

Fremin le Caron at Amiens: New Documents

ROB C. WEGMAN

David – Thanks, for everything.

IT IS HEARTENING TO SEE that the music of Firminus Caron has been enjoying a major reappraisal in recent years – thanks in no small part to the eloquent advocacy of David Fallows. Although Caron's works may have not been recorded as often as one would like, his *œuvre* does contain some of the most delightful settings that the fifteenth century has left us, and it is surely only a matter of time until they will captivate wider audiences. Caron had a flair for melody and an ear for consonant sweetness that was matched by few of his contemporaries besides Dufay. His *L'homme armé* mass is a masterpiece of the first order, rivalling the best efforts of other mid-fifteenth-century composers. So far as we can tell from the extant musical sources, his creative career seems to have spanned roughly the two decades from 1455 to 1475.

For a figure of such historical importance, it seems odd that his life should have left virtually no documentary trace. What little we know about Caron as an historical individual comes from the testimony of fellow-musicians, and even that testimony is not especially informative. In the famous prologue to his *Proportionale musices* of 1472–3, Johannes Tinctoris counted Caron among the *moderni*, the leading composers of his own generation, along with Ockeghem, Busnoys, and Regis.¹ He mentioned the composer again in two similar lists in two slightly later treatises, one of which allows us to infer that he was still alive in 1477. Tinctoris did not seem to have a high opinion of Caron's education, however, for in the *Proportionale* he also included him in a list of composers who were reported to be 'virtually without learning' (*minime literati*). From the context it is apparent that he meant the kind of literacy necessary for the study of the liberal arts, especially mathematics. If Tinctoris and Caron ever met, it may well have been on the occasion commemorated in Loyset Compère's famous motet *Omnium bonorum plena* of c.1470. This work appears to have been composed for a festive gathering of professional composers, apparently at Cambrai, and it lists both 'Tinctoris' and 'Caron' among the *magistri cantilenarum* who were present on that occasion.²

¹ For this and what follows see Johannes Tinctoris, *Opera theoretica*, ed. Albert Seay, 3 vols. in 2, *Musicological Studies and Documents*, 22 (American Institute of Musicology, 1975–8), vol. 2a 10 and 49, and vol. 2, 77 and 176.

² See, most recently, Rob C. Wegman, 'Ockeghem, Brumel, Josquin: new documents in Troyes', *EMc*, 36 (2008), 203–17 (at 212–13), and the literature cited there.

It has proved tempting to identify the composer with the Burgundian singer Philippe Caron, yet Tinctoris gives his first name unequivocally as ‘Firminus’, and this is confirmed by the initial ‘F.’ in some musical sources.³ Only one musician by this particular name is known from any documentary source. According to an eighteenth-century transcript of an account from Amiens Cathedral, now lost, there was a ‘Firminus le Caron’ who served there as *primus musicus* in 1422.⁴ Firminus is not an especially common name, and *primus musicus* is not an especially common dignity, so the odds that this was the composer must seem favourable indeed. Yet the early date has long troubled music historians. Any musician who attained this dignity by 1422 must surely have been an ordained priest, and therefore older than about twenty-five. Yet this would inevitably push Caron’s birth-date back to the fourteenth century, making him even older than Dufay, and leaving us to wonder why he never made any mark as a composer until the mid-1450s, when he would have been almost a sexagenarian. My aim here is to present new documents that not only help to resolve this problem, but present us with a plausible candidate for identification with the composer and *primus musicus*. Unless otherwise indicated, all documents in what follows are from the Archives Municipales at Amiens, and those of special biographical interest are given in transcription and translation in the Appendix.⁵

Let us begin with that problematic date of 1422. The eighteenth-century transcript mentioned a moment ago appears in a handwritten compendium to the history of Amiens Cathedral, now MS 516 at the Bibliothèque Municipale, Amiens. This compendium is not written as a continuous narrative, but gathers together various items of information, and presents these under headings arranged in alphabetical order. The information on Caron comes under the letter ‘V’, at the item *Vicarij* (fol. 183^r). The compiler’s principal source of information, he tells us, is a set of financial accounts for the vicar-singers of Amiens Cathedral, dated 1422. From this same set of accounts, now lost, he gathers the names of other fifteenth-century musicians as well, including one who appears to have worked alongside Caron: this is the choirmaster Jacques Balochart. The latter man can be identified with certainty from documents in the Amiens city archive, yet none of those documents dates from anywhere near 1422. Jacques Balochart, *maistre des enffans de cœur*, is mentioned on two occasions in the city

³ As in the ascription of the *Missa L’homme armé* to ‘F. Caron’ in VatSP B80, fol. 99^r. It is worth noting, in this connection, that the scribe of VatSP B80, Nicholas Ansquier, may well have been a native of Amiens, since the family name Ansquier or Anquier was quite common there.

⁴ Reproduction in James C. Thomson, ‘The Works of Caron: A Study in Fifteenth-Century Style’, 2 vols. (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1960), vol. 1, 14.

⁵ I wish to express my warmest thanks to the Amiens historian Cyrille Chatellain, with whom I have spent many pleasant hours discussing the context and implications of the documents cited here, and who has generously shared material from his database.

accounts of Amiens, yet the dates are 1461 and 1464 (Documents 10 and 11). The same man turns up in other documentary contexts until as late as 1481 – a date which makes it just as unlikely that he could have been active in 1422 as we know it must have been for the composer Firminus Caron.⁶ Two such wide chronological discrepancies occasioned by the same source, and an indirect one at that, must surely call for a different explanation, and it is not hard to surmise what it might be.

As stated before, the compiler of the eighteenth-century compendium referred to financial accounts dated 1422, and undoubtedly that was the date he found on its first page. But annual vicars' accounts in the fifteenth century seldom take up more than about ten or twenty folios. They are usually small gatherings, and most churches would sooner or later decide to bind those gatherings together in a single volume. Which is to say that an account book beginning in 1422 is unlikely to be a volume exclusively devoted to the finances of that year alone. On the contrary, it could well have spanned forty or fifty years, just as we frequently find volumes of chapter acts spanning half a century or more. So when our compiler came across the name of Jacques Balochart – who we know was active in the early 1460s and still alive two decades later – it stands to reason that he must have been consulting that part of the volume that covered the 1460s. It is near here, in all probability, that he found the name of the *primus musicus* Firminus le Caron as well. So if the parallel case of Balochart is anything to go by, the *primus musicus* Firminus le Caron need not necessarily have been active in the 1420s at all, and his identification with the composer is considerably strengthened by the probability that, like Balochart, he enjoyed the dignity in the 1460s.

The family name Le Caron (or Lecaron) was well established in medieval Amiens, and the first name Firmin (or Fremin) was especially common there, since the confessor-bishop St Fermin was a patron saint of the city. (St Fermin had been martyred at Amiens in AD 303, and many of his relics were kept there.) Yet the name Firmin le Caron is found less frequently in the administrative records of Amiens than one might expect.

A good indication of this is the eight-volume index *Répertoire des noms de famille d'Amiens* compiled by Daniel Deparis in the 1990s.⁷ Deparis identified seventy-two individuals named Caron in civic registers dating from the twelfth century to 1530, but only five of these had the first name Firmin or Fremin. Four of these are almost certainly not the composer, either because their trades are incompatible with professional musicianship or because the dates do not match. This is true of the messenger named Fremin le Caron in 1438, the market keeper of the same name in 1447, and the royal tax collector mentioned in 1461. It is true also of the Fremin le Caron who is mentioned as king's serjeant and crossbowman in documents ranging from 1433 to 1459. In the city archive of Amiens I have found

⁶ CC 59, 1480/81, fol. 74^r: 'maistre Jaque Balochart'.

⁷ For this and what follows see Daniel Deparis, *Répertoire des noms de famille d'Amiens*, 8 vols. (Amiens, 1995–9).

several other references to this latter, and from his career I suspect that he was probably identical with the first three Fremins – meaning that we can actually identify not five but only two distinct Fremins le Caron. Yet however that may be, the king's sergeant and crossbowman died in 1462,⁸ whereas the composer was still mentioned by Tinctoris as among the living ten years later. None of these documentary references, then, need detain us unduly.

