Crusading Things and the Material Outremer: The Account-Inventory of Eudes of Nevers, Acre 1266: An Edition, Translation and Commentary

by

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Introduction

On the 7th of August 1266, the crusading count, Eudes of Nevers, lay dying in Acre. In the days leading up to his death and in the months that followed his closest knights and companions created an account-inventory of his goods and assets. The assembled text comprised of four long parchment rolls written in Old French is a remarkable survival of Eudes's little known crusade expedition and sheds light on the practicalities and ideologies of crusading in the mid-thirteenth century. The document is also a testament to the crusade movement's material complexity and a sophisticated record of things in motion. Now kept in Paris in the Archives nationales, carton J /821, no. 1 [Rolls A-D], it has remained surprisingly understudied.[1] Indeed, it has been overlooked in part because Reinhold Röhricht, the great historian of the period, uncharacteristically missed it when he calendared material relating to the Latin East.[2] Moreover, although comparable to some crusader testaments drawn up in the east, the Account-Inventory is far richer and much less self-consciously stylized, offering a window onto a moment in a life and all of its material trappings in Outremer.[3]

[1] The text was edited by A. M. Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes de la succession d'Eudes, Comte de Nevers (Acre 1266)," *Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France 32* (1871): 164-206. Hereafter we refer to the texts as the Account-Inventory. Below we include several images of the rolls themselves, the full parchment rolls are now viewable on the DALME website: https://dalme.org/collections/ecclesiastical-inventories/ with permission from the AN.

[2] Reinhold Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI)* (Oeniponti: Libraria Academica Wageriana, 1893). Jonathan Riley-Smith makes this point in in Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254-1291" in Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney, eds. *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 45-62, at 59n69. Indeed, Riley-Smith's final great project was to oversee the digitization of the *Regesta*: http://crusades-regesta.com/about.

[3] See for example, "The Last Will and Testament of Barzella Merxadrux, 9 December 1219," and the Codicil of Count Henry of Rodez, Acre 16-31 October, 1222, both translated in *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291,* ed. Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell (Philadelphia: University of

In recent years, however, scholars working on the crusades have begun to question long-standing chronologies and narratives generated from chronicle sources to suggest new ways of understanding the practice and significance of crusading as an ongoing project.[4] This work has generated new perspectives on the history of the medieval Mediterranean, the emergence of nation states and ideologies in Western Europe, the genius of imperial ambitions, and the construction of difference, whether based on religion, geography, language, or 'race.' The ways crusaders styled themselves, how they lived in the Levant, and inhabited a multi-lingual, eastern Mediterranean milieu is still being worked out. Although several scholars have used the account-inventory studied here to enumerate the objects a major baron carried with him to the east, the text itself has not received sustained scholarly attention since it was first edited in 1871.[5]

Writing in 1986, Jonathan Riley-Smith remarked that the first crusaders seemed to their contemporaries like "temporary religious, … like a military monastery on the move."[6] This image cast a long shadow and scholars of the crusade movement have – until recently – been far more interested in identifying the spiritual motivations of crusaders, the sermons, vows, prayers, and the religious objects – the staff and purse principally– that transformed them into pilgrims, rather

Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 439-445. See also the final testament of Edward I of England [more on this xx].

[4] See for example, William Purkis's work in his AHRC funded project "Bearers of the Cross: Material Religion in the Crusading World, 1095-c.1300," and the special issue of the journal *Material Religion* 14 (2018), entitled "Material Religion in the Crusading World," (2018) reflects this initiative. See also, Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); Anne E. Lester, "Remembrance of Things Past: Memory and Material Objects in the Time of the Crusades, 1095-1291," in *Remembering Crusades and Crusading,* ed. Megan Cassidy-Welch (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 73-94; *eadem*, "What Remains: Women, Relics and Remembrance in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History* 40 (2014): 311-328; and Megan Cassidy-Welch, *War and Memory at the Time of the Fifth Crusade* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019).

[5] Réne de Lespinasse, *Le Nivernais et les comtes de Nevers,* 2 vols (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1911), 2: *Maisons de Donzy, de Bourbon, de Flandres (1200-1384)*, 270-286 offers an overview of the text's contents. Two modern discussions of the text appear in Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254-1291" in Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney, eds. *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 45-62; and Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005), 356-58.

[6] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986).

than to envision more mundane and material aspects of their spiritual pursuit.[7] Yet, as Riley-Smith would later come to explore, the practice of crusading especially by the thirteenth century more closely resembled a baronial household, or sets of households, on the move than a monastery.[8] These households were equipped – to be sure – with chapels and chaplains, books and liturgical objects, but also with knightly retainers, sergeants and servants, food stuffs, equipment for kitchens and calvary, clothing, cloth, and livery, among much else. The Account-Inventory of Eudes of Nevers offers a vivid window into just such a household, detailing for its readers a robust and vivid picture of the material needed to live as a crusader in Outremer.[9]

It is unique as an inventory of goods in the possession of a crusader in Acre and unparalleled in its details. What is more, the text was a living document whose composition, editing, re-adjusting, and final tallies were worked at over the months that followed Eudes's death. It reflects the lived decisions and movements of objects and the changing meaning and valuation of things in the east. The inventory is thus an invaluable complement to surviving narrative and poetic texts, like Jean de Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis* and Rutebuef's poetic crusader laments, discussed below. Moreover, as a text composed in Acre, in the heart of Outremer, it reflects the ideas and practices at work in that locale rather than in a remembered and reconstructed narrative written after a crusader's return to the west. As such, more so than any other source, we can see before us how and when French crusader habits, tastes, and routines came into contact with or were altered to accommodate

[7] There is a vast bibliography that could be cited, but recent exemplary work focused on these questions includes: William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095-c.1187* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008); M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017); and Danielle E. A. Park, *Papal Protection and the Crusader: Flanders, Champagne, and the Kingdom of France, 1095-1222* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018).

[8] Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254-1291;" and *idem*, "Towards an Understanding of the Fourth Crusade as an Institution," in *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences/ La IVe Croisade et ses consequences,* ed. Angeliki Laiou (Paris: Lethielleux, 2005), 71-87.

[9] For an example of how to read household possessions as frames for identity, see Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006); for the medieval context, see Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

life in Acre conjuring an imprint of the lived experience of the Outremer. This experience was both performed through obligations and interlocking relationships of trust, debt, reliance, and dependance, but also used to reinscribe recursive and self-fashioned ideas of crusading and courtly culture whose practice was proving more powerful than their end goals, much as the performance of chivalric ideals was more important in a Romance texts than the successful completion of a quest.[10] Within this context, the inventory also demonstrates the care and attention it took to wind down a life, to give away one's possessions, to think about a legacy, and to manage the longer-term care for one's body and soul.

[10] Crusading as an imagined practice made its way into a vast corpus of romance texts, but much more work is needed before those textual refraction can be related in a sustained and analytical way to the lived practices of crusading. We believe Eudes's Account-Inventory will enrich this discussion. Literary scholars who have worked on related texts include Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Shirin A. Khanmohamadi, *In Light of Another's Word: European Ethnography in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Marisa Galvez, *The Subject of Crusade*. For an important resonance of these ideas regarding crusading differences as it was deployed in the construction of race, see Cord J. Whitaker, *Black Metaphors: How Modern Racism Emerged from Medieval Race-Thinking* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019). For a sense of this sort of cross-pollination among vernacular texts and lived experience, see Nicholas L. Paul, "In Search of the Marshal's Lost Crusade: The Persistence of Memory, the Problems of History and the Painful Birth of Crusading Romance," *Journal of Medieval History* 40 (2014): 292-310; and *idem*, "Possession: Sacred Crusading Treasure in the Material Vernacular," *Material Religion* 14 (2018): 520-532.

Methods and Approaches

Recent interdisciplinary work on material culture and materiality has yielded an ever more sophisticated set of methodologies for working with objects and material remains both as "tangible things" from the past accessible in museums and private collections and as "textual things," that is, objects in texts like wills, inventories, charters, as well as hagiography, romance and lyric.[11] The methodologies integral to the study of materiality depend upon several layered interpretative strategies that allow us to move between the textual and the tangible, drawing together knowledge gleaned from each. Methodologically, materiality remains committed to and reliant upon the fact that things in the past are and were relational, parts of networks and imbrications, assemblages and entanglements.[12] A materiality approach follows the connections that draw access to materials (linen and wool, gold and parchment, for example), together with the knowledge practices to transform materials into objects of use or esteem, and through the networks of people and things that deployed them, used, traded, sold, or gave them away and thus set things into circulation anew. Following objects and their use as things

[11] There is a vast and growing literature on materiality and its methods. As pertains to this project and the distinction between "tangible" and "textual" things, see Daniel Lord Smail, *Legal Plunder: Households and Debt Collection in Late Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), esp. 1-30, at 10. Also Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, et al., *Tangible Things: Making History through Objects* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). A useful case for studying the movement and meaning of things from inventories, see Robert S. DuPlessis, *The Material Atlantic: Clothing, Commerce, and Colonization in the Atlantic World, 1650-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[12] On how to draw together myriad different approaches to materiality, see the comments on the 'material field,' in Anne E. Lester, "Possession, Production and Power: Reading Objects in the Material Field," *Medieval Feminist Forum* 56 (2020): 204-220. On the major theories alluded to here, see *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Ian Hodder, *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2012); and Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge, MA: Polity, 2010).

opens new relationships and affordances to the scholarly gaze. An object made for one purpose may be deployed, recycled, repurposed or returned as something quite different, but its persistence through time and space is telling of its changing meaning, value, and relationality. Finally, materiality always also presses the point of the silent and silenced story. Objects cannot talk (with rare and enchanted exceptions) and their experiences are not reflected in subject-driven narratives. Moreover, often the labor of their making, partial use, and emotional or intellectual value is occluded or kept deliberately silent. That objects held other histories – of symbolic, commemorative, associative, and affective value and resonance – should haunt us, stay with us, as we read and write as yet another dimension of their role in understanding the past.

Two more precise articulations of materiality's methodology have been integral to this project. On the one hand is the use of "material philology" and the attendant codicological analysis of the parchment rolls themselves, their layout, scribal practices, use of language and abbreviation, and the placement of words on the page.[13] As a method, material philology seeks to discover "how surviving documents of all kinds insert themselves into their context, culture, and language practices." In this sense, as Stephen G. Nichols defined some years ago, material philology is an "ensemble of practices and methods for the study of medieval cultural broadly conceived," not simply the concern of those producing or consuming a manuscript edition. It is "a means of reading contextually and against a broad horizon of cultural" circumstances. Elaborated further still to the space and "dynamics of the parchment page," or what Nichols has called the "manuscript matrix," we can then see the page "not [as] an inert place of inscription, but rather an interactive space inviting continual representational and interpretative activity."[14] Eudes's texts thus illuminate, and are illuminated by, the multifaceted, multicultural, religious and linguistically diverse world of Outremer. A world, as

[13] See Stephen G. Nichols, "Why Material Philology," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 116 (1997): 10-30; for further elaboration of these ideas, see also idem, "What is a Manuscript Culture? Technologies of the Manuscript Matrix," in *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches,* ed. Michael Johnston and Michael Van Dussen, 34-59.
[14] Nichols, "What is a Manuscript Culture?" 39; and idem, "Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture," *Speculum* 65 (1990): 1-10.

we note below, that was also always already constructed relationally as away or other to a place across the sea; Outremer continually presented another French, and another religious and cultural sphere of living and dying, and of cultural production.

Equally important has been a commitment to "documentary archaeology," that is, recovering or excavating objects from the imprint they leave in the textual record.[15] As a practice and method that consciously "relies on descriptions of things generated by contemporaries in the act of reflecting on their own material world," documentary archaeology is critical for seeing and recreating relationships of objects through the textual record.[16] Rather than jettisoning language in favor of the purely tangible objects, documentary archaeology uses the relational ideas and concepts suggested by language and its grammar on the page to address, what Danial Lord Smail and Gabe Pizorrno refer to as "folk ontologies," which offer yet another layer of relations between objects and people in the world. Indeed, and additionally, "the ultimate goal of documentary archaeology, is to provide a framework that translates between the modern domain ontologies used by scholars to characterize museum objects and archaeological artefacts and the historical folk taxonomies" used by people in the past to describe objects.[17]

In the case of Eudes's things, no known tangible objects survive, but we can use the linguistic assemblage of nouns and adjectives that give shape to each textual thing to excavate objects from the page as they were once made, used, and set in motion, and to set them in turn in relation and reference to other comparable objects in tangible collections. The archeological process is critical here for many objects in Eudes's inventory come into clearest view when read in relation to other things on the parchment page, or as assemblages of textual objects. Accounting for textual stratigraphy is critical to disentangling one object from another and for relating it or finding its echo – its second imprint – in other parchment rolls when it was sold

[15] See the presentation of this idea in Smail, *Legal Plunder*, 9-12. The pioneering work on this concept is Françoise Piponnier, "Archéologie et histoire," in *Le Moyen Âge aujourd'hui: Actes de la Rencontre de Cerisy-la-Salle, juillet 1991,* ed. Guy Lobrichon and Jacques Le Goff (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1998), 83-100; and Mary Carolyn Beaudry, ed., *Documentary Archaeology in the New World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[16] See the comments on "methodology" embedded in the DALME website: https://dalme.org/project/methodology/

[17] https://dalme.org/project/methodology/

off, given away, or left as a remainder to be carried back into the west. In short, the methods archaeologists and anthropologists have long used to make sense of things unhinged from texts, can be redeployed here for the parchment rolls and within the textual configuration of the page itself.

Finally, as a long-form text that traveled out of Outremer, the Account-Inventory shared a trajectory and set of linguistic practices and terms with other contemporary literary texts both prose and poetry. Indeed, physically, the Account-Inventory rolls traveled alongside parchment codex counterparts which were listed among Eudes's baggage. It has thus been helpful to adapt methodological insights from literary theory and literary studies which address the role of objects in texts that call attention to character development, emotional registers, memorial devices, and plotted action.[18] Theoretically inflected readings of the role of things in texts have allowed us to consider the poetic echoes in Eudes's inventory. The words on parchment we now read, would have first been formed as a spoken text set onto parchment after they were delivered or performed. Indeed, accounting and inventorying was almost always an active, embodied, and often collaborative endeavor in the medieval world and each entry, description, summation, may have originated first as spoken words, recollections, or negotiation before finding a more permanent form on the page.[19] Likewise, the choice of words in many cases is revealing. Some descriptors are quite straightforward (numbers of objects), while others (old/new, best/worst, or color schemes) have valuative and affective valences that reveal even more about their meaning.[20] As often as possible we have

[18] The work of Bill Brown has defined the field in this regard. See Brown, "Thing Theory," *Critical Inquiry* 28 (2001): 1-23; and more recently, idem, *Other Things* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015). Along these lines see also, Andrew Cole, "The Call of Things: A Critique of Object-Oriented Ontologies," *Minnesota review* 80 (2013): 106-117; and the essays collected in the special issues on *Medieval Materiality* of *English Language Notes* (2015). In the context of medieval literature and texts, see also, Katherine C. Little, "The Politics of Lists," *Exemplaria* 31 (2019): 117-128; Marisa Galvez, *The Subject of Crusade: Lyric, Romance, and Materials, 1150to 1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020); and Bettina Bildhauer, *Medieval Things: Agency, Materiality, and Narratives of Objects in Medieval German Literature and Beyond* (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press, 2020).

[19] On the memorial and emotive qualities of inventories and lists of objects, see Leora Auslander, "Beyond Words," *American Historical Association* 110 (2005): 1015-1045.

[20] For examples of such objects and readings, see Leora Auslander, "Deploying Material Culture to Write the History of Gender and Sexuality: The Example of Clothing and Textiles," *Clio* 40 (Special Issue: *Making Gender with Things*) (2014): 157-178; and Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway, and

taken many aspects of the literary character of these texts this into account as we have reconstructed both the textual composition of the rolls and the material worlds they contain.

Sarah Randles, ed. *Feeling Things: Objects and Emotions through History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

Eudes of Nevers (b.1230 - d. 7 August 1266), was the son of Count Hugh IV of Burgundy (d. 1272) and Yolande of Dreux (d. 1248). As such, he traced is lineage through a double line of crusader families going back over generations.[21] In 1248 he married Mahaut II of Bourbon (d. 1262) who had inherited the county of Nevers from her mother and who also traced a crusader lineage in her own right.[22] Once he was married, Eudes took the title of Count of Nevers and Mahaut retained her title to Bourbon. Eudes's great-grandfather, Count Hugh III of Burgundy had taken part in the Third Crusade and died in Acre on 25 August 1192. His grandfather, Eudes III of Burgundy joined the Fifth Crusade and died on 6 July 1218. His father took part in both the so-called Barons' Crusade of 1239 and Louis IX's first expedition in 1248. Following an invitation from Emperor Baldwin II, in 1262, he took a final crusade vow to aid Baldwin in reclaiming the Latin Empire of Constantinople.[23] This vow, however, he had commuted and let his son, Eudes,

[21] On the crusader lineage of the counts of Nevers, see Elizabeth Siberry, "The Crusading Counts of Nevers," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 34 (1990): 64-70; Anne E. Lester, "Crusading as a Religious Movement: Families, Community, and Lordship in a Vernacular Frame," in *Between Orders and Heresy: Rethinking Medieval Religious Movements*, ed. Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane and Anne E. Lester (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming). Lespinasse, *Le Nivernais*, vol. 2, offers the most in-depth narrative of the Nevers family's crusade participation. See also Philippe Murat, 'La croisade en Nivernais: transfert de propriété et lute d'influence,' in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade. Actes du Colloque Universitaire International de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995)* (Publications de l'École française de Rome, 236) (Rome: École Français de Rome, 1997), 295-312.

