

Terrier de la seigneurie de Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne (Bourgogne) et Authumes (Bourgogne) [Manorial rights or Register of land holdings pertaining to the fiefdom of Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne and other lands in Burgundy belonging to Philippe de Chabot, Admiral of France]

In French, illuminated manuscript on parchment and paper

France, Burgundy, dated 1537-1538 [1539 n. st.]

[X] + 157 ff. (167 ff. in all, including blanks), preceded by a paper flyleaf, followed by a paper flyleaf, foliated 137 as well as lower pastedown numbered 139 (these blanks are cut out from the foliated manuscript and reused as lower flyleaf and pastedown), apparently complete (collation: i<sup>10</sup> [of 12, missing i and ix, cancelled blanks], ii<sup>2</sup> [one parchment leaf coupled with a single paper leaf], iii<sup>12</sup>, iv<sup>4</sup>, v-vii<sup>12</sup>, viii<sup>8</sup>, ix<sup>16</sup>, x<sup>4</sup>, xi<sup>12</sup>, xii<sup>10</sup> [of 12, missing viii and x, blanks remounted at the end as lower flyleaf and pastedown], xiii<sup>12</sup>, xiv<sup>4</sup>), on paper (watermarks close to Briquet, no. 1651, Armoiries de Bourgogne, "Ecartelé aux 1 et 4 à la Fleur de lis, aux 2 et 3 bandé de 4 pièces, qui est Bourgogne ancien, un écusson au lion de Flandres brochant sur le tout, sommé du briquet de Bourgogne": late 15<sup>th</sup> c. paper, Pierre-en-Bresse, 1469; Châlon-sur-Saône, 1469 etc.), written in a fine and elegant bâtarde script, 51 cadelé initials (cadels) of varying size (some up to half a page), with scrolling acanthus leaves, some with grotesques, of which 24 are highlighted in colored wash, simple calligraphic penwork for some initials, title-page (f. 1, after preliminary leaves) on parchment with large cadelé initial highlighted in brown ink and traced in burnished gold, elaborate Renaissance illuminated borders, vases and acanthus leaves, winged zoomorphic creatures (dragons?) all in color on gold grounds, motto in capitals in upper border: "Equo tene volens laxo," heraldic arms against an anchor, the first line of text written in Roman capitals in silver, text signed and authenticated in several places by the notary Jehan Guillaud. Bound in a contemporary binding of dark brown calf, spine sewn on 5 raised bands with blind filets (rebacked), blind-stamped roll-tool decoration on pasteboard. Boxed in a half-morocco articulated case (Binding rather worn, but well-restored, overall in good condition, very fresh internal condition). Dimensions 390 x 290 mm.

Carefully copied and elegantly decorated *terrier* (a record or register of land holdings belonging to a specific landowner) for lands located in and around Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne (Burgundy) belonging to Philippe de Chabot, Lieutenant and Governor of Burgundy, but also Admiral of France, close to the King of France. Philippe de Chabot commissioned a "renewed" *terrier* in order to reaffirm his land rights and had it adorned throughout with elaborate painted cadels and grotesques. The initials of the talented calligrapher might be found on f. 112 "E.G."

## PROVENANCE

1. Copied in France, probably in Châlon-sur-Saône (Burgundy), as based on the watermarks in the paper, pointing to papermills in Châlon-sur-Saône. The manuscript is dated 1537-1538. In addition, one finds the initials of (perhaps) the calligrapher on f. 112, "E.G."

