

ANGLO-GASCON AQUITAINE

Problems and Perspectives



Edited by Guilhem Pépin

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THE BOYDELL PRESS

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Introduction

Guilhem Pépin

This book gathers the proceedings of the 'Anglo-Gascon Aquitaine: problems and perspectives' conference which was held at the University of Oxford on 23 and 24 September 2011. It was the conclusion of the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) project *The Gascon Rolls* (2008–11), directed by Dr Malcolm Vale (University of Oxford) and Paul Booth (University of Liverpool). The aims of the project were to calendar the Gascon Rolls which have not yet been published (from 1317 to 1467); the author of this introduction and Dr Simon J. Harris were in charge of the bulk of this mammoth task, and we have continued to work on the other two projects. This project was continued in France at the University of Bordeaux – Michel de Montaigne and was led by Professor Frédéric Boutoulle and Emeritus Professor Françoise Lainé. Finally, the last stage of this work was a Leverhulme Project (2013–15) directed by Professor Anne Curry (University of Southampton) and Dr Philip Morgan (University of Keele).

The Gascon Rolls are the main historical source on the history of the duchy of Aquitaine (or Guyenne), also known as Gascony (in fact Western Gascony), which was governed by dukes who were also kings of England from 1154. Gascony was united forever with the crown of England when Henry III gave it to his eldest son (in 1252 and 1254), the future Edward I. The destruction or loss of many of the medieval archives of Aquitaine¹ has increased the importance of the English archives for the history of the duchy of Aquitaine between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The first traces of French interest in the Anglo-Gascon archives coming from the chancery (then kept at the Tower of London) and the exchequer (then kept at the abbey of Westminster) date from 1673–74, but the real start of this interest was the mission of the marquis de Bréquigny to London between 1764 and 1767, where he and his assistants copied a large number of documents related to French history.² Among them, many concerned Anglo-Gascon Aquitaine. The interest in these latter documents essentially came from the transcription of many French and Gascon-related acts made by Thomas Rymer and his assistants at

¹ For instance the archives kept at the castle of the Ombrière were sent to Paris in the 1460s and kept at the Chambre des Comptes near the Sainte-Chapelle on the Île de la Cité. They were destroyed by a fire in 1737 and the only surviving manuscript, the *Recogniciones feodorum in Aquitania* (the feudal survey of Edward I in Aquitaine in 1273–74), had been probably stolen before the fire. The vast majority of the medieval municipal archives of Bordeaux were destroyed by the constable of France Anne de Montmorency after the revolt of Bordeaux against the *gabelle* (salt tax) in 1548.

² The volumes of these copies are kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF).

the Tower of London and published in twenty volumes between 1704 and 1713 under the title *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae...*³ Furthermore, the book of the Englishman Thomas Carte, *Catalogue des Rolles gascons, normans et françois conservés dans les archives de la Tour de Londres...* (1743), suggested,⁴ despite its weaknesses, the richness of the archives kept at the Tower of London, particularly the Gascon Rolls.⁵

The long publication process of the Gascon Rolls

The real start to the process of publication of documents concerning Gascony was the official mission in England of the autodidact scholar Francisque-Michel (from 1833). He uncovered several previously unknown texts, the most famous being the oldest manuscript of the *Song of Roland* kept at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.⁶ This impressive work gave him much material for the writing of his *Histoire du commerce et de la navigation à Bordeaux, principalement sous la domination des Anglais* (1867 and 1870),⁷ and led above all to the publication in 1885 of the first volume of the Gascon Rolls (1242–54).⁸ In reality, they were not part of the real collection of the Gascon Rolls, which only started in 1273, and were in fact Patent and Close Rolls written in Gascony when Henry III was there (1242–43 and 1253–54), but this book set the tone for the edition of the Gascon Rolls until the date 1317. The acts were published in full in their original language (Latin), which was an onerous task. Following the death of Francisque-Michel in 1887, Charles Bémont of the École des Hautes Études of Paris⁹ took up the torch in continuing the publication of the Patent Rolls and Close Rolls of Henry III and his son in Gascony, under the still erroneous name of the ‘Rôles gascons’ (1896).¹⁰ He then published in 1900 and 1906 the first real Gascon Rolls corresponding to the reign of Edward I.¹¹ Bémont continued to be interested in Anglo-Gascon matters with the feudal survey ordered in Gascony by Edward I in 1273–74 known as the

³ *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae ...*, ed. T. Rymer, 20 vols (London, 1704–35).

⁴ *Catalogue des Rolles gascons, normans et françois conservés dans les archives de la Tour de Londres, tiré d'après celui du garde desdites archives, et contenant le Précis et le Sommaire de tous les titres qui s'y trouvent concernant la Guienne, la Normandie et les autres provinces de la France sujettes autrefois aux roys d'Angleterre ...*, ed. T. Carte, 2 vols (London, 1743).

⁵ It gave credence to the popular belief existing in Aquitaine that the Gascon Rolls and the Anglo-Gascon archives are still kept at the Tower of London.