[22] Lespinasse, *Le Nivernais*, 2: 261-2; and Constance Brittan Bouchard, 'Three Counties, One Lineage, and Eight Heiresses: Nevers, Auxerre, and Tonnerre, Eleventh to the Thirteenth Centuries,' *Medieval Prosopography* 31 (2016): 25-46.

[23] The crusading commitments of the Dukes of Burgundy are detailed in Erenst Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race Capétienne*, 9 vols (Dijon: Darantiere, 1885-1905), vols. 4-5. For Hugh IV's role in the Barons' Crusade and with Louis IX, see Michael Lower, *The Barons' Crusade: A Call to Arms and Its Consequences* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

serve in his stead.[24] Family commitments and a lineage of crusading galvanized Eudes of Never and propelled him to Acre.[25]

With little fanfare, on 20 October 1265 Eudes departed for the Holy Land at the head of a contingent of knights, what some historians have referred to as independent crusaders.[26] Eudes's expedition had the support of both the newly elected Pope Clement IV (r. 1265-1268) and the French king, Louis IX, and his journey anticipated the same king's second crusade, which would depart for Tunis in March 1270. By 1265, the situation in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, with its capital relocated at Acre, had deteriorated considerably. Four years earlier, in 1261, the Latin Empire of Constantinople had fallen to the Greeks under Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1261- d.1282). At the same time, a perceived two-pronged offensive on the part of the Mongol forces to the north and Baybars's Muslim forces to the south menaced the Latin holdings in the Levant.[27] In this climate, Pope Clement IV began a preaching campaign to raise a new general crusade (*passage général* or *passagium generale*) and to recruit the crowns of France and England among other major barons to undertake a broader cooperative and jointly funded expedition in the service of Christendom.[28]

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[24] See *Layettes du Trésor des chartes*, ed. Alexandre Teulet, et al. (Paris: H. Plon, 1863-1909) 3: 537-8, no. 4619 (6 July 1260); Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne*, 5: 72-73.

[25] For this chronology, see Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne*, vols. 4-5.

[26] On independent crusaders, that is expeditions that were not part of larger and more coordinated or general efforts led by kings and popes, see Fordham University's Independent Crusaders Mapping Project, (https://research.library.fordham.edu/ddp_archivingdossier/5/). For aid to the Holy Land in 1265, see Léon Borrelli de Serres, "Compte d'une mission de prédication pour secours à la Terre Sainte (1265)," *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 30 (1903): 243-80.

[27] For the general context informing the renewed crusade call in 1265, see: Jean Richard, "La croisade de 1270, premier <<passage générale>>?" *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 133 (1989): 510-523; Peter Jackson, "The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260," *The English Historical Review* 95 (1980): 481-513; and ibid, *The Mongols and the West: 1221-1410* 2nd Ed. (London: Routledge, 2018); Xavier Hélary, "Les rois de France et la Terre Sainte de la Croisade de Tunis à la chute d'Acre (1270-1291)," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France* 2005, 21-104; ibid, *La dernière croisade Saint Louis à Tunis (1270)* (Paris: Perrin, 2016); Michael Lower, "Conversion and St Louis's Last Crusade," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 58 (2007): 211-231; *idem*, *The Tunis Crusade of 1270: A Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

[28] de Serres, "Compte d'une mission de prédication pour secours à la Terre Sainte (1265)," and Richard, "La croisade de 1270." These events compiled in succession: 25 July 1261 Constantinople fell to the Greeks; 24 March 1267 the Paris assembly convened, and Louis IX accepted the crusader's cross from Simon of Brie, the Franciscan Cardinal of St. Cecilia; 1267 the Treaty of

Eudes's passage was an early response to these conditions and answered the need to shore up defenses in and around Acre and Jaffa. Jean Richard identified Eudes's expedition as "le premier '*passage particulier,*'" that is, "an operation limited in effect and objectives, with the goal of reinforcing and consolidating the Christian position in the East."[29] Eudes departed in the company of Erard of Valéry and Count Erard of Nanteuil and together they led fifty knights "in the service of God (*au service de Dieu*)."[30] Eudes's expedition was part of a longer committed effort on the part of the French crown to hold onto land in Outremer, both in the Levant and in Greece. In letters to the pope and to the king, this lordly contingent referred to themselves as "*chevaliers pelerins*," or knightly pilgrims.[31] Once they arrived in the Holy Land, they were to serve as part of, and in aid to, the French king's forces stationed in Acre as a permanent garrison, sometimes known as the *stipendarii*. This was the contingent of salaried knights who had remained in Acre to shore up the defense of the city and to hold the Holy Land following Louis IX's first failed crusade (1248-1254).[32] In 1254, as he departed, Louis IX put Geoffrey of Sergines 'the elder,' one of the king's closest crusade companions, whom Joinville refers to as a good knight and *preudomme*, in command of a contingent of 100 knights that remained in east following the royal campaign.[33] Many of those serving in this contingent did so as *milites ad terminum*, that is, knights who performed service in the Holy Land for religious duty rather than for pay. Geoffrey

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Viberbo made Charles of Anjou, the king's brother, the heir to the un-regained imperium of Constantinople.

[29] Richard, "La croisade de 1270," 515.

[30] Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre," 51-2, n65, citing "The Templar of Tyre," 104, and "L'Estoire de Eracles," 454.

[31] Gustav Servois, "Emprunts de Saint Louis en Palestine et en Afrique," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 4 (1858): 113-131, 283-293,reprinted (Paris: Firmin Didot: 1858), at 129.

[32] For the garrison in Acre, see Christopher J. Marshall, "The French Regiment in the Latin East, 1254-91," *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989): 301-7. On the terms used and *stipendarii* specifically, see Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre," 51-2, n66-67. And *L'ordre du Temple dans l'Orient des croisades*, ed. Pierre-Vincent Claverie (Brussels: De Boeck, 2014).

[33] Jean de Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. J. Monfrin (Paris: Garnier, 1995) [hereafter Joinville, *VSL*, paragraph number]. Joinville's phrase is "*preudommes chevaliers" "*tiex chevaliers soloit l'en appeler *bons* chevalier. Le non de ceulz qui estoient chevaliers entour le roy sont tiex: mon seigneurs Geoffroy de Sargines, mon seigneur Mahi de Marley, mon seigneur Phelippe de Nanteul, mon seigneur Hymbert de Biaujeu." Joinville, *VSL,* para. 173, see also para. 308-9, 369, 378, 438 and 571. For the situation in the east at this time, see Servois, "Emprunts de Saint Louis," and Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre."

of Sergines the elder was the first to hold the appointment of 'captain', and combined that post with the seneschalcy of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, serving in both capacities until his death in 1269.[34] Since his departure from Acre in 1254, Louis IX "spent an average of four thousand pounds *tournois* per year from 1254 to 1270" in support of the knights who remained in the east, and for the defense of the city.[35] In 1265, Eudes's expedition coincided with an additional set of payments overseen by Geoffrey's son, Geoffrey of Sergines 'the Younger' and Erard of Valéry, a man, as we will see, who traveled and campaigned regularly across the Mediterranean.[36]

It was in this context of crusade service, at the age of thirty-six, that Eudes of Nevers died in Acre on 7 August 1266. He and his family were reaching the height of aristocratic prestige and connection and he was absent in the east when his eldest daughter, Yolande, married king Louis IX's youngest son, Jean Tristian in the winter of 1266 and as a new Mediterranean-wide crusade campaign was being planned.[37] At the time of Eudes's death an account record, in some ways similar to a last will and testament, was drawn up and overseen by his executors, that is, those men charged with disbursing the final payments for his debts and salaries and the partial liquidation of his moveable goods. They were also charged with carrying out Eudes's final bequests, both charitable and personal, and orchestrating the care of his body, the embalming of his heart, and his final burial. His executors and legal representatives included one of Eudes's household knights,

[34] See Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre," 47.
[35] Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre," and William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 78; and Joseph Strayer, "The Crusades of Louis IX," in Strayer, *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 159-92. See also Borelli de Serres, "Comptes d'une mission," 255 n6.
[36] These transactions were uncovered and discussed in Servois, "Emprunts de Saint Louis." For the papal letters addressing funds in support of Acre and the Holy Land, see *Layettes,* 4:149 and 163-4; for the transfer of funds and loans by Erard of Valéry, 4:144 (July 1265), 4:230 (7 July 1267, Acre) and involving Geoffrey of Sergines 4:155-6 (29 October 1265, Acre) 4:228-9 (30 June 1267, Acre). For the financial and military situation in the Holy Land in the later thirteenth century, see also Judith Bronstein, *The Hospitallers in the Holy Land: Financing the Latin East, 1187-1274* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2005).
[37] Lespinasse, *Le Niverais,* 2: 267-70; 287-293.

Hugh of Augerant, and Erard of Valéry, who was represented in the initial transactions by Geoffrey of Sergines the younger.

The text edited and translated here is not a fair-copy text set aside for posterity or archiving, but rather a living record, created for use at a particular moment, and it retains the flexible quality of a text in action as reflected in the repetition of the details and decisions it records. Copied on both sides – the front (*recto*) and dorsal (*verso*) – of four unequal *rouleaux* or rolls of parchment (which the previous editor and archivists labeled A-D), the text is repetitive, complicated, overlapping, and highly detailed. It carries the signs of writing and rewriting, discussion engaged, and procedures returned to and recalculated. It is thus a rare administrative survival -- one written in Acre, in Old French, and carried to and finally archived in Paris. As a textual object, it represents relationships that were far more complex and intertwined than have previously been considered.[38] The clerk or scribe gave careful attention to the payments and amounts recorded, which are given in three different currencies: local bezants the money of account in Acre; pounds *tournois* the currency of central French, and the silver mark sterling, the international money of account.[39] The precise enumeration of goods and services and the checking and re-checking of amounts and values as embedded in the text's repetitions is indicative of a set of individuals and institutions present and at work with different, and at times competing, interests all of which encapsulate the crusading world of a great French baron.

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[38] For a marvelous analysis of a similar sort of "living text," see the discussion of Abraham's list in Elizabeth A. Lambourn, *Abraham's Luggage: A Social Life of Things in the Medieval Indian Ocean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018). In Account-Inventory is also, in its most basic form, a set of lists. Much has been written about inventories, the process of inventorying, and lists and list-making. For some of this scholarship, see the articles collected on the DALME website: https://dalme.org/project/bibliography/. For the poetic and political potential of lists, see also, Little, "The Politics of Lists."

[39] On the currencies and their values at the time, see Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes," 174-176. More broadly, see Gustave Schlumberger, *Numismatiques de l'Orient latin* (Paris: Leroux, 1878); David Michael Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean* Museum, Oxford, 2nd ed. Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication 28 (London, 1995); and Alan M. Stahl, "The Circulation of European Coinage in the Crusader States," in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange Between East and West During the Period of the Crusades*, ed. Vladimir P. Goss and Christin V. Bornstein, Studies in Medieval Culture, 21 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), 85-102.

Eudes's inventory offers a rare glimpse into the accoutrements and objects a crusader of stature carried with him to the East in the later part of the thirteenth century. It suggests what obligations such men took on, how they provided for their retinue -- the many layers of men and women in their service, and how they dressed and maintained themselves, their servants, their quarters, and their kitchens. The Inventory too sheds light on how they entertained and engaged in personal and public acts of devotion and aristocratic self-presentation, as well as the many ways that wealth was rendered portable in coinage, clothing, and plate. The surviving four *rouleaux* also reflect the lively and lived documentary and fiscal culture of Crusader Acre with multiple strategies for record-keeping and currencies of account and a copious circulation of people and goods gathered together. In its way, the Account-Inventory, as we refer to it here, offers scholarly readers access inside the chambers, armories, kitchens, and spiritual proclivities of a crusader's household during the final decades of Latin rule in the East and opens to us the robust milieu of the material Outremer.

The Texts: Form and Function

Eudes's Account-Inventory is made up for five different pieces of parchment, the first two, however, have been sewn together to render a record of four separate sheets or rolls each about the length of two standard sheets of 81/2'' x 11'' pieces of paper set end to end; two are slightly thinner than this contemporary approximation. [**Figure 1**] In all, as Jaroslav Folda has detailed, the rolls measure as follows:

"**Roll A**: The first roll is in two parts, originally sewn together:
Part 1 is 16 $^{11/16}$ inches long and 7 $^{9/16}$ inches wide at its maximum point; parchment is very thin. Part 2 is 35 $^{13/16}$ inches long and 7 $^{13/16}$ inches wide at its maximum point; parchment is thick.

Roll B: The parchment is 19 $^{1/4}$ inches long and 7 $^{9/16}$ inches wide at its maximum point; parchment is softer and of a more standard thickness than in roll A.

Roll C: The parchment is 16 $^{7/16}$ inches long and 5 $^{7/8}$ inches wide at its maximum point; parchment is standard thickness, but stiffer and much whiter than in rolls A and B.

Roll D: The parchment is 23 $^{11/16}$ inches long and 6 $^{15/16}$ inches wide at its maximum point: parchment is also very stiff, as with roll C."

Folda continues by noting that "overall, these different-sized pieces of parchment appear utilitarian and unexceptional in terms of their parchment, preparation, ink,

lack of rulings, and the hands of the scribes. They look comparable to similar western European documents, and except for the content of the text there is nothing that would indicate they were done in Acre with regard to their codicological characteristics."[40]

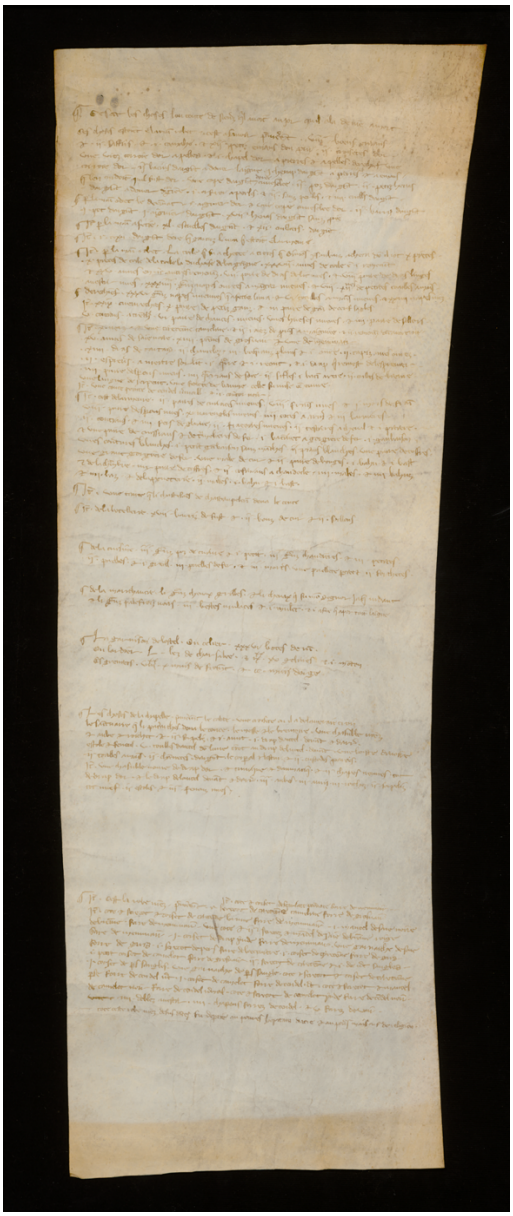

Figure 1: Paris, AN, series J 821/1 Roll B (*recto)*

[40] Folda, *Crusader Art*, 356 and 643n925. We have worked thus far from the detailed digital photos supplied by the AN. These are extremely useful for reading the text, creating the edition, and resolving certain questions of orthography, layout, and use. We have not yet, however, been able to see the *rouleaux* in person, to verify Folda's measurements, or to address any lingering codicological questions.

Chazaud, the first editor, suggested that a rough draft of the accounts was to be found on the verso of the rolls, and the fair copy or final version on the recto.[41] As we shall discuss below, this was certainly not the case. Rather the documents are better understood as working pieces, interlocking and informing each other, some used for accounting, some for inventorying and appraising the values of objects, and others for a final reckoning. The notion of working to a final draft or summary, in our reading, does not hold and misinterprets the material and philological aspects of the texts and distorts how they were produced and used.

