

IDENTITY AND DIFFERENCE AMONG THE TOULOUSE ELITE AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES: DISCOURSE, REPRESENTATIONS AND PRACTICES

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ABSTRACT

In Toulouse, in the 14th and 15th centuries, in a difficult and changing context, the urban elites, embodied by the well-known *Capitoulat*, actually make up a heterogeneous, mobile, and divided group. In spite of their social diversity and their differences, however, these men manage to establish a political identity shared by this group which includes high-ranking citizens and the ruling urban class. The purpose of this paper is to examine the to-and-fro movement between the Toulouse elites' otherness and identity, which thus invents urban identity, by studying discourses and representations, thanks to different sources (normative documents and *documents de la pratique*, such as notarial records), iconography, but also through the way of life and material culture.¹

KEYWORDS

Toulouse, Fourteenth-Fifteenth centuries, Urban elite, Identity, Notarial records.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Tolosa, XIV-XV saecula, Urbis electi, Identitas, Documenta notarialia.

Many different sources are available to help approach the question of discourse and representations of political identity in the ruling class in Toulouse at the end of the Middle Ages, in the present case the identity and difference among the elite. Some of these well-known written sources come from the city authorities (the well-known *Capitoulat* in Toulouse), but they also come from royal power represented in Toulouse by officials and different administrations which were established there between 1271 and the middle of the 15th century. In 1271, when the county of Toulouse became part of the crown lands, lots of royal offices were created in the town. Later on, between 1440 and 1450, in Toulouse the *Parlement*, a royal court and the highest level of French royal justice, was the first to be set up outside of Paris. Other documents are studied less to look into this theme of the identity of the urban elite: still in the field of discourse, practices and representation, they are of more interest for the sociology of the ruling urban class, both united and different, legal instruments, for example, are invaluable, in particular notarial records, the series beginning in Toulouse between 1350 and 1360.²

What comes across about the Toulouse elite in these different written sources at a time when, between the middle of the 14th and the middle of the 15th century, the social and political context was changing considerably? Two remarks can be made straightaway. The first is obvious: the only way we can know anything about these men is through the written or iconographic sources which have come down to us. Other sources have disappeared, in particular the oral ones, the harangues of the *capitouls* for example, which, nonetheless, played an important role in Toulouse's political life. However, these sources were usually put together by the Toulouse elite themselves and what comes across about these ruling classes in Toulouse is on the one hand their diversity and difference, and on the other hand their consensus, group and even urban identity.

The first thing that can be said is that it is indeed this both ecclesiastical and secular, medieval urban elite which made up its own identity, and at the same time that of the town; this can be called the collective consciousness, even a kind of urban culture special to Toulouse. This process consisted in the elaboration of a certain kind of discourse and representation produced by this elite, the aim of which was to underline their superiority over the others, that is to say the other social

1. Used abbreviations: ADHG, Archives Départementales de la Haute-Garonne; AMT, Archives Municipales de Toulouse.

2. Since my PhD Dissertation, my research has been focused on the dignitaries in Toulouse and their family life, and it has been based mainly on notarial records. See: Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. *Les oligarchies toulousaines: familles et sociétés de la fin du XIII^e siècle au milieu du XV^e siècle (1271-1444)*. Pau: Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour (PhD Dissertation), 1994 (directed by Béatrice Leroy). I then continued to do further research and qualify these first investigations, see notes 3 and 4. This text provides a synthesis of this process of maturation. The notarial records in Toulouse are to be found in the Haute-Garonne county archives, in the 3E collection, but also in the Saint-Sernin collection or in private records. These different archives are presented in: Wolff, Philippe. *Commerces et marchands de Toulouse (vers 1350-vers 1450)*. Paris: Plon, 1954: VII-XII; Saint-Martin, Catherine. *Saint-Sernin de Toulouse. Fonds des Archives départementales (sous-série 101 H) et fonds de la basilique Saint-Sernin. Inventaire des archives anciennes*. Toulouse: Conseil Général de la Haute-Garonne, 2000. The oldest record conserved for Toulouse covers the years 1349-1355 (ADHG. 3E 174). About 150 records for the years 1350-1450 have been conserved.



categories in the town (the *commun*, the *peuple de Toulouse* for instance), and over the power and authority from outside (the King for example). Yet these mechanisms also had an internal use: to put forward a whole series of criteria and signs, both in discourse and representation, but also in practices, which enabled them to recognize each other and to confirm that they did indeed belong to the urban oligarchy, the dignitaries.³

However, this was far from easy as they had to shape an identity for a group which was heterogeneous, mobile, and divided, and they had to do it in a changing context.

This paradox is probably just on the surface. On the one hand, it must be considered as an absolute necessity for political and social survival, not just for the group but also for the individuals who made up the group (It must not be forgotten that this survival in the Middle Ages was guaranteed by the group, by the community, *universitas*). On the other hand, this diverse elite emphasizes an urban collective consciousness, precisely at a time when royal power was becoming more and more present in Toulouse.

By comparing on the one hand, the discourse and representations of the dignitaries in Toulouse⁴ and, on the other hand, their practices in daily life⁵ one

3. I agree here with the definition of identity, its evolution and its impact given by Alain Rey: taken from the Low Latin (*identitas*), *ydemité* is vouched in the 14th century to mean the *qualité de ce qui est le même* ("the quality of what is the same"). The word evolved during the 17th century to mean *ce qui est permanent* ("what is permanent"). In the 19th century, *en droit et dans l'usage courant, il désigne le fait, pour une personne, d'être un individu donné et de pouvoir être reconnu pour tel* ("that means for a person, according to the law and to the common use, to be an individual being and the possibility of being recognized as so"). See: Rey, Alain. *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française*. Paris: Dictionnaires Le Robert, 2000: 1774 (first edition published in 1992). This definition combines two dimensions, internal and external, a state (that which is) and a representation (to be recognized as such).

4. I studied the words used in detail, the context of their use, the discourse resorted to by the Toulouse elite or on behalf of the same elite between the end of the 13th century and the end of the 15th century in: Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Se distinguer à Toulouse: supériorité sociale et fabrique de l'urbanité", *Distinction et supériorité sociale en Normandie et ailleurs (Moyen Âge et époque moderne)*. *Actes du colloque (Cerisy-la-Salle, 27-30 septembre 2007)*, Jean-Marie Laurence, Christophe Manœuvrier, eds. Caen: Publications du Centre de Recherches Archéologiques et Historiques Anciennes et Médiévales, 2010: 221-240.

5. My work has also mainly focused on the material culture and on the way of life of the dignitaries in Toulouse. I have, in particular, examined and analyzed closely and exhaustively inventories made after death. See in particular (from the most recent works to the oldest ones): Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Tentures et textiles dans l'habitat civil à Toulouse aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles", *Le parement d'autel des Cordeliers de Toulouse. Anatomie d'un chef-d'œuvre du XIV^e siècle. Catalogue de l'exposition du Musée Paul Dupuy (16 mars- 18 juin 2012)*, Maria Alessandra Bilotta, Chaumet-Sarkissian, Marie-Pierre, eds. Paris: Somogy, 2012: 75-85; Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Lire et écrire chez les notables toulousains à la fin du Moyen Âge ? Quelques pistes sur la culture des élites laïques avant 1450", *Toulouse, une métropole méridionale: vingt siècles de vie urbaine. Actes du 58^e Congrès de la Fédération Historique Midi-Pyrénées (Toulouse, 14-16 juin 2007)*, Bernadette Suau, Jean-Pierre Amalric, Jean-Marc Olivier, eds. Toulouse: France Méridionale et Espagne-Fédération historique de Midi-Pyrénées, 2009: 145-162; Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Décor, parure et couleurs des intérieurs toulousains d'après les registres notariés à la fin du Moyen Âge", *La maison au moyen Age dans le Midi de la France. Actes du colloque (Cahors, 6-8 juillet 2006)*. *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France*, Anne-Laure Napoléone, Maurice Scellès, eds. Cahors: Région de Midi-Pyrénées-Conseil Général du Lot-Ville de Cahors-France Méridionale et Espagne-Travaux et Recherches Archéologiques sur les Cultures, les Espaces et les Sociétés-Université de Toulouse II-Le Mirail, 2009: II,



can, it seems, shed a more subtle and accurate light on the interplay of identity and difference and show both the visible and the more hidden mechanisms at work in the society in Toulouse so as to try to understand the social and political complexity of the time better.

In the present paper I not only wish to study the normative discourse and representations which framed medieval society, but also to try and get to the bottom of the documents which bear witness to real practices. This kind of document taken from ordinary life and called *documents de la pratique*, notarial records for example, does not have as its main objective the justification of a certain conception of society but does in fact give us useful information about it and about the behavior and ways of the people it was composed of. I therefore propose to concentrate not on the norms but on actual practices and conduct. However, I do not intend to oppose the norms and conduct (as passed down in medieval documents), but rather to study the relations which exist between these different documentary records and to determine the meaning.

1. Prolegomena : historiographical points and insights concerning Toulouse

Before going any further, I would like to point out rapidly the changes both in the past and in the present concerning urban studies in France, and also to clarify the context surrounding Toulouse in the 14th and 15th centuries, in order to give a preliminary definition of what we mean by the Toulouse elite and dignitaries.