⁶ *La Chanson de Roland et le Roman de Roncevaux des XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, ed. Francisque-Michel (Paris, 1869).

⁷ Francisque-Michel, *Histoire du commerce et de la navigation à Bordeaux, principalement sous la domination des Anglais*, 2 vols (Bordeaux, 1867–70).

⁸ *Rôles Gascons* I, ed. Francisque-Michel, Vol. I (1242–1254) (Paris, 1885).

⁹ Alumnus of the École des Chartes of Paris, he had written there his thesis on Simon de Montfort (d. 1265), earl of Leicester: Charles Bémont, *Simon de Montfort, comte de Leicester* (Paris, 1884). This work introduced him to the history of Anglo-Gascon Aquitaine as he wrote a narrative of Montfort's government of Gascony between 1248 and 1253.

¹⁰ *Rôles Gascons* I bis, ed. C. Bémont, supplément Vol. I (1254–1255) (Paris, 1896).

¹¹ *Rôles Gascons* II, ed. C. Bémont, Vol. II (1273–1290) (Paris, 1900) and *Rôles Gascons* III, ed. C. Bémont, Vol. III (1291–1307) (Paris, 1906).

Recogniciones feodorum in Aquitania.¹² Unfortunately, as regularly happens in the Anglo-Gascon field, the publication process of the Gascon Rolls was halted for fifty-six years until Yves Renouard (1908–65), professor of medieval history at Bordeaux until 1955 and then at the University of Paris, decided to carry on this heavy work by releasing in 1962 the fourth volume of the Gascon Rolls of the first half of the reign of Edward II (1307–17).¹³ All these volumes were the result of a collaboration between Francisque-Michel, Bémont and Renouard with the staff of the Public Record Office (PRO) of London, where the Gascon Rolls have been kept since 1838. The fourth volume was published both in France by the Imprimerie nationale and in Britain by the Stationery Office. The premature death of Renouard in 1965 put a halt to the process and the Gascon Rolls had to wait forty-six years (until 2008–9) for the start of a new project of publication. This time, the aim was extremely ambitious as the purpose was to complete all the remaining Gascon Rolls (from 1317 to 1467) now kept in the National Archives (TNA) at Kew, the successor to the PRO. In order to accomplish such a feat the idea was to turn them into calendars inspired by the medieval Calendars of the Patent Rolls (1891–1916) and the medieval Calendars of the Close Rolls (1900–47). Furthermore, these calendars were to be put on a website, permitting the use of the latest technology to enhance the content of the rolls. Finally, after several episodes, the result is impressive: as of December 2016 almost all the rolls have been completed apart from some rolls of the reign of Edward III. The plan is to publish these calendars with Boydell.

An overview of the Anglo-Gascon historiography

Apart from the Gascon Rolls, an Anglo-Gascon historiography has developed. First of all, the Bordelais scholar Jules Delpit was also sent to London on a mission in 1842 and 1843. He copied many documents in the Tower of London and the British Museum, but also in the Guildhall of London, an archive (now the London Metropolitan Archives) which has not been investigated since by Anglo-Gascon historians. Just a tiny part of his transcriptions were published in 1847 in his *Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre*.¹⁴ Delpit also initiated and directed until his death in 1892 the publication of the collection of documents called the *Archives historiques du département de la Gironde* (1859–1936; 59 volumes), which, contrary to their name, concerned all the former duchy of Aquitaine and were, or the vast majority of them, from French archives.¹⁵ Several previously unknown medieval texts are to be found there. The best narrative until now of the end of the Hundred Years War (1442–53) was

¹² *Recueil d'actes relatifs à l'administration des rois d'Angleterre en Guyenne au XIII^e siècle. Recogniciones feodorum in Aquitania*, ed. C. Bémont (Paris, 1914).

¹³ *Rôles Gascons* IV, ed. Y. Renouard, Vol. IV (1307–1317) (Paris and London, 1962).

¹⁴ *Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre*, ed. J. Delpit (Paris, 1847).

¹⁵ See Delpit biography and bibliography in his obituary published in the *Archives historiques de la Gironde*, XXVII (Bordeaux, 1892), 9–70.

published in 1866 by Henry Ribadieu, the editor-in-chief of the royalist Bordelais newspaper *La Guienne*, under the name of *Histoire de la conquête de la Guyenne par les Français*.¹⁶ It was the first work to underline the existence of an Anglo-Gascon sentiment in the duchy of Aquitaine, a topic which is still somewhat taboo in centralist France. The same year, the artist and autodidact erudite Léo Drouyn, cousin by marriage of Jules Delpit, who drew many medieval monuments of Aquitaine, published his *La Guienne militaire*, a study of castles and houses of the département of the Gironde.¹⁷ This tireless scholar not only made engravings and drawings of medieval buildings – the main reason for which he is now known – but also published such important works as *Bordeaux vers 1450*,¹⁸ a description of medieval Anglo-Gascon Bordeaux based on local medieval documents and the accounts of the archbishopric of Bordeaux.¹⁹ A well-documented Bayonne history during the Anglo-Gascon period was published between 1862 and 1875 by the local archivists Jules Balasque and Édouard Dulaurens.²⁰ This latter published in 1892 the municipal medieval cartulary of Bayonne of the same period.²¹ Following a fire at the town hall of Bordeaux on 13 June 1862,²² the remaining medieval archives were progressively published for the most part under the supervision of Henri Barckhausen: two municipal medieval cartularies (*Livre des bouillons* and *Livre des coutumes*) and the surviving registers of the municipal government of the beginning of the fifteenth century.²³ Barckhausen also transcribed the cartulary of ‘Henry V and Henry VI’, a manuscript kept at the BNF grouping together texts from 1204 to 1453.²⁴