Although most archival records in northern French collections take the form of folded or rolled charters or letters patent, the roll form of the Account-Inventory is not surprising for a fiscal administrative text, particularly one that was not subsequently copied into a formal register or cartulary. Indeed, as reflected in the published *Layettes,* many of the inquest and financial records dating to the 1260s and 1270s kept in the *Tresor des chartes* took the form of parchment rolls. The codicological and archival practice of using a series of parchment rolls for a working-text like an expense account, was not unusual, especially, it seems, for account records kept from Burgundy and the Auvergne.[42] Perhaps more revealing is the fact that the texts were written in a northern French dialect rather than Latin, as was common for account records and inventories maintained by the royal and princely households and ecclesiastical houses.[43] The use of the vernacular communicates the preferences and abilities of the texts' primary users: the knights Hugh of Augerant, Geoffrey of Sergines the younger, and Erard of Valéry as well as the graphic practices of their administrative partners, the Templars. Indeed, as reflected in the correspondence Geoffrey of Sergines the elder and Erard of Valéry generated with the French crown, these men preferred to write and have their

[41] As he notes, "Le verso de chacun de ces rôles est, en général, occupé par le brouillon ou une rédaction primitive d'un des états ou comptes dont la mise au net se lit au recto. Ces sortes de minutes nous ont parfois fourni quelques variantes." Chazaud, "Inventaires et comptes," 164.
[42] *Layette,* 5: 305-327, from the "Acta Omissa"
[43] Chazaud suggests that this is a French "en roman du Nord," (168). As will be elaborated below, we suggest it reflects more clearly the vernacular used in Champagne and Burgundy, much like that Rutebeuf employed rather than the dialect of Picard, for example. See below, n xx.

documents written in French.[44] Likewise, in his enrolled correspondence with the crown and in local agreements within Burgundy, Eudes of Nevers also wrote primarily in French.[45] French was rapidly emerging as the predominant language of the Eastern Mediterranean in many knightly and fiscal circles; a true *lingua franca*.[46]

[44] *Layette,* 4: 228-9, no. 5293 and 230, no. 5295.

[45] *Layette,* 3: 374, no. 4329 (10 Sept 1257, in which Eudes pays homage to Count Thibaut V of Champagne for the county of Nevers); 415-416, no. 4421 (8 June 1258; agreement between Eudes of Nevers and Louis IX for the marriage of Yolande and Jean Tristan). See also Maximilien Quantain, *Recueil de pièces pour faire suite au cartulaire général de Yonne* (Auxerre and Paris: Durand et Pédone-Lauriel, 1878), 292-293, no. 601 (June 1261) in French concerning the rights to justice shared with the monks of Reigny; 304, no. 621 (July 1265), written in the months before he departed.

[46] The French (or langue d'oil) used in the lands outside of France has been studied along two axes: the southern axis, extending from the Kingdom of France, southwards through the Italian and into the Iberian peninsulas, and then eastward to the Holy Land, Cyprus, and the Morea; and the northern axis, which includes the British Isles, the Low Countries, and the Empire, though significant crossover occurred between these geographic regions. See *Medieval Francophone Literary Culture Outside France*, ed Nicola Morato and Dirk Schoenaers (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019). For the case of Acre, see Jane Gilbert, Simon Gaunt, and William Burgwinkle, "History, Time, and Empire: The *Histoire ancienne* in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," in M*edieval French Literary Culture Abroad* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020). Oxford Scholarship Online, 2020. doi: 10.1093/oso/9780198832454.003.0005.

The Chronology of the Rouleaux

The four parchments that encompass Eudes's Account-Inventory are not transparent texts, and despite being archived together, they were compiled at various moments between Eudes's death on 7 August 1266 and what appears to be a final reckoning of accounts on 7 October 1266 (as reflected at the end of Roll A) in Acre when all three executors -- Erard of Valéry, Hugh of Augerant, and Geoffrey of Sergines the younger -- were present. A consideration of the material qualities of the rolls, careful parsing of their codicology and the nature of parchment use and reuse, as well as the paleography and graphic placement of text on the rolls has allowed us to reconstruct what we believe is a plausible chronology for the writing and use of these parchment pages.[47] In making this chronological reconstruction we have had to set aside the modern archival numbering (which often does not reflect recto-dorsal parchment use) and recognize that the original editor, Chazaud, subsumed or suppressed parts of the texts that were repetitive or did not fit the scheme of his modernized French edition. In some cases, although Chazaud was overall an extremely competent editor, the organization of his edition facilitated the modern, that is, nineteenth-century conventions of presentation and information within the text, over and above the ways the medieval texts themselves were written, copied and used, that is, how they were called into being and how they circulated among living historical actors.[48]

[47] Stephen Nichols, "Material Philology"

[48] An analogy to play scripts or song scripts is perhaps apt here as we develop below. On this process generally, see Carol Symes, "The Medieval Archive and the History of Theater: Assessing the Written and Unwritten Evidence for Premodern Performance," *Theater Survey* 52 (2011): 29-58; and *eadem*, "Knowledge and Transmission: Media and Memory," in *A Cultural History of Theater in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jody Enders, *A Cultural History of Theater*, vol. 2 (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 199-211. For the case of inventories as scripts, see Katherine Anne Wilson, "The Household Inventory as Urban 'Theatre' in Late Medieval Burgundy," *Social History* 40 (2015): 335-359.

Chronologically, Roll B appears to be the first text written among the four. The content of this roll takes up most of one long side of moderately well-prepared parchment. Given the size, the parchment itself was probably made from French sheep or cowhide, that is, a roll that was cured, cut, and prepared in the west; or from sheep or goat skin prepared in and around Acre. There is a slight curvature to all of the rolls, reflecting in part, we assume, the size and shape of the animal.[49] Roll B is one of the finer pieces of parchment, but carries some discoloration at the top and bottom margins, probably from storage rather than use. The ink is light brown and has seemingly faded somewhat. Compared to the other roles, especially D, the stylus seems to have been a less fine-pointed instrument than used on the other rolls, creating broader strokes as the scribe wrote. The text is written in a clear, fast-moving, administrative or bureaucratic hand not unlike that used in northern France for other secular records such as administrative rolls and royal *enquêtes*.[50]

Roll B Begins with a short offset title: "These are the Count of Nevers's things that he had the day he went from life to death (*Ce sont les chose lou counte de Neverz qu'il avoir au jor qu'il a la de vie a mort*)."[51] We believe that this is the earliest roll to have been created, written on the day Eudes died, 7 August 1266, from within his lodgings. The first inventory then proceeds which lists things in the hand (*la main*) of different men in the count's retinue, namely, *sergeants*, which appear to be items of the count's own personal possessions. Items (as we note below) with specific provenance, associations, and descriptions that only a user/owner might know. From there, Roll B lists objects in each of the rooms in the

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Below we address our editorial conventions and how our choices differ from that of Chazaud. For example, we have chosen not to impose modern accents in French where no accents were used.

[49] To take a materiality approach to the text reminds us that in dealing with parchment records we are also setting ourselves within the network of animal-human relationships that structured much of the medieval world. See Bruce Holsinger, "Of Pigs and Parchment: Medieval Studies and the Coming of the Animal," *PMLA* 124 (2009): 616-623; and Sarah Kay, *Animal Skins and the Reading Self in Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

[50] For comparable graphic practices, see the essays in *Décrire, inventorier, enregistrer entre Seine et Rhin au Moyen Âge*, ed. Xavier Hermand, Jean-François Nieus, et Étienne Renard, Mémoires et documents de l'école des chartes 92 (Paris: École des chartes: 2012).

[51] For quotations from the text itself, see below in the Edition and the corresponding images online as noted above in n1. Hereafter we refer to the Edition, followed by Roll and page number. Edition, Roll B, 10.

count's residence including the longest entry for his wardrobe (*robe*), ending with a note that "all of the old clothing was given to the hospital at Acre and other poor religious houses."[52] On the dorsal of Roll B is a list of the jewels and rings that the count gave out to his closest knights and retainers, one presumes on his deathbed, that is, "on the day he went from life to death."[53] The text is otherwise undated. We believe this parchment roll is as close as we come to a death bed testament or inventory and reflects Eudes's most intimate objects and spaces.

Roll C follows, drawn up between the time of the count's death (7 August) and 15 September 1266, when his remaining debts were paid at the Temple. The recto of this roll offers both a list of the appraised value of each item in Eudes's wardrobe, reflecting the opulent clothing he carried with him and or purchased while in Acre and a list of those institutions or individuals who received each item as a charitable donation. Although an appraisal was done of the value of these objects, the clothing was donated in kind, presumably intended for reuse or recycling and reappropriation as altar cloths or clerical vestments. Items like doublets, leggings and hats given to the poor or to beguines were presumably either used as they were or sold for cash. On the verso, or dorsal, of Roll C there is a second copy of the list of jewels and rings given out by the count to his closest knights and retainers and concludes by noting that the Hospital of St. John was to receive his two cooking pots from the kitchen and that all other kitchen wares were sold. This short dorsal list is a copy (although not exact) of the dorsal list of Roll B. Clearly it was useful to have two copies of the final list of gifts, one that corresponded the spaces of Eudes's lodgings and that may have been generated in his deathbed moment, and a second copy for use in disbursing his personal objects from his wardrobe.

Roll D was created on or before 15 September 1266, for on that date a final accounting was done as part of or following a series of estate sales, which generated "a list of all the objects the count sold." This account and its values were "made before the master of the Temple, and my lord Erard of Valéry, and my lord Geoffrey

[52] Edition, Roll B, 13.
[53] Edition, Roll B, 10.

of Sergines the younger."[54] The dorsal of Roll D then lists in the same ink and hand "Things that are not yet sold."[55] At the bottom of the dorsal of Roll D, upside down is a short list of "what the count had in *tournois* currency and bezants on the day he passed from life to death."[56] This note is written in the same ink and hand as Roll B and is dated to the feast of St. Laurence, 9 August 1266. Thus, Roll D appears to have been written on what had been a final page of Roll B, and is here recycled to form part of a second final valuation and accounting of Eudes's goods six weeks after his death.

Temporally, Roll A is the most recent, meaning it was produced last. Formed from stitching together two parchment pieces of identical widths but varying lengths, Roll A is the most worked and utilitarian of the rolls and is the closest we have to a formal account. The first section of Roll A appears to have been drawn up shortly after the count died and lists the pay due to each of Eudes's retainers, covering knights, sergeants, and servants, for the two months that remained after the count's death, thus through October. The second parts of Roll A were drawn up in mid and then late September (the 15th and 29th respectively) when Eudes's debts to the Temple were concluded before the Treasurer and Master of the Temple. On 7 October final payments in cash and kind were made to his knights and retainers, several of whom were preparing to return to the west. With that, his estate in Acre was settled.

Beyond the considerations of compositional chronology, the Account-Inventory of Eudes's assets and obligations is a collection of several independent moments recorded over the course of a two-month period. The time taken to assess and record all of what is found in the inventory, to account for the outstanding pay owed to Eudes's knights and servants and to make those payments, as well as the dates that successive additions were made, is duly registered in the document, with the majority of the transactions appearing on Roll A, the longest of the four rolls. The succession of dates reveals that assessing what remained of Eudes's

[54] Edition, Roll D, 20.
[55] Edition, Roll D, 21.
[56] Edition, Roll D, 21.

possessions and fulfilling the outstanding financial obligations was a lengthy process requiring coordination among those responsible for the count's administrative affairs and with the institutions where he had conducted business. Even if the rolls themselves were written at different moments and in response to immediate needs and circumstances rather than to a desire for narrative clarity, there was a chronology to how the accounts were settled, mapped throughout the parchments as a whole. We must then think like its creators and users to follow the flow of activity and the movement of people and things. Not including the date of the count's death (August 7), the earliest recorded entry comes from the "eve of the feast of St. Lawrence" (August 9), and the latest, "the Thursday after the feast of Saint Remy in the year 1266" (October 7). The chart below [**Figure 2**] plots the dates of each entry, the roll where they were recorded, and at what point they appeared in the inventory.[57] As noted above, Rolls B and C are effectively undated for accounting purposes in that they only mention the day

[57] At the moment these follow the page numbering of the Chazaud's edition, we will replace with our own Edition in due course.

Date As Given	English Translation	Modern Date	Roll	Edition Page
Ce fu la veille de feste saint Lorant en l'an mil cc lxvi	This was the eve of the feast of Saint Lawrence, in the year 1266	August 9, 1266	A	176
le lundi devant la feste saint Leu	Monday before the feast of Saint Leu	August 29	A	180
l'an demain de feste sainte croiz en septembre	the day after the feast of the Holy Cross in September	September 15	A	181
de la semeine de feste Saint-Michiel jusques le diemenche	from the week of the feast of Saint-Michel until Sunday	September 29	A	183
le jor de feste saint Michel en l'an mil CCLXVI	the feast day of Saint-Michel in the year 1266	September 29, 1266	A	183
la veille de feste saint Lorant en l'an mil CC LDVI	the night before the feast of Saint Lawrence in the year 1266	August 9, 1266	A	184
l'an demain de feste sainte croiz en septembre	the day after the feast of the Holy Cross in September.	September 15	A	185
le jeudi après feste saint Remi en l'an M CC LXVI	the Thursday after the feast of Saint Remy in the year 1266	October 7, 1266	A	187
l'andemain de feste Sainte Croix en Septembre	the day after the feast of the Holy Cross in September.	September 15	A	188-189
il avoit au jor qu'il ala de vie à mort	the day he went from life to death	August 7	B	190
l'an de main de feste Sainte-Coiz en septembre	the day after the feast of the Holy Cross in September	September 15	D	204
au jor qu'il ala de vie à mort	on the day he passed from life to death	August 7	D	205
la veille de feste Saint Lorant en l'an M CC LXVI	the eve of the feast of Saint Lawrence, in the year 1266	August 9, 1266	D	205

Figure 2: Dates in the Account-Inventory, 1266.

the count died. [we will add line numbers once our new transcription is complete]

As an administrative text, the Account-Inventory must be understood as its rolls were used and as communicated through the material, graphic, and tactile quality of this functional text. The rolls could be and were intended to be separated, moved around, turned upside down, added to, even repurposed. They are decidedly not codex bound fair-copies and cannot be ordered in that way. Even in their current state they fold back unto themselves and use internal references to settle accounts. In this way they engage a way of listing, a numeric system (roman numerals of account), and a summarizing of totals that differs from modern or later medieval notarial double entry book-keeping. The continual desire to both appraise and value objects, to create currency equivalences, and then to retain or reuse the valued object also suggests the ways that wealth was rendered portable -- not as coins in wallets or chests, Eudes possessed precious little currency (as noted in on the recto of Roll D) -- but in opulent fabrics, jewelry, and plate, objects with multifold affordances. As such, we can glimpse an Outremer mentality at work in the need to have wealth ready at hand for use in the form of silver place and small gold rings, but also to understand its relative value, worth in *bezants* and pounds *tournois* or silver sterling. Each of those operations was still being thought through in these texts, which actively calculate values and potential equivalences as they were drawn up. The rolls are fluid with currency, but not fluent in currency equivalences. There is a need to note the reckoned values of things in denominations used in the local setting of Acre but also in the still more familiar world of France. It was, furthermore, easier and cheaper to give over objects of value than to exchange currencies and make payments in turn. Portable wealth characterized the mindset of those who traveled and lived in and out of Outremer.

Similarly, we cannot overlook the personal memories and associations encoded in and afforded by portable objects that also gave them value and meaning

in an Outremer framework.[58] Staccato descriptive identifiers tell us that cloth, for example, hailed from Troyes or Provins, or was remembered as a gift from the countess of Burgundy. As such, French cloth had a different meaning, make, and value in the east than in its native west. Similarly, Tartar and Bukaran cloth of eastern provenance communicated something different still when taken into the west than it did in Acre. Eastern cloth carried its Outremer quality with it, its fibers, designs, labor.[59] All of these aspects were what gave cloth its material value, rendering it -- like the rings of Puy, the chapel and cross relic, and the vernacular books in Eudes's estate -- something more than its appraised value. As the texts show, many of Eudes's things required functional descriptions to set them apart and to identify each piece, each object, as distinct, holding a copious carrying capacity that encompassed the economic, emotional, and historical, all anchored to places, people and moments in time.

[58] See Anne E. Lester, "What Remains," I have developed these ideas further in my forthcoming book, *Fragments of Devotion: Relics and Remembrance in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade, 1204-1261.*

[59] On the many meanings of Eastern cloth, see Lester, "Intimacy and Abundance," and

The Language and Documentary Context of the Rouleaux

Previous studies of the parchment rolls that together make up Eudes's Account-Inventory have emphasized the western elements and actors included in the texts, without much acknowledgement of the Outremer setting. But a closer look at what was written on the four *rouleaux*, and particularly an examination of how the ideas were recorded and arranged within, resituates these documents firmly within the originating context of Crusader Acre. Unlike written products crafted solely to allow the reader to engage with and linger over the written word (such as liturgical books or historical narratives), these records were ancillary to the main proceedings, existing only to accompany the actions of those who carried them out, a by-product of the real-life events in which the main characters took part, not the texts' *raison d'être*. And just as an examination of the *rouleaux* allows us to reconstruct the actions undertaken by the main characters, so too do the texts themselves render up evidence of the physical and cultural environments in which those same events transpired. At first glance, we can see that the text of Eudes's Account-Inventory is grounded in the Acre context in two ways: first, by the location-specific institutions and vocabularies mentioned within, and second, by the Outremer-influenced language and writing styles used as the count's final deeds played out and his affairs were duly settled. By pushing past these first points of contact with the Acre context, however, we also see how eastern and western elements cohabitated, combined, and at times clashed in this unrehearsed and unpolished recounting of Eudes's Outremer experience. Those aspects specific to the Holy Land, including a recall to Acre-based political and religious institutions, the recourse to Levantine vocabularies, and the use of Old French for documentation, all vie with currencies, ways of reckoning time, and certain graphic

and toponymic norms rooted in a western Christian worldview. It is in fact the admixture of both Levantine and western European elements that makes Eudes's Account-Inventory stand out so strongly as a product of the Latin East's thirteenth-century capital city.