It must be pointed out that French bibliography has been considerably enriched over the past twenty years,⁶ especially concerning the elite, the urban elite in particular, (but also the rural elite) and concerning the question of urban identity. French urban historiography was founded by masterful monographs which made it

285-315; Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Piété et croyances du privé chez les notables toulousains à la fin du Moyen Âge", *Le ciel sur cette terre. Dévotions, Église et religion au Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Christian Desplat*, Adiran Blazquez, Philippe Chareyre, eds. Orthez: Éditions Gascogne, 2004: 489-527; Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Paraître et pouvoir: vêtue et parure de puissants Toulousains au début du XVe siècle. L'exemple de la famille de Bertrand Tornier (1402-1403)", *Espaces nationaux et identités régionales. Mélanges offerts à Christian Desplat*, Adiran Blazquez, Philippe Chareyre, eds. Orthez: Éditions Gascogne, 2004: 489-527; Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Entre Toulouse et Toulousain: propriétés et cadres de vie de noble Bertrand Tornier et de sa famille au début du XVe siècle", *Habitats et territoires du Sud. Actes du 126e congrès du Comité Des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques (Toulouse, 4-9 avril 2001)*, Benoît Cursente, ed. Paris: Comité des travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 2004: 235-259; Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Les élites toulousaines et leurs demeures à la fin du Moyen Âge: entre maison possédée et maison habitée", *La maison au Moyen Age dans le Midi de la France. Actes du colloque (Toulouse, 19-20 mai 2001). Mémoires de la Société du Midi de la France*, Anne-Laure Napoléone, Maurice Scellès, eds. Toulouse: Société Archéologique du Midi de la France-France Méridionale et Espagne-Université de Toulouse II-Le Mirail, 2003: I, 40-61.

6. As this bibliography is overabundant, I shall just deal with France and I can in no way aim at being exhaustive. I shall just give a few landmarks on the subject dealt with.



possible to follow the evolution in the institutions, societies and the elite of a town over a more or less long period of time in the medieval era.⁷ The urban elite thus took on a shape, and light has been shed on their origins, their composition and their history by social, prosopographical approaches, or by what was called the 'history of mentalities', very much in vogue between 1960 and 1980, and which, since then, has been taken over by cultural history and the history of representations which have held centre stage since the 1980s. The historians specializing in medieval Italy or in Northern European towns (the two big medieval urban centres)⁸ have opened up new approaches, and ways of reading which have been applied to the field of the study of the urban elite, in particular to the fields of distinction, superiority, notability, honour...⁹ The same can be said for the study of the genesis and development of the collective urban consciousness, of urban identity, and of urban culture, whether through civic religion or through other means, such as the practice of writing and urban historiography for example; symposiums have given rise to important collective works, but also to dossiers, for example in the review

7. Some of these exemplary monographs are for example: Schneider, Jean. *La ville de Metz aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*. Nancy: Imprimerie Georges Thomas, 1950; Wolff, Philippe. *Commerces et marchands de Toulouse...*; Favreau, Robert. *La ville de Poitiers à la fin du Moyen Âge. Une capitale régionale*. Poitiers: Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest, 1978 (2 vols.); Desportes, Pierre. *Reims et les Rémois aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*. Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1979; Coulet, Noël. *Aix-en-Provence. Espace et relations d'une capitale (milieu du XIV^e siècle – milieu du XV^e siècle)*. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1988. We can mention, among the rare attempts to synthesize this issue: Duby, Georges, ed. *Histoire de la France urbaine*. Paris: Seuil, 1980: II. More recently on a European scale and not just a French one: Boucheron, Patrick; Menjot, Denis, eds. *La ville médiévale*. Paris: Seuil, 2003 (Pinol, Jean-Luc, dir. *Histoire de l'Europe urbaine*. Paris: Seuil, 2003: II); Dutour, Thierry. *La ville médiévale. Origines et triomphe de l'Europe urbaine*. Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob, 2003. To remain in the medieval French domaine, the different volumes of l'*Histoire de France* directed by Joël Cornette, make an updated synthesis accessible. See: Cornette, Joël, ed. *Le Grand Atelier de l'Histoire de France. Le Moyen Âge*. Paris: Belin, 2012 (the five volumes on the Middle Ages were first published between 2009 and 2011).

8. See recently: Crouzet-Pavan, Élisabeth; Lecuppre-Desjardins, Élodie, eds. *Villes de Flandre et d'Italie (XIII^e-XVI^e siècle). Les enseignements d'une comparaison*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.

9. The book by Jean Lestocquoy was a fundamental landmark in the debate on the urban elite (named at the time the 'patricians', 'patriciat'). See: Lestocquoy, Jean. *Les villes de Flandre et d'Italie sous le gouvernement des patriciens (XI^e-XV^e siècle)*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952. Concerning the historiography of the urban elite, from the point of view of French medievalists, consult: *Les élites urbaines au Moyen Âge. Actes du XXVII^e congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public (Rome, mai 1996)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne-École Française de Rome, 1997. In particular: Crouzet-Pavan, Élisabeth. "Les élites urbaines: aperçus problématiques (France, Angleterre, Italie)", *Les élites urbaines au Moyen Âge. Actes du XXVII^e congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public (Rome, mai 1996)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne-École Française de Rome, 1997: 9-28. Some doctoral thesis and monographs have combined the study of a town and of its rulers, see for example: Dutour, Thierry. *Une société de l'honneur. Les notables et leur monde à Dijon à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Paris: H. Champion, 1998; Bove, Boris. *Dominer la ville. Prévôts des marchands et échevins parisiens (1263-1350)*. Paris: Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 2004. For urban notability, see collective works, such as: Laurence, Jean-Marie, ed. *La notabilité urbaine (Xe-XVIII^e siècle). Actes de la Table ronde (Caen, 20 et 21 janvier 2006)*. Caen: Centre de Recherche d'Histoire Quantitative de Caen, 2007; on the relations between the nobility, the town, the urban elite, see: Dutour, Thierry. *Les nobles et la ville dans l'espace francophone (XI^e-XVI^e siècles)*. Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2010; Laurence Jean-Marie; Manœuvrier, Christophe, eds. *Distinction et supériorité sociale (Moyen Âge et époque moderne)*. Caen: Publications du Centre de Recherches Archéologiques et Historiques Médiévales, 2010.



Histoire urbaine (created in 2000).¹⁰ All these different fields have been thoroughly explored, with great attention being paid to the words used by the medieval people and to the vocabulary used, namely to identify the degree of autonomy, the identity of the town, the distinctive features of the urban community as seen through its action and its representations (seals, banners, town halls ...), or yet again to designate the strata of political society.¹¹ However, the work done on urban identity has often concentrated more on the scale of the town as a whole, rather than on the individuals who made up the ruling urban class.¹² Yet, the mechanisms behind their decision-making, the circulation of information, the importance of the tax system, of economic circuits and markets, including those of art and luxury goods, and of material culture, (by bringing together texts and archeology), are also being studied to a great extent,¹³ which no doubt counterbalances a vision of things which may be too conceptual to the detriment of *la chair humaine*, the 'proie' *par excellence* of the *ogre-historien* according to Marc Bloch.¹⁴

10. Since a seminal symposium: Vauchez, André, ed. *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne (chrétienté et islam)*. Actes du colloque (Nanterre, 21-23 juin 1993). Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1995; until an issue of: Richard, Olivier. "Religion civique (XVe-XVIe siècle)". *Histoire urbaine*, 27 (2010): 5-120; there have been more and more seminars and works on civic religion, that is also to say on *memoria*, awareness and urban identity. For example, the key work: Brand, Hanno; Monnet, Pierre; Staub, Martial, eds. *Memoria, communitas, civitas. Mémoire et conscience urbaines en Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2003. The question of urban identity or urban identities has benefited from many different approaches over the last few years. Among the most recent publications: Crouzet-Pavan, Élisabeth; Lecuppre-Desjardins, Élodie. "Les mots de l'identité urbaine à la fin du Moyen Âge". *Histoire urbaine*, 35 (2012) : 5-130; for Southern France: Gilli, Patrick; Salvatori, Enrica, eds. *Les identités urbaines au Moyen Âge: regards sur les villes du Midi français. Actes du colloque de Montpellier (8-9 décembre 2011)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014. The use and the culture of writing, mastered by technicians for the service of the town but also by members of the urban elite, made it possible both to govern, to dominate, but also to write the *laudes civitatis* and the history of the town. Among works in a very abundant bibliography, please see for the South of France the work: Bordes, François. *Formes et enjeux d'une mémoire urbaine au bas Moyen Âge: le premier "Livres des Histoires" de Toulouse (1295-1532)*. Toulouse: Université de Toulouse II-Le Mirail (PhD Dissertation), 2007 (directed by Michelle Fournié); Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique, ed. *Ab urbe condita... Fonder et refonder la ville: récits et représentations (second Moyen Âge – premier XVIe siècle)*. Actes de actes du colloque international de Pau (14-16 mai 2009). Pau: Presses Universitaires de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour, 2011; Chastang, Pierre. *La ville, le gouvernement et l'écrit à Montpellier. Essai d'histoire sociale*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2013.

11. Bernard Guenée was a real master in this field. See the very subtle analysis of French political society, from words to concepts, in: Guenée, Bernard. *Un meurtre, une société. L'assassinat du duc d'Orléans (23 novembre 1407)*. Paris: Gallimard, 1992; as well as in much more of his work, in particular on medieval historiography.