All the secondary works written by these authors were based on local sources, the English-based sources used being essentially from the *Feodora* of Rymer, the catalogue of Carte or sometimes the copies of Bréquigny. The first historian who

¹⁶ Henry Ribadieu, *Histoire de la conquête de la Guyenne par les Français* (Bordeaux, 1866).

¹⁷ Léo Drouyn, *La Guienne militaire* (Bordeaux, 1866). The original title should have been *La Guienne anglaise*, but the mayor of Bordeaux – one of his two sponsors – urged him to change his title.

¹⁸ Léo Drouyn, *Bordeaux vers 1450* (Bordeaux, 1874).

¹⁹ Published in the *Archives historiques de la Gironde*, 21 (Bordeaux, 1881) and in the *Archives historiques de la Gironde*, 22 (Bordeaux, 1882). See Drouyn biography in his obituary published in the *Archives historiques de la Gironde*, XXXI (Bordeaux, 1896), xv–xxviii.

²⁰ Jules Balasque and Édouard Dulaurens, *Études historiques sur la ville de Bayonne*, 3 vols (Bayonne, 1862–75).

²¹ *Livre des Etablissements*, Archives municipales de Bayonne, ed. E. Dulaurens (Bayonne, 1892).

²² Almost all the medieval archives of Bordeaux were destroyed by fire in 1548 following the revolt against the *gabelle* (salt tax) by the constable of France Anne de Montmorency. Very few medieval archives had survived by 1862 and the remaining ones were saved from the fire.

²³ *Livre des Bouillons*, Archives municipales de Bordeaux (Bordeaux, 1867) and *Livre des Coutumes*, Archives municipales de Bordeaux (Bordeaux, 1890). *Registres de la jurade. Délibérations de 1406 à 1409*, Archives municipales de Bordeaux (Bordeaux, 1873) and *Registres de la jurade. Délibérations de 1414 à 1416 et de 1420 à 1422*, Archives municipales de Bordeaux (Bordeaux, 1883). Only the *Livre des Coutumes* was not published under the supervision of Henri Barckhausen. See his biography and his bibliography in his obituary published in the *Archives historiques de la Gironde*, L (Paris and Bordeaux, 1915), xvii–lxxx.

²⁴ Published in the *Archives historiques de la Gironde*, 16 (Bordeaux, 1878).

mixed both French and English-based sources was the Gascon Rolls editor Charles Bémont. He worked, for instance, on town institutions and published a complaint against Arnaut Caillau, former mayor of Bordeaux and seneschal of Saintonge.²⁵ Bémont was also the author in 1920 of a useful bibliography.²⁶ The publication of sources enabled overviews of Anglo-Gascon history by English-speaking historians: firstly, the book by the American Frank B. Marsh on Gascony in the first half of the thirteenth century (1912),²⁷ secondly, the book on the whole period (1200–1453) by the English historian Eleanor C. Lodge (1926).²⁸ As Lodge had focused her thesis on the estate of the archbishop of Bordeaux and his chapter, her study emphasized social classes and urban history.²⁹

After the Second World War, the Breton Pierre Chaplais became firstly archivist at the PRO, then reader at the University of Oxford. A specialist in diplomatic, he focused on Anglo-Gascon matters since he wrote his thesis on the Gascon appeals to the kings of England based on the Anglo-Gascon documents in the PRO.³⁰ In the 1950s he wrote, in both English and French, in particular on the claim of certain Gascon and English clerks that Gascony was an ‘alleu’ (free land) independent of the kingdom of France, that the seal used by the seneschals of Guyenne never included the French lilies, and on the chancery and the court of sovereignty of Guyenne.³¹ He also published numerous letters concerning the war of Saint-Sardos, many of which had been sent to Hugh le Despenser, who governed England for Edward II.³² Mention should also be made of the thesis of Robert Boutruche on the Bordelais society and the devastation caused there during the last stages of the Hundred Years War.³³

The Bordelais Jean-Paul Trabut-Cussac, graduate of the École des Chartes, wrote a thesis in 1949 on the English administration in Gascony between 1254 and 1307, dates chosen because of the Gascon Rolls then published. During his career

²⁵ Charles Bémont, ‘Les institutions municipales de Bordeaux au Moyen Age. La mairie et la jurade’, *Revue Historique*, CXXIII (1916), 1–53 and 253–93; ‘La mairie et la jurade dans les villes de la Gascogne anglaise. Bourg et Blaye, Saint-Emilion et Libourne’, *Revue Historique de Bordeaux*, X (1917), 121–33 and 196–205; ‘La mairie et la jurade dans les villes de la Guyenne anglaise: La Réole’, *Annales du Midi*, XXXI (1919), 1–34 and ‘Les factions et les troubles à Bordeaux de 1300 à 1330 environ’, *Bulletin Philologique et Historique (jusqu’en 1715) du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*. Année 1916 (1917), 121–80.

