>Group A</u> Explicit designation of métier	1) baptismal name, with or without surname, with a complex designation of métier, e.g. <i>Jehanne qui vent les vins Jehan d'yaue-bone</i> (Jeanne who sells the wines of Jean of Yeau-bone.) 2) baptismal name plus surname or sobriquet plus designation of métier, e.g. <i>Haouys la crestee courraiere</i> (Heloise the Crested, strap maker.)
<u>Group B</u> Métier in second position, which may be a surname	3) baptismal name plus designation of métier, e.g. <i>Aalis la regratiere</i> (Alice the peddler.)
<u>Group C</u> No indication of métier	4) baptismal name plus sobriquet or indication of origin, e.g. <i>Aalis la petite</i> (Alice the small) or <i>Aalis la normande</i> (Alice the Norman.) 5) baptismal name alone, or designation only by relationship, e.g. <i>Marie</i> or <i>fame</i> (wife of) <i>Oudart Arrode</i> .

² In Geraud's publication of the 1292 tax rolls, he simply assumes that every mention of a métier is the métier practiced by the individual. Fagniez follows his lead. Nearly everyone who has published on the tax rolls since disagrees with him. Fianu, in her study of the book trade, reports the women in my Groups A and B but scrupulously keeps them separate (154-55). See a discussion of the problem in Michaëlsson 1927, 24.

For types 1 and 2, it is apparent that the *métier* named is the *métier* practiced by the woman, and not simply a surname. In type 2 she already has a surname. In type 1, the designation of *métier* is too cumbersome to be a surname. I have combined these as Group A: those with a *métier* explicitly stated. Type 3 is ambiguous. I have designated these as Group B: those with *métier-as-surname*, or *métier* in second position. The *métier* listed may be the *métier* by which the woman earned a living; it may be a surname. For instance, in the cases of *Peronelle la chandeliere chandeliere* and *Jehanne la regratiere regratiere*,³ the *métier* in second position is obviously a surname. Its repetition in third position indicates that these women practiced the *métiers* for which they were named. If the *métier* in second position is a surname, it may be a *métier* practiced at an earlier time, the *métier* practiced by a deceased husband, or simply a family name with antecedents that go back one or more generations. Types 4 and 5 give no indication of the *métier* practiced. I have combined these as Group C: those with no indication of *métier*.

The fact that a woman is assessed in these lists indicates that she did practice a trade; otherwise she would not have been liable for the levy, the purpose of which was to purchase exemption from the many taxes on selling and buying which otherwise burdened the businessperson. The women in Groups B and C practiced a *métier*, but we cannot know, for a specific woman, which *métier*. To do a statistical analysis using only the women in Group A, those whose *métiers* are explicitly indicated, would not produce an

³ 1299 f^o152v, 1300 f^o294

accurate picture of the number of women engaged in the various trades and crafts. Neither can the proportion of women to men in each *métier* be ascertained using only those in Group A, since a far greater proportion of men have a *métier* explicitly stated and thus fall into Group A. A useful comparison is possible only if a *métier* can somehow be assigned to the women in Groups B and C. That is the purpose of the calculations in this chapter.

The following calculations are based on data contained in the tax rolls for 1297, 1298, 1299, and 1300. I have not included the other three rolls because they are not strictly comparable to these four; thus an average that included them would be misleading. The Title of the 1297 roll tells us that it is the list for the fifth year of *la taille des cent mille livres tournois*. The years 1297, 1298, 1299, and 1300 are the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth years of this particular tax. The 1296 roll is also part of this group, but the list of *menus gens*, those paying less than five sous, is missing, making the list incomplete. The lists for the first, second and third years have disappeared. The 1313 list is for an entirely different levy. It was a payment for the knighting of Philip's eldest son, the future Louis X. It is much shorter than the others. Though some of the same people appear in 1313 as in the earlier lists, the criteria for inclusion were probably not the same. The 1292 list is probably a list of potential contributors to the *taille de cent mille livres tournois*. It is nearly fifty per cent longer than the later rolls.⁴

⁴ See page **Error! Bookmark not defined.** for a fuller discussion of these tax rolls.

Appendix 4 is the result of my calculations. It contains my estimate of the total number of women and men in each *métier* for the years 1297, 1298, 1299, and 1300, which I refer to as the “core years,” and the average per year. Appendix 4 is summarized in Table 3.5, grouped according to the kind of work done in each *métier*. The *métiers* are described and the rationale for grouping them explained in the glossary. Appendices 1, 2, and 3 and Tables 3.1 through 3.4 contain the information which leads step by step to the estimates in Appendix 4 and Table 3.5.

Table 3. 1. Female Taxpayers in Group A					
Female Taxpayers					
Group A: Women Whose <i>Métier</i> is Explicitly Stated, e.g. <i>Poince de rains coiffiere</i> .					
Type of Work	1297	1298	1299	1300	Average Per Year
1 Cloth Producers	44	93	82	104	81
2 Sales	15	58	66	65	51
3 Peddlers	16	53	53	59	45
4 Needlework	13	21	39	32	26
5 Service	5	23	13	17	15
6 Small Goods	3	9	19	17	12
7 Food Producers	12	6	9	8	9
8 Large Goods	7	7	9	12	9
9 Establishments	8	14	20	31	18
10 Luxury Goods	1	5	8	8	6
11 Officials	1	5	5	4	4
12 Building	3	0	0	0	1
13 Ambiguous	1	1	2	5	2
Totals	129	295	325	362	279

Appendix 2 contains the raw data for the women in Group A, those whose *métier* is explicitly stated. It is summarized in Table 3.1. I give the number of women in each group for each year, and an average for the four years. Appendix 3 contains the raw data for the women in Group B, those for whom a *métier* appears in second position. This data is summarized in Table 3.2.

Table 3. 2. Female Taxpayers in Group B

Female Taxpayers						
Group B: A métier in second position suggests a métier, but it may be simply a surname, e.g. <i>Aalis la regratiere.</i>						
	<u>Type of Work</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
1	Cloth Producers	18	11	13	14	14
2	Sales	45	68	49	59	55
3	Peddlers	62	71	43	41	54
4	Needlework	65	80	53	53	63
5	Service	44	63	20	38	41
6	Small Goods	38	51	42	49	45
7	Food Producers	33	30	25	27	29
8	Large Goods	21	21	19	24	21
9	Establishments	3	6	2	4	4
10	Luxury Goods	3	9	4	6	6
11	Officials	3	0	3	2	2
12	Building	6	5	6	3	5
13	Ambiguous	18	14	17	12	15
	Totals	359	429	296	332	354

DEALING WITH THE AMBIGUITY OF GROUP B

Some of the métiers in Group B can be confirmed as the métier practiced by the woman concerned, since the same woman is listed in another year with a designation which places her in Group A. Appendix 1 contains the names and descriptions of women who fall in some years into Group B and in other years into Group A. For instance, the first woman in Appendix 1, listed in 1292 and 1298 as *Alainne la regratiere*, appears in 1299 and 1300 as *Alainne la torte-fontaine regratiere*. Thus it is clear that Alainne does work as a peddler. Her surname is *La Torte-fontaine*. I count both the 1292 and the 1298 designations as occasions when a métier in second position does indicate the métier practiced by the woman. These are marked with a (c) in Appendix 1, to indicate that the métier is confirmed. In other cases, a métier in second position is a surname. In another

year the woman is described by a different *métier* in third position. These are marked with an (x). For instance, the woman described as *Aaliz la boucliere* in 1292, 1296, 1297, and 1298, is shown as *Aaliz la boucliere ferpiere* in 1299 and 1300. Alice is a seller of used clothing. *La Boucliere* is her surname. It is, of course, possible that she worked as a buckle-maker in the earlier years. Some women cannot readily be placed in either Group A or Group C. For example, the woman called *Katherine la coiffiere* in 1297 is, in 1298, described as *Katherine de rue coiffiere*. Since she lives on the street of coif-makers, that may be her trade; it may not. The woman described as *Nicole la couturiere* in 1297 and 1298 is *Nicole de sainte-genevieve crespiniere* in 1299 and 1300. Both *couturieres* and *crespinieres* are seamstresses, but a *crespiniere* specializes in luxury items such as altarcloths. Since there are only three of these ambiguous designations, they will not appreciably distort my calculations.

Not all of the women in Group B appear in Appendix 1. For many, it is impossible to resolve the ambiguity of the *métier* in second position because a second listing of Type A is not available. Appendix 1 contains the varied listings for 85 women whom I was able to trace through the seven tax rolls and who fall in at least one year into Group B and in another year into Group A. To determine that listings in different years did, in fact, describe the same woman, I searched first for the same name in the same parish and on the same street. For unusual first names, such as *Rose* and *Colombe*, I judged these criteria (same name, same parish, same street) sufficient to establish that the two listings refer to the same woman, and not to someone else of the same name. For more common names, I

checked the manuscript for each year to see whether they appeared in the same relative location, that is, between the same two neighbors. For widows and those who were part of a company of two or more persons taxed as a unit, I looked for related family members to establish the woman's identity. Because the name pool for Parisian women at this time was so small (more than 50% of the women share nine first names),⁵ I have not combined two listings unless the evidence for their identity is strong.

In Appendix 1 there are 151 individual occurrences of a *métier* in second position, that is, a designation which places a woman in Group B. Eighty-nine of these, or 59 per cent are, in another year, confirmed as the *métier* practiced by the woman so designated. In 59 occurrences, or 39 per cent, a different *métier* in third position in another year strongly suggests that the *métier* in second position is simply a surname. In three instances (2%) the ambiguity is not resolved. Thus I conclude that 59 per cent of the time a *métier* in second position is the *métier* practiced by the bearer of the name. Forty-one per cent of the time it is probably not. By applying these percentages to all the women in Group B, I can place them (not as individuals, but as numbers) into either Group A or Group C. To avoid confusion with the original Groups A and C I will refer to these new combinations as "A+: Confirmable Cases" and "C+: Métier Unknown." If some women exercised two *métiers* (if, for instance, *Perronelle la chauciere regratiere* made trousers and moonlighted as a peddler), my estimates will be too low, but the number affected by this is quite small. Tables 3.3 and 3.4 show my calculations of 59 per cent of Group B and of the combination "A+: Confirmable Cases."

⁵ Boulet 1992a, 14 and 39.

Table 3. 3. 59% of Group B

Table 3. 3. 59% of Group B						
Female Taxpayers						
59% of Group B: Estimate of those who practice a métier shown in second position.						
	<u>Type of Work</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
1	Cloth Producers	11	6	8	8	8
2	Sales	27	40	29	35	33
3	Peddlers	37	42	25	24	32
4	Needlework	38	47	31	31	37
5	Service	26	37	12	22	24
6	Small Goods	22	30	25	29	27
7	Food Producers	19	18	15	16	17
8	Large Goods	12	12	11	14	13
9	Establishments	2	4	1	2	2
10	Luxury Goods	2	5	2	4	3
11	Officials	2	0	2	1	1
12	Building	4	3	4	2	3
13	Ambiguous	11	8	10	7	9
	Totals	213	252	175	195	209

Table 3. 4. Female Taxpayers in Group A+

Table 3. 4. Female Taxpayers in Group A+						
Female Taxpayers						
A+: Confirmable Cases (tables 3.1 and 3.3 combined)						
Type of Work	1297	1298	1299	1300	Average Per Year	
1 Cloth Producers	55	99	90	112	89	
2 Sales	42	98	95	100	84	
3 Peddlers	53	95	78	83	77	
4 Needlework	51	68	70	63	63	
5 Service	31	60	25	39	39	
6 Small Goods	25	39	44	46	39	
7 Food Producers	31	24	24	24	26	
8 Large Goods	19	19	20	26	21	
9 Establishments	10	18	21	33	20	
10 Luxury Goods	3	10	10	12	9	
11 Officials	3	5	7	5	5	
12 Building	7	3	4	2	4	
13 Ambiguous	12	9	12	12	11	
Totals	342	547	500	557	487	

EXTRAPOLATING TO GROUP C

Having disposed of Group B by placing each of its members with those of either Group A or Group C, one step remains to arrive at a realistic description of the role of women in the economy of thirteenth-century Paris. That is to assign a *métier* to the women in Group C and the unconfirmed 49 per cent of Group B. This can be done by extrapolating from the evidence for the known and confirmed cases (Group A+) to the remaining population (by population, I mean all women listed in the tax rolls.)

In the calculations which follow, I use the total number of occurrences of a designation of *métier* for the four years being analyzed, rather than the average, so that further calculations are not distorted by rounding off. For the selected tax years, a total of 1,111 descriptions of women fall into Group A (Table 3.1) and 1,416 into Group B (Table 3.2). Of this total of 2,527, one can with confidence attribute a *métier* to 1,946 of them (Table 3.4).

There are a total of 5,745 descriptions of women in the tax rolls for 1297-1300. For 34 per cent of them (1,946), the *métier* can be determined. Were this a random sample, one could extrapolate to the total population with near certainty. In order to speak meaningfully about the proportion of women in the Parisian business community and in various kinds of work, it is essential to make this extrapolation. With incomplete information, however, one runs the risk of daring too much and building on a foundation of sand. There is evidence, though, that the sample, if not random in the controlled manner of modern statistics, is truly representative of the larger population (that is, the

population of all women who appear in the tax rolls). In Appendix 1, the same woman falls in one year into Group A and in another into Group B, in another into Group C, in an apparently haphazard manner. For instance, the first woman listed in that appendix, Aaline, is described in 1292 and 1298 as *Aaline la regratiere* (Aaline the peddler, Group B.) For 1297 she is *Aaline torte-fontaine* (Group C), and in 1299 and 1300 she is listed as *Aaline la torte-fontaine regratiere* (Group A.) In her study of naming practices based on these tax rolls, Caroline Bourlet has shown that, for both men and women, the number of elements in a description tends to be low in the early years of these assessments and to increase in the later years. In the later years the designation of *métier* becomes more reliable. A *métier* used as a surname is displaced by a surname indicating place of origin or another characteristic, and the *métier* appears in third position, where it is obviously the *métier* practiced. For instance, the woman described as *Aalis la couturiere* in 1297 and 1299 is called *Aaliz de saint-mor couturiere* in 1300.⁶ This change over the years from a Group B designation to a Group A designation can also be seen by comparing Table 3.1 with Table 3.2. The number of women in Group B decreases over the years, while the number in Group A increases. Except for the food producers, this shift can be seen across all types of work. Thus it is not a function of the taxpayer's wealth or status, but probably a reflection of the assessors' gradual refinement of a system of designations over the course of the years.

⁶ Bourlet 1992a, 15 and *passim*. The complex designation is in all years more common for men than for women.

From this evidence it is clear that extrapolating from the group of women with known and confirmed métiers to the population of all women listed in the tax rolls will yield, if not an exact count of the women in each métier, an estimate which closely resembles reality. Table 3.5 indicates the calculations and the resulting estimate of the total number of women engaged in each type of work.

Table 3. 5. Estimated number of Female Taxpayers							
Female Taxpayers							
Known and confirmable cases: Group A+				Extrapolation to total population			
<u>Type of Work</u>	<u>Group A</u>	<u>59% of Group B</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percentage of Sample</u>	<u>For 4 years</u>	<u>Average per year</u>	
1 Cloth Producers	323	33	356	18.30%	1051	263	
2 Sales	204	130	334	17.18%	987	247	
3 Peddlers	181	128	309	15.88%	912	228	
4 Needlework	105	148	253	13.01%	747	187	
5 Service	58	97	155	7.98%	459	115	
6 Small Goods	48	106	154	7.92%	455	114	
7 Food Producers	35	68	103	5.29%	304	76	
8 Large Goods	35	50	85	4.38%	251	63	
9 Establishments	73	9	82	4.21%	242	60	
10 Luxury Goods	22	13	35	1.80%	103	26	
11 Officials	15	5	20	1.01%	58	15	
12 Building	3	12	15	0.76%	44	11	
13 Ambiguous	9	36	45	2.31%	133	33	
Totals	1111	835	1946	100.03%	5746	1438	
The data in columns 3, 4 and 5 are taken from Tables 3.1, 3.3, and 3.4, totalled for the four years. Column 5 is the sum of the number of instances in which the métier is known or can be reliably estimated (Group A+). Column 6 is the result of dividing the numbers in Column 5 by 1,946, the total number whose métier is known or can be determined. These percentages were then multiplied by 5,745 (the total number of women listed in the four tax rolls for 1297, 1298, 1299, and 1300) to arrive at the estimated total in each group of métiers. Column 8 was determined by dividing Column 7 by 4. The totals in Columns 6, 7 and 8 are not exact because the numbers were rounded off.							

These numbers are totals for the four years 1297, 1298, 1299, and 1300. I divided each of the totals in column 4 by 1,946, the total number of women whose métier can be determined as described above. This provides the percentage of all the women

with known or confirmed *métier* who worked in a particular craft or trade. The detailed list is in Appendix 4. Table 3.5 is the summary. The last step in this calculation was to apply the percentages thus obtained to the women of Group C, those for whom the tax rolls give no clue as to their *métier*, and to the 41 per cent of Group B for whom the *métier* is still unknown. This assumes that trades and crafts are distributed throughout the general population in approximately the same ratios as in the known and confirmed cases. The numbers in Columns 3 through 7 represent the totals for the four years. Column 8 gives the average number of women per year who were active in each type of work.

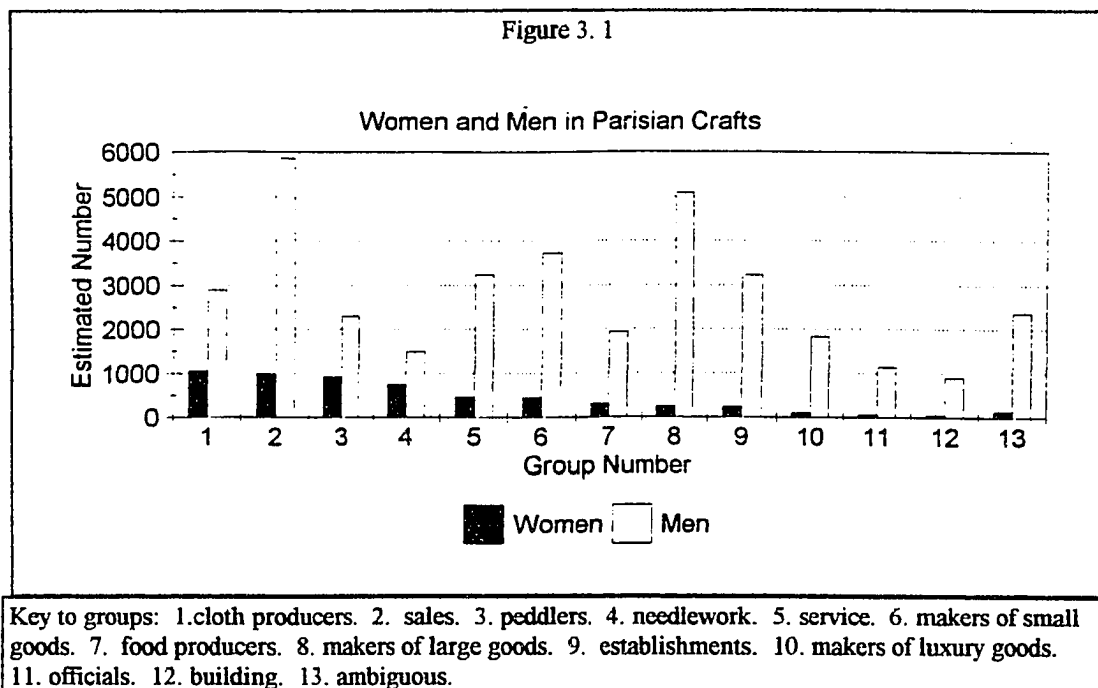
MALE TAXPAYERS

Throughout the tax rolls, male taxpayers are described more thoroughly than females. Hence the proportion of men falling into Group A, those whose *métier* is explicitly designated, is far greater than for females. For assigning *métiers* to men in Group B, I used the 59 per cent derived from my study of female naming practices. That is, I assumed that, for 59 per cent of the men who fall into Group B, where a *métier* appears directly after the baptismal name, and could be a surname, the *métier* named is the *métier* practiced. Naming practices for both men and women evolved over the period of these tax rolls, from my Group C to B to A. Men's names evolved more rapidly toward the more precise designation of baptismal name plus surname plus *métier*, but there is no essential difference between men and women in the use of a *métier* in second position,

where its function is ambiguous.⁷ Using the 59 per cent, I calculated the percentage of men in each *métier*, in the manner described above as used for women. Table 3.6 shows the data for men. It is comparable to Table 3.5 for women. Appendix 4 contains the percentage and the extrapolation to the total population (summarized in Columns 6 and 7) for individual *métiers*.

Table 3. 6. Estimated Number of Male Taxpayers							
		Male Taxpayers				Extrapolation to total population	
		Known and confirmable cases: Group A+				For 4 years	
Type of Work		Group A	59% of Group B	Total	Percentage of Group A+	Average per year	
1	Cloth Producers	1583	152	1735	8.03%	2881	720
2	Sales	3035	490	3525	16.30%	5853	1463
3	Peddlers	1131	252	1383	6.40%	2296	574
4	Needlework	628	266	894	4.13%	1484	371
5	Service	1223	726	1949	9.01%	3236	809
6	Small Goods	1601	637	2238	10.35%	3716	929
7	Food Producers	875	287	1162	5.38%	1930	483
8	Large Goods	2276	783	3059	14.15%	5079	1270
9	Establishments	1862	74	1936	8.96%	3215	804
10	Luxury Goods	908	194	1102	5.10%	1830	458
11	Officials	603	80	683	3.16%	1134	284
12	Building	394	140	534	2.47%	887	222
13	Ambiguous	971	449	1420	6.57%	2358	590
Totals		17090	4530	21620	100.01%	35899	8977
<p>Column 3 is the number of instances in which a <i>métier</i> is explicitly ascribed to a man, e.g., <i>Estienne de coulombes boulanger</i>. Column 4 is 59% of the number of instances in which a <i>métier</i> appears directly after the baptismal name, where it may be the <i>métier</i> practiced or it may be a surname, e.g. <i>Estienne le boulanger</i>. Column 5 is the sum of Columns 3 and 4, the total number of instances in which the <i>métier</i> is known or can be reliably estimated. Column 6 is the result of dividing the numbers in Column 5 by 21,620, the total number whose <i>métier</i> is known or can be determined. These percentages were then multiplied by 35,898 (the total number of men listed in the four tax rolls for 1297, 1298, 1299, and 1300) to arrive at the estimated total in each group of <i>métiers</i>. Column 8 was determined by dividing Column 7 by 4. The totals in Columns 6, 7, and 8 are not exact because the numbers were rounded off.</p>							

⁷ *ibid*, 19-20.



For ease of comparison, Figure 3.1 shows graphically the estimated number of women and of men in each type of business.

THE LIMITS OF THE DATA

In Herlihy's short study of Parisian craftswomen based on these tax rolls, he assumes that most working women, married and unmarried, are included in these lists. He concludes from this that

...the "domestic mode of production", in which women work as part of a family unit and are subject to the authority of its usually male chief, does not characterize industry at Paris during the reign of Philip the Fair; if it had it would have rendered most working women invisible to the tax assessors.⁸

⁸ Herlihy, 150.

I would like to agree with Herlihy, if only because I could then claim that my conclusions, based mainly on the information in the tax rolls, are truly representative of Parisian working women at the end of the thirteenth century. It is disappointing to have to state that by far the majority of Parisian craftswomen are still hidden from view. Except for a handful, it seems certain that married women with living husbands are missing from these rolls. At first glance, they seem to be abundant. There are hundreds of women identified as *fame* x. When these are followed through successive rolls, it becomes apparent that all are in fact widows. *La fame feu* (wife of the late) *Raoul Maillart* in the 1292 list is *la fame Raoul Maillart* in 1297.⁹ Presumably Raoul is still dead in 1297. Clarice is identified as *fame Raoul le boutonier* in 1297, *fame feu* in 1298, and *fame* again in 1299 and 1300.¹⁰ In 1298 *la fame Phelippe le fontenier* (wife of Philip) is taxed together with *Baudoin, frere feu Phelippe* (brother of the dead Philip).¹¹ There are many examples like this, while I have not found a single example of a living husband for any woman denominated in this way.

There are a few married couples assessed together, but their descriptions are distinctive. Many of them are found in the separate lists for the Jews and for the dead. They are especially plentiful in the tax roll for 1313, the levy for the knighting of the future Louis X. The 1313 roll has no separate list for the Jews. For the years 1297-1300, I have found the following married women:

⁹ 1292, f^o43v; 1297, f^o53v.

¹⁰ Appendix 5, Type B3.

¹¹ Appendix 5, Type A4.

In the lists of the dead:

1297 f94	Raoul bridon et sa fame
1297 f94	Guillaume de le talemelier et sa fame

In regular lists:

1297 p126	Guillaume le selier, notaire; sa fame est savonniere
1297 p113	Gefroi le tisserent; sa fame vent chandeles
1297 p12	Roger le charretier; sa fame est talemelier (Roger appears alone in other years.)
1299 f17	mestre Jehan le flamenc; sa fame est cuisiniere
1299 f157	Hue de vilers; sa fame est ferpiere
1299 f187v	Hervi le breton; sa fame vant lin
1300 f265	Guillaume gautier; sa fame file soie
1300 f287	Jehan de coing; sa fame marchande

They are of two types. In the first, the husband and wife practiced different métiers; for example, *Gefroi le tisserent; sa fame vent chandeles*. Probably each was head of a workshop, or worked independently. In the second, no métier is mentioned for the husband. For instance, *Jehan de coing; sa fame marchande*. For these couples, it may be that the husband was exempt from the tax on his own account, but was listed as titular head of the household with his wife, who was subject to the tax because of her work. In this context, without a qualifier such as *marchande de laine*, the term *marchande* seems not to designate a particular métier, but simply to indicate that the individual was subject to the tax because she or he belonged to the ensemble of merchants and artisans.

There were also husbands designated by relation to their wives. In at least one case the wife had her own business in a previous year and was assessed in her own name. One can only guess that these are well-established women who married apprentices or valets, but retained control of their workshops.

Men listed by relation to wife

1297 p207	Emelot la prevoste et son ami ou mari
1297 p207	Robert le potier mari guillemete
1297 p229	Jehan le petit mari ysabel de cresp
1298 f19	Gautier mari aceline la lingiere
1298 f121	Pierre le queu tavernier; mari Edeline de montargis (in 1296, Edeline is listed alone)
1300 f 4v	Alaire l'uilliere et son mari
1300 f273	Le mari Erembourc la coiffiere

The foregoing examples force me to conclude that most working women--the married ones who did not exercise an independent *métier*--were indeed invisible to the assessors and are not included here. While the rolls contain irregularities in spelling, in names, and in the order in which people are listed, there is a certain stylistic rigor in matters which concern liability for the tax. These are, after all, fiscal documents, not simply lists of residents drawn up for the benefit of future historians. If some women are listed with husbands and others are not, there is a reason and the reason has to do with tax liability. A wife working with her husband in his shop certainly does not appear here, as it is the husband, the master of the atelier, who is responsible for the tax.

This does not mean that only a dozen married women in Paris at this time worked independently of their husbands. Other married businesswomen may have escaped taxation. It may be that some were exempt because of a certain threshold of wealth or income or both. Married women may have been more likely to fall beneath that threshold.¹² A more obvious explanation is that it would have been easier for a married woman to evade taxation than for a single one. An assessor who knew the people in the parish or *quête* for which he was responsible would look closely at single women for the

¹² The relative taxes paid by men and women are addressed more fully in Chapter Four.

source of the earnings that sustained them. A married woman could more easily hide earnings from an independent source because she would seem to be supported by her husband.

Not all widows are designated by relationship and the husband's name. *Juliane d'alee*, for example, described as a *tonneliere* in 1299 and 1300, is called *Juliane d'alee, veuve* in 1292.¹³ The designation *fame feu* seems to denote exclusively widows carrying on the business which formerly belonged to the deceased husband, much like the present day carpentry shop in Rueil whose sign proclaims that the current owners are "*Ebenistes et Memuisiers; Fils d'Ernest Mechet*", in order to emphasize the continuity of the business. In the case of the tax rolls, it also showed responsibility for the tax originally assessed against the deceased.

During the twenty-three years covered by this study, more than 1300 widows took over management of their deceased husbands' workshops. It was possible and permissible for a widow to manage an atelier even if she did not know how to practice the métier. The regulations of the silk weavers specifically state that a widow can work and can oversee the work of others. If she remarries outside the craft, she can continue to work only if she knows how "with her own hands."¹⁴ Four other worker organizations provide for a widow to take her husband's place as mistress and to teach apprentices as long as

¹³ 1292 f° 22v, 1299 f°173, 1300 f°251.

¹⁴ "Item, chascune fame de cy en avant qui aura esté fame de mestre ouvrier juré, si comme dessus est dit, pourra ouvrer et faire ouvrer en toute sa veveté ou dit mestier, en tele maniere que se elle se remarioit a autre homme que dudit mestier, d'ileuc en avant elle n'en pourroit ne ne devroit ouvrer, se elle ne le savoit faire de sa main." (LDM 40:11).

she does not marry outside the craft.¹⁵ A widowed gemstone cutter could keep the shop but could not teach apprentices. (LDM 30:8) A widow who did not know the *métier* could hire a manager and leave the details of production to him. Such a widow was severely hampered, however, because she could not take on apprentices, nor could the manager if he was not himself a master. Thus the business could not grow and would eventually diminish. And a widow ignorant of the day-to-day functioning of the workshop could be defrauded by an unscrupulous manager. Many of the Parisian widows continued to manage a dead husband's shop for many years, and in many cases the tax liability increased under her ownership, suggesting that she knew both the craft and the marketing so that she was able not just to maintain a "holding operation" until a son could take over the business, but was able on her own to make it thrive. It is likely that such women had worked alongside their husbands while the husbands were alive. Some of these widows are presented in more detail in Chapter Four.

WOMEN'S WORK

After making allowances for different spellings and different ways of designating a *métier* (e.g., *laniere* and *qui vent laine*), there are still 253 different *métiers* in which women took part. While others could no doubt be combined, I have chosen to retain different expressions where they seem sufficiently interesting. For instance, spinners could all be lumped together, but we would then be unaware that the spinning wheel was used by at least six women in Paris at this time. They are designated *fileresse au touret* to

¹⁵ Coral beadmakers, LDM 28:8. Fullers, LDM 53:5. Tallow candlemakers, LDM 64:4.

distinguish them from those who worked with the more common distaff and spindle (*quenouille*). Was a woman *qui heberge* a hotel-keeper, or did she lodge a single person or two in her home, more in the nature of keeping a rooming-house? By keeping them separate, we can compare the average tax paid by each and surmise that the latter possibility is more likely.

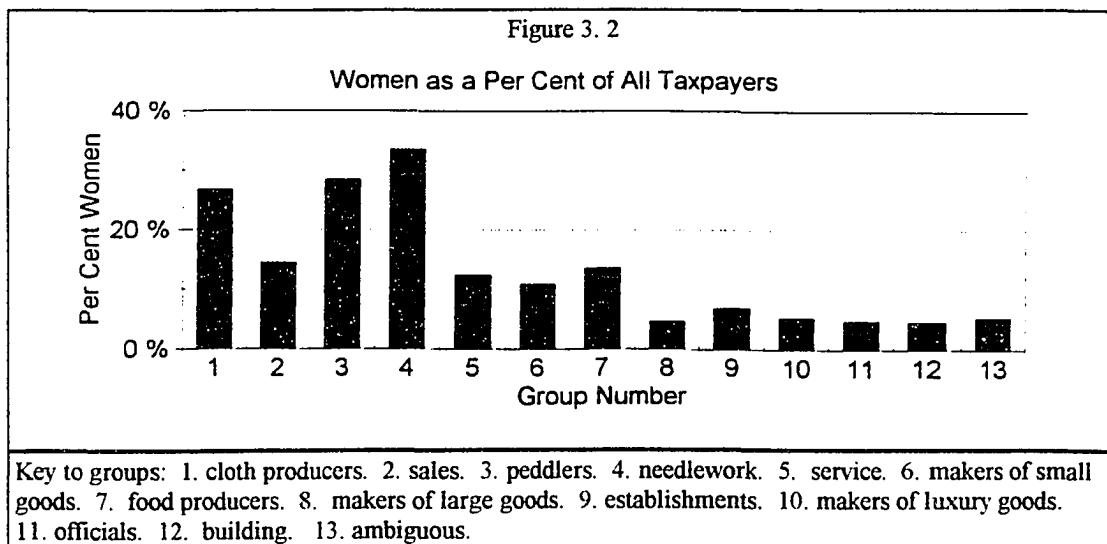
Still, such a large number of crafts and businesses is unwieldy; some sort of organization is essential. I have elected to group them, as much as possible, by the materials used, the kind of work involved and the likely size and expense of tools and materials, rather than by the product involved. These are the criteria by which Parisian artisans organized themselves into associations, as indicated by the *Livre des métiers*. I have divided them into twelve groups, plus those who cannot be classified, shown as Group 13. The rationale for the groups is explained in the glossary.

The bar graph in Figure 3.1 (page 103) shows the absolute number of women and of men in each group, ranged in order from the group with the most women to that with the fewest (Group 13 is last because it contains the unclassified métiers). Thirty-three per cent of the women listed in the tax rolls for 1297-1300 were involved in sales. Slightly more than half of these were in wholesale or retail sales, selling from stalls at *Les Halles*, at markets and fairs, and at their places of business. The rest were *regratieres*, peddlers who hawked their wares, mainly unprepared foods, on the street. Peddlers are grouped separately from other sales because they had no established place of business. As a group,

Poultrysellers, LDM 70:6. Makers of cheap shoes, LDM 85:9,10.

they were granted exemption from tolls on the *Petit Pont* by Philip Augustus.¹⁶ More than 31 per cent of female taxpayers were involved in cloth making or needlework. These four groups combined (wholesale and retail sales, peddling, cloth making and needlework) contain nearly 65 per cent of all female taxpayers.

Women make up 13.8% of the total number of taxpayers for 1297-1300. The graph in Figure 3.2 shows the number of women in each group expressed as a percentage of the total. Women are over-represented in needlework, clothmaking and peddling. They are under-represented as officials, in the building trades, the manufacture of luxury goods and large goods, and as keepers of establishments. In sales other than peddling and in food preparation they are found in approximately the same proportion as in the general population. In the following sections, these groups are further subdivided and described in more detail.



¹⁶ "Ne fame marchande de vile ou d'ailleurs, se ele porte a son col ou tret a charrete, ne doit noient de paage, qui aue ele soit, quar li rois Felippes le pardona le jour qu'il ala outremer." (LDM II: 1:15)

WOMEN IN SELECTED GROUPS OF METIERS

The annotated glossary defines all of the métiers in Appendix 4 and explains how they are grouped. The following section deals more specifically with the role of women in the groups in which they were most plentiful. For many occupations I retain the medieval French term because there is no exact English equivalent (e.g., *crespiniere*) or because there is not enough information to translate them accurately (e.g., *granz robes*). I follow the spelling (or one of several spellings) in the manuscript, which is unaccented.

CLOTH PRODUCTION

Though my decision may be controversial, I have chosen to include the *chambrieres* in the group of women involved in clothmaking. The women thus described have usually been taken to be domestic servants. It is highly unlikely that domestic servants were assessed in these rolls. The tax being collected via these rolls is a payment for exemption from taxes normally due on sales and purchases of goods. A domestic servant would not have been liable for such a tax. It is more likely that this term designates a woman who wove or spun in her own *chambre*, in an urban version of the “putting-out” system.¹⁷ A spinner or weaver who worked in her own home on raw material furnished by someone else would be quasi-independent and thus potentially

¹⁷ I owe this suggestion to Alessandro Stella, who found the term used in this way in the Florentine tax records which are the subject of his study, *Un Tableau florentin du trecento*.

taxable. The existence of such semi-independent workers also fits with the use of the term *ouvrier(e)* to refer to those who wove and spun in their own homes.¹⁸

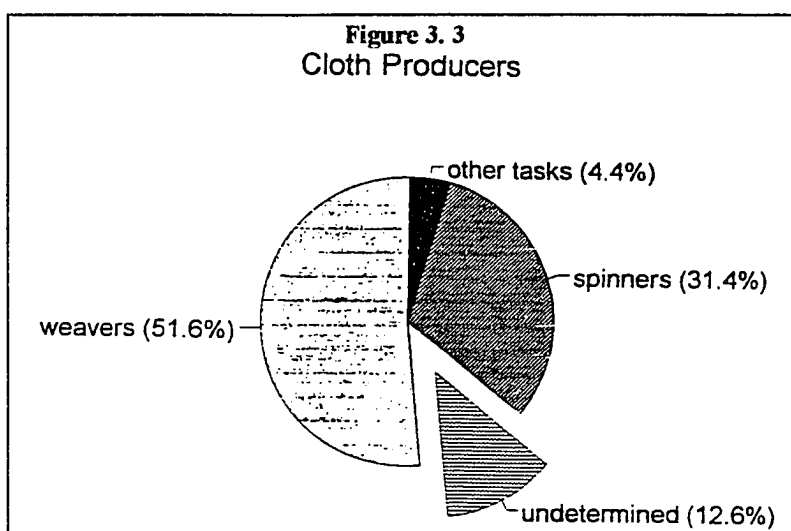
The estimated number of *chambrieres* plummets from 524 in 1292 to thirteen in 1296, rises to forty-four in 1297 and steadily decreases in later years. The minimum tax, which is one sou in 1292, rises to two sous for the later years. Since the list for 1292 is longer than any subsequent list, this may indicate that poorer taxpayers were eliminated from the later lists. If so, this would explain the disappearance of only about twenty-five per cent of the *chambrieres*, those who were assessed at less than two sous in 1292. The *chambrieres* are not, however, as a group, the poorest members of the female artisan community. The mean tax for *chambrieres* in 1292 was 3.24 sous; the median was two sous. For silk spinners the mean was 2.66 sous, the median two sous. Yet the number of silk spinners does not diminish so spectacularly. It is more likely that between 1292 and 1296 a distinction was made between those *chambrieres* who were independent enough to be liable for a tax on sales and purchases, and those who were simply employees, albeit at a location separate from that of their masters or mistresses.

If *chambrieres* were a part of the cloth industry, women in the cloth industry make up the largest group for 1297-1300. There are a total of 921 occurrences, or an average of 231 per year, identified as spinners, weavers, or as exercising other tasks involved with cloth production, and 130 (an average thirty-three per year) *chambrieres*. If *chambrieres* are excluded, cloth workers made up sixteen per cent of all female taxpayers. In the chart

¹⁸ See discussion on page **Error! Bookmark not defined..**

in Figure 3.3, *chambrieres* are included but shown graphically as separate from those with more informative designations (labeled “undetermined”).”

More than half the women in the cloth industry were weavers. Nearly a third were spinners. A large majority of them worked with silk. An average of seventy-two women spun silk, ninety-three wove it, and three worked at other tasks involving silk. In comparison, there were, on the average, only thirteen men in all of the silk industry in



these years: nine weavers, one spinner, and three tinters.

Of the remaining 703 men in the cloth industry, 427 were weavers, simply identified as *tisserand*.

When one looks at the regulations of the wool weavers' association, it seems obvious that most of them wove wool.¹⁹ The second longest title in the *Livre des métiers*, the rules of the *Toisserans de lange* have fifty-three paragraphs. They had more freedom than other Parisian métiers to hire employees on a large scale. Most craftspersons were limited to employing two *valets*, or salaried workers, and two apprentices. A wool weaver could have three looms for himself, three for each of his unmarried sons, three for his brother

¹⁹ LDM Title 50.

and three for his nephew. This meant that one workshop could have twelve to fifteen looms, or more if there were more sons. The rules speak of stalls at *Les Halles*, and of selling at the fairs of Champagne and Saint Denis, indicating that wool was woven in Paris not only for local consumption, but also for long-distance trade. (LDM 50:36)

While women were not specifically forbidden this métier, the regulations do not use feminine terms such as *maitresse*, *ouvriere*, and *aprentice*. There are an estimated nineteen women in the tax rolls for 1296-1300 identified simply as *tisserande*. It is likely that they wove wool.

Only an estimated ten spinners of thread other than silk appear in the tax rolls. All are women. There are seventy-two silk spinners to supply ninety-three weavers, a ratio of three to four. Obviously, six spinners could not have supplied the wool for 446 weavers.²⁰ This supports my conjecture that the *chambrieres* were spinners, probably most of them wool spinners.

The *Livre des métiers* contains regulations for two associations of spinners. Both concern silk spinners, one for spinners on *grans fuiseaus*, the other for those who spun on *petiz fuizeaux*.²¹ According to Franklin, silk spun on small spindles was more tightly twisted.²² Both métiers were free and could be practiced by anyone who wished to do so (*quiconques veut*). For both, apprenticeship was seven years if the child paid 20 sous or eight years without a payment.

²⁰ I'd like to thank Caroline Bourlet for pointing out this anomaly.

²¹ Titles 35 and 36

²² Franklin 1905-06, 328.

Title Thirty-five, for the spinners with large spindles, uses throughout only the feminine terms *filaresse*, *nule*, *aucune*, *aprentice*, and *ouvriere*. Title Thirty-six, on the other hand, is ambivalent about gender. It speaks of *fillareice*, never of *fileur*, of *aucune ouvriere*, and of a *fame* from outside Paris who might want to practice the métier. However, one paragraph says that *nus* can take an *aprentiz*; another that if *aucune* sells her *aprentisse*, it will cost her six deniers. Enforcement of the regulations of each métier was confided to two *preudeshomes*, but the small spindlers had another governing body of two or three *preudesfames*, who acted as witnesses to the contract when an apprentice was taken. This is the only métier which required a written contract of apprenticeship, although several others required witnesses to the agreement.

From the wording of the regulations, it appears that spinning with a large spindle was done only by women, while both men and women used the small spindle. This goes against the common wisdom that women were usually involved in small, fine work, presumably because of the smaller size of their hands. If the small spindle produced a tighter thread, cloth made from this thread was probably more valuable. Thus it may be that artisans in this specialty could expect to be paid more than those who used the large spindle. It may be that men hoped to find a place for themselves in this métier because it paid enough to be worth their while. However, the tax rolls list only one male silk spinner, indicating that, while men were eligible to join the silk-spinners' community, few practiced the métier.