12. Judicaël Petrowiste proposes a very stimulating study of the town but seen on this global scale. The study is based mainly on the urban cartulars and for the previous period: Petrowiste, Judicaël. "Tolosana patria". *Identité urbaine et rapport à l'extra muros à Toulouse entre le milieu du XIIe siècle et le milieu du XIIIe siècle*, *Les identités urbaines au Moyen Âge: regards sur les villes du Midi français. Actes du colloque de Montpellier (8-9 décembre 2011)*, Patrick Gilli, Enrica Salvatori, eds. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014: 41-61.

13. For Toulouse at the end of the Middle Ages, see the works mentioned in note 16 and see below.

14. *Le bon historien ressemble à l'ogre de la légende. Là où il flaire la chair humaine, il sait que là est son gibier* ("the good historian seems the ogre of the legend: where he smell the human flesh, he knows that there is his hunting"). Bloch, Marc. *Apologie pour l'histoire ou métier d'historien*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1997: 4 (the first edition was published in 1949).



The second introductory remark is that the context in Toulouse in the 14th and 15th centuries was ambivalent. On the one hand, Toulouse played the role of regional capital. It appears to have been an important town on not only the French religious scene (archbishopric, and mendicant convents), but also on the French political, administrative and judicial scene (the King was represented by the *sénéchal*, the *viguier*, a whole host of officials, and by the setting up of the first *Parlement* in the provinces in 1443-1444), yet these changes also imply that local authority, in particular capitular authority, had to make room for royal power, and there was a period of adaptation between these different sources of power with, in the end, a loss of power for the *capitouls*. In the 14th and 15th centuries they no longer had much in common with the *capitouls* at the end of the 12th century and at the beginning of the 13th century, even if the municipal judiciary still remained desirable and important for the town. Toulouse was an economic centre, both in terms of production and redistribution, and a university town. It contained colleges, had scholars, leaders, both clerics and laymen, and the elite who were the natural clients and partners of the local market.

At the same time, though, Toulouse and its inhabitants were experiencing the crises and the hardships of the time. The situation was indeed globally unfavourable until 1420-1430: the town had become depopulated, had become poorer, and had undergone numerous crises, fires... It no longer had the splendour of the previous period or of the following one, the period known as 'Toulouse's Golden Age', which opened with the reconstruction in the second half of the 15th century and which was symbolized by the extremely profitable trade of pastel.

The period, unsettled and full of contrasts, sometimes led to wonderful success, but also to terrible ruin: the Wheel of Fortune turns quickly, usually every three or four generations. Even so, the town remained one of the most important towns in the kingdom of France, yet we must not forget to situate the context in Toulouse in the background of crises, hardship and change which shook society at the time, and to situate Toulouse on the same scale as other towns of that period (Toulouse was not Florence!).

Finally, who are the Toulouse dignitaries under study here? The *corpus* is that of the oligarchs in Toulouse as observed mainly in notarial records between roughly 1350 and 1450, the documents coming from different places of authority in Toulouse, in particular the *Capitoulat* with, for example, the lists of the *capitouls* or the capitular acts...¹⁵ The group was composed of people coming from the families, of various origins and fluctuating destinies, who acceded to the *Capitoulat* but not just of them. More generally, men were in authority in Toulouse, with, more often than not, a foot in several circles of power and notability, either at the same time or successively, for example capitular circles, the king's offices and *Parlement* from 1444 on, but these networks intersected also in other spheres, economic ones (jobs), religious ones (brotherhoods, clerical circles, in particular canons, canonesses, and

15. See note 2. The final setting up of the *Parlement* in Toulouse in 1444 modified the conditions needed to belong to the group of dignitaries in Toulouse, hence the chronological dates chosen.



mendicant orders) and academic ones... These men hailed from a small number of families, (a dozen families or so for a town of about 30,000 inhabitants), and the same men met in the same circles of power and notability.

What is particular about the notarial records is that they shed light little by little on the daily, underlying mechanisms of the attainment, the conservation and the control of power by these dignitaries. They echo the documents published in work which has studied the emergence and the assertion of the consular offices, political, economic and social life, the world of the clerics, the place given to brotherhoods and hagiography, the importance of the law and jurists in Toulouse, the academic world ...¹⁶

First of all, I will present the plural nature of the registers of the discourse, and of the words used, which, on looking closer, correspond to documents of a different nature but were also destined for specific political and social use. Then I will show that the construction of identity embraces plurality and difference so as to accept both a social and political challenge on the part of the elite in Toulouse: to show the diversity of the individuals and of the families but to form at the same time the ruling classes. To finish I shall show that all the dignitaries in Toulouse, whatever their origins and life, aimed at excelling socially and being able to recognize each other by adopting the same discourse and representations but also similar ways of life. In order to respect the editorial constraints, in this paper I shall not always be

16. This work is varied and abundant. The references given below are not exhaustive. I have favoured seminal work, the most recent theses or latest, general publications which also give detailed bibliographies. In alphabetical order, the following work is stimulating: Bordes, François. *Formes et enjeux...*; Dubreil-Arcin, Agnès. *Vies de saints, légendes de soi L'écriture hagiographique dominicaine jusqu'au Speculum sanctorale de Bernard Gui († 1331)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011 (publication of the PhD Dissertation, directed by Michelle Fournié, at Toulouse II University in 2007); Foissac, Patrice. *Histoire des collèges de Cahors et Toulouse (XIVe-XVe siècles)*. Cahors: La Louve éditions, 2010 (the published version of the PhD Dissertation directed by Michelle Fournié, at Toulouse II University in 2008); Gilles, Henri. *Les coutumes de Toulouse (1286) et leur premier commentaire (1296)*. Toulouse: Académie de Legislation-Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1969; Macé, Laurent. *Les Comtes de Toulouse et leur entourage (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)*. Toulouse: Privat, 2000; Marandet, Marie-Claude. *Le souci de l'au-delà: la pratique testamentaire dans la région toulousaine (1300-1450)*. Perpignan: Presses Universitaires de Perpignan, 1998 (publication of the PhD Dissertation in 1984); Mundy, John Hine. *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954; Nadrigny, Xavier. *L'information et espace public à Toulouse à la fin du Moyen Âge (v. 1330-1444)*. Paris: Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne (PhD Dissertation), 2006 (directed by Claude Gauvard), published under the title: Nadrigny, Xavier. *Information et opinion publique à Toulouse à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Paris: École des Chartes, 2013; Verger, Jacques. "Le cadre institutionnel de l'essor universitaire: les statuts de Toulouse". *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 35 (2000): 51-71; Viala, André. *Le Parlement de Toulouse et l'administration royale laïque (1420-1525 environ)*. Albi: Imprimerie des orphelins-apprentis, 1953; Taillefer, Michel, ed. *Nouvelle histoire de Toulouse*. Toulouse: Privat, 2002; Wolff, Philippe. *Commerces et marchands de Toulouse...*; Wolff, Philippe. *Les "estimes" toulousaines des XIVe et XVe siècles*. Toulouse: Bibliothèque de l'Association M. Bloch de Toulouse, 1956; Wolff, Philippe. *Regards sur le Midi médiéval*. Toulouse: Privat, 1978. Collective works: Dauvois, Nathalie, ed. *L'Humanisme à Toulouse (1480-1596)*. *Actes du colloque intrnational de Toulouse (13-16 Mai 2004)*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006; Fournié, Michelle, ed. "Saint-Sernin de Toulouse à la fin du Moyen Âge. Des reliques et des hommes". *Annales du Midi*, 111/226 (1999): 149-231; *Toulouse sur les chemins de Saint-Jacques. De saint Saturnin au Tour des Corps Saints*. Milan: Skira-Seuil, 1999; Bordes, François, ed. *Toulouse, parcelles de mémoire. 2000 ans d'histoire urbaine au regard de huit siècles d'archives*. Toulouse: Archives municipales de Toulouse, 2005.



able to enter into great detail, but I shall bring out the general outlines, highlight the important points and give interpretations backed by examples.

2. The plural nature of the registers of discourse, in documents of a different nature and for varied, specific social and political use

I shall not go back in detail over the analysis of the terms, the way they are used in different sources, and the way they change over time, that has already been explained with relevant examples in the published proceedings of the symposium held at Cerisy-la-Salle.¹⁷ I shall make a list below of the main remarks and results.

First remark: the same words are used in sources of a different nature to talk about individuals from diverse origins and with diverse status. They therefore tend to underline the social diversity of the elite in Toulouse, while at the same time referring to the main categories of medieval society.

Two main categories of documents exist: official documents coming from the capitular authority, (for example the lists of the *capitouls*, the records of the capitular elections, the official documents of the *Capitoulat...*), and notarial documents which record marriage settlements, wills, purchases, sales, rents... etc., slices of the life of these dignitaries in Toulouse.

These sources are of a different nature but also have different objectives: the normative acts establish and justify the political society in Toulouse while showing the social categories; the *actes de la pratique*, notarial records for example, differentiate between the social categories, and give the status of each in order to avoid confusion between individuals, (in the case of homonyms), and to set down the rights and duties of each with, as an objective, the probatory use of the *instrumentum publicum* which a notarial act constitutes. In both cases the documents give the men's Christian names and surnames, sometimes their nobility, their chivalrous or seigniorial titles (*seigneur de...*), their professional activity, especially if it was in trade, (the three best represented professions in the *capitoulat* were drapers, grocer-apothecaries and money-changers), or, above all in the 15th century, if they were jurists.