This *terrier* was ordered and copied for Philippe de Chabot, seigneur of Brion and Admiral of France, "lieutenant et gouverneur du roi au pays et duché de Bourgogne" (1492-1543), his arms painted on f. 1 to the right of the large opening cadelé initial (*écartelé au 1 et 4 d'or à 3 chabots de gueules [Chabot], au 2 d'argent*

*au lion de gueules armé lampassé, couronné d'or [Luxembourg], au 3 de gueules à l'étoile de seize rais d'argent [Baux])* surrounded by the collar of the Order of Saint-Michel and suspended to an anchor, symbol of his function as Admiral of France. One of King Francis I's closest friends, Philippe de Chabot is credited with the idea behind the discovery of Canada. Having heard of Jacques Cartier's navigational skills, the Admiral of the French Navy approached him to head an expedition to America in search of a northwest passage to the Orient. Between 1516 and 1543, Philippe de Chabot served as the Grand Master of the international Order of the Templars and was also a Knight of the Order of Saint-Michel. His magnificent tomb, designed by Jean Cousin, is in the Louvre. (See Hoefer, vol. 5, cols. 531-532; on the Chabot de Brion, see La Chenaye-Desbois, Paris, 1864, tome IV, col. 994-995; Père Anselme, *Histoire de la maison royale de France...Amiraux de France*, VII, pp. 881-882). Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne is a small town located in Burgundy (dept. Côte-d'Or), now called Dampierre-et-Flée (see A. Roserot, *Dictionnaire topographique du département de la Cote d'Or*, Paris, 1924, p. 138).

2. Terrier still in use in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with added dated notes, such as: "Scellé a Pierre le six janvier 1772..." (f. 95).
3. Pierre Berès (1913-2008), legendary French book-dealer. See his Catalogue 60 [1963]. *Manuscrits et livres du quatorzieme au seizieme siecle* (no page reference): "Terrier de Dampierre, enluminé pour l'amiral de France Philippe de Chabot avec mention du droit de chasse aux bécasses."
4. Sold at Sotheby's, 6 July 1964, lot 242.
5. Sold by Alan Thomas, *Catalog no. 29*, item 53.
6. Mrs. E. F. Hutton, wife of the American book collector and financier E. F. Hutton; sale at Sotheby's, *Calligraphic Books and Manuscripts, the Property of Mrs. E.F. Hutton*, New York City, 27 March 1972, lot. 18.
7. European Private Collection.

## TEXT

ff. I-IV, Table of contents, incipit, "Cest la table du present livre...";

ff. IVv-V, blank;

f. Vv, Table of contents (continued), "Champagne"; "Forains de Champagne";

ff. VI-VIv, blank;

f. VII, Value of the tithes covered in this terrier, added later on a blank leaf by an 18th century hand, headings, "Contenue sommaire des assignaux censables dénombrés dans ce terrier"; "Produits sommaire des redevances de ce terrier";

ff. VIIv-Xv, blank;

ff. 1-1v (only leaf on parchment), Title-page (illuminated), Terrier for Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne and related lands [Manorial rights for the fiefdom of Dampierre-sur-Vigeanne (Bourgogne), belonging to Philippe de Chabot, Amiral de France], incipit, "Cest le terrier rentier et declaration des droictz seignoriaulx, fiedz, domaine, censes, rentes, serviz en deniers, cire, gelines, corvées, graines et aultres a hault et puissant

seigneur messire Philippes Chabot chevalier de l'ordre, conte de Burançois [sic, for Buzançois] et de Charny, seigneur et baron d'Appremont, de Paigny, de Seurre, Laitz, Fraterans et Austume, competans et appartenans a cause et en sa seigneurie de Dampierre....receues par moy Jehan Guillaud notaire roial cytoien de Chalon, chastellain dudit Austume...j'ay commencé a procedé [sic] au moys de mars avant pasques l'an mil cinq cens trente et six et seront pasques prochainnes le premier jour d'avril que l'on commencera mil cinq cens trente sept [signed] Guillaud";

ff. 2-4v, Letters patent of Francis I, King of France, dated Dijon, 28 February 1536, by which the King orders the bailiff of Chalon or his lieutenant to ensure the redaction of a *papier terrier* of the lands owned by Philippe de Chabot in Burgundy, incipit, "Francoys par la grace de dieu roy de France au bailly de Chalon ou son lieutenant Salut de la part de notre chier et bien ame cousin Messire Philippes Chabot, chevalier de notre ordre, conte de Burancoys et de Charny, baron d'Appremont, de Paigny..."; explicit, "[...] Donné a Dyjon le penultime jour du moys de fevrier l'an de grace mil cinq cens trente six et de notre regne le vingt et troizieme par le conseil ains signé *Changenet* scellé en cire faulve des armes dudit seigneur a simple quehue pendant";