As is common with many métiers in which women are prominent, the regulations of the spinners with large spindles contain the suggestion that women are not to be trusted in business matters. They are prohibited from pawning silk which has been entrusted to them. So bad was their reputation, according to both Lespinasse and Franklin, that increasingly stronger regulations of this type were enacted. An ordinance of 1275 claimed that they pawned the silk entrusted to them with Jews or with Lombards or exchanged good silk for silk of a lesser value. In 1283 they were threatened with banishment or two days in the pillory, or both, for such actions.²³

The regulations of the silk weavers are also puzzling in regard to gender. There were two associations for silk weavers. Title Thirty-eight speaks of the *mestier des tissuz de soie*. It speaks of members entirely in the feminine, except for the inspectors, a group of three masters and three mistresses. Title Forty speaks of *ouvriers de draps de soye*. It uses only masculine forms for members--*mestre, ouvrier, vallet*, and the pronouns *nul* and *nulz*. It did allow a widow to work and to direct workers (*ouvrer et faire ouvrer*) unless she remarried. If she remarried someone outside the métier, she could continue to work only if she knew how to do the métier "with her own hand." The right to practice this métier had to be purchased from the king. It is distinguished from all the other métiers whose regulations appear in Etienne Boileau's collection in that it was either a new group or it was setting forth new rules. While other métiers claimed that their rules had been in effect since the time of Philip Augustus or even of Charles Martel, (LDM 48:22) nearly every paragraph of Title Forty begins *de cy en avant*, "from now on."

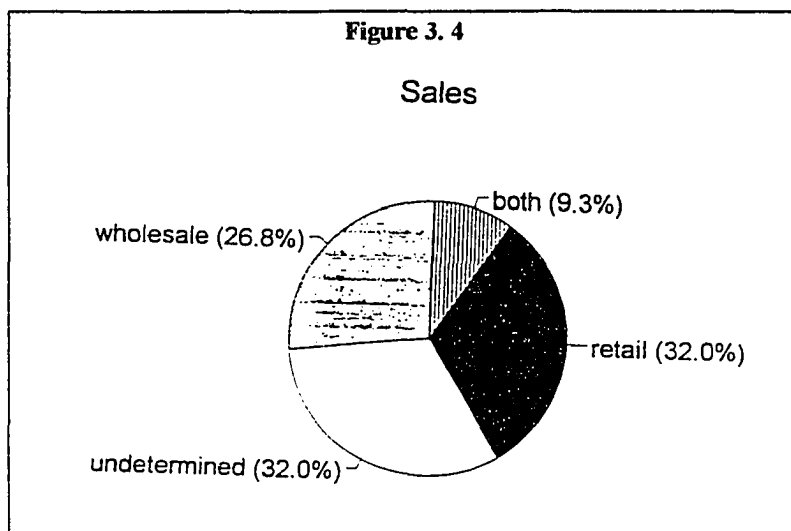
²³ Franklin 1905-06, 329, and Lespinasse, 71fn.

There are, on the average, only seven male silk weavers in the tax rolls (one *fabricant de tissu*, two *fabricants de velours*, four *ouvriers de soie*). An average of thirteen women are identified as *fabricante de tissu* or *qui fabrique de tissu*. Another seventy-seven are called *ouvriere de soie*. The word *ouvrier(e)*, I believe, designates persons who worked in their homes on raw materials supplied by another, as I have explained in Chapter One (page **Error! Bookmark not defined.**). Title Forty contains the only regulations in the *Livre des métiers* of an organization of *ouvrier(e)s* (all others are communities of masters and mistresses.) It is the "ordinance of *ouvriers de draps de soye*, and of *velours*, and of woven purses." Its rules contain no terms for female members, that is, there are no *mestresses*, *apprentices*, or *ouvrieres*. That the organization is made up of weavers is evident from the regulations which specify the standard width and the required number of threads for a piece of cloth. Yet, in the tax rolls, drawn up twenty-five and more years later, *ouvriere de soie* is the most common designation for women in the silk industry, which they clearly dominated. There are only four men identified in this way. Two men are identified as *fabricants de velours*. It is possible that in the middle of the thirteenth century men tried to enter the Parisian silk industry by creating a new organization of male silk weavers, but that they never made significant inroads. By the end of the century their organization had been taken over by women. Women made up nearly a quarter of all taxpayers in the cloth industry as a whole. They were responsible for ninety-two per cent of the silk industry. Women made up fourteen per cent of the tapestry weavers and nine per cent of the dyers. Men, on the other hand, had a monopoly on fulling.

SALES

Women make up fourteen per cent of all taxpayers engaged in sales other than street peddling, approximately their proportion in the tax rolls. It is not always possible to determine whether a woman engaged in merchandising a particular product sold at retail (*a detail*, LDM 59:4) or wholesale (*en gros*, LDM 57:2.) In some cases, the regulations of the worker communities specify one or the other. For those that can be determined, the breakdown is indicated in Figure 3.4. Only one woman is reliably designated, for 1298

and 1299, as a *drapiere*, or cloth seller, which made her a member of the wealthiest merchant group. All of the other women engaged in an exclusively wholesale trade sold



fiber or thread to cloth makers. An average of thirty-four women sold wool, twenty-four linen, and one silk. At retail, an average thirty-nine women were *mercieres* and eight were *epicieres*, while twenty-five sold rags and used clothing (*fripieres*).

Nearly one-fourth of the merchants selling firewood and straw, both wholesale and retail, were women. Thirty per cent of fish sellers were women. An average of eight women sold furs, but they made up less than one per cent of all fur sellers.

PEDDLERS

In the margins of one of the manuscripts of the *Livre des métiers* is a sketch of a woman with a band across her forehead, by means of which she pulls a small two-wheeled cart which follows close at her heels.²⁴ Thus we are introduced to the *regratiere*, the woman who hawked fruits, vegetables, and dozens of other small items through the streets, bequeathing us the English term "fish-wife" for a woman with a loud and annoying voice.

According to Titles Nine and Ten of the *Livre des métiers*, a *regratiere* had to purchase the métier from the king. She or he could then sell bread and salt, fruit and vegetables, eggs and cheese, unworked wax, salt-water fish and poultry. While each of these items incurred its own taxes in the form of customs and *tonlieu*, they did not require a separate license. Making and selling of worked wax--that is, candles--was the province of another métier, for fear that *regratieres* would be tempted to mix animal fat with bees' wax. (LDM 64:14) Since fishing in the Seine was reserved to those who bought the privilege from the king (or from a nobleman to whom he had granted it as a fief), the selling of fresh-water fish was limited to those with a license to catch it. (LDM 99:1,

²⁴ Paris, BN fr. 24069, f°202v.

100:1) Although poultry-sellers and sellers of salt-water fish had their own organizations, *regratieres* were also allowed to sell these items.²⁵

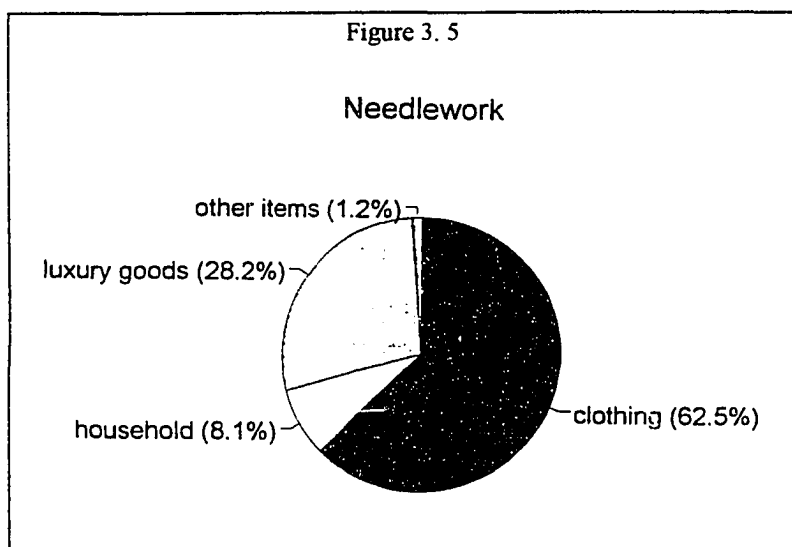
Women make up more than a quarter of all peddlers. The majority of the street hawkers were men--an average 635 of them, compared to an average 228 women. Still, since women account for a total of only 13.8% of all individuals assessed in these four years, they are substantially over-represented in this métier. According to Rodney Hilton, this kind of peddling was done in England primarily by women (three quarters of those he studied).²⁶ Hilton's data comes from small towns, where perhaps a peddler had to work harder for fewer sales than in a populous city like Paris, a circumstance that would have made it less attractive to men.

NEEDLEWORK

An estimated 187 women, on the average, engaged in sewing, making ribbons and laces, and other forms of needlework. The chart in Figure 3.5 shows them subdivided by the kinds of items they made: clothing, household linens, luxury items such as embroidery, and other items such as ribbons and lace. Most of the women engaged in needlework made clothing. More than a quarter of them made luxury goods such as altarcloths, chasubles, and other embroidered items.

²⁵ "Quiconques achate le mestier devant dit, il puet par droit vendre tout avoir de pois, se ce n'est cire ouvrée, toute poulaile, toute sauvagine, toute volille, sel et pain, et poisson de mer, sans achater le mestier du Roi, par paiant les coustumes que les choses devant dites doivent: c'est a savoir le hauban le Roi, et les autres droitures." (LDM 10:12). LDM 70, 101.

²⁶ Hilton, 3-15.



Nearly two-thirds of female needleworkers made clothing. The largest number were *couturieres*. There is no association listed in the *Livre des métiers*

for either *couturieres* or *couturiers*. Title Fifty-six describes the *couturier* as a valet who works for a *tailleur*. Franklin claims that *couturieres* were not allowed to form an association until 1675, and only after a long struggle with the *tailleurs*, who claimed the exclusive right to clothe men, women, and children.²⁷ There are an estimated fifty-three *couterieres* and ninety-nine *couturiers*, on the average, in the tax rolls.

The *tailleurs de robes langes* (makers of wool suits) claimed exemption from the *guet* (the night watch, which was the responsibility of various craft associations, in turn), because they worked for important men, some of them non-Parisians. It was often necessary, they claimed, to work at night so that they could deliver the next morning the clothing that they had cut out in the evening. They also had to remain at home to guard the *granz robes* which belonged to these important men and which had been deposited with them overnight. There are an estimated 220 *tailleurs* in these lists. Thirty-five of

²⁷ Franklin, 1905-06, 227ff.

them are specified *tailleurs de robe*. For the other 185, it is impossible to know how many belong in the category of needlework, as some of them were probably cutters of stone, of gems, or of other materials. Counting as needleworkers only those *tailleurs* specified as *tailleurs de robes*, women made up just over a third of the total in the needlework category (187 of a total 550). If all the *tailleurs* made clothing, the proportion of female needleworkers drops to one-quarter (187 of a total 735).

Three quarters of the *crespinier(e)s* were women. These were the people who made pillow-cases, altar cloths and head coverings of silk decorated with pearls and embroidery. They are represented in the *Livre des métiers* in Title Thirty-seven. Some paragraphs use only the masculine *crespiniers*, while others use both masculine and feminine terms. Paragraph three specifies that a *crespinier* whose wife is *crespiniere* can have two apprentices. The apprenticeship agreement had to be witnessed by at least two members of the association, who had to be satisfied that the master had enough, both of goods and of knowledge, to satisfy his obligations to the apprentice.

It is instructive to compare the mean tax paid by *crespinieres* with that paid by *couturieres*. Steven Epstein claims that the prestige of a craft depends largely on two things: the length of apprenticeship and the cost of raw materials.²⁸ The apprenticeship for a *crespiniere* was seven years, for a *couturiere* two. A *couturiere* used wool and linen, while a *crespiniere* worked with silk, pearls, and gold and silver threads. A *crespiniere* could be a mistress, while a *couturiere*, at least in theory, worked for a tailor.

²⁸ Epstein, 141.

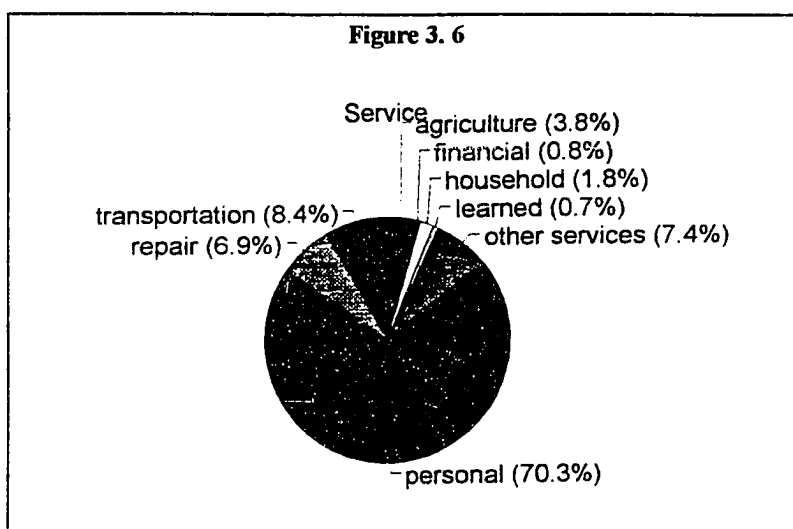
Yet the mean tax for *crespinieres* was only 3.43 *sous*, compared to 4.41 *sous* for *couturieres*. Prestige and wealth are usually related. In this case, the discrepancy can probably be explained by the fact that nearly three-quarters (73%) of the makers of altarcloths were women, while nearly two-thirds of those who sewed seams were men. Gender apparently outweighed the length of apprenticeship and cost of raw materials in determining the business success of these two groups.

SERVICE

Seventy per cent of women engaged in service performed personal services. Most of these were laundresses—an average forty-eight of them, compared with four

launderers. They also provided medical care.

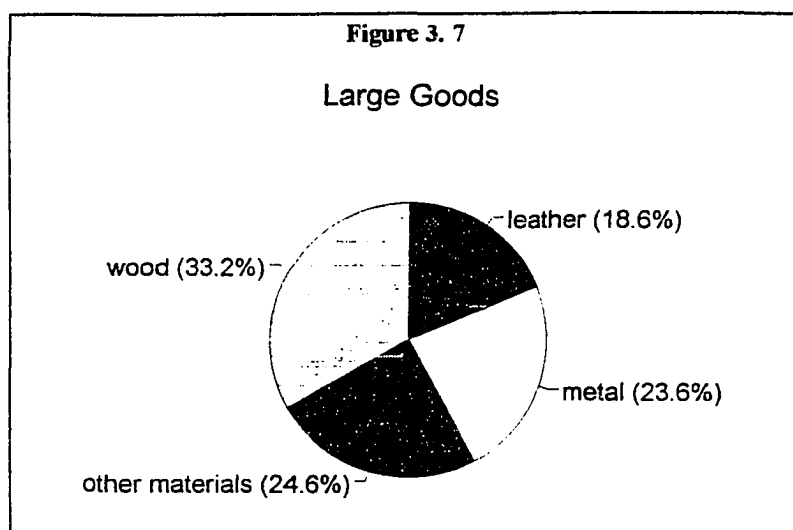
Women made up about nine per cent of *barbier(e)s*, twenty-one per cent of *mires* (*mirgesses*, physicians), and 100 per cent of midwives.



Women repaired shoes and swords, tended sheep, pigs and cows, and pruned trees. An average five women are described as *deschargeresses*, charged with unloading boats at Paris ports.

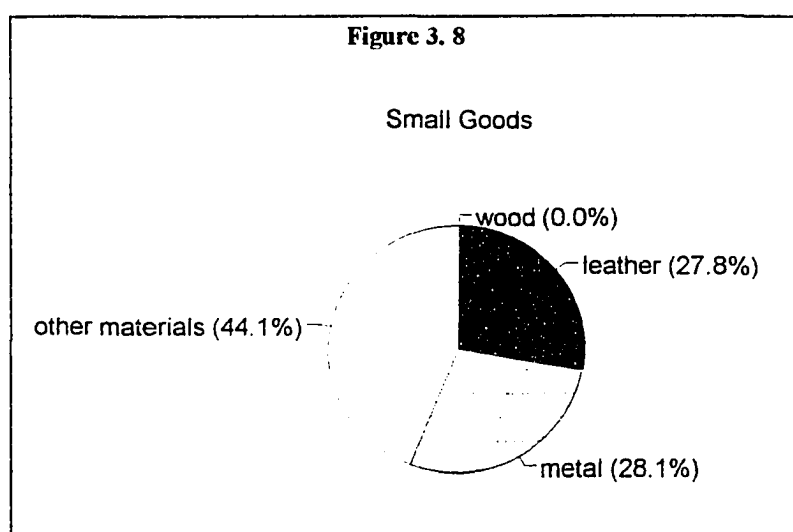
OTHER MÉTIERS

In the groups labeled "makers of large goods" and "makers of small goods" I have included the typical artisans who fashioned articles from leather, metal, wood, and various



other materials such as horn, coral, and earth, and sold them directly, often through the windows or doors of their workshops. Women made large items such as saddles

and armor, large metal pots and shoes. They made small things such as pins and needles,



leather purses and shoes, beads and knife blades, but especially candles and *courroies*, the leather belts and straps used for harnessing horses and for hauling.

An average sixty women were proprietors of establishments: taverns, hotels, baths, mills, and rooming houses. Twelve of the fifteen rooming-house proprietors were women. They were assessed a mean tax of 4.25 *sous*. Of hotel-keepers, who paid a mean tax of 22.43 *sous*, only twenty-two per cent were women.

I have grouped as makers of luxury goods those who made items of silver, gold, and pearls. Sculptors and those who illuminated manuscripts are also included here, but furriers are not, as furs were not reserved for the wealthy at this time. Those who did embroidery, which was surely a luxury item, are included with the needleworkers. Women made up just over five per cent of those grouped as makers of luxury goods (an average twenty-six women and 458 men), but if needlework for the wealthy is included, the proportion of women rises to 13.47 per cent, approximately their number in the general population. Luxury needlework was done by an average fifty-three women and fifty-five men.

Women are under-represented as officials; still there were an average of fifteen of them, mostly measurers or sellers of standard weights and measures. The problem of assuring that the buyer was getting what he paid for was a matter of great concern, and the right to be a measurer was granted by the Parloir-aux-Bourgeois, the merchant association which was charged with much of the day-to-day governing of Paris. They were paid by a fee on each transaction, shared by buyer and seller, and the *Livre des métiers* speaks of their poverty. (LDM 4:13, 6:6) These offices may have been distributed, as a form of municipal charity, to widows and those unable to do more taxing work.

Some of the women are unclassified because the term used to describe the métier is ambiguous: did a *paonniere* sell live peacocks or did she make headdresses of peacock feathers? A *peigneresse* may have combed wool as part of the cloth-making industry, or she may have combed ladies' hair, as we know from the more precise designations *peigneresse de laine* and *peigneresse de tetes*. Did a *fleuriere* grow flowers, sell them on the street, or strew them on the floors of the wealthy in the spring and summer?

In addition to the ambiguous designations, there are several which are unclassified simply because I have not yet determined just what it was they did. I include them in the hope that additional research will provide this information.

CHAPTER 4: THE TRANSMISSION OF FAMILY BUSINESSES.

For the most part, the taxes collected under Philip the Fair were levied on individuals, presumably each the master or mistress of a workshop, or a person involved in commerce. In a number of instances, however, two or more persons were taxed as a unit. These units most often consisted of a parent and one or more children. They represent families operating a business together.²⁹ By tracing the changing membership in these family companies it is possible to study the way that a *métier* and a workshop were handed down from one generation to another. For example, Ameline the tailor and her son, unnamed, were assessed 20 sous in 1292. In 1296 the family is listed as "Ameline, wife of Eustace the tailor; Philippot and Gillo, her sons." In 1297 Philippot has shed the diminutive and the listing has changed to "Philip the tailor, Gilot his brother, and their mother." (Now it is Ameline who has no name.) Finally, in 1299, Philip the tailor appears alone. Neither the mother nor the brother are mentioned.³⁰ Perhaps Ameline has died or retired and Giles has left the family business.

This chapter analyzes 186 companies found in the tax rolls in which at least one member is female. From this analysis, three basic models emerge:

- A. Companies in which the *métier* is transmitted from one generation to another.
- B. Those in which children are associated temporarily with a parent, whose children disappear, leaving the parent as sole master or mistress.

²⁹ In addition to family companies, there are a few companies made up of unrelated persons, designated simply as "compagnes", or with no relationship specified.

³⁰ BN Fr. 6220 f^o13a; KK283 f^o 3, f^o 41, f^o 101, f^o173, f^o 160v.

C. Those in which a parent and child are associated for a time, then separate, but continue to work in close proximity.

The model usually considered typical is that in which a widow continued to manage the family business until a son, or occasionally a daughter, was old enough and well-enough trained to take over the management. In Paris in the late thirteenth century it was more common for a widow to continue to manage the family business and for the children to strike out on their own. Under the widow, the business often grew and flourished. In Appendix 5, a number of companies are shown with their changing descriptions over the twenty-one years during which the tax lists were written. They are grouped according to the models listed above plus some less common models, and are subdivided to indicate the many different relationships that came into play in transmitting a *métier* when a master or mistress died.

DESCRIPTIONS OF WIDOWS IN THE TAX ROLLS

Caroline Bourlet, in an essay dealing with personal names as found in these tax rolls, has shown that a large proportion of these women are designated by their kinship to another taxpayer--nearly 40 per cent in 1292, with a slight decrease in later years, but still 31 per cent in 1300. They are designated either by kinship alone, such as *wife of Raoul le normant*, or *sa fille*, or by a baptismal name followed by designation of kinship, such as *Heloise, sa dame*.³¹ I will refer to these systems as K (kinship alone) and BK (baptismal

³¹ Bourlet, 1992a, 7-8.

name plus kinship). Occasionally the second system also includes a surname or other additional information, so my numbers will not correspond exactly to those of Bourlet.

Of the women designated by kinship, a large number are shown as *fame* (wife) or *fame feu* (widow). These terms are used interchangeably. A woman listed as *fame feu* in one year is often simply *fame* in a subsequent year. She may also be listed in a subsequent year simply by a baptismal name and surname, without an indication of relationship. Table 4.1 shows the number of women designated as wife or widow for each year.

Table 4. 1. Use of Terms *fame* and *fame feu*

		1292	1296	1297	1298	1299	1300	1313
<i>fame</i>								
	system K	46	43	90	75	58	172	36
	system BK	44	18	52	30	103	36	17
	total	90	61	142	105	161	208	53
<i>fame feu</i>								
	system K	34	17	34	56	33	9	16
	system BK	78	31	51	148	226	108	49
	total	112	48	85	204	259	117	65
grand total		202	109	227	309	420	325	118

It is obvious that some of the women listed as *fame feu* in 1299 are shown simply as *fame* in 1300, as there is a big shift to the latter appellation at this point. Between these two years, the number of women designated *fame feu* decreased by 142. The number designated as *fame* increased by 47. This cannot be explained by supposing that 142 widows were dropped from the tax rolls while 47 wives were added. The total decrease, 95, is less than the diminution in the number of widows. Some of those widows must appear as simply *fame* in 1300. Other examples are found in the discussion of this subject

in Chapter Three.³² Often, the relationship is dropped entirely and the widow is designated simply by her own name.³³ I am convinced that, with a few exceptions which will be noted, all women referred to as either *fame* or *fame feu* were widows. Probably this type of designation was used for a woman who had taken over management of a workshop after her husband's death, to indicate a continuity of ownership and of tax liability. The few possible exceptions may be wives who managed a husband's workshop while he was absent from Paris for an extended period. In only one or two cases have I been able to locate a living spouse of a woman designated *fame* in an earlier year. In those cases, the most likely explanation is that the assessor simply failed to put the qualifier *fame* in front of the husband's name in the later year. That this sometimes happened is evidenced by the occasional insertion of the word *fame* in the margin, as in (*la fame*) *Jehan le mercier* in 1297.³⁴

RELATED PERSONS TAXED AS COMPANIES

Companies, that is groups of persons who owned property together and operated businesses together, were common in the thirteenth century.³⁵ A family company was a

³² Page 104. Other examples are: Marguerite, designated *fame feu* Ansiau d'Argentueil in 1297, 1298 and 1300, but simply *fame* in 1299 (97.11.3f54, 98.11.3f115, 99.10.3f186v, 00.10.3f263v). Jean Maalot's wife, designated *fame* in 1297, 1298, and 1300, but *fame feu* in 1299 (97.02.1f43v, 98.02.3f103v, 99.02.3f67, 00.02.3f245v).

³³ See, for example, appendix 5, where Nicholas de Ruilli, 1292, is replaced by "la fame Nicolas de Rulli" in 1296. She appears as "Dame Jehanne de Rulli" in 1297. On page 4, "Aalis, fame feu Estienne Bourdon" in 1292 is simply "Aalis la Bourdonne" in subsequent years.

³⁴ KK283 f^o 39v.

³⁵ Olivier-Martin, 1922, 148ff, 171ff.

special type of company formed when members of a family lived together without a partition of property.³⁶ The most common form of the family company was formed when, after the death of both parents, children remained in the family home without dividing their goods. The *Sentences du Parloir aux Bourgeois de Paris* stated this principle in 1294, in a case which cites examples of companies formed by children and some by cousins.³⁷

Olivier-Martin claims that companies consisting of a surviving parent and minor children were not known in Paris until the fourteenth century.³⁸ The Parloir aux Bourgeois prohibited such companies in a case dated June 1293, stating that the surviving parent is the owner of all goods acquired by children *en sele*.³⁹ It is only after the death of both parents that the property goes to the children, who hold it in common, thus forming a company, until a division is made.⁴⁰ Despite this prohibition, family companies consisting of a surviving spouse and adult children are common in the tax rolls analyzed here. In the rolls for 1296, 1297, 1298, 1299 and 1300 there is a careful distinction between families whose members are assessed as a unit and those who, while living together or as immediate neighbors, are taxed separately.⁴¹ It appears that a company was formed when either the mother or father died and there was no immediate partition of property. The surviving parent and children were taxed as a unit. For example, in 1296 and 1297 *Mestre*

³⁶ See page 65

³⁷ Le Roux de Lincy, 1846, #176.

³⁸ Olivier-Martin, 1:156.

³⁹ See page 63 for a definition of this term.

⁴⁰ Le Roux de Lincy, 120.

⁴¹ Cf. "Symon Evrost 7£10s; Marguerite sa fille 20 s" with "Jehan Martin; Acelot sa fille (bracketed) 32s", both 1296 f^o 2v.

Robert d'Anvers is assessed as head of the family. In 1298 and 1299, *la fame Robert d'Anvers et son fuiz* are assessed together. In 1300, *Richeut, fame feu Robert d'Anvers* is assessed alone.⁴² Presumably Robert died in 1298, leaving a wife and a grown son, who operated the business together. In 1300 Richeut and her son divided their inheritance and the son left the family business. The formation of a company after the death of the mother is not so obvious, but a likely example is that of *Heymeri le barbier*, who is assessed alone, presumably as head of the family, for 1292, 1296, and 1297. In 1298 the assessment is against *Hemeri le barbier et ses enfanz*.⁴³ I propose that this kind of change indicates that the mother has died, leaving the father and adult children as co-owners of the business. As long as the family is intact, the father is the titular head, but when one parent dies leaving adult children, a family company is formed. In some cases, the company lasted for only one tax year after the death of a parent, suggesting that the survivors functioned as a company for a short time while they worked out the details of the partition.

In many of the family companies, a child's name first appears in the diminutive form: Robin for Robert, Jacquelot for Jacqueline, Jeannete for Jeanne. Many of these are replaced by the standard form in a later year. Although a diminutive might be used throughout a person's lifetime, most people with the diminutive form of a name are listed as related to a parent, suggesting that they are young. That the children listed as co-taxpayers are adults, however, is strongly supported by entries such as "les iiij enfanz

⁴² Appendix 5.

⁴³ Appendix 5.

aisnees" (the four eldest children) of Oudart Arrode.⁴⁴ The wording implies that there are younger children who are dependents, not partners. There are many companies shown in Appendix 5 in which the widow is assessed alone for one or more years after the death of her spouse, then is joined by a child or children. Most likely, in the earlier years the children are minors, joining the mother as co-owners when they reach majority.

The age of majority seems to have differed according to a person's status and circumstances. As mentioned in Chapter One, a bourgeois could hold land at the age of fifteen, but he could still be considered a minor until he was twenty-five.⁴⁵ Perhaps the apprenticeship of urban young people complicated the issue. Since apprenticeships began around age ten or twelve and often lasted eight to ten years, an artisan in his or her late teens would still be under the control of the master to whom she or he was apprenticed. It appears that males between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five enjoyed a status somewhere between childhood and full emancipation. Roland Carron claims that *tutelle* concerned the physical and spiritual welfare of a young child, while *curatelle* applied to an adolescent. The *curator*, he says, represented the adolescent as a counselor rather than an authority. "In legal acts, he stands beside his pupil, not in his place."⁴⁶ Females apparently came of age earlier than males. One entry in the tax rolls describes three sisters of Girart, the nephew of Macy Alart, as "*ses seurs en l'aage de xiiii ans*."⁴⁷ I take this to

⁴⁴ KK283: 1298 f^o 120v; 1299 f^o 207, iij enfan^z ain^znez; 1300, f^o 250v, iii enfan^z ain^znez.

⁴⁵ Page 64

⁴⁶ Carron, 1989, 91.

⁴⁷ KK283 f^o 27.

mean that they are subject to tax because they have attained adult status. The sisters are taxed together, but separately from Girart. There are no comparable phrases that reveal the age at which a male was subject to the tax.

For the following analysis, I have followed through the seven tax rolls all groups of persons (those that included at least one female) taxed as a unit in at least two of the years 1296, 1297, or 1298. I have not included those taxed together only in 1292, 1299, or 1300. The reasons are these: Many groups taxed together in 1292 do not seem to be true companies; in later years they are treated differently. This fits the theory that the 1292 roll is simply a preliminary list of possible taxpayers; thus the surveyors were not overly careful about a precise description of the responsible person or persons. While it would be satisfying to include all the companies shown in the five core lists, this apparent thoroughness would actually be distracting. Only a few companies listed for 1299 and 1300 do not appear earlier. Since they first appear toward the end of the series, it is not possible to trace their development over an adequate span of time. They seem to be of the same types as those analyzed in this study; thus, they don't promise any additional information. I have also omitted companies that appear in one year, none of whose members appears again, since it is not possible in these cases to note changes over the years.

It is difficult at best and often impossible to trace individuals through the tax rolls. As both Michaëlsson and Bourlet have shown, the only appellation which remains constant is the baptismal name.⁴⁸ To assume that the baptismal name is constant is itself more an

⁴⁸ Bourlet, 1992a, 4.

act of faith than a conclusion drawn from substantial data. If a woman called *Jeanne la Normande* in one year is called *Bietriz la Normande* in the following year, there is simply no way to know that these two names refer to the same individual. We would assume that Jeanne has moved away and Bietriz has taken her place.

More than ten per cent of the women in these rolls share the baptismal name "Jeanne." The ten most popular baptismal names are shared by more than fifty per cent of the women.⁴⁹ If *Jeanne la Normande*, living in the parish of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, moved to another parish and is listed there as *Jeanne la Normande*, the person designated by the second entry will be treated as a separate individual simply because there is nothing to connect her with the first. To complicate matters even more, surnames constantly change. *Ysabiau de Courbueil*, on rue de Cerf, appears in 1296 with her daughter Perrete. On the same street in 1298, with the same neighbors, is *Ysabiau la Gencienne*, taxed together with her daughter Perrette.⁵⁰ This is obviously the same woman, listed first with a surname denoting origin and later with a surname which links her to the Gencien family. Were it not for her daughter Perrette, we would assume that the first Ysabiau had moved from the street and been replaced by someone with the same baptismal name. It is often family ties which make it possible to link entries which would otherwise appear to be unconnected.

When only individuals are considered, it seems that many people appear, disappear, and reappear in the rolls. This has led to speculation that many, especially the

⁴⁹ Bourlet 1992a, 4ff.

⁵⁰ Appendix 5.

poorer persons, were taxed only every second or third year but, as the following table will show, that theory must be abandoned. By tracing family companies, I have found that there are very few unexplained lacunae. More than half of the 186 families traced appear in five or more of the seven years. While it is true that poorer families tend to appear in fewer years, they are usually consecutive years. Their appearance and disappearance thus probably coincide with their entering and leaving the *métier* or moving into and out of a particular street. It is reasonable to assume that poorer craftspersons moved more often than the rich, since they were more likely to rent than to own the premises, and less likely to have a large investment in tools and inventory, making a move less cumbersome. It is also possible that surnames and nicknames are less stable for the poor than for the wealthy. Perhaps they haven't disappeared from the lists, but their names have changed so that they are not recognizable. Some lacunae can be explained by the fact that the *memus gens* are missing from the 1296 roll and the *gros* living on the Left Bank are missing from the roll for 1298. In any event, the evidence indicates that the poor were taxed each year. From the table below, it is evident that, even for companies that paid only 5 to 20 sous, many of them were taxed for at least five or six years. The missing years are most often 1292 and 1313, each of which is separated from the core years by a substantial span. The following table indicates the number of companies, divided according to relative wealth, which seem to be missing from at least one roll. I say "seem to be" because they may simply be unidentifiable for any of the reasons explained earlier.

Table 4. 2 Companies by Number of Years They Appear

Number of years	7	6	5	4	3	2	Total
Tax paid							
more than 50 sous	4	20	15	6	7	3	55
20 to 50 sous	7	21	9	7	4	9	57
5 to 20 sous	3	16	17	8	13	10	67
less than 5 sous (<i>menus</i>)	0	1	0	0	4	3	8
Totals	14	58	41	21	28	25	187

Table 4. 3. Unexplained Lacunae

Number of years	7	6	5	4	3	2	Total
Tax paid							
more than 50 sous	0	1	1	1	1	0	4
20 to 50 sous	1	2	2	2	0	7	14
5 to 20 sous	0	0	4	1	5	4	14
less than 5 sous	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Totals	1	3	7	4	7	11	33

In order to make comparisons based on relative wealth, I first separated the *menus* from the *gros*. For 1296 through 1300, the *menus* are those paying 5 sous or less. I further divided the *gros* into three groups: those paying less than 20 sous, those paying between 20 and 50 sous, and those paying more than 50 sous. I chose 20 and 50 sous as boundaries because assessments seem to cluster above and below these marks. While the taxes are recorded in livres, sous, and deniers, I have converted them all to sous for easier comparison.⁵¹ Although the number of *menus gens* who formed companies is not large, they did exist. The number who paid a moderate tax far outnumber the rich. While the

⁵¹ 12 denier = 1 sou; 20 sous = 1 livre. Although the title of the 1297 roll is "Le rôle de la taille de cent mille livres tournois," the Parisian assessments were recorded in livres parisis.

wealthy tended to remain on the rolls for a longer period, the proportion who disappear and then reappear in a later year does not vary much for the different groups.

MEN AND WOMEN IN COMPANIES

In Appendix 5 I have listed only those companies which include at least one female member. In order to determine whether gender plays a part in the formation of companies, I made a separate study of all companies listed in the roll for 1296. I found 65 with only male members, 32 with only females, and 56 with at least one member of each sex. Women make up only 13.1% of all taxpayers, but approximately half the members of companies. Broken down another way, 20 companies in 1296 are formed of a father and one or more children, 62 are formed of a mother and one or more children, 40 are formed of siblings, and 30 of persons for whom no relationship is noted. Fathers formed 15 companies with sons and 4 with daughters or sons-in-law. Mothers formed 24 companies with sons, 24 with daughters or sons-in-laws, and 13 with children of mixed or unspecified

Table 4. 4. The Makeup of Companies in 1296

parent/child	son	daughter	son-in-law	mixed	total
father	15	3	1	1	20
mother	24	16	8	14	62
siblings	brother	sister			
brother	24	6			30
sister		10			10
unrelated	male	female			
male	23	1			24
female		6			6
Totals	86	42	9	15	152

gender. If it is true, as I propose, that a family company is formed when one parent dies, then there were more widows than widowers among Parisian artisans at this time.

While fathers tended to work with sons, mothers showed no preference for children of one gender. When both parents died, the surviving children often carried on the family business together. It was far more common in 1296 for brothers (24 companies) or sisters (10 companies) to work together than for a brother and sister to form a company (6 companies).

TYPES OF FAMILY COMPANIES

Of the family companies considered here in which the composition changed, three basic models account for 62 per cent of the total: A) those in which the *métier* is transmitted from one generation to another; B) those in which children are associated temporarily with a parent, but the children disappear while the parent remains as master or mistress; C) those in which a parent and child are associated for a time, then separate but continue to work in close proximity.

TYPE A. MOTHER AS CONSERVATOR

Of the 37 family companies of type A found in the tax rolls, there are 34 in which a mother transmitted the family business to a son, daughter, or son-in-law. In one a widow took her husband's place in a partnership with the deceased husband's brother. Eventually the business went to the brother.⁵²

⁵² Appendix 5, A4: Phelippe le fontenier.

Table 4. 5. Companies Transmitted to Children

Type A: Business Transmitted to the Next Generation		
<u>Code</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Number</u>
A1	From mother to son	21
A2	From mother to daughter or son-in-law	11
A3	From mother to several children	2
A4	From widow to brother-in-law	1
Total		35

I have designated type A1 those companies in which the *métier* was transmitted from mother to son. The basic pattern is: first mother-son, followed by son-mother, followed by son alone. I assume that the more important member of the company is listed first. For example, *Erembourc de Saint Lorenz* is listed in 1297 with, on the next line, *Lambert son fuiz*. The 1298 listing reads *Erembourc de Saint Lorenz; Lambert de Saint Lorenz*. In 1299 they appear as *Lambert de Saint-Lorenz; Dame Erembourc sa dame*. In 1300 Erembourc is gone and Lambert is listed alone.⁵³ For some companies only a portion of this pattern is visible in these records. I assume, for instance that a company that shows the pattern mother-son, son-mother (as with *Aaliz la normande* and her son *Pierre*) is a company in which the same process is occurring, but the final stage has not been reached. I have also included here (*Perrot de lay* and his sister *Agnesot*) companies where a brother and sister(s) are associated for a time, with the brother eventually taking control, perhaps when the sisters marry. I included these on the assumption that, in earlier years, the mother was associated with her children, and then retired or died. It could

⁵³ Appendix 5, A1.

equally have been the father who was associated with the children in an earlier year. In either case, these are probably children who have been orphaned of both parents.

Companies in which the *métier* was transmitted from mother to daughter or son-in-law I have designated type A2. There are ten, including one in which a company of two sisters is eventually taken over by one of the sisters

In two companies, which I have designated type A3, a mother shares the business with her children, whose gender is unspecified. In a subsequent year, a son and his sisters run the business together. In both cases, the son's baptismal name is given, while that of his sisters is not, suggesting that it is the son who is known in the community and is looked to for the tax. The designation A4 precedes the description of companies in which a father transmits the business to children or, in one case, a younger brother.

In all, there are 35 examples of businesses transmitted from a single woman to a child (or to a brother-in-law). Twenty-one mothers transmitted a business to a son, eleven to a daughter or son-in-law. While sons inherited the family business nearly twice as often as daughters, marrying the boss's daughter was, even in the thirteenth century, a good way to become head of a going concern. A daughter-in-law could also take over the family business, as did Pernelle, the widow of *Thomas le guesnier*.⁵⁴ Thomas was still working with his mother in the family business when apparently he died in 1300. His death must have triggered a partition of property, because in 1300 Thomas' mother, Agnes, is listed separately from his widow. In 1313 Pernelle is the sole taxpayer at this location.

⁵⁴ Appendix 5, X.

TYPE B. MOTHER AS LASTING OWNER

Type A, described above, is the classic pattern for transmitting a métier from parent to child. It is outnumbered in these tax rolls by type B, in which the children are associated with the mother for a time, only to disappear, leaving the mother as the sole taxpayer.

Table 4. 6. Business Maintained by Widowed Parent

Type	Description	Number
B1	Son leaves mother-son company	17
B2	Daughter leaves mother-daughter company	14
B3	Several children leave mother-child company	13
Total		44
B4	Child or children leave father-child company	13

Sons and daughters struck out on their own, leaving the family business, in approximately equal numbers.

One of the most striking things about this type of family constellation is that a change in the composition of the taxable unit is seldom accompanied by a significant change in the amount of the tax. A mother with several children is taxed no more than what she paid when she was a single taxpayer. When a child leaves, the tax is not reduced. For 30 of the 57 parents in type B companies, the tax remained the same or nearly the same regardless of the number of persons being taxed.⁵⁵ For 13, the tax rose and fell as a

⁵⁵ Appendix 5, B1: Ysabel de creeil, Jehanne la verriere, Richeut d'anvers, Jehanne la cofiniere, Marie de dreues, Marie la vilaine, Ysabel la concierge, Jehanne arrode. B2: Jehanne de charronne, Perronelle la maupetite, Aalis de dammartin, Marie la boudiniere, Ysabel d'orliens, Agnes la naguere, Agnes la popine, Basile de provins, Bietrix la regratiere, Jehanne la buschiere. B3: Gile la petite, Ysabel de baaily, Jehanne la boucele,

child joined and left the business.⁵⁶ For instance, Marie of Saint Benoit and her daughter paid 48 sous in 1296; Marie alone paid only 20 sous in 1297. Thomas a la Dent and his children were assessed 120 sous in 1292 and 110 sous in 1296. In 1298 Thomas' assessment was lowered to 72 sous, while his children by his first marriage were assessed 84 sous. Probably Thomas' remarriage triggered a partition of the property he had owned jointly with the children of the first wife. For seven of this group, the tax did the opposite of what one would expect; that is, it dropped when the number of taxpayers rose, and rose when the number of persons assessed was reduced.⁵⁷ For six, the rise and fall of the assessment is too complex to fit into this scheme.