The most direct links to be made between the city of Acre and Eudes's Account-Inventory are with the churches and other religious organizations named as beneficiaries in the document, all of which, as Denys Pringle identified, were located in and around the northwestern part of the city.[60] Whether this list reflects Eudes's choices or those of his executors is unclear, but the names listed on Roll C offer a useful handlist of Acre-based institutions and individuals deemed worthy of testamentary bequests. Religious houses, leper hospitals, both lesser independent groups and those connected to the Order of St.-Lazar, are all found on the roll among Eudes's beneficiaries.[61] However, the list is both selective and securely rooted in a knowledge of Acre's social topography; not every institution in the city is named, nor are any organizations mentioned as recipients beyond those located within the city and its nearby environs, with the possible exception of one unidentified church named "St. Mary of Vamit."[62]

A closer look at where the institutions were placed reveals that Eudes and his retinue had either developed ties to beneficiaries scattered throughout Acre, or had been advised, for reasons now lost to us, to donate to a geographically wide-spread set of recipients. Very few of Eudes's bequests were made to institutions at the heart of the city, near the port, in areas dominated by inhabitants from the Italian city-states of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. Rather, the majority of Eudes's bequests were made to religious houses, hospitals, and churches found around the perimeter of the crowded urban center, or placed well to the north, extending into the adjacent suburb of Montmusard. The churches of St. Thomas the Martyr, St. Bartholomew,

[60] The location of each institution is listed in Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus,* 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993-2009)*,* 4:23. This map relies upon the placement of these institutions on the Pringle's map on pp. 16-17.
[61] On the charitable landscape between Acre and Jerusalem in general, see Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*; for the order of St.-Lazar, see Malcolm Barber, "The Order of Saint Lazarus and the Crusades," *Catholic Historical Review* 80 (1994): 439-456.
[62] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 4:23.

St. Martin, the Franciscan headquarters, and the Bethlehem Hospital, for example, were all located in Montmusard. St. Michael's church, situated at the furthest edge of the old city adjacent to the town's ancient walls where fellow crusader and author Jean of Joinville had convalesced in 1250 after a near brush with death, was also mentioned among the recipients of the count's generosity.[63]

Figure 3: Acre Institutions Listed in Eudes's Inventory, after Pringle

The long list of Acre-based institutions places this group of writings squarely in the context of the Crusader States' capital, but even if we are unaware

[63] Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom,* 4:57. For monastic houses in the Crusader States more broadly, see Bernard Hamilton and Andrew Jotischky, *Latin and Greek Monasticism in the Crusader State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020). On Joinville's time in Acre, see Joinville, *VSL*, paras. 406-469, esp. 410.

of where these houses of work, healing, and prayer were located, there are other more subtle indicators of the texts' context of creation. Glimpses of a Holy Land vocabulary appear in the French-language documents. Local terms used to describe Levantine geographies, military titles, or currencies had been incorporated into the lexicon of western Christians during their time in the Crusading East. Tyre, Bethany, and Château Pèlerin are all eastern locations mentioned explicitly in the text following their eastern usage, either on their own or as toponyms to accompany institutions found on Eudes's list of beneficiaries. The title of *turcopole*, a term of decidedly eastern origin and understood as a position equivalent to a light cavalryman, was used to describe several of the combatants in Eudes's retinue and listed as under his pay.[64] The words for Levantine denominations, the *bezant* and the *quarroble,* appear either written out or as well-known symbols or abbreviations on nearly every surface of the four *rouleaux*. And finally, some of the goods - especially fabrics -- mentioned in the inventory of Eudes's apartments carry linguistic traces of their Levantine origins. Fabrics of eastern production found among his belongings are designated as *boukhara*, *camelin*, or *tartar*, and these nomenclatures stand in contrast to the cloth coming from the northern French towns of *Provins* (Provins) and *Troies* (Troyes) or the duchy of *Bogoinge* (Burgundy).[65]

The clearest indicator of the texts' Outremer provenance is the choice of Old French as the language of record. In Acre, many individuals and corporate entities also used a style of Old French that scholars now call the *French of Outremer* or *Outremer French* to record their affairs.[66] Although Eudes's inventory displays only some of the linguistic markers of Outremer French, the fact that this legal and administrative document was written in French at all in many ways aligns it more closely with the linguistic and graphic norms common to Crusader Acre

[64] Laura Minervini, "What We Do and Do Not Know about Outremer French," in *The French of Outremer: Communities and Communications in the Crusading Mediterranean,* ed. Laura K. Morreale and Nicholas L. Paul (New York: Fordham University Press, 2018), 15-29. See also Cyril Aslanov, "Languages in Contact in the Latin East: Acre and Cyprus," *Crusades* 1 (2002): 155-181; and *idem*, *Le français au Levant, jadis et naguère: À la recherche d'une langue perdue* (Paris: Champion, 2006).
[65] See the discussion of cloth types and production below.
[66] Minervini, "What We Do and Do Not Know about Outremer French."

than to the Christian, Latinate, west.[67] Aside from the Acre-based religious institutions to which Eudes pledged money or objects of value, the city also served as headquarters for several western-facing secular and ecclesiastical institutions, all of which contributed to the unique graphic culture that shaped how the dying count's Account-Inventory was composed. The collection of administrative institutions producing written products in thirteenth-century Acre is impressive: during the greater part of the thirteenth century, the bishops of Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Acre all maintained residences in the city, as did the Patriarch of Jerusalem and brethren of the Hosptiallers, the Templars, and Teutonic Knights.[68] In addition, three different Italian city-state communities were anchored in the areas surrounding the port, and their members often worked in multiple languages as well, including Old French. These institutions and cultural communities relied on the skills of writers whose textual products spanned several genres, including business contracts, legal statutes, translations from one language into another, pilgrim wills and bequests, liturgical texts, local history books, or works of leisure reading such as romances or song collections like the ones found in Eudes's apartments.[69] All of these Acre-based institutions produced written documents that tracked the financial and diplomatic affairs in which they were engaged, whether in the Holy Land or abroad, and a significant number of the documents were

[67] Cyril Aslanov, "Crusaders' Old French," in *Research on Old French: The State of the Art*, ed. Deborah L. Arteaga, (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2012), 207-20. On graphic practices in Acre, see Pierre Noble, "Écrire dans le Royaume franc: La *scripta* de deux manuscrits copies à Acre au XIIIe siècle," in *Variations linguistiques: Koinés, dialectes, français régionaux,* ed. Pierre Noble (Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2003), 33-52; and Laura Minervini, "Le français dans l'Orient latin (XIIIe-XIVe seiècles): Élements pour la characterization d'une *scripta* du Levant," *Revue de Linguistique Romaine* 74 (2010): 121-198.

[68] For western-oriented institutions and their placement in Acre, see Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom;* and David Jacoby, "L'évolution urbaine et la fonction méditerranéenne d'Acre à l'époque des croisades." In *Citta portuali del Mediterraneo, storia e archeologia: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Genova 1985*, edited by Ennio Poleggi (Geneva: Sagep, 1989), 95-109.

[69] For an overview of the types of literature produced in the Latin East, see Anthony Bale, "Reading and Writing in Outremer," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 85-10; and Jonathan Rubin, *Learning in a Crusader City: Intellectual Activity and Intercultural Exchanges in Acre, 1191-1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

produced in French rather than Latin or a more local vernacular, or were written in both French and another language as well.[70]

Of the Acre-based institutions that produced French-language texts over the course of the thirteenth century, the Templars' appear most prominently in the Account-Inventory as the site where the count's monies were received, exchanged, and disbursed. The military order had become the bank of deposit for Louis IX on his own trip to the Holy Land, and he continued to use the Templar's services to filter funds eastward after his return to France in 1254.[71] The count of Burgundy sent his son Eudes monies by this same route, since we read in the inventory that "500 marks sterling were brought, which the Duke of Burgundy sent to the count by way of the Temple, in the August passage which were worth, on that day, in Acre 1,387 *lb t.* 10 *s t.*"[72] Like the Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights, the Templars produced administrative documentation in Outremer French while headquartered in the Levant. And like their Hospitaller counterparts, they did so in greatest abundance in the decades between 1250 and 1270.[73] Members of the Templar Order also wrote letters in French while stationed in Acre. The Holy Land has been provisionally identified as the production locale for one of the three surviving manuscript copies of the French-language version of the Templar's *Rule* and *Retrais* (supplementary legislation).[74] The Acre-based Templars were regular

[70] For documents from Acre, see Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*; for a mapping of graphic practice in Acre, see Laura Morreale, *Pilgrims and Writing in Crusader Acre,* https://scalar.ace.fordham.edu/pilgrims-and-writing-in-crusader-acre/graphic-topographies-of-crusader-acre, accessed December 21, 2020. As noted above, Eudes' Account-Inventory is exceptional in that it was not included in the *Regesta.*

[71] D. M. Metcalf, "The Templars as Bankers and Monetary Transfers Between West and East in the Twelfth Century," in *Coinage in the Latin East, The Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History,* ed. Peter Edbury and D. M. Metcalf (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1980, 2n ed. 1995), 1-17, reprinted in *The Eastern Mediterranean Frontier of Latin Christendom*, ed. Jace Stuckey, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 253-270; and Léopold Delisle, *Mémoire sur les opérations financières des Templiers* (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1889), 23.

[72] Edition, Roll A, 7: "It. Il fu aporté de Borgoingne vc mars d'estellins que li dux de Borgoingne envoia le conte par le Temple, a passaige d'aoust, qui valoient, au jour de lors, en Acre, M iiic iiiixx viilb xs tnois" ed. Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes," 185.

[73] Erard of Valéry composed a letter in French in 1267 that confirmed receipt of funds from Louis IX's Sienese lenders by way of the Templars. On Erard's correspondence, see below. See also, Laura K. Morreale, "French-Language Documents Produced by the Hospitallers, 1231-1310," *Journal of Medieval History* 40 (2014): 439-457. [Laura could add more on the *Assise* project.]

[74] The manuscript in question is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français 1977. Simonetta Cerrini, "La tradition manuscrite del la régle du temple," in *Autour de la premiere*

producers and consumers of French-language writing in the thirteenth century. At this very same moment, the final tally of belongings and payments was written in French on Eudes's behalf. Thus, those who wrote the Account-Inventory and who chose French as the language of record were working in line with the documentary practices of their Templar associates.

And yet, to focus solely on the Levantine elements of these texts is to tell only half the story. What makes this set of writings stand out as a product of Outremer – that is, coming from a place that could only exist and be understood as "across the sea" from one's homeland in the West – is the juxtaposition of western imported and Levantine local words, ideas, referents, and graphic practices. For example, while the names of the religious houses of Acre were themselves tied to the western Christian canon of saints who were widely recognized, the feast days mentioned as reference points in the accounting documents were linked to saints and celebrations which were well-known in the northern-French context. The feasts of St. Lawrence, St. Michael, and that of the Holy Cross, all cited as dates of record in the Account-Inventory, were commonly acknowledged within the western Christian calendar and may not have seemed explicitly northern French to an Outremer reader. The feast day of Saint Leu, on the other hand, probably referred to the celebration of the seventh-century bishop of Sens, also called Saint Lupus, which took place on the first of September.[75] Its inclusion as a date of record signals both the geographic connection to and an insider familiarity with this northern-French-based saint on the part of the compiler-accountants. Even when the texts were operating within a shared, cohesive, western Christian system of sanctoral reference, there is a sense that each instance of saintly naming existed only alongside another western or Levantine counterpart.

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croisade, Actes du colloque de la society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), 203-219 at 216. A fourth manuscript of the *Rule* survived until the twentieth century, housed in Dijon, but the manuscript was stolen in 1985 just after the publication of the catalogue of the library's holdings, and has yet to be recovered.

[75] Not to be confused with Saint Leu (Lupus) of Troyes. See http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/results.php. For the history of Saint Leu in the region, see Clark Maines, *The Western Portal of Saint-Loup-de-Naud* (New York: Garland, 1979). [We have not yet been able to consult this book].

Just as the Holy Land place-names evoked the near landscape in which the records were created, western toponyms that referenced locations Francophone visitors to Crusader Acre might have called *deça mer* (this side of the sea, meaning Western Europe) were a reminder that *la Terre Outremer* could only exist when reconnoitered from a western perspective.[76] The texts that list Acre, Tyre, and Château Pèlerin alongside Troyes, Cîteaux, and Burgundy are a clear witness to how east met west in the Crusader States and in the surviving records that originated there. Place names were not only used to designate geographic locations, however; they were also used to identify people. The long list of toponymic surnames among Eudes's payees in Roll A is a reminder that the majority of the members of his retinue were displaced and very far from home while stationed in the Holy Land. Northern French names like de Dieppe, de Brabant, and le Picard were placed side by side with other payees, such as the valet who "once worked for the Archbishop of Tyre (*[le]valet qui fu a larcevesque de Sur*),"[77] and this uneven pairing often jolts the reader into a confrontation with the reality of displacement for so many of those listed. The admixture is also present in vocational names; the French-language vocations *Le Clerc* (the clerk) and *Le Chapelain* (the chaplain) contrast with the *turcopoles* found in Roll A, making the reader wonder whether the jobs of clerk and chaplain were different in the Levant than in the west. Ever-present as well is the tension that exists between the monetary denominations cited in the texts, whether Levantine (*bezant* and *quarroble*), Northern French (*tournois sous*) or international (*mark sterling*). The Account-Inventory's frequent conversion of value from one denomination to another, one system of account to the next, demonstrates acutely how the daily life of the actors themselves involved a constant negotiation of the two worlds of "outre" and "deça" *mer* .

The skills visitors and inhabitants of thirteenth-century Acre developed when mediating between one set of norms and another were not limited to managing currencies or divergent place names but extended to graphic and literary

[76] Forey, Alan. "The Office of Master Deça Mer in Military Orders." In *The Templars and Their Source*s, 125-32. 1st ed. Routledge, 2017.
[77] Edition, xx.

styles as well. Since the early twelfth century, those who wrote for the knightly class in the west valued Old French as a multiform medium of expression. By the mid-thirteenth century, when Eudes's Account-Inventory was compiled, writers in the Crusader East had become increasingly adept at doing the same for knightly readers. Several French-language manuscripts produced in Acre in the later part of the century, including histories and chansonniers similar to those found among the count's belongings, spoke directly to the interests of aristocratic readers and their desire to participate in the crusading culture of the Latin East. The Account-Inventory, therefore, can be seen as an admixture of two types of emerging Outremer French-language writing styles, the documentary and knightly-narrative.[78] As the document's creators made their way through the accounting of what was the required to feed, house and maintain a retinue, to ensure the spiritual practice necessary to a crusader-pilgrim like Eudes, and to bequeath riches to deserving causes upon the death of a great lord, they were also documenting the material constituents of performed knighthood. Not surprisingly, since the settings and items they described were aristocratic by nature, the compilers also inserted subtle snippets of narrative style and turns of phrase that evoked knightly literatures. For example, instead of noting Eudes's date of death in relation to a certain feast day as was the case with other dates in the text, the maker of the Account-Inventory dramatically recorded Eudes's final day as "the day the count passed from life to death." Similarly, the honorific "*mon segnor*" (my lord) punctuates throughout the text, and unlike in many accounting documents, is almost

[78] Eudes's Account-Inventory was not the first Old French text written in the Latin East to combine documentary and narrative writing styles. The first prose history written in French comes from Geoffrey de Villehardoin, whose *Conquete de Constantinople* was written in the Latin East. Villehardouin's text, like that of Robert of Clari, also written in Old French, we part of an efflorescence of writing in the vernacular that emerged at the turn of the thirteenth century, drawing together in interests of a French reading/listening aristocracy, many of whom were women, and echoing a documentary practice that was increasingly pursued publicly in the vernacular as well. On the importance of the French vernacular tradition, see Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); on vernacularity in the crusades context see, Lester, "Crusading as a Religious Movement"; and Galvez, *The Subject of Crusade.* Theodore Evergates is at work on a new history of Villehardouin which will shed important light on these questions. For a wider and multi-lingual vernacular circulation, see Teresa Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), esp. 53-114.

never omitted when the three principal executors, Erard of Valéry, Geoffrey of Sergines, and Hughes of Augerant, are named.