The fifth candidate, on the other hand, cannot be so easily ruled out. He is the *maître d'école* Fremin le Caron whom Deparis encountered in three documents from 1459. Schoolmaster is the kind of occupation – unlike tax collector, messenger, market keeper, or king's sergeant – that a fifteenth-century composer could plausibly have pursued at some point in his life, as the concrete case of Johannes Regis demonstrates.⁹ Since our *maître d'école* Fremin was entrusted, like a choirmaster, with the instruction of young boys, it stands to reason that he was a man of education himself. The date of 1459 situates him comfortably within the known period of activity of the composer.

As it turns out, there are several other documents referring to this same *maître d'école* Fremin le Caron (Documents 1–10). Local historians have reported on those documents since the nineteenth century, and the story they tell adds considerable weight to the likelihood that Fremin was indeed the composer.¹⁰ Briefly stated: they confirm that the instruction he provided was in part musical, involving lessons in playing the organ, and that around 1460 he was probably a cleric in minor orders, about twenty-five years of age. All of this fits neatly with the Firminus le Caron who was to be referred to, probably in the 1460s, as *primus musicus* of Amiens Cathedral. And the odds of his being the composer must seem only the more promising. If the fifth Fremin is not the composer we have been seeking to identify, one would have to posit the otherwise undocumented existence of yet another Fremin, and to speculate on the coincidence of his having been a man of literary and musical education as well. As will become apparent in what follows, there is no compelling reason to dwell on such a scenario.

Since the *maître d'école* is well worth our attention, then, I will briefly outline, in the following pages, the events that caused his name to be recorded in the documents of 1459. In a nutshell, the issue has to do with local schooling. In Amiens, as in many other French towns, there were two types of schools: the *petites écoles* and the *grandes écoles*. The former were the equivalent of our primary schools, where children as young as

⁸ BB 9, 1460–4, fols. 72^r and 74^r.

⁹ David Fallows, 'The life of Johannes Regis, ca. 1425 to 1496', *RBM*, 43 (1989), 143–72.

¹⁰ See, for example, Albéric Calonne d'Avesne, *La vie municipale au XV^e siècle dans le nord de la France* (Paris, 1880), 213–14; S. Lenel, *Histoire du collège d'Amiens, 1219–1795* (Amiens, 1904), 32–5; *Documents inédits sur la ville et le siège du bailliage d'Amiens*, ed. Édouard Maugis, 2 vols., *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, 19 (Amiens and Paris, 1914), vol. 2, 208–13.

five or six could learn the basics of reading and writing and other useful skills. These little schools were attended both by boys and girls, children of the citizens of Amiens, and when they had completed their training (presumably around the age of ten), the *grandes écoles* offered the equivalent of a grammar school education to boys, preparing the way for study at the university.

The central question in the documents is who had the authority over the schools. For the *grandes écoles* there was no issue. These schools fell under the authority of one of the canons at Amiens Cathedral, the *scholaster*, and it was up to him to rule them as he saw fit. But there appears to have been considerable doubt about the *petites écoles*. Four schoolmasters, clerics in minor orders, were running these so-called 'little schools' in four different parishes of Amiens – one of them being our *maître d'école* Fremin le Caron. They did so without the express permission of the *scholaster*, yet from the events that follow it is obvious that neither they nor anyone else in the city had any idea that such permission was needed. With this the stage was set for a major showdown, one that would soon involve bigger players than the schoolmasters themselves, and that ended up, before long, in the highest court of the land, the Parliament of Paris.

Document 1 shows the first sign of trouble.¹¹ On 5 February 1459 the four schoolmasters went to the city magistrates of Amiens to voice a complaint about the masters of the *grandes écoles*, who worked for the *scholaster*. These, they said, had confiscated the books of the pupils of the *petites écoles*, and would return those books only against the payment of a hefty fee. There is no indication in the document with what right they thought they could demand such fees, yet certainly they must have felt that the law was on their side – otherwise their conduct would have amounted to little more than criminal extortion. Yet even if they did have the right to demand fees, it was obvious that by confiscating the books they had been taking the law into their own hands and, worse, had done so within a jurisdiction that was not properly theirs – that of the city, not the cathedral.

The city magistrates cannot have been very pleased to hear about this apparent infringement of their jurisdiction. With such a powerful cathedral in the very midst of the city, the legal boundaries between town and gown were in any case subject to perennial contention and litigation. Here, it seems, was yet another case to test those boundaries. Yet how to proceed? After hearing the complaints of the four schoolmasters, the city magistrates decided that, in the first instance, they should send someone to have a conversation with the *scholaster* who was in charge of the *grandes*

¹¹ The most informative documents on this case are found in the registers of deliberations of the city magistrates, series BB in the Archives Municipales at Amiens. It is worth noting that these registers occasionally contain other items of interest, such as, for example, the complaint by a Nicaise le Fevre, 'soy disant povre homme chargé de femme et de quatre petis enffans' that his tambourine had been broken during festivities on the feast of Saint-Leu in 1464 (BB 10, 1464–5, fol. 8^r, 3 Dec. 1464). This travelling musician can have been none other than the composer Nicasius de Clibano of 's-Hertogenbosch.

écoles, and who was responsible for what had happened with the school-books. And that is where Document 1 leaves things.

We do not know what came of the conversation, assuming it ever took place, yet it is clear from Document 2, little more than a month later, that matters were escalating rapidly. On 12 March 1459 the same four schoolmasters of the *petites écoles* returned to the city magistrates with a new complaint. Now the *scholaster* himself had forbidden them to run the little schools without his permission, and for good measure he threatened them with excommunication if they went on teaching regardless. The schoolmasters were in a bind. They provided a valuable service for the children of Amiens, and had done so in good faith. As far as they could tell, they were doing no more than what local schoolmasters had been doing since time immemorial. But now the *scholaster* asserted a right that no one in Amiens could remember him ever having had, and the schoolmasters risked excommunication if they acted in defiance of that putative right. Surely, they reasoned, the city had a stake in this matter, too, since it did after all concern the schooling of its children. And if that were true, then surely the magistrates would be willing to provide legal aid to the schoolmasters. It is in this second document that we learn for the first time the names of schoolmasters, including Fremin le Caron. He is styled neither *messire* nor *maistre*, so we may take it that at that point in his career he was not a priest nor had he completed a university education. On the other hand, the same schoolmasters had been referred to as ‘parish clerks and other priests’ in Document 1, meaning they were clerics in minor orders. (Parish clerks were important figures in parish life, being elected and remunerated by the laity.) The four men must have been in their mid-twenties, perhaps even a little younger, meaning that in all probability Fremin le Caron was born in the late 1430s.¹²

The city magistrates decided to back the case of the schoolmasters, and to take up proceedings against the cathedral authorities at their expense. In hindsight, that would turn out to be a costly mistake. The case would drag on for nearly two years, and by the end it had become a veritable nightmare; yet it would not be apparent until much later that the fight had been doomed from the start.

The next few documents record how the case proceeded. In the first instance, as we can tell from Document 3, the city magistrates looked for old and trustworthy witnesses who could testify that the *petites écoles* had always been held without any need for the consent of the cathedral authorities. This is the argument of ancient custom. Then they instructed lawyers and messengers to do the paperwork as the case moved from one court to another (Document 4 and, for the relevant payments, Document 5).

After little less than a year, the case moved from the bailiff of Amiens to the *Parlement* at Paris, the ultimate court of appeal in medieval France, where the first pleas were entered on 14 January 1460. The relevant

¹² This would fit very well with Tinctoris describing the composer as a *modernus*, that is, someone of his own generation, since the theorist himself was born in the mid-1430s.

documents from the high court at Paris still survive in the *Archives nationales*, recording just about every administrative stage of the case.¹³ These documents are mostly concerned with legal formalities, yet occasionally they add interesting pieces of information. First of all, the man who was called Fremin le Caron in the Amiens documents is consistently referred to in Paris as Freminot le Caron (or Freminotus in Latin), a diminutive that confirms that he was probably a young man.¹⁴ Again, Fremin cannot have been much older than about twenty-five, if that. More importantly, the documents offer insights into the nature of the instruction that was offered. They mention not only reading and writing, as one might expect, but also the Seven Psalms, which children were apparently taught to recite and sing by heart, and organ playing (*organa tangendum* in some of the Latin texts, and *joer d'orgues* in the French).¹⁵ Part of the instruction, then, was musical in nature, suggesting that the schoolmasters were not just clerics in minor orders, but that they, or at least one of them, were proficient musicians as well. The documents also mention four of the parishes in which the schools were located: Saint-Rémi, Saint-Leu, Saint-Sulpice, and Saint-Germain. As will become apparent later, Fremin le Caron was almost certainly the schoolmaster responsible for the parish of Saint-Leu – whose patron saint was St Loup, or St Lupus, of Sens.