When a child disappears from the family company, one would expect his or her disappearance to be accompanied by a division of property, as was common when a daughter married or a child of either sex left the family foyer. If the tax is based on *biens meubles* (personal property), why is it not reduced when children leave the family hearth? Since the levy for which these tax rolls were assembled was a payment for exemption from the tax on commercial transactions, perhaps it was based on personal property related to the business--tools, stock in trade, or both. A child entering another métier or another

Perronelle des champs, Jacqueline, Perronelle d'aucerre, Typhaine la boutonniere. B4: Nicolas du pin, Joce de moncy, Geofroi neveu, Jehan de venete, Jehan le brun.

⁵⁶ B1: Jehanne la gaudrie, Auberee la talemeliere, Coulombe la fourniere. B2: Marie de st. benoit, Oudart la meresse. B3: Ameline de chanevieres, Agnes de lyons, Agnes *fame feu* Pierre norri, *fame* Jehan maalot. B4: Thomas a la dent, Julien bonne-fille, Tierri l'alemant, Lorenz de torcy.

⁵⁷ Appendix 5, B1: Etienne la couturiere, Jehanne de lyon, Jehanne, *fame feu* Gautier bonnefille. B2: Gile de mesons. B3: Marie la bourdonne, *fame feu* Pierre de tornoi, Clarice.

workshop probably did not take this type of property, but took his share of the family wealth in other kinds of property. If a portion of the assessment was based on income, departing children must have been replaced by apprentices or journeymen from outside the family, so that the total output of the workshop remained approximately the same. In the case of families such as that of Marie of Saint Benoit and Thomas a la Dent, there evidently was a partition of the type of property that was the subject of this tax.

It is difficult to determine what happened to the child who left the parental business. When a daughter married, she usually became a member of her new husband's household and was taxed under his name. Since marriage records are not available, the new husband's name is unknown and there is no way to locate her. If a son moved to a new street and was assessed under his own name, there is nothing to connect him to his parent(s). One exception is the sons of *Genevieve la pince-gloe*. In 1296 she is assessed with Thomas and Jean, her sons; in 1297 she and one son, unidentified, are assessed together. In 1298 Genevieve and Thomas are assessed separately. In 1299 Genevieve is assessed alone. The next entry is *Thomas et Jehan*. Their names are scratched out, followed by the note *a saint lorenz*.⁵⁸ At f^o 176, in the parish of Saint Laurent, is *Thomas la pince-cloe poissonnier*. Here is a clear example of children who, for a time, worked with their mother in the family business, then moved to a new location and set up shop for themselves. Genevieve and her son(s) were assessed 6 sous in 1296 and 1297. In 1298, Genevieve and Thomas each paid 6 sous. In 1299, when Thomas and Jean moved to a

⁵⁸ KK283 f^o 168v.

new location, Genevieve paid 8 sous and Thomas paid 6 sous. In other words, their total tax doubled when they went into business separately.

Pernelle, widow of Thomas Piz-d'oe, is listed not in this group but in Group X, because the shifts in company membership are complex. An examination of the tax paid by the company she headed can be instructive because of this complexity. In 1292 Pernelle, her daughter Marote, and her son Oudinet are listed separately. In 1296 Oudinet has dropped the diminutive and is called Eudes. He is listed separately from his mother; his sisters, unnamed, are assessed as a unit. In 1297 Eudes, his mother, and one sister, Jaquelot (diminutive of Jaqueline), are listed separately. There is no indication of what happened to Marote. In 1298, Eudes has died and been replaced by his widow, unnamed. Pernelle and Jaquelot are again listed separately. In 1299 Pernelle and Jaquelot are assessed as a unit. Apparently Jaquelot was married in 1299, because in 1300 Pernelle is assessed separately with a zero liability, while her son-in-law, Symon Tybert, pays 100 sous. Eudes' widow has disappeared from the roll.⁵⁹ Alongside the changes in personnel, there is a shift in the tax burden, first from Pernelle to Eudes, then to the son-in-law. In 1292 Pernelle is assessed 100 sous, Marote and Oudinet 60 sous each. In 1296, when Eudes assumes the adult form of his name, his assessment is raised to 120 sous, Pernelle's drops to 58 sous, and his sisters pay only 13 sous together. Pernelle's tax remains about the same through 1299, while Jaquelot's gradually increases. In 1298 Pernelle pays 62 sous and Jaquelot 50. In 1299 the two of them together pay only 50 sous. In 1300

⁵⁹ Appendix 5, X.

Pernelle pays nothing while her new son-in-law pays 100 sous. Pernelle's tax is gradually reduced, while that of her children (first Eudes, then Jaqueline and Symon, presumably Jaqueline's husband) increases. Exactly how the tax was assessed is not known, but this pattern suggests that, as the years go by, Pernelle is giving her children a greater share of the business and the income from it.⁶⁰

TYPE C. SEPARATE BUT COOPERATING

There are ten family companies which ended by a partition, but the members remained either in the same shop or as neighbors, as they continue to be listed contiguously (designated type C). It may be that they have divided a workshop so that both parties can enjoy the reputation and regular clientele of the family, or that they share a workshop but each has his or her separate tools and materials, and keeps separate accounts. Seven of the ten are in the group assessed the highest tax--that is, in excess of 50 sous. Two were assessed between 20 and 50 sous and one between 5 and 20 sous. Since they were relatively wealthy, perhaps they could afford to buy or rent a second place of business, while their less affluent neighbors could not.

NON-TYPICAL COMPANIES

In five companies, designated type D, a lone woman was joined temporarily by another. Six of these companies are of sisters; Ysabel of Cambrai was joined by beguines who are otherwise unidentified.⁶¹ These were perhaps also sisters. *Jehan le chanevacier*,

⁶⁰ See Chapter Five, page 153 for a discussion of the criteria for assessment.

⁶¹ Appendix 5, D.

son of *Marguerite la chanevaciere* is listed for three years with two beguines. Finally, in 1299, they are identified as *ses ii seurs beguines*.⁶² Four of the five companies of type D were assessed less than 20 sous. One woman is a fishseller and one a candle-maker, neither of which requires much investment in tools or stock. One may only guess that in such circumstances the assessors looked to the most stable family member for the bulk of the tax, but included others as they came and went without much formality.

Each of the seven companies designated as type E has one stable member, while others come and go. Aalis of Saint Joce is joined in 1296 and 1297 by Phelippote, called first her *compagne*, then her *pucele*. She is alone in 1298, 1299, and 1300, but is again shown with a *compagne*, unidentified, in 1313. *Haoys de dammartin* is alone for five years, then in 1313 is taxed with her son-in-law and *Renaut le paonnier*. Perhaps the most intriguing of these is *Jehanne la halebrane*, who is assessed with her mother in 1292, is alone in 1296, then is joined in 1297 by *Abraham le jogleeur*. Abraham's name precedes hers, even though he remains for only one year and Jeanne is again alone in 1298.⁶³

The companies in Group E were all assessed more than 20 sous. These are the most stable of all the companies. Three of them are found in all seven lists, and two are in six lists each. It appears that the nucleus of each of these companies is a single well-established woman or man who from time to time takes on one or more partners.

⁶² Appendix 5, X.

⁶³ Appendix 5, E.

COMPANIES THAT EXHIBIT NO CHANGE IN COMPOSITION

In 33 of the companies analyzed (designated type F), the composition does not change over the period studied. One can assume that many of these would fit into Group A, B, or C if we could trace them through a longer span of time. In the eighteen companies labeled Type G, a mother or father is assessed alone but is joined in a later year by one or more children. The designation G1 denotes a mother and children, G2 a father and children. These probably represent children who were minors when one parent died, then matured and took their places in the family business.

In companies labeled H, a parent and child are first taxed separately and later as a unit. This configuration is difficult to explain. For Nicolas d'Amiens the *enfants* shown in 1299 are perhaps other children and not *Adenot* and *Jehannete*, who are taxed separately in earlier years.⁶⁴ For the other two companies of type H, I can only surmise that there has been a partition of family property in the past and that the persons concerned have voluntarily entered into a new partnership. I have designated Type X those companies which fit none of the models above.

MÉTIER PRACTICED BY COMPANIES

Of the 180 companies listed, more than half (97) include a designation of métier. For 63 of these, the métier named is almost surely the métier actually practiced by the company. For 34, we cannot be sure. There is no standard format for entries, but most

⁶⁴ Appendix 5.

fall into one of three patterns: 1) *Pierre du Houme*: Houme is a surname and perhaps also denotes origin. 2) *Guillaume le lampier*: Lampier is a surname and perhaps also the métier practiced. 3) *Aalis la normande chasubliere*: *La Normande* is her surname; *chasubliere* is the métier she practices. A specific statement such as "who sells fish" or "working in silk head-coverings" must also designate a true métier, since it is too unwieldy to be a surname. There are sixty-two different métiers represented, the most common being taverner, of which there are ten. There are four *merciers*, four *buschiers* and four hotelkeepers. It seems, then, that the formation of companies is more common in occupations which involve an establishment with a fixed location. A business of this type is obviously more difficult to divide than one whose tools and equipment are movable. Other than these, there seems to be little correlation between the formation of companies and particular métiers.

RELATIVE TAX OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF COMPANY

Companies of Type C (families that stayed together, then separated but remained in close proximity) were the wealthiest, if the amount of tax assessed is a measure of wealth. Those of Type B (in which widows retained the business) were wealthier than those of Type A (in which the business was transmitted to the next generation.) Families in which widows transmitted the family business to a child saw their fortunes prosper (for 17.5 per cent, taxes rose) in exactly the same proportion as they dwindled (for 17.5 per cent, taxes were reduced). Widows who remained in control while the children dispersed were 70 per cent more likely to experience a decrease in prosperity. For 10 per cent,

Table 4. 7. Family Companies by Type and Relative Wealth

Assessment	Less than 5 sous	5 to 20 sous	20 to 50 sous	More than 50 sous
Type A	2	17	11	6
Type B	4	20	18	15
Type C	0	1	3	6
Type D	2	2	0	1
Type E	1	0	4	1
Type F	0	12	11	12
Type G	0	9	5	4
Type H	0	1	1	0
Type X	0	4	1	5
Totals	9	66	54	50

taxes went up. For 17 per cent they went down. It was the wealthier companies whose taxes tended to go down. It may be that children who left a wealthy family company were more likely to take with them, as their share of family property, tools or inventory from the business, thus reducing the mother's stock and income. For most family companies (45% of Type A and 38% of Type B) the taxes varied little as the membership of the company changed.

CONCLUSIONS

The most important information to come out of this study is the refutation of the commonplace that widows managed a business only as a stopgap until a child, most often a son, was ready to take control. Widows in Paris were more likely to continue managing the family business indefinitely, while the children left to establish themselves elsewhere. When the family business was handed over to a child, daughters (or their husbands) were almost as likely as sons to be the new owners.

The wealthiest families tended to establish separate businesses for the children while the widow continued to manage the original family business. For those taxed 5 to

20 sous, the widow and children tended to stay together and the business was eventually handed down to one or more members of the next generation, after her death or retirement.

CHAPTER 5. WOMEN'S WEALTH AS EVIDENCED BY TAXES ASSESSED

As has been demonstrated in the previous chapters, women were active in most of the trades and businesses which made up the Parisian economy in the late thirteenth century. Widows took over businesses left by their husbands and, in many cases, made them grow and prosper. Yet, overall, if wealth can be measured by the amount of tax assessed against an individual, working women were not as prosperous as their male counterparts. In general, women paid lower taxes than did men engaged in the same trade. There are notable exceptions. Women who worked in male-dominated fields tended to pay higher taxes than did men in those fields. On the other hand, fields dominated by women were among those with the lowest taxes.

The amount of tax assessed does not necessarily indicate wealth, but there is evidence that the two are related. The relationship would be easier to define if one knew the basis on which the levy for the *taille des cent mille livres* was proportioned among the bourgeois of Paris. Unfortunately, no description of the rationale for proportionment exists. The criteria can only be inferred from an analysis of the taxes themselves. When the trades are grouped as they are in Appendix 4, the *metiers* with the highest mean tax are those in sales (peddling excluded) and those which required an establishment, such as hotels and taverns. The lowest taxed are those that concern building, services, and public office. The highest-taxed salespersons were those who sold furs, firewood, and cloth. Thus it appears that high taxes were related to investment: for those with establishments,

investment in a building, furniture and fixtures and, for salespersons, in an expensive inventory. Firewood was scarce near the city. In addition to the costs of transporting it from outlying forests, importers had to have a warehouse in which to store it. Public officials and those who offered services needed only the barest minimum of equipment. A mason or a plasterer carried his own tools, but the work site and materials were provided by his or her employer. The investment necessary for these trades was minimal. There is also an obvious difference in income potential between the highest-taxed and the lowest-taxed *métiers*. Public officials and people who offer services are limited by the number of hours in a day and the work that can be performed by one person. For merchants, the amount of merchandise sold can multiply almost indefinitely, especially for those engaged in wholesale trade, and additional salespersons can be hired. Thus, it is likely that the tax was proportioned according to some combination of investment in the business and income.

It is difficult to know just how onerous these taxes were. There is nothing to indicate what rate was applied to the taxable base. For another tax, in 1303, there were two rates of tax and two bases for assessment. Those who owned movable goods worth more than 500 pounds were assessed 5 per cent of their value; for those whose goods were worth at least 40 pounds but less than 500, the rate was 2 1/2 per cent. Income exceeding 100 pounds was taxed at a rate of 20 per cent; on income of more than 20 pounds but less than 100, the rate was 10 per cent.¹ While there is no reason to suppose

¹ The assessment was for equipping and supplying the army in Flanders. ". . . de magna subventionem Parisius. . . Et fuit tunc ordinatio quod a personis habentibus v^c lib. tur. in

that the two kinds of tax were determined in the same manner or at the same rates, this example does suggest a reason for the separation of the *menus gens* from the *gros* in the first three years of the *taille de cent mille livres*. Some sort of graduated rate may have been applied to whatever the taxable base was.

It would be of little value to try to translate the amounts of tax paid into current francs or dollars, but to compare them with contemporary costs may be suggestive. The total assessment was 100,000 pounds tournois, which was equal to 80,000 pounds parisis. Payable over eight years, the sum to be collected was 10,000 pounds parisis per year. The number of persons assessed averaged about 10,000 per year, so that the mean assessment was approximately 1 pound, or 20 sous. The lowest tax was 2 sous, and the highest was 142 pounds, 10 sous.² The wall built on the left bank in 1211 cost about 100 sous, or 5 pounds, per toise (about six feet). It was three meters thick and nine meters high, consisting of two thick walls with a filling of rubble and cement.³ In 1280 William of Leusaint rented a two-story house for an annual rent of 25 sous and a promise to make 60 sous' worth of improvements within two years. William was a bead-maker who already owned the house next door and was perhaps expanding his business.⁴ In 1285, Guibourg

bonis mobilibus levarentur xxv lib. tur., et sic de magis magis, et subtus nichil; et de hiis qui habebant c. lib. tur. annui redditus, xx lib. tur., et de magis magis, et subtus nihil, ut supra.-- Debent item de parva subventionem ibi, pro qua levati fuerunt xl sol. tur. ab illis qui habebant xx lib. tur. redditus annui, et xx sol. par. ab habentibus xl lib. par. in mobilibus, et de pluri plus, et subtus nichil, incepta levare ad Sanctum Johannem m^occc^oiii^o." (Mignon, pp. 178-79, #1429).

² Michaëlsson, 1958, xv.

³ Franklin, 1874, 24-26.

⁴ Terroine and Fossier, #1.

du Pont donated to the abbey and convent of Saint Magloire a rent of 4 sous that she received on 8 contiguous "houses or rooms" (*domibus seu cameris*). These may have been small rooms rented to students or to wage workers, at an average cost of 6 deniers (12 deniers = 1 sou). I assume that the rent is per annum, but the record does not indicate the term.⁵ In 1268, a married apprentice who didn't eat at the master's table was entitled to 4 deniers per work day for food. (LDM 83:7) Fees for apprenticeship ranged from 20 sous to 6 pounds.⁶ Thus the lowest tax was equal to about the cost of 10 days' food or four times the annual rent on a room. The mean was about equal to the cost of the least expensive apprenticeship.

The condition of businesswomen in medieval Paris cannot be understood without comparing them to the men who worked next door and down the street. Because of the large number of men in the tax rolls (about 36,000 for the four years analyzed here), I have collected data on their wealth for only nine selected métiers. I selected first the métier with the largest number of women (159 *regratieres*), and second one of the three with the largest proportion of women (*lavandieres*, 92 per cent). I added the one whose statutes are the most hostile and most complex with regard to women (*corroyers*) and the two that contain the wealthiest women (*buschiers* and *drapiers*). I chose the other four (*hoteliers*, *taverniers*, *merciers*, and *ciriers*) in an attempt to be as representative as possible. For these nine métiers, I have compared the mean tax paid by women to that

⁵ Terroine and Fossier, #23.

⁶ 20 sous: LDM 20, *boitiers*; 24, *trefiliers d'archal*; 25, *attacheurs*; 35 and 36, *fileresses de soie*; 42, *fermailleurs*; 44 *fabricantes de couvrechefs de soie*; 65, *gainiers*; 71, *deiciers*. 6 pounds: LDM 40, *ouvriers de draps de soie*.

paid by men in the same *métier*. For the remaining trades, the figures provided for mean tax represent only the taxes paid by women, and can thus be compared only to those paid by other women. All of the figures for mean tax are computed using only the taxes paid in 1297-1300. As is the case for the statistics presented in Chapter Three, the figures for 1292 and 1313 would distort the averages because of the nature of the lists, as would those for 1296 because the *menus gens* are missing. The figures for men's taxes for the nine *métiers* chosen are based on data provided by Caroline Bourlet, from the computerized database at the I.R.H.T.⁷ They do not agree exactly with the figures based only on women's wealth, which come from my own database. The differences no doubt come from minor variations in the way we reduced the 1,043 *métiers* listed in the tax rolls to a more manageable and meaningful number.⁸

WOMEN'S ASSESSMENTS AS A FRACTION OF MEN'S

The mean tax in Table 5.1 is the average of the tax assessed for 1297, 1298, 1299 and 1300 for men and women explicitly described as practicing the trade indicated (Group A, as defined in Chapter Three). The right column shows the mean tax for women as a percentage of the mean tax for men.

⁷ See page 80 for a full discussion of this database.

⁸ Most of the reductions come from leveling out differences in spelling, which are common, and in the manner of describing a *métier*. For instance, I have disregarded such differences as "qui vend archal" and "vendeur d'archal." However, I have kept distinct the description "hotelier" from "qui heberge," because it seems likely that the latter simply rented a room in her own home, while the former had a separate establishment. I have distinguished those who spun on spinning wheels from those described simply as "spinnners." At the time I received the information, the staff at the I.R.H.T. had not yet decided on a definitive list of *métiers*.

Table 5. 1. Comparison of Mean Tax Paid by Men and by Women

<u>Métier</u>	<u>Mean tax for men</u>	<u>Mean tax for women</u>	<u>Women's Tax as a % of Men's</u>
cirier	8.50	2.60	31%
linger	9.86	4.19	42%
hotelier	35.60	22.56	63%
regratier	5.06	3.82	75%
tavernier	21.89	18.58	88%
lavandiere	4.00	3.91	98%
mercier	48.69	57.55	118%
buschier	57.58	76.94	134%
corroyer	10.63	15.62	147%

Based on the nine métiers chosen, the mean assessment for women varied from 31 per cent to 147 per cent of

the assessment for men in the same trade. Female candlemakers paid 31 per cent, on the average, of the tax paid by men in the same trade. Female peddlers paid, on the average, 75 per cent of the tax of their male counterparts. Female *corroyers*, engaged in the trade which, judging from the language of its statutes, was the most hostile to women,⁹ paid 147 per cent of the tax paid by the average man in their field.

No pattern immediately emerges to explain why the relative assessment of women varies so much from one métier to another. There is, however, a noticeable correlation between the proportion of women in a trade and the mean tax for both sexes. To establish this correlation, the percentage of women in each of the nine métiers is shown in Table 5.2. These figures, unlike those in Table 5.1, come from Appendix 4 and are my estimates of the total number of men and women in each metier, for the years 1297, 1298, 1299, and 1300 combined.

⁹ See Glossary.

Table 5. 2. Proportion of Women in Nine Selected Métiers

<u>Métier</u>	<u>Number of Women</u>	<u>Number of Men</u>	<u>Women as % of Total</u>	<u>Mean Tax for Women</u>	<u>Mean Tax for Men</u>
lavendiere	193	15	93 %	3.91	4.00
lingere	58	12	83 %	4.19	9.86
cirier	57	25	70%	2.60	8.50
regratier	589	923	39%	3.82	5.06
buschier	47	150	24%	76.94	57.58
hotelier	90	332	21%	22.56	35.60
mercier	158	626	20%	57.55	48.69
corroyer	68	718	9%	15.62	10.63
tavernier	109	2587	4%	18.58	21.89

As Table 5.2 shows, of the nine métiers chosen, the four with the highest proportion of women (39 per cent to 93 per cent) paid the lowest taxes. All averaged less than 5 sous for women and less than 10 sous for men. The five with the lowest proportion of women (less than 25 per cent) averaged more than 10 sous for both sexes, and more than 15 sous for women. In Table 5.2, the numbers of persons in each métier are taken from my estimates, found in Appendix 4, but the mean tax in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 is computed using only the data for those explicitly identified as practicing a particular métier (those in Group A).¹⁰ Overall, women's assessments were 79% of the men's assessments for the nine métiers surveyed.

SIZE OF ASSESSMENTS COMPARED WITH PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN

Appendix 6 shows the mean tax for all the métiers practiced by women, organized in the same groups in which they appear in the glossary. It also shows the number of women in each métier and the per cent of the total number of taxpayers practicing that

¹⁰ Group A is defined and the calculation of the estimate is explained in Chapter Three.

métier which they represent. The proportion of the workforce which is female is calculated using the estimated number of persons in each métier as presented in Appendix 4. The mean tax in this analysis is for women only, and is computed using only the data for women explicitly described as practicing each métier. Thus the sample in some individual métiers is quite small.

As a group, women engaged in sales were, on the average, the wealthiest women in Paris. The three wealthiest métiers overall are in this group: sellers of furs, of firewood, and of wool cloth. Not all women engaged in sales paid high taxes, however. There is a noticeable gap between the mean tax of the thirteen poorer and the ten wealthier métiers in this group. The poorest were those who sold charcoal, linen, fish, hay, and raw textile fibers. It may be that this reflects a distinction between retail and wholesale trade. The 123 women in the twelve poorest métiers paid an average of 8 sous or less, while those in the nine wealthiest trades, 116 women, paid, on the average, more than 20 sous. (20 sous = 1 pound, which is the approximate mean tax for all taxpayers.) For the 24 women engaged in selling furs, firewood, and wool cloth, the tax averaged more than 100 sous, or five times the overall average. Table 5.3 shows the aggregate figures for saleswomen, broken down into the indicated groups. The detailed figures from which these aggregates are derived are in Appendix 6. The number of women is the number in Group A, those whose taxes were used to calculate the mean. The figure for women as a percentage of all taxpayers is from my estimates in Appendix 4. I used the latter figure because a larger percentage of men than women fall into Group A. Thus a percentage calculated with

figures from Group A would understate the proportion of women. Only métiers practiced by at least one woman in Group A are included in these calculations. Otherwise there would be no way to calculate the mean tax.

Table 5. 3. Comparison of Mean Tax With Proportion of Women, Sales			
<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean tax</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of women in Group A</u>	<u>Women as a % of all taxpayers</u>
10 poorest métiers	4.24	123	41%
9 wealthiest métiers	61.74	116	9%
3 wealthiest métiers	245.29	24	4%

The same phenomenon can be seen in the other groups, though the disparity between rich and poor is not quite so dramatic. In the cloth industry, women make up 90 per cent of all taxpayers in the 21 métiers in which the mean assessment is less than 6 sous. For the 3 métiers in which the mean tax is more than 10 sous (wool weavers, canvas weavers, and felters), women make up only 7 per cent of taxpayers.

Table 5. 4. Comparison of Mean Tax with Proportion of Women, Cloth Industry			
<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean tax</u>	<u>Number of women</u>	<u>Women as a % of all taxpayers</u>
21 poorest métiers	4.53	224	90%
3 wealthiest métiers	11.22	37	7%

In needlework, there is a large gap between the métiers whose practitioners were assessed an average of 5 sous or less (putting them among the *menus gens*) and those who created luxurious works of embroidery, probably embellished with pearls and gold and silver threads, who were assessed an average of more than 25 sous. *Crespinieres*, who made altarcloths and head coverings, also used luxurious materials, but had a mean tax of

only 3.43 *sous*. Seventy-three per cent of *crespinier(e)s* were women. The one woman who made felt hats paid the highest tax, 58 *sous*.

Table 5. 5. Comparison of Mean Tax with Proportion of Women, Needlework			
<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean tax</u>	<u>Number of women</u>	<u>Women as a % of all taxpayers</u>
13 poorest métiers	4.05	183	49%
3 luxury crafts	32.22	9	17%

Among makers of small goods, women make up 16 per cent of taxpayers in métiers where the mean tax is less than 8 *sous*, and only 10 per cent in those métiers for which the mean tax is more than 18 *sous*.

Table 5. 6. Comparison of Mean Tax with Proportion of Women, Small Goods			
<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean tax</u>	<u>Number of women</u>	<u>Women as a % of all taxpayers</u>
10 poorest crafts	2.17	103	16%
4 wealthiest crafts	20.81	31	10%

Thirty-one per cent of all men in the tax rolls practiced trades for which the mean tax (for women) was 5 *sous* or less, the dividing point between the *menus* and the *gros gens*. The corresponding figure for women is 59 per cent. Ten per cent of the men were in trades for which the mean tax exceeded 50 *sous*, as compared to 3.3 percent of the women.

Appendix 7 shows the individual métiers arranged in order by the mean tax paid. Table 5.7 is a summary of Appendix 7, showing the estimated number of women and of men in métiers at various levels of taxation. The estimated number of persons is cumulative for the four years 1297-1300 and is taken from Appendix 4. The mean tax is

for women only, and is the mean assessed against women in Group A, those whose métier is explicitly indicated.

Table 5. 7. Comparison of Mean Tax with Proportion of Women, Summary				
Arranged by mean tax for women for the métier practiced.				
Mean Tax	Women		Men	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
2.00 sous	181	3%	616	5%
2.01 to 5.00 sous	2892	56%	2783	24%
5.01 to 10.00 sous	939	18%	1540	13%
10.01 to 20.00 sous	384	7%	2620	23%
20.01 to 50 sous	519	10%	2701	23%
more than 50 sous	258	5%	1360	12%

Fifty-nine per cent of all female taxpayers worked at trades that were assessed a mean of less than 5 sous, the dividing line between the *menus gens* and the *gros gens*. Only 29 per cent of male taxpayers worked at these lowest-paying crafts. Fifty-eight per cent of men, but only 22 per cent of women worked at trades assessed a mean tax of more than 10 sous.

It is obvious from these figures that women tended to cluster in trades that were not lucrative. The wealthier trades, which required large capital investments, were the domain of men. Within each trade, women tended to pay less tax than their male counterparts. This does not hold true, however, for the few women who succeeded in finding a place within the capital-intensive trades.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS

About one-third of Parisian women in the late thirteenth century worked in jobs traditionally considered “women’s work,” including the preparation of food and clothing, peddling food on the street, and providing personal services. The other two-thirds worked in nearly every kind of job that men did. Women made saddles and shoes, armor and furniture, as well as the pins and buttons with which they are more often associated. Eight per cent of women offered services ranging from laundry to unloading boats, about the same proportion as for men. A number of women kept their own establishments--hotels, taverns, and baths--though the number is small compared to those kept by men. Only eleven per cent of the men listed in the tax rolls worked at métiers in which there were no women. Fifty-two métiers were practiced only by women. If *Aalis la maçonne* worked in the traditional female job of peddler, there were nonetheless other women who really were masons.

The foregoing suggests the diversity of women’s work, but does not begin to convey the complexity of their economic roles. Theresa McBride has argued that the key to women’s greater economic freedom in the Middle Ages was the junction of home and workplace. The medieval woman could combine her household duties with production for the marketplace. While spinning thread, weaving cloth, and sewing garments for her family, she could produce extra items for sale. If her husband was an artisan, she could assist him in her free time, absenting herself from work as needed to bear and care for the

children and manage the household. The regulations of nearly every Parisian worker community, as recorded in the *Livre des métiers*, exempt from service in the citizens' militia a man whose wife is "lying in" after childbirth. A man serving in the militia stood guard from sundown to sunup. He needed to make up for missed sleep during the day. His wife probably acted as overseer of the shop while he slept. He was excused from duty when she was unable to do so. This exemption is surely in line with McBride's thesis that the wife of a medieval craftsman juggled housework, children, and economic production, with a time and a season for each.

For married women, this role as second-in-command was the most common form of economic participation in thirteenth-century Paris. Workers practicing a particular trade formed social as well as professional bonds, and a woman who had learned a craft from her parents often married a man in the same trade. It was not uncommon for a daughter to marry the *valet* of her father or mother, who might thus hope some day to accede to the status of master by taking over the shop of his in-laws. In Appendix 5 are listed three examples of sons-in-law who succeeded their in-laws as masters. Ameline the cordwainer and her son-in-law, Estienne of Puiseus were assessed as associates in all of the years from 1296 through 1300. In the first year, Ameline is listed first, suggesting that she was the more important partner. In later years, Estienne appears first. Apparently, he was by then recognized as the more important. In 1292 Simon d'Echanbaudour is listed with his son-in-law, Pierre. For 1296 and 1297, Agnes, Simon's wife, is Pierre's new partner. In 1298 and 1300, Agnes appears with Marguerite, her daughter. Evidently,

Simon died in 1296 and Pierre in 1298, leaving the two wives in charge of the business. A woman who married outside her father's trade often became an unofficial apprentice to her husband. She then would know how to do the work "with her own hands," and be qualified to take over the shop should her husband die.

Not all women learned a trade informally from their parents. Six organizations whose regulations are redacted in the *Livre des métiers* speak of a formal apprenticeship for girls. Four of these involved the silk trade, which was dominated by women.

THE "PUTTING OUT" SYSTEM

A single woman or widow did not have the option of handing off income-producing work to her husband when family duties called. Many of the widows and probably some of the single women had children to care for. Another type of economic arrangement that allowed women a similar kind of flexibility in scheduling work was the "putting out" system, which was relatively well developed in Paris in the late thirteenth century. It was used primarily in the textile industry. Women identified in the tax rolls as *ouvrières* or *chambrières* were given raw materials by an entrepreneur, or purchased them from him. The women spun or wove the raw materials and sold the finished goods back to the supplier, who then marketed them. A *chambrière* worked in the room, or *chambre*, which was her home. An *ouvrière* had a home large enough to be called a workshop (*ouvroir*). Neither was qualified as mistress, but some were independent enough to be subject to a tax levied on persons doing business in Paris. That is, they appear in the tax rolls which are the subject of this study.

The tax roll for 1300 lists eighty-one female silk workers and twelve male. Thirty-six of the women are identified as *ouvrieres* and five men as *ouvriers*. There were thirty-six *fileresses de soie* and one *fileur* (spinners). The spinners probably also worked in their own homes under the “putting out” system. Some of them may be women identified in 1292 as *chambrieres*. This would help to explain the tremendous diminution in the number of *chambrieres* between 1292 and the succeeding years. The regulations of the spinners’ community specifically prohibit pawning silk that belongs to someone else; indicating that spinners often had possession of raw materials they did not own.¹ The weavers of silk fabric prohibited a woman from hiring herself out to anyone who was not a qualified mistress of the craft, but she could accept work from anyone. The latter phrase, again, seems to describe a home worker in the “putting out” system.

It may be that some of the entrepreneurs who “put out” textile fibers for spinning and weaving tried to establish factories, with a number of persons working in one location. Two organizations of silk weavers had their regulations recorded under the supervision of Etienne Boileau. One was predominantly female, the other predominantly male. The latter had a rule prohibiting a weaver from working in the home or place of business of any merchant or tradesman, or anyone else not a master of the craft, save in the home of a “very noble prince.”² This suggests an attempt to prohibit the establishment of factories.

¹ “Se aucune du mestier devant dit prent soie a ouvrer d’aucune ame et elle cele soie engage, il est ordené que se la persone a cui la soie est en fait clameur, l’amende est de v s. de parisis au Roy.” (LDM 35:9)

² “Item, que nul de cy en avant du dit mestier, soit mestre ou vallet, ne puisse ouvrer dudit mestier chiez marchant ne chiez bourgeois ne chiez autres, quel que il soit, se ce n’est chiez mestre du mestier ou se ce n’est a très noble prince, auquel il soit du tout par especial,

A wool weaver, on the other hand, could oversee a small factory with up to twenty or twenty-five looms, but stringent rules prohibited his owning any looms outside his place of business. (LDM 50:3-7)

MASTERS' WIDOWS

The widow of a businessman in thirteenth century Paris was, in nearly every craft, unfettered in her capacity to manage the workshop of her deceased husband.³ Merry Wiesner reports that, in German cities of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, one of the first restrictions on women's economic activities was to limit the length of time a widow could manage the family business. At first, Wiesner reports, the widow was allowed to operate the shop for one to two years; later she was restricted to one or two months. In some cases, she was restricted to finishing work her deceased husband had begun, or she was allowed to work if there was a son who could inherit the shop.⁴ Clearly this was not the case in the Paris of Philip the Fair. In 1297 Marie of Dreues replaced her husband Guillaume as head of the family business. For at least four years (1297-1300), she operated the business with her son Guillot. In 1313 she is listed as the sole taxpayer, identified as a hotel-keeper. Jaqueline the firewood importer (*la buschiere*) was a widow already in 1292. She is listed in all seven of the tax rolls, which span a period of twenty-one years. In each, she is called an importer of firewood. Gile la Petite, who was already widowed in 1292, was a shoemaker from 1292 to 1300. Some widows were not able to

pour reson de la decevance qui y a esté faite et peut estre faite de cy en avant." (LDM 40:6.)

³ A few associations forbade a widow to take an apprentice. See discussion on page 52.

⁴ Wiesner, 195.

sustain the husband's business over a long period. Gui of Mesons was a strap maker, whose widow Gile took over the business in 1297, in which year she is also identified as a strap maker. By 1300, however, she was still in business at the same location, but was a maker of kerchiefs.⁵ It is clear from these examples that widows in certain German cities of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had far less economic opportunity than widows in thirteenth century Paris. Whether this is the result of change over time or merely a difference due to geographical location can be determined only when more data is available.

An analysis of the tax rolls also reveals that Parisian widows retained control of their husbands' businesses for their own sakes, not merely as caretakers until their sons grew up and could take over. Widows often continued to operate the family business, while their children relocated elsewhere. When a child did succeed a parent, that child was often a daughter.

RELATIVE WEALTH OF WOMEN AND MEN

While Parisian women of the late thirteenth century could and did engage in most kinds of crafts and trade, the majority of them were clustered in businesses that did not require a large investment in tools and materials, and in which the income potential was limited. These limitations are reflected in the taxes assessed against women as compared with the assessments for men. Fifty-nine per cent of all the women in the tax rolls were

⁵ All of these are listed in Appendix 5.

engaged in businesses for which the mean tax was 5 *sous* or less. Five *sous* was the dividing line between the *menus* and the *gros gens*.

Not only were women clustered in the least profitable trades; they were also, for the most part, less wealthy than men practicing the same trade. Within a trade, the average assessments of women tended to be lower than those for men. There are some exceptions. Women who worked in male-dominated crafts tended to pay higher taxes than did the men in those fields. The community of *corroyers* (strap-makers) had the most stringent restrictions on women working in the trade, yet the female *corroyers* listed in the tax rolls paid taxes averaging nearly fifty per cent higher than those of the men in the trade. Only nine per cent of the *corroyers* were women. Women made up sixty-nine per cent of the wax candle makers (*ciriers*). Male *ciriers* were assessed taxes more than three times the average tax of the women in the trade.⁶ In general, the greater the number, or the percentage, of women in a craft, the lower was the mean tax.

In some crafts, women were able to establish their own worker associations.⁷ It is difficult to assess the value of these associations to their members. It was in these crafts, primarily in the silk industry, that young girls had the opportunity to enter a formal apprenticeship. In some, women could hold the office of *jurez*, those who enforced the regulations. However, for only one of the six predominantly female communities, the silk weavers, do the regulations mention a *confrerie*, the related organization that cared for the

⁶ See Chapter 5 for more information on this subject.

⁷ LDM Titles 35 and 36, silk spinners. Title 38, silk weavers. Title 44, makers of silk headcoverings. Title 57, linen sellers. Title 95, makers of golden headcoverings.

sick, the orphans, and other members in need of help. In comparing the mean tax paid by members of these six organizations, it is not noticeably higher than that paid by women who did not belong to such an organization.

In theory, women in late thirteenth-century Paris, especially those who were unmarried or widowed, were relatively free to learn a trade, to set themselves up in business, and to join the worker associations which governed their trades. In practice, they clustered in the less lucrative trades, those which required little investment of capital. Many engaged in work that could expand and contract to follow the rhythms of a woman's life. A street peddler or a spinner or weaver in the "putting out" system could adjust her work to the demands of home and children. On the other hand, these flexible kinds of work did not bring substantial financial returns. The few women who engaged in trades dominated by men had greater financial success.

ANNOTATED GLOSSARY OF THE MÉTIERS

I have looked first to the rules of the métiers themselves and to other primary sources for definitions of the various crafts and other businesses discussed in this work. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Alfred Franklin. Where the evidence supports several definitions, I note all that I have found. I have divided the métiers into the same groups in which they appear in Appendix 4, in the hope that seeing like métiers together will clarify how they are related. I use the masculine form, except where the métier is dominated by women or the statutes use primarily the feminine form. I indicate the estimated total number who appear in the tax rolls for 1297-1300, data which comes from Appendix 4. (M=men, W=women.) These are the numbers of occurrences, not of individual men and women.

For métiers that are mentioned by name in the *Livre des métiers* (LDM), I have included the number of the title in which they appear.

GROUP 1. CLOTH PRODUCERS.

The production of silk cloth in Paris in the last decade of the the thirteenth century was nearly monopolized by women. In the making of wool, linen and canvas cloth women were outnumbered by men. A list of the métiers in this group reveals that much more was involved in making cloth than the spinning and weaving commonly portrayed.

- *arconneur*: One of the operations involved in cleaning the wool. M 19, W 2.
- *batteur de toile*: Perhaps the same as, or related to, *arconneur*. M 0, W 3.

- *calandreur, c. de soie*: Presser of fabric. *calandreur de soie*: M 0, W 3; *calandreur*: M 19, W 0.
- *carier de soie*: Wove silk squares (scarves or handkerchiefs). M 0, W 12.
- *chambriere*: Probably a woman who spun or wove in her room (*chambre*), using raw materials supplied by another, but more directly under the control of her supplier than the *ouvriere*. See discussion in Chapter Three. M 0, W 130.
- *devideur de fil, de soie*: See *fileresse*. *de fil*: M 0, W 2. *de soie*: M 0, W 3.
- *feutrier*: Maker of felt, a cloth made by matting fibers together rather than by weaving. (Or possibly an abbreviation for LDM Title 91, *chapelier de feutre*, felt hatter. If so, it may still be that they made the felt themselves.) M 44, W 3.
- *fil*: As a general term, it means thread or yarn, but in the LDM it is often used to denote thread of a particular fiber. According to Robert, when used alone it denotes linen.¹
- *filandriere*: Spinner of hemp and linen. M 14, W 17.
- *fileresse, f. de laine, f. a la quenouille, f. de soie, f. au touret*: Spinner. LDM Titles 35, 36: “*Quiconques veut estre fillaresse de soie . . . c'est a savoir desvudier, filer, doubler et retordre.*” All of these terms denote processes in the spinning of silk, and presumably of other textiles. The LDM contains the regulations of two different silk spinners' associations: Title 35, spinners on *grans fuiseaus* and Title 36, spinners on *petiz fuiseaux*. A *fuiseau* is a spindle, a tapered rod used to divide and draw out the

¹ Robert, 3:32.

fibers placed on the end of the distaff, or *quenouille*. (The expression *tomber en quenouille* was used to describe property inherited by a woman and, by extension, to lose value or fall into oblivion, a usage which illustrates both the monopoly of spinning by women and the general opinion concerning a woman's ability to manage property.)²

Franklin claims that the small *fuiseau* spun a tighter thread than the large one.³ The tax rolls do not distinguish these two kinds of spinners. They do show 5 *filaresses au quenouille* in 1300, and 4, 6, and 3 *fileresses au touret* in 1297, 1298, and 1299. The *touret* was a spinning wheel, which was apparently not yet a popular innovation.

Souchal says that the wheel appeared in Paris about 1280 and was used only for weft threads, as it did not twist the thread tightly enough to be used for the warp.⁴ The regulations of the cotton bonnet makers forbid the use of cotton spun on a wheel.

(LDM 92:10) By far the majority of spinners assessed in these tax rolls are silk spinners.⁵ See pages 63 and 58 for a possible explanation. See also *filandriere*.

fileresse: M 0, W 3. *fileresse a quenouille*: M 0, W 6. *fileresse au touret*: M 0, W 12. *fileresse de soie*: M 5, W 283. *fileresse de laine*: M 0, W 3.

- *foulon*: LDM Title 53. Fuller. A fuller shrinks and thickens the cloth. A valet fuller could not work in Paris unless he owned at least twelve deniers worth of clothing.⁶

Some valet fullers were hired by the year; others had to report each morning to one of two places where prospective employers would come to seek laborers. (LDM 53:8) If

² Robert, 5:719.

³ Franklin 1905-06, 328.

⁴ Sauchal, 80.

⁵ See Appendix 4.

a fuller died, his widow could continue to practice the *métier* and supervise the apprentices while she remained unmarried. If she remarried a man who was not a fuller, she could no longer exercise the *métier*, but if she married someone "of the *métier*, either apprentice or valet" she could continue to exercise it. (LDM 53:5,6) M 436, W 0.