All the documents therefore underline the social diversity of the Toulouse elite and show that the oligarchy in Toulouse was subject to an important turnover, mainly because of the difficulties encountered at the time which left certain individuals and certain families on the sidelines while others replaced them after they had won fame and fortune. Indeed it can be seen that only a very small number of families, (less than ten), are present on the capitular lists for the whole of the medieval period, (from the middle of the 12th century until the end of the 15th century), and very often wealth and political influence went from one branch of the family to another, (hence the importance of the fact that their titles and seigneuries are

17. See note 4. Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Se distinguer à Toulouse...": 221-240.



mentioned); sixty or so families rose to municipal office (or others) but only thirty or so of these families monopolized the *Capitoulat*, and among these families, some were emblematic in the 14th century but found themselves in the background in the 15th century, others only appeared in the 15th century, while other families were only represented, recurrently and brilliantly, for one or two generations before disappearing...

So, in the capitular lists for example,¹⁸ an individual is known by his name, the *Capitoulat* he represented or the office he held in the *Capitoulat* (treasurer for instance). Sometimes his identity is completed by his titles to chivalry and nobility, from time to time by an added name (the Younger, the Elder...), possibly by his profession. All this supplementary information became more and more widespread from the 14th century onwards but was far from being systematic.

On the other hand, in the notarial records, the way these very same men are mentioned is far more subtle and detailed, and is systematic and constant, really constant, and this is true of all the notaries and for all the period under study. Each individual is identified by his name, the road he lives in, his trade or profession, in some cases by his added name, his chivalrous titles (squire, page or knight), the name of his seigneuries and his rank of nobility (*nobilis*, *dominus* or *domina*), and numerous titles of honour are mentioned more and more frequently over the years. It was in this way that distinction and especially notability, the two corner-stones of domination at the end of the Middle Ages, were established.¹⁹

This is understandable as the notary's act must enable a clear, reliable identification to be made as it has a probatory value. Therefore notaries are never vague but give an individual's exact status and titles. The objectives of acts originating in the *capitoulat* are of quite another nature. They highlight the capitular body, which is presented as being diverse and heterogeneous, but what is most important is that it is perceived as being a political body, a chapter of consuls, of *capitulares*, and *capitouls* assembled in a council, or a college, each of which represent a *capitoulat* belonging either to the *Cité* of Toulouse, (the districts around Saint-Etienne Cathedral and the

18. These capitular lists were copied by Abel and Froidefont before the destruction during the revolution: Abel and Froidefont. *Tableau chronologique des noms de Messieurs les Capitouls de la ville de Toulouse*. Toulouse: Lacour-Ollé, 1786. Historians can compare them and correct them thanks to the incomplete lists which come from capitular, royal and notarial documentation, etc. François Bordes is preparing an updated edition.

19. On honour, standing and notability in these honourable societies, see the seminal works of Claude Gauvard. For example: Gauvard, Claude. "*De Grace especial*". *Crime, Etat et société en France à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1991; Gauvard, Claude. "La fama, une parole fondatrice". *Médiévales*, 24 (1993): 5-13; Gauvard, Claude. "Honneur de femme et femme d'honneur en France à la fin du Moyen Âge". *Francia*, 28/1 (2001-2002): 159-191; Gauvard, Claude. "L'honneur blessé dans la société médiévale", *Vengeance. Le face à face victime-agresseur*, Raymond Verdier, ed. Paris: Autrement, 2004: 160-169; the articles of Claude Gauvard brought together in: Gauvard, Claude. *Violence et ordre public au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Picard, 2005. See also: Dutour, Thierry. *Une société de l'honneur...*; see also his various contributions published after that date, especially: Dutour, Thierry. "La notabilité urbaine vue par les historiens médiévistes francophones aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles", *La notabilité urbaine (Xe-XVIII^e siècles)*, Jean-Marie Laurence, ed. Caen: Centre de Recherche d'Histoire Quantitative, 2007: 7-22.



Château Narbonnais, and the main trading streets), or to the *Bourg* of Toulouse, (the districts around Saint-Sernin basilica, the University, and certain professions).

Second remark: among these categories, the titles of chivalry, of nobility and of seignury are present but not always to the same extent according to the nature of the document and the chronology.²⁰ The political and social uses of the documents can explain these variations.

Thus, in the capitular lists, the use of chivalrous titles, (*scutifer*, *miles*), is particularly widespread from 1270-1280 and in the 14th century, whereas the use of professions developed well before 1270 and, as we have seen, the use of the notaries was constant throughout the whole period. This tends to make one think that the use of these titles was really emphasized, especially by the *Capitoulat* in Toulouse, at the time when the *Capitoulat* was confronted with the incorporation of Toulouse to the Crown (1271), at the time when the *capitouls* were faced with royal power, and with royal administrators who encroached upon and then reduced the capitular prerogatives and power, (1271 and the following years). At the same time, the groups of people ennobled by the King were more numerous in the first half of the 14th century. The capitular lists also underline this but will already do so far less in the 15th century, whereas, as I have already pointed out, it is still mentioned frequently by the notaries.

Generally speaking, this shows that the models of chivalry, of nobility, or at least the possession of a seignury, remained the prevailing paradigms for any high-ranking citizen, whatever his social origin. Yet the displaying of these titles also depended on the political context, the nature of the document and its use.²¹

It can moreover be seen that certain seigniorial titles, seigneur of such and such a place in the capitular lists and acts, are pointed out and described in the greatest of detail in the *actes de la pratique*, notarial records for instance, because in Toulouse and its region the cases of coseignury were very frequent, if not the most numerous: these men sometimes called themselves *seigneur de tel lieu* in the records of the capitular elections, in the tax registers (*estimes*) drawn up in the capitular

20. On the heritage and the place given to urban chivalry in the Southern towns of France and in Toulouse, see the seminal article on Toulouse by: Wolff, Philippe. "La noblesse toulousaine: essai sur son histoire médiévale", *La noblesse au Moyen Âge*, Philippe Contamine, ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976: 153-174, or in: Wolff, Philippe. *Regards sur le Midi médiéval...*: 213-231; and the work of John Hine Mundy: Mundy, John Hine. *Liberty and Political...*; Mundy, John Hine. *Society and Government in Toulouse at the Age of the Cathars*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1997. More recently, still for the 12th and 13th centuries, see: Macé, Laurent. *Les comtes de Toulouse et leur entourage (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)*. Toulouse: Privat, 2000. On a larger scale, see: Aurell, Martin. "La chevalerie urbaine en Occitanie (fin Xe-début XIIIe siècle)", *Les élites urbaines au Moyen Âge. Actes du XXVIIe congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public (Rome, mai 1996)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne-École Française de Rome, 1997: 71-118.

21. I wholly agree with the idea of the omnipresence of the importance of the nobility in the town, or rather of the nobles in the town, (an assumption which did not go without saying for traditional historiography in the French-speaking world, which, on the contrary, underlined the alterity of the nobility and the town), as well as the idea of the variety of different situations observed from one town to another, from one kind of documentation or thematic to another. See: Dutour, Thierry. *Les nobles et la ville...*



sphere, whereas the notaries' records reveal very often that they are only *coseigneur* of...²²

The nature and the use of these sources are varied: each different source therefore develops a terminology adapted to its specific objectives, which does not prevent the historian from discerning the fluidity and the mobility of the ruling classes in Toulouse, brought on by the crises and changes at the end of the Middle Ages.

Third remark: a historian is also confronted with words whose use and meaning have changed over time. I shall just give one example here but it is representative and is used very frequently. It is the term *burgens*, bourgeois.

Chronologically, in Toulouse and in other places, the term *burgens* first had a topographical, geographical meaning (it meant the people who inhabited the 'bourgs', whereas *cives* meant the people who inhabited the episcopal cities) but from the 12th century, the word also had a judicial meaning. Bourgeois then meant a member of the community benefiting from privileges (granted through franchises, and customs charters) which represented the rights of the bourgeoisie, granted in accordance with several criteria (living in the town for some time, contributing to the town's expenses...). Becoming a member of the bourgeoisie, a specific judicial status, was not accessible to all the citizens: it was reserved for those who held an important position in the town, including city nobles. It is therefore easy to understand how this word took on another social and honorary meaning.²³

The case of Toulouse fits these definitions exactly but reveals specific, original aspects: if the topographical then social and honorary meaning seem to be ensured, the essence of bourgeois is not clearly associated with any judicial meaning.²⁴ Toulouse was separated into two distinct parts organized around the *Cité* and the *Bourg*. 12th and 13th century documents, such as the *Coutumes de Toulouse* (1286),²⁵ talk about *cives* and *burgenses*, which refer to these two distinct parts. However, a social meaning steadily superimposed itself on this geographical meaning (maybe

22. On this theme of the coseigneurie, which has, up to now, been dealt with very little, see a recent study, which nevertheless is about an earlier period: Débax, Hélène. *La seigneurie collective. Pairs, pariers, paratge, les coseigneurs du XIe au XIIe siècle*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012.

23. For Toulouse, see the seminal article by Philippe Wolff: Wolff, Philippe. "Civitas et burgus", l'exemple de Toulouse", *Die Stadt in der europäischen Geschichte, Festschrift Edith Ennen*. Bonn: L. Röhrscheid, 1972: 200-209; or in: Wolff, Philippe. *Regards sur le Midi medieval...*: 201-211. I refer you back to the big French urban monographs mentioned in note 7, to the thesis by Thierry Dutour on: Dutour, Thierry. *Une société de l'honneur... already mentioned (bourgeois de Dijon and bourgeois du Duc)*. A practical synthesis, the entry by: Dutour, Thierry. "Bourgeois", *Dictionnaire du Moyen Âge*, Claude Gauvard, Alain de Libera, Michel Zink, dirs. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002: 187-188.