In the next few documents it is almost pitiful to see how the city magistrates came to the realization that they had walked into a trap. The judges in Paris sided with the cathedral authorities at almost every turn, ruling in their favour again and again. A particularly painful blow came when the cathedral moved to have the old and trustworthy witnesses dismissed before they could be heard, and the judges immediately approved their request, thereby robbing the city of some of its key evidence (Document 6).

Around this very time, towards the end of March 1460, the city magistrates were clearly getting nervous, for they sent messengers to Paris to find out urgently what was going on (Document 7). Yet it was not until eight months later, in November 1460, that they finally learned the awful truth: there appeared to be a document in the possession of the *scholaster* that unequivocally backed his assertion of authority (Document 8). Now the city magistrates needed to find competent lawyers to inspect that document and to report back to them on its validity. A month later, news broke that the document was indeed unassailable (Document 9). It had taken

¹³ Of the relevant documents from the Archives Nationales, three were printed integrally in *Documents inédits*, ed. Maugis, vol. 2 208–13, and therefore are not included in the appendix below.

¹⁴ The same is true of fellow-schoolmaster Jehan Pauquet, who appears in a document from December 1461 as 'Jehennin Paucquet cleric de l'église Saint-Germain', when he buys a house near the church of Saint-Germain, Amiens: FF 6, fol. 82^r (document kindly pointed out to me by Cyrille Chatellain).

¹⁵ 'parvis scolis, in quibus parvi pueri septem psalmos ac ad scribendam et organa tangendum adiscebant' (*Documents inédits*, ed. Maugis, 210), and 'petites escoles, dont les dessus nommez sont maistres ... sept seaulmes, à escrire, à joer d'orgues': Paris, Archives nationales, X¹A 4806, 14 Jan. 1460.

almost two years of litigation for the schoolmasters and magistrates to discover that they had never had a leg to stand on.

It took the magistrates only four more days to draw the inevitable conclusion: on 19 December 1460 they decided to abandon the case, and attempted to come to a settlement with the cathedral authorities and cut their losses (Document 10). For the schoolmasters, this effectively meant the end of the *petites écoles* as they had been teaching them – unless they, too, could come to an arrangement with the *scholaster*. Ultimately, cases like these tend to be about money more than anything else, and provided that the schoolmasters (or the city on their behalf) were willing to pay a fee to the *scholaster*, there is no reason why they should have stopped teaching at Amiens altogether. So it is not impossible that Fremin le Caron continued to teach in Amiens for a few more years. But since there were no further conflicts there are no documents to inform us either way.

What became of Fremin le Caron and his fellow schoolmasters? Since they were clerics in minor orders, it is only natural to assume that they would sooner or later have been ordained to the priesthood. There is positive confirmation of this in two cases. The schoolmaster Jehan Pauquet turns up thirteen years later as ‘Sire Jehan Paucquet prestre’ (FF 7, fol. 18^v, 1473), and in two other documents from around this time, in 1473–5, Freminotus le Caron reappears as *maistre* and *sire* Fremin le Caron. In the final section of this contribution I will briefly discuss these documents.

The priest and master Fremin first turns up in Document 13: on 1 October 1473, *maistre* Fremin le Caron, together with a woman named Jeanne le Vasseur and a man named Milet le Caron, paid tax over a rent they had sold to a certain Linart le Clerc. Fremin is mentioned in the document as *maistre*, meaning that he had obtained the degree of Master of Arts at a university – about a dozen years after the events detailed in Documents 1–10. We cannot tell from the entry how Fremin is related to Jeanne and Milet, but the fact that they are selling a rent means that they are not exactly poor. A rent is interest one receives annually, or several times a year, in return for a sum of money lent to somebody at some point in the past. A rent can change hands – that is, one can sell it to somebody else, provided that this other person pays a lump sum equal to what had been lent in the first place. This is what Linart le Clerc had done. He evidently had cash to spare and chose to invest it by buying a rent. Fremin le Caron and his two companions turned a rent they already possessed into cash by selling it. It is over the sum they received from Linart that they paid the tax. Further details on the transaction are provided in a document recently discovered by Cyrille Chatellain. Document 14, also from October 1473, tells us that Milet le Caron and *maitre* Fremin were in fact brothers, and that Jeanne le Vasseur was their mother. Their father, the cordwainer Pierre le Caron, had recently died,¹⁶ and they had inherited the rent from him.

¹⁶ Pierre le Caron appears still to have been alive on 8 January 1473, when he was mentioned as living in the residence next to a house sold on that day (FF 7, fol. 8^r, document kindly shared by Cyrille Chatellain).

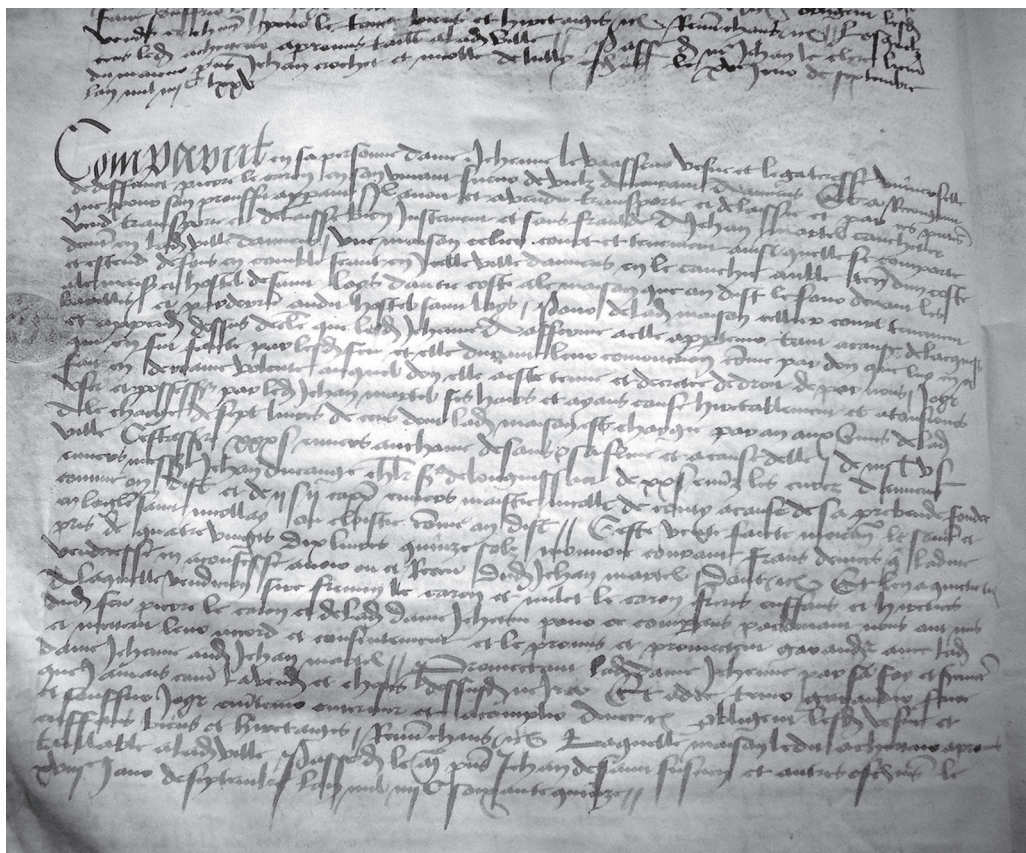


Figure 1 Amiens, Archives Municipales, FF 7, Régistres aux contrats, 1475–6, fol. 139^v (18 September 1475) (see Appendix, Document 15). The name of ‘Sire Fremin le Caron’ appears in line 9 from the bottom.

While the profession of cordwainer may seem a relatively humble one, it is apparent from another document, also discovered by Cyrille Chatellain, that Pierre le Caron had been a man of some affluence. Far from being a lowly shoemaker or cobbler, he must have been running a profitable business, in an urban residence that would have been capacious enough to accommodate a household of servants and apprentices. It is this house, situated in the Cauchie au Blé (today rue Saint-Leu), which Fremin and Milet le Caron and their mother Jeanne le Vasseur decided to sell in September 1475 (Document 15; see Figure 1). The amount they sold it for is a staggering 90 pounds. But then this really does seem to have been a complex of buildings rather than a mere terraced house, for the document describes the entire residence as ‘a house, cellar, courtyard, tenement, and annex’.