²⁶ Charles Bémont, *La Guienne pendant la domination anglaise* (London, 1920).

²⁷ Frank Burr Marsh, *English Rule in Gascony (1199–1259) with Special Reference to the Towns* (Michigan, 1912).

²⁸ Eleanor C. Lodge, *Gascony under English Rule* (London, 1926).

²⁹ Eleanor C. Lodge, *The Estate of the Archbishop and Chapter of Saint-André de Bordeaux under English Rule* (Oxford, 1912).

³⁰ Pierre Chaplais, ‘Gascon Appeals to England, 1259–1453’ (PhD thesis, University of London, 1950).

³¹ All his main articles on this topic have been gathered in one volume: Pierre Chaplais, *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration* (London, 1981).

³² *The War of Saint-Sardos (1323–1325): Gascon Correspondence and Diplomatic Documents*, ed. P. Chaplais, Camden Society, Third Series, lxxvii (London, 1954).

³³ Robert Boutruche, *La crise d’une société: seigneurs et paysans du Bordelais pendant la Guerre de Cent ans* (Paris, 1947, 2nd edn, Paris, 1963).

as librarian at London, then at Madrid, he published a number of major studies on Anglo-Gascon matters during this period in the 1950s and 1960s.³⁴ He also reconstructed the book of homages to Edward I (1274) and Edward of Woodstock as prince of Aquitaine (1363).³⁵ Sadly, Trabut-Cussac died in 1969 at the early age of forty-five, three years after being assaulted by a driving instructor in Madrid. His expanded thesis was finally published in 1972, despite its unfinished state.³⁶ It remains to this day a milestone of Anglo-Gascon historiography.³⁷

Trabut-Cussac had collaborated with the American historian George Peddy Cuttino on the publication of the *Gascon Register A*, a royal cartulary made at the beginning of the fourteenth century and then kept in England at the British Museum (now at the British Library), a work also published after his death.³⁸ Cuttino specialized in Anglo-Gascon archives³⁹ and had previously published the *Gascon Calendar of 1322*,⁴⁰ a catalogue of documents concerning Aquitaine kept at the PRO, and the *Livre d'Agenais*, another important cartulary of the same period concerning the Agenais province kept at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.⁴¹ Accounts of four constables of Bordeaux of the fourteenth century were edited under its direction and are to this date the only published accounts of constables of Bordeaux.⁴² Yves Renouard, the publisher of the fourth volume of the Gascon Rolls, also worked on such Anglo-Gascon matters as the institutions of the duchy of Aquitaine and the relationship between Edward II and the Gascon pope Clement V; he also wrote several articles on the trade of Gascony wines.⁴³

³⁴ Among his works, we can particularly mention: Jean-Paul Trabut-Cussac, 'Les coutumes ou droits de douane perçus à Bordeaux sur les vins et les marchandises par l'administration anglaise, de 1252 à 1307', *Annales du Midi*, LXII (1950), 135–50; 'Bastides ou forteresses? Les bastides de l'Aquitaine anglaise et les intentions de leurs fondateurs', *Le Moyen Age*, LX (1954), 81–135, 'Itinéraire d'Edouard I^{er} en France, 1286–1289', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (1952), 170–200 and 'Date, fondation et identification de la bastide de Baa', *Revue Historique de Bordeaux et du Département de la Gironde*, X (1961), 133–44.

³⁵ Jean-Paul Trabut-Cussac, *Le livre des hommages d'Aquitaine* (Bordeaux, 1959).

³⁶ Jean-Paul Trabut-Cussac, *L'administration anglaise en Gascogne sous Henri III et Edouard I^{er} de 1254 à 1307* (Paris and Geneva, 1972).

³⁷ See his full bibliography apart from the publication of his thesis in 1972 in: Charles Higounet, 'Nécrologie. Jean-Paul Trabut-Cussac (1924–1969)', *Annales du Midi*, 81 (1969), 242–3.

³⁸ *Gascon Register A* (series of 1318–1319), ed. G.P. Cuttino and J.-P. Trabut-Cussac, 3 vols (London, 1975–76).

³⁹ See for instance George Peddy Cuttino, 'A Memorandum Book of Elias Joneston', *Speculum*, XVII (1942), 74–85, 'Another Memorandum Book of Elias Joneston', *English Historical Review*, LXIII (1948), 90–103, 'The Process of Agen', *Speculum*, XIX (1944), 161–78 and 'The Archives of Gascony under English Rule', *American Archivist*, XXV (1962), 315–21.