In the core of these Letters Patent, it is stated that the original "terriers" have been lost or destroyed: "Mais pour raison de noz guerres et fortunes subvenues esdites terres et seigneuries et a l'environ, tant par pestes, famines, sterilitez que aultres, les terriers, papiers, registres, carthulaires et enseignemens anciens dedites seigneuries lesqueulx apparissoit desditz drois et debvoirs...ilz sont dehué...et se treuvent... perdus tellement que les tenementiers qui de present tiennent lesdits heritaiges de ladite seigneurie ont par malice...detiennent et recellent de jour en jour lesdites censes, rentes, drois, debvoirs, revenuz et esmolument..." (ff. 2-2v).

The same Letters Patent order the bailiff to have a renewed "papier terrier carthulaire" drafted for the lands relative to the fiefdom of Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne: "Et de ce qu'ilz confesseront ou recognoisteront faire ung papier terrier carthulaire et signé dudit notaire ou notaires en faisant mectre le scel de votredit bailliage ainsi qu'il est accoustumé faire en tel cas. Et avec ce mectez ou faictes mectre et escrire ou livre et terrier les maisons...fiedz, arierefiedz, terres, preys, bois, buissons, vignes, molins, rivieres, estangs, garennes, champars, possessions, limitacions et dimensions de justice, dismes, rentes, censes, tailles, hommes, femmes, usaiges, seigneuries, franchises et libertez et tous aultres drois et debvoirs..." (f. 3v).

ff. 4v-11v, Preliminary texts, heading, *S'ensuyt la teneur de l'attaché de mondit seigneur le bailly et maitre des foires de Chalon* [signed Guillaud]; incipit, "Pour proceder a maquelle commission a requeste du procureur de mondit seigneur...assavoir les habitans et tenans ...ausdits lieux et villaiges de Dampierre, La Chise, Champagne, Grange...desquelz ont comparuz Perrenot Villot dudit Champagne eaigé d'environ cinquante cinq ans..." (f. 6 et sqq); follow the description of a number of seignorial rights and local uses, specified in the inner margins, including: *Justice et juridiction*, *Des feodaulx*, *Officiers*, *Des appellations*, *Messerie (étendue de la juridiction du messier)*, *Mesures a bledz et vins*, *Le lieu ou ilz doivent leurs censes et debvoirs*, *Loudz (los: tax to be paid to a Lord upon each change of ownership)*, *Du pellet et notification d'achatz pour le loudz*, *De l'amende ordinaire, signe patibulaire*, *La chasse des becasses et pesche de riviere* (f. 9); *Domainne* (f. 9v); *Des fiedz* (ff. 10-10v);

Noteworthy here is the passage relating to the "chasse aux becasses et pesche de riviere" [On hunting woodcocks (*scolopax rusticola*!) and fishing in rivers] : "Item appartient a mondi [sic] seigneur...en sa justice dudit Dampierre le droit de la chasse des becasses et pesche de riviere..."

ff. 12-15v, blank;

ff. 16-42, Terrier for Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne, heading, *Dampierre et La Chise*; incipit, "En procedant oultre a maquelle commission je me suis transporté en la maison de Anthoine Chevillon prest ledit finaige de La Chise...ausquelx j'ay faict commandement me rendre les extraictz et declarcion des meix de Pierre Charreton inscrite au viel terrier fol. IX<sup>xx</sup> et vii....[signed Guillaud]";

ff. 42v-44v, blank;

ff. 45-60v, Terrier for Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne, finaige de La Chise, heading, *Forains tenans heritaiges au finaige de La Chise oultre ce qu'ilz tienent aux forains de Gouge*;

ff. 61-65v, blank;