- *laineur*: Related to fulling. *Laineurs* used a spiked instrument to raise the nap of the fabric. M 60, W 9.
- *lange*: Wool
- *ouvriere de laine*: Probably a weaver of wool in her own home, rather than in the atelier of another. See discussion in Chapter One. M 0, W 15.
- *ouvriere de soie*: The *ouvrieres de soie* are the most numerous silk workers found in the tax rolls. I believe that these *ouvrieres* and the *fabricantes de tissuz des soie* are the silk weavers. See the discussion in Chapter One. Only 1 person, in 1299, is called *tisserande de soie*. There are two associations of silk weavers in the LDM: Title 38, *Du mestier des tissuz de soie*, and Title 40, *Ouvriers de draps de soie*. See Chapter 2, page 56. The *fabricants des velours* are probably also silk weavers, since they are included in Title 40. M 17, W 307.
- *peigneur de soie, de laine*: Combed textile fibers to prepare them for spinning.
peigneur de soie: M 0, W 3; *peigneur de laine*: M 0, W 6.
- *pelotier*: Wound the spun yarn into balls, or *pelotes*. M 10, W 0.

⁶ ". . .s'il n'a xii denrées de robe au mains." (LDM 53:7).

- *seranceresse*: Combed linen fibers to prepare them for spinning. The rules of the linen sellers forbid selling linen not *serancé* in Paris, “because non-Parisians do not perform this job as well as Parisians.” (LDM 57:3) M 0, W 2.
- *sergier*: Maker of a fabric, probably of wool, of a distinctive weave, perhaps that known as “serge” in English. M 5, W 0.
- *tapissier*: There were two associations of tapestry makers whose rules are found in the LDM. Title 51 concerns *Tapissiers de tapiz sarrasinois* and Title 52 *Tapiciers nostres*. Women were forbidden to make *tapiz sarrasinois*, because the métier was too arduous. (LDM 51:7) Lespinasse and Bonnardot have included in their edition a second set of statutes, which they claim is a nearly contemporaneous redaction of the rules of the makers of oriental carpets, but Souchal argues that it belongs to the *tapiciers nostres* and dates from 1290 or later.⁷ Lespinasse and Bonnardot suggest that the term *tapiz sarrasinois* refers to thick carpets destined for floors and the *tapiz nostres* to thinner wall hangings.⁸ It has also been suggested that the former refers to a technique in which threads are knotted, then cut. A 1787 redaction of the rules says the secret of this technique was revealed by Saracens captured by Charles Martel.⁹ Anyone who purchased the métier of wool weaver could also practice both kinds of

⁷ Souchal, 63.

⁸ LDM lxxvii.

⁹ Souchal, 37.

tapestry-making. (LDM II:8:18) If he knew how and had the necessary equipment, he could also dye his yarn.¹⁰

Souchal refers to a second redaction of the rules of "makers of our carpets" contained in a letter dated 1290. In it, the apprenticeship is lengthened from 8 years to 10, and the prohibition against women is repeated, with the explanation that it may be harmful for those who are pregnant. It also states that no one can work with yarn which does not belong to him or to a master member of this association. Souchal suggests that this refers to a nascent capitalism, in which rich bourgeois, traders or bankers, are installing looms and hiring qualified workers to weave tapestries directly for them and for their trade, so that they don't have to deal with master tapestry weavers.

According to Souchal, the first vertical looms may have been introduced by these entrepreneurs.¹¹ Vertical looms use pedals, which isolate the weft strings that are to be covered with warp threads. This allows the work to progress much faster than when the warp threads are isolated by hand. While technologically superior, vertical looms are also more costly than the horizontal, requiring a greater capital investment. The regulations of the makers of "our carpets," that is, domestic style, forbid colporting on market days, "because of the thefts which take place in the workshops" while the master is out colporting. Souchal infers from this that the people who practiced this trade were not wealthy; that they worked alone, unable to afford valets;

¹⁰ LDM 51:II:10; 50:19, but see 54:6 for the dyers' complaint that, if dyers are not allowed to weave, weavers should not be allowed to dye.

¹¹ Souchal, 62.

otherwise the workshop would not have been empty when the master was out colporting.¹² Does it also imply that most of them were unmarried? Otherwise, one would expect that either the wife would do the colporting or that she would tend the workshop while the master was out. M 121, W 19.

- *teinturier, t. de fil, t. de soie, t. de toile*: LDM Title 54. Dyer of fabric and yarn or thread. There was apparently a long-standing quarrel between the weavers and dyers. Weavers claim that they are allowed to dye with all colors except *gaide* (a blue dye from the woad plant). Two weavers could even dye with *guede* (a variant spelling.) The dyers contend that if weavers can dye, then dyers should be allowed to weave. The weavers prohibit the dyers from weaving, they claim, "in defiance of the law and in defiance of nature and reason and especially in defiance of the King and his rights." They ask that dyers be allowed to weave and weavers to dye, but not one without the other.¹³ *teinturier*: M 179, W 16. *teinturier de fil*: M 2, W 0. *teinturier de toile*: M 0, W 3. *teinturier de soie*: M 13, W 0.

¹² Souchal, 43.

¹³ "Quiconques est Toissarrans a Paris, il puet teindre a sa meson de toutes couleurs fors que de gaide, mès de gaide ne puet il taindre fors que en ii mesons; quar la roine Blanche, qui Diex absoille, otroia que li mestiers des Toissarrans peust avoir ii hostes es quex l'en peust ovrer du mestier de tainturerie et de toissarranderie. . ." (LDM 50:19). "Nus toissarrans de lange ne puet ne ne doit taindre de gueide a Paris, ne de autre couleur, pour la reison de ce que il ne leur plaist pas que Tainturier de gueide puisse tistre de lange. La quele chose est contre Dieu et contre droit et contre reison, et especiaument et expressement contre le Roy et contre sa droiture, si comme il est avis aus preudeshomes du mestier de tainturerie de paris; quar li mestier de toissarranderie est tex que nul ne le puet avoir se il ne l'achate du Roy, et puis qu'il est au Roy a vendre dont n'est il pas aus Toisserrans a deffendre: et li toisserran le deffendent bien quant il ne voelent que nul ne le face faire s'il n'est filz de mestre. Mes, si plaisoit a la tres deboniere excellence le Roy, tout cil qui seroient preud'ome et loial, qui auroient le mestier de Toisserranderie achate, pourroient estre

- *telier*: Weaver of *toile*. Sellers of *toile* were called *chanevacieres*. *Teliers* do not appear in the LDM, but Franklin reports a redaction of their rules in 1281. A *telier* could not bring into his workshop a woman who was not his legal wife. He had to prove by the testimony of reliable witnesses or by evidence provided by the church that he had married the woman.¹⁴ This is a rare indication, for this period, of how a legal marriage was recognized. Many associations whose rules are recorded in the LDM state that one's own children, or the wife's children, can be apprenticed without limit, if they are born of legal marriage, but they say nothing about how such a relationship can be attested. M 25, W 48.
- *tiretainier*: Maker of a cloth with the warp of linen and the weft of wool.¹⁵ M 3, W 0.
- *tisserand, t. de linge, t. de soie*: LDM Title 50, *toisserrans de lange*. Those designated simply *tisserand* in the tax rolls are probably weavers of wool. While their rules suggest that this métier is reserved to men (no feminine terms are used), there are an estimated twenty-one female wool weavers yearly in the tax rolls. Franklin claims that the wool weavers were the *drapiers*, or sellers of cloth, who were among the wealthiest Parisians.¹⁶ I am not convinced, though it is apparent from their statutes

tainturiers, et li preud'ome Tainturiers porroient estre toisserrans, pour tant que il achatent le mestier du Roy. Et ensinc la droiture le Roy en croistroit et vaudroit miez touz les ans de cc lib. de parisis, quar on feroit touz les ans trop plus de dras et vendroit et achateroit on files et laines et moult d'autres choses, des quex li Rois auroit moult grant profit." (LDM 54:6).

¹⁴ Franklin 1905-06, 694 "qu'il se fut fait creable par bons temoins ou par creableté de sainte yglise que il ait espousé la fame."

¹⁵ Souchal, 91.

¹⁶ Franklin 1905-06, 270.

that the weavers did sell their cloth, at Les Halles and at the fairs of Champagne and of Saint Denis. (LDM 50:36, 38-42).

A wool weaver could have a workshop with a number of looms. If he worked alone, he was limited to three looms (two wide and one narrow), but he could also have three for each unemancipated son who worked with him, three for a brother and three for a nephew. (LDM 50:4,5) He could not, however, "put out" wool to be woven in a worker's home. Weavers were forbidden to make an alliance with dyers and fullers. (LDM 50:3, 6, 35). In most crafts, a valet owned his own tools. Since looms were expensive, weaving lent itself to nascent capitalism, with a master investing his profits in equipment and hiring salaried workers to produce the goods. While the limit on the number of looms per workshop is generous, the other statutes seem designed to keep this nascent capitalism in check. See *tapissiere* for related craft. *tisserand*: M 1710, W 78. *tisserand de linge*: M 20, W 0. *tisserand de soie*: M 2, W 0. *tisserand de toile* M 3, W 0.

- *tissu, fabricante de*: See *ouvriere de soie*. M 5, W 53.
- *toile*: Canvas; a cloth of the simplest weave, made of linen, cotton or hemp.
- *tondeur, t. de laine*: Clipped the nap of a fabric to a uniform length. *tondeur*: M 153, W 6; *tondeur de laine*: M 0, W 3.
- *trameur de soie*: Prepared the loom for weaving by stringing the warp threads. M 0, W 3.
- *velours, fabricant de*: See *ouvriere de soie*. M 8, W 0.

GROUP 2. SALES.

This group includes importers who brought products into Paris from near and far. It includes those who sold local products. It even includes those who sold elsewhere products that would normally be sold by the producer from the door or window of his or her workshop.

- *archal, qui vend*: Seller of brass. M 2, W 0.
- *avenier*: Seller of oats. M 75, W 35.
- *azur, marchand d'*: Seller of a dye of sky-blue. M 2, W 0.
- *balais, qui vend*: Broom-seller. M 2, W 0.
- *betes, marchand de*: Seller of animals. See also *marchand de boeuf, marchand de chevaux, vend porc*. M 5, W 0.
- *blatier*: LDM Title 3. Seller of wheat and other grains. M 174 men, W 11.
- *boeuf, marchand de*: Seller of cattle. M 10, W 0.
- *buschier*: Some *buschieres* are quite wealthy; others are among the poorest in the tax rolls. This probably represents a distinction between those who import the logs and sell them wholesale and the retail sellers. Retail sellers are also called *porteurs de busches*. *buschier*: M 150, W 47.
- *chandelles, qui vend*: Seller of candles. M 0, W 3.
- *chanevacier*: Seller of canvas. See *telier*. M 12, W 13.
- *chanvrier*: Seller of hemp fiber. See *linier*. M 17, W 10.

- *charbonnier*: Seller of charcoal. M 68, W 13.
- *chevaux, marchand de*: Seller of horses. M 116, W 0.
- *chiffonier*: Seller of rags; probably also a scavenger. M 2, W 3.
- *coquetier*: A non-Parisian who brought butter, eggs and fruit into the town. M 1, W 0.
- *couteaux, marchand de*: Seller of knives. M 2, W 0.
- *drapier*: Seller of cloth, probably wool and probably related to the wool-weavers, LDM Title 50. Franklin claims that they are identical.¹⁷ The regulations of the weavers do permit them to sell their cloth wholesale, by the *aune*. The *drapiers* are among the wealthiest persons in the tax rolls. There are an estimated average of 77 men and 2 women. There are an estimated average 410 male and 21 female weavers. If Franklin is correct that weavers and *drapiers* are identical, a few of the wealthiest must have monopolized the sales, while many limited themselves to weaving. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the distinction. M 325, W 6.
- *ecuellier*: LDM Title 49. Sold bowls, cups, and garden tools.¹⁸ M 39, W 5.
- *encrier*: seller of ink. M 2, W 0.
- *epicier*: Sold spices, drugs, candles, artists' colors.¹⁹ Though they are among the most important merchants, they have no association recorded in the LDM. M 277, W 54.

¹⁷ Franklin 1905-06, 270.

¹⁸ "...venderres de esuelles, de hanas de fust et de madre, de auges, fourche, peles, beesches, pesteuz, et toute autre fustaille." (LDM 49:1).

¹⁹ Franklin 1905-06, 218, 307.

- *fanier*: LDM Title 89. Seller of hay. According to the regulations, there were three kinds of hay sellers, *faniers*, *courtiers de foin*, and *porteurs de foin*. The *porteurs* are those who bought small bundles of hay from the wholesalers and carried them through the streets seeking customers. The *courtiers* were officials who acted as intermediaries between buyers and seller. *fanier*, M148, W 43. *porteur de foin*, M 23, W 0. *courtier de foin*, M 2, W 0.
 - *farinier*: Possibly the same as *blatier*, but perhaps they sold flour already milled. M 12, W 2.
 - *fil, fil de laine, qui vend*: See *linier*, *lainier*.
 - *fripier*: LDM Title 76. Seller of old clothing. The wealthier of them had stalls at the market. The poorer walked through the streets, crying "*la cote et la chape*." (LDM 76:17) A *fripier* had to swear that he would not purchase clothing from someone he knew to be a thief, nor in a brothel or tavern from someone he didn't know, nor a garment damp or bloody, unless he knew where the dampness or blood came from. (LDM 76:4). M 913, W 98. *fripier ambulante*, M 4, W 0.
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- *lainier*: Seller of wool. No association reported in the LDM, but imported wool, washed and unwashed, is mentioned in part II.²⁰ It was sold by weight or by the *toison*, which seems to mean the wool sheared from one sheep. Wool from England was sold by the sack. See also *liniere*. M 111, W 138.
- *libraire*: Bookseller. Persons involved in book production and sales came under the control of the university, rather than that of the provost of Paris. A statute of 1275, addressed to *libraires*, requires that they charge a just and honest price.²¹ In 1291 *parchemeniers* (sellers of parchment) took an oath to the university promising not to hide the good parchment. All parchment had to be inspected by university authorities. If a student was present when a *parchemenier* bought parchment, the latter had to limit himself to a 2 1/2% profit in reselling to the student.²² An *escrivain* wrote the book; an *enlumineur* painted the illuminations. A *relieur* bound the finished book. The tax rolls for 1292-1300 include 143 men and 16 women involved in the book trade.²³ *Libraires* were the wealthiest and most powerful persons in the book trade. In 1316, a new libraire taking the oath had to deposit a bond of 100 livres parisis, a considerable sum.²⁴ When the *libraires* were granted exemption from the *taille* in 1307, all four trades disappeared from the tax rolls. (None appears in 1313.)²⁵ M 69, W 6.

²⁰ LDM II: 1:13 and all of Title 25.

²¹ Fianu, 58.

²² Fianu, 60.

²³ Fianu, 55.

²⁴ Fianu, 226.

²⁵ Fianu, 228.

- *lieur de foin*: Tied hay into bundles for selling. M 15, W 0.
- *linier*: LDM Title 57. Seller of linen fiber. They sold it wholesale, after preparing the fiber. See *seranceresse*. Also designated *vend fil* and *vend fil de lin*. Women were quite active in the sale of raw fibers for spinning. See also *chanvrier*, *lainier*, *qui vend soie*. According to Franklin, the *merciers* were the primary importers of silk.²⁶ M 64, W 96.
- *marne, qui vend*: Marne was a mixture of clay and limestone. M 3, W 0.
- *mercier*: LDM Title 75. *Merciers* were already established in a place at Les Halles in 1137. They sold a wide variety of things, including hats, purses and belts, but made nothing. They did, however, have merchandise made and could embellish items with embroidery, pearls, ribbons, and so on. That is probably why they were allowed two apprentices, male or female, and two workers. Their regulations concentrate on ensuring that they not mix old materials with new, silk with cheaper thread, nor otherwise deceive the buyer by presenting an item that seems more luxurious than it truly is. The *métier* was free to anyone who knew how to do it.²⁷ *Merciers* are among the highest-taxed individuals in the tax rolls analyzed here. Nine of the forty wealthiest women are identified by the *métier* they exercise. Three of these are *mercières*. There are also two *mercières* among the lowest-taxed women.²⁸ M 626, W 158.
- *merrain, qui vend*: Sellers of wood for carpentry. M 46, W 5.

²⁶ Franklin 1905-06, 647.

²⁷ LDM Title 75; Franklin, 478ff.

- *oiselier*: Bird-seller. M 9, W 3.
- *parchemenier*: See *libraire*. A *parchemenier* bought parchment at the fairs of Lendit and Saint Lazare, but only after the King and the University had purchased what they wanted.²⁹ M 81, W 5.
- *pelletier*: Seller of furs. According to Franklin, this was not a luxury trade. Fur was the standard clothing for all classes.³⁰ M 1634, W 33.
- *perchier*: Sold wooden rods or poles, used to display clothing and linens at stalls in the market. (LDM II:15:3) M 3, W 3.
- *pièces, qui vend*: M 3, W 0.
- *poissonier*: LDM Titles 100 (fresh-water fish), 101 (salt-water fish). It seems that there were twenty importers of salt-water fish, who sold at wholesale. They paid a pledge of sixty *livres*, which restricted this trade to persons of some substance. A *poissonier* also had to have a fixed residence in Paris, "so that one knows where to find him." They were required to bring the fish directly to Les Halles, without stopping to sell direct at any private homes along the way. (LDM 101:15-17). I think it likely that *harengieres* are the retail sellers of these same fish, buying them at Les Halles and peddling them in the streets. *Regratieres* (LDM title 9, 10) were allowed to sell salt-water fish. (LDM 9:2) No one could buy fish in Paris, or within two leagues in any direction, unless she or he purchased the *métier*. A woman could only be *poissoniere* if she was the widow of a *poissonier*. A woman could, however, buy

²⁸ See Appendix 7.

²⁹ Fianu, 61.

fish for her own household without belonging to the community. (LDM 100:5) If a *poissonier* was ill, or on a pilgrimage to Rome, Compostela, or the Holy Land, his wife, child, or someone else under his command could sell fish in his behalf "until one knows for certain of his death, his life, or his return." (LDM 100:13) Those who caught fish in the Seine and the Marne (*pescheurs de l'eau le Roy*) have their rules recorded in LDM Title 99. *poissonier*: M 343, W 146.

- *porteur* Franklin describes a group of public officials called *porteurs-jurés*, established by an ordinance of 1415. There are too many *porteurs* in these tax rolls for them to be officials. Most likely they were retail sellers who carried their goods in baskets on their backs. *porteur*, M 241, W 5. *porteur d'eau*, M 191, W 3. *porteur de ble*, M 106, W 0. *porteur de busches*, M 105, W 3. *porteur de foin*, M 23, W 0. *porteur de sel*, M 30, W 0.
- *porc, qui vend*: Seller of pigs. M 10, W 0.
- *savonnier*: Sold soap, and perhaps made it as well, though some was imported. M 13, W 2.
- *soie, qui vend*: Seller of silk fibers. M 0, W 3.
- *tuiles, qui vend*: Seller of tiles, probably for roofs or floors. M 3, W 0.
- *vin, vin a seau, qui vend*: Sellers of wine. Many are designated *qui vend le vin x*, indicating that they are committed to selling the wine of one producer or one vineyard. Those who sell wine by the bucket are obviously retailers; perhaps they should be

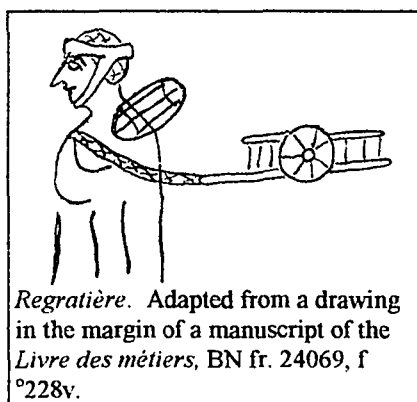
³⁰ Franklin 1905-06, 342.

included with *regratiers*, but it is not clear just how they operated. *vend vin*: M 68, W

6. *vend vin a seau*: M 17, W 0. *vend vin de x*: M 7, W 0.

GROUP 3. PEDDLERS.

I have distinguished street peddlers from those involved in other kinds of sales because they are clearly distinguished both in the tax rolls and in the *Livre des métiers*. A



peddler sold foods on the street, from a basket on her back or a small cart. The métier is called *regratiers de pain*, but in addition to bread, *regratiers* could sell salt-water fish (*poissonier de mer*), cooked meat (*charcuterie*), salt "by the *mine* or the bushel, at stall or window" (*saunier*), apples and other fruit (*fruitier*), garlic (*aillier*), onions (*oignonier, poraier*), dates,

figs, raisins, pepper (*pevrier*), cumin, cinnamon, licorice, eggs, cheese, (*fromagier*), unworked wax, "and all other *denrees* (items priced at 1 denier)." ³¹ Probably all the persons in this group come under the rules of LDM Titles 9 and 10, though not all are specifically named there.

Street peddlers of manufactured goods, called colporters, are not included here, nor are there any persons listed as colporters in the tax rolls. Goods made in workshops could be peddled in the streets, but only by the master or mistress of the shop or, in some

³¹ LDM 9:2,3; 10:3,4,5.

cases, a wife, child, or valet. Colporting was not a separate *métier*, but was a privilege granted to those who owned workshops and was done particularly by those who did not have stalls at Les Halles. It gave a craftsperson the opportunity to show his or her goods to large numbers of potential customers even if his or her workshop was not on a well-traveled street. It was also used by ragpickers and others who did not have an established place of business.³²

- *aillier*: LDM Titles 9 and 10. Seller of garlic. M 27, W 2.
- *boschet, qui vend*: Boschet was a drink made of honey and water. M 2, W 0.
- *buffetier*: Seller of vinegar. M 307, W 22
- *cendrier*: Sold an ash mixture for laundry. M 11, W 10.
- *charcuterie, qui vend*: Seller of cooked meat. See *regratier*. M 0, W 3.
- *denrées de Rouen, qui vend*: LDM Titles 9 and 10. Sold small items, costing less than 1 denier, imported from Rouen. M 0, W 3.
- *denrées*: Small items costing less than 1 denier.
- *ecrevissier*: Seller of crayfish. M 6, W 0.
- *fromagier*: LDM Titles 9 and 10. Seller of cheese. M 148, W 39.
- *fruitier*: LDM Titles 9 and 10. Seller of fruit. M 96, W 43.
- *grenades, qui vend*. Seller of pomegranates. M 2, W 0.
- *harengier*: LDM Titles 9 and 10. Seller of herring, fresh or salted, of mackerel and haddock. See also *poissonier*. M 89, W 51.

³² For instance, LDM 77:4.

- *haricots, vendeur de*: Seller of beans. M 3, W 0.
- *laitier*: Seller of milk. M 4, W 17.
- *miel, vendeur de*: Seller of honey; also beekeeper, according to Franklin. M 2, W 0.
- *moutardier*: Seller of mustard. M 38, W 0.
- *oignonier*: LDM Titles 9-10. Seller of onions, shallots, garlic, and such. M 6, W 0.
- *pevrier*: LDM Titles 9-10. Seller of pepper. M 10, W 3.
- *poraier*: LDM Titles 9-10. Seller of *poireaux*, a relative of the onion. M 14, W 26.
- *poulaillier*: LDM Title 70. Literally a poultry-seller, but the rules of the association allow her to sell "all kinds of *regraterie*," except for worked wax and fresh-water fish (each of which had its own association). M 241, W 57.
- *regratier*: LDM Titles 9 and 10. *Regratier* is simply the unspecified peddler, who probably sold a variety of items. I believe that all the persons shown as "peddlers" belonged to this association. M 923, W 589.
- *saucier*: Made and sold sauces. M 8, W 0.
- *saunier*: LDM Titles 9 and 10. Seller of salt. M 48, W 35.

GROUP 4. NEEDLEWORK.

Workers in this group are those who cut and sewed the cloth into garments, purses, household items and ornamental panels. They made the laces and fringes that decorated the garments. The work included here ranges from the embroidery of chasubles and altar-cloths to the making of simple cotton nightcaps.

- *aumoniere, fabricante de*: Maker of small, richly embroidered purses. No regulations in the LDM, but a redaction of the rules in 1299 is signed by 124 *mestresses et ouvrieries* of the association.³³ See also *boursiere*. M 3, W 27.
- *aumussier*: See *chapelier*. M 34, W 0.
- *boursier de soie, de laine*: Maker of purses. An *etoufferesse de bourses* made linings, perhaps for the leather purses made by the *boursieres* (Group 6). See also *aumoniere*. *de soie* M 3, W 3. *de laine*, M 2, W 3.
- *brodeur, b. de soie* Embroiderer. *brodeur* M 63, W 22. *brodeur de soie*, M 2, W 0.
- *chapeliere, c. de coton*: LDM Titles 44, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95. A great variety of head coverings was made in Paris during the period studied here, ranging from those richly embroidered with gold thread and pearls to simple cotton bonnets worn while working or sleeping. In the tax rolls, most persons making these head coverings are identified only as *chapelier(e)*. Those identified as making *coifs*, simple cotton bonnets, are mainly women. Their rules are found in LDM Title 92. Though the title calls them *chapeliers de coton*, the rules also allowed them to use wool. *Aumussiers* made fur-lined hoods. A *chaperon* was a pointed hood that extended to cover the shoulders. There is an occasional *chapelier de fleurs* (LDM Title 90) and *de perles* (Title 93), but no *chapelier de paon* (Title 93). Making headdresses of perishable materials, or of gems and pearls furnished by the customer, would require few tools and little inventory. The absence of any substantial number of these persons gives credence to the hypothesis that the tax was based at least partly on the value of tools

³³ Franklin, 1905-06, 53.

and raw materials. (See Chapter Five for a discussion of the nature of the assessment.) Statutes for the makers of silk head coverings (*couvrechefs de soie*) are found in LDM Title 44. The regulations for this association use only feminine terms, and it has, instead of *preud'hommes*, three *preud'femmes jurez* who are responsible for enforcing the rules. Perhaps they should be included in the group of cloth makers rather than with needleworkers, since their rules dictate that the head coverings be made on a loom. I have chosen to group under cloth making cloth made to be sold, not as a finished product, but as raw material. *chapelier*: M 185, W 41. *chapelier de bonnet*: M 2, W 0. *chapelier de coton*: M 8, W 0.

- *chapelier de feutre*. LDM Title 94 concerns those who trim felt hats with fur. It says nothing about actually making the hats. M 68, W 3.
- *chaperonnier*: See *chapelier*. M 27, W 2.
- *chasublier*: Made chasubles, capes, stoles, and such for the clergy. M 24, W 6.
- *chaussier*: LDM Title 55. A *chaussier* (*chaucier*) could make *chaucés*, *souschaux*, and *chaucons*, of silk or *toile*. These are all garments which cover the legs, sometimes tight-fitting, sometimes loose. Some are footed or have stirrups. The *chaucon* probably covered the foot when the *chaucé* didn't. See also *braalier*. M 245, W 19.
- *coiffiere, c. de fil, c. de laine*: See *chapelier*. *coiffiere* M 15, W 119. *coiffiere de fil*: M 0, W 3. *coiffier de laine*: M 3, W 0.
- *courtepointier*: Maker of cushions, bed coverings and hangings. M 72, W 2.

- *couturier, c. de robes*: See *tailleur*. *couturiere* M 396, W 213. *couturier de robes*: M 15, W 0.
- *couverturier*. M 22, W 0.
- *couvrechefs, c. de soie, , fabricante de*: See *chapelier*. *couvrechefs*, M 27, W 2.
couvrechefs de soie, M 0, W 9.
- *couverture pour chevaux, fabricant de*: made horse blankets. M 2, W 0.
- *crespiniere*: LDM Title 37. Maker of altarcloths, pillowcases, and *coifs* of linen and silk. The language of the statutes is equally feminine and masculine, but the eight *jurez* who enforced the rules were men. (LDM 37:10) M 48, W 128.
- *dorelotier*: See *laceur*. M 50, W 14.
- *etouffeuse de bourses*: See *boursiere de soie*. M 2, W 6.
- *fourreur*: LDM Title 94. Trimmed garments with fur.³⁴ May also denote those who cut and sewed garments of fur. See *fourrier*, Group 13. M 0, W 2.
- *frange, fabricante de*: See *laceur*. M 0, W 3.
- *gantier de laine*: Maker of woolen gloves. M 2, W 0.
- *hoquetonnier*: Maker of the garment worn under chain mail. M 2, W 0.
- *laceur, laciere, lacets de soie, fabricante de*: LDM Title 34. Maker of lace and ribbons. A *laceur* probably made decorative lace, while a *laciere* made laces to hold together parts of a garment.³⁵ Several *jurez* of this *métier* are called *x le dorelotier*.

³⁴ Franklin 1905-06, 342.

³⁵ Ibid., 417-18.

According to Franklin, the *laceurs* took the name *frangers-dorelotiers* in statutes dated 1327. *laceur*: M 4, W 0. *lacier*: M 2, W 34.

- *linge*: Household linens and perhaps some items of women's clothing. John of Garland complained that some men were usurping a feminine function by selling such items.³⁶
- *lingere*: See *linge*. M 12, W 58.
- *mitaines, fabricant de*. M 1, W 0.
- *panonceaus, fabricant de*: Made banners or hangings, often with the arms of the owner. M 3, W 0.
- *taier*: Made covers for pillows, cushions, and featherbeds. M 16, W 0.
- *tailleur*: This term is ambiguous, as it may refer to *tailleurs de robes* (LDM Title 56), *tailleur de pierres*, stone cutters, or *tailleur d'ymages*, sculptors (LDM Titles 61 and 62). In Appendix 4, I have placed the estimated average 185 *tailleurs*, all male, in the "ambiguous" category, though I think it likely that most are tailors of clothing. A master member of the association of *tailleurs de robes* had to be examined by the overseers of the *métier* to ensure that he was qualified to sew and to cut (*de coudre et de taillier*). A person who was judged qualified could have a workshop and be established as a master. This is one of the few *métiers* denied to non-Parisians,

³⁶ "Quidam homines usurpant sibi officium mulierum, quia vendunt mappas (tablecloths) et manutergia et lintheamina, camisas et braccas, teristra (a summer garment), supara (a short woman's garment with a short sleeve), teles, stamineas (wool chemise), pepla (wimples) et flammella (a nuptial veil)." (Scheler 1867, 42).

"because of the great shame caused by bad tailoring done by foreign valets who come to Paris and tailor in secret."³⁷

The word *couturier* appears in the *Livre des métiers* only in the phrase *valet couturier*.

It seems that sewing was not a craft which could be practiced outside the workshop of a master tailor. There were also piece-workers, called *valets tacheurs*. A tailor could have as many valets and as many apprentices as he wanted. A *robe* was a set of up to six garments, all made from the same fabric. See *chaucier* and *hoquetonnier* for other garments. *tailleur de robes*: M 139, W 0.

GROUP 5. SERVICE.

I have grouped in the category "service" those engaged in a wide range of activities. There are those who provided personal and household service, such as laundry, health care and security. Sailors and school-teachers are included, as are entertainers and those who made and exchanged money. Though their activities were dissimilar, they were alike in that they needed little or no investment in tools and raw materials. They didn't need a workshop.

- *anier*: Some parts of Paris were still quite rural. A number of people in the tax rolls tended animals or crops. *Aniers* tended donkeys, *bergers* sheep, *vachers* cows, *qui garde chevaux* horses, *qui garde porcs* pigs, *qui garde poulies* chickens. There were also *establiers*, who kept the stables and *fauconniers* who trained and tended falcons

³⁷ "...pour les estranges varlez qui viennent a Paris et taillent robes es ostieus et ailleurs en recoi: se que li mestre en ont grant honte et grant reprouche de la mestaille que il ont faite aucune foiz." (LDM 56:4).

for hunting. *Vignerons* tended vines, *ebourgeoneurs* pruned trees; *jardiniers* probably grew flowers and vegetables for local consumption. Exactly what a *forestier* did is not clear. M 1, W 02

- *atireur de busche*: See *marinier*. M 2, W 0.
- *avaleur de nef*s: See *marinier*. M 7, W 0.
- *barbier*: Perhaps LDM Title 96, *chirurgiens*, though the statutes do not mention barbers. See *chirurgiens*. M 415, W 40.
- *batelier*: See *marinier*. M 207, W 3.
- *berger*: See *anier*. M 12, W 7.
- *blanchisseur*. M 1, W 0.
- *champion*: A professional who stood in for another in a judicial duel. M 3, W 0.
- *changeur*: Three métiers concerned themselves with money. *Changeurs* made possible trade between different areas with different monetary systems. After 1305, they were located on the *Grand Pont*, which would later be called *Pont-au-Change*, along with the goldsmiths. *Usuriers* were the money-lenders, often called simply *lombards*. Lombards are listed separately in each year except 1313. I have included here only those specifically labeled "lombard", because many persons in the list entitled "Lombards" exercise other métiers. It may be that the term is used here simply to denote foreign merchants who are subject to the tax. There is also a separate list of Jews for each year. *Monnaieurs* were licensed by the king or local lord to strike coins.

John of Garland claimed that “minters, who make money, are said to be rich, but they are not, for the coins they make do not belong to them.”³⁸ M 139, W 0.

- *charretier*: See *marinier*. M 158, W 12.
- *charretier de boeufs*. M 2, W 0.
- *chevaux, qui garde*. See *anier*. M 2, W 0.
- *chirurgien*: LDM Title 96. A surgeon could not "more than once or twice" treat a wound which might have occurred in the commission of a crime without reporting it to the authorities.³⁹ No feminine terms are used to designate members of the community, but a statute claims that there are persons (*aucun et aucunes*) who "mix themselves" in surgery who are not qualified. The *jurez* were charged with searching out the unqualified ones and giving their names in writing to the provost of Paris, who would prohibit them from practicing the métier. This suggests that women (*aucune*) who were qualified would be allowed to continue. M 3, W 0.
- *citoleur*. Player of the *citole*, a guitar-like instrument. M 3, W 0.
- *commanderesse*: Acted as a "placement agency" for domestic servants and children's nurses. M 0, W 15.
- *concierge*. M 1, W 0.

³⁸ ". . . nummularii, qui dit-il, fabricant monetam, videntur divites esse, sed non sunt; licet enim denarios monetent, sui non sunt denarii." (Scheler, 27).

³⁹ "Que nul Cyrurgien souffisans d'ouvrier de cyrurgie ne puist afetier ne fere afetier par lui ne par autrui nul blecié, quel que il soit, a sanc ou sans sanc de quoi plainte doive venir a joustice, plus haut d'une fois ou de deus, se peril i a, que il ne le face savoir au prevost de Paris ou a son comandement." (LDM 96:2).

- *deschargeur*: See *marinier*. M 218, W 19. *deschargeur de merrain*, M 5, W 0.
deschargeur de vins, M 10, W 0.
- *ebourgeoneresse*: See *aniere*. M 0, W 5.
- *enchumier*: Repaired anvils. M 1, W 0.
- *epiciere le roi*: Supplier to the king of spices, drugs, etc. M 0, W 3.
- *erbier*: Sold and treated people with medicinal herbs. M 8, W 2.
- *escrivain*: See Group 2, *libraire*. M 70, W 0.
- *establier*: See *aniere*. M 1, W 0.
- *faucheur*: Reaper. M 6, W 2.
- *fauconnier*: See *aniere*. M 10, W 0.
- *forestier*: See *aniere*. M 2, W 2.
- *fossoyeur*: Dug trenches. M 9, W 0.
- *fourbisseur, f. d'épees*: LDM Title 97. Polished, sharpened and repaired knives and swords. They had to pay a pledge lest some *fourbisseur* abscond with the knives or swords given him for repair. (LDM 97:8,9) *fourbisseur*: M 168, W 6. *fourbisseur d'épees*: M 22, W 0.
- *hommes d'eau*. M 13, W 0.
- *jardinier*: See *anier*. M 2, W 2.
- *jongleur*: Entertainer. M 56, W 6.
- *lavendiere, l. de têtes*: Four terms designate persons who did washing. *Lavendiere* probably denotes those who take in laundry. *Lavendiere de têtes* probably means

those who shampooed hair, though Geraud claims that they washed dishes.⁴⁰ *Laveur de robes* would appear to be someone who cleaned outer garments, as opposed to lingerie and household linens which were the specialty of the *lavendieres*. *lavendiere*: M 15, W 193. *lavendiere de têtes*: M 0, W 32.

- *laveur de robes*. See *lavendiere*. M 5, W 3.
- *lieur de charettes*. M 2, W 0.
- *lombard*. A general term for money-lenders. I did not include here those in the separate lists of “lombards” but not specifically designated as such. M 2, W 0.
- *maignan*. Probably itinerant tinsmith or coppersmith. M 7, W 0.
- *maître d'école*: School teacher. M 17, W 3.
- *marechal*. M 119, W 12.
- *marinier*: A great deal of the merchandise imported into Paris came by boat. Many métiers were involved in getting it there. *Mariniers* sailed the large boats which brought goods from up- or down-stream. An *avaleur de nef*s met the boats as they approached the Paris bridges, where navigation became difficult, and guided them through. *Bateliers* ferried people and goods across the Seine. *Deschargeurs* unloaded the merchandise from the boats. A person *qui reçoit livraisons* perhaps took charge of the goods after they were unloaded. The *atireur de busches* dragged into port logs which had been floated downstream. *Charretiers* drove the carts that brought merchandise by land, or carried goods to and from the port. M 238, W 0.

⁴⁰ Géraud, 518.

- *mire (mirgesse)*: Physician. See also *physicien*. M 120, W 32.
- *monnaier*: See *changeur*. M 35, W 3.
- *pardonnier*. One who made a pilgrimage on behalf of another. M 2, W 0.
- *passeur* Probably *passeur d'eau*, another term for *batelier*. M 88, W 3.
- *peigneur de tête*: Hairdresser. M 0, W 3.
- *perdrier*. Partridge hunter. M 1, W 0.
- *physicien*: It is not clear whether there is a difference between *physicien* and *mirgesse*. M 8, W 0.
- *porcs, qui garde*: See *anier*. M 29, W 5.
- *porteur*: See *marinier*. M 183, W 3.
- *portier*: Concierge. M 10, W 3.
- *potagier*. M 2, W 0.
- *poulies, qui garde*: See *anier*. M 2, W 0.
- *procureur*. Took the place of complainant or defender during court hearings.⁴¹ M 2, W 0.
- *queu*: Cook. M 80, W 2.
- *reçoit livraisons, qui*: See *mariniere*. M 3, W 0.
- *savetier*: LDM Title 86. Also *cavetier*. See Group 7, *cordonnier*. M 752, W 25.
- *sommelier*: M 6, W 0.
- *taboureur*. Drummer. M 2, W 0.

⁴¹ Franklin 1905-06, 603.

- *vacher*: See *anier*. M 23, W 3.
- *ventriere*: Midwife. M 0, W 12.
- *vigneron*: See *anier*. M 85, W 2.
- *voiturier, voiturier d'eau. voiturier* M 8, W 0. *voiturier d'eau* M 20, W 0.

GROUP 6. MAKERS OF SMALL GOODS.

I have grouped in this category crafts which seem to require little space and no great investment in tools and materials.

- *aiguillier*: Maker of needles. M 30, W 13.
- *ameconneur*: Perhaps LDM Title 14. Maker of fishhooks. M 4, W 0.
- *annelier*: LDM Title 11 (gold) or 14 (pewter). Made rings. M 23, W 0.
- *archalier*: Perhaps LDM Title 20, *batteurs d'archal*. Brassworker. M 5, W 5.
- *attachier*: LDM Title 25. Made decorative nails. M 35, W 3.
- *azur, fabricant de*. M 2, W 0.
- *basanier*. Made shoes of inferior leather. M 86, W 0.
- *batteur d'archal*. M 58, W 0.
- *batteur de brezil*: M 2, W 0.
- *batteur d'étain*: LDM Title 12 or 14. Made beaten work of pewter. M 3, W 3.
- *bocetier*: Perhaps LDM Title 41. Made small molded items of metal. See *fondeur*.
M 15, W 3.
- *boitier*. M 6, W 0.

- *bouclier, b. d'archal, b. de fer*. LDM Titles 21 (iron) and 22 (copper and brass).
Made buckles. Those of gold and silver were made by goldsmiths, Title 11. *bouclier* M 351, W 26. *bouclier d'archal* M 3, W 0. *bouclier de fer* M 23, W 0.
- *bourellier*: LDM Title 81. Made horse collars and back supports for saddles. M 93, W 2.
- *boursier*: LDM Title 77. Made purses and *braies* (leggings) of leather. They were subject to the Master of the Sewers (*Sueurs*). They were *haubanier*. A *boursier* could work in his home and sell his goods by peddling them, or having them peddled, on the street. The community asked the provost to henceforth limit peddling (colporting) to the master or his wife, if he did not have a workshop. If he had a workshop, he should be allowed to send a valet. (LDM 77:4) M 167, W 22.
- *bouteillier*: Made bottles, probably of leather or wood, but possibly of glass. M 13, W 0.
- *boutonnier*: LDM Title 72. Made buttons and thimbles of brass, bronze and copper. M 42, W 23.
- *cages, fabricant de*. M 2, W 0.
- *carreaux de fer, fabricant de*. M 2, W 0.
- *chandelier, c. de cire*: There were two kinds of candles: those made of wax, and those made of suet or tallow. LDM Title 64 concerns those made of suet. Its members could not work for a *regratier*, for fear that tripe and other impurities would be mixed with the suet. (LDM 64:15) No feminine terms are used in the

statutes, but an apprentice was required to complete his apprenticeship with the widow if the master died, and with the widower if the *dame* died, suggesting that both or either might be in control.⁴² The LDM has no statutes for *chandeliers de cire*.

chandeliers: M 226, W 89. *chandeliers de suif*. M 13, W 0. *chandeliers de cire* are included with *cirieres*.