⁴⁰ *The Gascon Calendar of 1322*, ed. G.P. Cuttino, Camden Society, Third Series, lxx (London, 1949).

⁴¹ *Le livre d'Agenais*, ed. G.P. Cuttino (Toulouse, 1956).

⁴² Timothy Runyan, 'The Constabulary of Bordeaux: The Accounts of John Ludham (1372–1373) and Robert de Wykford (1373–1375), Part I', *Mediaeval Studies*, 36 (Toronto, 1974), 215–58; Part II, 37 (Toronto, 1975), 42–84 and J. Robert Wright, 'The Accounts of John Stratton and John Gedeney, Constables of Bordeaux, 1381–1390: An Edition with Particular Notes on their Ecclesiastical and Liturgical Significance', *Mediaeval Studies*, 42 (1980), 238–307.

⁴³ All his main articles have been gathered in two volumes: Yves Renouard, *Études d'histoire médiévale*, 2 vols (Paris, 1968).

The grêatest specialist on this last topic was at that time Margery James. She submitted her doctoral thesis on 'The Non-Sweet Wine Trade of England during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries' at the University of Oxford in 1952. She based her research on the many financial sources of the exchequer kept at the PRO, particularly the accounts of the constable of Bordeaux (the treasurer of the duchy of Aquitaine). Sadly, after having published several articles in the 1950s, her premature death at the age of fifty in 1966 prevented her from writing a general history of the wine trade in Europe.⁴⁴ Only the Breton historian Jean-Christophe Cassard continued briefly along these lines in using the same kind of sources, with two articles published in 1978 and 1983.⁴⁵ Later, in the 1990s, at the University of Bordeaux, Sandrine Lavaud also wrote on the wine production at Bordeaux and its area using exclusively local sources.⁴⁶ Lavaud edited as well the *Historical Atlas of Bordeaux* (2009)⁴⁷ together with Ézéchiél Jean-Courret, a specialist on local urban history.⁴⁸ On economic history mention should be made of the thesis of the École des Chartes by Eugène Goyheneche, on Bayonne and its region from the twelfth to the fifteenth century (1949), which was published only in 1990.⁴⁹

Pierre Capra, lecturer at the University of Bordeaux III, worked extensively from the late 1950s on Aquitaine between the lieutenancy of Edward of Woodstock, the 'Black Prince' (1355–57), and the treaty of Brétigny-Calais (1360). His voluminous *thèse d'État* submitted in 1972 was on the lieutenancy of the Black Prince in Gascony (1355–57).⁵⁰ This work completed the old study of Joseph Moisant on the Black Prince in Aquitaine (1896) and predated the best biography of the Black Prince by Richard Barber (1978).⁵¹ Capra particularly specialized in studying Anglo-Gascon coinage and its value,⁵² his only successor in this field

⁴⁴ All her articles and some parts of her doctoral thesis have been published in: Margery Kirkbride James, *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade*, ed. E.M. Veale (Oxford, 1971).

⁴⁵ Jean-Christophe Cassard, 'Vins et marchands gascons au début du XIV^e siècle', *Annales du Midi*, CX (1978), 121–40 and 'Les flottes du vin de Bordeaux au début du XIV^e siècle', *Annales du Midi*, XCV (1983), 119–33.

⁴⁶ An overview of her work is in: Sandrine Lavaud, *Bordeaux et le vin au Moyen Age. Essor d'une civilisation* (Bordeaux, 2003).

⁴⁷ *Bordeaux. Atlas historique des villes de France*, dir. S. Lavaud and É. Jean-Courret, 3 vols (Pessac, 2009).

⁴⁸ Among his works: Ézéchiél Jean-Courret, 'Le Puy-Paulin à Bordeaux. Porte hypothétique de l'enceinte antique et maison médiévale des Bordeaux/Puy-Paulin', *Aquitania*, 27 (2011), 297–328.

⁴⁹ Eugène Goyheneche, *Bayonne et la région bayonnaise du XII^e au XV^e siècle* (Bilbao, 1990).

⁵⁰ Pierre Capra, 'L'administration anglo-gasconne au temps du Prince Noir, 1354–1362. Essai sur une mentalité politique', 4 vols (doctoral thesis, Université de Paris 1, 1972). Partly summarized in Pierre Capra, 'Les bases sociales du pouvoir anglo-gascon au milieu du XIV^e siècle', *Le Moyen Age*, LXXXI (1975), 273–99 and 447–73.

⁵¹ Joseph Moisant, *Le Prince noir en Aquitaine* (Paris, 1894) and Richard Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales and Aquitaine* (London, 1978).