It is apparent from other documents that Pierre le Caron and his wife had purchased the house as far back as 1454, and according to the nineteenth-century historian Alexis Dubois it was in fact the house known as the Hostel la Fouine (or Faine, Fayne, or Foine), presumably after a

signboard depicting a beech marten (*martes foina*).¹⁷ Pierre le Caron's domicile was located less than 150 yards from the parish church of Saint-Leu, and less than 400 from the cathedral. Pierre le Caron and Jeanne had been living in this neighbourhood well before that purchase. Before moving to the rue Saint-Leu, by 1441 at the latest, they owned property directly behind the parish church, near the bridge in what is now the Petite rue Saint-Leu.¹⁸ It is this little neighbourhood – in the parish (and almost literally under the shadow) of the Church of Saint-Leu – where we may situate the childhood of the man who was to be referred to as *maistre* Fremin le Caron in the mid-1470s.

Yet Document 15 also contains another important piece of information: Fremin is mentioned here not as *maistre* but as *sire* – an unequivocal indication that he had not just obtained the degree of Master of Arts, but had been ordained to the priesthood. We can now see that he had been preparing for an ecclesiastical career since the late 1450s. His father had the means to support his studies at the university, but as a young man, Freminot was clearly willing to work for a living as well: of the four schoolmasters, he was almost certainly the one who taught in Saint-Leu, the parish of his birth. He may not have been in a particular hurry to pursue university studies after the town-and-gown conflict mentioned earlier. This, at any rate, would explain why Tinctoris still believed him to be *minime literatus* in 1472–3 – the very year in which documents at Amiens confirm his academic credentials. What is clear in any case is that there was no lack of means in the family to support his early education and ecclesiastical career.

With this, at last, we have the profile of a plausible candidate for identification with the composer Firminus Caron. There is nothing to tell us what happened to Fremin after the last document to mention him, in 1475 – in fact I have not encountered any document in the city archive of Amiens that names a Fremin le Caron after that year. Yet perhaps it is no coincidence that the 1475 document comes at the very time when the transmission of the composer's music begins to dry up. If Caron became ill and died some time in the late 1470s, which is far from impossible, his life would have spanned altogether about four decades (c. 1435/40–c. 1475/80) – a little more than the life of Jacob Barbireau, and a little less than that of Jacob Obrecht. What he accomplished musically in those few decades remains a source of wonderment even to this day. I fervently hope that the music will

¹⁷ Alexis Auguste Dubois, *Les rues & enseignes d'Amiens (1^{re} et 2^{me} enceintes)* (Amiens, 1889), 52. For this house and its later history see also Fernand Poujol de Fréchencourt, 'La maison de la Fouine', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, 22 (1904–6), 105–12. The earliest known document to refer to Pierre le Caron as owner of the house in the Cauchie au Blé was signalled to me by Cyrille Chatellain: FF 4, fol. 62^{r-v} (June 1454).

¹⁸ FF 1, fol. 68^v: Pierre Le Caron, cordwainer, buys a shed that borders on his house at the foot of the *Pont Maistre Richart* behind the church of Saint-Leu (14 January 1441; thanks to Cyrille Chatellain). His ties to the parish of Saint-Leu can be documented even further, in 1436, when he was the layman responsible for the taxes on wine consumed in the parish (CC 28, fol. 221^r).

continue to inspire us to get to know this intriguing figure better – through his works and now also through the documents that appear to shed fresh light on his life and background.

APPENDIX

Document 1

Amiens, Archives municipales, BB 8, Régistre de délibérations, 1455–60, fol. 154^r (5 February 1459)

[*margin*: L'escolatre.]

Sur ce que plainte et doleance estoit venue à messeigneurs, pour ce que aucuns grans maistres de l'escole d'Amiens estoient venus en la iuridicion de messeigneurs dedans la ville, en aucunes petites escoles que les clers des paroisses et autres prestres tenoient en plusieurs places en icelle ville, et esdites petites escoles auoient lesdits grans maistres iustichié et prins de fait sans auctorité de iustice les liures des enfans estans esdites petites escoles, emporté iceulx liures pour aucunes sommes qu'ils disoient que lesdits enfans desdites petites escoles leur deuoient, et les demandoient à chacun enfant iij solz pour an à iij termes à chacun terme xij den. Sur quoy auoit esté parlé à l'escolatre adfin d'y pourueoir, lequel auoit dit et respondu que touteffois qu'il plairoit à messeigneurs le mander il y venoit volentierz par deuers eulx pour monstrier le droit desdites escoles, de pour ce ont ordonné de le mander et luy oÿ pourueoir par conseil en ce que il appartendra.

[*margin*: The scholaster.]

A grievance and complaint has reached my lords to the effect that certain grand masters of the school of Amiens had entered the jurisdiction of my lords within the city, in certain little schools that are held in various places in the same city by the parish clerks and other priests, that the said grand masters had exercised justice in the said little schools, and had taken *de facto*, without authorization of the law, the books of the children who were in the said little schools, and had taken away those books for certain sums which they claimed the said children of the said little schools owed them, and demanded [those sums], for each child 3 sous for the past year, at 12 deniers per term. Regarding this matter there has been a discussion with the scholaster in order to provide [a remedy] for this, [which scholaster] said and replied that whenever it pleased my lords to send for him, he would willingly come before them to show the law of the said schools, for which reason they ordained that he be sent for, and that, having heard him, they will provide in the matter upon further deliberation.

Document 2

Amiens, Archives municipales, BB 8, Régistre de délibérations, 1455–60, fol. 158^v (12 March 1459)

[*margin*: Pour les petites escoles.] Jehan Pauquet, Fremin le Caron, Pierre le Cambier, et Jehan le Rique, qui sont maistres des petites escoles de ladite ville, sont venus deuerz messeigneurs, disans que le princhantre, chantre, et escolatre, chanoines de leglise d'Amiens, les empeschoient à tenir lesdites escoles, et disoient qu'ilz ne les pouoient tenir sanz leur congïé et licence. Et pour ce les auoient fait amonester, à paine d'excommuniement, qu'ilz ne les tenissent plus sans leur dit congïé et licence, de quoy lesdits maistres s'estoient opposez, et sur ce leur auoit esté donné jour par deuant l'official d'Amiens à lundi prochain, s'y requeroient lesdits maistres à messeigneurs qu'il leur pleust eulx aidier à soustenir leur cause, consideré que ce touchoit à ladite ville, et au bien publique dicelle, pour les petis enfans, fils et filles. Sur quoy messeigneurs ont parlé de ladite matere oudit escheuinage, et finalement ont chargé à Jehan de Rocourt, leur procureur, qu'il soustiengne la cause pour lesdits maistres contre lesdits princhantre, chantre, et escolatre, aux despens de la ville. Et fera ledit procureur eslire domicile ausdits princhantre, chantre, et escolatre, et les submettre à la iuridicion de monseigneur l'euesque, et se ilz s'i submettent, complainte sera faite contre eulx pour lesdits maistres, et chacun d'eulx à par luy, ausdits despens de la ville. Et s'ils ne s'i veulent submettre, leur cause sera par ce moien fardée et nule, et y feront toudits messeigneurs le mieulx qu'ilz porroient.

[*margin*: Regarding the little schools.] Jehan Pauquet, Fremin le Caron, Pierre le Cambier, and Jehan le Rique, who are masters of the little schools of the said city, have come before my lords, saying that the precentor, cantor, and scholaster, canons of the Church of Amiens, have prevented them from holding the said schools and [have] said that they could not hold them without their permission and licence. And since [the canons] have caused them to be admonished, on pain of excommunication, not to hold them any longer without their said licence and permission, with which the said masters were not in agreement, and for which they have been appointed a day [to appear] before the Official of Amiens, next Monday, the said masters asked if it would please my lords to help them in sustaining their case, considering that it concerned the said city, and the public good of the same, for the little children, boys and girls. My lords have deliberated on this matter in the said town hall, and finally charged Jehan de Rocourt, their procurator, to sustain the case on behalf of the said masters against the said precentor, cantor, and scholaster, at the city's expense. And the said procurator will determine the legal domicile of the said precentor, cantor, and scholaster, and submit them to the jurisdiction of my lord bishop, and if they submit themselves to this, a complaint will be filed against them on behalf of the said masters, and each of them, at the city's expense. And if they do not wish to submit to this, then their case will by these means prove null and void, and my said lords will make the best of it that they might.