- *chaussonier*. M 3, W 0.
- *chevillier*. Maker of small hooks, pins, bolts, and such. M 9, W 0.
- *ciriere*. Maker of wax candles. M 25, W 57.
- *clavier*. Maker of a narrow belt from which hung keys and small tools. M 2, W 0.
- *cloutier*. LDM Title 25. See *attachier*. M 80, W 12.
- *contresangler*. Maker of a leather strap attached to the saddle to hold the horse's reins. M 2, W 0.
- *coquilliere*. Maker of beads of shell. M 1, W 10.
- *corbeillonier*. Basket-maker. M 8, W 0.
- *cordier*. LDM Title 13. Made cords from hemp, linen, silk, *teil*, and from hair covered with hemp. Among other things, these cords were used by valets and horses to pull boats upstream. (LDM 13:7) M 49, W 17.
- *corroyer*. LDM Title 87. Maker of straps and belts, of leather, silk, or silver. This association has some of the most restrictive rules for women, while not actually prohibiting them from working. No woman could take an apprentice, either male or

⁴² "Li aprentis est tenuz de parfaire son service entour la dame se li sires muert, et entour

female, unless she was the widow of a *corroyer*. (LDM 87:9) A man could not teach his wife the trade unless she was the daughter of a *corroyer*, though a later paragraph says he can teach his wife the *métier* when he has had a workshop of his own for a year and a day. (LDM 87:8, 17) The daughter of a *corroyer* could not marry outside the *métier* and teach her husband the craft. This provision was enacted "because the young girls would leave their fathers and mothers and begin the *métier*, and take an apprentice, and live a life of licentiousness; and when they have debauched and deceived these poor things whom they have carried away from their fathers and mothers, they send them back to their fathers and mothers, who can't refuse to take them back, with less goods and more sin."⁴³ M 718, W 68.

- *coutelier*: LDM Title 16 *couteliers fevres* (makers of knives); Title 17, *couteliers faiseurs de manches* (makers of knife handles). The latter also made ivory combs. A *mouleur de couteaux* does not seem to belong to either of these communities. M 219, W 19.
- *cuillieres, fabricant de*. M 2, W 0.
- *deicier*: LDM Title 71. Made dice for gambling. The button-makers, Title 72, made *dex a dames pour coudre*, or thimbles. Table dice could be made from bone, ivory,

le seigneur se la dame muert." (LDM 64:4).

⁴³ "Et ce establirent li preud'ome ancienement por ce que les garces lesoient leur peres et leur meres, et commençoient leur mestier, et prenoient aprentis, et ne fesoient se ribauderies non; et quant eles avoient ribaudé et guillé ce poi que elles avoient enblé a leur peres et leur meres, eles revenoient avec leur peres et leurs meres qui ne les poient faillir, a mains d'avoir et a plus de pechiez." (LDM 87:16). Franklin offers a different translation. The girls, he says, ask their fathers for money, open a boutique, and take a lover, claiming

horn, metal, "or anything else." The statutes of this community suggest that many gamblers were playing against unfair odds. The rules prohibit "loading" dice with mercury or lead. The statute against mismarked dice is both precise and thorough: it was illegal to make dice marked with all aces, with all 2's, with all 3's, with all 4's, with all 5's, or all 6's. Nor could one make dice with two 2's, or two aces, or two 5's, or two 3's, or two 4's, or two 6's, "which are called *per* and *nonper*." Also prohibited were dice scratched with a stone.⁴⁴ M 9, W 0.

- *deelier*. LDM 72. Made *dex a coudre*, thimbles for sewing. M 4, W 0.
- *denrees, fabricante de*. Made small, inexpensive items (from *denier*). M 0, W 3.
- *eches, fabricante de*. Made small hooks. M 0, W 3.
- *ecrimier*. Made boxes, small and large. M 11, W 0.
- *esperonnier*. According to Franklin, they belonged to the association of Lormiers, LDM Title 82.⁴⁵ They made spurs. M 17, W 3.
- *espinglier*. LDM Title 60. Maker of pins. M 73, W 16.
- *fermaillier*. LDM Title 42. Made rings, pins, and various fasteners of brass. M 41, W 43
- *fleuteur*. Made flutes. M 6, W 0.
- *fileur d'archal*. M 2, W 0.

that he is an apprentice. When the money (*le peu*) is spent, they return home. (1905-06, 214.)

⁴⁴ LDM 71:10, 11, 12.

⁴⁵ Franklin 1905-06, 307.

- *fondeur*: LDM Title 41. Made buckles, hooks, rings, seals, and other small items of copper and bronze. M 20, W 0.
- *fuel, fabricant de*. M 2, W 0.
- *fuselier*: Made *fuiseaux* for spinning. M 4, W 0.
- *gainier*: LDM Titles 65 and 66. Maker of leather sheaths. M 177, W 9.
- *gantier*: LDM Title 88. Made leather gloves. M 191, W 7.
- *garnisseur de couteaux*: LDM 17:11 prohibits covering knife handles with silk, brass wire, pewter, lead or iron, for fear these materials will cover soft wood and thus hide an inferior material. M 2, W 0.
- *lanternier*: LDM Title 67. M 19, W 2.
- *lormier*: LDM Title 82. Made harnesses. M 275, W 15.
- *mereaux, fabricant de*. M 3, W 0.
- *miroitiers*: Made mirrors. LDM Title 14 concerns mirrors made of pewter. Those made of other materials would belong to other associations. M 14, W 0.
- *mouleur de couteaux*: See *coutelier*. M 4, W 0.
- *nattier*: Made straw mats, primarily for covering floors. M 12, W 0.
- *oignements, fabricant de*. Maker of ointments. M 2, W 0.
- *paternosterer*: LDM Titles 27 (bone and horn), 28 (coral and shell), 29 (amber and jet). Title 28 uses both masculine and feminine terms; 27 and 29 use only the masculine. Made rosaries, necklaces, bracelets--things that were strung on a thread. M 61, W 10.

- *peautrier*. M 27, W 0.
- *peignier*: LDM Title 67. Maker of combs. M 17, W 0.
- *peintre de courroies*: Painted leather thongs. M 2, W 0.
- *potier de terre*: LDM Title 74. Potters. A master potter could not fire pots made by workers outside his workshop. Some potters had wheels. They could not work on the wheel after dark. M 13, W 3.
- *pouleur*. M 18, W 0.
- *relieur de livres*: Book binder. See *libraire*. M 3, W 0.
- *serrurier*: LDM Title 18 (iron) and 19 (brass). Locksmiths. Title 18 prohibited making a new key for a lock unless the lock was brought into the workshop. This ensured that the owner of the lock knew that a key was being made. The brass locksmiths made locks for little boxes, tables, and *hanaps*. They prohibited their members from repairing locks for a *gainier*, a *mercier*, or a *coffrier*, unless it was for their personal use, because, they claimed, the latter would take in old locks for repair, charge large fees, and pay the *serrurier* only about half the fee they received. M 138, W 2.
- *siegeur*: Also *fabricant de siege de paille*. Made seats of straw. M 9, W 0.
- *souffletier*: Made bellows, often very ornate. M 7, W 2.
- *tabletier*: LDM Title 68. Made wax tablets for writing, of wood, ivory and horn. More luxurious ones were made by *orfevres* and *ymagier-tailleurs*.⁴⁶ Their

⁴⁶ Bourlet 1992b, 1.

association prohibited accepting repair work from *merciers* and *gainiers*, except for their private use. See *serrurier* for a similar prohibition. M 94, W 5.

- *tisseur de cuir*: M2, W 0.
- *trefilier, t. d'archal, t. de fer*: LDM Titles 23 (iron) and 24 (brass). Drew the metal through holes of various sizes to form wire. *trefilier*: M 37, W 0. *trefilier d'archal*: M 5, W 0. *trefilier de fer*: M 2, W 0.
- *triaclier, fabricant de*. M 2, W 0.
- *tuilier*. Made tiles. M 49, W 0.
- *virolier*. M 22, W 0.

GROUP 7. FOOD PRODUCERS.

This group is made up of those who baked the various kinds of bread and cakes and of those who prepared other foods.

- *bluteur*. LDM Title 1. A baker's assistant. See *talemelier*. M 2, W 0.
- *boschet, fabricant de*. *Boschet* was a drink made of water and honey, with spices. M 0, W 3.
- *boucher*: butcher. Their rules are not recorded in the LDM, but they had an association as early as 1146.⁴⁷ M 381, W 19.
- *boudiniere*: See *cuisinier*. M 22, W 33.
- *cervoisier*: LDM Title 8. Made and sold beer. It could be sold only in the place where it was made (*l'ostel*) or in a brasserie, for two reasons: 1) *regratiers* sell bitter,

⁴⁷ Franklin 1905-06, 92.

bad beer, and 2) brewers are inclined to send little boys into taverns in strange places, where foolish people (*li fol et les foles*) cause them to sin. (LDM 8:4) M 118, W 27.

- *boulangier*. In the thirteenth century most bakers were called *talemeliers*. The *boulangier(e)s* may have made round bread, in the shape of a *boule*. M 15, W 0.
- *cuisinier*: LDM Title 69. Also called *oyer*. Sold prepared meats at a stall or window. They were forbidden to sell *boudin*, or blood sausage, because it was too dangerous, but *boudiniers* are mentioned in the Ordonnance of 1351. *Tripiers* probably were part of this community, but they are not named in the statutes. M 69, W 15.
- *fouassiere*: See *talemeliere*. M 7, W 14.
- *gasteliere*: See *talemeliere*. M 5, W 5.
- *huilier*: LDM Title 63. Made oil of olives, almonds, nuts, hemp and poppy seeds. They could sell their oil retail, by the quart, or wholesale, by the *somme*, half-*somme*, or "quarter of a half-*somme*." A *somme* was a saddlebag, but I have not discovered its dimensions when used as a measurement. M 117, W 27.
- *oier*: See *cuisinier*. M 12, W 0.
- *oublaier*: See *talemeliere*. M 96, W 10.
- *panetier*. M 1, W 2.
- *pataier*: See *talemeliere*. M 220, W 47.
- *pescheur*: see Group 2 *poissonier*. LDM Title 99 concerns *pescheurs de l'eaue le roy*, that is those who fished in the Seine and the Marne within the king's domain. *pescheur* M 88, W 2. *pescheur de loches* M 0, W 3.

- *petrissier de pain*. See *talemelier*. M 1, W 0.
- *talemelier*: LDM Title 1. Work in a bakery was highly specialized. The statutes mention the *vanere* (vannier), who separated the wheat from the chaff using a basket made for the purpose, the *buletere* (bluteur), who sifted the flour, and the *pestriseur* (petrissier), who kneaded the dough. (LDM 1:44)

The tax rolls add those who made particular kinds of bread: the *eschaudeurs*, *gasteliers*, and *oublaiers*, who made special bread for presentation and small loaves to be given to the poor or used to pay taxes,⁴⁸ the *fouassiers* and *pataiers*, who made cakes and pastries, the *tartiers* who made tarts. *Fournier(e)s*, often women, put the loaves in the oven and took them out when they were cooked. *Fourniers* are listed in Group 13 because the term was also used for persons who owned or managed a community or banal oven. Bread was sold in a standard loaf, which cost one *denier*. There was also a double loaf which sold for two *deniers*, and a half-loaf which sold for an *obole*. Variations were allowed only for *gastel*, a large loaf made especially for presentation, and *eschaudés*, a small sweet bread for special occasions. The price did not change, but as the price of wheat went up and down, the standard loaf became smaller or larger. (LDM 1:32-34) The *jurez* were instructed to go through the town, stopping at each window where bread was sold, and checking the size. If it was too small, the bread was seized "for God," that is, to be given to the poor. (LDM 1:36-38)

⁴⁸ Williams, 42.

The statutes of the bakers are the only ones that describe a ceremony of induction into the association. A baker had to work at his trade for four years before he was accepted as a full member of the community. At that time, he brought an earthen pot full of nuts to the home of the Master of the Bakers, with the *coustumier* and all the bakers and the valets. When he had established that he had completed his four years, he threw the pot against the wall of the Master's house. Then they all went inside and enjoyed *feu et vin*. (LDM 1:13) M 740, W 62.

- *tartiere*: See *talemeliere*. M 3, W 5.
- *tripiere*. See *cuisiniere*. M 18, W 29.
- *tueur de pourceaux*. Pig butcher. M 5, W 0.
- *vannier*: See *talemeliere*. M 11, W 2.

GROUP 8. MAKERS OF LARGE GOODS.

I have grouped here crafts which seem to require a large investment in work space, tools, and materials.

- *arbaletrier*: LDM Title 98. See *archer*. M 16, W 0.
- *archer*: LDM Title 98 defines *archers* as *feseres de ars, de fleiches et de arbalestes* (makers of bows and arrows, LDM 98:1). They were exempt from the *guet*. M 39, W 2.
- *argenteur de selles*. M 2, W 0.
- *armurier*: Made armor, perhaps of sheet metal rather than chain mail. M 221, W 5.

- *bahutier*: Made chests, usually for traveling, sometimes covered with leather. M 31, W 0.
- *baudroyeur*: The production of leather from skins involved several steps. The *ecorcheurs* worked beside the butchers, skinning the animals. *Tanneurs* treated the skins with tannic acid to preserve it. *Megissiers* tanned the leather with alum. *Corroyeurs* rubbed them with oil and grease to make them more supple. *Baudroyeurs* were the *corroyeurs* of skins to be used for belts and shoe soles (LDM Title 83). A *teintureur de cuir* colored the leather. *Baudroyeurs* were *haubaniers*. M 200, W 6.
- *blasonnier*: LDM 80. See *seliere*. M 15, W 0.
- *boisselier*: Maker of wooden measures for grain: bushel, *mine*, *minot*, *quart*, *setier*. M 5, W 0.
- *cercelier*: LDM Title 47. Made hoops for barrels. Franklin says they belonged to the community of carpenters, which includes *tonneliers*, or barrel-makers. M 19, W 3.
- *chalits, fabricant de*. Made bed frames. M 5, W 0.
- *chapuiseur*: LDM Title 79. See *selier*. M 58, W 0. *chapuiseur de selles*. M 0, W 3.
- *charpentier*: LDM Title 47. Made tables, benches, armoires (*huichiers*), doors (*huissiers*), windows (*fenestriers*), barrels (*tonneliers*), carts (*charrons*), roofs (*couvreurs de mesons*) "and everything else made of wooden boards." A cart-maker had to practice the golden rule; he could put no *essiaus* on a cart except ones he would like to have on the cart if he were the driver. (LDM 47:7) *Scieurs*, who specialized in sawing wood, are not named in the LDM, but are certainly related to the

craft of carpentry, as are *trancheurs*, who cut logs into boards. *charpentier*, M 509, W 16. *charpentier de nefs*, M 3, W 0.

- *charron*. See *charpentier*. M 46, W 14.
- *chaudronnier*: Perhaps LDM Title 12, *potiers d'étain*. Makers of cauldrons. Most were made of copper and their makers probably belonged to another association. M 53, W 11.
- *cochetier*. M 3, W 0.
- *coffrier*: Perhaps LDM Title 47, *charpentiers*. Made *coffres*, or strong-boxes, for travel or for storing valuables at home. They were sometimes also used as benches. M 41, W 11.
- *cordoannier*: LDM Title 84. The *cordoanniers* were the elite of leather manufacture, using fine goatskin prepared by a special process, originally brought to Cordoba by the Muslims. They were used primarily for shoes. Cheaper shoes were made by *savetonniers*. *Savetiers* (LDM Title 86) were shoe repairers. *Decoupeur de soliers* cut out the soles of shoes; *ecoupeurs de cuir* cut out unspecified pieces. *Galochiers* made wooden clogs to protect the shoes on muddy days. *Savetonniers* and *savetiers* could buy the métier of *cordoanerie*, and could then work with cordovan leather. *Sueurs* apparently sewed shoes cut by the *cordoannieres*. M 1314, W 24.
- *corroyeur*: See *baudroyeur*. *corroyeur*, M 142, W 0. *corroyeur de commins*, M 5, W 0. *corroyeur de cordouan*, M 13, W 0. *corroyeur de cuir*, M 13, W 0. *corroyeur de cuir rouge*, M 2, W 0.

- *decoupeur de soliers*: See *cordonnier*. M 0, W 3.
- *ecorcheur*: See *baudroyeur*. *ecorcheur*, M 102, W 0. *ecorcheur de mouton*, M 3, W 0.
- *épees, fabricant de*: Maker of swords. M 2, W 0.
- *fenestrier*: LDM Title 47. See *charpentier*. M 4, W 0.
- *ferron*: Forger of large items, such as the iron parts of carts. M 92, W 3.
- *fevre*: LDM Titles 15 and 16. Blacksmiths, workers in iron. Title 15 defines *fevre* as *marischax, greifliers, hiaumiers, veilliers, grossiers*. A *fevre* could work at home by paying a *hauban*, and could work outside his workshop with the permission of the *voier* of Paris (an official who had jurisdiction over the roads, or *voies*.) Title 16 concerns *fevres couteliers*, or makers of knife blades. The handles were made by members of another community, *couteliers feseurs de manches*, Title 17. The latter were sculptors, as most knife handles were ornate. M 270, W 10.
- *fondeur de cuivre*. M 2, W 0.
- *fontainier*: Plumbers. M 4, W 0.
- *forcetier*: Not in the LDM, but their statutes were redacted in 1288 and 1294.⁴⁹
Made large iron tools, especially forceps used by the *tondeurs*. M 53, W 0.
- *fours, fabricant de*: Maker of ovens. M 7, W 1.
- *forgeur*. M 3, W 0.
- *galochier*: Maker of wooden clogs. See *cordonnier*. M 5, W 2.

⁴⁹ Franklin 1905-06, 335.

- *haubergier*. Made coats of mail. M 26, W 9.
- *heaumier*. LDM Title 15. Made helmets for knights. United with the community of *armuriers* in 1407. M 30, W 0.
- *huchier*: LDM Title 47. See *charpentier*. M 183, W 11.
- *huissier*: LDM Title 47. See *charpentier*. M 8, W 2.
- *lampier*. M 17, W 2.
- *maletier*: Made *malles*, or trunks for traveling. M 13, W 3.
- *merrain*: Wood for carpentry.
- *megissier*: Prepared skins for making gloves and furs. M 221, W 10.
- *orgeneur*. Maker of organs. M 8, W 3.
- *poelier*: Maker of frying pans. See also *chaudronnier*. M 11, W 0.
- *potier, p. de cuivre*: Maker of pots. *potier*, M 155, W 55. *potier de cuivre*, M 5, W 0.
- *potier d'étain*: LDM Title 12. Made hammered things of pewter, including drinking cups, plates, forks and spoons. M 28, W 12.
- *savetonnier*: LDM Title 85. See *cordoannier*. M 2, W 0.
- *scieur*: See *charpentier*. M 10, W 0.
- *selier*: LDM 78, 79, 80. While Title 78 refers to its members as saddle-makers, they seem to have been concerned primarily with decorating saddies and saddle-bags. They painted them and covered them with gold, silver, or pewter. Title 79 concerns *chapuiseurs*, those who made wooden frames for both saddles and saddle-bags. Title

80 speaks of *blasonniers*, those who covered the saddle with leather. The entire community of saddlers, with the *lormiers*, paid forty sous per year for the privilege of not attending fairs and markets. (LDM 78:39) They also paid, with the *cordoanniers*, thirty-two sous per year for the king's hose.⁵⁰ In 1381 the *lormiers*, or harness-makers, asked to be separated from the *selieres* because they were "held in subjection" to the latter, who were "rich and powerful merchants, one of the *aisée* and rich métiers of Paris."⁵¹ M 329, W 16.

- *sueur*: See *cordonnier*. M 130, W 3.
- *tanneurs*: See *baudroyeur*. M 136, W 0.
- *teinturier de cuir*: Dyer of leather. M 2, W 0.
- *tonnelier*: LDM Title 47. See *charpentier*. *tonnelier* M 421, W 14. *tonnelier des estuves* M 1, W 0.
- *trancheur*: See *charpentier*. M 12, W 2.
- *trompeur*: Maker of trumpets. M 20, W 0.
- *trumelier*. M 8, W 0.

GROUP 9. ESTABLISHMENTS.

I have included in this group the métiers for which a building or room was an essential part of the product offered: that is, rooms for rent, bath-houses and taverns. I

⁵⁰ LDM 78:40, 84:13. This had probably originated as a donation to the king of a pair of leather hose, but had been commuted to a money payment.

⁵¹ quoted in Franklin 1905-06, 636.

include mills in this group because a miller could not provide his service if he did not own or rent a mill.

- *etuveur*: LDM Title 73. Bath-house keeper. A later addition to the statutes requires that men and women had to bathe at different times or places. The language of the statutes is inclusive; women were free to exercise the *métier*. M 113, W 21.
- *heberge, qui*: Perhaps a person who rented one or two rooms, more in the nature of a rooming house than a hotel. M 3, W 12.
- *hotelier*: Hotel-keepers. See also *qui heberge*. Tavern-keepers could also rent rooms. According to Franklin, nobles rented rooms or even an entire house in Paris when they were away.⁵² M 332, W 90.
- *meunier*: LDM Title 2. Miller. M 179, W 10.
- *tavernier*: Later, there was a distinction between taverns, where wine was served, and cabarets, where food was also available. There are no *cabaretieres* in these tax rolls. It is likely that in this period taverns also served food and rented rooms. Certainly the tavern was the scene of gambling and other forms of entertainment. They were apparently open only in the evening, as the "second crier" or "first crier of wine" was the signal for stopping work for several *métiers*. M 2587, W 109.

GROUP 10. MAKERS OF LUXURY GOODS.

In this group are found primarily those who worked with gold, silver, gems, and pearls. Embroiderers, decorators of luxury saddles, and makers of fine shoes have been

⁵² Franklin 1905-06, 390.

grouped with those who did the same kind of work with cheaper materials, since it is not always possible to separate goods made for the general market from those made for the elite.

- *affineur d'argent*: See *orfevre*. M 2, W 0.
- *barriliers*: made small ornamental barrels of luxurious materials such as precious wood, ivory, gold and silver, to hold liqueurs, mustard and other sauces at the table. M 13, W 2.
- *batteur d'argent*: See *orfevre*. M 2, W 0.
- *batteur d'or*: See *orfevre*. M 55, W 3.
- *brunisseur*: In a goldsmith's shop, polished the finished products. 5, W 0.
- *chapelier de fleurs*. LDM Title 90. Made headdresses of flowers and herbs. They could neither collect flowers nor work on Sundays, except with roses, during rose season. They were exempt from the *guet* "because the métier is free and was established to serve gentlemen." (LDM 90:7) M 5, W 0.
- *cristallier*: LDM Title 30. Worked with crystals and "all other natural stones." A widow who practiced the métier after her husband's death was not allowed to take an apprentice, because "it does not seem to the *preud'hommes* of the métier that a woman can know the métier well enough to teach a child to become a master, because the métier is too *soutif*."⁵³ M 58, W 14.

⁵³ ". . .quar il ne semble pas au preudeshomes du mestier que fame peust tant savoir du mestier que ele souresist a aprendre 1 enfant tant que il en feust mestre: quar leur mestier est moult soutif." (LDM 30:8).

- *croix, fabricant de*: M 2, W 0.
- *doreur*: Applied gilt to unspecified materials. M 22, W 0.
- *draps d'or, fabricant de*: M 8, W 0.
- *emailleur*. Did decorative enamel work. M 36, W 0.
- *enlumineur*. See Group 2 *libraire*. M 47, W 8.
- *fileresse d'or*: See *orfevre*. M 0, W 24.
- *fileur d'argent*: See *orfevre*. M 2, W 0.
- *jaolier*: Jeweler. M 3, W 2.
- *madrelinier*: Made cups and *hanaps* (stemware) of *madre*, a translucent precious stone. M 14, W 7.
- *orfevre*: LDM Title 11. Goldsmiths worked with both gold and silver. The metal was first refined by *affineurs*, then formed into wire or sheets by *batteurs d'or et d'argent en fil* (LDM Title 31) and *batteurs d'or et d'argent en feuilles* (Title 33). M 1262, W 15.
- *orfroisiere*: LDM Title 95. Called also *chapeliere de perles*, *chapeliere d'or*. The statutes use the terms *nul* and *nule*, indicating that both men and women exercised the métier, but they use only the feminine forms *aprentice* and *ouvriere*. M 2, W 6.
- *tailleur d'or*: See *orfevre*. M 2, W 3.
- *tailleur de manche*: See *ymagiere*. M 130, W 0.
- *trefilier d'argent*. Drawer of silver wire. M 3, W 0.
- *verrier*. Glassmaker. M 62, W 7.

- *ymagier*: LDM Titles 61, 62, and 17. Also called *tailleur d'ymages*. Title 61 concerns sculptors of crucifixes and knife handles and all other sculpting in bone, ivory, wood, "and anything else." A sculptor could work only on material that belonged to him, or to a member of the clergy or a monk, or a knight or a gentleman, or in the workshop of another master. Title 62 is called "painters and sculptors of images," but its rules all pertain to applying gold or silver to existing sculptures. Title 17 concerns sculptors who make knife handles. M 96, W 14.

GROUP 11. OFFICIALS.

This group includes those who worked for the city or for the king in some kind of official capacity.

- *auditeur*: M 1, W 0.
- *aunier*: See *mesureur*. *aunier*, M 2, W 0. *auneur de toiles*, M 5, W 0.
- *balancier*: Made and sold weights. See also *fabricant de poids*. M 21, W 8.
- *compteur de harengs*. Measured or counted fish. M 2, W 0.
- *courtier*: Public officials who mediated between buyers and sellers. *courtier*, M 299, W 0. *courtier d'epicerie*, M 7, W 0. *courtier de ble et de sel*, M 2, W 0. *courtier de chevaux*, M 141, W 0. *courtier de cordovan*, M 5, W 0. *courtier de cuir*, M 3, W 0. *courtier de draps*, M 22, W 0. *courtier de fils*, M 2, W 0. *courtier de foin*, M 2, W 0. *courtier de pelleterie*, M 7, W 0. *courtier de robe vair*, M 2, W 0. *courtier de vins*, M 103, W 0.

- *crieur*: LDM Title 5. Criers advertised the price of wine. An individual crier cried for a particular tavern, and could not work for the same taverner two days in a row. He carried a sample of the tavern's wine in a *hanap*, so that passersby could taste it. Criers were appointed by the *Parloir-aux-Bourgeois*; their primary function seems to have been to assure correct measures and fair prices. A crier could ask a drinker in the tavern what price he had paid for the wine he was drinking, and then cry that price, whether or not the taverner agreed. This was apparently to keep taverners from charging different prices to different customers. In the fourteenth century, criers also announced deaths, funerals, and public meetings.⁵⁴ *crieur*, M 163, W 0. *crieur de vin*, M 28, W 0.
- *jaugeur*. See *mesureur* M 9, W 0.
- *langueyeur de pourceaux*. Inspected pigs' tongues for disease. M 2, W 0.
- *lotisseur*: Official who oversaw the partitioning of imported materials. All members of a trade or craft association had the right to take part in the partitioning of imported materials related to that craft, to be used as raw materials or to be resold at retail. It was a jealously guarded privilege. M 2, W 0.
- *messenger*: Driver of coaches that delivered both people and merchandise between cities and towns. M 47, W 2.
- *messier*: Guarded crops ready to harvest. M 4, W 0.

⁵⁴ LDM Title 5; Leroux de Lincy, 1846, 134; Franklin, 233-34; Cazelles, 196; Fagniez, 283.

- *mesureur*: LDM, Title 4, Measurers of wheat and other grains; Title 5, Criers; Title 6, *Jaugeurs*. Measurers were appointed by the *Parloir-aux-Bourgeois*. Dry measurers could use only measures sealed with the king's seal. A measurer could not engage in buying and selling grain. The criers of wine were also responsible for ensuring accurate measurement of the wine sold in taverns. *Jaugeurs* measured liquids sold in barrels. Apparently their judgment was suspect. Their regulations provide that, if either the buyer or seller was not satisfied that a measurement was correct, a second *jaugeur* should be called in. If the second did not agree with the first, a third should be consulted, who would decide between the findings of the first two. Measurers of both grains and liquids were exempt from the *guet*. *Auneurs* measured cloth. *Mouleurs de merrain* measured firewood. *mesureur*, M 18, W 19. *mesureur de ble*, M 35, W 15. *mesureur de busches*, M 60, W 0. *mesureur de charbon*, M 2, W 0. *mesureur de sel*, M 42, W 0.
- *mouleur de merrain*. See *mesureur*. M 2, W 0.
- *notaires*: I am not certain that all notaries are officials, but both the king and the bishop had notaries for recording official acts. In 1300, Philip the Fair created 60 royal notaries attached to the Chatelêt. M 15, W 0.
- *peagier*: Collector of tolls on roads and bridges. M 6, W 0.
- *poids, fabricant de*: Maker of weights. See also *balanciere*. M 1, W 0.

- *poids, vendeur de*: I show these as officials, sellers of weights, to distinguish them from *vendeurs a poids*, who sold items by weight. I can't be sure that there is, in fact, a distinction. See also *balancier*. M 8, W 15.
- *pontonmier*. M 2, W 0.
- *routier*. M 1, W 0.
- *scelleur*: Charged with placing the king's seal on official acts. M 37, W 0.

GROUP 12. BUILDING.

- *batteur de plâtre*: Probably a *plâtrier* or *mortelier*. M 2, W 0.
- *chaumeeur*: See *couvreur de maison*. M 6, W 0.
- *couvreur de maison*: Roofer. A *chaumeeur* was probably one who made thatched roofs. M 2, W 0.
- *echafauteur*: Builder of scaffolds. M 16, W 0.
- *gacheur*. M 7, W 0.
- *maçon*: LDM Title 48 includes *maçons*, *tailleurs de pierre*, *plâtriers*, and *morteliers*.
The *mortelier* pounded stones into dust to make mortar. *Plâtriers* mixed the mortar that masons used to set the stones. M 566, W 20.
- *mortelier*: See *maçon*. M 27, W 0.
- *paveur*: M 20, W 0.
- *plâtrier*: See *maçon*. M 94, W 23.
- *plommier*: M 7, W 0.
- *tailleur de pierre*: See *maçon*. M 141, W 0.

GROUP 13. AMBIGUOUS.

There are several reasons that a métier might be included in this group:

- a) Many terms used in the tax rolls are ambiguous because they describe an operation, but do not indicate the materials on which the operation is performed. For example, *affineur*, *appareilleur*, *apreteur*, *batteur*, *couvreur*, *garnisseur*, *lieur*, *mouleur*, *peigneur*, *peintre*, *tailleur*, *tourneur*.
- b) Some terms have several meanings, making it impossible to place them in one group.
- c) Some terms are so vague that they say no more than that the person is subject to the tax: *marchande*, *menestrel*, *ouvriere*, *tacheur* (worker by the task; someone hired for the duration of a particular job).
- d) For a few terms, I have been unable to find a definition.

- *affineur*: See paragraph a. M 25, W 0.
- *appareilleur*: See paragraph a. M 6, W 0.
- *argenteur*. See paragraph a. M 8, W 0.
- *avaleur*. M 3, W 0.
- *batonnier*: M 2, W 0.
- *batteur*: See paragraph a. M 7, W 0.
- *brouetteur*. M 3, W 0.
- *buschetier*. M 0, W 2.

- *carier*: 1) an operation in the production of cloth; 2) to quarry stones. M 24, W 2.
- *carreaux, fabricante de*. M 0, W 3.
- *carrelier*: According to Franklin, these could be pavers, potters, or workers in marble. M 3, W 0.
- *chaenier*: 1) prepared the loom for weaving by stringing the warp threads (*chaene*); also called *trameur*. 2) makers of chain mail. M 15, W 0.
- *closier*: 1) farmer, guardian; 2) concierge; 3) maker of wicker baskets. M 1, W 0.
- *cofinier*: M 0, W 3.
- *colporteur*. Person who peddled manufactured goods on the street. See page 187.
- *cornetier*. M 0, W 2.
- *coursier*. M 2, W 0.
- *coutier*: 1) Made a fabric of linen and cotton used especially for cushions and pillowcases. 2) Made cushions and mattresses. M 24, W 7.
- *couvreur*: See paragraph a. M 116, W 0.
- *curandier*: M 9, W 3.
- *ecacheur de manches*. M 2, W 0.
- *fardelier*. M 2, W 0.
- *ferrier*. M 1, W 0.
- *fleurier*: 1) Grew flowers. 2) Sold flowers. 3) Strewed flowers on the floors of the homes of the wealthy. M 7, W 2.
- *fouees, qui vend*. M 2, W 0.

- *fournier*. 1) Baker's helper who put loaves in the oven. 2) Owner or manager of a banal oven. M 349, W 27.
- *fourrier*: 1) Made garments of fur. 2) An official who provided firewood, charcoal and straw for the royal household. M 65, W 10.
- *garnisseur*: See paragraph a. M 42, W 0.
- *gravelier*: 1) Extracted gravel. 2) Sold the dregs of wine, used by dyers. M 21, W 3.
- *greffier*: 1) Made hooks (*agrafes*). 2) Made armor for the legs (*greves*). 3) Made iron ornaments for doors. M 20, W 0.
- *grossier*. M 1, W 0.
- *hotteur*. 1) Hod-carrier for a mason. 2) Laundress' helper who carried the laundry on a *hotte*. 3) Carried grapes in a basket. M 8, W 0.
- *lampreuer*. M 3, W 0.
- *laveur*. See paragraph a. M 2, W 0.
- *lieur*: See paragraph a. M 19, W 0.
- *lieur de gibes*. M 17, W 0.
- *loirier*: M 25, W 3.
- *maitre d'armes*: M 15, W 0.
- *maitre des forces*. M 2, W 0.
- *marchand*: See paragraph c. M 33, W 8.
- *menestrel*: See paragraph c. M 5, W 0.
- *meresse*: M 0, W 3.

- *mouleur*: See paragraph a. M 38, W 0.
- *netteur*. M 2, W 0.
- *ouvrier de bras*. M 2, W 0.
- *ouvrier de nefs*: See paragraph c. M 0, W 3.
- *ouvriere*: See paragraph c and Chapter 1, page 56. M 0, W 9.
- *panelier*. M 2, W 2.
- *paonnier*: 1) Made headdresses of peacock feathers. 2) Sold peacocks. M 10, W 9.
- *pareur*. M 21, W 0.
- *paumier*: 1) Maker of raquets and balls for *jeu de paume*. 2) A person who had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (named for the token she or he was supposed to have brought back.) M 63, W 10.
- *peigneur*: See paragraph a. M 0, W 10.
- *peintre*: See paragraph a. M 174, W 0.
- *pinceur*. M 6, W 0.
- *piqueur*: M 5, W 0.
- *refraichisseur*. M 7, W 0.
- *relieur*. Probably a book-binder, but see paragraph a. M 13, W 0.
- *sachier*. M 1, W 3.
- *sainmerresse*: M 0, W 3.
- *tacheur*: Also called *gaigne-maille*, literally "earns a half-penny". Someone hired by the task, perhaps a handyman. M 71, W 5.

- *tailleur*: see under Group 4, Needlework. M 748, W 0.
- *tissonier*. M 2, W 0.
- *tourneur*: See paragraph a. M 52, W 0. *tourneur de moules*, M 2, W 0.
- *veillier*. M 11, W 0.

APPENDIX 1: Evolution of Women's Names in the Tax Rolls

This appendix contains the information which answers the question "When the second part of a name designates a metier, is it the metier truly practiced by the woman named?" Each entry contains the varying descriptions of a woman over the years in which she appears in the tax rolls.

If a metier in second position is replaced in another year by a true surname and moves to third position, it is confirmed as the metier practiced by the woman. These are marked by the notation (c).

If, in another year, the metier remains in second position and a different metier is added in third position, the metier in second position is considered merely a surname. These are marked with the notation (x). The rationale for these choices is explained in detail in Chapter Three. They provide the means of assigning a metier to those women whose trade or craft is not identified.

1292 f56 alainne la regratiere (c)
 1297 f85v aaline torte-fontainne
 1298 f140 aaline la regratiere (c)
 1299 f204 aaline la torte-fontainne regratiere
 1300 f279v aaline la torte-fontaine regratiere

1297 f087v aalis la cousturiere (c)
 1299 f208 aaliz la couturiere (c)
 1300 f283 aaliz de saint-mor couturiere

1292 f011 aaliz de vile-neuve teliere
 1296 f003v aalis de ville-neuve
 1298 f99v aaliz de vileneuve teliere
 1299 f159 aaliz teliere (c)
 1300 f238 aaliz de vile-neuve teliere

APPENDIX 1, Continued

1292 f020v dame aaliz la boucliere (x)
 1296 f008 aalis la boucliere (x)
 1297 f044v dame aalis la boucliere (x)
 1298 f104v dame aaliz la boucliere (x)
 1299 f169 aaliz la boucliere ferpiere
 1300 f247v aaliz la boucliere ferpiere

1298 f133 edeline chandeliere de cire
 1299 f185v edeline la chandeliere (c)

1297 f083 eudeline la coiffiere (c)
 1298 f137 edeline la coifiere (c)
 1299 f196v edeline la coifiere coiffiere

1292 f043v agace
 1296 f019 dame agace la savonniere (x)
 1297 f054 agace la taverniere (c)
 1298 f115 agace la taverniere (c)
 1299 f195 agace la taverniere (c)
 1300 f270v agace de la savonnerie taverniere

1297 f079v agnes de compens
 1298 f133v agnes la regratiere (c)
 1300 f262v agnes de compans regratiere

1297 f089 agnes la frommagiere (c)
 1298 f123 agnes la frommagiere (c)
 1299 f214 agnes la frommagiere (c)
 1300 f288 agnes la buschiere fromager

1298 f133v agnes la regratiere (c)
 1299 f186 agnes la chandeliere regratiere
 1300 f304 anes la chandeliere regratiere

APPENDIX 1, Continued

1292 f033v ameline d'estampes coiffiere
 1292 f079 emeline d'estampes coiffiere
 1298 f133 emeline la coiffiere (c)
 1299 f185 ameline d'estampes coiffiere

1292 f038v ameline de sanz couteliere
 1296 f016v emeline de sens
 1297 f051v emeline la couteliere (c)
 1298 f112v ameline la couteliere (c)
 1299 f190 emeline de sens couteliere
 1300 f266v ameline de sens couteliere

1292 f064v emeline la barbriere (x)
 1296 f027v ameline la barbriere (x)
 1297 f61 emeline dame feu guiart le barbier
 1298 f123 ameline la barbriere (x)
 1300 f287v ameline la barbriere osteliere

1292 p62 ameline la boutonniere (c)
 1299 f179v ameline qui fet les boutons
 1300 f257 ameline qui fet les boutons

1297 f079v emeline la chandeliere (x)
 1298 f133v emeline la chandeliere regratiere
 1299 f186 ameline la chandeliere (x)
 1300 f263 ameline la chandeliere regratiere

1296 f008v emeline la coquilliere (c)
 1297 f072v emeline la coquilliere (c)
 1298 f103v ameline la coquilliere (c)
 1299 f166v ameline la coquilliere patenostriere
 1300 f245v ameline la coquilliere (c)

1292 f038 ameline la cordoaniere (x)
 1296 f016 emeline la cordoaniere (x)
 1297 f051v emeline la cordoaniere (x)
 1298 f135 emeline la cordoaniere (x)
 1300 f265v ameline la cordoanniere vent pois

APPENDIX 1, Continued

1292 f026 ameline la courraiere (x)
 1296 f010v emeline la couroiere (x)
 1297 f176 ameline la courroiere courtilliere
 1299 f176 ameline la courroiere courtilliere
 1300 f254 ameline la courraiere courtilliere

1292 f061v emeline la godine
 1296 f026 ameline la gaudine
 1297 f210 ameline la descharcherresse (c)
 1298 f142v emeline la godine descharcharresse
 1299 f210 ameline la descharcherresse (c)
 1300 f285 ameline la descharcherresse (c)

1292 f013v ameline la joaliere (x)
 1297 f041v emeline la geoliere (x)
 1298 f101v ameline la jaoliere (x)
 1299 f161v ameline la jaoliere sauniere
 1300 f240 ameline la joaliere sauniere

1292 f063v emeline la pingneresse (c)
 1298 f143 ameline la lavendiere de testes

1292 f053 emeline la regratiere (c)
 1297 f085 emeline la tor-cole
 1299 f202 ameline la torcole regratiere

1299 f218v aubere
 1300 f291 auberee la talemeliere forniere
 1313 f042 auberee la fourniere (c)

1292 f035 aveline la harengiere (c)
 1298 f133v aveline qui vent harens
 1300 f263 aveline la harengiere (c)

APPENDIX 1, Continued

1292 f042 aveline la chapeliere de feutre
 1296 f017v aveline la chapeliere (c)
 1297 f053 aveline la chapeliere (c)
 1298 f114 aveline la chapeliere (c)
 1299 f192 aveline la royde chapeliere de feutre
 1300 f268v aveline la chapeliere (c)
 1313 f025v aveline la chapeliere (c)

1297 f064v bietrix la regratiere (c)
 1299 f221 bietrix la regratiere (c)
 1300 f293 bietriz la charrone regratiere

1299 f174v bietriz la regratiere (x)
 1300 f252 bietriz la regratiere peletiere

1296 f025v bourgine la teliere (c)
 1297 f060 bourgine qui vent toiles

1297 f089 katherine la regratiere (c)
 1298 f144 cateline de roen regratiere

1297 f078v katherine la coiffiere (?)
 1298 f132v katherine de rue coiffiere

1292 f037 Ysabel 3; et katelline, seurs, couturieres
 1297 f080v katherine la cousturiere (c)
 1299 f188v katerine la cousturiere (c)

1299 f175v colombe la courtilliere (c)
 1300 f253v colombe la regratiere courtilliere

1297 f040v coustance de crespis regratiere
 1296 f004 coutance de crespis
 1298 f126 coutance la regratiere (c)

APPENDIX 1, Continued

1297 f051 erembourc la teliere (c)
 1298 f112 erembourc de moustereul teliere
 1299 f189 erembourc de montereul
 1300 f265v erembourc de montereul

1292 f039v erembourc la charlemainne
 1297 f081 erembourc la cuisiniere (c)
 1298 f113 erembourc la challemainne
 1299 f190v erembourc la cuisiniere (c)
 1300 f267 erembourc la chaliemainne cuisiniere

1292 f070v erembourc la cousturiere (x)
 1297 f091 erembourc la cousturiere (x)
 1298 f146 erembourc la couturiere (x)
 1299 f220v erembourc la couturiere regratiere
 1300 f292v erembourc la couturiere (x)

1297 f061 flandrine la coiffiere (x)
 1298 f122 flandrine d'amiens merciere
 1299 f210v flandrine d'amiens merciere
 1300 f285v flandrine l'ouvriere de soie

1296 f016 genevieve la paonniere (x)
 1297 f051 genevieve la paonniere (x)
 1298 f112 genevieve la paonniere merciere
 1299 f221 genevieve la paonniere (x)
 1300 f265 genevieve la paonniere (x)

1299 f188 gile la cofriere coffrier
 1300 f263v gile la coffriere (?)