⁵² For instance Pierre Capra, 'Le léopard et le guyennois d'or, monnaies d'Aquitaine', *Annales du Midi*, LXXII (1960), 393–409; 'Les espèces, les ateliers, les frappes et les émissions monétaires en Guyenne anglo-gasconne aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles', *Numismatic Chronicle*, Seventh Series, xix (1979), 139–54 and (1980), 132–64 and 'Pour une histoire de la monnaie anglo-gasconne', *Annales du Midi*, LXXXVII (1975), 405–30.

being Marc Bompaire.⁵³ His colleague Jacques Bernard wrote a *thèse d'État* on ships and mariners at Bordeaux from c. 1400 using both local and English sources.⁵⁴ Charles Samaran,⁵⁵ an eminent graduate of the École des Chartes, and Charles Higounet,⁵⁶ professor at the University of Bordeaux, also studied aspects of Anglo-Gascon Aquitaine though it was not their main field of research. This latter had directed the thesis of Nicole de Peña, who gathered the acts of the different branches of the noble Durfort family.⁵⁷ She later wrote an article on the motivation of the Gascon nobles faithful to the king of England, and another on the relationship between the Aquitanian towns in the fourteenth century.⁵⁸

The main English historian who has worked on this topic is Malcolm Vale, who published in 1970 his innovative and documented thesis on 'English' Gascony in the first half of the fifteenth century, a period never worked on before.⁵⁹ In the 1980s he researched Aquitaine in the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century before the outbreak of the Hundred Years War.⁶⁰ The outcome was an overview of the origins of the Hundred Years War which mainly focused on the duchy of Aquitaine (1990).⁶¹ The American Joseph Kicklighter submitted in 1973 a thesis directed by George P. Cuttino, which consisted of an inventory of the Gascon appeals to the parlement of Paris between 1259 and 1337 which are to be found in the published sources.⁶² He published several articles

⁵³ Marc Bompaire, 'Datation de deux monnaies d'Edouard III, duc d'Aquitaine, grâce à deux trouvailles', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique*, 54e année (1999), 185–7; 'Datation de deux monnaies d'Edouard III, duc d'Aquitaine, grâce à deux trouvailles', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique*, 54e année (1999), 185–7 and 'Les monnayages d'or d'Aquitaine anglo-gasconne. Le témoignage des livres de changeurs', *Revue Numismatique*, 155 (2000), 261–79.

⁵⁴ Jacques Bernard, *Navires et gens de mer à Bordeaux (vers 1400 – vers 1550)*, 3 vols (Paris, 1968).

⁵⁵ See for instance: Charles Samaran, 'Quelques aspects des rapports franco-anglais en Guyenne et en Gascogne à la fin de la guerre de Cent ans d'après les registres du trésor des Chartes', *Annales du Midi*, LXV (1953), 21–34 and 'Les institutions féodales en Gascogne au Moyen Âge', in *Histoire des institutions françaises au Moyen Âge. I. Institutions seigneuriales*, ed. F. Lot and R. Fawtier (Paris, 1957), 185–207.

⁵⁶ See for example: Charles Higounet, 'La Gascogne aux XIVe et XVe siècles', *Journal des Savants*, année 1969 (1969), 129–44 and 'Pour une géographie du vignoble aquitain médiéval', *Le vin au Moyen Âge: production et producteurs*, Actes du IIe congrès des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public, Grenoble, 4–6 juin 1971 (Paris, 1978), 103–17.

⁵⁷ *Documents sur la maison de Durfort (XIe–XVe siècles)*, ed. N. de Peña, 2 vols (Bordeaux, 1977).

⁵⁸ Nicole de Peña, 'Vassaux gascons au service du roi d'Angleterre dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle: fidélité ou esprit de profit?', *Annales du Midi*, LXXXVIII (1976), 5–21 and 'Le roi d'Angleterre et les villes d'Aquitaine au début du XIVe siècle', *Annales du Midi. Cadres de vie et société dans le Midi médiéval. Hommage à Charles Higounet* (Toulouse, 1990), 257–74.

⁵⁹ Malcolm Vale, *English Gascony, 1399–1453* (Oxford, 1970).

⁶⁰ See his bibliography in *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale*, ed. H. Skoda, P. Lantschner and R.L.J. Shaw (Woodbridge, 2012), xxiii–xxv.

⁶¹ Malcolm Vale, *The Origins of the Hundred Years War: The Angevin Legacy, 1250–1340* (Oxford, 1990, 2nd edn, Oxford, 1996).

⁶² Joseph Allen Kicklighter, 'English Related Cases at the Parliament of Paris, 1259–1337' (PhD thesis, Emory University, Atlanta, 1973).

between 1979 and 1990 more or less based on this initial work.⁶³ Mention should also be made of the good overview on 'English Gascony' by Margaret Wade Labarge (1981) despite its calamitous title asserting that it was 'the first English colony'.⁶⁴ This overview as well as the older one by Eleanor Lodge (1926) are the only ones of their kind and we have to marvel that not a single similar work has been done in French until now. Hence the inhabitants of Aquitaine barely know anything about this topic other than the existence of Eleanor of Aquitaine and the battle of Castillon (1453).