ff. 66-76, Terrier for Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne, Village de Champagne, heading, *Champagne en la seigneurie de Dampierre*;

ff. 76v-77v, blank;

ff. 78-81, Terrier for Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne, Village de Champagne, heading, *Forains a Champagne*;

ff. 81v-86v, blank;

ff. 87-103 (f. 95v, blank), Terrier for Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne, Land of Gouge, heading, *Gouge en la seigneurie de Dampierre*;

ff. 103v-104v, blank;

ff. 105-118v, Terrier for Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne, Land of Gouge, heading, *Les Vallot en la terre et seigneurie de Gouges membre de la seigneurie de Dampierre*;

ff. 119-131, Terrier for Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne, heading, *Forains tenans heritaiges censables et en la justice de mondict seigneur ou finaige de Gouge et Meruans*;

ff. 131v-132v, blank;

ff. 133-134v, Feudal tenure of Jeanne, widow of Louis Girod de Gouge owed to Philippe de Chabot [Aveu], incipit, "L'an mil cinq cens trente huict le mardi vintg deuxiesme d'octobre au lieu de Chalon s'est présentée et comparue devant moy Jehan Guillaud notaire royal et commissaire avant nommé Jehanne vesve de feu Loys Girod de Gonge [sic for Gouge]..."; this act passed before the notary harks back to f. 88.

ff. 135-141v, blank;

ff. 142-151, Feudal obligations of Dame Claudine de la Ruere owed to Philippe de Chabot for the land of Authumes (north-east of Chalon-sur-Saône) [Aveu], heading, *Du denombrement de la dame de Ruere*; incipit, "Jehan Guillaud notaire royal commissaire député aux renouvellemens des terriers et reconnoissances de hault et puissant seigneur Messire Philippe Chabot...a damoysselle Claude de Ruere...de bailler en noz mains dans dix jours son denombrement et declaracion de ce qu'elle tient en fied de mondit seigneur audict lieu et seigneurie de Dampierre a cause de son chastel d'Austumes..."

Authumes is a fiefdom located in modern-day Saône-et-Loire, north-east of Chalon-sur-Saône. The fief once belonged to Nicolas Rolin, Chancellor of Philip the Good. Below, on ff. 152-157v, one finds the feudal tenures of Guigonne de Salins for the fief of Authumes, who was the second wife of Nicolas Rolin.

f. 151v, blank;

ff. 152-157v, Copy of past feudal obligations of Guigonne de Salins, Dame d'Austume, dated 1467, incipit, "Ce qu'est cy apres escript a este extraict d'ung livre en forme de carnet intitulé dessus "Cest le papier des fiedz faictz a Madame d'Austume" que je commissaire devant nommé ay treuvé moyen de recouvrer pour justifier de ce present terrier..."; "Cy apres sensuyvent les noms de ceulx qui ont reprins et fait leur debvoir de fied envers noble et puissante dame Guygonne de Salins dame d'Austume. Jehan de Sainte Croix ... Hubert le Maire...Guyot des Eschelles..."; explicit, "[...] en la maison de madicte dame le penultiesme jour d'avril apres pasques courant mil quatre cens soixante sept...[authenticated by Guillaud, notary]."

What is a *terrier* or *papier terrier*? From the medieval Latin *liber terrarius* [book of land], a *terrier* is a register or survey of the lands belonging to a landowner, originally including a list of tenants (whose presence and good will is verified on premises), their holdings, and the rents paid, later consisting of a description of the acreage and boundaries of the property (cadaster). Signed by a notary (here Jean Guillaud), the *terrier* can be used as evidence in case of disputes (*valeur probatoire*). The *terrier* was established in the following stages: a inquest on the spot was conducted, with measurements and control of the existing land and farms (*enquête de terrain*); then followed the "aveux" or declarations of feudal holdings (statements, made by a vassal (or feudatory) to his lord required in feudal law for the assumption of any fief: property, income, tenants, livestock dues, duties and rights were listed and approved); finally the notary copied officially all this information into the *terrier*, as in the present *Terrier de Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne*. The lands dependent of the seigneurie de Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne were wide-ranging, and not only immediately situated in the parish of Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne, including certain neighboring "hameaux."