1292 f62 gile fame feu robert le petit
 1296 f26v gile fame feu robert le petit
 1297 f61 dame gile la cordoaniere (c)
 1298 f122 gile fame feu robert le petit
 1299 f211 gile fame feu robert petit
 1300 f285v gile la petite cordoaniere

APPENDIX 1, Continued

1299 f174 gile de saint cloost crespiniere
 1300 f252 gile la crespiniere (c)

1297 f073 haoys la lavendiere (c)
 1298 f127v haoys de biauvez
 1299 f167 haoys de biauvez lavendiere

1297 f092 heloys la normande regratiere
 1299 f224v heloys la regratiere (c)

1292 p106 la fame raoul le normant, le buchier;
 1296 f21 jaqueline la buschiere (x)
 1297 f038v jaqueline fame feu raoul le normant
 1298 f98 jaqueline la buschiere (x)
 1299 f155 jaqueline la buschiere (x)
 1300 f234 jaqueline la buschiere (x)
 1313 f3 jaqueline la buchere hosteliere

1292 f064v jehanne la poulailliere (c)
 1297 f089 jehanne engaaigne poulailliere
 1298 f143 jehanne engaaigne poulailliere
 1300 f287v la poulailliere (c)

1292 f025v jehanne la bouchiere (c)
 1296 f013 jehanne la bouchiere (c)
 1297 f075v jehanne l'engleiche la bouchiere

1297 f059 jehanne la boudiniere (x)
 1298 f119 jehanne la boudiniere taverniere
 1299 f204v jehanne la boudiniere (x)
 1300 f280 jehanne la boudiniere (x)

1297 f087v jehanne la lavendiere (c)
 1298 f142 jehanne la borgoigne
 1299 f208v jehanne la bourgoingne lavendiere
 1300 f283v jehanne la bourgoingne lavendiere

APPENDIX 1, Continued

1296 f011v jehanne la boutonniere (x)
 1297 f045 jehanne la boutonniere (x)
 1298 f105 jehanne la boutonniere taverniere
 1299 f170v jehanne la boutonniere (x)
 1300 f248v jehanne la boutonniere (x)
 1313 f12 jehanne la bottoniere (x)

1299 f198v jehanne la ciriere (c)
 1300 f274 jehanne la chandeliere de cire

1296 f020v jehanne la couteliere (x)
 1297 f055v jehanne la cousturiere blaatiere
 1298 f116v jehanne la couteliere (x)
 1299 f197 jehanne la couteliere aveniere
 1300 f273 jehanne la couturiere vent pois

1297 f066 jehanne la forniere (x)
 1300 f296v jehanne la forniere huchiere

1298 f142v jehanne la regratiere (c)
 1299 f210v jehanne la normande regratiere

1296 f23 jehanne la verriere marcheande de teiles
 1297 f58 dame jehanne la voirriere (x)

1298 f150 jehanne la monnoiere (c)
 1299 f228 jehanne piau-d'oe monnoiere
 1300 f299 jehanne piau-d'oe monnaiere

1296 f13 jehanne la tire-fer (x)
 1298 f107v jehanne la tire-fer (x)
 1300 f253 jehanne la tire-fer courtilliere

APPENDIX 1, Continued

1296 f31v jehanne aus coustes
 1297 f65v dame jehanne aus coutes
 1299 f223v jehanne aux-coutes osteliere
 1300 f295 jehanne osteliere (c)

1292 f36v jehanne la coffriere (c)
 1296 f15v jehanne la cofriere (c)
 1297 f50v jehanne la convertte coffriere
 1299 f186v jehanne la coffriere (c)
 1300 f263v jehanne mere pierre le coffrier

1297 f86 jourdainne la normande
 1298 f140 jordainne la normande lanriere
 1299 f204 jourdainne la lanriere (c)

1298 f145v liece la flamenge
 1299 f219 dame liece d'alamaingne lavendiere
 1300 f291v dame liize la lavendiere (c)

1296 f022 lyjart la courraiere (x)
 1297 f057 lijart la corroiery (x)
 1298 f118v lyjart la corraiere mesurerresse
 1299 f200v lyjart la courraiere mesurerresse
 1300 f276v lijart la mesurerresse (c)

1299 f156v luce la crespiniere lavendiere
 1300 f235v luce la crespiniere (x)

1299 f152 mabile la ciriere (c)
 1300 f231 mabile la ciriere ciriere

1292 f051v maheut ff guillaume le normant
 1296 f22 maheut la normande taverniere
 1297 f57v maheut la regratiere (c)
 1298 f118v mahaut de courbueil regratiere

APPENDIX 1, Continued

1292 f068 maheut la letiere (x)
1296 f029 maheut la letiere (x)
1297 f063 maheut la letiere (x)
1299 f217 maheut la letiere taverniere
1300 f290v maheut la letiere taverniere

1298 f124v maheut la pastoiere (c)
1299 f154 maheut la rousse pataiere
1300 f233 maheut la rousse pataiere

1299 f215 margot la poulailliere (c)
1313 f038 margot la piroude poulailliere

1299 f214v marguerite d'arcueil poulailliere
1300 f288v marguerite la poulailliere (c)

1297 f091v marguerite la poulailliere (c)
1298 f146v marguerite la boiteuse poulailliere
1299 f222 marguerite la bciteuse poulailliere
1313 f044 marguerite la poulailliere (c)

1298 f128 marguerite la poissoniere (c)
1299 f167 marguerite la huete poissoniere
1300 f246 marguerite la huete

1297 f092 marie d'arras potiere
1299 f225 marie la potiere (c)
1300 f296v marie d'arraz potiere

1296 f013 marie la couturiere (c)
1297 f047 marie la gueronne cousturiere
1298 f107 marie la gueronne

APPENDIX 1, Continued

1297 f071v milecent la regratiere (c)
 1298 f102 mileseut la regratiere (c)
 1299 f163 mileseut de choise regratiere
 1300 f251 milesent la regratiere (c)

1297 f084 nicole la vachiere (x)
 1298 f138 nichole la vachiere tisserrande

1297 f68 nicole la cousturiere (?)
 1298 f124 nicole la couturiere (?)
 1299 f152 nicole de sainte-genevieve crepiniere
 1300 f231 nicole de sainte-genevieve crespiniere

1299 f165v houdeart de biau leu cerceliere
 1300 f244v houdeart la cerceliere de biauleu
 1313 f009v houdart la cerceliere (c)

1299 f176 perronnelle la cavetiere courtilliere
 1300 f254 perronnelle la cavetiere courtilliere
 1313 f015v perronnelle la savatiere (c)

1297 f075 perroneie la regratiere (c)
 1298 f106v perronnelle la chauciere regratiere
 1299 f173 perronnelle la chauciere regratiere
 1300 f251 perronnelle la chauciere regratiere

1298 f147v perronnelle la regratiere (c)
 1299 f225 perronnelle la jolive regratiere

1298 f137v perronnelle la poissonniere (c)
 1300 f274v perronnelle la mestresse poissonniere

1296 f019v pince de rains coiffiere
 1297 f055 pince la coiffiere (c)
 1298 f116 pince la coiffiere (c)

APPENDIX 1, Continued

1298 f143 richeut la regratiere (c)
1299 f213 richeut la hobesetiere regratiere
1300 f287v richeut la haubestiere regratiere

1297 f075v thomasse la platriere (x)
1298 f129v thomasse la platriere (x)
1299 f174v thomasse la platriere ouvriere de soie
1300 f252z thomasse la platriere regratiere

1298 f146v isabiau d'orliens coiffiere
1299 f221v isabiau du mans coiffiere
1300 f293v isabel la coiffiere (c)

1292 f53v dame ysabel la concierge (x)
1296 f22v isabiau la concierge hosteliere
1297 f57v ysabel la concierge (x)
1298 isabiau la concierge (x)
1299 f201v isabiau la concierge (x)
1300 f277v isabel la concierge (x)

APPENDIX 2.

Group A. Women in the Parisian tax rolls for 1297, 1298, 1299, and 1300 whose metier is explicitly stated, as in the form "Poince de rains coiffiere." They are grouped according to the type of work, as explained in the Glossary. A summary and explanation can be found in Chapter Three:

cloth producers

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
batteur de toile		1			0
calandreur de soie			1		0
carier de soie		1	1	2	1
chambriere	13	18	7	6	11
devideur de fil	1				0
devideur de soie				1	0
filandriere	1				0
fileresse				1	0
fileresse a la quenouil				2	1
fileresse au touret	1	2	1		1
fileresse de laine				1	0
fileresse de soie	15	22	23	36	24
laineur		1		2	1
ouvriere de laine		2	3		1
ouvriere de soie	9	25	34	36	26
peigneur de laine		1		1	1
peigneur de soie				1	0
tapissier	1				0
teinturier de toile			1		0
telier	1	6	2	2	3
tisserand	2	5	3	8	5
tissu, fabricante de	1	7	5	5	5
tondeur		1			0
tondeur de laine		1			0
trameur de soie			1		0
<u>Subtotal: cloth producers</u>	45	93	82	104	81

sales

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
avenier		2	4	1	2
blatier	2	1			1
buschier		3		1	1
chandelles, qui vend	1				0
chanevacier	1				0
chanvrier			1		0
charbonnier		1			0
courtilier			7	4	3
drapier		1	1		1
epicier		2	2	1	1

APPENDIX 2, Continued

sales

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
fanier	2	2	2	2	2
fil, qui vend			2	3	1
fripier	2	4	6	6	5
lainier	2	15	10	12	10
libraire		1		1	1
linier	1	1	3	4	2
mercier	2	14	10	15	10
merrain, qui vend			1	1	1
pelletier			2	1	1
perchier			1		0
poissonier	2	10	13	12	9
porteur de busches		1			0
soie, qui vend			1		0
vins, qui vend			1	1	1
<u>Subtotal: sales</u>	15	58	67	65	51

peddlers

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
buffetier		2	2		1
charcuterie, qui vend			1		0
denrees de Rouen, qui v				1	0
fromagier		1	2	2	1
fruitier	2	1		2	1
harengier	1	2	4	5	3
laitier		1			0
poissonier d'eau douce		1			0
poraier		2	1		1
porteur d'eau		1			0
poulaillier	2	3	2	1	2
regratier	11	37	38	44	33
saunier		2	3	4	2
<u>Subtotal: peddlers</u>	16	53	53	59	45

needlework

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
aumonieres, fabricant de	2		4	3	2
boursier de laine			1		0
boursier de soie				1	0

APPENDIX 2, Continued

needlework

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
brodeur	1	1		2	1
chapelier			1	3	1
chapelier de feutre			1		0
chasublier	1	1			1
coiffier de fil		1			0
coiffiere	5	5	2	1	3
couturier	1	4	3	8	4
couvrechefs de soie, fab.			3		1
couvrechefs, fabricant de	1	3	2	3	2
crepiniere		2	11	2	4
etouffeurresse de bourses			2		1
frange, fabricante de		1			0
laciere		1	3	4	2
lingere	2	2	6	5	4
<u>Subtotal: needlework</u>	13	21	39	32	26

service

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
barbier				1	0
commanderesse		2	2	1	1
deschargeur		1			0
ebourgeonerresse		1			0
epiciere le roi	1				0
fourbisseur			1	1	1
jongleur	1	1			1
lavendiere	3	11	3	7	6
lavendiere de tetes		3	5	3	3
laveur de robes		1			0
maitre d'ecole		1			0
mirgesse		1		2	1
passeur		1			0
peigneur de tetes			1		0
porcs, qui garde				1	0
savetier			1	1	1
<u>Subtotal: service</u>	5	23	13	17	15

APPENDIX 2, Continued

small goods

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
aiguillier				1	0
archalier			1		0
attachier				1	0
batteur d'etain				1	0
bocetier			1		0
bouclier			3		1
boursier	1			1	1
boutonnier			1	1	1
chandelier		2	2	2	2
cirier		2	1	2	1
corroyer	2	2	3	6	3
coutelier			2	1	1
denrees, fabricant de			1		0
eches, fabricant de			1		0
formier		2	2	1	1
paternosterer			1		0
potier de terre		1			0
<u>Subtotal: small goods</u>	3	9	19	17	12

food producers

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
boschet, fabricant de				1	0
boucher	1				0
cervoisier				1	0
cuisinier	1			1	1
huilier		2			1
pataier	1		2	1	1
pescheur de loches	1				0
talemelier	6	1	5	3	4
tartier		1			0
tripier	2	2	2	1	2
<u>Subtotal: food producers</u>	12	6	9	8	9

large goods

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
armurier		1			0
baudroyeur	1				0
cercelier			1		0

APPENDIX 2, Continued

large goods

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
chapuiseur de selles				1	0
charpentier	1			1	1
chaudronnier			1	2	1
coffrier	1		1		1
cordoannier				1	0
decoupeur de soliers		1			0
fevre			1		0
haubergier	1			2	1
huchier		1		1	1
maletier	1				0
megissier		1	1		1
orgueneur			1		0
potier	1				0
potier d'etain		1	1	2	1
selier		1	1	1	1
sueur	1				0
tonnelier		1	1	1	1
<u>Subtotal: large goods</u>	7	7	9	12	9

establishments

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
etuveur		1	2	1	1
heberge, qui			2	2	1
hotelier	4	3	9	14	8
tavernier	4	10	7	14	9
<u>Subtotal: establishments</u>	8	14	20	31	18

luxury goods

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
batteur d'or		1			0
enlumineur		2			1
fileresse d'or		2	4	2	2
orfevre			3	2	1
orfroisier				2	1
tailleur d'or	1				0
ymagier			1	2	1
<u>Subtotal: luxury goods</u>	1	5	8	8	6

APPENDIX 2, Continued

officials

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
balancier	1	1			1
mesureur		1	2		1
mesureur de ble		1	2	2	1
poids, vendeur de		2	1	2	1
<u>Subtotal: officials</u>	1	5	5	4	4

building

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
macon	1				0
plastrier	2				1
<u>Subtotal: building</u>	3				1

ambiguous

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
carreaux, fabricante de		1			0
curandier				1	0
fournier				1	0
fourrier			1		0
loirier			1		0
marchand				1	0
meresse	1				0
ouvrier de neufs				1	0
sachier				1	0
<u>Subtotal: ambiguous</u>	1	1	2	5	2

APPENDIX 3.

Group B. Women in the Parisian tax rolls whose description includes a metier immediately after the baptismal name, as in the form "'Emeline la barbiere.'" They are grouped according to the type of work, as explained in the Glossary. A summary and explanation can be found in Chapter Three.

cloth producers

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
arconneur		1			0
feutrier				2	1
filandriere	4		2	2	2
seranceresse	1				0
tapissier	2	2	3	2	2
teinturier	3	2	2	2	2
telier	1	2	3	3	2
tisserand	6	3	2	3	4
tondeur		1	1		1
Subtotal: cloth producers	17	11	13	14	14

sales

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
avenier	1	2	2	3	2
blatier	1				0
buschier	4	7	3	6	5
chanevacier	2	2	2		2
chanvrier	1	1	1	1	1
charbonnier	2	1	2	1	2
chiffonier	1	1			1
courtillier			2		1
ecuellier		2	1		1
epicier	2	3	4	2	3
fanier	4	2	2	3	3
farinier			1		0
fripier	5	6	5	10	7
lainier	3	4	4	2	3
linier	8	12	11	9	10
mercier	3	5	4	9	5
oiselier		2			1
parcheminier	1			2	1
pelletier	2	6	1	5	4
pellier	1	1			1
perrier			1	1	1
poissonier	3	11	2	5	5
savonnier	1				0
Subtotal: sales	45	68	48	59	55

APPENDIX 3, Continued.

peddlers

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
aillier		1			0
buffetier	2	4			2
cendrier	2	1	2	1	2
fromagier	3	6	4	1	4
fruitier	5	6	3	2	4
harengier	2	3		4	2
laitier	4		2	2	2
pevrier	1		1		1
poraier	2	5	1	2	3
poulaillier	6	6	2	5	5
regratier	32	37	25	24	30
saunier	3	1	1		1
<u>Subtotal: peddlers</u>	62	70	41	41	54

needlework

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
braalier		1	2		1
brodeur	1	1	2	2	2
chapelier	5	5	4	3	4
chaperonnier				1	0
chaussier	2	3	4	2	3
coiffiere	15	17	5	9	12
courtepointier	1				0
couturier	28	31	17	19	24
crepiniere	10	13	12	13	12
dorelotier	1	3	2	2	2
fourreur		1			0
laciere	1	2	2	1	2
lingere	1	3	3	1	2
<u>Subtotal: needlework</u>	65	80	53	53	63

service

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
barbier	5	7	3	6	5
batelier	1	1			1
berger	1	1	1	1	1
charretier		1	4	2	2
deschargeur	2	3	1	3	2
ebourgeoneresse				1	0
faucheur	1				0

APPENDIX 3, Continued.
service

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
forestier		1			0
herbier				1	0
jardinier		1			0
lavandiere	24	30	3	13	18
marechal	3	2		2	2
mirgesse	3	5	3	2	3
monnaier		2			1
porcs, qui garde		1			0
portier	1			1	1
queu				1	0
savetier		5	5	1	3
vacher	1	1			1
ventriere	2	2		3	2
vigneron				1	0
<u>Subtotal: service</u>	44	63	20	38	41

small goods

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
aiguillier		1	2	3	2
archalier				1	0
bouclier		3	4	3	3
bourrelier				1	0
boursier	2	4	1	2	2
boutonnier	2	3	3	2	3
chandelier	11	9	9	12	10
cirier	5	7	8	4	6
cloutier	2	4	1		2
coquillier	1	2	1	2	2
cordier	3	3	1	3	3
corroyer	3	3	5	6	4
coutelier	2	3	1		2
esperonnier	1		1		1
espinglier	3	3	1	2	2
fermaillier		1		1	1
gainier	1	1	1	2	1
gantier	1	1	1	1	1
lanternier		1			0
paternosterer			1	3	1
serrurier	1				0
souffletier		1			0
tabletier		1	1	1	1
<u>Subtotal: small goods</u>	38	51	42	49	45

APPENDIX 3, Continued.
food producers

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
boucher		2	6	1	2
boudiniere	5	6	2	6	5
cervoisier	3	3	2	6	4
cuisinier	1	1	2	1	1
fouassier	2	3	2	1	2
gastelier	1	1	1		1
huilier	4	3	3	2	3
oublaier	2	1	1	2	2
panetier	1				0
pataier	6	7	3	4	5
pescheur		1			0
talemelier	5	1	1	3	3
tartier	1				0
tripier	2	1	1	1	1
vannier			1		0
<u>Subtotal: food producers</u>	33	30	25	27	29

large goods

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
archer		1			0
armurier			1		0
baudroyeur		1		1	1
charpentier	1	3		2	2
charron	1	2	2	3	2
chaudronnier				1	0
coffrier			1	2	1
cordoannier	4	3	2	3	3
ferron	1	1			1
fevre			3	1	1
galochier				1	0
huchier	1		1	1	1
huissier		1			0
lampier	1				0
megissier	1		1		1
potier	9	6	7	7	7
selier	1	2		1	1
tonnelier	1	1	1		1
trancheur				1	0
<u>Subtotal: large goods</u>	21	21	19	24	21

APPENDIX 3, Continued.
establishments

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
etuveur	1	3		1	1
hotelier				1	0
meunier	1	2	1	2	2
tavernier	1	1	1		1
<u>Subtotal: establishments</u>	3	6	2	4	4

luxury goods

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
barrilier		1			0
cristallier	1	2	2	3	2
enlumineur		1			0
jaolier		1			0
madrelinier		1	1	2	1
verrier	1	2		1	1
ymagier	1	1	1		1
<u>Subtotal: luxury goods</u>	3	9	4	6	6

officials

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
balancier			1		0
messenger	1				0
mesureur	2		2	2	2
<u>Subtotal: officials</u>	3		3	2	2

building

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
macon	2	3	3	2	3
plastrier	4	2	3	1	3
<u>Subtotal: building</u>	6	5	6	3	5

ambiguous

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
buschetier				1	0
carier				1	0
cofinier	1		1		1
cornetiers		1			0

APPENDIX 3, Continued.
ambiguous

<u>Metier</u>	<u>1297</u>	<u>1298</u>	<u>1299</u>	<u>1300</u>	<u>Average Per Year</u>
coutier	1	1	1	1	1
fleurier	1				0
fournier	4	3	4	3	4
fourrier	2		1	1	1
gravelier			1	1	1
marchand	1	1	1		1
ouvriere	2	1	1	1	1
panelier				1	0
paonnier	1	1	2	1	1
paumier	2	2	2		2
peigneur	1	3	1	1	2
porteur		1	2		1
sainnerresse	1	1			1
tacheeur	1		2		1
<u>Subtotal: ambiguous</u>	18	15	19	12	16

APPENDIX 4.

An estimate of the total number of women and of men in each metier, as recorded in the Parisian tax rolls for 1297, 1298, 1299, and 1300. Calculations are explained in Chapter Three and are based on the raw data in Appendices 2 and 3.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>cloth producers</u>						
<u>spinners</u>						
devideur de fil	0.03 %	0.00 %	2	0	0	0
devideur de soie	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
filandriere	0.29 %	0.04 %	17	14	4	3
fileresse	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
fileresse a la quenouille	0.10 %	0.00 %	6	0	1	0
fileresse au touret	0.21 %	0.00 %	12	0	3	0
fileresse de laine	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
fileresse de soie	4.93 %	0.01 %	283	5	71	1
retorderesse de fil	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	0	0	0
Subtotal: spinners	5.72 %	0.05 %	329	19	82	5
<u>weavers</u>						
carier de soie	0.21 %	0.00 %	12	0	3	0
draps de soie, fabricant	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	7	0	2
ouvriere de laine	0.26 %	0.00 %	15	0	4	0
ouvriere de soie	5.34 %	0.05 %	307	17	77	4
sergier	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	5	0	1
tapissier	0.32 %	0.34 %	19	121	5	30
telier	0.84 %	0.07 %	48	25	12	6
tiretainier	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
tisserand	1.35 %	4.76 %	78	1710	19	427
tisserand de linge	0.00 %	0.06 %	0	20	0	5
tisserand de soie	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
tisserand de toile	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
tissu, fabricante de	0.92 %	0.01 %	53	5	13	1
velours, fabricant de	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	8	0	2
Subtotal: weavers	9.24 %	5.36 %	531	1925	133	481

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>cloth producers</u>						
<i>other tasks</i>						
arconneur	0.03 %	0.05 %	2	19	0	5
arconneur de laine	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	0	0	0
batteur de laine	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	0	0	0
batteur de toile	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
calandreur	0.00 %	0.05 %	0	19	0	5
calandreur de soie	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
chardonnier	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
feutrier	0.06 %	0.12 %	3	44	1	11
foulon	0.00 %	1.22 %	0	436	0	109
laineur	0.15 %	0.17 %	9	60	2	15
peigneur de laine	0.10 %	0.00 %	6	0	1	0
peigneur de soie	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
pelotier	0.00 %	0.03 %	0	10	0	2
seranceresse	0.03 %	0.00 %	2	0	0	0
teinturier	0.27 %	0.50 %	16	179	4	45
teinturier de fil	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
teinturier de soie	0.00 %	0.04 %	0	13	0	3
teinturier de toile	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
tondeur	0.11 %	0.43 %	6	153	2	38
tondeur de laine	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
trameur de soie	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
<i>Subtotal: other tasks</i>	<i>1.07 %</i>	<i>2.61 %</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>937</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>234</i>
<i>undetermined</i>						
chambriere	2.26 %	0.00 %	130	0	32	0
<i>Subtotal: undetermined</i>	<i>2.26 %</i>	<i>0.00 %</i>	<i>130</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>0</i>
<u>Subtotal: cloth producers</u>	<u>18.30 %</u>	<u>8.03 %</u>	<u>1051</u>	<u>2881</u>	<u>263</u>	<u>720</u>

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>sales</u>						
<i>wholesale</i>						
drapier	0.10 %	0.90 %	6	325	1	81
fil de laine, qui vend	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	0	0	0
fil, qui vend	0.26 %	0.02 %	15	7	4	2
lainier	2.40 %	0.31 %	138	111	34	28
linier	1.68 %	0.18 %	96	64	24	16
poissonier de mer	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	8	0	2
porteur de charbon	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
porteur de pates	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
soie, qui vend	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
vin de x, qui vend	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	7	0	2
Subtotal: wholesale	4.48 %	1.46 %	258	525	64	131
<i>retail</i>						
encrier	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
epicier	0.59 %	0.77 %	34	277	8	69
fripier	1.71 %	2.54 %	98	913	25	228
fripier, ambulante	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	4	0	1
libraire	0.10 %	0.19 %	6	69	1	17
lieur de foin	0.00 %	0.04 %	0	15	0	4
mercier	2.74 %	1.74 %	158	626	39	157
oiselier	0.06 %	0.02 %	3	9	1	2
parcheminier	0.09 %	0.22 %	5	81	1	20
porteur de busches	0.05 %	0.29 %	3	105	1	26
porteur de foin	0.00 %	0.06 %	0	23	0	6
porteur de sel	0.00 %	0.08 %	0	30	0	7
tisserand d'oeuvres sarr	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
vin a seau, qui vend	0.00 %	0.05 %	0	17	0	4
Subtotal: retail	5.35 %	6.05 %	308	2171	77	543

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>sales</u>						
<i>both</i>						
buschier	0.81 %	0.42 %	47	150	12	38
fanier	0.74 %	0.41 %	43	148	11	37
Subtotal: both	1.56 %	0.83 %	89	299	22	75
<i>undetermined</i>						
archal, qui vend	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
avenier	0.60 %	0.21 %	35	75	9	19
azur, marchand d'	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
balais, qui vend	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
betes, marchand de	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	5	0	1
blatier	0.18 %	0.48 %	11	174	3	43
boeuf, marchand de	0.00 %	0.03 %	0	10	0	2
chandelles, qui vend	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
chanevacier	0.23 %	0.03 %	13	12	3	3
chanvrier	0.17 %	0.05 %	10	17	2	4
charbonnier	0.23 %	0.19 %	13	68	3	17
chaux, qui vend	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	0	0	0
chevaux, marchand de	0.00 %	0.32 %	0	116	0	29
chiffonier	0.06 %	0.00 %	3	2	1	0
coquetier	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	1	0	0
cordovan, marchand de	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	8	0	2
courtilier	0.63 %	0.44 %	36	158	9	40
couteaux, marchand de	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
cuir, qui vend	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
ecuellier	0.09 %	0.11 %	5	39	1	10
farinier	0.03 %	0.03 %	2	12	0	3
fienseur	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	4	0	1
guimples, qui vend	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
hanaps, qui vend	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
marne, qui vend	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
merrain, qui vend	0.08 %	0.13 %	5	46	1	12

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>sales</u>						
<u>undetermined</u>						
mouchoirs, qui vend	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	0	0	0
pelletier	0.58 %	4.55 %	33	1634	8	409
pellier	0.06 %	0.08 %	3	28	1	7
perchier	0.05 %	0.01 %	3	3	1	1
perrier	0.06 %	0.05 %	3	19	1	5
pieces, qui vend	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
poissonier	2.54 %	0.96 %	146	343	36	86
porcs, qui vend	0.00 %	0.03 %	0	10	0	2
savonnier	0.03 %	0.04 %	2	13	0	3
tuiles, qui vend	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
vendeur	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	0	0	0
vins, qui vend	0.10 %	0.19 %	6	68	1	17
<i>Subtotal: undetermined</i>	5.79 %	8.05 %	333	2888	83	722
<u>Subtotal: sales</u>	<u>17.18 %</u>	<u>16.39 %</u>	<u>987</u>	<u>5883</u>	<u>247</u>	<u>1471</u>
<u>peddlers</u>						
aillier	0.03 %	0.07 %	2	27	0	7
boschet, qui vend	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
bourre, qui vend	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
buffetier	0.39 %	0.86 %	22	307	6	77
cendrier	0.18 %	0.03 %	10	11	3	3
charcuterie, qui vend	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
denrees de Rouen, qui v	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
ecorcheur de moutons	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
ecrevissier	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	6	0	1
fromagier	0.68 %	0.41 %	39	148	10	37
fruitier	0.74 %	0.27 %	43	96	11	24
grenades, qui vend	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
harengier	0.89 %	0.25 %	51	89	13	22

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>peddlers</u>						
haricots, vendeur de	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
laitier	0.29 %	0.01 %	17	4	4	1
miel, vendeur de	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
moutardier	0.00 %	0.11 %	0	38	0	9
oeufs, vendeur d'	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	0	0	0
oignonier	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	6	0	2
pevrier	0.06 %	0.03 %	3	10	1	2
poissonier d'eau douce	0.05 %	0.04 %	3	13	1	3
poraier	0.46 %	0.04 %	26	14	7	3
porteur	0.09 %	0.67 %	5	241	1	60
porteur d'eau	0.05 %	0.53 %	3	191	1	48
porteur de ble	0.00 %	0.30 %	0	106	0	27
poulaillier	0.99 %	0.67 %	57	241	14	60
regratier	10.26 %	2.57 %	589	923	147	231
saucier	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	8	0	2
saunier	0.61 %	0.13 %	35	48	9	12
Subtotal:	15.88 %	7.08 %	912	2541	228	635
<u>Subtotal: peddlers</u>	<u>15.88 %</u>	<u>7.08 %</u>	<u>912</u>	<u>2541</u>	<u>228</u>	<u>635</u>
<u>needlework</u>						
<u>clothing</u>						
aumussier	0.00 %	0.09 %	0	34	0	8
braalier	0.09 %	0.03 %	5	12	1	3
chapelier	0.72 %	0.52 %	41	185	10	46
chapelier de bonnet	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
chapelier de coton	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	8	0	2
chapelier de feutre	0.05 %	0.19 %	3	68	1	17
chaperonnier	0.03 %	0.07 %	2	27	0	7
chaussier	0.33 %	0.68 %	19	245	5	61
coiffier de fil	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>needlework</u>						
<u>clothing</u>						
coiffier de laine	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
coiffiere	2.06 %	0.04 %	119	15	30	4
couturier	3.70 %	1.10 %	213	396	53	99
couturier de robes	0.00 %	0.04 %	0	15	0	4
couvrechefs, fabricant de	0.46 %	0.00 %	27	2	7	0
fourreur	0.03 %	0.00 %	2	0	0	0
gantier de laine	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
hoquetonnier	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
laciere	0.59 %	0.00 %	34	2	9	0
mitaines, fabricant de	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	1	0	0
tailleurs de robes	0.00 %	0.39 %	0	139	0	35
Subtotal: clothing	8.13 %	3.22 %	467	1156	117	289
<u>household</u>						
coupeur de cuir	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
courtepointier	0.03 %	0.20 %	2	72	0	18
couvertures pour chvx, f.	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
lingere	1.01 %	0.03 %	58	12	15	3
taier	0.00 %	0.04 %	0	16	0	4
Subtotal: household	1.04 %	0.29 %	60	103	15	26
<u>luxury goods</u>						
aumonieres, fabricant de	0.46 %	0.01 %	27	3	7	1
boursier de soie	0.05 %	0.01 %	3	3	1	1
brodeur	0.39 %	0.18 %	22	63	6	16
brodeur de soie	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
chasublier	0.10 %	0.07 %	6	24	1	6
couverturier	0.00 %	0.06 %	0	22	0	5

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>needlework</u>						
<i>luxury goods</i>						
couvrechefs de soie, fab	0.15 %	0.00 %	9	0	2	0
crespiniere	2.23 %	0.13 %	128	48	32	12
dorelotier	0.24 %	0.14 %	14	50	3	12
frange, fabricante de	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
lacets de soie, fabricant	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	0	0	0
laceur	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	4	0	1
Subtotal: luxury goods	3.68 %	0.61 %	211	219	53	55
<i>other items</i>						
boursier de laine	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	2	1	0
couvreur pour chevaux,	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	0	0	0
etouffeuse de bourse	0.10 %	0.00 %	6	2	1	0
panonceaus, fabricant d	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
Subtotal: other items	0.15 %	0.02 %	9	7	2	2
<u>Subtotal: needlework</u>	<u>13.01 %</u>	<u>4.13 %</u>	<u>747</u>	<u>1484</u>	<u>187</u>	<u>371</u>
<u>service</u>						
<i>personal</i>						
barbier	0.69 %	1.16 %	40	415	10	104
blanchisseur	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	1	0	0
champion	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
chirurgien	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
herbier	0.03 %	0.02 %	2	8	0	2
lavendiere	3.36 %	0.04 %	193	15	48	4
lavendiere de tetes	0.57 %	0.00 %	32	0	8	0
laveur de robes	0.05 %	0.01 %	3	5	1	1

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Annex 1, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>service</u>						
<i>personal</i>						
mirgesse	0.55 %	0.33 %	32	120	8	30
peigneur de tetes	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
physicien	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	8	0	2
ventriere	0.21 %	0.00 %	12	0	3	0
Subtotal: personal	5.50 %	1.61 %	316	577	79	144
<i>household</i>						
concierge	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	1	0	0
epiciere le roi	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
portier	0.06 %	0.03 %	3	10	1	3
potagier	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	2	0	0
queu	0.03 %	0.22 %	2	80	0	20
sommelier	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	6	0	1
Subtotal: household	0.14 %	0.28 %	8	99	2	25
<i>transportation</i>						
atireur de busche	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
avaleur de nefs	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	7	0	2
batelier	0.06 %	0.58 %	3	207	1	52
charretier	0.21 %	0.44 %	12	158	3	40
charretier de boeufs	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
deschargeur	0.32 %	0.61 %	19	218	5	55
deschargeur de merrain	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	5	0	1
deschargeur de vins	0.00 %	0.03 %	0	10	0	2
hommes d'eau	0.00 %	0.04 %	0	13	0	3
lieur de charettes	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
marinier	0.00 %	0.66 %	0	238	0	59
passeur	0.05 %	0.25 %	3	88	1	22

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<i>service</i>						
<i>transportation</i>						
recoit livraisons, qui	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
valet d'eau	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	0	0	0
voiturier	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	8	0	2
voiturier d'eau	0.00 %	0.06 %	0	20	0	5
<i>Subtotal: transportation</i>	0.65 %	2.73 %	37	982	9	245
<i>repair</i>						
enclumier	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	1	0	0
fourbisseur	0.10 %	0.47 %	6	168	1	42
fourbisseur d'epees	0.00 %	0.06 %	0	22	0	5
maignan	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	7	0	2
savetier	0.44 %	2.10 %	25	752	6	188
<i>Subtotal: repair</i>	0.54 %	2.64 %	31	949	8	237
<i>learned</i>						
escrivain	0.00 %	0.19 %	0	70	0	17
maitre d'ecole	0.05 %	0.05 %	3	17	1	4
<i>Subtotal: learned</i>	0.05 %	0.24 %	3	86	1	22
<i>financial</i>						
changeur	0.00 %	0.39 %	0	139	0	35
lombard	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
monnaier	0.06 %	0.10 %	3	35	1	9
usurier	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	0	0	0
<i>Subtotal: financial</i>	0.06 %	0.49 %	3	176	1	44

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>service</u>						
<u>agriculture</u>						
anier	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	1	0	0
berger	0.12 %	0.03 %	7	12	2	3
chevaux, qui garde	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
ebourgeoneresse	0.08 %	0.00 %	5	0	1	0
etablier	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	1	0	0
faucheur	0.03 %	0.02 %	2	6	0	1
fauconnier	0.00 %	0.03 %	0	10	0	3
forestier	0.03 %	0.01 %	2	2	0	0
jardinier	0.03 %	0.01 %	2	2	0	0
porcs, qui garde	0.08 %	0.08 %	5	29	1	7
poules, qui garde	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
vacher	0.06 %	0.06 %	3	23	1	6
vigneron	0.03 %	0.24 %	2	85	0	21
Subtotal: agriculture	0.47 %	0.49 %	27	175	7	44
<u>other services</u>						
citoleeur	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
commanderesse	0.26 %	0.00 %	15	0	4	0
fossoyeur	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	9	0	2
jongleur	0.10 %	0.16 %	6	56	1	14
marechal	0.21 %	0.33 %	12	119	3	30
musicien	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	0	0	0
pardonnier	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
perdrier	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	1	0	0
procureur	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
taboureur	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	2	0	0
Subtotal: other services	0.57 %	0.54 %	33	193	8	48
Subtotal: service	7.98 %	9.01 %	459	3236	115	309

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>small goods</u>						
<u>metal</u>						
aiguillier	0.23 %	0.08 %	13	30	3	7
ameconneur	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	4	0	1
annelier	0.00 %	0.06 %	0	23	0	6
archalier	0.08 %	0.01 %	5	5	1	1
attachier	0.05 %	0.10 %	3	35	1	9
batteur d'archal	0.00 %	0.16 %	0	58	0	15
batteur d'etain	0.05 %	0.01 %	3	3	1	1
bocetier	0.05 %	0.04 %	3	15	1	4
boitier	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	6	0	1
bouclier	0.46 %	0.98 %	26	351	7	88
bouclier d'archal	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
bouclier de fer	0.00 %	0.06 %	0	23	0	6
boutonnier	0.41 %	0.12 %	23	42	6	10
carreaux de fer, fabr de	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
chevillier	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	9	0	2
clavier	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	2	0	0
cloutier	0.21 %	0.22 %	12	80	3	20
coutelier	0.34 %	0.61 %	19	219	5	55
cuillieres, fabricant de	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
eches, fabricant de	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
esperonnier	0.06 %	0.05 %	3	17	1	4
espinglier	0.27 %	0.20 %	16	73	4	18
fermaillier	0.06 %	0.11 %	3	41	1	10
fileur d'archal	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
fondeur	0.00 %	0.06 %	0	20	0	5
lanternier	0.03 %	0.05 %	2	19	0	5
mereaux, fabricant de	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
miroitiers	0.00 %	0.04 %	0	14	0	4
peautrier	0.00 %	0.07 %	0	27	0	7
pouleur	0.00 %	0.05 %	0	18	0	5
serrurier	0.03 %	0.38 %	2	138	0	35
sonnetier	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
trefilier	0.00 %	0.10 %	0	37	0	9
trefilier d'archal	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	5	0	1

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

APPENDIX 1, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>small goods</u>						
<i>metal</i>						
trefilier de fer	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
virolier	0.00 %	0.06 %	0	22	0	5
<i>Subtotal: metal</i>	2.39 %	3.76 %	137	1351	34	338
<i>leather</i>						
basanier	0.00 %	0.24 %	0	86	0	22
bourellier	0.03 %	0.26 %	2	93	0	23
boursier	0.38 %	0.46 %	22	167	5	42
contresanglier	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	2	0	0
corroyer	1.18 %	2.00 %	68	718	17	179
gainier	0.15 %	0.49 %	9	177	2	44
gantier	0.12 %	0.53 %	7	191	2	48
lormier	0.26 %	0.77 %	15	275	4	69
peintre de courroies	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
tisseur de cuir	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
<i>Subtotal: leather</i>	2.12 %	4.77 %	122	1712	30	428
<i>wood</i>						
batteur de brezil	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
ecrinier	0.00 %	0.03 %	0	11	0	3
fuselier	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	4	0	1
<i>Subtotal: wood</i>	0.00 %	0.05 %	0	17	0	4
<i>other materials</i>						
azur, fabricant de	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>small goods</u>						
<i>other materials</i>						
bouteillier	0.00 %	0.04 %	0	13	0	3
cages, fabricant de	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
chandelier	1.55 %	0.63 %	89	226	22	57
chandelier de suif	0.00 %	0.04 %	0	13	0	3
chaussonier	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
cirier	0.98 %	0.07 %	57	25	14	6
coquillier	0.18 %	0.00 %	10	1	3	0
corbeillonier	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	8	0	2
cordier	0.30 %	0.14 %	17	49	4	12
decier	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	9	0	2
deelier	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	4	0	1
denrees, fabricant de	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
fleuteur	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	6	0	1
fueil, fabricant de	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
garnisseur de couteaux	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
mouleur de couteaux	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	4	0	1
nattier	0.00 %	0.03 %	0	12	0	3
oignements, fabricant de	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
paternosterer	0.17 %	0.17 %	10	61	2	15
peignier	0.00 %	0.05 %	0	17	0	4
potier de terre	0.05 %	0.04 %	3	13	1	3
relieur de livres	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
siegeur	0.00 %	0.03 %	0	9	0	2
souffletier	0.03 %	0.02 %	2	7	0	2
tabletier	0.09 %	0.26 %	5	94	1	24
triaclier, fabricant de	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
tuilier	0.00 %	0.14 %	0	49	0	12
Subtotal: other materials	3.42 %	1.77 %	196	635	49	159
Subtotal: small goods	7.92 %	10.35 %	455	3716	114	929

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

ANNEX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>food producers</u>						
<i>baking</i>						
bluteur	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
boulangier	0.00 %	0.04 %	0	15	0	4
eschaudeur	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	0	0	0
fouassier	0.24 %	0.02 %	14	7	3	2
gastelier	0.09 %	0.01 %	5	5	1	1
oublaier	0.18 %	0.27 %	10	96	3	24
panetier	0.03 %	0.00 %	2	1	0	0
pataier	0.81 %	0.61 %	47	220	12	55
petrissier de pain	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	1	0	0
talemelier	1.07 %	2.06 %	62	740	15	185
tartier	0.08 %	0.01 %	5	3	1	1
vannier	0.03 %	0.03 %	2	11	0	3
Subtotal: baking	2.54 %	3.07 %	146	1101	37	275
<i>other foods</i>						
boschet, fabricant de	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
boucher	0.32 %	1.06 %	19	381	5	95
boudiniere	0.58 %	0.06 %	33	22	8	5
cervoisier	0.48 %	0.33 %	27	118	7	30
cuisinier	0.25 %	0.19 %	15	69	4	17
huilier	0.47 %	0.32 %	27	117	7	29
oier	0.00 %	0.03 %	0	12	0	3
pescheur	0.03 %	0.24 %	2	88	0	22
pescheur de loches	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
tripier	0.51 %	0.05 %	29	18	7	4
tueur de pourceaux	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	5	0	1
Subtotal: other foods	2.74 %	2.31 %	158	829	39	207
Subtotal: food producers	5.29 %	5.38 %	304	1930	76	483