Document 3

Amiens, Archives municipales, BB 8, Régistre de délibérations, 1455–60, fol. 175^r (20 August 1459)

[*margin*: Maistres des petites escoles.]
 Sur ce que maistres Estienne le Fèvre, prechantre, Jehan Balochart, chantre, et maistre Jehan le Cordier, escolatre de l'eglise d'Amiens, auoient obtenu du roy notre sire certaines lettres alencontre des maistres des petites escoles de ladite ville, et les ont fait executer contre eulx et la ville, messeigneurs ont deliberé qu'ilz impeteroient mandement de releuement en cas d'apel contre lesdits princhantre, chantre, et escolatre, et contenra auec ledit releuement que on s'informe de la maniere que tiennent les grans maistres des escoles, et aussi pour oÿr tesmoins, vieux valetudinaires et affetturs, comment de tout temps les maistres tenans petites escoles d'Amiens les ont tousiours tenues sans demander quelque congié de tenir lesdites petites escoles.

[*margin*: Masters of the little schools.]
 Since *maistres* Estienne le Fèvre, precentor, Jehan Balochart, cantor, and *maistre* Jehan le Cordier, scholaster of the Church of Amiens, had obtained certain warrants from our lord the king against the masters of the little schools of the said city, and had [those warrants] executed against them and the city, my lords have deliberated that they should apply for an order of relief in the case of the appeal against the said precentor, cantor, and scholaster, and that there shall be contained in the said relief [a stipulation] that one shall be informed of the manner in which the grand masters hold schools, and also for the deposition in advance of witnesses, invalid old men, as to how the masters holding the little schools of Amiens have always held them without asking any permission for holding the said little schools.

Document 4

Amiens, Archives municipales, CC 43, Comptes de la ville, 1458–9, fol. 35^r [under chapter 'Voyages'].

A Jaques Duchine, messagier, païé vj escuz d'or, qui auoit obtenu pour ladite ville d'Amiens en la ville de Paris – pour Jehan le Rique, Jehan Pauquet, Pierre le Cambrier, et Fremin le Caron, auec lesquelz mesdits sergens, maieur, et escheuins estoient adioincts, en certaine question qu'ilz ont en cas de saisine et de nouuelleté au siege du bailli d'Amiens, alencontre des princhantre, chantre, et escolatre d'Amiens, qui les vouloient constraindre et faire cesser de plus tenir escoles en ladite ville d'Amiens, comme ilz y auoient tenu par long temps – certaine prouisions et lettres royaux, contenans releuement en cas d'apel, pour iceux maieur et escheuins, parties dessusdits nommez, si comme par lesdites lettres puet appercevoir. Et pour ce vij lb. vij s.

6 écus d'or paid to Jaques Duchine, messenger, who had obtained for the said city of Amiens in the city of Paris – for Jehan le Rique, Jehan Pauquet, Pierre le Cambrier, and Fremin le Caron, with whom my said sergeants, the mayor, and aldermen had joined in a certain dispute regarding a case of seisin and novelty which they are pursuing before the bailliff of Amiens, against the precentor, cantor, and scholaster of Amiens, who wanted to restrict them and cause them to stop holding schools any longer in the said city of Amiens, as they had held them there for a long time – certain provisional judgements and royal letters, containing relief in the case of appeal, for the same mayor and aldermen, said above-named parties, as can be gathered from the said letters. And for this, 7 pounds, 7 sous.

Document 5

Amiens, Archives municipales, CC 44, Comptes de la ville, 1459–60, fol. 34^r [under chapter ‘Voyages’].

[*margin*: Par mandement quittance de xvij lb vj solz paiez ausdits Crochet, Andrieu le Maistre, et Pierre de Lesseau. Auec vne certifficacion de ... pour le seurplus de ladite.]

Audit Jehan Crochet, oudit nom, Andrieu le Maistre, son adionct en ceste partie, et Pierre de Lesseau, clerck de ladite preuosté, la somme de xx lb. xix s., à eulx doné par ladite ville pour les causes cy aprez declerés, et plus à plain specifiées, en vng feullet de pappier cy rendu auec le mandement de mesdits seigneurs y attaché [no longer extant in the account], c’est assaouir audit preuost, pour deux jours qu’il auoit vacqué à mettre à execucion certaines lettres royaulx, obtenues par ladite ville pour Jehan le Rique, Jehan Pauquet, Pierre le Cambrier, et Fremin le Caron, alencontre des chantre, princhantre, et escolatre d’Amiens, touchans les petites escoles tenues en ladite ville, et auec adiourne Jehan Dardre en la court de parlement, et y inthimé [?] lesdits chantre, princhantre, et escolatre, x solz. Item audit preuost, pour neuf jours qu’il auoit vaqué auec ledit adioinct et clerck, à faire l’enqueste et examen, affutur sur ce fait par vertu desdites lettres royaux et auoir oÿ plusieurs tesmoins, pour chacun jour x solz, sont iiij lb x solz. Audit Andrieu adioinct pour auoir vacqué lesdits ix jours à oïr iceux tesmoins, pour chacun jour viij solz, sont lxxij solz. Audit clerck pour ses vacacions et gros de ladite enqueste, contenant xliij rolles en parchemin, vij lb. x solz. Aux dessusnommez pour leur rescripcion et proces verbal, iiij solz. Audit de Lesseau pour vne commission sur lesdites lettres royaux, deux actes, et vnes lettres d’appointement, v solz.

[*margin*: By command [of the magistrates], a requital of 17 pounds and 6 sous paid to the said Crochet, Andrieu le Maistre, and Pierre de Lesseau. With a certification of ... for the remainder of the said.]

To the said Jehan Crochet of the said name, Andrieu le Maistre, his assistant in this party, and Pierre de Lesseau, clerck of the said magistracy, the sum of 20 pounds, 19 sous, given to them by the said city for the causes declared hereafter, and specified more fully on a sheet of paper given here together with the command of my said lords attached there, that is, to the said magistrate, for two days he had spent to put in effect certain royal letters obtained by the said city for Jehan le Rique, Jehan Pauquet, Pierre le Cambrier, and Fremin le Caron, against the cantor, precentor, and scholaster of Amiens, regarding the little schools held in the said city, and with adjournment by Jehan Dardre in the court of the Parlement, and there to have denounced the said cantor, precentor, and scholaster, 10 sous. Item, to the said magistrate, for nine days he had made available with the said assistant and clerck to undertake the advance inquest and enquiry regarding the matter, by virtue of the said royal letters, and to have heard various witnesses, for each day 10 sous, makes together 4 pounds and 10 sous. To the said Andrieu, assistant, for the said 9 days to hear the same witnesses, for each day 8 sous, makes 72 sous. To the said clerck for his time and expenses in the said inquest, containing 44 rolls of parchment, 7 pounds and 10 sous. To the abovenamed [persons] for their written order and act, 4 sous. To the said de Lesseau for a commission on the said royal letters, two acts, and one letter of appointment, 5 sous.

Aux dessusnommez, pour la collacion desdits tesmoins, xvj solz. Et pour la tauxacion faite ausdits tesmoins, qui ont esté oÿes en ladite requeste, lxxij solz. Sont que montent lesdits v parties ensemble à ladite somme de xx lb xix s., comme par mandement cy rendu appert, et pour ce, par quittance, xx lb xix solz.

To the abovenamed [persons], for bringing together the said witnesses, 16 sous. And for the tax made for the said witnesses who have been heard in this enquiry, 73 sous. These 5 posts together amount to the said sum of 20 pounds and 19 sous, as appears from the command appended here, and therefore, by requital, 20 pounds and 19 sous.

Document 6

Paris, Archives nationales, X¹A 1484, fols. 101^v–102^r (17 March 1460). NB: This document is badly damaged

Entre les chantre, prechantre, et escolatre d'Amiens demandans et requerans que certain examen de tesmoins affuturs soit reiecté de certain proces ... entre lesdits demandans et les maire et escheuins d'Amiens ... oÿ le rapport des commissaires, deputez en ceste parlement ... il sera dit que ledit examen sera reiecté et le reiecte la court hors dudit parlement ...