The Account-Inventory does more than document, it represents and even reenacts the knightly ethos in real-life terms. Curiously, it is in the text that was copied twice in the Account-Inventory -- once on the day of Eudes's death (on Roll B) and a second time on the parchment containing a list of all his bequests (Roll C) -- that we see the strongest traces of knightly narrative come through. Akin to the *Gestes* written to extol other knightly models, the repeated texts of *rouleaux* B and C recreate a scene in the reader's mind where the dying count bestows precious gems upon his followers and ceremoniously distributes 11 rings from Puy, brought from his homeland, to the most loyal members of his entourage.[79] The mini narratives of Eudes's bestowals are filled with the vocabulary of aristocratic patrimony and obligation. Terms of masculine relationships are noted (brothers, a father, the *patriarchs*), as well as those that make reference to the practice of the faith, including a reference to liturgical garb (a surplice) and other treasures (a breviary, a golden cross, and a collection of relics). Even though the Account-Inventory seems unlike the worked and reworked, elaborately rhyming, chivalric French-language literature created in the Holy Land and elsewhere, similar objects, actions, and expressions find their way into and animate the *rouleaux*. Outremer writers and audiences were comfortable reading and writing both documentary and chivalric texts in French. Therefore, the crossover from one genre to another should appear in an aristocratic inventory as a far more likely and a less unexpected outcome for writings coming from the Latin East than from areas in the West.[80] Both permanent and part-time members of these communities were constantly negotiating the intermediary nature of their activities and identities, at times looking westward, at other times firmly anchored in the affairs of the Holy Land. The

[79] Edition, Roll B, 13-14, Roll C, 16-17.

[80] See above, n xx. Also, Paul, "In Search of the Marshal's Lost Crusade." On the crossover among genres and ideas, see the masterful study by Barbara Newman, *Medieval Crossover: Reading the Secular Against the Sacred* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013). Concerning the broader circulation of ideas and practices in this context, see the essays in *Spectral Sea: Mediterranean Palimpsests in European Culture,* ed. Stephen G. Nichols, Joachim Küpper, and Andreas Kablitz (New York and Bern: Peter Lang, 2017).

compositional strategies employed in this multi-cultural context, the materials Eudes's executors had at their disposal while living in the Latin East, and even Acre's on-the-ground sacred geographies, all rise to the surface in the text and mark it as a product of the Outremer.

We remain in the dark concerning why and with whom the text made its way into the archives in Paris. Certainly, by 1266 the crown had a vested interest in the territories that made up the fiefs of Burgundy and Nevers, as Louis IX's son, Jean Tristan (b.1250) married Eudes's eldest daughter, Yolande in 1266 and took up the title of Count of Nevers which he held until his death in 1270 in Tunis. It may have been useful for the royal administration to have a list of Eudes's knights in service in the east, for after his death these same men were retained to fight in defense of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and continued to be paid and to reside in Acre through 1268.[81] Thus, Eudes's Account-Inventory, and certainly Roll A, could have functioned as a form of Feudal Register or accounting record for how much each person was to be paid, much like the receipts Philip III would generate for the knights he paid to defend his interests in Navarre.[82] By contrast, the inventory aspect of the text, especially Rolls B-D may have served a commemorative function, evoking the count in all his sartorial splendor and in the gifts of books and jewels enumerated for those who read the administrative text in the west.

[81] Marshall, "The French Regiment in the Latin East," 303.
[82] On the intersection of feudal records and chanson, see the remarks from Marisa Galvez, *The Subject of Crusade*, 162-171. On the *roles des fiefs* for Champagne, see Theadore Evergates, *Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes under the Counts of Champagne, 1152-1284* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975); [on receipts for Nevers, Jill Bjerke]

Outremer Subjects: A Crusader's Retinue

Although the Count of Nevers is the principal subject of the text, the Account-Inventory, references a vast array of individuals in Eudes's employ and within his household. Paramount among them are three knights, two of whom accompanied him to the east and who together coordinated the assessment and appraisal of his goods and oversaw the payments and disbursal of his wealth both in cash and kind: Erard of Valéry, Geoffrey of Sergines the younger, and Hugh of Augerant. Surprisingly little scholarship has focused on these figures, although they played critical roles in the business of the Holy Land and the new Mediterranean-wide crusades planned between 1261 and 1272. Rutebeuf, the vernacular poet active around the court of Louis IX, between 1250 and 1270, offered detailed contemporary portraits of our own Eudes, Count of Nevers, as well as Geoffrey of Sergines the elder (father of our Geoffrey), and Erard of Valéry. Composed as a series of *Complaintes* or nostalgic laments and tributes to the sacrifices of these men as models of chivalric valor, Rutebeuf argued that they gave their lives in service of the cross and extolled their commitments as examples and goads for others to take up the cross anew on the eve of the Tunis expedition. In this sense, Rutebeuf's crusade and complaint poems can be read as part of a propaganda campaign which echoed the renewed calls for crusade on the part of the pope in 1261 and 1262, leading up to Louis IX's second vow in Paris in 1267, and encompassing smaller expeditions following the king's death in Tunis on 25 August 1270. Rutebeuf's poems are thus part of the longer tradition of Crusader songs that extolled and encouraged future crusaders to take up the cross and

sacrifice themselves for God and for Christendom.[83] As such, Rutebeuf offers valuable contemporary observations on the actions, ambitions, and legacies of Eudes and those within his circle.

Erard of Valéry departed with Eudes and Erard of Nanteuil for Acre in the late fall of 1265. He appears obliquely in the Account-Inventory overseeing the creation of the text and the distribution of salaries and bequests. He was not physically present when funds for the initial payment of salaries were disbursed for text notes that he was represented by Geoffrey de Sergines the younger for all transactions that took place in person. Erard was a Champenois knight (Valéry is in the Yonne, in the canton of Chéroy) and the son of Jean of Valéry, one of "good knights" who served under Louis IX on his first expedition in 1248.[84] Joinville mentions Jean often in the *Vie de Saint Louis* in favorable terms.[85] Jean was brought into royal circles in 1230 when the king granted him 100 *lbs.* (as a fief-rent) from lands in the bailliage of Escurolles (Allier, in the *arrondissement* of Gannat). At the time he was a vassal of Thibaut IV, Count of Champagne, and was enrolled in the Champangois feudal registers between 1222 and 1229. Erard had accompanied his father on crusade in 1248. In 1253 he was taken prisoner with Guy and Jean of Dampierre and Thibaut de Bar in their struggle for the title to the county of Flanders. It may have been through the Dampierre, who were related to Mahaut II of Bourbon, that Erard came to know and serve with Eudes. In 1261, Jean and his

[83] The *Complaints* were written between 1255 and 1267 or possibly later, but before 1270. *Oeuvres completes de Rutebeuf, Trouvère de XIIIe siècle: Receuillies et mises au jour pour la premiére fois,* 3 vols. (Paris: A. Delahays, 1874-1875); Rutebeuf, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Michel Zink, 2 vols (Paris: Bordas, 1989-1990); Julia Bastin and Edmond Faral, *Oeuvres completes de Rutebeuf,* 2 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1959-1960); Bastin and Faral, *Onze Poèmes de Rutebeuf concernant le croisade* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1946). For studies of the poet, see: Edward Ham, *Rutebeuf and Louis IX* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962); Nancy F. Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf: A Study in Non-courtly Poetic Modes of the Thirteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970); and Michel Zink, "Si je t'oublie, Constantinople…" *Médiévales* 12 (1987): 43-46. They can be read in the context of a longer crusade lyric tradition addressed for the French context in Linda Paterson, *Singing the Crusades: French and Occitan Lyric Responses to the Crusading Movements, 1137-1336* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018).

[84] The fullest biographical notes treating Erard of Valéry appear in the notes and commentaries of Rutebeuf's poems. See Jubinal, *Rutebeuf: Trouvère du XIIIe siècle*, 3: note G, 360-370; Lespinasse, *Le Nivernais*, 2: 272-73; Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes," 171-172; and Bastin and Faral, *Onze poèms de Rutebeuf concernant la croisade,* 64-69. Herni d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne* 6 vols. (Paris: Durand, 1865), 4: 494-498, also briefly describes Erard's position.

[85] Joinville, *VSL*, paras: (Jean) 168-69, 230-32, 243, 339; (Erard) 295.

son, Erard, both "chevaliers" were given a fief-rent of 100 *lbs.* annual rent from Jean of Châtillon, count of Blois and Avesnes.[86] And in June of 1261, Erard oversaw the exchange of rents between one Adam Genart and the prior of Braunay.[87] Then in 1264, Jean -- the father -- seems to have retired and created an annuity with the abbey of Cluny with the consent of his son. Four years later he sold lands from his royal fief to Agnès de Bourbon, Eudes of Nevers's sister-in-law.[88] These families, in short, were closely connected in France as well as in the Holy Land.

By this point, however, Erard had made himself an important player in royal and comital circles with connections to the formidable counts of Champagne, Blois, and Nevers. In 1265, as he departed for the east with Eudes, he also oversaw the transfer of funds designated for the Holy Land on the part of King Louis IX. He appears to have remained in the east through June of 1267, but in August of 1268 he is to be found in Italy, serving under Charles of Anjou at the battle of Tagliacozzo. He may have returned to Syria in the early fall, but Erard appears again in late 1268, back in France, serving as constable in the court of Thibaut V, king of Navarre and Count of Champagne.[89] He was a witness to an agreement between Thibaut and his brother Henry, count of Rosnay in which Henry consented to not marry without Thibaut's agreement.[90] In November of 1268, Louis IX designated Erard as the third arbitrator between the count of Champagne and the count of Bar, then between the Count of Bar and Regnaut de Bar. And he later oversaw Thibaut's agreement to aid Baldwin II in recovering Constantinople, for which he was promised one quarter of the Latin imperial lands should they ever be

[86] *Layette*, 4: 23-4 (Sept. 1261). The rent is in the currency of Chartres paid from Jean of Châtillon's *taille* from Chartres, collected annually on the feast of St. Remy. Curiously, Jean notes that he shall also pay them 10 s. t. per pound for each week that they are late or default on the payment. In return, Châtillon receives Jean in his homage, and after his death, he will receive Erard. The charter of infeudation is in French and represents, one must assume, a relationship of mutual support built on close ties following on the crusade expedition in which both fought and served together. Indeed, Walter of Châtillon did serve in a contingent of knights with Jean the elder and Erard of Valéry, see Joinville, *VSL*, para. 295.
[87] Quentin, *Receuil*, 292, no. 600 (June 1261), written in French.
[88] Lespinasse, *Le Nivernais*, 2: 272-73; Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes," 171-172.
[89] Bastin and Faral, *Onze Poèmes de Rutebeuf*, 67.
[90] *Layette*, 4: 327-8 (19 March 1268-9, Longjumeau).

regained, as well as several other transactions involving the count-king.[91] Finally, on 24 June 1270, Erard drew up a *codicil* to his testament, preserved in the *Trésor des chartes*, in which, much like Eudes, Count of Nevers, he provides for a long list of men -- knights and squires -- in his service and makes provisions to give away his movable wealth, gold, silver, and dishware, and other unspecified objects, to men close to him. No mention is made of a wife or heirs, although the nineteenth-century editor of Rutebeuf, Archille Jubinal, cites several charters in the *Trésor des chartres* that indicate he was married to a woman named Marguerite, who had her own seal. They had a daughter named Agnes who married one Savarus, who became the vicomte of Tharse after the death of his brother, Aimeri and they had two sons, Guidon and Renault.[92] Erard's testament and codicil were made as he prepared to serve in the east (o*u servise Nostre Seignor de la Terre Seinte, ou là que il verroient que il seroit plus granz profiz à m'ame*).[93] Days later he accompanied Louis IX to Tunis and returned to France shortly thereafter. In June 1271 he was present when Count Henry III paid homage to king Philip III of France. And in 1276 he was again serving as constable of Champagne until his death in 1277.[94] As the most recent editors of Rutebeuf's poems note, Erard appears, like many aristocrats within his circle, to have been a man of "action, of counsel, but also a man of culture."[95] Erard is the addressee of several courtly poems from the period and after Eudes of Nevers's death, it is Erard who takes (or was given) Eudes's three vernacular books, two histories of the Outremer and one

[91] *Layette*, 4: 331-3 (1-23 March, 1268-9, Paris); he is in Estella, Navarre, as a witness to another charter 4: 385-6 (24 Sept. 1269); and back in Troyes in Feb 1269-70 to oversee the transfer of a rent in Bar-sur-Aube 4: 417-8. In March 1269-70 the abbot of Preuilly endowed (one assumes as an annuity) a grange and all that pertains to it to the count for use during his lifetime, after which it would revert to the abbey, 4: 429.

[92] Jubinal, *Oeuvre complètes de Rutebeuf,* 360. Jubinal cites materials in the Trésor des chartres, cartons 174, 136, 143, and 208 and 256. For information on Erard's family, he cites Martene, *Amplissima collectio,* 5: 1157.

[93] *Layette*, 4: 449-50 (Vallery, 24 June 1270), sealed by Erard and Thibaut of Navarre. See also 450-51 (no. 5708) which establishes the amortization and fief-rent between Erard and Pierre de la Fauche.

[94] According to Jubinal he also drew up a final testament in 1276 that made provision for a sum of money to be paid for the maintenance of the Holy Land, an act that was confirmed in the same year by the king (Philip II) himself at Lorris. Jubinal, *Oeuvre complètes de Rutebeuf,* [X]:369. A number of charters pertaining to Erard can be found in the *Trésor des chartres*, cartong 208. We have yet to consult these in person.

[95] Bastin and Faral, *Onze Poèmes de Rutebeuf*, 67.

Chansonnier.[96] Likewise, Erard is extolled in his own right in Rutebeuf's poem, *La Complainte du Comte Eudes de Nevers* (v. 109-120), although the tenor and events of 1265 that inform Rutebeuf's *La Complainte d'Outre-Mer* suggest the context and fervent concern that sparked Erard to return to the east.

We know much more about **Geoffrey of Sergines** the elder than we do about his son, Geoffrey of Sergines the younger.[97] Although both men are referenced in the Account-Inventory, the latter, the young Geoffrey, stands in for Erard of Valéry, representing him when debts were paid and when Erard's salary needed to be collected in Roll A. This suggests a close relationship between the two men, one echoed in the diplomatic correspondence from 1265 when Erard and Geoffrey senior oversaw the transfer of subsidies to the Holy Land and again 1268 when they wrote to the pope and king asking for additional aid.[98] Young Geoffrey stands in the shadow of his father, whose reputation spanned the Mediterranean and who after 1254-1255 was presented as a model living-crusader, that is, a loyal knight who had dedicated himself to the survival of French interests in the East and

[96] Three non-religious vernacular books are listed by title "li romaz des loheranz et li romanz de la terre d'outre mer, et li Chançoners." Edition, Roll A, 8. There has been much speculation about the contents of the Chansonnier that Eudes possessed. Riley-Smith has reiterated Derek Jacoby's statement that the volume must have been the songs, or *chansons* of Thibaut IV of Navarre, Thibaut le Chansonnier, himself a renowned crusader, and Erard's feudal lord for his fiefs in Champagne, yet this remains unsubstantiated. Such song books took many forms and were not fixed texts, but rather unique compilations. See Paterson, *Singing the Crusades;* Galvez, *The Subject of Crusade*, and John Haines, "Aristocratic Patronage and the Cosmopolitan Vernacular Songbook: The *Chansonnier du Roi (M-trouv.)* and the French Mediterranean," in *Musical Culture in the World of Adam de la Halle*, ed. Jennifer Saltstein (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 95-120; for readers of similar volumes, see Judith A. Peraino, "Taking *Notae* on King and Cleric: Thibaut, Adam, and the Medieval Readers of the *Chansonnier de Noailles (T-trouv.),*" *in idem,* 121-152. Concerning the narrative texts, Folda notes the "romaz des loberanz – probably a work like Garin le Loherain – came from the West, but the "romanz de la terre d'outre mer," which was almost certainly a copy of the History of Outremer by William of Tyre, might well have been a codex ordered by the count in Acre … as it was without doubt the most popular work done in Acre in the second half of the thirteenth century." Folda, Crusader Art, 357. For the French-language context of Crusader Acre, see Rubin, *Learning in a Crusader City,* 70-82. For the Old French translation of William of Tyre's history in Outremer, see Philip Handyside, "L'Estoires d'Eracles in Outremer," in Morreale and Paul, eds. *The French of Outremer,* 68-85. There is no way to know if this was simply the French translation of William of Tyre, or as is more likely, a continuation of that text known as the *Eracles*. We suggest it was probably the latter, or a near contemporary version known as the Ernould-Bernard *Eracles.*

[97] Lespinasse, *Le Nivernais*, 2: 272-73; Joinville, *VSL*, para. 173, 302 (as a *prudhomme* knight); 308-312 (protecting Louis as he enters captivity). For short bibliographical information on the Sergines, see Jubinal, *Oeuvre complètes de Rutebeuf,* 3: note J, 58-69.