This particular *terrier* was ordered by the King of France by Letters Patent, dated Dijon, 28 February 1536 (copied ff. 2-4v) in favor of Philippe de Chabot. In the sixteenth century, there was a movement in favor of the renewal of existing *terriers* and land tenure documents (which could be lost or no longer properly levied and enforced). These initiatives of re-drafting and renewal of existing *terriers* were of course largely initiated by important land-holders, determined to exert their seignorial rights. Clearly, in the present case, the *terrier* wishes to make a statement. It is elegantly copied and decorated, properly authenticated by the notary, in order to avoid all challenges and disputes on the part of the tenants and vassals.

There are other famous *terriers*, copied for important lords, such as the *Terrier de Marcoussis*, copied and illuminated in the late fifteenth century for another Admiral, Louis de Gravelle, Admiral of France and drafted or at least supervised by Jean d'Espinay (France, Private Collection, except for a leaf in the Musée Marmottan, Wildenstein Collection, 163; see S. Pagenot, "Le terrier de Marcoussis, un manuscrit profane commandé par l'évêque Jean d'Espinay à la fin du XVe siècle," F. Joubert (dir.), *L'artiste et le clerc. La commande artistique des grands ecclésiastiques à la fin du Moyen Age (XIVe-XVIe siècle)*, pp. 389-412). The present *Terrier de Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne* is not illustrated, but the elaborate cadelé initials and the elegant Renaissance title-page clearly place this *terrier* in the line of the more carefully produced land registers of this type, usually less fancy and merely practical documents (see Illustration, below). This is a showcase document carefully preserved and

cherished by the Lord; it was certainly not a routine land record for daily use to jot down common administrative or financial details. Symbol of the Lord's power and influence, these types of "luxury" terriers were not used or taken out very often: it is the sum and compiled work of the notary who, accompanied by the representative of the Lord (here the "attaché de mondict seigneur le bailli et maitre des foires de Chalon," f. 4), went from land to land, and door to door, to record, reaffirm, and enforce Philippe de Chabot's rights on his lands, here the lands dependent of Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne.

Philippe de Chabot, seigneur of Brion and Admiral of France (1492-1543), was raised at the Chateau d'Amboise with King Francis I, Anne of Monmorency, and other members of the highest nobility. He served his military career under King Francis I, fighting in Marseille, Pavia, and elsewhere. Throughout his lifetime, he remained a powerful figure in the royal realm. In 1541, Philippe de Chabot fell into disgrace, his possessions were confiscated and he was imprisoned at Vincennes. He was rehabilitated soon after thanks to the intercession of Anne de Pisseleu, mistress of the King; in turn his opponent the Connetable de Montmorency fell into disgrace. He owned the Chateau d'Aspremont (Vendée) which he had rebuilt or modified in the spirit of the Italian Renaissance, announcing the style of Chambord. Philippe de Chabot was buried in the Couvent de Celestins, in Paris. He was not apparently a bibliophile properly speaking (although we have cataloged on this site, see TM 12, the dedication copy to Philippe de Chabot of a work by Martin Brion), but a number of "practical" documents are extant, and of course numerous archival holdings survive in public institutions. The commissioning of this elegant *terrier* was undoubtedly intended to reflect his rights and claims, and those of his descendants, on the lands of Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne.

## ILLUSTRATION

Although *terriers* are very seldom actually illustrated, they can contain drawings and decorated initials. The calligraphic cadels (initiales cadelées or "cadeaux") are here a fine example of calligraphic penwork, samples of which one might find in manuscript and print, in Specimen Books, Alphabet Books, printed title pages, and music manuscripts of the period. For a background on the use of cadels in various types of manuscripts and printed books, see S. H. Steinberg, "A Hand-List of Specimens of Medieval Writing Masters," *The Library* 25 (1943), pp. 191-194; and S. H. Steinberg, "Medieval Writing-Master," *The Library* 22 (1941), pp. 1-24. See also the discussion of the so-called Alphabet Book of Mary of Burgundy, Musée du Louvre, MS II, 134 DR à 158 DR, composed of cadel initials filled with grotesques and recently published by S. Hindman in Dominique Cordelier, et al., *Enluminures, Moyen Age et Renaissance*, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 2010.

