

Preface

This book is written as a sequel to my earlier work, *Royal Taxation in Fourteenth Century France: The Development of War Financing, 1322-1356*. Both volumes originally were planned as part of a series that would examine in detail the development of royal finance during a critical century in which most of the essential institutions of the early modern French state took form.

The destruction of the French financial archives for this period makes it impossible to treat royal taxation from a statistical point of view. French scholars like Gustave Dupont-Ferrier have studied it as an administrative problem, treating the subject topically, but not making clear how taxation actually developed or how its development related to political theory. Very early in my research, it became clear that taxation developed in a complex military, political, and social context and that external factors sharply affected the attitudes of both the government and the governed towards taxes. To understand these factors, one must study the subject chronologically, and what I have written is, in effect, a political history of taxation.

My first volume dealt with the thirty-five years of the fourteenth century which were the most obscure from the point of view of royal finance, and my purpose was to assemble as much information as possible and indicate the major trends in taxation. It became evident that after 1356 a change occurred in the level and continuity of taxation, in attitudes about taxes, and in the role of central assemblies. The purpose of this volume is to document and explain this change and to show why the years 1356-1370 established the fundamental pattern of royal finance that would prevail in the next few centuries. I shall examine in detail the political crisis of the later 1350's and the circumstances in which, during the 1360's, France first submitted to regular peacetime taxes. I shall conclude with a brief general survey of the years 1370-1440, showing how the fiscal system of the 1370's, after vicissitudes and interruptions, became established permanently.

This book, like its predecessor, makes substantial use of unpublished manuscripts, but there will be less emphasis on bringing to light new facts and more emphasis on reorganizing and reinterpreting existing information. Much more has been published about the years after 1356 (although not about taxation as such). Narrative sources and certain kinds of administrative documents are more abundant and more complete. Yet as earlier regional diversity gave way to greater uniformity in taxation, the documents are less distinctive and are more apt to duplicate each other. Ironically, the records of the royal treasury are most sparse for the period 1350-1370, leaving us without the statistical information that would be so valuable.

I have attempted to conform to the usages of my previous book, using interchangeably certain words and expressions for reasons of style (king, crown, government; pounds, *livres*, l.; bourgeois, burghers, townsmen). I have also followed the same general principles regarding names, generally anglicizing royalty and place names outside France, while leaving in French the names of lesser personages and places inside France. Once again, institutions have been anglicized except where clarity of meaning required that the French names be used.

I have received a great deal of valuable assistance in preparing this book. Financial assistance from McMaster University made possible trips to France in 1966 and 1968. When the latter trip was cut short by the strikes and revolutionary activity that occurred in France, I was able to obtain microfilms through the kindness of Professor Philippe Wolff and the archivists of Toulouse and the departments of the Tarn and Haute-Garonne. The library staffs of McMaster University and the University of Iowa also gave valuable assistance in obtaining material via interlibrary loan and in securing microfilms of manuscripts. A Research Assignment from the University of Iowa in 1974 gave me the opportunity to carry out additional research.

My enormous debt to other scholars will be obvious to the reader, but I should like to single out the individuals to whom I am particularly grateful: Charles Taylor, who trained me in the historian's craft and encouraged me to study French

taxation; Gaines Post, whose legal studies and helpful suggestions have greatly enriched my perspective; Joseph Strayer, the mentor of many distinguished medievalists, who has been so generous with his time whenever I asked for assistance or critical comments on my work. I deeply appreciate the many useful suggestions of Thomas Bisson and my friend and colleague Donald Sutherland, both of whom are skillful judges of historical prose.

In looking ahead to the fifteenth century, I have ventured into the field of other specialists, and I have been saved from many errors thanks to the advice of J. Russell Major. I am especially indebted to Martin Wolfe, whose study of royal finance in Renaissance France is a model of how the subject of taxation ought to be treated. Professor Wolfe gave enthusiastic support to the publication of this book, and his valuable suggestions led to many improvements in the manuscript.

Above all, perhaps, I owe thanks to Raymond Cazelles and Elizabeth Brown. M. Cazelles, whose deep understanding of fourteenth-century French politics has been demonstrated in a succession of provocative articles, has for more than a decade been of great help to me. Without the benefit of his scholarship and encouragement, it would have been impossible for me to undertake this study of taxation in a political context. Professor Brown has shared with me her unpublished papers and her vast store of notes, has helped me obtain microfilms of manuscripts, has directed me to important sources, and has been a trusted critic and adviser throughout this project.

I am also much obliged to several younger medievalists. Charles Radding and Jan Rogozinski have offered valuable suggestions and have permitted me to use some of their unpublished research. These two scholars will add greatly to our understanding of fourteenth-century France when their current projects are completed and published. I have also profited from the work of four distinguished graduate students at the University of Iowa, whose writings are cited in the bibliography—Armand Arriaza, Robert H. Gore, Sarah H. Madden, and Thomas R. Prest. My research assistants, Robert Gore and Jill Harsin have helped with proofreading, and I owe a great debt to my wife, Gerry, for the many

ways in which she has helped and encouraged me over the years.

All these persons have contributed to whatever merit this book may have. I alone am responsible for its errors and imperfections.

John Bell Henneman

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Abbreviations Used Throughout in the Footnotes

AD	Archives départementales
AM	Archives municipales (communales)
AN	Archives Nationales, Paris
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
<i>Foedera</i>	<i>Foedera, conventiones litterae et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes vel communitates. 1727-1735 (2nd. ed., 20 v., London).</i>
<i>Gr. Chartrier</i>	<i>Archives de la ville de Montpellier, Inventaires et documents: Inventaire du Grand Chartrier redigé par Robert Louvet. 1895-1955 (2 v., Montpellier).</i>
<i>HL</i>	<i>Histoire générale de Languedoc avec des Notes et les pièces justificatives. 1872-1904 (new ed., 16 v., Toulouse).</i>
<i>INV</i>	<i>Inventaire sommaire des archives . . .</i>
<i>Mandements</i>	<i>L. Delisle, 1874. Mandements et Actes Divers de Charles V (1364-1380), recueillis dans les collections de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris).</i>
NAF	Nouvelles Aquisitions Françaises
<i>Ord.</i>	<i>Ordonnances des roys de France de la troisième race recueillis par ordre chronologique. 1723-1849 (21 v., Paris).</i>
<i>Petit Thalamus</i>	<i>Le Petit Thalamus de Montpellier. 1836. Société archæologique de Montpellier (Montpellier).</i>
P.J.	Pièces justificatives
P.O.	Pièces originales
<i>RTF 1322-1356</i>	<i>J. Henneman, 1971. Royal Taxation in Fourteenth Century France: The Development of War Financing, 1322-1356 (Princeton).</i>

THE FRENCH ROYAL FAMILY