Between the cantor, precentor, and scholaster of Amiens, asking and requesting that a certain deposition of witnesses in advance be rejected from a process ... between the said applicants and the mayor and aldermen of Amiens ... having heard the report of the commissioners, deputies in this Parlement ... it is to be ruled that the said deposition be rejected and the court rejects it from the said Parlement ...

Document 7

Amiens, Archives municipales, BB 8, Régistre de délibérations, 1455–60, fol. 214^r (31 March 1460)

[*margin*: Pour les escolles.]
Mesdits seigneurs ont ordonné que hastiement, et au plus brief que faire se porra, Jehan Deleu, procureur de la ville, yra à Paris sauoir du quel estat la cause que la ville à alencontre des princhantre, chantre, et escolatre d'Amiens, touchans les escolles, est en parlement. Et se l'enqueste affutur qui en a esté faicte y est adioincte ou regettée. Et comment quant à ce il en va. Et aussi pour soy informer quel homme sera conuenable à estre soliciteur des causes de la ville ou lieu de feu maistre Jehan de la Rose.

[*margin*: For the schools.]
My lords have decided that Jehan Deleu, procurator of the city, shall go to Paris with great haste, and as soon as possible, to find out what is the current state, before the Parlement, of the city's case against the precentor, cantor, and scholaster of Amiens [in the matter] touching the schools. And whether the advance inquest that has been held in this matter has been admitted or rejected. And where things stand in this regard. And also to inquire who might be suitable to become solicitor of the city's cases in the place of the late *maistre* Jehan de la Rose.

Et s'il est dit que ladite enqueste affutur soit regettée, soient impettrees lettres royaulx affin qu'elle y soit jointe, attendu que c'est pour le bien publique. Et aussi que ce n'est que pour y auoir tel regard que de raison.

And if it be ruled that the said advance inquest is to be rejected, then let there be an appeal for royal letters in order that it shall be admitted, seeing that it is for the public good. And also because this is only for the purpose of having as much oversight of the matter as reason dictates.

Document 8

Amiens, Archives municipales, BB 9, Régistre de délibérations, 1460–4, fol. 7^v (24 November 1460)

[*margin*: Petites escoles.]
 Messeigneurs ont parlé oudit escheuinage bien longuement, et à grant deliberacion, sauoir comment ils procederont contre les chantre, princhantre, et escolatre d'Amiens, à cause de certain proces qu'ilz ont contre eulx par deuant monseigneur le bailli d'Amiens du lez de France, et aussi sont en cause avec mesdits seigneurs Fremin le Caron, Jehan le Rique, et autres maistres des petites escoles de ladite ville, dont mencion est faite en plusieurs escheuinages precedans, et se ils soustenroient le proces ou non, consideré que la question estoit tres dangereuse. Et disoit ledit escolatre qu'ils auoient de beaux titles et enseignemens et plusieurs lettres, comment ils auoient donné congié ausdits maistres des petites escoles de tenir les escoles en ladite ville, et ne les y pouoient tenir sans le congié desdits chantre, princhantre, et escolatre. Et requeroient mout fort lesdits maistres desdites petites escoles d'en auoir expédition, car durant le proces ils ne pouoient tenir escoles, par les defences qui leur auoient esté faites de par le roy, de non tenir escoles auant qu'il seroit du proces déterminé. Finalement, messeigneurs ont deliberé que maistre Jehan de Fontaines, maistre Jehan du Caurrel, et Pierre de Marchy verront lesdites titles et enseignements lesquels ledit escolatre à plusieurs fois offert monstrier pour le bien des parties.

[*margin*: Little schools.]
 My lords have debated for a very long time and with great deliberation in the said town hall, to know how they should proceed against the cantor, precentor, and scholaster of Amiens – in the case of the process against them before my lord the bailiff of Amiens *du lez* of France, in which case my said lords are joined also by Fremin le Caron, Jehan le Rique, and other masters of the little schools of the city, of which mention has been made in several previous council meetings – and whether they should continue the process or not, considering that the question is a very risky one. And the said scholaster said that they have sound titles and proofs and several letters [showing] how they had granted permission to the said masters of the little schools to hold the schools in the said city, and that they could not hold them there without the permission of the said cantor, precentor, and scholaster. And the said masters of the said little schools requested most urgently that the case be expedited, for they could not hold schools during the process because of the prohibitions issued against them in the name of the king, not to hold schools before the matter is settled by the process. Finally, my lords have deliberated that *maistre* Jehan de Fontaines, *maistre* Jehan du Caurrel, and Pierre de Marchy shall see the said titles and proofs which the said scholaster has repeatedly offered to show for the good of the parties.

Et quant ils les auront voiez, ils
raporteront en l'escheuinage ce qu'ilz
aient trouué pour ou sourplus y auoir
plus grant aduis et deliberacion.

And when they shall have seen
them, they will report in the town
hall as to what they have found
in order to have better counsel
and deliberation in the matter.

Document 9

Amiens, Archives municipales, BB 9, Régistre de délibérations, 1460–4,
fol. 11^r (15 December 1460)

[*margin*: Petites escolles.]

Sur ce l'escolatre, princhantre, et
chantre de l'église d'Amiens estoient
en proces alencontre de messeigneurs
et des maistres des petites escolles
de ladite ville, est assauoir Fremin le
Caron, Jehan le Rique, et autres, dont
mencion est faite es escheuinages
precedens, y par deuant monseigneur
le bailli d'Amiens, ou son lieutenant
de lez de France, ou la cause auoit esté
renuoyée par la court de parlement,
et si auoient les despens encruez en
ladite court esté tenuz contre la ville
et lesdits maistres, à la somme de
xxxvij lb par., monnaie roial, et plus:

Sur quoy messeigneurs auoient
quis pluseurs moiens adfin
d'auoir appointment auec lesdits
escolatre, princhantre, et chantre,
mais ilz ne pouoient pas bien aisé
trouer ladite appointment pour la
rigueur des dessusdits nommez:
Touteffois mesdits seigneurs auoient
nagueres commis maistres Jehan du
Caurrel et Pierre de Marchy pour veoir
les titulaires, lettres, et enseignemens
des dessusdits nommez, asseurer se
li pouoient donner congié en ladite
ville de tenir escolles, et se aucun y
pouoit tenir escolle sans le congié;
sur quoy lesdits maistres Jehan et
Pierre de Marchy aient veu lesdits
titulaires, qui sont beaux et bons, et
grandement à l'auantage desdits
escolatre, princhantre, et chantre:

[*margin*: Little schools.]

As the scholaster, precentor, and
cantor of the Church of Amiens
pursued a case against my lords, and
against the masters of the little schools
of the said city, to wit, Fremin le Caron,
Jehan le Rique, and others, of which
mention is made in previous town
council meetings, before my lord the
bailiff of Amiens, or his lieutenant
de lez of France, where the case was
referred to by the court of Parlement,
and [since they] had the expenses
accumulated in the said court
claimed against the city and the said
masters, in the amount of 38 pounds
parisis, monnaie royal, and more:
Regarding which my lords had sought
several means in order to come to an
arrangement with the said scholaster,
precentor, and cantor, yet they were
not readily able to arrive at the said
arrangement, on account of the
inflexibility of the said above-named:
Nevertheless, my lords had recently
charged *maistres* Jehan du Caurrel
and Pierre de Machy to inspect the
titles, letters, and proofs of the said
above-named, to ascertain if they were
[indeed] entitled to grant permission
to hold schools in the said city, and
whether anyone could hold school
there without such permission, upon
which the said *maistres* Jehan and
Pierre de Marchy had inspected the
said titles, which are sound and good,
and greatly to the advantage of the
said scholaster, precentor, and cantor:

Par quoy messeigneurs ne sont pas conseillez de soustenir ledit proces, mais s'ilz pouoient demourer quittes desdits despens entierement, ilz seroient bien contens que les dessusdits nommez presissent dessusdit contre eulx, et fussent contumassez, et par defaulte de defence les dessusdits nommez obtenissent en leur dite cause:

Et pour ce ont ordonné que Colart le Rendu, grant compteur, qui est bien amy et affin dudit princhantre, luy en parlera, et se fera se parent trouuera maniere que messeigneurs demouront quittes desdits despens, et par tant les dessusdits obtenroient en leur cause, mais se ledit Colart n'en peut finer, messeigneurs aront aduis ou sourplus pour y proceder comme il appartendra.