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
large goods						
metal						
armurier	0.08 %	0.62 %	5	221	1	55
cercelier	0.05 %	0.05 %	3	19	1	5
chaudronnier	0.18 %	0.15 %	11	53	3	13
cuviers, fabricant de	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
epees, fabricant de	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
ferron	0.06 %	0.26 %	3	92	1	23
fevre	0.17 %	0.75 %	10	270	2	67
fondeur de cuivre	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
fontainier	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	4	0	1
forçetier	0.00 %	0.15 %	0	53	0	13
forger	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
haubergier	0.15 %	0.07 %	9	26	2	7
heaumier	0.00 %	0.08 %	0	30	0	8
lampier	0.03 %	0.05 %	2	17	0	4
poelier	0.00 %	0.03 %	0	11	0	3
potier d'etain	0.21 %	0.08 %	12	28	3	7
potier de cuivre	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	5	0	1
trompeur	0.00 %	0.06 %	0	20	0	5
trumelier	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	8	0	2
Subtotal: metal	0.94 %	2.41 %	54	866	14	216
leather						
argenteur de selles	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
baudroyeur	0.11 %	0.56 %	6	200	2	50
biasonnier	0.00 %	0.04 %	0	15	0	4
cordoannier	0.42 %	3.66 %	24	1314	6	328
corroyeur	0.00 %	0.40 %	0	142	0	36
corroyeur de connins	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	5	0	1
corroyeur de cordouan	0.00 %	0.04 %	0	13	0	3
corroyeur de cuir	0.00 %	0.04 %	0	13	0	3
corroyeur de cuir rouge	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>large goods</u>						
<u>wood</u>						
trancheur	0.03 %	0.03 %	2	12	0	3
<i>Subtotal: wood</i>	1.66 %	4.84 %	95	1738	24	435
<i>other materials</i>						
chalits, fabricant de	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	5	0	1
fours, fabricant de	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	7	0	2
orgueneur	0.05 %	0.02 %	3	8	1	2
potier	0.93 %	0.43 %	53	155	13	39
<i>Subtotal: other materials</i>	0.98 %	0.48 %	56	174	14	43
<u>Subtotal: large goods</u>	4.38 %	14.14 %	251	5076	63	1269
<u>establishments</u>						
etuveur	0.36 %	0.32 %	21	113	5	28
heberge, qui	0.21 %	0.01 %	12	3	3	1
hotelier	1.57 %	0.93 %	90	332	23	83
meunier	0.18 %	0.50 %	10	179	3	45
tavernier	1.89 %	7.21 %	109	2587	27	647
<i>Subtotal:</i>	4.21 %	8.96 %	242	3215	60	804
<u>Subtotal: establishments</u>	4.21 %	8.96 %	242	3215	60	804

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>luxury goods</u>						
affineur d'argent	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
barrilier	0.03 %	0.04 %	2	13	0	3
batteur d'argent	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
batteur d'or	0.05 %	0.15 %	3	55	1	14
brunisseur	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	5	0	1
chapelier de fleurs	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	5	0	1
cristallier	0.24 %	0.16 %	14	58	3	14
croix, fabricant de	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
doreur	0.00 %	0.06 %	0	22	0	6
draps d'or, fabricant de	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	8	0	2
emailleur	0.00 %	0.10 %	0	36	0	9
enlumineur	0.13 %	0.13 %	8	47	2	12
fileresse d'or	0.41 %	0.00 %	24	0	6	0
fileur d'argent	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
jaolier	0.03 %	0.01 %	2	3	0	1
madrelinier	0.12 %	0.04 %	7	14	2	4
orfevre	0.26 %	3.52 %	15	1262	4	316
orfroisier	0.10 %	0.00 %	6	2	1	0
tailleur d'or	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	2	1	0
tailleur de manches	0.00 %	0.36 %	0	130	0	32
trefilier d'argent	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
verrier	0.12 %	0.17 %	7	62	2	16
ymagier	0.25 %	0.27 %	14	96	4	24
Subtotal:	1.80 %	5.10 %	103	1830	26	458
<u>Subtotal: luxury goods</u>	<u>1.80 %</u>	<u>5.10 %</u>	<u>103</u>	<u>1830</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>458</u>
<u>officials</u>						
auditeur	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	1	0	0
auneur	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	2	0	0
auneur de toiles	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	5	0	1

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>officials</u>						
balancier	0.13 %	0.06 %	8	21	2	5
compteur de harengs	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
courtier	0.00 %	0.83 %	0	299	0	75
courtier d'epicerie	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	7	0	2
courtier de ble et de sel	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
courtier de chevaux	0.00 %	0.39 %	0	141	0	35
courtier de cordovan	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	5	0	1
courtier de cuir	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
courtier de draps	0.00 %	0.06 %	0	22	0	5
courtier de fils	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
courtier de foin	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
courtier de pelleterie	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	7	0	2
courtier de robe vair	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
courtier de vins	0.00 %	0.29 %	0	103	0	26
crieur	0.00 %	0.45 %	0	163	0	41
crieur de vin	0.00 %	0.08 %	0	28	0	7
jaugeur	0.00 %	0.03 %	0	9	0	2
langueyeur de pourceau	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
lotisseur	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
messenger	0.03 %	0.13 %	2	47	0	12
messier	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	4	0	1
mesureur	0.34 %	0.05 %	19	18	5	4
mesureur de ble	0.26 %	0.10 %	15	35	4	9
mesureur de busches	0.00 %	0.17 %	0	60	0	15
mesureur de charbon	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
mesureur de sel	0.00 %	0.12 %	0	42	0	10
mouleur de merrain	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
notaire	0.00 %	0.04 %	0	15	0	4
peagier	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	6	0	1
poids, fabricant de	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	1	0	0
poids, vendeur de	0.26 %	0.02 %	15	8	4	2
pontonnier	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	2	0	0
routier	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	1	0	0
scelleur	0.00 %	0.10 %	0	37	0	9
Subtotal:	1.01 %	3.07 %	58	1104	15	276

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>ambiguous</u>						
carrelier	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
chaenier	0.00 %	0.04 %	0	15	0	4
closier	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	1	0	0
cofinier	0.06 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
cornetiers	0.03 %	0.00 %	2	0	0	0
coursier	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
coutier	0.12 %	0.07 %	7	24	2	6
couvreur	0.00 %	0.32 %	0	116	0	29
curandier	0.05 %	0.03 %	3	9	1	2
ecacheur de manches	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
fardelier	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	2	0	0
ferrier	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	1	0	0
fleurier	0.03 %	0.02 %	2	7	0	2
fouees, qui vend	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
fournier	0.48 %	0.97 %	27	349	7	87
fourrier	0.17 %	0.18 %	10	65	2	16
garnisseur	0.00 %	0.12 %	0	42	0	11
gravelier	0.06 %	0.06 %	3	21	1	5
greffier	0.00 %	0.06 %	0	20	0	5
grossier	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	1	0	0
hotteur	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	8	0	2
lampreuer	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	3	0	1
laveur	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	2	0	0
lieur	0.00 %	0.05 %	0	19	0	5
lieur de gibes	0.00 %	0.05 %	0	17	0	4
loirier	0.05 %	0.07 %	3	25	1	6
maitre d'armes	0.00 %	0.04 %	0	15	0	4
maitre des forces	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
marchand	0.14 %	0.09 %	8	33	2	8
menestrel	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	5	0	1
meresse	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
mouleur	0.00 %	0.11 %	0	38	0	10
netteur	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
ouvrier de bras	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
ouvrier de nefs	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0

APPENDIX 4, Continued.

Metier	Per cent of all women	Per cent of all men	Estimated total: 4 years		Average per year	
			Women	Men	Women	Men
<u>ambiguous</u>						
ouvriere	0.15 %	0.00 %	9	0	2	0
panelier	0.03 %	0.01 %	2	2	0	0
paonnier	0.15 %	0.03 %	9	10	2	3
pareur	0.00 %	0.06 %	0	21	0	5
paumier	0.18 %	0.18 %	10	63	3	16
peigneur	0.18 %	0.00 %	10	0	3	0
peintre	0.00 %	0.48 %	0	174	0	43
pinceur	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	6	0	1
piqueur	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	5	0	1
rafraichisseur	0.00 %	0.02 %	0	7	0	2
relieur	0.00 %	0.04 %	0	13	0	3
sachier	0.05 %	0.00 %	3	1	1	0
sainnerresse	0.06 %	0.00 %	3	0	1	0
tacheur	0.09 %	0.20 %	5	71	1	18
tailleur	0.00 %	2.08 %	0	748	0	187
tissonier	0.00 %	0.01 %	0	2	0	0
tourneur	0.00 %	0.15 %	0	52	0	13
tourneur de moules	0.00 %	0.00 %	0	2	0	0
veillier	0.00 %	0.03 %	0	11	0	3
Subtotal:	2.31 %	5.90 %	133	2117	33	529
Subtotal: ambiguous	2.31 %	5.90 %	133	2117	33	529

Grand Totals: 5746 35899 1437 8975

(Note: The actual total number of women in all four years is 5,745 and of men 35,898. The slight discrepancy is caused by rounding off in the calculations.)

APPENDIX 5: THE TRANSMISSION OF BUSINESSES

This appendix demonstrates the ways in which family businesses were transmitted. I show, for each year, the responsible person or persons assessed at a particular location. An explanation and analysis may be found in Chapter Four.

The code at the left refers to models of transmission described in Chapter Four.

At the left of each listing is the year and the folio where the description is located. The occasional page number is to Geraud's published version of the 1292 tax roll.

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS		

A 1	1292 f024	dame erembourc de saint-Lorenz	92
	1296 f012v	erembourc de saint lorenz	54
	1297 f046	erembourc de saint lorenz	
		lambert son fuiz	58
	1298 f106v	erembourc de saint lorenz	
		lambert de saint-lorenz	62
	1299 f173v	lambert de saint lorenz	
		dame erembourc sa dame	100
	1300 f251v	lambert de saint lorenz	100
A 1	1292 f042v	marguerite des prez; son fuiz	30
	1296 f017v	marguerite des prez lorimiere;	
		robin son fuiz	18
	1297 f053	marguerite des prez	12
	1298 f114	marguerite des prez lorimiere;	
		robin son fuiz	10
	1299 f192	marguerite des prez lorimiere;	
		robert son fuiz	14
	1300 f268v	robert des prez lorimier	16
A 1	1296 f026	gilet du celier; et sa mere	18
	1297 f060	gile du celier; et sa mere	18
	1298 f121	gile du celier; et sa mere	18
	1299 f209	gile du celier	20
	1300 f284	guillaume d'evreues du celier	36

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS		
A 1	1296 f011	henri le moisy et sa mere	20
	1297 f044	henri le moysi; et sa mere	20
	1299 f167v	henri le moisi peletier; et sa dame	28
A 1	1296 f8	jehan anfroi mercier et sa mere	20
	1297 f44v	jehan anfroi et sa mere	20
	1208 f104v	jehan anfroy; marguerite sa mere	20
	1299 f169	jehan anfroi qui vent buletians	20
	1300 f247v	jehan anfroi qui vent estamines	24
	1300 f300v	marguerite mere jean anfroi	10
		(in the separate list of the dead)	
A 1	1296 f004	perrot de lay et sa suer	78
	1297 f040	perrot de lay; agnesot sa suer	80
	1298 f100	perrot de lay	175
A 1	1296 f25	dame aaliz la normande	48;
		pierre son fuiz	32
	1297 f46	aalis la normande; pierre son fuiz	36
	1298 f121	aalis la normande, chasubliere;	
		pierre son fuiz	36
	1299 f209	pierre le normant chasublier;	
		aaliz la normande sa mere	36
	1300 f284	pierre le normant chasublier;	
		aaliz la normande sa mere	36
A 1	1292 f049	dame agnes de gouvernes	70
	1296 f21	dame anes de gouvernes; et ses iii filles	
		et gilot son fuiz	120
	1297 f56	dame agnes de gouvernes; et sa fille	78
		jehan son filz	58
	1298 f117	agnes de gouvernes; et sa fille	75
		jehan son fuiz	75
	1299 f198v	jehan de gouvernes le gene tainturer	75
	1300 f274	jehan de gouvernes le genne tainturier	75
	1313 f29	gile de gouvernes, tavernier	6

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
A 1	1292 f056	jehan d'erbloi et sa dame 10
	1297 f059	jehan d'erbloi tisserrant; et sa dame 10
A 1	1292 p38	henri aquart; sa mere 36
	1296 f6v	henri aquart et sa mere 30
	1297 f43	henri aquart; et sa mere 30
	1298 f103	henri acart ferpier; dame ade sa mere 30
	1299 f165v	henri aquart ferpier; dame ade sa mere 50
	1300 f244	henri aquart ferpier; dame ade sa mere 50
A 1	1292 p163	copin 3
	1296 f31	ameline la copine 8
	1297 f065	jehan copin; et sa mere 10
	1298	gros gens for left bank missing
	1299 f222v	jehan copin tavernier;
		ameline sa mere 16
	1300 f294	jehan copin tavernier; et sa mere 16
A 1	1292 p160	secile l'uillier; et perrot l'uillier 14
	1296 f30v	pierre l'uillier 16
	1297 f064v	pierre l'uillier; et sa mere 16
	1298	gros gens on left bank missing
	1299 f221v	pierre l'uillier; sedile sa dame 16
	1300 f293v	pierre l'uillier; sedile sa dame 16
A 1	1297 f61	perrot de tongue 8
	1298 f122v	perrot de tongues et ses ii soeurs 36
	1299 f212	perrot de tongues et ses soeurs 36
	1300 f286v	perrot de tongues tavernier 36
A 1	1292 f027	anes d'angiers 1; son fuiz 5
	1296 f13	michelet d'angiers; agnes sa mere 24
	1297 f046v	dame agnes d'angiers; michiel son fuiz 24
	1298 f107	agnes d'angiers; michiel son fuiz 36
	1299 f175	michiel d'angiers; agnes sa mere 36
	1300 f253	michiel d'angiers 36

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	

A 1	1298 f123	jehan quarre fromagier; crestienne sa mere 8
	1299 f213	jehannot quarre fromagier; et cretienne sa mere 20
A 1	1292 p47	nicholas de ruilli 82
	1296 f8	la fame nicolas de rulli 120
	1297 f044v	dame jehanne de rulli; robin son fuiz 120
	1298 f108v	robert de ruilli 75
	1299 f168v	robert de ruilli fromagier 75
	1300 f247	robert de ruilli tavernier 75
A 1	1296 f9v	mestre symon de villiers 24
	1298 f108v	adeline de vilier; symonnet son fuiz 6
	1299 f179v	symon de vilers courratier 8
A 1	1292 p30	ameline le tailleresse et son fuiz 20
	1296 f003	emeline fame huitace le tailleur; phelippot; gillo ses fuiz 42
	1297 f041	phelippe le tailleur; gilot leur frere; et leur mere 58
	1298 f101	phelippe le tailleur; ameline sa mere 50; gilot son frere 20
	1299 f160v	phelippe le tailleur tavernier 50
A 1	1297 f56v	jehan le cirier 8
	1298 f117v	isabiau la ciriere; jehan son fuiz 8
	1300 f275	jehan le cirier tavernier 10
A 1	1297 f038	jehannot le fanier; jehanne sa mere 8
	1298 f98	jehannot le fanier; jehanne sa mere 8
	perhaps 1299 f153	jehan le fanier 7; another street
	1300 f233	jehan le fanier normant 7

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
A 1	1292 p15	estienne l'oublaier et sa mere 8
	1296 f102	estienne l'oublaier; amice sa mere 6
	1297 f038	estienne l'oubloier; avice sa mere 8
	1298 f98	estienne l'oublier; avice sa mere 8
	1299 f155	etienne l'oublaier; avice sa mere 8
	1300 f234	estienne l'oublaier; avice sa mere 8
	1313 f2v	estienne l'oublaier 6
A 2	1292 p12	jehan de grey gendre la dite marguerite (fame jehan evrout)70
	1296 f003	pernelle fame jehan de greil
	1297 f039	dame coustance la gobeite 62
		perronele sa fille fame feu jehan de greil et sa fille 58
	1299 f156v	pernelle fame feu jean de greyl 140
	1300 f235	pernelle qui fu fame jean de grey 150
	1313 f3v	nicolas le feutrier gendre pernelle de grey 60 (margin: "dit clerc, non marchand")
A 2	1292 f061v	dame agnes morise 50
	1296 f026	dame anes morise; estevenot morise son fuiz; jehan morise son fuiz; jaquelot morise sa fille 58
	1297 f60	dame agnes morise; estevenot son fuiz; sa fille; jehannot son fuiz 58
	1298 f120v	dame agnes morise; et ses enfanz 36
	1299 f208	jaqueline la morise 3
A 2	1292 f020v	ameline la cordoaniere 12
	1296 f008	emeline la cordoaniere et son gendre 14
	1297 f044v	estienne de puiseus; et sa dame 20
	1298 f104v	estienne de puiseus; et sa dame 20
	1299 f168v	estienne de puiseus dame ameline sa dame 24
	1300 f247	estienne de puiseus dame ameline sa dame 24

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
A 2	1296 f2v	acelot la pevriere; edelot sa suer 36
	1297 f38v	aceline la pevriere 36
A 2	1292 f004	jehanne la couturiere du cymetire 3; nicole sa fille 5
	1296 f001	jehanne la couturiere du cimetire; nicole sa fille 7
	1297 f068	nicole la cousturiere 2
	1298 f124	nicole la couturiere 3
	1299 f152	nicole de sainte-genevieve crepiniere 2
	1300 f231	nicole de sainte-genevieve crespiniere 2
A-2	1292 f013v	dame ysabiau la poitevine 40; elyes son gendre 36
	1296 f005	dame yzabel la poitevine; julienne sa fille 36
	1297 f041v	ysabel la poitevine 20
	1298 f101v	isabel la poitevine sauniere 8
	1299 f161v	julienne la poitevine sauniere 5
	1300 f240	julienne la poitevine sauniere 8
A 2	1297 f58v	denise la bardele; et sa mere 16
	1298 f119	denise la bardele; sa mere 18
	1299 f204	denyse la bardelle; julianne la bardelle, sa mere 16
	1300 f280	denise la bardele 8
A 2	1297 f038v	dame agnes la faniere juliote sa fille 24
		jaquet son fuiz 8
	1298 f98v	jaquet falart fanier 10
	1299 f155v	jaquet falart fanier 12; juliote sa seur 12
	1300 f234v	jaquet falart fanier 12; juliote sa seur 12
	1313 f4	jaques le fanier tavernier 5

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
A 2	1292 f033	anes la buchiere; ses ij filles 12
	1296 f014v	dame anes la buschiere; agnes et jeanne ses filles 12
	1297 f050	dame agnes la buchiere; agnes et jeanne ses filles 16
	1298 f111	agnes et jeanne suers les buschieres 14
	1299 f185	jeanne la buschiere; anes sa soeur 14
	1300 f261v	agnes et jeanne filles agnes la buschiere 12
A 2	1292 f59	simon d'echanbaudour pierre son gendre 2
	1296 f25	anes eschanbaudour et son gendre 8
	1297 f60	agnes d'eschambaudou pierre son gendre 20
	1298 f120v	agnes eschambaudour marguerite sa fille 20
	1300 f282	agnes d'eschambaudour marguerite sa fille 10
A 2	1292 f066v	tierri l'alemant regratier 3
	1296 f028v	jehanne la chauderone et tierri son gendre 8
	1297 f062v	tierri l'alemant ostelier dame jehanne la marregliere 8
	1298	gros gens on left bank missing
	1299 f215v	tierri l'alemant sergent a cheval jehanne aux chauderons sa dame 10
	1300 f289	tierri l'alemant sergent a cheval 12
A 3	1292 f011	aalis fame feu estienne bourdon 52; ses iiij enfanz 36
	1296 f003v	aalis la bourdonne et ses iiij enfans 72
	1297 f039v	aalis la bourdonne 70 (in a different writing; probably added later)
	1298 f99v	dame aalis la bourdonne; et ses enfanz 100 same street:
	1299 f197v	jehannot bourdon; et ses seurs 100
	1300 f236v	jehannot bourdon; et ses seurs 100

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS
A 3	1292 p121 pierre de pierrelee 40 1296 f023 la fame pierre de pierrelee; et ses enfanz 36 1297 f58 la fame feu pierre de pierrelee; et ses enfanz 36 1299 f202v jehan de pierrelee et ses seurs 36
A 4	1298 f142v thomas l'anglais musnier mabille sa fille 5 1313 f038v mabile la ligniere 18d (same street)
A 4	1296 f10 estienne de rueil 18 1297 f048v estienne de rueil; et sa fille 18 1298 f109 etienne de rueil; Jehannete sa fille 18 1299 f181v estienne de rueil corroier lorencin de neelle 30 1300 f259 estienne de rueil corroier lorencin de neelle 30
A 4	1292 p90 ymbert le noir 85 1296 f017 ymbert le noir mercier 80 1297 f052v les enfanz feu ymbert le noir 78 1298 f113v le fuiz feu ymbert le noir 50
A 4	1292 p87 phelippe le fontenier 20 1296 f17 phelippe le fontenier; Baudet son frere 48 1297 f52 phelippe le fontenier; Baudouyn son frere 58 1298 f113v la fame Phelippe le fontenier Baudoin, frere feu Phelippe 50 1299 f191 jeanne fame feu philippe le fontenier baudoyn le fontennier 50 1300 f267v baudoin le fontenier 36

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS		
B 1	1299.f11	jehanne la gaudrie mesgeiciere	16
	1296 f3v	jehanne la gaudrie	16
	1297 f39v	jehanne la gaudrie; estevenot son	fuiz 28
	1298 f99v	jehanne la gaudrie mesgeiciere	20
	1299 f158	jehanne la gaudrie mesgeiciere	20
	1300 f236v	jehanne la gaudrie	20
B 1	1296 f003v	yzabiau de creeil et son	fuiz 36
	1297 f040	dame ysabel de creil	36
	1298 f100	ysabel de creeil	36
	1299 f159	ysabiau de creeil	36
	1300 f238	ysabel de creeil	36
B 1	1296 f23	jehanne la verriere	
		marcheande de teiles	24
	1297 f58	dame jehanne la voirriere	
		rogerin son	fuiz 24
	1300 f278	jehanne la voirriere nichil	
B 1	1292 p45	genevieve la pince-cloe, et son	fuiz 8
	1296 f011	la pince-gloe; thomas et jehan ses	fuiz 8
	1297 f44	genevieve la pince-cloe; et son	fuiz 6
	1298 f104v	genevieve la pince glue	6
		thomas son	fuiz 6
	1299 f168v	genevieve la pince gloe	8
		thomas, jehan (stricken, their names	
		followed by the remark " a st lorenz")	
	f176a	thomas la pince-cloe poissonnier	6
		(in the parish Saint Laurent)	
	1300 f246	genevieve la pince gloe	8
B 1	1296 f010v	mestre robert d'auvers	20
	1297 f048v	mestre robert d'auvers	36
	1298 f109v	la fame robert d'auvers et son	fuiz 18
	1299 f182	la fame robert d'auvers et son	fuiz 18
	1300 f259v	richeut fame feu robert d'auvers	18

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
B 1	1292 f056	maheut la fame denise le breton 16
	1296 f024	maheut la brete tesserrande 16
	1297 f059	maheut fame feu denise le breton 12
	1298 f119	maheut fame feu denise le breton richart son fuiz 12
	1299 f204v	mahaut la brete tesserande 8
	1300 f280v	mahaut la brete tesserande 5
B 1	1298 f139	auberee fame feu chardot jaquet son fuiz 5
	1299 f201v	auberee fame feu chardot le talemelier 3
	1300 f278	auberre le tallemeliere 3
B 1	1297 f053v	jehanne la coffiniere 6
	1298 f114v	jehanne la coffiniere; et son fuiz 10
	1299 f193	jehanne la cofiniere 6
B 1	1292 f37d	adam de clairvaus, tounelier 4 liv
	1296 f016	adam de clairvaus, tounelier 58s
	1297 f51	adam le tonnelier 58s
	1298 f112	fame feu adam de clairvaus 30s
	1299 f189	marie fame feu adam de clairvaus et son fils 30
	1300 f265v	marie fame feu adam de clairvaus 20
B 1	1292 pl3	guillaume de dreues 18
	1296 .136	guillaume de dreues (16)
	1297 f038	marie de dreues 16
	1298 f97v	marie de dreues; guillot son fuiz 16
	1299 f154v	marie de dreues; guillot son fuiz 16
	1300 f233v	marie de dreues 16 guillot son fuiz nichil
	1313 f002v	marie de dreues hosteliere 30

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
B 1	1292 f060	marie la vilaine; iij anfanx de son seigneur qui est mort 14
	1296 f25	marie la vilaine 12
	1297 f60	marie l'aingnelete baudoym, richardin, ses fuiz 12
	1298 f120v	marie la vilainne letiere 12
	1299 f207v	marie fame feu guillaume l'aignelet 14
	1300 f282v	marie la vilaine 14
	1313 f34v	baudoin vilain (scratched out, no amount) baudoin le vilain bergier 30
B 1	1296 f15v	la fame feu maci de chartres 7
	1298 f134v	estienne la couturiere; robin son fuiz 5
	1299 f187v	etienne fame feu macy de chartres 8
	1300 f264v	estienne la couturiere 8
	probably 1313 f021v	estienne la cousturiere 3
B 1	1297 f43v	jehanne du lyon; jehan son fuiz 28
	1298 f103v	jehanne au lyon 30
B 1	1297 f43	sanxon le fournier 8
	1298 f103	coulombe fame feu sanxon le fournier 8
	1299 f165	coulombe la fourniere; et son fuiz 8
	1300 f244	coulombe la fourniere 6
B 1	1292 f053v	dame ysabel la concierge gefroi son fuiz orfevre 45
	1296 f022v	isabiau la concierge hosteliere 42
	1297 f057v	ysabel la concierge; et son fuiz 42
	1298	isabiau la concierge gieffroi son fuiz 36
	1299 f201v	isabiau la concierge gieffroi son fuiz 36
	1300 f277v	isabel la concierge 36

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
B 1	1292 f007	jehanne arrode 152 gilete sa fille 26
	1296 f001	dame jehanne arrode jehannot son fuiz 120
	1297 f38	dame jehanne arrode 120
B 1	1296 f19v	la fame gautier bone-file bouchier 36
	1297 f55	jehanne fame feu gautier bonne-fille estevenot son fuiz 36
	1298 f115v	jehanne fame feu gautier bonne-fille 50
	1299 f196	jehanne fame feu gautier bonne-fille 50
B 2	1296 f013	dame jehanne de charronne 24
	1297 f046v	jehanne de charronne 30
	1298 f106v	dame jehanne la charronne 24
	1299 f174	jehanne de charronne et ses filles 24
	1300 f252	jehane de charronne 24
B 2	1292 p19	marie de st beneoit 24
	1296 f003	marie de st benoist et sa fille 48
	1297 f38	marie de st benoiet 20
	1298 f99	marie de st beneoit 18
	1299 f156v	marie de st beneoit 20
	1300 f235v	marie de st beneoit 16
B 2	1292 p135	la maupetite 3 perronele la trote et sa fille 135
	1296 f25v	perronnele la maupetite 58
	1297 f060	la maupetite; et sa fille 48
	1298 f121	perronnelle la maupetite 42
	1299 f208v	perronnelle la maupetite osteliere 36
	1300 f283v	perronnelle la maupetite osteliere 36

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
B 2	1292 p16	pierre de dammartin 155
	1296 f002	aalis de dammartin
		marguerite sa fille 100
	1297 f043	dame aalis de dammartin 92
	1298 f103	aalis de dammartin 124
	1299 f115v	aalis de dammartin 124
	1300 f244v	aalis de dammartin 124
B 2	1292 f015	martine la boudiniere 10
	1296 f006	martine la cuisiniere 10
	1297 f041v	martine la boudiniere et sa fille 8
	1298 f101v	martine la boudiniere 8
	1299 f16s	martine la boudiniere 8
	1300 f240v	martine la boudiniere 8
B 2	1292 f042v	guillaume patriz lormier 3
		ysabel d'orliens sa fille 58
	1296 f018	isabiau d'orliens 58
	1297 f053	ysabel d'orliens
		gile, jehanne ses filles 58
		guillaume patris lormier 58; same street
		but not immediately contiguous
	1298 f114	ysabel d'orliens et ses filles 84
	1299 f192v	ysabiau fame feu alain le breton
		et ses enfanz 75; exact same neighbors
	1300 f268	isabiau d'orliens 100
		(et ses ij filles scratched out)
B 2	1298 f99	agnes la naguere; et sa fille 124
	1299 f159	agnes la naguere 124
	1300 f237v	agnes la naguere 124
B 2	1297 f40	dame agnes la popine 6
	1298 f100v	dame agnes la popine; et ses iii filles 6
	1299 f159v	agnes la popine (amount blank)

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
B 2	1297 f86v	basile de prouvins 3
	1299 f205	basile de prouvins et ses filles 2
	1300 f281	basile de prouvins tavernier 3?
B 2	1297 f064v	bietrix la regratiere; bietrix sa fille 6
	1299 f221	bietrix la regratiere; ameline sa fille 6
	1300 f293	bietriz la charrone regratiere 6
B 2	1292 p106	la fame raoul le normant, le buchier et ses filles 75
	1296 f21	jaqueline la buschiere et ses enfanz 36
	1297 f038v	jaqueline ff raoul le normant jehanneite et jehanneite 36
	1298 f98	jaqueline la buschiere 28
	1299 f155	jaqueline la buschiere 10
	1300 f234	jaqueline la buschiere 10
	1313 f3	jaqueline la buchere hosteliere 36
B 2	1296 f020	oudart la meresse, et sa fille 14
	1298 f116	houdart la meresse 6
B 2	1292 p86	gui de mesons, courraier 24
	1296 f16	gui de mesons, courroier 18
	1297 f051v	gile de mesons, corroiier jaquelot sa fille 8
	1298 f112v	dame gile de mesons; et ses filles 6
	1299 f190	dame gile de mesons 12
	1300 f266v	gile de mesons fet cuevrechies 16

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
B 3	1292 f062	dame gile fame feu robert le petit 16
	1296 f026v	gile fame feu robert le petit 20
	1297 f061	dame gile la cordoaniere et ses enfanz 20
	1298 f122	gile fame feu robert le petit le cordoanier 18
	1299 f211	gile fame feu robert le petit et ses enfanz 16
	1300 f285v	gile la petite cordoanniery 20
B 3	1292 p15	ysabiau de bailly 8
	1296 f001v	ysabel de baailli 22
	1297 f037v	dame ysabiau de baailli et sa fille guillot son fuiz 20
	1298 f097v	dame ysabiau de baailli 20
	1299 f153	dame ysabiau de baailli 20
	1300 f232v	dame ysabel de baailli 20
B 3	1292 p16	jehane la boucele et ses enfanz 150 sa mere la poletiere 85
	1296 f102	jehanne la boucele jaquet et jehanot ses fuiz 40
	1297 f038	jehanne la boucele; jaquet son fuiz 58
	1298 f98	dame jehanne la boucele 50
	1299 f155	jehanne la boucele 56
	1300 f234	dame jehanne la boucele 56
B 3	1292 f013	dame jehanne la piz-d'oe 42 ses iij enfanz 30
	1296 f2v	dame jehanne piz-d'oe et ses enfans 80
	1297 f41	dame jehanne la py-d'oe et ses fuiz 80
	1298 f101	dame jehanne la pidoe thomassin; gervesot ses fuiz 84
	1299 f160v	dame jehanne la pidoe; et ses enfanz 84
	1300 f239	dame jehanne pidoe; et ses enfanz 84

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
B 3	1292 p24	jehan bourdon 240
	1296 f004	marie la bourdonne et ses enfans 92
	1297 f040	marie fame feu jehan bourdon et ses enfanz 92
	1298 f100	marie la bourdonne 180
B 3	1296 f002v	fame feu jehan des chans 70
	1297 f038v	la fame feu jehan des chans genevotte sa fille; jehannot son fuiz 85
	1298 f98v	perronnelle fame feu jehan des chaus 92
	1300 f234	pernelle des chans 50
B 3	1296 f025	la fame jehan de chanevieres et ses enfanz 16
	1299 f60	emeline de chanevieres; jehan son fuiz 20
	1298 f120	ameline de chanevieres 14
B 3	1296 f002v	agnes de lyons guillot et jehanete ses enfans 96
	1297 f038v	dame agnes de lyons 75
	1298 f98v	dame agnes de lyons 62
	1299 f156	dame agnes de lyons 62
	1300 f235	dame agnes de lyons 50
B 3	1297 f049	la fame feu pierre norri et ses enfanz 30
	1298 f110	agnes fame feu pierre norri 20
B 3	1296 f014	pierre de tornai tavernier 85
	1297 f049	la fame pierre de tournai et ses enfanz 58
	1298 f110	la fame feu pierre de tornoi 62

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
B 4	1292 p22	nicholas 6 jehanette, robin, anesot, ses enfanz 18
	1296 f3	nicholas et ses ii filles 22
	1297 f38v	nicholas 40
	1298 f99	nicholas et sa fille 42
	1299 f157	nicholas ansel 42
	1300 f2236	nicholas ansiau; no tax, note "clerc"
B 3	1296 f10	clarice qui file l'or 10
	1297 f48	clarice fame raoul le boutonier et ses enfanz 10
	1298 f108v	clarice fame feu raoul le boutonier 16
	1299 f181	clarice la fame raoul le boutonier 14
	1300 f258v	clarice fame raoul le boutonier 10
B 3	1292 f062v	la fame feu pierre le keu 16
	1297 f061	jaqueline fame feu pierre le queu 8 jehanne sa fille 8
	1298 f122	jaqueline fame feu pierre le queu jehanne sa fille; jehannot son filz 20
	1299 f211	jaqueline fame feu pierre le queu jehannot son fuiz; jehannete sa fille 18
	1300 f285v	jaqueline fame feu pierre le queu 18
B 3	1292 p92	denise d'auceurre 48
	1296 f18v	denise d'auceurre 36
	1297 f54	perronele d'auceurre; et ses enfanz 20
	1298 f115	dame perronnelle d'auceurre 20
	1299 f194	perrenele fame feu denise d'auceurre 20 macyot son fuiz 20
	1300 f270	dame perronnelle d'auceurre 20
	1313 f26v	dame perronnelle d'auceurre 90

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
B 3	1292 p67	gautier le boutonmier 20
	1296 f010	gautier le boutonmier 24
	1297 f048	dame tyfoine la boutonniere et ses iiii enfanz 30
	1298 f108v	dame thyphainne la boutonniere 30
	1299 f181	tyfainne fame feu gautier le boutonmier 36
	1300 f258v	tyfainne fame feu gautier le bouronnier 36
B 3	1296 f8v	jehan maalot 18
	1297 f043v	la fame mestre jehan maalot et ses enfanz 10
	1298 f103v	la fame mestre jehan maalot nicaise son fuiz 10
	1299 f67	la fame feu mestre jehan maalot 6 martin maalot, ymagier 8
	1300 f245v	la fame mestre jehan maalot 3 martin maalot imagier 9
B 4	1292 f031v	robert aus ganz 300 jehannete sa seur 36
	1296 f014	robert aus gans 380 jehanete, marote, enfans sa fame 100
	1297 f049	robert aus gans 380 les ii filles sa fame 100
	1298 f110	robert aus gans 440
	1299 f183	robert aus gans tavernier 440
	1300 f260v	robert aus gans 440
B 4	1292 f011v	thomas a la dent; ses ij enfanz 120
	1296 f003v	thomas a la dent et ses enfanz 110
	1297 f39v	thomas a la dent 120
	1298 f99v	thomas a la dent 72 et ses enfanz du premier marriage 84
	1299 f158	thomas a la dent
	1300 f237	thomas a la dent

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	

B 4	1292 p70	guillaume chief-de-fer; jehannot son fuiz jehannete sa fillatre 20; down the street: jehan chief de fer 10
	1297 f048	guillaume chief-de-fer sa fille et son fillastre 36 down the street:
	1298 f109	jehan chief de fer son gendre 36 guillaume chief-de-fer 24 down the street:
	1299 f181v	jehan chief de fer filz guillaume 14 guillaume chief de fer corroier 30 down the street: jehan chief de fer courraier 14
B 4	1296 f19v	guillaume bone-fille bouchier 85
	1297 f055	julien bonne-fille; perrot son fuiz et sa fille 7
	1298 f116	julien bone-fille, mestre des bouchiers 75
	1299 f190	julien bone-fille bouchier mestre des bouchiers 4
	1300 f271v	julien bone-fille bouchier 50
	1313 f27v	jehanne bone-fille 60; same street
B 4	1292 p14	robert de vileneuve 78
	1296 f1v	robert de villeneuve 52
	1298 f98	robert de vileneuve tavernier et sa fille 50
	1299 f154	robert de vile neuve tavernier 36
	1300 f233	robert de vile neuve tavernier 36
B 4	1299 f206	tierri l'alemant courratier et ses enfanz 6
	1300 f281v	tierri l'alemant courratier 3
B 4	1296 f27	michiel du petit celier 54
	1297 f61	michiel du petit celier 58
	1298 f122v	michiel du petit-celier tavernier 50
	1299 f211v	michel du petit-celier et ses enfants 50
	1300 f286	michiel du petit-celier tavernier 36

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
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B 4	1292 p101	nicolas du pin ses ii fuiz de sa premiere fame et i enfant de la seconde 155
	1296 f19v	nicolas du pin taneeur 150
	1297 f55	nicolas du pin gileite sa fille 155
	1298 f116	nicholas du pin taneeur gilete sa fille 150
	1299 f196	nicolas du pin taneeur 124
	1300 f272	nicolas du pin taneeur 150
B 4	1292 p86	joce de monci courraier 28
	1296 f16v	joce de monci 40
		robin son fuiz 10
	1297 f51v	joce de moncy 24
		robert de moncy son fuiz 12
		jehannete sa fille 12
		jehannot son fuiz 8
	1299 f190	josse de moncy et ses enfanz 36
	1300 f266v	joce de monci corroier 36
B 4	1292 p69	gieffroi neveu 20
	1296 f10	gefroi neveu 24
	1297 f48v	gefroi neveu de boissy et ses iii enfanz 30
	1298 f109	gieffroi neveu de boissi courraier 36
	1299 f181v	gieffroi de boissi corroier 36
	1300 f259	gieffroi de boissi courraier 36
	1313 f18v	gieffroi neveu courraier 120
B 4	1296 f121	jehan crete 18
	1297 f56	jehan de venete 16
	1298 f117	jehan de venete; gilete sa fille 16
	1299 f198	jehan de venete avocat 12

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	

B 4	1296 f20v	jehan le brun 70
	1297 f55	jehan le brun taneur 70
	1298 f116v	jehan le brun; et ses enfanz 75
	1299 f197v	jehan le brun taneur; et ses enfanz 75
	1300 f273v	jehan le brun taneur 75
B 4	1298 f117v	lorenz de torcy tainturier son fuiz et ii filles 6
	1299 f198v	lorenz de torcy tainturier 3
C	1296 f007v	jehanne de sauchevrel bertran son gendre 120 (note: Bertran paid 1/2)
	1297 f43v	jehanne de sauchevreul bertran son gendre 155 (note: Bertran paid 1/2)
	1298 f103v	jehanne de sauchevrel 124 bertran de balastre 92
	1299 f165v	jehanne de sauchevreul 124 bertran in same street
	1300 f245	jehanne de sauchevrel 124 bertran in same street
C	1292 f018	aales la tapiciere et pierre son fuiz 19
	1296 f007	aales la tapiciere guillaume son gendre 48
	1297 f042v	dame aales la tapiciere 20
	1298 f102v	dame aales la tapiciere 24 pierre le tapicier 20
	1299 f164	aales la tapiciere 24 pierre son filz 18
	1300 f242v	aales la tapiciere 36 pierre le tapicier 30

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
C	1296 f003	jehan le mercier 36
	1297 f039v	la fame (in margin) jehan le mercier guillot son fuiz 36
	1298 f099v	dame nichole la merciére guillaume son fuiz 62
	1299 f157v	(guillaume de st marcel, scratched out) dame nichole la merciére guillaume son fuiz 62
	1300 f236v	dame nicole la merciére 62 guillaume de st marcel merciére 62
C	1296 f003v	la prevoste du four-l'evesque 48
	1297 f039v	ysabel prevoste du four-l'evesque jehan son fuiz 135
	1298 f099v	isabiau prevoste du four levesque 84 jehan son fuiz 62
	1299 f158	isabiau prevoste du four levesque 84 jehan son fuiz 62
C	1297 f41	pierre le borgne tavernier 85
	1298 f101	la fame pierre le borgne ansel son fuiz 36
	1299 f161	jeanne fame feu pierre le borgne 36 ansost son fuiz 20
C	1292 f020	dame jehanne de cornoaille; ses enfanz 10
	1296 129f	jehanne de cornoaille 36
	1297 f044v	dame jehanne de cornouaille et ses enfanz 36
	1298 f105	dame jehanne de cornoaille 36 robert son fuiz 36
	1299 f169v	dame jehanne la cornoaille 36 robert son fuiz 20
	1300 f247v	dame jehanne la cornoaille 36 robert son fuiz 20

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
C	1296 f18v	guillaume boucel 120
	1297 f054	la fame guillaume boucel 62
		marguerite sa niece 10
	1298 f115	marguerite la boucele; et ses enfanz 66
	1299 f194	marguerite fame feu guillaume boucel 75
	1300 f270	fame feu Guillaume boucel 75
		guillot son fuiz,
		robin son filz et sa fille nichil
C	1297 f038v	jehan de companz drapier
		guibour sa mere 92
	1298 f98v	jehan de compans drapier 62
		bourge la pataier sa mere 62
	1299 f155	jehan de compans drapier 62
		bourge sa mere 62
	1300 f234	jehan de compans drapier 62
		bourge sa mere 62
	1313 f3	jehan de compans drapier 240
C	1292 p14	symon evrout 120
		marguerot sa fille 58
	1296 f002	symon evrost 150
		marguerite sa fille 20
	1297 f038	symon evroust 200
		et sa fille a marier la pucele 36
	1298 f098	symon evrost merrenier
		agnes sa fille 14 livres
	1299 f154	symon evrost 14 livres
		agnes sa fille, fame feu adam cabot 62
	1300 f233	symon evrost ?? livres (illegible)
		agnes sa fille fame feu adam cabot 50
C	1297 f040	guillaume bruiant; agnes sa fille 20
	1299 f158v	guillaume bruiant huissier le roy 12
		agnes sa fille 8
	1300 f237	guillaume bruiant huissier le roy 12
		agnes sa fille 8