24. See: Wolff, Philippe. "Civitas et burgus...": 200-209. On these issues and for a town in the southern half of France, please read the stimulating article by: Grélois, Emmanuel. "La bourgeoisie à Clermont: caractérisation d'une population aux contours incertains (fin du XIIe siècle-XIVe siècle)", *La notabilité urbaine (Xe-XVIIIe siècle)*, Jean-Marie Laurence, ed. Caen: Centre de Recherche d'Histoire Quantitative, 2007: 67-78. The case of Narbonne has been analysed in detail in the works of Jacqueline Caille: Caille, Jacqueline. "Narbonne, une et plurielle à la fois", *Les identités urbaines au Moyen Âge: regards sur les villes du Midi français. Actes du colloque de Montpellier (8-9 décembre 2011)*, Patrick Gilli, Enrica Salvatori, eds. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014: 147-168.

25. See: Gilles, Henri. *Les Coutumes de Toulouse...*



judicial or with some legal meaning?). This was perceptible as early as the 13th century, but became more widespread in the 14th and 15th centuries. Among the population of Toulouse, in particular in the notaries' records, one can find ordinary *habitantes*, *commorantes*, *residentes*, but also the *cives* and *burgenses*, a list which calls to mind judicial urban hierarchies. Yet books about the bourgeoisie, which exist in other French towns, do not exist in Toulouse. These books register people who obtain bourgeois status in accordance with specific criteria. It was a judicial status based on residence, tax, rights and obligations. In the books the diverse denominations, *habitantes*, *commorantes*, *residentes*, *cives*, *burgenses* correspond to different kinds of individual status and situations: people who lived in Toulouse, had just arrived, stayed for different lengths of time, (students for example), people who had settled there; and finally those who were integrated and had become part of the town, some of them having acquired enough notability and honour to be called *citoyens* or *bourgeois*. In the end, the use of these two terms with a social and honorary meaning prevailed in the 14th and even more so in the 15th century.

Indeed the confrontation of normative sources and *sources de la pratique* provides examples of nobles, (that is to say of men mentioned as nobles in certain documents and whose nobility had indeed been proved), also referred to as *burgens*. In some cases that can still correspond to the topographical meaning, (they live in the *Bourg*, and come from high-ranking families there: *noble Etienne Maurand, bourgeois de Toulouse*, 1441, *noble Pierre Raimond d'Aurival, écuyer et bourgeois...* 1443 for example),²⁶ but this usage carries with it an honorary meaning above all. What is more certain consuls who represented the *capitouls* of the *Cité*, whose families came from the *Cité*, and who they themselves lived there, were nonetheless called *burgenses* from the very end of the 14th century and in the 15th century (*Guillaume de Saint-Antonin, pour le capitoulat Saint-Pierre Saint-Géraud [capitoulat de la Cité], bourgeois...* for example).²⁷ In the account of the entry of King Louis XI in Toulouse in 1463, the population of the town was divided up into the following categories:

*Ipsi domini de capitulo Tholose, gaudentes de ipsius domini nostri regis primo iocundo adventu, congregatis solito more in domo communi Tholose nobilibus, burgensibus, mercatoribus et aliis civibus et plebeis dicte civitatis Tholose...*²⁸

The social and honorary meaning of *cives* and *burgenses*, and especially of *burgenses*, the use of which had spread, now prevailed, and *bourgeois* had become a mark of

26. Respectively: ADHG. 3E 2959, f. 135v; ADHG. 3E 6966, f. 321.

27. ...*de partita Sancti Petrique Geraldii dominus Guillermus de Sancto-Antonio burgensis...* AMT. BB 273, chronique 131, 1436-1437. In 1441-1442 (AMT. BB 273, chronique 136) the same man was the treasurer of the *capitoul*s, he is moreover called a money-changer in documentation. Transcriptions and illuminations have been put online on the site of the municipal archives of Toulouse by François Bordes, the author of the PhD Dissertation: Bordes, François. *Formes et enjeux...* (see note 9), and director of the municipal archives of Toulouse. Other examples are given in: Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Se distinguer à Toulouse...": 228.

28. AMT. AA3/277 (I quote the main categories according our subject).



esteem. Medieval writing, whatever its nature and throughout a long period of time (from the 12th to the 15th century), superimposed and classified the different uses and meanings of *burgens*. The first meaning, which was geographical, never totally disappeared, but other meanings were added with a social and honorary signification, and it was this mark of esteem which, little by little, prevailed.

Other terms, in particular *nobilis*, or those which refer to cultural and professional skills, *magister* for example, also underwent a similar evolution which, once added to honorary epithets, led to a hierarchy in the sedimentary range of social distinction.²⁹ These variations, and this polysemia, but also the very subtle grammar of society in Toulouse, are not only due to the different nature of the documents or the changes over time or a certain political context, they also try to respond to a challenge.

3. A challenge: showing the diversity of individuals and families in a society in which everyone knows perfectly well 'who is who', while at the same time forming 'the' group of leaders to serve the town and the Common Good

Diversity and difference stand out in the notarial records in which the scribes used the whole range of social classification: chivalrous titles, nobiliary titles, seigniorial titles, professional rank, honorary epithets, added names or precisions which enabled people not to mix up homonyms...³⁰ Discourse was organized around a very subtle use of grammar, which was used with accuracy and precision by the notaries.

At the same time, these very same men were all included in the creation of a homogeneous group of leaders through words and image. The texts refer to them as the *Capitulum consulum*, *Consilium consulum Tholose*, the chapter or council of the consuls in Toulouse, the seigniors of the chapter (with a linguistic manipulation to go from *capitulum* to *capitolium*),³¹ like the *capitulares*, the *capitols* but also the

29. For the details and examples of this analysis of words, I take the liberty of referring to my contribution: Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Se distinguer à Toulouse...": 226-232. From the municipal documents at the end of the Middle Ages, Xavier Nadrigny notes, just like me, the uncertain outlines of these social groups, see: Nadrigny, Xavier. *Information et opinion publique...*: 420-425 (Annexes, "Recherche sur la hiérarchie sociale à Toulouse à la fin du Moyen Âge": the author underlines the contradictions surrounding the term *bourgeois* because of its polysemous evolutions, whereas other entries (titles of notability, competence...) indicates domination and social eminence).

30. Nadrigny, Xavier. *Information et opinion publique...*: 232, 234, 236.

31. The oldest trace of this linguistic manipulation *capitulum/capitolium* is to be found already in 1296 in the *Commentaire des Coutumes de Toulouse*, see: Gilles, Henri. *Les Coutumes de Toulouse...*: 158-159. Playing with latin and the *langue d'oc*, (the language spoken in the South of France), the *capitols* managed to switch their 'chapter' to the level of 'Capitole'. This was well and truly acquired at the beginning of the 16th century but it can be seen coming into being throughout the final years of the Middle Ages. See: Bordes, François. "Des seigneurs du chapitre aux décurions du Capitole, ou l'Antiquité au service du pouvoir", *Les Antiquités de ville à la Renaissance. L'exemple de Toulouse. Actes de la Journée d'étude (Toulouse, 5*



concapitularii, the *nobiles et potentes viri domini de capitulo regie urbis et suburbis Tholose* (1463).

Without hiding the plurality and the diversity of individual identities, the texts coming from the *capitouls* underline the capitular group, the collegial structure, which does away with individuals, but is, on the contrary, inclusive as the *capitouls* as a collective whole represent Toulouse, *l'universitas Tholose*.³²

There are pictures which correspond to these texts, the famous *Livre des Histoires*, known for a long time as the *Annales* of the *capitouls* of Toulouse. At the beginning of the 13th century the consuls in Toulouse decided to make municipal cartularies, (one for the *Bourg*, the other for the *Cité*). At the end of the 13th century, these books were modified, as they were already too full, and one of these modifications, decided on by the *capitouls*, was the creation of the *Premier Livre des Histoires* which brought together the proceedings of the annual capitular elections and the portraits of the *capitouls* for each year. The texts were extended in the 14th and 15th centuries and became real chronicles... to the glory of the *capitouls* and their politics of course. This *Premier Livre des Histoires* was copied and illuminated until 1532, then 11 other books were to follow until the French Revolution.³³

What were these books used for? Who was lucky enough and had the opportunity to look at their magnificent illuminations? It was just the *capitouls* and the high-ranking guests passing through Toulouse, not of course the population. These books were kept under lock and key at the Town Hall, *Maison Commune*, (then, from the beginning of the 16th century, in the tower of the *capitouls'* archives), like treasures of administrative memory, (the rights, privileges and different liberties of the *capitouls* of Toulouse). This administrative memory was to become the history of the *Capitoulat* and the town of Toulouse. The outstanding thesis of François Bordes, the director of the municipal archives of Toulouse, has enabled the *Premier Livre des Histoires*, which was destroyed to a great extent during the revolutionary *auto-da-fé* in 1793, to be reconstituted and studied. Fragments have come down to us, (about 30 folios out of more than 200 chronicles), but François Bordes used copies and later municipal cartularies to reconstitute it. The folios which have come down to us can be admired on the website of the municipal archives of Toulouse.

These chronicles and capitular portraits, some of which are real paintings, are both the crucible and record of the creation of the common identity of this group of leaders, shown to be united and homogeneous (whereas we have seen their

octobre 2007). Toulouse: Université de Toulouse II-Le Mirail, 2007: 1-9 (Online version: Bordes, François. "Des seigneurs du chapitre aux décurions du Capitole, ou l'Antiquité au service du pouvoir". *Bibliotheca Tholosana*. 27 June 2014 <<http://bibliotheca-tholosana.fr/inside#!Intervention/16/1>>).