For which reason it is not prudent for my lords to sustain the said process; however, if it might be possible for them to remain quits of the said expenses altogether, they should be quite happy for the said above-named to proceed with the above-said [case] against them and to seek a ruling *par contumace*, and for the said above-named to win their case by default on non-appearance of the defence: Wherefore they have ordained that Colart le Rendu, grand receiver, who is a good friend and kinsman of the said precentor, will talk about it with him, and will find a way for my lords to remain quits of the said expenses if the above-named win their case, but if the said Colart cannot bring this to a conclusion, my lords will seek more counsel to proceed in the matter as will be appropriate.

Document 10

Amiens, Archives municipales, BB 9, Régistre de délibérations, 1460–4, fol. 13^v (19 December 1460)

[*margin*: Petites escoles.]

Messeigneurs sont contens et d'acort que les princhantre, chantre, et escolatre d'Amiens, qui sont en cause contre eulx touchant le fait des petites escoles, dont mencion est faite es escheuinages precedens, et dont grans fraix et dommages sont auenus à la ville, impetreront [?] par deuant monseigneur le bailli d'Amiens du lez de France, ou la cause est introduite, tel exploit que bon leur semblera, car messeigneurs ne sont point conseillez de plus soustenir ladite cause, considéré les merites d'icelle, et les titres et preuileges desdits princhantre, chantre, et escolatre, qui ont esté venus par ceulx que messeigneurs ont commis à les veoir, sur ce ont deliberé qu'ilz ne soustenront plus ladite cause.

[*margin*: Little schools.]

My lords are satisfied and in agreement that the precentor, cantor, and scholaster of Amiens – who are joined in a case against them regarding the little schools, of which mention is made in previous town council meetings, and from which have accrued great expenses and costs to the city – will appeal for such writ as will seem right to them, before my lord the bailiff of Amiens *du lez* of France, where the case has been introduced, for it is not at all prudent for my lords to pursue the said case anymore, considering the merites of the same, and the titles and privileges of the said precentor, cantor, and scholaster, as reported by those whom my lords have charged to see them, wherefore they have concluded that they will not pursue the said case any further.

Document 11

Amiens, Archives municipales, CC 45, Comptes de la ville, 1461–2, fol. 23^f [under chapter ‘Presens de vin’] (1 October 1461)

A le tauerne de le [*sic*] Noire teste appartenant à maistre Pierre Roussel, pour deux kanes de vin qui furent presentées le premier jour d’octobre oudit an à monseigneur le maieur qui souppa ce jour en l’ostel messire Jaques Balochart, maistre des enffans de cœur de Nostre Dame, païé à xx d. le lot: x s.

At the tavern *de le Noire teste* belonging to *maistre* Pierre Roussel, for two jugs of wine that were presented on the first day of October in the said year [1461] to my lord mayor, who dined that day in the house of *messire* Jaques Balochart, master of the children of the choir of Our Lady’s, paid at 20 deniers per lot, [makes] 10 sous.

Document 12

Amiens, Archives municipales, CC 48, Comptes de la ville, 1464–5, fol. 30^f [under chapter ‘Presens de vin’] (28 December 1464). I am grateful to Cyrille Chatellain for drawing my attention to this document.

Item le xxviiie jour dudit mois [decembre] pour deux kanes de vin à monseigneur le maieur et plusieurs de messeigneurs de l’escheuinage, à l’ostel Balochart, maistre des enffans de cœur, à le feste des innocens, vij solz vj den.

Item, on the 28th day of the said month [December], for two jugs of wine for my lord mayor, and several of my lords of the municipality, at the house of Balochart, master of the children of the choir, at the feast of the Innocents, 7 sous, 6 deniers.

Document 13

Amiens, Archives municipales, CC 52, Comptes de la ville, 1472–3, fols. 16^v–17^f [under chapter ‘Issues’] (1 October 1473)

De maistre Fremin le Caron, Jehanne le Vasseur, et Milet le Caron, pour les drois deubz à ladite ville, à cause de le vendicion par eulx faite à Linart le Clerc, procureur, de xx s. de cens à prendre sur vne maison noeufue, seant auprez de le Porte de Gueant, moiennant la somme de xiiij lb. ij sc. Et pour ce par mandement du premier jour d’octobre xiiij s.

From *maistre* Fremin le Caron, Jehanne le Vasseur, and Milet le Caron, for the tax they owe to the said city on account of a sale made by them to Linart le Clerc, procurator, of a rent of 20 shillings on a new house located close to the Porte de Gueant, over the sum of 13 pounds and 2 shillings. And for this, by order of the first day of October, 13 sous.

Document 14

Amiens, Archives municipales, FF 7, Régistres aux contrats, 1472–3, fol. 42^{r-v} (1 October 1473). I am grateful to Cyrille Chatellain for drawing my attention to this document.

Comparurent en leurs personnes, Jehenne le Vaasseur, vesue de feu Pierre le Caron en son viuant cordouanier, maistre Fremin le Caron et Milet le Caron, freres, enfans et heritiers dudit deffunct, tous demourans en ceste ville d'Amiens, et ont recongnut que pour leur pouffit apparent sécourir à leurs affaires et necessitez, et moiennant le somme et pris de treize liures, deux solz, monnoie courant, qu'ilz ont confessé auoir eu et receu, et qui païée et deliurée leur a esté, comptant en nostre presence, par Lyenard le Clerc, demourant audit lieu d'Amiens, dont ilz se sont tenus et tiennent pour contens, et luy ont quictié et quictent à tousiours, ilz auoyent et ont vendu, transporté, et assigné, bien iustement, léaument, et sans fraulde, audit Lyenard, au pourffit de luy, ses hoirs, ou ayans cause, vingt solz de cens chacun an, aux trois termes acoustumez paier cens et rentes en ladicte ville d'Amiens, c'est assauoir Noël, Pasques quaresmiaulx, Saint Pierre entrant aoust, à prendre et auoir sur vne maison noefue, tenement, et lez appartenans dicelle, en laquelle ce presentement deux manandises, séant en ladicte ville d'Amiens au piez de la porte que on dist de Grant Pond, tenans d'une part à l'alée de la riuère qui passe par dessoubz icellui Grant Pond, d'autre costé à la ruelle que l'on nomme le rue maistre Bernard Nynart, et aboutant par derrière à le grange Jehan le Hediert, laquelle maison et appartenans dicelle, iceulx rente, et chacun d'eulx ont affermé à eulx appartenir, c'est assauoir la moictié à ladite vesue de soi acqueste, et l'autre moictié ausdits maistre Fremin et Milet les Carons, freres,

Jehenne le Vaasseur, widow of the late Pierre le Caron, in his lifetime a cordwainer, *maistre* Fremin le Caron and Milet le Caron, brothers, children and heirs of the said deceased, all residing in this town of Amiens, have appeared in their own person, and have acknowledged that for their profit apparent, [and] to aid them in their affairs and necessities, and over the sum and amount of thirteen pounds and two shillings, common currency, which they have had and received, and which to them has been paid and delivered, counting in our presence, by Lyenard le Clerc, residing in the said place of Amiens, of which they have held and hold themselves satisfied, and have acquitted him and acquit him forever, they had and have sold, handed over, and assigned, quite legally, faithfully, and without deceit, to the said Lyenard, for his profit, that of his heirs, or of rightholders, twenty shillings in annual rent, [payable] at the three dates on which rents are accustomed to be paid in the said city of Amiens, that is to say, Christmas, Eastertide, and St Peter in Chains [1 August], to be taken and had from a new house, tenement, and its belongings, in which at present [there are] two domiciles, situated in the said city of Amiens at the foot of the Gate which is called *de Grant Pond*, bordering on one side on the passage of the river which runs underneath the same Grant Pond, on the other side on the alleyway which is called Le Rue maistre Bernard Nynart, and abutting at the back on the barn of Jehan le Hediert, which house, its belongings, and the same rent, they have each of them affirmed to be theirs, that is to say, one half of the said widow on account of having purchased it, and the other half of the said *maistre* Fremin and Milet le Caron, brothers,