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
D	1292 p106	emeline boi-l'eaue 70
	1296 f021	ameline boilyaue buschiere; et sa seur 92
	1297 f056	emeline boi-l'iaue; et sa suer 120
	1298 f117	ameline boil'yaue buschiere 75
	1299 f198	ameline boiliaue 75
	1300 f274	ameline boiliaue buschiere 62
	1313 f029	ameline boi-l'yaue buschiere 300
D	1296 f016	ysabiau de cambrai et beguines qui sont aveuques li 8
	1297 f051v	ysabel de cambrai 12 marguerite de troies sa compaigne 16
	1298 f112v	isabiau de cambrai merciere 16 marguerite de troies 18
	1299 f190	ysabiau de cambray et ses compaignes beguines 16 marguerite de troies 18
	1300 f266v	dame isabel de cambrai fet cuevrechies 16
D	1292 f019	marie de miauz 16
	1296 f10v	marie de miauz et sa suer 7
	1297 f44	jehan de miauz poissonnier 8
	1298 f104	jehan de miauz poissonnier; et sa seur 8
	1300 f246	jehan de miauz poissonnier 20
D	1297 f062v	perronele la chauciere 10
	1298 f144	perronelle la chauciere ameline sa seur 5
	1299 f217	perronnelle la chauciere 3
D	1297 f082v	pasque la chandeliere 3
	1298 f136v	marie; pasquiere, suers, chandelieres 3

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS

E	1292 f052v la beguine 20s 1296 f022v ameline la beguine aveniere 30 1297 f057v emeline la beguine ses ii nieces; et son neveu 36 1298 f118v dame ameline la beguine aveniere marie et colete ses filles 36 (nieces?) 1299 f201 ameline la beguine avenier 62s 1300 f277v ameline la beguine avenier 62s
E	1292 f031v jehanne la halibranne sa mere 24 1296 f010 jehanne la halebrane 48 1297 f48v abraham le juggleur et jehanne la halebrane 20 1298 f109 jehanne la halebrane 20 1299 f182 jehanne la halebrane chauderonniere 20 1300 f259v jehanne la halebrane chauderonniere 20 1313 f019 jehanne la habranne 30
E	1292 f007 sedile de falaise et ses enfanz 80 anes sa seur 8 1296 f102 dame sedile de falaise et sa suer et sa fille 78 1297 f038 dame sedile de faleise agnes sa suer 70 1298 f98 sedile de falaise 62 1299 f155 sedile de falaise 50 1300 f234 dame sedile de falaise 20
E	1292 f8 aalis de st joce beguine 5 1296 f3 aalis de st joce phelippote sa compaigne 18 1297 f39 aalis de st joce phelippote sa pucele 24 1298 f99 aalis de st joce ouvriere de soie 24 1299 f156v aalis de st-joce qui fet aumosnieres 24 1300 f235v aalis de st-joce qui fet aumosnieres 24 1313 f2v aalis de st-joce et sa compaigne 30

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	

E	1296 f016v	haoys de dammartin 18s
	1297 f051v	haoys de dammartin merciere 28
	1298 f112v	haoys de dammartin merciere 36
	1299 f190	haoys de danmartin merciere 36
	1300 f266v	haoys fame feu etienne de danmartin 4 dame edeline la coursonne sa mere 42
	1313 f023	haoys de dammartin, merciere, et son gendre et renaut le paonnier, tout ensemble 18livre
E	1298 f125	jehanne qui quiert au luminaire a saint germain et jaquet la beguine 4
	1299 f156	jehanne qui quiert le luminiere a saint germain 2
	1300 f235	jehanne qui quiert le luminiere a saint germain 3
E	1296 f18v	baudoin de soissons 78
	1297 f054	baudoin de soissons, mercier les iii enfanz sa fame 78
	1298 f115	baudoin de sessions mercier 84
	1299 f194	baudoin de soissons mercier 100
	1300 f270	baudoin de soissons mercier marguet, fille de sa fame 100
F	1292 f058	emeline agace; marie sa compaigne 12
	1296 f21v	ameline agace et marie de miauz, compaignes 10
	—1297 f56v	emeline agace; marie sa compaigne 9

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	

F	1292 f058	emeline agace; marie sa compaigne 12
	1296 f21v	ameline agace et marie de miauz, compaignes 10
	1297 f56v	emeline agace; marie sa compaigne 9
F	1292 f017v	gennevot de senliz 20 agnesot sa suer 20 girart de senliz gendre jehan hescelin 40
	1296 f007,	genevot de senliz et sa suer 36
	1297 f040	genevieve de senliz et sa suer 36
	1298 f100	genevot de senliz; agnesot sa seur 36
	1299 f158v	genevot; agnesot de senliz, soeurs 36
	1300 f237v	genevot & agnesot, soeurs girart de senliz, beguines 36
F	1296 f002v	ysabel de courbeul; perrete sa fille 18
	1298 f98v	ysabiau la gencienne; perrete sa fille 20
	1299 f155v	isabiau la gencienne; perrete sa fille 10
F	1292 f009	fame feu estienne maci et ses vj enfanz 220
	1296 f003	jaqueline la macie 70 bourdin son fuiz 40 jehanette et agnesot ses filles 40
	1297 f039	jaqueline la macie 70 et ses ii filles 72
	1298 f99	jaqueline la macie 75 bardin macie 36
	1299 f156	dame jaqueline la macie 50 bardin macy 36
	1300 f235	dame jaqueline la macie 20 bardin macy nichil

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	

F	1292 p39	jehanne la contesse et sa fille 58
	1296 f026v	jehanne la contesse; et sa fille 10
	1297 f060	jehanne la contesse 8
	1298 f121v	jehanne la contesse
		jehannete sa fille 8
	1299 f210	jehanne la contesse
		jehannete sa fille 10
	1300 f285	jehanne la contesse
		jehannete sa fille 10
F	1296 f27	girart, neveu macy alart 22
		juliot, amelot, et jehannete ses seurs
		en l'aage de xiii anz 36
	1297 f061	girart, neveu macy aalart 24
		juliot, emelot, jehannete
		seurs du dit girart 36
F	1292 p103	marguerite fame feu jehan le breton
		et ses anfanx 200
	1296 f19v	marguerite la brete; perrot son fuiz 150
	1297 f55	marguerite la breite; perrot son fuiz 155
	1298 f116	marguerite la brete; perrot son fuiz 400
	1299 f196v	marguerite la brete; perrot son fuiz 170
	1300 f272v	(marguerite la brete scratched out)
		marguerite fame feu jehan le breton
		perron son filz; guillemin son filz 170
F	1292 f004v	marie de meulent et ses enfanx 120
	1296 f002	dame marie de meullent
		jehanot son fuiz 85

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
F	1292 f070v	jehanne la broderesse martine sa compaingne 20
	1296 f030v	martine la beguine jehanne sa compaingne 48
	1297 f64v	martine la beguine jehanne sa compaingne 48
	1299 f220v	martine de manle jehanne sa compaigne 62
	1300 f292v	martine de manle jehanne sa compaigne 62
F	1296 f5	dame nichole la talemeliere edelot sa fille 36
	1297 f41	nicole talemeliere eudelot sa fille 36
F	1292 f29	guillaume de clamart 180
	1296 f4v	perronele de clamart perrot son fuiz jehanete sa fille 240
	1297 f41	perronele de clamart; perrot son fuiz 250
	1298 f101	perronelle de clamart; perrot son fuiz 245
	1299 f160v	pernelle de clamart; perrot son fuiz 280
	1300 f239	pernelle de clamart taverniere perrot son fuiz 280
F	1292 f046	perronele la mastine; et ses anfan 30
	1296 f20	perronnelle la mastine jehannete sa fille 78
	1297 f55	perronele la mastine et guillot son fuiz 85
	1298 f116	perronele la mastine 92
	1299 f196v	perrennelle la mastine jehannete sa fille 92
	1300 f272v	perronnelle la mastine jehannete sa fille 92

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS
F	1296 f022v la fame danyau de mori et ses enfanz 36 1297 f57v la fame daniau de mori son fuiz et sa fille 36
F	1292 f020v dame aaliz la boucliere nicholas son gendre 30 1296 f008 aalis la boucliere symon de boisi son gendre 48 1297 f044v dame aalis la boucliere symon de boissi son gendre 48 1298 f104v dame aaliz la boucliere symon son gendre 50 1299 f169 aaliz la boucliere ferpiere symon de boissi son gendre 54 1300 f247v aaliz la boucliere ferpiere symon de boissi son gendre 56
F	1292 f017 aales babilie 22 1296 f008v aales babilie Guillot et jeannot ses fuiz 8
F	1296 f3v jehan rousiau coutelier 48 1297 f39v jehan roussiau coutelier 16 1298 f99v la fame feu jehan roussel et son fuiz 10
F	1292 f008 bietriz la pouletiere et ses filles 3 1297 f039 bietriz la pouletiere gileite et marote ses filles 8
F	1292 p129 ysabel la parigaude et ses anfan 36 probably 1296 f024 dame ysabel la paridane et ses ii enfanz 28

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
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F	1297 f050	gile fame feu bertaut des chanz jehannot son fuiz 85
	1298 f111v	la fame feu bertaut des champs et ses enfanz 20
	1299 f184v	gile fame feu bertaut des chans et ses enfanz 20
F	1296 f017	gringoire gramoire de rains isabel sa seur 58
	1297 f052	guaringaut de reins; et sa suer 48
	1298 f113	gueringaut de rains; et sa seur 62
	1299 f191	gueringaut de reins; ysabel sa seur 84
	1300 f267	gueringaut de rains; isabel sa seur 84
	perhaps 1313	f24v girart de reins, sergier 90
F	1292 p86	estienne desparnon 80 phelippot son fuiz 32
	1296 f16c	estienne desparnon 36
	1207 f051v	estienne d'esparnon jehanneite sa fille 36
	1298 f112v	estienne desparnons jehannete sa fille 36
	1299 f190	etienne d'esparnons jehannete sa fille 36
	1300 f266v	estienne desparnon mercier nicholas du pin son gendre 3
F	1296 f025	oudart arrode 200
	1297 f060	oudart arrode 200
	1298 f120v	oudart arrode ses iiii enfanz ainznez 84
	1299 f207	oudart arrode ses iii enfanz ainznez 84
	1300 f282v	oudart arrode ses iii enfanz ainznez nichil

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	

F	1292 f019v	gile, fame feu jehan le linier 6
	1296 f011	dame gile la liniere 12
	1207 f044	dame gile la liniere 8
	1298 f104	dame gile la liniere 6
	1299 f167v	les ii filles dame gile la liniere 6 (not verified) folio missing
	1300 f246	les ii filles dame gile la liniere 8
F	1296 f25v	jehanne de biauvez 20
	1297 f060bis	les enfanz dame jehanne de biauvez 20
F	1296 f19	jehan le pevrier drapier 210
	1297 f054v	jehan le pevrier 210 son serourge et les ii enfanz jehan qui donoie 70
F	1297 f55v	phelippe de noisi; et ses fillastres 48
	1298 f116v	phelippe de noisi; et ses fillatres 50
F	1298 f98v	jehanne la braz nue et richart son gendre 6
	1299 f155v	jehanne la halebranne richart son gendre 8
	1300 f234v	jehanne la halebrane richart son gendre 8
F	1296 f135	jaques le queu 135
	1297 f3v	jaques le keu 135
	1298 f99v	les enfanz feu jaques le queu 80

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	

F	1296 f021	les iii enfanz feu jehan le prevost 36
	1297 f56v	aalis la commine jehannot son neveu aales sa niece 36
	1298 f117v	dame aaliz la commine les enfanz feu jehan le prevost 50
	1300 f275	dame aaliz la commine les enfanz feu jehan le prevost 50
F	1292 p75	girart le mesagier 36
	1296 f14v	girart le mesagier 36
	1297 f50	girart le mesagier 36
	1298 f111	la fame feu quart le messagier jehan son filz 36
F	1297 f39v	nicolas goujon orfevre 10
	1298 f99v	marie fame feu nicholas goujon et ses ii filles 8
	1299 f157v	marie la goujonne; et ses ii filles 8
	1300 f256v	marie la goujonne; et ses ii filles 8
F	1297 f058	jehanne la barbiere jehannete et jehannete ses filles 9
	1299 f201v	jehanne la barbiere jehannete et jehannete ses filles 9
F	1292 f051	pernelle de ville-neuve 28
	1296 f022	pernelle a la charrete et ses enfanz, blaatiars 36
	1297 f057	pernelle a la charrette, ses 2 fuiz et sa fille 36
	1298 f118v	perronnelle a la charrete blaatiere et ses enfans 50
	1299 f200v	perronnelle fame feu guiart de vileneuve et ses enfanz 42
	1300 f276v	perronnelle fame feu guiart de vileneuve et ses enfanz 42

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS
G 1	1296 f008v tyfoinne la ciriere 6 1297 f073 typhaine la chandeliere; gile sa fille 4 1298 f103v tyfaine la ciriere; gile sa fille 6 1299 f166v tyfaine la ciriere; gile sa fille 6 1300 f245v tyfaine la ciriere; gile sa fille 6
G 1	1292 f63 dame agace la mareschale 40 1296 f27 dame agace la mareschalec 58 1297 f61 dame agace la mareschale 58 et ses ii filles 20 1298 f122 agace la mareschale 62 et ses ii filles 20 1299 f211v agace la mareschale 62 marguerite la beguine, agnesot sa seur, filles dame agace 36 (different street) 1300 f286 agace la mareschale 62
G 1	1292 f70v dame aales des cordeles 16 1296 f30 aales la feutriere beguine 20 1297 f64v aales de termes beguine 20 gros gens on left bank missing 1298 f220v aales de termes beguine 36 marguerite fille aales des cordeles 20 1300 f293 aales des cordelles; maheut sa fille 36
G 1	1292 f051v maheut fame feu guillaume le normant 20 1296 f22 maheut la normande taverniere 16 1297 f57v maheut la regratiere 14 1298 f118v mahaut de courbueil regratiere et sa fille 14
G 1	1292 f020v sedile de londres 12 1296 f008 sedile de londres; jaques son fuiz 12

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
G 1	1292 p91	richart du val 180
	1296 f017v	la fame richart du val mercier 100
	1297 f052v	la fame feu richart du val richart son fuiz 120
	1298 f113v	ameline du val; richart son fuiz 124
	1299 f191v	ameline du val; richart son fuiz 124
	1300 f268	ameline du val merciére richart son fuiz 124
G 1	1296 f7v	jehan ancourt 20
	1297 f42	jehan ancourt 20
	1298 f102	jehan ancourt 20
	1299 f163	gile fame feu jehan ancourt 20
	1300 f241v	gile fame feu jehan ancourt et ses enfanz 20
G 1	1292 p66	phelippe la regratiere 20
	1296 f009v	phelippe le regratier 18
	1297 f047v	phelippe la bourde, regratiere 16
	1298 f108v	dame phelippe la blonde jehanne sa fille 16
	1299 f179v	phelippe la blonde; jehanne sa fille 18
	1300 f257	phelippe la blonde; jehanne sa fille 16
G 1	1297 f084v	bietriz qui vent avoinne 5
	1298 f118v	bietriz la picarde aveniere jehanne sa fille 16
	1299 f200	beatrice la picarde aveniere et jehanne sa fille 16
	1300 f275	bietriz la picarde et jehanne sa fille 10
	1313 f028v	dame biatriz la picarde de la venerie et jehanne sa fille 6

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
G 2	1292 p177	jehan de saint quentin 48 Perreite sa fillatre 3
	1296 f10v	jehan de saint-quentin 58
	1297 f48v	jehan de saint quentin, et sa dame 80
	1298 f109v	jehan de saint quentin; et sa dame 62
	1299 f182v	jehan de saint quentin; et sa dame 62
G 2	1297 f049	robert le petit au la meson jehan le fevre 56
	1298 f109v	robert le petit et ses enfans 26
	1299 f182v	robert le petit et ses enfans 26
G 2	1296 f3	jehan de biaumont 36 jehanot son fuiz 16
	1297 f39	jehan de biaumont et ses enfanz 36
G 2	1292 p18	jaques le bourgueignon 48
	1296 f2v	jaques le borguegnon 40
	1297 f038v	jaques le bourguignon et ses iii fillastres 70
G 2	1292 p96	guillaume chevalier lormier 10 son gendre 5
	1296 f18	guillaume chevalier le viel lorimier 12 guillaume chevalier le genne lorimier 6
	1297 f53	guillaume chevalier le viel lormier 6 guillaume chevalier le joenne lormier 8
	1298 f114	guillaume chevalier le viel lorimier clymence sa fille 8
G 2	1296 f022	nicolas des estuves 8
	1297 f057	nicolas des estuves 8
	1298 f118	nicholas des estuves; perrete sa fille 8
	1299 f200	perrete fille gile des estuves 8 same street

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
G 2	1292 p31	heymeri le barbier 30
	1296 f5	hemeri le barbier 50
	1297 f41	hemeri le barbier 20
	1298 f101	hemeri le barbier; et ses enfanz 20
G 2	1296 f16v	guillaume l'uillier 8
	1297 f52	guillaume l'uillier 8
	1300 f267	guillaume l'uillier et ses enfanz 8
G 2	1292 p87	garnier le feutrier 120
	1296 f17	garnier le feutrier 92
	1297 f52v	garnier le feutrier 120
	1298 f113v	garnier le feutrier 124
	1300 f267v	garnier le feutrier et ses enfanz 124
	possibly 1313 f24v	marie le feutriere et son fuiz 285 same street
H	1292 p14	jehan martin 36; ascelot sa fille 16
	1296 f2	jehan martin; acelot sa fille 32
H	1292 p86	nicholas d'amiens 140
		jehannete sa fille 20
	1296 f16v	nicolas d'amiens 82
		jehanete sa fille 20
	1297 f51v	nicolas d'amiens 85
		adenot son fuiz 20
		jehannete sa fille 20
	1299 f190	nicolas d'amiens et ses enfanz 110
	1313 f023	nicolas d'amiens et ses enfanz 1200
H	1297 f043	jehanne fame jehan hure 20
		heloys sa mere 18
		daniau le picart chiez jehan hure 9
	1298 f103	jehanne fame feu hure; heloys sa mere 20

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	

X	1292 f9	marguerite la chanevaciere et ses enfanz 155
	1296 f2v	marguerite la cuilliere 72; jaqueline sa fille 36; jehanot son fuiz et ii beguines qui sont leans 36
	1297 f93	marguerite la chenavaciere 70; jaqueline sa fille 36; jehannot son fuiz et ii beguines 36
	1298 f99	jaqueline la chanevaciere 50; jehannot son frere 50; et ii beguines
	1299 f156	jaqueline la chanevaciere 50; jehan le chanevacier 84; ses ii seurs beguines 42
	1300 f235	jehan le chanevacier tavernier 84;
	f235v	jehannete et perrete, dites les cuillieres, beguines 62
	1313 f3v	jehan le chanevacier 120
X	1292 p17	la fame feu thomas piz-d'oe 100 marote sa fille 60 oudinnet son fuiz 60
	1296 f002v	eude pizdoe 120 et sa mere 58 et ses suers 13
	1297 f38v	eude pydoe 155 et sa mere 58 jaquelot sa suer 20
	1298 f98v	fame feu eude pi d'oe 150 la fame feu thomas pidoe 62 jaquelot sa fille 50
	1299 f155	perronnelle fame feu thomas pidoe jaquelot sa fille 50
	1300 f234	perronnelle fame feu thomas pidoe, nichil symon tybert son gendre 100

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	
x	1292 p177a	simon le piquier 13
	1296 f010v	symon piquier; et sa mere 10
	1297 f048v	symon paquier et sa mere 7
	1298	symon piquet 10
	1299 f182v	symon piquet 10
	1300 f259d	symon pasquier et sa mere 12
x	1292 f013v	anes la gueinniere 40
	1296 f5	dame agnes la gueiniere
		thomas son fuiz 72
	1297 f41v	dame agnes la gayniere
		thomas son fuiz 70
	1298 f101v	thomas le gueinier
		agnes la gueiniere 75
	1299 f161v	dame agnes la gueiniere
		thomas son fuiz 84
	1300 f240	dame agnes la gueiniere 20
		la fame thomas le guesnier 38
	1313 f7	perronelle la gainiere 90
x	1292 p19	hue de vilers mari marie de sessions 180
	1296 f3	marie de soisons 150
	1297 f039	hue de villers et la fille sa fame 155
	1298 f99	hue de vilers et la fille sa fame 160
	1299 f157	hue de vilers vallet le roy,
		sa fame est fripiere
		et la fille sa fame 124
x	1296 f018v	thomas pasquier chandelier 12
	1297 f054	thomas pasquier chandelier
		et sa fille 12
	1298 f115	thomas paquier chandelier
		et sa fille 12
	1299 f194v	thomas pasquier chandelier de suif 10
	1300 f301v	fame thomas pasquier 5
	1313 f26v	thomas pasquier chandelier 24

Appendix 5, Continued

TYPE	RELATED ENTRIES FROM THE SEVEN TAX ROLLS	

X	1296 f10v	jehan le bouchier 16
	1297 f48v	jehan le bouchier 58
	1298 f109v	les 3 enfanz le bouchier 14
	1299 f182	les iii enfanz jehan le bouchier 14
	1300 f259v	oudin le bouchier 14
x	1292 p101	jehan petit 20
	1296 f19v	jehan petit de saint yon bouchier 16
		jehannot son fuiz 14
		jehan de saint yon son neveu bouchier 16
	1297 f055	jehan le petit de st yon 16
		jehannot son fuiz 14
		agnesot sa fille; et une autre fille 8
	1298 f116	jehan petit de st yon bouchier
		et son fuiz 24
	1299 f196	jehan le petit bouchier 20
	1300 f272	jehan petit de st yon bouchier
		jehannot son fuiz 50
	1313 f27v	jehan de st yon filz feu jehan petit 3
X	1296 f45	edeline l'esperonniere
	1297 f44v	eudeline l'esperonniere 8
	1298 f105	edeline la boudonville et son fuiz 8
	1299 f170v	edeline l'esperonniere 6
	1300 f248v	guillot bardouville esperonnier 14
X	1292 p91	jehan de lyons 3600
	1297 f53	jehan de lyons 7210
	1313 f025	les fames aus 11 jehans de lyons 1200

APPENDIX 6.

This appendix shows the mean tax paid by women in each metier as compared with their participation in that metier. Here, column 4 presents the trades, in ascending order of mean tax paid, sorted within each type of work. In Appendix 7 all trades are shown in ascending order of mean tax paid, without any sorting. The number of men and number of women are taken from Appendix 4, Columns 4 and 5. They are the total occurrences of men and women for the four years 1297, 1298, 1299, and 1300. The mean tax is computed using only women in Group A, those whose metier is explicitly stated. The negative correlation of mean tax paid with the percentage of workshops governed by women is discussed in Chapter Five.

<u>Metier</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of women</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of men</u>	<u>Women as a per cent of all taxpayers in this metier</u>	<u>Mean tax paid by women</u>
cloth producers				
batteur de toile	3	0	100 %	2.00
fileresse	3	0	100 %	2.00
fileresse a la quenouil	6	0	100 %	2.00
fileresse de laine	3	0	100 %	2.00
peigneur de soie	3	0	100 %	2.00
retorderesse de fil	0	0		2.00
teinturier de toile	3	0	100 %	2.00
tondeur	6	153	4 %	2.00
tondeur de laine	3	0	100 %	2.00
ouvriere de laine	15	0	100 %	2.17
fileresse au touret	12	0	100 %	2.25
calandreur de soie	3	0	100 %	2.50
peigneur de laine	6	0	100 %	2.50
carier de soie	12	0	100 %	2.75
devideur de soie	3	0	100 %	3.00
trameur de soie	3	0	100 %	3.00
tissu, fabricante de	53	5	91 %	3.65
fileresse de soie	283	5	98 %	3.97
ouvriere de soie	307	17	95 %	5.41
filandriere	17	14	55 %	5.50
chambriere	130	0	100 %	5.82
tisserand	78	1710	4 %	10.38
telier	48	25	66 %	11.05
feutrier	3	44	7 %	30.67
sales				
charbonnier	13	68	17 %	2.00
fil de laine, qui vend	0	0		2.00

APPENDIX 6, Continued.

<u>Metier</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of women</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of men</u>	<u>Women as a per cent of all taxpayers in this metier</u>	<u>Mean tax paid by women</u>
sales				
vendeur	0	0		2.00
fil, qui vend	15	7	69 %	3.00
perchier	3	3	53 %	3.00
poissonier	146	343	30 %	3.18
fanier	43	148	22 %	4.20
lainier	138	111	55 %	4.77
libraire	6	69	8 %	5.00
linier	96	64	60 %	5.33
vins, qui vend	6	68	8 %	6.40
chandelles, qui vend	3	0	100 %	8.00
fripier	98	913	10 %	20.48
avenier	35	75	32 %	22.83
epicier	34	277	11 %	33.67
blatier	11	174	6 %	37.43
soie, qui vend	3	0	100 %	45.00
mercier	158	626	20 %	52.83
pelletier	33	1634	2 %	108.67
buschier	47	150	24 %	171.75
drapier	6	325	2 %	255.00
peddlers				
charcuterie, qui vend	3	0	100 %	2.00
poraier	26	14	66 %	2.33
buffetier	22	307	7 %	3.00
fruitier	43	96	31 %	3.62
poulaillier	57	241	19 %	3.94
fromagier	39	148	21 %	4.13
regratier	589	923	39 %	4.54
harengier	51	89	37 %	5.38

APPENDIX 6, Continued.

<u>Metier</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of women</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of men</u>	<u>Women as a per cent of all taxpayers in this metier</u>	<u>Mean tax paid by women</u>
peddlers				
saunier	35	48	42 %	12.92
laitier	17	4	82 %	13.00
oeufs, vendeur d'	0	0		14.00
needlework				
coiffier de fil	3	0	100 %	2.00
courtepointier	2	72	2 %	2.00
etouffeuses de bourses	6	2	78 %	2.25
aumonieres, fabricant de	27	3	89 %	2.86
laciere	34	2	95 %	3.00
crespiniere	128	48	73 %	3.43
chapelier	41	185	18 %	3.71
frange, fabricante de	3	0	100 %	4.00
lacets de soie, fabricant	0	0		4.00
coiffiere	119	15	89 %	4.14
couturier	213	396	35 %	4.41
couvrechefs de soie, fab.	9	0	100 %	5.00
lingere	58	12	83 %	5.00
brodeur	22	63	26 %	26.73
chasublier	6	24	20 %	36.00
chapelier de feutre	3	68	4 %	58.00
service				
ebourgeoneresse	5	0	100 %	2.00
laveur de robes	3	5	37 %	2.00
peigneur de tetes	3	0	100 %	2.00
porcs, qui garde	5	29	14 %	2.00
commanderesse	15	0	100 %	2.40
monnaier	3	35	9 %	2.67
savetier	25	752	3 %	3.00
maitre d'ecole	3	17	15 %	3.50
lavandiere de tetes	32	0	100 %	3.60

APPENDIX 6, Continued.

<u>Metier</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of women</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of men</u>	<u>Women as a per cent of all taxpayers in this metier</u>	<u>Mean tax paid by women</u>
service				
lavendiere	193	15	93 %	3.86
deschargeur	19	218	8 %	5.50
jardinier	2	2	47 %	5.86
ventriere	12	0	100 %	6.50
jongleur	6	56	9 %	11.00
fourbisseur	6	168	3 %	33.00
epiciere le roi	3	0	100 %	175.00
small goods				
boursier	22	167	11 %	2.00
bouclier	26	351	7 %	2.20
cirier	57	25	69 %	2.25
aiguillier	13	30	31 %	2.50
boutonnier	23	42	36 %	2.50
chandelier	89	226	28 %	2.55
attachier	3	35	8 %	3.00
potier de terre	3	13	18 %	5.00
coutelier	19	219	8 %	6.60
lormier	15	275	5 %	7.33
batteur d'etain	3	3	47 %	18.00
archalier	5	5	51 %	20.00
corroyer	68	718	9 %	20.50
paternosterer	10	61	14 %	22.50
food producers				
cervoisier	27	118	19 %	2.00
huilier	27	117	19 %	2.00
tartier	5	3	64 %	2.50
pataier	47	220	17 %	3.40
pescheur	2	88	2 %	4.00
cuisinier	15	69	18 %	4.25

APPENDIX 6, Continued.

<u>Metier</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of women</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of men</u>	<u>Women as a per cent of all taxpayers in this metier</u>	<u>Mean tax paid by women</u>
food producers				
tripier	29	18	62 %	5.90
oublaier	10	96	10 %	6.80
boucher	19	381	5 %	7.33
boudiniere	33	22	60 %	11.00
talemelier	62	740	8 %	12.76
large goods				
decoupeur de soliers	3	0	100 %	2.00
potier	53	155	26 %	2.33
charpentier	16	509	3 %	2.60
chapuisier	0	58	0 %	5.00
maletier	3	13	19 %	5.00
fevre	10	270	4 %	6.00
tonnelier	14	421	3 %	6.60
selier	16	329	5 %	7.00
huchier	11	183	6 %	10.67
coffrier	11	41	21 %	11.20
potier d'etain	12	28	29 %	18.00
cordoannier	24	1314	2 %	18.50
chaudronnier	11	53	17 %	20.00
megissier	9	221	4 %	37.25
cercelier	3	19	13 %	43.00
establishments				
heberge, qui	12	3	78 %	4.25
etuveur	21	113	15 %	6.57
hotelier	90	332	21 %	22.43
tavernier	109	2587	4 %	45.14
luxury goods				
tailleur d'or	3	2	64 %	2.33
enlumineur	8	47	14 %	6.00

APPENDIX 6, Continued.

<u>Metier</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of women</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of men</u>	<u>Women as a per cent of all taxpayers in this metier</u>	<u>Mean tax paid by women</u>
luxury goods				
fileresse d'or	24	0	100 %	6.58
ymagier	14	96	13 %	7.00
orfevre	15	1262	1 %	16.00
batteur d'or	3	55	5 %	68.50
officials				
mesureur	19	18	52 %	4.18
balancier	8	21	27 %	5.60
building				
macon	20	566	3 %	2.00
plastrier	23	94	20 %	6.00
ambiguous				
carreaux, fabricante de	3	0	100 %	2.00
ouvriere	9	0	100 %	2.00
fourrier	10	65	13 %	2.67
loirier	3	25	11 %	3.00
marchand	8	33	20 %	8.00
peigneur	10	0	100 %	9.00
fournier	27	349	7 %	10.00
curandier	3	9	24 %	10.50
meresse	3	0	100 %	12.00

APPENDIX 7.

This appendix shows the mean tax paid by women in each metier as compared with their participation in that metier. The figures are the same as in Appendix 6, but here column 4 shows all trades in ascending order of mean tax paid, without any sorting. The number of men and number of women are taken from Appendix 4, Columns 4 and 5. They are the number of occurrences of men and women in each metier for the years 1297, 1298, 1299, and 1300. The negative correlation of mean tax paid with the percentage of workshops governed by women is discussed in Chapter Five.

<u>Metier</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of women</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of men</u>	<u>Women as a per cent of all taxpayers in this metier</u>	<u>Mean tax paid by women</u>
batteur de toile	3	0	100 %	2.00
boursier	22	167	11 %	2.00
carreaux, fabricante de	3	0	100 %	2.00
cervoisier	27	118	19 %	2.00
charbonnier	13	68	17 %	2.00
charcuterie, qui vend	3	0	100 %	2.00
coiffier de fil	3	0	100 %	2.00
courtepointier	2	72	2 %	2.00
decoupeur de soliers	3	0	100 %	2.00
ebourgeoneresse	5	0	100 %	2.00
fil de laine, qui vend	0	0		2.00
fileresse	3	0	100 %	2.00
fileresse a la quenouil	6	0	100 %	2.00
fileresse de laine	3	0	100 %	2.00
huilier	27	117	19 %	2.00
laveur de robes	3	5	37 %	2.00
macon	20	566	3 %	2.00
ouvriere	9	0	100 %	2.00
peigneur de soie	3	0	100 %	2.00
peigneur de tetes	3	0	100 %	2.00
porcs, qui garde	5	29	14 %	2.00
retorderesse de fil	0	0		2.00
teinturier de toile	3	0	100 %	2.00
tondeur	6	153	4 %	2.00
tondeur de laine	3	0	100 %	2.00
vendeur	0	0		2.00
ouvriere de laine	15	0	100 %	2.17
bouclier	26	351	7 %	2.20
cirier	57	25	69 %	2.25
etouffeuresse de bourses	6	2	78 %	2.25
fileresse au touret	12	0	100 %	2.25
poraier	26	14	66 %	2.33
potier	53	155	26 %	2.33

APPENDIX 7, Continued.

<u>Metier</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of women</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of men</u>	<u>Women as a per cent of all taxpayers in this metier</u>	<u>Mean tax paid by women</u>
tailleur d'or	3	2	64 %	2.33
commanderesse	15	0	100 %	2.40
aiguillier	13	30	31 %	2.50
boutonnier	23	42	36 %	2.50
calandreur de soie	3	0	100 %	2.50
peigneur de laine	6	0	100 %	2.50
tartier	5	3	64 %	2.50
chandelier	89	226	28 %	2.55
charpentier	16	509	3 %	2.60
fourrier	10	65	13 %	2.67
monnaier	3	35	9 %	2.67
carier de soie	12	0	100 %	2.75
aumonieres, fabricant de	27	3	89 %	2.86
attachier	3	35	8 %	3.00
buffetier	22	307	7 %	3.00
devideur de soie	3	0	100 %	3.00
fil, qui vend	15	7	69 %	3.00
laciere	34	2	95 %	3.00
loirier	3	25	11 %	3.00
perchier	3	3	53 %	3.00
savetier	25	752	3 %	3.00
trameur de soie	3	0	100 %	3.00
poissonier	146	343	30 %	3.18
pataier	47	220	17 %	3.40
crespiniere	128	48	73 %	3.43
maitre d'ecole	3	17	15 %	3.50
lavendiere de tetes	32	0	100 %	3.60
fruitier	43	96	31 %	3.62
tissu, fabricante de	53	5	91 %	3.65
chapelier	41	185	18 %	3.71
lavendiere	193	15	93 %	3.86
poulaillier	57	241	19 %	3.94

APPENDIX 7, Continued.

<u>Metier</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of women</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of men</u>	<u>Women as a per cent of all taxpayers in this metier</u>	<u>Mean tax paid by women</u>
fileresse de soie	283	5	98 %	3.97
frange, fabricante de	3	0	100 %	4.00
lacets de soie, fabricant	0	0		4.00
pescheur	2	88	2 %	4.00
fromagier	39	148	21 %	4.13
coiffiere	119	15	89 %	4.14
mesureur	19	18	52 %	4.18
fanier	43	148	22 %	4.20
cuisinier	15	69	18 %	4.25
heberge, qui	12	3	78 %	4.25
couturier	213	396	35 %	4.41
regratier	589	923	39 %	4.54
lainier	138	111	55 %	4.77
chapuisier	0	58	0 %	5.00
couvrechefs de soie, fab.	9	0	100 %	5.00
libraire	6	69	8 %	5.00
lingere	58	12	83 %	5.00
maletier	3	13	19 %	5.00
potier de terre	3	13	18 %	5.00
linier	96	64	60 %	5.33
harengier	51	89	37 %	5.38
ouvriere de soie	307	17	95 %	5.41
deschargeur	19	218	8 %	5.50
filandriere	17	14	55 %	5.50
balancier	8	21	27 %	5.60
chambriere	130	0	100 %	5.82
jardinier	2	2	47 %	5.86
tripier	29	18	62 %	5.90
enlumineur	8	47	14 %	6.00
fevre	10	270	4 %	6.00
plastrier	23	94	20 %	6.00
vins, qui vend	6	68	8 %	6.40

APPENDIX 7, Continued.

<u>Metier</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of women</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of men</u>	<u>Women as a per cent of all taxpayers in this metier</u>	<u>Mean tax paid by women</u>
ventriere	12	0	100 %	6.50
etuveur	21	113	15 %	6.57
fileresse d'or	24	0	100 %	6.58
coutelier	19	219	8 %	6.60
tonnelier	14	421	3 %	6.60
oublaier	10	96	10 %	6.80
selier	16	329	5 %	7.00
ymagier	14	96	13 %	7.00
boucher	19	381	5 %	7.33
lormier	15	275	5 %	7.33
chandelles, qui vend	3	0	100 %	8.00
marchand	8	33	20 %	8.00
peigneur	10	0	100 %	9.00
fournier	27	349	7 %	10.00
tisserand	78	1710	4 %	10.38
curandier	3	9	24 %	10.50
huchier	11	183	6 %	10.67
boudiniere	33	22	60 %	11.00
jongleur	6	56	9 %	11.00
telier	48	25	66 %	11.05
coffrier	11	41	21 %	11.20
meresse	3	0	100 %	12.00
talemelier	62	740	8 %	12.76
saunier	35	48	42 %	12.92
laitier	17	4	82 %	13.00
oeufs, vendeur d'	0	0		14.00
orfevre	15	1262	1 %	16.00
batteur d'etain	3	3	47 %	18.00
potier d'etain	12	28	29 %	18.00
cordoannier	24	1314	2 %	18.50

APPENDIX 7, Continued.

<u>Metier</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of women</u>	<u>Number of occurrences of men</u>	<u>Women as a per cent of all taxpayers in this metier</u>	<u>Mean tax paid by women</u>
archalier	5	5	51 %	20.00
chaudronnier	11	53	17 %	20.00
fripier	98	913	10 %	20.48
corroyer	68	718	9 %	20.50
hotelier	90	332	21 %	22.43
paternosterer	10	61	14 %	22.50
avenier	35	75	32 %	22.83
brodeur	22	63	26 %	26.73
feutrier	3	44	7 %	30.67
fourbisseur	6	168	3 %	33.00
epicier	34	277	11 %	33.67
chasublier	6	24	20 %	36.00
megissier	9	221	4 %	37.25
blatier	11	174	6 %	37.43
cercelier	3	19	13 %	43.00
soie, qui vend	3	0	100 %	45.00
tavernier	109	2587	4 %	45.14
mercier	158	626	20 %	52.83
chapelier de feutre	3	68	4 %	58.00
batteur d'or	3	55	5 %	68.50
pelletier	33	1634	2 %	108.67
buschier	47	150	24 %	171.75
epiciere le roi	3	0	100 %	175.00
drapier	6	325	2 %	255.00

ABBREVIATIONS

1292 = tax roll for 1292. See BN Fr 6220.

1296 = tax roll for 1296. See KK283.

1297 = tax roll for 1297. See KK283.

1298 = tax roll for 1298. See KK283.

1299 = tax roll for 1299. See KK283.

1300 = tax roll for 1300. See KK283.

1313 = tax roll for 1313. See BN Fr 6736.

BN Fr 6220 = tax roll for 1292, untitled. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale. See Géraud.

BN Fr 6736 = tax roll for 1313, entitled "C'est le livre de la taille des dis mille livres deue au roy nostre sires pour la chevalerie le roy de navarre, son ainz-né filz." Paris: Bibliothèque nationale. See Michaëlsson 1951.

BN Fr 11709 = manuscript of the *Livre des métiers*, called Lamare. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale.

BN Lat 16482 = Pierre of Limoges, *Liber Distinctionum*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale.

BN Fr 24069 = manuscript of the *Livre des métiers*, known as the Sorbonne manuscript. Bibliothèque nationale.

BU = *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*. ed. Michaud. Paris: Delagrave, 1854-1865. vol. V.

DBF - *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, vol. VI. ed. M. Prévost and Roman d'Amot. Paris: Letouzey, 1954.

ESL = "Etablissements de Saint-Louis", in *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789*. Jourdan, Decrusy, and Isambert, eds. vol. II: 1270-1308. Paris: Berlin-le-prieur, 1821-1833.

HD = *Archives de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris, 1157-1300*. ed. Léon Brièle. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1894.

HLF = *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 19 (1256-1285). "Etienne Boilesve, prévôt de Paris." 104-114. *Académie Royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres*. Paris, 1838.

KK283 = manuscript KK283, *Archives Nationales*, Paris, which contains the "rôles de la taille de cent mille livres tournois" for 1296, 1297, 1298, 1299, and 1300. The rolls for 1296 and 1297 have been published by Karl Michaëlsson as *Le livre de la taille de Paris l'an 1296*. *Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis*. Göteborgs universitets årsskrift, vol. 45. Göteborg, 1958 and *Le livre de la taille de Paris l'an 1297*. Göteborg: Elanders, 1962.

LDM = *Le Livre des métiers* of Etienne Boileau, c. 1268. ed. René de Lespinasse and François Bonnardot. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints. 1980. Reimpression of the Paris edition of 1879. An earlier edition by Depping, *Règlements sur les arts et métiers de Paris: redigés au xiii^e siècle et connus sous le nom Livre des métiers de Etienne Boileau*. Paris, 1837. Numbers refer to Title and paragraph in the Lespinasse-Bonnardot edition. e.g., 8:18 refers to Title 8, paragraph 18. References to Part Two are preceded by a Roman numeral II.

OLIM = *Les olim ou registres des arrêts rendus par la Cour du roi sous les règnes de Saint-Louis, de Philippe-le-Hardi, de Philippe-le-Bel, de Louis-le-Hutin et de Philippe-le-Long*, Vol. I: 1254-1273. pub. Beugnot. *Collection des Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*. Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1839.

ORF = *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race recueillies par ordre chronologique*. 23 v. Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1723-1849.

SHM = *Sources d'histoire médiévale, ix^e - milieu du xiv^e siècle*. ed. Ghislain Brunel and Elisabeth Lalou. Paris: Larousse, 1992.

SPB = "Sentences du Parloir-aux-Bourgeois", in *Histoire de l'Hôtel de Ville de Paris*. ed. LeRoux de Lincy. Paris: Dumoulin, 1846.

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