32. This process seems to have started in the first half of the 13th century through the creation of the Toulouse *universitas* and the emphasis put on a *mystique de l'identité collective* ("the mysticism of the collective identity"), all contained in an urban identity built up around its relationship with the extra muros, see: Petrowiste, Judicaël. "'Tolosana patria'...": 53-61. At the end of the Middle Ages, this tendency can be seen spreading to the scale of the individuals making up the capitular class.

33. I refer you to the excellent PhD Dissertation by François Bordes: Bordes, François, *Formes et enjeux...* already mentioned, and also to the presentation of this documentation on the website of the municipal archives of Toulouse.



diversity) and at the same time they are the crucible and record of the creation of urban identity in Toulouse.

Whatever their social origin, the *capitouls* are always portrayed in group portraits using the same codes of representation which therefore remove the social differences which may have existed between these men: they are shown wearing the *capitouls'* black and red coats, at council meetings, talking and governing the town, with their coats of arms above them, be they nobles or not. The capitular college took precedence over the origins of the individuals which it was composed of (whereas of course everybody knew who was who), going as far as to represent itself as the terrestrial reflexion of the celestial, apostolic college!³⁴

What explanations can be given? What interpretations can be put forward? There are three possible complementary ways of seeing things.

First, this type of portrait of the consuls of Toulouse, represented carrying out their functions, refers to the prevailing political ideology of the time, above all concerning the notions of *universitas* and the *Bien commun*, Common good, two canons of good government which were widespread in Western towns at the end of the Middle Ages.³⁵ One can call to mind, for instance, the Siennese magistrates represented on the famous fresque known as the Good Government in the Town Hall in Sienna.³⁶

Secondly, in the case of Toulouse, it was a way for the *capitouls* to show that they were united and unified. They were sometimes not really united ... as profound divisions and clans existed among the members of the *Capitoulat*. Several disquieting events in Toulouse's political life bear witness to this, like, for example, the uprising in 1419 led by Bernard de Roaix, a member of an illustrious family in Toulouse.

34. I am thinking in particular of the twelve *capitouls* in prayer at the feet of the Virgin and Child, presented by the apostles (AMT. BB 273, chronique 112, 1412-1413) or of the capitouls of the year 1447-1448 (AMT. BB 273, chronique 141) but today dated 1453, in prayer and whose heads receive the Holy Spirit's tongues of fire. On this last illumination, see: Bordes, François. "Le feuillet des Annales manuscrites de Toulouse dit de 1447: nouvelle datation, nouvelle interprétation". *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France*, 66 (2006): 270-273; Bordes, François. "Bulletin de l'année académique 2007-2008. Nouveaux éléments sur le feuillet de 1452-1453 des Annales manuscrites de Toulouse". *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France*, 68 (2008): 300-301.

35. For a Southern town not far from Toulouse, Montpellier, but in this case without any portraits of urban rulers, urban government books and chronicles, the famous *Thalami*, show this political ideology. See on this subject: Chastang, Pierre. *La ville, le gouvernement...*: 185-227; and the current Thalamus research programme (directed by Vincent Challet). See: Challet, Vincent. "Le Petit Thalamus: un monument-document de l'histoire montpelliéraine". *Bulletin Historique de la Ville de Montpellier*, 34 (2009): 24-37. On the theme of the Common Good, see the publications of an important symposium: Lecuppre-Desjardins, Élodie; Van Bruaene, Anne-Laure, eds. *De Bono Communi. The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City (13th-16th c.) Discours et pratique du Bien Commun dans les villes d'Europe (XIII^e au XVI^e siècle)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010. In particular for the southern towns, see in this rich volume: Rigaudière, Albert. "Donner pour le Bien commun et contribuer pour les biens communs dans les villes du Midi français du XIII^e au XVe siècle", *De Bono Communi. The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City (13th-16th c.) Discours et pratique du Bien Commun dans les villes d'Europe (XIII^e au XVI^e siècle)*, Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, eds. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010: 11-53.

36. Read the last study, which attracted attention, and which gives a political interpretation to this painting: Boucheron, Patrick. *Conjurer la peur: Sienn 1338. Essai sur la force politique des images*. Paris: Seuil, 2013.



He was a supporter of the party called *bourguignon* but claimed a position that he could no longer hold when faced with some of the new, powerful, noble families, as he was too heavily in debt.³⁷ The divisions among these men did not succeed in the *Livre des Histoires* in upsetting the representation of a certain homogeneity and display of unity which was there to exhibit and assert their power, to defend their prerogatives with regard to royalty and its representatives (towards the *sénéchal*, the *viguier*, and the *Parlement*), and thus fashioned the identity of their group and of their town, which they embodied and whose rights and freedom they defended.

Finally, these representations of the capitular body, which often conceal the titles of each individual so as to favour the coats of arms and notability of the group, both in the texts and images, were a way, underlying at first but very much present, of asserting that it was not each *capitoul* who was a knight, a noble, or someone of renown because they were influential and honourable, but it was the whole body of the *capitouls* which was noble; this was to be known later on as the *noblesse de cloche*, conferred on someone on their entry into the *Capitoulat*. Officially Charles VII was forced into according this privilege in 1420, but the *capitouls* had been working on it for a long time and later on there were to be other milestones in the construction of capitular nobility: in 1420, the *capitouls* obtained the right to acquire noble estates while being exempt from paying the *franc-fief*, which finally led to the fact that accession to the *capitoulat* vouchsafed access to nobility.³⁸

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the *Capitoulat* was progressively deprived of lots of its previous power by the King's officers and then by the members of the *parlement*. The *Capitoulat* remained, of course, an inexorable place of power in Toulouse, but from then on just on a municipal scale, (which was not so bad all the same!). It therefore remained a place of great power in Toulouse, but from then on it was just one place of power among others, and the *capitouls* were inclined to put all their energy into defending the privileges of their group, which for them, at the same time, was closely associated with defending the privileges of the town. The *Capitoulat* was to remain above all, right up to the Revolution, a place for the notability of Toulouse; it was an unavoidable passage for any person of renown at some point or other in his life or career, and, because of this, the assertion of capitular nobility

37. There were indeed periods of great tension and division in the midst of the *capitoulat*, in 1419 for example, during a *bourguignon* uprising instigated by Bernard de Roaix, a member of a very old family from the families of note in Toulouse, but who was considerably impoverished at that time, see: Wolff, Philippe. *Commerces et marchands de Toulouse...*: 50-55; Nadrigny, Xavier. *Information et opinion publique...*: 199-237 (chapter "La révolte"), especially 209-231. Over and above Bernard de Roaix's *bourguignon* leanings, it was really the recent nobility and the power of money of certain members of the ruling class in Toulouse (the Ysalguier, and the Molinier families: their wealth came from money-exchanging and they had been ennobled by the King), which were denounced by Bernard de Roaix.

38. In line with the manipulations *capitulum/capitolium* mentioned above right from 1298, in 1316 a *vidimus* coming from the *capitouls* used for the first time the formula *capitulum nobilium regie urbis et suburbii Tholose*. During the 1420 inquiry concerning the payment of *franc-fief*, the main argument was based on the idea that the *capitouls* were called, both in their public and patent letters, *citoyens nobles toulousains* ("noble citizens of Toulouse") and on the idea that the expression *capitulum nobilium urbis et suburbii Tholose* is used ... See: Richardot, Henri. "Le fief roturier à Toulouse aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles". *Revue historique du Droit français*, 14 (1935): 307-359, 495-569.



became an all important condition in the representation of the group, whatever the origins of the people it was composed of.

Yet beyond the discourse and images of this group of people in authority in representation, in my opinion the identity of the group was formed just as much, if not more, by the adoption of similar kinds of behavior, and of the same kind of lifestyle.

4. All the high-ranking citizens in Toulouse had the same codes of distinction and notability in their lifestyle based on the importance of accumulation

It has been underlined that this group of people in authority tried to stand out, whatever their social origin, by a display of titles, by chivalry, by nobility, or by their coats of arms. Sometimes, however, even before they had access to nobility, this group stood out above all because of its lifestyle, based on the accumulation of different elements each of which was one more sign of nobility.

What were these criteria?

First of all, the use of a whole series of denominations and titles which refer to the high-ranking citizen in a very well-mastered grammar of discourse adapted to various uses. This has already been pointed out.

These men also had recourse to very varied methods to integrate nobility, an objective they all had in common: one became a noble at birth, through marriage, or thanks to a patent of nobility, by the purchase of a seigneurie or coseigneurie, through entry to the *Capitoulat*, or very simply by displaying the lifestyle of a noble ...Some combine several different ways: Jean Amic, for example, a rich merchant very much in the public eye in the 1440s, who had already been a *seigneur* or *coseigneur* in the region of Toulouse, accumulated royal offices and was only made a noble in 1445, the year he became the King's *viguier* in Toulouse, he remained a squire (*domicellus*) a long time, then became *miles Tholose* or *chevalier de Toulouse* at the beginning of the 1460s both in the notary's records and in the records of the *Parlement* ...³⁹

In the 14th and 15th centuries, nobility declared thanks to the possession of titles corresponded to a precise status, acknowledged by one and all, the virtues of chivalry had by then become integrated in nobility, but that did not prevent nobility being acquired in many different ways, sometimes at birth, through marriage, or ennoblement, but also more and more often, slowly and progressively, by purchasing seigneuries or simply by adopting a lifestyle which followed the noble or aristocratic model.