At the University of Bordeaux, Professor Jean Bernard Marquette, a pupil of Charles Higounet, has extensively written on the 'occupation du sol' and, more connected to our topic, on the family of the lords of Albret with his *thèse d'État*.⁶⁵ In addition to his prolific production since the early 1970s, he published in 1973 part of the archives of the rich 'fond d'Albret' kept at the Archives des Pyrénées-Atlantiques at Pau, the main depository he used for his works.⁶⁶ His colleague Professor Françoise Lainé (for a long time known by her married name Françoise Bériac) was also a major contributor during the 1990s to Anglo-Gascon historiography, with several papers on a period spanning from the late thirteenth century to 1453. Her efforts culminated with the book she co-wrote with Chris Given-Wilson on the prisoners of the battle of Poitiers in 2002.⁶⁷ Both Marquette and Lainé directed theses on Anglo-Gascon matters: Patrice Barnabé wrote on the fidelity of the Gascon nobility towards the English or the French until 1360⁶⁸ and Franck Legrand submitted a thesis on the men-at-arms and the art of war in Aquitaine in the fourteenth century. Patrice Barnabé published several articles on the war and the political geography in Aquitaine in the 2000s.

Mention should also be made of Frédéric Boutoulle, lecturer and thereafter professor of medieval history at the University of Bordeaux III, who has worked on the duchy of Aquitaine of the first Plantagenets (1152–c. 1250), a period which has been particularly under-studied and somewhat artificially separated

⁶³ For example: Joseph Allen Kicklighter, 'English Bordeaux in Conflict: The Execution of Pierre Viguier de la Rousselle and its Aftermath, 1312–24', *Journal of Medieval History*, 9 (1983), 1–14; 'French Jurisdictional Supremacy in Gascony: One Aspect of the Ducal Government's Response', *Journal of Medieval History*, 5 (1979), 127–34 and 'Arnaud Caillau, maire de Bordeaux et agent d'Edouard II en Gascogne', translation by P. Capra, *Annales du Midi*, XCIX (1987), 283–302.

⁶⁴ Margaret Wade Labarge, *Gascony, England's First Colony, 1204–1453* (London, 1980).

⁶⁵ His thesis was published for the first time in the 1970s: Jean-Bernard Marquette, 'Les Albret. (XIe–1360)', *Cahiers du Bazadais*, 30 and 31 (1975), 34 (1976), 38 (1977), 41 (1978) and 45–6 (1979). New edition: Jean Bernard Marquette, *Les Albret: l'ascension d'un lignage gascon, XI^e siècle – 1360* (Bordeaux, 2010).

⁶⁶ *Le trésor des chartes d'Albret. I. Les archives de Vayres*, ed. J.B. Marquette (Paris, 1973).

⁶⁷ Françoise Bériac-Lainé and Chris Given-Wilson, *Les prisonniers de la bataille de Poitiers* (Paris, 2002).

⁶⁸ Patrice Barnabé, 'Entre roi-duc et roi de France: fidélité ou ralliement du pays gascon (1259–1360)', 2 vols (thesis, University of Bordeaux III, 2003) and Franck Legrand, 'Gens d'armes et art de la guerre de la Sud-Ouest de la France (1337–1380): oppositions et spécificités', 2 vols (thesis, University of Bordeaux III, 2008).

from the following period.⁶⁹ Nicholas Vincent also narrated the story of the war in Gascony between Henry III and the king of Navarre Theobald II, and the relationship between the Plantagenets and the Agenais province.⁷⁰ There are also the thick books by Jonathan Sumption on the Hundred Years War which currently concern the period from 1337 to 1422 (four volumes).⁷¹ This successful lawyer, currently Justice of the Supreme Court of the United Kingdom, has the great merit of including entire chapters on Aquitaine-Gascony with very accurate information – including much that comes from unpublished manuscripts – which is a huge change compared to similar accounts that focus only on northern France. Concerning the judicial aspects there is the work of Pierre Prétou on justice in Gascony, though it is based essentially on French royal sources and does not use the Anglo-Gascon ones.⁷² On military matters, there is also the thesis of Nicolas Savy on the defence of the towns of Northern Quercy in the fourteenth century and all his works which mainly focus on the Gascon *routiers* of the English party, most recently the Gascon *routier* leader Bertrucat d'Albret.⁷³ Michel Bochaca, previously lecturer at the University of Bordeaux, then professor at the University of La Rochelle, has worked on urban history, in particular Bordeaux,⁷⁴ and he has more recently written papers on maritime history involving Bayonne or Bordeaux and the kingdom of Castile.⁷⁵ He is doing research on the very end of the Anglo-Gascon period (c. 1400–53) and on the beginning of the French period (1453–c. 1550).

The author of this Introduction (Guilhem Pépin) submitted his thesis in 2008 at the University of Oxford on the relationship between the kings of England/

⁶⁹ For the publication of the greater part of his thesis: Frédéric Boutoulle, *Le duc et la société. Pouvoirs et groupes sociaux dans la Gascogne bordelaise au XIII^e siècle, 1075–1199* (Pessac, 2007).