comme héritiers dudit feu, à le charge du viage dicelle Jehenne le Vaasseur, leur mère, tant seullement; premier terme de paiement commenchant au jour de Noël prochain venans, le second au jour de Pasques quaresmiaulx, et le tiers au jour Saint Pierre entrant aoust prochain aprez tousains [?] et ainsi continues dorésenauant ausdits jours ou termes à chacun diceulx vng tiers desdits xx solz de cens héritablement et à tousiours pour les arrièrages desquelz cens, iceulx rentes, et chacun d'eulx ont volu et accordé que tous les biens trouuez en icelle maison et manandises, en quelque main quelles soyent et puissent estre, soyent preuallés et iustichables comme pour hostage et louage de maison non obstant etc. Et se ne porront iceulx rentes vendre, ne leurs ayans cause, possesseurs, icelle maison renonchier, ne déguer pir, que premièrement les arrièrages desdits cens ne soyent entièrement paieez, et qu'elle ne soit en bon et souffisant estat, promettans etc. Et à ce tenir, entretenir, faire, et souffeyr, joir, paier, furnir, garander, et paruenir léaument, et pour rendre tous despens, dommaiges, et interresses qui s'en porroyent ensuiure, se deffaulte y auoit, ont lesdits recongnuts, et chacun d'eulx, pour le tout obligié, et obligent, tous leurs biens et heritaige, et ceulx de leurs hoirs, presens et aduenir, renonchant par leur foy et serment à toutes choses quelz conques généralement etc. lesquelz xx solz de cens ledit acheteur à promis bailler à ladite ville etc. Passé deuant le maieur, présens Jaques aux Cousteaulx et maistre Tristan Fastonnel, escheuins, le premier jour d'octobre l'an mil cccc lxxiiij.

in their capacity as heirs of the said deceased, charged on the annuity of the same Jehenne le Vaasseur, their mother, only; first term of payment beginning on the upcoming day of Christmas, the second on the day of Easter, and the third on the day of St Peter in Chains, after All Saints [?], and henceforward continuing in like manner on the said days or terms, to each of them one third of the said 20 shillings hereditary rent, and forever for the arrears of the same rents, and each of them have willed and determined that all goods found in the same house and abodes, in whomsoever's hands they be or may be, will be preuailed and subject to justice as security and lease, notwithstanding, etc. And if they were not able to sell the same rents, or their rightholders, owners, to surrender the same house, or leave it, that firstly the arrears of the said rents be not wholly paid, and that it should not be in good and satisfactory condition, promising, etc. And in order to hold, maintain, make, and satisfy, enjoy, pay, furnish, warrant, and conclude faithfully, and to settle all expenses, damages, and interests that may result from this, if there be any default, the said persons have each acknowledged, have obliged for all, and are now obliging, all their goods and inheritance, and that of their heirs, present and future, surrendering by their faith and verbal promise all things whatsoever in general, etc., which 20 shillings rent the said buyer has promised to hand over to the said city, etc. Passed before the mayor, in the presence of Jacques aux Cousteaulx and *maistre* Tristan Fastonnel, aldermen, on the first day of October in the year 1473.

Document 15

Amiens, Archives municipales, FF 7, Régistres aux contrats, 1475–6, fol. 139^v (18 September 1475). I am grateful to Cyrille Chatellain for sharing this document with me.

Comparut en sa personne dame Jehenne le Vaasseur, vesue et legateresse vniuerselle de deffunct Pierre le Caron, en son viuant sueur de vielz demourant à Amiens, et a recongneu que pour son prouffit apparent il [*sic*] auoit et a vendu, transporté, et delaissié, et par ces presentes vend, transporte, et delaisse bien iustement et sans fraude à Jehan Martel, cauchetier demourant en ladite ville d'Amiens, vne maison, celier, court, et tenement, ainsi qu'elle se comporte et estend de fons en comble, séant en icelle ville d'Amiens en le Cauchie au Blé, tenant d'une costé a le maison et hostel *de Saint Loys*, d'autre costé a le maison que on dist *Le four deuant les barilles*, et par derrière audit hostel Saint Loys, pour de ladite maison, cellier, court, tenement, et appendice dessus déclaré, que ladite Jehenne a asseruie à elle appartenir, tant à cause de l'acqueste qui en fut faite par lesdits feu et elle durant leur comonchon, comme par don que luy en a fait en derraine volonté, auquel don elle a esté tenue et decretie de droit de par nous joÿr, user, et possessor, par ledit Jehan Martel, ses hoirs, et ayans cause heritablement, et a tousiours, à le charge de sept liures de cens dont ladite maison est chargé par an aux biens de ladite ville, c'est assauoir: xxx sc. enuers Auchaine de Sans et sa femme, et a cause d'elle; de iiij lb. v sc. enuers messire Jehan Ducange, chevalier, seigneur de Longuissart; de xx sc. enuers les curéz d'Amiens, comme on dist; et de ij sc. ij capp. enuers maistre Nicolle de Coucy à cause de sa prebende fondée en l'église Saint Nicollay, ou cloistre comme on dist.

Lady Jehenne le Vaasseur, widow and universal heir of the late Pierre le Caron, in his lifetime a cordwainer resident in Amiens, appeared in proper person and has acknowledged that for her profit apparent she had and has sold, carried over, and renounced, and by these present [letters] sells, carries over, and renounces, quite legally and without deceit, to Jehan Martel, cloth finisher resident in the said city of Amiens, a house, cellar, courtyard, and tenement as it is located and extends from top to bottom in the same city of Amiens in the Cauchié au Blé [rue Saint-Leu], bordering on one side to the *Maison et hostel de Saint Loys*, and on the other side to the house that is called *Le four devant les barilles*, and at the rear to the said *Hostel St Loys*, which said house, cellar, courtyard, tenement, and annex declared above Jehanne has affirmed to be her property, both on account of its purchase by the said deceased and herself during their marriage, and as a gift which he made her in his last will, which gift she is rightfully held and decreed by us to enjoy, use, and possess, by the said Jehan Martel, his heirs, and those with hereditary interests, and for always, to the tax of seven pounds rent with which the said house is taxed per year for the goods of the said city, that is to wit: 30 shillings towards Auchaine de Sans and his wife, and for her sake; for 4 pounds and 5 shillings towards messire Jehan Ducange, knight, seigneur de Longuissart; of 20 shillings towards the curates of Amiens, as they are called, and of 2 shillings and 2 capp. towards maistre Nicolle de Coucy, on account of his prebend founded in the church of St Nicholas, or cloister as one calls it.

Ceste vente faicte moiennant le somme et pris de quatre vingts dix liures, quinze solz, monnoie courant, frans deniers, que ladite venderesse en a confessé auoir eu et receu dudit Johan Martel, dont etc. et l'en a quictié lui, à laquelle vendicion sire Fremin le Caron et Milet le Caron, freres, enffans, et héretiers dudit feu Pierre le Caron et de ladite dame Jehanne, pour ce comparans par deuant nous, ont mis et mettent leur accord et consentement, et le promis, et promectent, garantent, avec ladite dame Jehanne, audit Jehan Martel. Promectant ladite dame Jehanne par sa foy et serment que jamais ... la vendre et choses dessusdites ne ira. Et ad ce tenir, garandir, faire, et souffrir, joÿr, entretenir, enterner, et accomplir, auer, etc., obligent lesdits vesue et enffans [leurs] biens et heretaiges, renonchans etc., laquelle maison ledit acheteur a promis taillable à ladite ville. Passé deuant le maieur, présens Jehan de Saint Fuscien et autres escheuins, le xviiij^e jour de septembre l'an mil iiij^c soixante quinze.

This sale [being] made for the sum and price of ninety pounds and fifteen shillings, common currency, francs deniers, which the said seller has confessed to have had and received from the said Jehan Martel, which etc., and has acquitted him of that sum, to which sale sire Fremin le Caron and Milet le Caron, brothers, children, and heirs of the said deceased Pierre le Caron and of the said lady Jehanne, appearing before us, have given and give their agreement and consent, and, having promised it, and promise, guarantee [all this], together with the said lady Jehanne, to the said Jehan Martel – the said lady Jehanne promising by her faith and word that she will never ... sell the abovesaid things. And to hold, guarantee, make, and suffer, enjoy, entertain, intern, and accomplish, have, etc., the said widow and children pledge their goods and heritage, renouncing etc., which house the said buyer has promised to be taxable to the said city. Passed before the mayor, in the presence of Jehan de Saint Fuscien and other magistrates, on the 18th day of September in the year 1475.