39. On Jean Amic, his *cursus honorum*, his eventful family life, see: Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Séparation et pension alimentaire à Toulouse au XV^e siècle", *Séparation, divorce, répudiation: la rupture du lien Conjugal dans l'occident médiéval*, Emmanuelle Sontinelli, Régine Le Jan, eds. Valenciennes: Presses Universitaires de Valenciennes, 2007: 217-240.



It was this aristocratisation of lifestyle⁴⁰ which bore witness best to this objective which was, at the same time, an inexorable way to gain access to the life of a noble, (so at least a nobility in practice), if not official nobility. I shall put forward here a synthesis of the lines and results of my research on material culture which the reader can consult in detail in various thematic publications.⁴¹

How they lived first of all.⁴² In more than fifty inventories drawn up after death, fifteen luxurious houses stand out, and only around ten of the residences belonged to these high-ranking citizens who had been, at one time or another, members of *Capitoulat*. The inventories of these big town houses all mention the same characteristics: certain fittings, objects and suites were only to be found in this handful of ten or so houses. The word used for these houses by the notary is revealing: they are called *hospicium*, *hostal*, *hospicium magnum* and not just a simple *domus*. These properties stood out from the others both because of their size but also because of their quality. There were a large number of rooms organized around a courtyard, which was entered by a gate and a corridor. The town house was divided into several main buildings, often had stables, a well and an orchard. Occasionally it enclosed shops which could be rented; the tower, sometimes just a tower staircase, sometimes big enough to be furnished and lived in, overlooked the road and the neighbourhood. A high-ranking citizen's town house stood out in the urban landscape and left its mark on it both visually and topographically.

Other elements underlined its quality. First of all the decoration; it was on display outside, on the parts of the house that were visible and public: there were doorways and keystones both bearing coats of arms, façades looking out onto the road or courtyard with twin gothic windows, embellished with carved or painted decorations.⁴³ This decoration could also be as well finished in the rooms in which the more private family life took place, although until now only one painted decoration has been found in a secular house in Toulouse.⁴⁴ The specialized use of the rooms is also one of the criteria which shows the historian or the archeologist that he is in the 'right sort of house': the bedrooms are fitted out with a wardrobe, any reference to a separate kitchen is above all a very clear sign of distinction, or the presence of a chapel, found for the time being in just one inventory, in the house

40. Be careful: do not forget this is on the scale of the town of Toulouse!

41. See note 14 and those following. Apart from my own publications on the culture and material life in Toulouse, one can refer to the excellent synthesis drawn up by archeologists and art historians: Catalo, Jean; Cazes, Quitterie, eds. *Toulouse au Moyen Âge. 1000 ans d'histoire urbaine*. Carbonne: Loubatières, 2010.

42. See for example Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Entre Toulouse et Toulousain...": 235-259; Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Les élites toulousaines...": 40-61; Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Décor, parure et couleurs...": 285-315 (articles referred to in note 5).

43. This is the case for the gothic house situated 15 rue Croix-Baragnon, see: Napoléone, Anne-Laure; Testard, Olivier. "Etude archéologique des élévations de la maison n°15 rue Croix-Baragnon à Toulouse". *Archéologie Médiévale*, 29 (1999): 145-168; revised and with photographs in: Catalo, Jean; Cazes, Quitterie, eds. *Toulouse au Moyen Âge. 1000 ans d'histoire urbaine*. Carbonne: Loubatières, 2010:187-189.

44. Catalo, Jean; Cazes, Quitterie, eds. *Toulouse au Moyen Âge. 1000 ans d'histoire urbaine*. Carbonne: Loubatières, 2010: 187-189.



of the noble Bertrand Tornier.⁴⁵ Finally, certain dispositions concerning comfort are only to be found in these beautiful houses: numerous fireplaces, an abundance of different ways of lighting, commodes or latrines, tubs for having a bath, and refined toilet accessories ...⁴⁶

Attached to the big town houses in Toulouse, they added *bories* (metairies) in the country, even small country manors or strongholds (*castrum*, *fortalicium*), the seats of the seigneurie or coseigneurie. They liked staying or hunting there, but these houses and their fields also provided them with rent and supplies (corn, wine, poultry, *mises en gasaille* or lease of livestock).⁴⁷

In these luxurious town houses in Toulouse, the suites of furniture were way above average, as regards not only quantity but quality. They differed because of the quality of the kinds of wood used for the different pieces of furniture, the presence of chests and above all of numerous small painted caskets, covered in embossed leather, mounted with iron and with a lock. The furniture was refined and came in suites: in the hall (*aula*), these suites were made up of a table (sometimes permanent), large benches, one or two *cathèdres* (big wooden chairs), and a dresser. In the bedrooms there were huge beds with curtains and canopies, surrounded by chests and small permanent tables which were used as dressing tables or writing desks.⁴⁸

The decoration of the table was also a sign of social renown and that someone was a member of the town's elite. The plates and dishes were made of pewter at least, with complete dinner services (bowls, dishes, cups and goblets, and ewers ...), but there were also some things made of silver or silver gilt (spoons, cups and goblets ...).⁴⁹

45. See the publications quoted in the previous notes. This man, who died in 1402, was a dignitary in Toulouse, whose family fortune came from money-changing. Added to this there were purchases of seigneuries, ennoblement and regular attendance at the *Capitoulat* and in the influential services and circles in Toulouse ... At the beginning of the 15th century, Bertrand Tornier exhibited his nobility and chivalry, vaunted his fortune and adopted all the manners and behaviour of a noble and high-ranking citizen, which did not stop him from carrying on, very discreetly, his money-changing activities or from having family and even financial problems. His dubious succession put an end to the influence of his direct descendants even if other Torniers were to replace them at the *Capitoulat*.

46. For these permanent fixtures, the number and the specialized use of the rooms, the dispositions concerning comfort, see in particular: Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Décor, parure et couleurs...": 286-290, 296-297.

47. Storage space in these town houses belonging to the same families in Toulouse mention food reserves or stocks of raw material (wood for example) which came from the surrounding countryside. The registers of family accounts, kept by the master of the household, or the acts signed in the presence of a notary, prove this constant movement back and forth between houses and seigneuries in the country and town houses...

48. For details about the furniture, see my synthesis: Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Décor, parure et couleurs...": 290-296.

49. Refer to: Marandet, Marie-Claude. "L'équipement de la cuisine en Toulousain à la fin du Moyen Âge d'après les inventaires et les testaments". *Archéologie du Midi Médiéval*, 15-16 (1997-1998): 269-286. I studied the sets of plates and dishes in: Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Décor, parure et couleurs...": 297-299; Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Quel luxe dans l'habitat civil toulousain des XIV^e et XV^e siècles? Les ambiguïtés de l'orfèvrerie", *Mercados del lujo, mercados del arte. El gusto de las élites mediterráneas en los siglos*



Textiles also contributed to the finery of the house. In the chests, there were impressive piles of linen passed on from one generation to the next; there was table linen (damask tableclothes, *touailles*, *longières* — various kinds of napkins), bed linen (finely-woven sheets and coarser ones, sometimes embroidered with silk thread, counterpanes with different coloured stripes, beautiful silk ones sometimes with the coat of arms on, or sometimes made specifically for the cots), but there were also matching hangings (bed curtains and canopies, wall hangings, bench covers known as *bancals* or *banquale*, fireguards with a textile inlay...), precious cushions... This linen, the bed linen in particular or the hangings adorning the walls or spread over the benches, often had coats of arms embroidered on it, especially the bench covers and certain very luxurious cot and bed counterpanes ... All this was stored and handed down from one generation to the next: its bad state of repair, its wear and tear but also the coats of arms of people from previous generations proved this.

Before the 1440's, I have not found any mention made of tapestries for secular houses and only about ten properties were adorned with embroidered or painted hangings, which imitated and replaced tapestries as they were far too expensive for the high-ranking citizens in Toulouse. These painted canvases, sometimes of very large dimensions, (in general 2.50m x 3.50m), mainly depicted religious subjects, (the Virgin Mary, the Crucifixion, and Saints), but also secular ones, (the Fountain of Youth, plant or animal motifs, such as rabbits in the middle of the vines, birds in trees, reeds, roses ...), and coats of arms...⁵⁰

Finally, in these houses, because they were vast and well-furnished, the high-ranking citizens in Toulouse could appreciate what most people in Toulouse could not experience: privacy. The different spaces, the objects the men and women of the house possessed, and which were clearly theirs, show the birth of privacy, of space and the personal object, in a word of private life.

The same refinement was to be found when they left their residences, in the way they dressed and decked themselves out. The men and women from the circle of high-ranking citizens in Toulouse wore clothing that was more expensive than that of the average person in the town. The cloth was better woven, enhanced by contrasting colours and played with the textures of materials, linings and fur. The people wore jewelry and lavish belts... The men carried daggers and swords, sometimes finely fashioned like the scabbards and sheaths in which they were carried.⁵¹

More broadly speaking, the high-ranking citizens in Toulouse showed they had a certain culture and manners in common. The men, for example, had to be able to prove that they took part in military activities and liked hunting. In adequation

XIV y XV, Juan Vicente García Marsilla, Sophie Brouquet, eds. Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2015: 333-357.