[98] See above,

to maintaining control in Jaffa and Acre. This is how Rutebeuf extols him in a brief poem, *Le Complainte de Monseigneur Geoffroi de Sergines*, probably composed between 1255 and 1256 to recruit support and aid for the *stipendarii* in Acre under his charge.[99]

Still, less is known about the lords of Sergines than about the Valéry. Sergines was a small lordship in Champagne, in the archbishopric of Sens, and today in the department of the Yonne. Geoffrey the elder is the first of the line to be mentioned in textual sources, and he appears in Joinville and in William of Nangis, who shares the assessment of Geoffroy as loyal knight and companion of Saint Louis. Rutebeuf's treatment is similar and ends with a prayer for his protection (*Or prions donques jor end Celui)*. Twenty years later the poet will mention both Geoffroy and Eudes again in a *Nouvele complainte d'outremeir* (1277) where they are held up as exemplars, model crusaders crowned in paradise (*Avoir deüssiez en memoire / Monseigneur Joffroi de Sergines, / Qui fu tant boens et fu tant dignes / Qu'en paradix et coroneiz / Et le conte Huede de Nevers, / Dont hom ne peut chanson ne vers / Dire, se boen non et loiaul / Et bien loei en court roiaul. / A ceux deüssiez panrre sample / Et Acres secorre et le Temple)*.[100] Other than the letters to pope and king mentioned above, Geoffrey appears in virtually no other archival texts. He does not receive fiefs from the crown or serve in other administrative capacities in the west. In February of 1262, he received permission from Pope Urban IV (r. 1261-1264) to have a portable altar to celebrate mass for himself and his knights and retainers.[101] He certainly must have authored documents while serving in Acre. It is the continuator of William of Tyre that records his death on 11 April 1269.[102] His son, Geoffroy the younger, went on to serve as Charles of Anjou's seneschal, and died outside of Tunis in 1270.[103] In France, in 1299, a Gilles de Sergines, appears according to Jubinal, as the cupbearer (*échanson*) to the Queen, Jeanne of France (countess of Champagne and Navarre)

[99] Bastin and Faral, *Onze Poèmes de Rutebeuf concernant le croisade,* 19-27.
[100] Bastin and Faral, *Onze Poèmes de Rutebeuf concernant le croisade,* 111-130, at, 122-123.
[101] Urban IV, *Registre,* ed. Jean Guiraud, 4 vols. (Paris,1901-1958) 1 / 2: 19, nos. 53-54.
[102] Jubinal, *Oeuvre complètes de Rutebeuf,* 3:note J, 67-68; Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre," 58n23; The Templar of Tyre, 126 and "L'Estoire de Eracles," 457.
[103] Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou* (London, 1998), 59.

and is granted freedom for his heirs from servile status. Forty years later, in 1339, one Jean of Sergines, rendered homage to the archbishop of Sens for lands in the lordship of Sergines.[104] The fact the Rutebuef found it compelling to write of these men, Eudes, Erard and Geoffrey, suggests that he chose -- quite in keeping with his other poems -- to valorize and memorialize men from his local world, from the border of Champagne and Burgundy, and to bring to attention the service of lesser knights, men with the exception of Eudes, without great lordships or fortunes but who were committed to the ideal of personal sacrifice in service of the Holy Land.[105]

There are several other men who appear multiple times throughout the Account-Inventory, but whom we know of only through that text. **Hugh of Augerant**, was a knight in Eudes's employ, probably from Langeron, a hamlet in the arrondissement of Nevers.[106] He is one of the administrators of the estate and commanded a smaller retinue of knights. Thus far we have not found him mentioned in any other diplomatic or textual source. Two other men are also noted, who played an official role in Eudes's household.[107] **Estien le Clerc** (standardized French would read "Estienne" or, in English, Stephen), who may have been the one to write our *rouleaux*. In this capacity, he would have known Eudes's men, servants, household workings, goods, and tastes perhaps better than anyone and would likewise have been familiar with the writing practices of the Temple and other official institutions in Acre, as well as in France. Estien was the recipient of what may be two payments, one initially that seems to encompass his pay for a portion of the year (15 *lb. t.* or 45 *b.*), and perhaps a second for 1000 *b*. that the count owned one "brother Estienne de Sissy."[108] It is possible, although not clear, that Estienne le Clerc and Estienne de Sissy are one and the same. If so, then he was dubbed "frere" meaning either friar or brother, perhaps of the Temple or another monastic order. Also mentioned twice is **Guillaume le Chaplain**, most likely

[104] Jubinal, *Oeuvre complètes de Rutebeuf,* 3: note J, 58-69.
[105] For comments on Rutebeuf's writings in the context crusade and the Latin East, see Galvez, *The Subject of Crusade*, 186-206.
[106] Lespinasse, *Le Nivernais*, 2: 271-72; Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes," 172-173.
[107] Lespinasse, *Le Nivernais*, 2: 274-76.
[108] Edition, Roll A, 3.

Eudes's household chaplain who would have conducted mass for the count and his men, heard confessions, led prayers, and maintained the count's chapel and devotional life.[109] One assumes both Estien and Guillaume accompanied Eudes from Nevers to Acre, but it is possible that they met in the east. One tantalizing reference in an earlier text suggests that both men may have served in the household of the counts of Nevers for some time and may even have been familiar with the rigors of crusading. When Gui, Count of Nevers and Forez, second husband of Mahaut II of Nevers, Tonnerre and Auxerre, died in 1241 in Brindisi on his return from the so-called Barons' Crusade lead by Count Thibaut IV of Champagne, he drew up a final testament. He did so, as he stated, "in the presence of brother Guilleum de Vitry, my chaplain and brother Guillelmo de … both of the order of Friars Minor, [and] Stephan my clerk (*presentibus fratre Guillelmo de Vichiaco capellano meo et fratre Guillelmo de … socio ejusdem ordinis fratrum Minorum, Stephano clerico meo*)."[110] Might one of these Guillaumes or this "Stephano clerico" be the same men that we meet in Eudes's accounts?

What is clear for all of the men mentioned in the text, Geoffroy and Erard, as well as Hugh, William and Stephen, is that French was the language of transaction. It is the language they employ when writing diplomatic correspondence to the French king and to the pope in Viterbo. It is the language that they use when reading or listening to histories and *romanciers*, and it is the language they used to record the Account-Inventory. And it is the same language that Rutebeuf uses to extol and memorialize them in France.[111]

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[109] In 1265, presumably just before his departure for the east, Eudes attested to an arbitration between "Guillaume de Ligny-le-Châtel, son clerc," and Hugh de Souilly, a canon of Auxerre. It is possible that this Guillaume would become the count's chaplain and the two men are one and same. See E. Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne*, 5: 256, no. 3459 (1265), citing AD de l'Yonne, H 1214, fonds St.-Marien d'Auxerre.

[110] Huillard-Breholles, *Titres de la maison ducale de Bourbon*, 46-47, no. 221 (10 August 1241) (le jour de Saint-Laurent, Castellaneta, near Brindisi, in the kingdom of Naples). The editor notes that the document was on cotton paper, in a contemporary (mid-13th century) Italian hand.

[111] There is much debate and ink spilled about what dialects of French were used in Outremer, in the Romance corpus and the poetic and lyric texts. Two principal northern French varients emerge, Picard and the French that is used in these texts, that of Champagne-Burgundy which favors the z over s; and which softens the qu- and c- rather than the hard k-. It is striking to us how similar Rutebeuf's French is to that of the Account-Inventory.

Many other men and women are mentioned in the Account-Inventory for whom we know nothing other than their name and form of service. Nevertheless, the inventory is an invaluable snapshot of a major baron's retinue in Syria/Palestine. When Eudes died, for example, he employed in his household four knights, one chaplain, one clerk, eight squires, nine sergeants, thirty-two servants (men and women), all of whom are named. He also hired five crossbowmen (paid 105 *bezants* for two months service), and four *turcopoles,* that is, hired light cavalry (paid 117 *bezants* for service for an unspecified amount of time), who are not named, implying they may have been local soldiers for hire rather than individuals known to the household traveling with Eudes to the east.[112] Of the four household knights listed, including Hugh of Augerant, we learn the names of Gaucher of Merry, Gui of Chantenay, and "*mon segnor* Copin."[113] Gaucher of Merry had served in the count's retinue before departing for the Holy Land and is found in his company in June of 1261, witness to an agreement between the count of the monks of Reigny in Burgundy.[114] In addition to Eudes's personal knights, it appears that the knights Regnaud of Précigné and Robert of Juennesses -- both listed in Roll A -- led two smaller groups of crusaders. Eudes's household knights received 40 *livres tournois* in pay, probably for one third of the year. By contrast, Regnaud and Robert were paid 300 *lb. t.* and 235 *lb. t.* respectively. Given these sums, as Jonathan Riley-Smith has argued, this seems to imply that they supported their own contingents of two to four knights with them in turn.[115]

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[112] Edition, Roll A, 1-3; Folda, *Crusader Art*, 357.
[113] Edition, Roll A, 1.
[114] Lespinasse, *Le Nivernais*, 2: 274-276, where brief notes are supplied for several of those listed here; Quantin, *Recueil*, 292-293, no. 601 (June 1261). Gaucher of Merry is listed alongside Gaucher Bridainne, lord of Baissy, Abbot Pierre de Châteux-Censoir, and Estienne Lietard, chanter. The latter could perhaps be out Estiene le Clerc? Ernst Petit notes that Gaucher of Merry was the lord of Merry-sur-Yonne and Bessy (or Baissy?) and the son of Geoffroy of Merry, constable of Romanie, that is of the Greek Morea. This means that Gaucher would be part of the Villehardouin family in that his grandfather, Ascelin of Merry, from the lordship of Châtel-Censoir, was married to Marie of Villehardouin, daughter of Geoffrey of Villehardouin, who wrote the famed memoir of the Fourth Crusade. On Villehardouin, see the forthcoming work of Theodore Evergates.
[115] Edition, Roll A, 6; Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre," 51. For comparison with the amounts Louis IX paid his knights and retainers, see Strayer, "The Crusades of Louis IX," 166, where he notes that "knights were paid 160 l.t. a year (many received more), and crossbowmen and men-at-arms about 90 l. a year." See also, Joinville's fees for retaining knights in Acre: Joinville, *VSL*, paras. 440-441.

Several other knights appear in the text under the designation '*mon segnor*' or my lord. These include William de la Tor and William Arnaut, whom the count paid 60 *b.,* perhaps for lodging for an unspecified service. My lord Hervic de Chantenay's lodgings were covered by the count for 9 *b.*, more than what the count paid to lodge his knight Gui of Chantenay for two months (6 *b.* 16 *q.*).[116] It is possible that Hervic and Gui were related, but the text does not say.[117] The count also paid Salemon de Safforit, Lionnet de Tabarle, Homede, and Jean le Poitier for three months each, for unspecified service.[118] Finally, additional knights surface in the inventory of goods purchased. Geoffrey of Sergines "the father" that is the elder appears and purchases foodstuffs, presumably for the maintenance of his own household. Also, "my lord Hughes de la Baume" purchased things from the kitchen along with table linens; whereas 'my lord Hugh de Mont Cornet" bought some of the measures of barely kept in Eudes's stores.[119] Given all that was available among Eudes's things, as we shall see, these discrete purchases are indicative of the high price of food and fodder and the desire to sell and consumer what the count had with him rather than let it go to waste. One of the real struggles in the east at this point was household management and maintenance for animals and soldiers alike.

In addition to the knights, the text lists the stipends paid to each of Eudes's squires and servants (*des garçons*) and details the costs of their lodgings (*ostels*).[120] The patterns of listing the details of lodging may give insight into who was lodged together. For example, the knights Hugh, Gaucher, Gui and Copin appear to lodge on their own, whereas Odet de Manant and Herminin Le Veaul are listed together under one entry, so too for Hugueinin de Givre and Tierriet (all of whom appear to be squires). Among the squires too is one Perriau de Sissy, perhaps a relative of Estienne de Sissy, the frere or friar, noted above. It is worth pausing briefly over the names of the sergeants for they too offer insight into how an Outremer household of knights may have functioned. Most of the sergeants are listed with

[116] Edition, Roll A, 3.
[117] Lespinasse, *Le Nivernais*, 2: 275.
[118] Edition, Roll A, 9.
[119] These purchases are tallied in Roll D, Edition, Roll D, 18.
[120] Edition, Roll A, 2-3, for the comments that follow.

two appellations, a first name and a second that in some cases may imply a place of origin, like Jehan de Mussy, Herni de Brabant, Jehan de Bese, and Henri de Diepe. Other sergeants, or servants, have names that are more colloquial and familiar: Robot, Chauvin, Travers, and Afetie seem to need no other designation, they are there to hand. Indeed, both Robet and Boçu appear later in the inventory for other duties and larger sums that the count owed them, perhaps implying they had been in Eudes's service for a longer period of time or had been employed for additional services. There are several men who seem to have been attached to the count's personal care or associated with specific rooms and therefore duties, including Huet de la Chambre, Perrinet de la Chambre, and Renaut de la Chambre, or so their names imply. Perrinet de Fur, may have worked in the kitchen, baking possibly (*fur* close phonetically to *four*, meaning oven, or to bake, in French). Then there may have been servants of repute: "Taste-peire", "Char de Beuf," and "boen home." Are these names or nick-names, do they connote disrespect or affection? We cannot know, but they do suggest the familiarity of a retinue that traveled, labored, and lived together. The count also paid the valets of the *Viscountess* of Limoges and that of the archbishop of Tyre, perhaps for small errands between or among the households. Finally, there are a number of servants listed who appear to be women including: perhaps 'Luile', Jannet le Flament, Jannet de Nichiz, Jannet de Talan, Jenannin de la Ferrae. Could the designation *-net* or *-nin* be feminine or simply a diminutive? It is not clear.

Additional one-time payments to specific individuals, sometimes left unnamed, give insight into the needs and obligations contingent with a baron's death in the east. Payments for securing loans of cash are listed, as well as for arranging for travel, specifically "passage" one presumes back to France.[121] A "spicer (*lespicie*)" was paid for embalming the count's heart, and box (*escrin*) purchased to transport it, relic like, to the Cistercian abbey of Cîteaux in Burgundy where the count instructed he should be commemorated in the west.[122] And

[121] Edition, Roll A, 4-5 and 7.
[122] Edition, Roll A, 4 (*escrin*), 5 (*por lespicie qui acira le cuer le conte, por emgueliet et por choses quil mist et por sa peine*), 8 (*drap qui I estoit dor et fu percez sor le cuer le conte*). See Rutebeuf, "La complainte de comte Eudes de Nevers,": "Li ceurs le conte est a Citiaux," in Bastin and Faral,

payments were rendered to cover the cost for the count's tomb in the cemetery of St.-Nicholas in Acre (40 *bezants*).[123] Finally, on the margins of the texts, evident especially when totals were summed or summarized, one glimpses the Treasurer and the Grand Master of the Temple. As noted above, the Templar Order had become indispensable for all transactions involving large sums or transfer of monies, especially from France to Outremer. Eudes had at least one loan of 3000 *lbs. t.,* which he drew from and attempted to have repaid after his death.[124] And he appears to have borrowed a similar amount from the Hospitallers.[125] By contrast, no mention is made of Italian merchant-bankers, like those from whom the king of France had drawn loans.[126] Eudes's household was financially obliged, as far as this record is concerned, to the Templars and the Hospitallers alone.

Onze Poèmes de Rutebeuf concernant le croisade, 64-75, at 72. See the Obituary from Cîteaux in Appendix III of E. Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne*, 5: 396-411, at 403. It is notable that between the 2 *nones* and 8 *ides* of August, that is 3-25 August three successive counts of Burgundy and Nevers who died while on crusade were commemorated at Cîteaux, which functioned as the Burgundian and Nevers committal necropolis. Hugh III of Burgundy (Eudes grandfather) died in Acre 25 August 1192 after having taken part in the Third Crusade. Jean Tristan, count of Nevers through marriage (Eudes's son-in-law) died 3 August 1270 in Tunis. And Eudes, who like his grandfather died in Acre, but was partially buried at Cîteaux. A large tomb was constructed at Cîteaux for Hugh III which was subsequently destroyed in 1552 during the Wars of Religion. As Bastin and Feral notes, Eudes's brother, Robert II of Burgundy, stipulated in this will from 1297 that he wished to have is heart buried at Cîteaux next and his body *decca la mer*, in Acre, in both cases next to his brother (*delès … mon frere*).

[123] Edition, Roll A, 3.

[124] Edition, Roll A, 7, and Roll D, 20.

[125] Provision in the account in Roll A is made for payments "to an agent who purchased the loan of 3000 *lbs t.* that the Hospital lent to the count (*Por i corretier qui porchaça lemprunst des iii^{m} lbs. tournois que li opitauz presta le conte xxii b. et quart)*." Edition, Roll A, 4.

[126] Jordan, *Louis IX,* 100-104; and A. Sayous, "Les Mandats de saint Louis sur son trésor et le movement international des capitaux pendant la septième croisade (1248-1254)," *Revue historique,* 167 (1931): 254-304; and Norman Housley, *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers, 1254-1343* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982). More work is needed on these robust credit networks.

Whereas the Accounts that make up most of Roll A list individuals in the Eudes's household and track when they were paid for services, the Inventories of Rolls B and C offer insight into the setting of the household itself and the religious houses and individuals in Acre to which the count's goods were disbursed. To read these rolls is to move through the domestic sphere of Eudes's lodgings and out into the religious and charitable landscape of French-Acre, that is, to see Acre through the eyes of a French crusader-noble. As noted above, geographically, Eudes's inventory is oriented toward Outremer and its holy sites. The only religious house mentioned outside of that city is Cîteaux, the Cistercian monastery in Burgundy where Eudes's heart was sent and where he was commemorated in the west. The inventory links places -- descriptively, relationally, and personally –to and with objects, creating sets of relations that once existed in space and time. Rolls B and C move through rooms that are filled with objects, which are themselves afforded values, histories, associations, and future trajectories as they are enumerated, given over, sold off, and disbursed in turn.