As in the Alphabet Book of Mary of Burgundy, the fifty-one cadels in this *terrier* are exceptionally large in format, sometimes occupying up to half a page of an already large in-folio format. Nearly half of them (twenty-four) are further adorned with attractive watercolor washes mostly in blue pigment with touches of complementary colors. The cadel on the first folio –exceptionally in parchment – stands out. The profile drawings are all amusing, with a predilection for dolphins, profile grotesque faces, grimacing male figures, some even shown upside down (f. 115)! The calligrapher, likely different from the scribe of the rest of the text, sometimes slips in a few notes, as on f. 96, he indicates above one of the grotesques "nez de trufe" (truffle nose): indeed his grotesque presents a "truffle nose." We have also identified what surely are the calligrapher initials "E.G." in the flourished cadel initial on f. 112. In commissioning an elegantly flourished and finely calligraphed manuscript *terrier*, Philippe de Chabot stylishly reaffirmed his rights on the lands pertaining to the seigneurie de Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne.

## LITERATURE

Anselme de Sainte-Marie. *Histoire de la maison royale de France et des grands officiers de la Couronne* [...], Paris, Compagnie des libraires, 1726-1733, vol. 7.

Brunel Ghislain, Guyotjeamin Olivier et Moriceau Jean-Marc, eds. *Terriers et plans-terriers du XIIIe au XVIIIe siècle, Actes du colloque de Paris*, Camiac-et-Saint-Denis, Éditions de l'Entre-deux-Mers, 2007.

Charmasse, A. de. *Essai sur l'état de la propriété en Bourgogne au Moyen age*, in *Cartulaire de l'Évêché d'Autun*, Autun and Paris, 1880.

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Merland, C. *Philippe de Chabot, amiral de France*, Nantes, 1880.

Soboul, A. "De la pratique des terriers à la veille de la Révolution," *Annales, Economie, Sociétés, Civilisations* 19 (1964), no. 6, pp. 1049-1065.

## ONLINE RESOURCES

On Philippe de Chabot:

[http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippe\\_Chabot](http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippe_Chabot)

Martin Brion, Dedication copy to Philippe de Chabot with his arms (TM 12):

[http://www.textmanuscripts.com/manuscript\\_description.php?id=2669&%20cat=search&requete=YTo0OntzOjc6lnRtX2FyY2giO2E6Mjp7aTowO2k6MTtpOjE7czoxOjI9Ijt9czo4OjIib2hfcHJldiI7YToyOntpOjA7aTowO2k6MTtzOjE6Ij0iO31zOjEwOjI0bV9jb3VudHJ5IjthOjI6e2k6MDtzOjY6IjZyYW5jZSI7aToxO3M6NToicmtpa2UiO31zOjg6lnRtX2RhdGVwIjthOjI6e2k6MDtzOjk6IjE1MDAtMzAwMCI7aToxO3M6NToicmtpa2UiO319&](http://www.textmanuscripts.com/manuscript_description.php?id=2669&%20cat=search&requete=YTo0OntzOjc6lnRtX2FyY2giO2E6Mjp7aTowO2k6MTtpOjE7czoxOjI9Ijt9czo4OjIib2hfcHJldiI7YToyOntpOjA7aTowO2k6MTtzOjE6Ij0iO31zOjEwOjI0bV9jb3VudHJ5IjthOjI6e2k6MDtzOjY6IjZyYW5jZSI7aToxO3M6NToicmtpa2UiO31zOjg6lnRtX2RhdGVwIjthOjI6e2k6MDtzOjk6IjE1MDAtMzAwMCI7aToxO3M6NToicmtpa2UiO319&)

TM 585