50. Concerning the textile decoration of the big town houses in Toulouse, see my first approach in: Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Décor, parure et couleurs...": 299-315 and my recent contribution (2012): Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Tentures et textiles dans l'habitat...": 75-85 (referred to in note 5).

51. See my work: Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Paraître et pouvoir: vêtue et parure...": 489-527 (referred to in note 5).



with their title of Squire or Knight, they had arms, sometimes even a complete set of knight's weapons as well as one of the men at arms who served them.⁵² They also had hunting dogs trained after establishing a contract for this in the presence of a notary,⁵³ and possessed horns, spears and knives 'for the hunt' ... The model of chivalry and nobility is obvious here. It was perfectly well assimilated, especially by those who had been made a noble relatively recently.

Reading books and writing was another facet of the behaviour they had in common. It shows the culture and expertise, namely judicial, of some of these high-ranking citizens. In all the houses, both men and women had Books of Hours, with precious bindings, carried in finely worked mesh-bags that could be hung from their belts. Grammar and law books proved that they had been to or went to Schools and the University of Toulouse, which had been a centre for the teaching of law since the 13th century. Encyclopedias, treaties and novels enabled them to acquire knowledge and to enjoy themselves; these works were often translated into *romanz*, which goes to prove that they were indeed read by the people who owned them. This raises the problem of diglossia among the elite, as they understood and used latin in their studies and their exercise of power, but spoke and read the *langue d'oc*. Moreover, some of them took part in the *Jeux Floraux* or *Gaie Science*, poetic contests founded in 1323, which helped to keep alive, or at least already commemorated, even imitated, the poetry of the past written in the dialects of the *langue d'oc*. In the bedrooms, especially the men's bedrooms, there were writing desks on which inventories were made of the caskets which contained the *instrumenta*, papers, account books, and all the writing necessities, (ivory boards covered in wax, styluses...), and above all the seal hanging on a silver chain. Knowledge, judicial or even financial competence, made access to royal offices or municipal functions possible or easier. The mastery of a written and technical culture brought together these different kinds of men in another dimension of urban domination.⁵⁴

52. This was the case for Bertrand Tornier, see the detail of this equipment, published and commented on, in: Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Paraître et pouvoir: vêtue et parure...": 511-515, 524-526.

53. These training contracts will be published in: Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Des animaux et des hommes à Toulouse à la fin du Moyen Âge", *De toutes natures de bestes. Décirer et connaître les animaux (milieu XIVe-fin XVIe siècle)*, Journées d'étude (Lacommade-Pau, 14-15 juin 2012) (forthcoming), organized by the Musée National du Château de Pau.

54. I have brought together all the examples in: Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Lire et écrire chez...": 145-162 (see note 5). In order to understand the relationship between books and cultural life in Toulouse at the end of the Middle Ages better, it is useful to consult the work: Cassagnes-Brouquet, Sophie; Fournié, Michelle, eds. *Le livre dans la région toulousaine et ailleurs à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Toulouse: Éditions Méridiennes, 2010. For the turning point between the 15th and 16th century, apart from the seminars and publications directed by Nathalie Dauvois (Dauvois, Nathalie, ed. *L'Humanisme à Toulouse...*), the two study days organized by Amaia Arizaleta and Luis Gonzalez on the beginnings of the printing press and hispanic books in Toulouse (Arizaleta, Amaia; González Fernández, Luis. "Introducción". *Atalaya. Revue d'études médiévales romanes*. 13 December 2013, *Atalaya*, 13. 27 June 2014 <<http://atalaya.revues.org/1106>>). The papers presented at the first meeting are published in: Arizaleta, Amaia; González Fernández, Luis, eds. "Dossier Semyr". *Atalaya. Revue d'études médiévales romanes*. 13 December 2013, *Atalaya*, 13. 27 June 2014 <<http://atalaya.revues.org/868>>.



Apart from their culture, these high-ranking citizens made a point of displaying their orthodoxy and showed how pious they were. In their houses they had Books of Hours, and rosaries, both of which they carried with great ostentation to go to mass. They also had some *agnus Dei*, reliquaries, and objects of piety but above all, and only in those ten or so aforementioned houses, there were religious paintings, which I have already referred to, hanging on the bedroom walls, in rooms and in the porches where visitors were met. These men and women attended the religious confraternities in Toulouse which were very much in the public eye and which brought together the high-ranking citizens. They went in particular to the one attached to Saint-Sernin, the powerful confraternity of the *Corps Saints*. Studies have shown that the young, high-ranking citizens learnt all about administration there, and the older ones spent an active retirement there after years spent in the service of their businesses, of the *Capitoulat*, the King, and *Parlement*...⁵⁵

A large staff of servants finishes off the picture of the notability (wet nurses, valets and servants, clerks, tutors for the children, middlemen and *famuli* for the merchants...) as well as, everywhere and for everyone, the extensive use of coats of arms.⁵⁶

On the scale of Toulouse in the 14th and 15th century, one can therefore talk about the aristocratisation of lifestyle, of material elements which were all signs of notability, either under construction or established, and finally of the setting up of a *habitus*⁵⁷ which the elite in Toulouse had in common and reproduced from then on.

5. Conclusion

Through the different registers of discourse, but also through their behaviour and conduct, the high-ranking citizens of Toulouse, in spite of the fact they were so diverse and heterogeneous, joined together, and in doing so formed a political and social body which wanted to be and presented itself as being homogeneous and coherent, whereas this was not the case, as can be seen thanks to the differences in wealth shown in the tax records, the *Estimes*.⁵⁸ The group presented itself and

55. For more detail, see my publication: Lamazou-Duplan, Véronique. "Piété et croyances du privé...": 323-339. On piety and the confraternities in Toulouse, refer to the work of Michelle Fournié and her students mentioned in note 16 (Fournié, Michelle, ed. *Saint-Sernin de Toulouse...*; Dubreil-Arcin, Agnès. *Vies de saints...*; Foissac, Patrice. *Histoire des collèges de Cahors...*).

56. As a reminder, as I have already talked about it, there were coats of arms on personal objects (masculine seals on weapons), on certain pieces of the table service (cups, knives, goblets...), on the hangings in the houses (embroidered or painted coats of arms on the bed curtains, the counterpanes on the beds or cots, the bench covers and cushions and on the wall hangings...), on the finery (for example on the mesh bags which contained the Books of Hours), on the stone gateways of the houses, the cornerstones and the façades (there was a historiated frieze with escutcheons 15 rue Croix-Baragnon), and no doubt on the painted walls inside the houses ...

57. Bourdieu, Pierre. *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique*. Paris: Seuil, 2000: 174-189 (the first edition was published in 1972).

58. Wolff, Philippe. *Les "estimes" toulousaines...*



was represented as having a consensual identity, as the men had portraits made of themselves assembled together so as to govern the town (well). Yet nothing was further from the truth as the facts show political divisions, and rival clans; this was very common in Toulouse at the beginning of the 15th century for example.

However, the keys to these codes and values brought together by this group drew on the melting pot and the past in Toulouse, the memory of which was conserved in the capitular circles, first of all by administrative memory and then by the writing of history.⁵⁹ These codes drew on the reminiscences of chivalry in Toulouse and of an urban culture which had already died away (chivalry in Toulouse of the time of the counts and the Crusade in the 13th century, and literature written in the dialects of the *langue d'oc* which people did their utmost to use in the poetic contests rewarded by violets awarded by the *capitouls*). Yet the values of chivalry and courtesy were then considered as nobiliary values, a nobility which served as a model, more than as an ultimate criteria, and which one could enter in many different ways. The glorious past of Toulouse also re-appeared in the piety maintained by the considerable number of relics conserved in Saint-Sernin basilica by prestigious, powerful confraternities which the same men were members of. Some of them had been together at the Schools in Toulouse, and at the University.

So in spite of their social diversity and their difference, these men managed to establish the cohesion of the group of people in authority, the identity of the group of high-ranking citizens, in the exercise of power, through words and images and by adopting codes of values and everyday behaviour in common.

Were the difficulties of the time an obstacle? Nothing is less certain. The constant mechanisms of the renewal of the elite, because of the economic and political context in the 14th and 15th centuries, no doubt made the creation of a common identity an absolute necessity so that the group of people in authority in Toulouse could continue to govern the town. The confrontation with royal power, which little by little ate away at local government, no doubt helped to federate and coalesce these extremely different men and these common signs of notability, and of an urban culture and identity in Toulouse which claimed a *libertas* which was more and more out of touch with the facts.

Finally, from the middle of the 15th century, one cannot help but notice that the medieval categories (*miles*, *burgenses*, *cives*), gradually made room for the *capitouls* and the high-ranking citizens in Toulouse, called *domini*, *magnati*, bourgeois and nobles. These men had in common their eminent position in the hierarchy of Toulouse, privileges obtained thanks to the collective or collegial exercise of power and numerous elements accumulated during their own individual course in life.

59. On the links between administrative memory (including that of the urban accounts), *universitas*, urban history and memory, see the work of François Bordes on Toulouse already referred to (Bordes, François. *Formes et enjeux...*), by Pierre Chastang on Montpellier (Chastang, Pierre. *La ville, le gouvernement...*: 185-227) but also the ideas of Florent Garnier (Garnier, Florent. "Livres de comptes, mémoire et identité urbaine dans le Midi de la France au Moyen Âge", *Les identités urbaines au Moyen Âge: regards sur les villes du Midi français. Actes du colloque de Montpellier (8-9 décembre 2011)*, Patrick Gilli, Enrica Salvatori, eds. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014: 21-39).