Those who have studied the *rouleaux* or used them to illuminate the crusading histories of the counts of Burgundy and Nevers, have been awed, as most modern readers are, by what we learn of the intimate and opulent details of Eudes's life and domestic setting in the East. Chazaud, the text's first editor, as well as Ernst Petit, René Lespinasse, and more recently Jaroslav Fulda and Jonathan Riley-Smith have all noted the vivid qualities of the inventory and its ability to evoke the seeming everyday details of life in Acre. In Petit's words, "we find in this precious document the exact descriptions of all the baggage and matériel that a knight of this

stature would need in the later thirteenth century for such an expedition."[127] A seeming realism, even empiricism about the possibility of knowing or holding the past appears to seep through the text, leaving most readers with a sense that they have cast, at the very least, a "sideways glance" into the personal world of a noble-crusader in Acre redolent with Eudes's personal "stuff;" his living world seems almost tangible.[128]

Roll B, in particular, we posit, gets us as close as we can come to the voice of Eudes himself. Drawn up on "the day he went from life to death (*au jor qu'il ala de vie a mort)*," it may reflect Eudes, on his final day, assigning specific objects to specific people either to keep for themselves, to hold until a final sale or compensation is made, or – in ways that lie beyond the limits of our text – to give away at another point that we cannot know.[129] The Inventory here begins in what must be Eudes's own, intimate chambers, with objects known to him in quantity, value, history, and provenance. In the hands of his servant Robet were given 8 rings, 2 sapphires, 1 cameo, 12 small rings from Puy, 2 small crosses of gold, a gold belt with pearls, a chapel of gold with stones and pearls, yet more plate including 2 silver basins to hold water, 1 silver goblet set with stones and enamels, which is believed to be of gold, additional pots, goblets, and silver spoons. All of these items surface again in later rolls when they are sold, or purchased, or in some cases given away as a form of salary compensation.[130] Robet was given charge of them, we must presume as the Count made the final provision of his goods. While still in the same space, two other servants, Odet de Menat and Afetie, were given into their

[127] "On trouve dans ce précieux document des indications exactes sur les bagages et le matériel, dont se faisait suivre au XIIIe siècle un chevalier de cette importance partant pour une telle expédition." Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne,* 5, 74-76, at 76; and Lespinasse, *Le Nivernais et les contes de Nevers* (Paris, 1901), 2: 270-286. See note xx above for additional bibliography.

[128] On what we can and cannot see, "glance" or "gaze" at in these texts, see Shirin A. Khanmonhamadi, *In Light of Another's Word: European Ethnography in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014). On empiricism and its limits and return, see Gabrielle Spiegel, "The Limits of Empiricism: The Utility of Theory in Historical Thought and Writing," *Medieval History Journal* (2019): 1-22.

[129] Edition, Roll B, 10.

[130] Edition, Roll B, 10. This is the case with Erard of Valéry, who was paid in part though objects that belonged to Eudes, including the gold chapel with stones and pearls, the decoration for the New Chapel, two new cloth hangings, the 9 Tartar cloths, and the cloth of gold threaded through the count's heart, two large Romanciers, and one Chansonnier, all of which was valued at 206 *lb. t.* 4 *d.* See Edition, Roll D, 17-18.

hands additional stores of silver including pitchers, containers, pots, goblets, saucers and spoons. Through the late nineteenth century, silver items would be a common way to store wealth for those who had it.[131]

The Inventory then moves to address the vast troves of cloth in the count's possession. Robet is again charged with taking these in hand (*par la main*). There are 10 pieces cloth purchased in Troyes, that Simon Ysanbars bought, 10 pieces of linen cloth from the duchess of Burgundy, 2 pieces of striped cloth from Provins, and dozens more ells or measures of cloth some plain, some worked, some embroidered and used for tablecloths.[132] Then dozens of hand towels are listed, old and new, small and large, as well as veils or head coverings, 10 pairs of small gloves, 3 pairs of deerskin gloves, daggers, leggings, and 4 pairs of leather shoes. There are also furs pieces -- vair, lesser or minevair -- camel hair cloth, or camelet, Boukharn cloth, Tartar cloth, quilts, hangings, coverlets, 4 silk cushions, and an embroidered coverlet of red taffeta, and 2 whistles.[133] And finally items that must come from what we can only call Eudes's toilet or medicine chest, including: "a shaving basin, two beaver testicles, serpent's tongue, and a vial of balm (*i bacon a rere; ii coilles debievre; une langue de serpent; une fiolete de baume; celle fu mise au euvre*)."[134]

Eudes's personal rooms were a decadent space -- covered with cloth, gold and silver objects, wall hangings, silk cushions. And even if all of this cloth and plate was not used, it was clearly on hand. We infer Eudes's role here because of the details adhering to the objects, the provenance of cloth from the east (Tartar or Boukhara) and west (Troyes, Provins, Burgundy). Likewise, knowledge of who purchased or gave it to the count is still associated with some of the objects and resides in the list itself.[135] We can envision a bed with multiple coverlets, some silk

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[131] Edition, Roll B, 10. See Michael Gorra, *The Saddest Words: William Faulkner's Civil War* (New York: Liverlight, 2020).
[132] Edition, Roll B, 10-11.
[133] Edition, Roll B, 11.
[134] Edition, Roll B, 11.
[135] For a well-known parallel, see Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis,* para. 323, where he describes the blanket made of scarlet and lined with fine vair that had been given to him by his mother. On eastern cloth and its use and meaning, see E. Jane Burns, *Sea of Silk: A Textile Geography of Women's Work in Medieval French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); and for connections beyond the Mediterranean, see Sharon Farmer, *The Silk Industries of Medieval*

and decorated, some plain; towels galore to wash and wipe with; and medicines and tinctures used for promoting health or used in healing wounds. Beaver testicles were used for the oil they contained, castor oil, which may have aided in digestion, or as some bestiaries conveyed, it was also thought to have a stimulant effect, sometimes called a medieval "viagra."[136] Serpent's tongue was believed to have had an antidote quality perhaps useful for healing a wound. Likewise, balm may have been used to treat any number of ailments from aches, to wounds, to irritants.

From the intimacies of Eudes's rooms, the inventory moves into the Armory. Eudes possessed 4 coats of armor, 3 banners, as well as leg protectors, a helmet and iron neck cover, a pair of white horse blankets, reins, 8 pairs of spurs, among other items for horses, 4 pairs of leather gloves and 5 dueling daggers. Save for swords and lances, bows and arrows, which one might expect, the count was well equipped for the skirmishes and raids that had come to characterize crusading warfare by the late-1260s.[137] Those inventorying then followed to Chamber where trunks and chests of many sizes and shapes were enumerated, presumably to store and move the objects detailed above.[138] The Pantry is next, and yet more trunks are listed alongside a tent, given to the count from "the *castellian* of Château Pèlerin (*une tante que li chastelain de Chastiaupelerin dona le comte*)."[139] This detail of

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Paris: Artisanal Migration, Technological Innovation, and Gendered Experience (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017); *eadem*, "Global and Gendered Perspectives on the Producetion of a Parisian Alms Purse, c. 1340," *Journal of Medieval Worlds* 1 (2019): 45-85; and Anne E. Lester, "Intimacy and Abundance: Textile Relics, the Veronica, and Christian Devotion in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade," *Material Religion*, [Special Issue, ed. William Purkis] 14 (2018): 533-544.

[136] See Ranya Halbouni, "The Treasured Testicles of the Medieval Beaver," https://blogs.getty.edu/iris/the-treasured-testicles-of-the-medieval-beaver/; and Melissa Lo, "Recasting the *Castor*: From *The Book of Beasts* to Albertus Magnus's *On Animals," Picturing Authorities*, 92-95; Efraim Lev, "Healing with Animals in the Levant from the 10th to the 18th Century," *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine* 2 (2006): https://doi.org/10.1186/1746-4269-2-11; Kenneth Gouwens, "Emasculation as Empowerment: Lessons of Beaver Lore for Two Italian Humanists," *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire*, 22:4 (2015): 536-562.

[137] Edition, Roll B, 12. Eudes also paid an armorer, Jehan of Dijon, 17 and a half *bezant* and 2 *quarrobles*, for armor (*pro armeurs*): Roll A, 3; the same entry is repeated in Roll A, 9 but then is crossed out. It seems surprising that no store of weapons of war are listed, especially swords, nor are the exchanged, passed on, or sold.

[138] Edition, Roll B, 11-12.

[139] Edition, Roll B, 12.

provenance suggests an intimate or personal knowledge of this object, which itself created a shared space for life on campaign or on the move.[140]

The inventory takes us next into the Cellar, where wooden barrels, flasks and casks are accounted for; then to the Kitchen where copper pots, large and small, cauldrons, pans, grills, iron pans, perforated pan and forks are listed.[141] Then, perhaps just adjacent in space, we move into the Stables, where the animals are enumerated including a large grey horse, a horse that belonged to Jacque Vidaut, a large palfrey and three pack animals and a lame ass that sufferers from a fever (*et i asne qui aportoit laigue)*.[142] Again, the genealogy of ownership personalizes even the animals. Finally, we learn of the supplies for the Lodging (*la garnison de l'ostel*), that is, the provisions in the cellar and the larder which include significant stores of food: 3 dozen butts of wine, 50 sides of salted meat, 195 chickens, one sheep; and 150 measures of wheat and 200 of barley.[143] Enough provision to feed a retinue of knights for several months.[144]

Although none of these details are especially surprising, the objects are organized and listed in a telling manner. We move through the spaces of Eudes's residence -- from intimate personal Chambers, to the Pantry, the Cellar, the Kitchen, and then outside among the animals and the stores of food. As Daniel Lord

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[140] Joinville describes the painted chapel tent the Louis IX had made and sent to the Mongols in the hopes of their conversion; Joinville, *VSL*, para. 471. And tents are depicted throughout the lavish imagery of the Morgan Picture Bible, especially in scenes of warfare. See New York, Morgan Library, MS M 638: https://www.themorgan.org/collection/Crusader-Bible.

[141] Edition, Roll B, 12.

[142] Edition, Roll B, 12.

[143] As Jordan notes, Joinville discusses salted meat (pork, which would have been difficult to obtain in the east), grain and wine and the work of provisioning an army on the move. See Jordan, *Louis IX*, 76-78; and Joinville, *VSL,* para. 130. In contrast, Joinville also notes the foods eaten locally supplied by the Nile, see paras. 187-190. Later, Joinville notes that when the army is captured the Muslim forces made two piles, "one of the bodies of the Christian dead and one of the salted pork (*un lit de bacons et un autre de gens mors*)", "which they were meant to look after since they do not eat pork (*et les chairs salees que il devoient garder, pour ce que il ne manjurent point de porc)*," and "they set fire to both; there was such a blaze that it lasted throughout Friday, Saturday and Sunday (et mistrent le feu dedans; et y ot si grant feu que il dura le vendredi, le samedi, et le dymanche." (para. 370).

[144] While living in Acre, Joinville provisioned his own retinue in almost exactly the same fashion; Jonville, *VSL*, paras. 502-503. He notes that after the feast of St. Rémy he had foodstuffs (*garnison de l'ostel)* [this is the same term exactly used in the Inventory] readied for the winter because "supplies became more expensive in winter due to the sea, which is more treacherous that in summer (*ce fesoi je pour ce que les danrees enchierissent en yver, pour la mer qui est plus felonnesce en yver que en esté*)." (Smith, 270).

Smail has shown, this sort of spatial recording of possessions was a common way of creating an inventory, of transferring physical objects and spaces onto a written list or textual frame, of unfurling the contents of a life.[145] This process was "something more akin to an act of translation," of tagging the charismatic three-dimensional things in the world to descriptive phrases and tags that will stand in and be pressed to recreate on the flat page what once was very much alive. [146]

Equally revealing is what was not inventoried.[147] Furniture is never mentioned. We hear nothing of chairs, tables, bed frames and mattresses. If they were in the lodgings Eudes rented, they were not his to give away. Swords and other weapons of war are also conspicuously absent, a surprising omission for a crusader's household. And although some objects key to women, there is nothing inventoried that was evidently or descriptively gendered female or intended for use by women. Eudes's was a decided masculine space, in which male solidarities were reinforced through naming, gifts, and personal memories.[148] Present, however, is luggage -- dozens of trunks, chests, caskets, barrels, casks, and the like -- and what they contained that is inventoried. We are, as Elizabeth Lambourn has so evocatively analyzed for a list from the Geniza records, among the goods of a traveler, someone with a temporary house, a store of valued and mundane objects some of which can be saved and others that must be consumed, as we shall see.[149]

Without doubt the two most opulent spaces in Eudes's *ostel* were the Chapel and the Wardrobe. They were inventoried last and reflect the vast quantity and quality of what they contain. The Chapel -- whether a dedicated room, consecrated space, or corner of a hall made sacred though the things it was furnished with -- had on hand all that was needed for a priest to perform the mass and to say the hours. Although no altar is specifically mentioned, the count did have a chalice, small cross with a relic of the True Cross, and what is called a Sanctuary (*le saintuaire*) which the patriarchs gave to the count. We take this to be a portable altar, perhaps

[145] Smail, *Legal Plunder*, see his analysis of inventorying as a process, 31- Smail notes that "the contents of a life unfurl as you from move room to room." 31.
[146] Smail, *Legal Plunder*, 67.
[147] Smail, *Legal Plunder*, 76-88.
[148] We thank Sarah McNamer for pointing this out.
[149] Lambourn, *Abraham's Luggage.*

given to the count by a bishop or archbishop, even the archbishop of Tyre himself or the Patriarch of Jerusalem.[150] There were numerous altar cloths, some for the front and some for the back, and sets of old and new liturgical vestments -- chasubles, albs, tunics, dalmatics, cloaks, amices, rochets, stoles and manipules.[151] Also an ivory box, linen hand cloths, a corporal and a monstrance, two decorated pyxes, as well as a missal and breviary. Everything needed for a chaplain, presumably Guillaume le Chaplain, to say mass on the move.[152] Interestingly, for a world obsessed with conversion and baptism in the East, there is no baptismal basin listed.[153] Eudes, of course, could have had recourse to his two silver basins in his Chamber, if needed, but this was not the space for such a public ceremony. We are in a lordly chapel, equipped for personal salvation, for confession, contrition, blessing, prayer -- private and communal – and mass.

Whether through an association of vestiture and vestments, or a spatial relation, the inventory turns next, to list the contents of Eudes's *old* Wardrobe (*la robe viez*).[154] What is connoted here by *viez*, or old, is not clear. It may be that these are the items of clothing he carried with him to Acre, they were thus already made, stitched, ready to wear, in contrast to the ells of cloth that were first listed and appear to be unfinished, that is, that could be made into clothing, vestments, livery, as needed. The old Wardrobe contained over three dozen articles of clothing, some in matched sets: a tunic (*cote*), overcoat (*serecot*) and corset (*corset*) of brown tiretaine (*tireteinne*) for example, or a tunic, two overcoats, and a mantel (*mantel*) of red serge trimmed with beaver and miniver, or *vair* -- clearly garments all made

[150] This was not uncommon. As noted above, Geoffrey of Sergines the elder was given permission by the Pope to have and use a portable altar as needed. See above n xx: *Registers* of Urban IV, p. 19, nos. 53-54.
[151] Edition, Roll B, 12. Concerning ecclesiastical vestiture, see Maureen C. Miller, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c. 800-1200* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014.
[152] Again, Eudes's lordly chapel can be compared to Joinville's set up in Acre, where he had two chaplains to say the mass every day. Joinville, *VSL*, 501. Narratively, this clearly the performance of piety, whereas Eudes preforms through his things.
[153] On conversion and baptism in the east and specifically during the reign of Louis IX, see William Chester Jordan, *The Apple of His Eye*: *Converts from Islam in the Reign of Louis IX* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 56-57. Jordan also speculates about the role of Geoffrey of Sergines the elder in overseeing and facilitating the conversion and baptism of converts from Islam before they departed with King Louis for France in 1254, 50-51.
[154] Edition, Roll B, 12-13.

from the same cloth.[155] Many of the robes are opulent, like the tunic and bright iridescent red corset trimmed with miniver, or the indigo tunic and overcoat made of camelin and lined with black taffeta. Indigo, aquamarine, and black were favored colors for wool blends and camelin, whereas green, vermillion and black were used for silk blends and taffeta linings.[156] A large variety of furs were used for linings and trim ranging from *gross vair*, to *menu vair* or miniver, to lynx, beaver and squirrel. The types of clothing varied too. We hear little of undershirts or chemises of cotton or linen, like those kept from Saint Louis's clothing as relics.[157] Rather it is the outerwear: overcoats, tunics, and what were called corsets, which were most likely akin to long wool-blend vests rather than the women's undergarments from the eighteenth and nineteenth century with a similar name.[158] Eudes also had a number of *garnaiche*, later known as *garde-corps*, or *houppelandes*, also an outer garment, perhaps worn in more formal settings.[159] These garments were used as stores of wealth made portable, an affordance of their material and function. This is underlined by the fact that after they are inventoried in the spatial context of Eudes chambers on the day he died in Roll B, Roll C then presents us with an appraisal of their value, that is, a corresponding list -- although not in the same

[155] On woven cloth, its dyes, fabrication and trim, see Farmer, *The Silk Industries of Medieval Paris*. For what was known as *tiretaine* specifically, a lightweight cloth made with a linen warp and a weft of wool, produced in Europe and in Paris specifically, see *eadem*, "*Biffes, Tiretaines,* and *Aumonières*: The Role of Paris in the International Textile Markets of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, vol. 2, ed. Robin Netherton and Gale R. Owen-Crocker (Woodbridge, Boydell, 2006), 73-89. The combination of linen and wool may have made it an especially suitable fabric for the climes of Outremer, warm but not too heavy.