⁷⁰ Nicholas Vincent, 'A Forgotten War: England and Navarre, 1243–4', *Thirteenth Century England XI*, ed. B. Weiler, J. Burton, P. Schoffield and K. Stöber (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 109–46 and 'The Plantagenets and the Agenais (1150–1250)', *Les seigneuries dans l'espace plantagenêt (c. 1150 – c. 1250)*, ed. M. Aurell and F. Boutoulle (Bordeaux, 2009), pp. 417–53.

⁷¹ Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Vol. 1. Trial by Battle* (London, 1990); *The Hundred Years War. Vol. 2. Trial by Fire* (London, 1999); *The Hundred Years War. Vol. 3. Divided Houses* (London, 2009) and *The Hundred Years War. Vol. 4. Cursed Kings* (London, 2015).

⁷² Pierre Prétou, *Crime et justice en Gascogne à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Rennes, 2010). Mention should also be made of the works by the legal expert Gérard Guyon on the law and lawyers in Bordelais during the late middle ages: Gérard Guyon, *Le droit bordelais dans tous ses états. Les anciennes coutumes, les juristes et la justice, les institutions de l'Église locale* (Limoges, 2012).

⁷³ Nicolas Savy, *Les villes du Quercy en guerre. La défense des villes et des bourgs du Haut-Quercy pendant la guerre de Cent ans* (Pradines, 2009) and *Bertrucat d'Albret, ou le destin d'un capitaine gascon du roi d'Angleterre pendant la guerre de Cent Ans* (Pradines, 2015).

⁷⁴ Michel Bochaca, *La banlieue de Bordeaux. Formation d'une juridiction municipale suburbaine (vers 1250–vers 1550)* (Paris, 1997) and *Villes et organisation de l'espace en Bordelais (vers 1300–vers 1550)* (Paris, 2015).

⁷⁵ For instance: Michel Bochaca, 'La diplomatie du roi d'Angleterre au secours des intérêts commerciaux bayonnais: la gestion des relations avec les Castillans et les Portugais à la fin du XIII^e siècle', *Comercio y diplomacia en la Europa atlántica medieval*, ed. J.A. Solórzano Telechea, B. Arizaga Bolumburu and L. Sicking (Logroño, 2015), pp. 33–44.

dukes of Aquitaine and their Gascon subjects between 1275 and 1453⁷⁶ and has published articles on Gascon petitions sent to the king of England, the three estates of Aquitaine, the military history of the duchy, and above all on Anglo-Gascon identity and sentiment.

The chapters in this volume and the future of the Anglo-Gascon field

The chapters presented in this volume show the diversity of research in the Anglo-Gascon field. Several of them are concerned with the relationship between rulers and their subjects. Frédéric Boutoulle assesses the resistance of the local population of the Entre-deux-Mers region (situated near Bordeaux) particularly represented by its rural elites against the tightening of ducal authority in the 1230s. My chapter on the exchanges-of-oath circuit led by seneschals of Gascony demonstrates the importance of the local communities in the maintenance of the duchy of Aquitaine within the crown of England. It shows that these oath exchanges had their roots in older ceremonies taking place around a tree.

Others deal with the submission of an area to another political power. The chapter by Françoise Lainé concerns the recording of the submission of Limoges to John Chandos, acting there as lieutenant of Edward III, in November 1361, and the confirmation of the long text of the local customs which had been confirmed by Henry III, Edward III's great-grandfather. This text has been copied in full in the Gascon Rolls, underlining there the importance of Limoges, the capital of a vicomté linked with the duchy of Brittany and then officially owned by Jeanne de Penthievre, an official enemy of Edward III in Brittany. The submission of Cahors to John Chandos in 1362 detailed by Nicolas Savy was significant for the situation of the towns given up to Edward III at Brétigny-Calais. The economic problems and the continuous presence of Anglo-Gascon *routiers* raised some hopes of recovery which were highly deceptive. It explains why Cahors and the Quercy province rallied very early in 1369 to Charles V of France. War is even more present in the chapter by Pierre Prétou, which describes the French conquest and the occupation of the 'English' seneschalcy of the Landes by the Scottish soldiers of Charles VII of France. He particularly underlines the key role of the Scottish captain Robin Pittiloch (a name gallicized into Petit Lo), appointed seneschal of the Landes by Charles VII, who harshly imposed French rule with his fellow countrymen on this region after its final conquest over the English in 1451.

War in Aquitaine-Gascony is the main topic of the chapter by Andy King on the service of Englishmen in the duchy between the end of the fourteenth century and the end of the Hundred Years War. He underlines the interesting careers of some English captains there, the strength of the troops sent to the duchy and more particularly the sending of contingents of English archers, the Gascons being only crossbowmen. Simon Harris studies in detail the use of English criminals or

⁷⁶ Guilhem Pépin, 'The Relationship between the Kings of England in their Role as Dukes of Aquitaine and their Gascon Subjects: Forms, Processes and Substance of a Dialogue (1275–1453) (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2008).