[156] For similar garments wore in the east, see Joinville, *VSL*, paras. 467-468 where he outfits his retinue of Champenois knights in *cotes* and green herigauts (*je leur fiz tailler cotes et hargaus de vert*). During his captivity in Egypt the sultan gave Louis IX clothes made of black samite, lined with vair and grey fur, with a great many buttons made all of gold (*les robes que le soudanc li avoit fet bailler et tailler, qui estoient de samit noir forré de vair et de griz, et y avoit grant foison de noiaus touz d'or*)." para. 403. For such opulent textiles, see the work of Lisa Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings, 1300-1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); and *eadem, Renaissance Velvets* (London: V&A Publications, 2012), *eadem*, "Silk Cloths Purchased for the Great Wardrobe of the Kings of England, 1325-1462," *Textile History* 20 (1989): 283-307.

[157] They do appear among the things purchased *en mass* in Roll D by the Temple. It seems they are willing to buy Eudes's things in total almost either to pay off his debts or because they could be repurposed rather easily and were well suited for the brethren, who were knight-pilgrims in effect like Eudes himself. On these sorts of intimate textiles kept as relics, see Lester, "Intimacy and Abundance."

[158] See the DALME entry and bibliography on corsets, forthcoming.

[159] On *houppelandes,* see the discussion Smail, *Legal Plunder,* 70-72.

order -- that gives the monetary value of each garment, sets often separated, and then lists the religious house or person who received them as part of Eudes's final charitable bequest.[160] Whether he indicated himself which religious house or persons were to receive which garment, we cannot know.[161] The appraisal and recipient list copied in Roll C is the only undated roll of the four, so know when it was drawn up. The smaller gifts, like the gift of a fur hood and small fur corset for two hermits, or the single dress-doublet for a beguine, and the four doublets and leggings for four of the poor, seem like tantalizing references to individuals the count may have seen or know. But there is no confirmation of this.

If we pause for a moment and read the Inventory of the old wardrobe with Roll C – the appraisal and bestowal of the same items – we can follow the count or his executors through the space of Acre itself. As noted above, the Account-Inventory is a decidedly eastern facing text; it is grounded in Acre as an urban space even if its objects are mostly from the west. As the appraisal proceeds it would appear to make concentric circles within the northern quarters of the city, the area most familiar to the French and where there were a higher proportion of French affiliated religious houses and associated orders. No perfect pattern arises, but it is possible the listed gifts correspond to known routes in the city or to a sequence of institutions and individuals Eudes preferred or visited. It is likewise hard to know why specific garments were given to specific institutions. Most, as noted above, were probably reused, remade into altar clothes or vestments, or given to residents. In terms of documentation or documentary practice there is a notable redundancy between Rolls B and C. Why recopy information in such detail about clothing? Why not rework the inventory and add to it appraisal values? This is hard to answer. Perhaps Roll C was used as a walking text, that is, an animate list that Hugh or Erard or Geoffrey the younger, or more likely Robet the servant, had to hand while offering these final charitable gifts. In this sense it is also a quasi-religious text, a sort of testament that carries out Eudes's plans after he is dead. And it is, or

[160] Edition, Roll C, 14-16.
[161] On reading textiles though and in inventories, see *Inventories of Textiles – Textiles in Inventories: Studies on Late Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture*, ed. Thomas Ertl and Barbara Karl (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017).

becomes, a way for institutions and individuals to recall his charity. A roll in this fashion works well. It the functions as "an instrument of performance," unfurled it presents the full extent of Eudes's largess.[162] This may have mattered, for after his death miracles were reported to have been performed at Eudes's tomb in the cemetery of St. Nicholas in Acre.[163]

Rolls B and C both preserve one other list, an addition to the inventory of Edues's things on the day he went from life to death. On the reverse, that is, on the dorsal side of both rolls is recorded a nearly identical, and therefore repetitive, list of the rings, jewels, and relics the count gave out to his closest companions.[164] [**Figure 4**] This list copied on the back of the roll and standing almost on its own is a suggestion of how and by whom Eudes was to be remembered through and within specific small objects, some of which, like his cloth, are connected to specific individuals and previous crusading experiences.[165] They are crusader heirlooms, or heirlooms in the making.[166] The action here and the list itself is jumbled and requires careful parsing. It begins by stating simply "the good sapphire the count had sent to the lord of Bourbon (*Li boens saffirs le conte fu envoiez au segnor de Borbon*)," this would be his brother-in-law. Then, as if a paused afterthought, as if the scribe realizes what will come next, a note is made: "These are the things that were given away (*fu departie*) from among the count's things."[167] This is only the second instance of the phrase *fu departie*. All the other objects listed before are

[162] For an excellent discussion of the *rotulus* as presentation and performance page, see Marina Rustow, *The Lost Archive: Traces of a Caliphate in a Cairo Synagogue* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), 381-401.
[163] See "L'Estoire de Eracles," 455; Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre," 51. On the cemetery space: Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Death and Burial of Latin Christian Pilgrims to Jerusalem and Acre, 1099-1291," *Crusades* 7 (2008): 165-179. For the services in commemoration arranged by the Lady of Sidon, sister of the Count of Reynel, for Count Walter of Brienne, who was killed in Egypt and whose bones were returned to the French and buried in the same cemetery, see Joinville, *VSL*, para. 466,
[164] Edition, Roll B, 13-14; Roll C, 16-17. Chazaud omitted the repetition of the list between Rolls B and C, however role C's notes are slightly longer and elaborated. We have corrected for this and retained the repetitions in our edition.
[165] Here again we must underline the fact that the dorsal is not a rough draft of the recto as Chazaud blithely suggested, but functioned quite differently, perhaps as an addendum or aide-de-memoire, if not a fully performative text. A script for the presentation of Eudes's most personal objects.
[166] On such objects meant to be sent back from Outremer, see Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps,* 90-170; and Lester, "What Remains," and *eadem*, "Remembrance of Things Past."
[167] Edition, Roll B, 13.

simply in the hand of, or listed but not let go of, bestowed, or given away. One exception is the note that ends Roll B *recto*, that "all of the old clothing mentioned above was given (*fu departie)* to the poor at the hospital of Acre and to the poor houses of religion."[168] The dorsal list of personal bequests continues: My lord (*mes sires)* Geoffrey of Sergines, the father, that is, the elder, has or is to have the one sapphire that the count wears around his neck; *mes sires* Renaud de Précegni one cameo; "the Boichiers," his brother (not Eudes brother, but Renaud's perhaps) received the emerald that the count wore on his finger; *mes sires* Geoffrey of Sergines the younger, another emerald, then in turn, *mes sires* Roberz de Juenneces, *mes sires* Gaucher de Merry, *mes sires* Gui of Chantenay and his brother *mes sires* Hervy of Chantenay, *mes sires* Copin, and *mes sires* Hugh of Augerant, each receive a ring (*i anel*). In addition, Hugh is given "the ring that the Duke [of Burgundy] had given the count and the ring that should be given to the heir of Nevers" (that is, Jean Tristan, son of the king of France). *Mes sires* Erard of Valéry is given the two small crosses of gold and the small case of silver that holds the relic that the patriarch had given the count. Finally, there are additional panels of cloth given to the knights and the count's chaplain is to have the breviary, the chapel, and one new surplice, and one surplice is to go to Estien le Clerc as well. And the hospital of St.-John was given the two large copper pots from the Kitchen.[169]

[168] Edition, Roll B, 13.
[169] Edition, Roll B, 13-14.

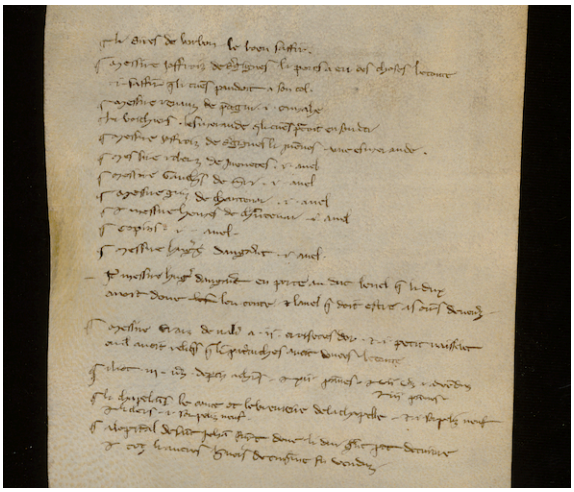

Figure 4: Detail, AN J 821/1 Roll C (*verso/dorsal)*

As is clear from this list and we know from other examples, crusader rings and jewelry were a mark of participation in the knightly culture of the Outremer. Eudes gives away objects -- emeralds, cameos, and rings -- that had belonged to his father and father-in-law, crusaders in their own right.[170] The other single rings, given out to the knights (*mes sires)* Eudes has assembled and is close with, will go forward as objects tied to this experience in 1266, in the east, as part of Eudes's expedition. The fact that Erard of Valéry is not among those receiving rings may be explained by the fact that he was not personally present at the time of Eudes's death and was represented in these earlier transactions as noted in Roll A, by Geoffrey of Sergines the younger. Nevertheless, his objects, and other items he purchased later or received as compensation were equally significant and personalized, including the relic and gold crosses and the three vernacular manuscript volumes.[171] We catch a glimpse not only of the transfer of wealth but even more powerfully the transfer of a set of ideas and experiences, of an ideology of crusading. To have been present when a crusade baron like Eudes of Never passed from life to death in his apartment in Acre, sick from illness and not recognized for valent deeds performed on the battlefield was an experience that was

[170] It would appear that some of the same jewels mentioned in the Inventory also appear earlier in the testament of the Count of Nevers from 1241, see above, n xx. These objects are also discussed in Lester, "Crusading as a Religious Movement."
[171] Edition, Roll B, 14; and Roll A, 8.

also carried forth in those small objects. This private death paralleled the deaths of many crusaders who died of disease, languishing, penitent, but not victorious as a battlefield martyr for the faith. This is how Louis IX would die, on the floor of his tent in a circle of ash, as a penitent. We can see in these relics and rings then the possibility for the circulation of a whole set of vernacular ideas and experiences all of which lie outside of texts strictly speaking even if we can hear echoes of them in Rutebuef's *Complaintes* and Joinville's reminiscences. We can sense what they may have meant by virtue of their twice-copied quality and their later preservation on the backside of two rolls of parchment kept in the royal archives. Finally, the repeated refrain "*mes sires"* of these lists echo Rutebeuf's poetic cadence and one can hear the spoken text performed, recorded on a roll almost like a pseudo-play script, possibly to be read again, aloud, before other audiences of family and kin in the west. Indeed, as Marisa Galvez counsels, in the meeting of objects in texts especially in the crusade context, we should "respect the fragmentary transmission of oral practices and rituals that constitute the contingent nature of medieval" textual practice and the paradigms of remembering.[172]

[172] Throughout her book Galvez has an excellent discussion of the meeting and meaning of objects in texts, see Galvez, *The Subject of Crusade*, 107, 113.

The Threaded Heart: Converted Objects and Return Journeys

Our final task, as it was Eudes's, is to consider what remained in Outremer and what returned to France. Roll D offers some insight into this, for it records (*C'est li escriz*) "the things the count sold (*des choses le conte vendues).*"[173] Are we to imagine the count is present, still alive, for these sales as the grammar of the title implies, or is this a posthumous list? Unlike Rolls B and C which are not dated, Roll D notes that the accounts were made on 15 September 1266, thus over a month after Eudes's death. It could be that the sales were made while Eudes was alive and the accounting finalized later. Certainly, Roll D seems our most worksheet-like in that a scribe, or possibly two, at different times, has used the back, the dorsal, of the roll to make two different notes. One in the same hand and ink as Roll B written upside down, that calculates "what the count had in *tournois* currency and *bezants*" on the day he died, noting that this account, that is, his discrete cash sum was made 9 August1266, two days after the count's death. This total will appear again incorporated into the full sum total of Eudes's estate at the bottom of Roll D *recto*. Likewise, on the *verso* side is a short list, in a different ink, more a note without values, of "the things that are not yet sold (*Ce sunt choses qui ne sunt pas ancor vendues*)" with a total value given in marks sterling and gold.[174] We believe that the dorsal lists were preparatory and thus ancillary to the longer more carefully compiled lists made on Roll D *recto*. Six buyers are listed, five are knights, but not all in Eudes's retinue. Erard of Valéry purchases an assortment of items, but most are from the kitchen -- including pots, pans, a fork, saucers, goblets and platters, table covering, and hand towels. He also purchases items from the larder and from

[173] Edition, Roll D, 17.
[174] Edition, Roll D, 21-22.

among Eudes's personal things including 10 pairs of small gloves, a whistle and unadorned fabrics. And he bought the donkey, 40 chickens, and half of Eudes's barley stores.[175] It is as if Erard plans to provide for his own household and his own lodgings, taking over where Eudes has left off. And there must have been some urgency, for unlike gold, silver, or cloth, barley, chickens and salted meat cannot last forever. Similarly, Geoffrey of Sergines the elder also buys from Eudes's kitchen and stores, including, caldrons, pans, sides of salted meat and casks of wine. He certainly had a permanent household and here is seen to provision it, to buy up Eudes's stocks which would otherwise have been wasted or sold.[176] Hugh de la Baume and Hue de Mont-Cornet, both knights, made similar small purchases.[177]

Finally, the Temple, that is, the Templars in Acre purchased a vast array of remaining things: an assortment of cloth and clothing, food stores, wood for fuel, cases and chests for transport, some armor, many things -- like undergarments, pairs of shoes, and blouses -- that were not listed among Eudes's more public-facing objects, as well as the two palfreys and two mules, the one grey horse, and "a chessboard and chess pieces sold together (*i eschaquier et les eschas vendu ensemble).*"[178] This sparling transaction was concluded in the presence of the Master of the Temple and the Treasurer. Here the Order is the beneficiary in a way of Eudes's death. They purchased his goods, though it is hard to know how or if the values were less or at market, and they collected on his debts. This exchange is illuminating for the Temple was not a recipient of Eudes's bequests as listed in Roll C, but it does receive the lion's share of his moveable goods and wealth. All of these items were objects that remained in Outremer, with Eudes's flesh and bones, not far off in the cemetery of the Hospitallers.

What returned to the west? It is possible that Roll D's dorsal list of "things not yet sold," made their way west with Hugh of Augerant or Erard of Valéry, both of whom have the costs of return "passages" noted in Roll A. The "things not yet sold" were for the most part small, portable, and of high value. Most were made of

[175] Edition, Roll D, 17-18.
[176] Edition, Roll D, 18.
[177] Edition, Roll D, 18.
[178] Edition, Roll D, 19.

gold and silver -- including goblets, rings, a chapel of gold, a silver pitcher, silver and gold cups, and two silver carafes – but they also included opulent cloth as well, specifically Tartar cloth, hand-worked hangings, coverlets, and the tent from Château Pélerin, as well as two pairs of trunks and three old chests, which may have been able to contain these items, but we cannot know for certain.[179]

One final thing that certainly did return to the west was Eudes's heart. In the days after his death, his heart was removed, set on ice, and then spiced, which is to say embalmed.[180] A special box (*escrin*) was purchased (for $3^{1/2}$ *bezants*) to contain it for its return trip and it was threaded with a piece of gold cloth (*drap qui i estoit dor et fu percez sor le cuer le conte*).[181] This in turn was taken – relic like – to Cîteaux, where it was entombed with his crusader predecessors, the dukes of Burgundy who had died before him.[182] His heart moved – separated from his body and his bones – within a narrative and imaginative space built into and upon the penitent longings of the crusader's separated self.[183] The circulation of people and objects, of bodies *as* objects, and worldly things that became secular relics suffused the crusading Mediterranean and generated what we are calling the material

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[179] Edition, Roll D, 21.

[180] Edition, Roll A, 5: "*por lespicie qui acira le cuer le comte, por emgueliet et por choses quil mist et por sa peine, vi b*." The entry in the inventory for this especially descriptive, almost a narrative, and this calls attention to itself. On the practices of embalming and removal of the hear during this period, see Katherine Park, *Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection* (New York: Zone, 2006), 15-20; and for the case of Chiara of Montefalco, who was also embalmed and whose heart was removed and placed in a box, 39-76. See also Romedio Schmitz-Esser, *Der Leichnam in Mittelalter. Einbalsamierung, Verbrennung, und die kulturelle Konstrukion des toten Körpers* (Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2014), in English: *The Corpse in the Middle Ages: Embalming, Cremating, and the Cultural Construction of the Dead Body*, trans. Albrecht Classen and Carolin Radtke (Turnhout: Brepols/Harvey Miller, 2020), 229-231, 240-274, 636-642 for the removal and separate burial of the heart.

[181] Edition, Roll A, 4: "*por I escrin achete por porter a Cysiaus, iii b. demi*"

[182] Eudes's brother, Robert II of Burgundy, stipulated in this will from 1297 that he wished to have is heart buried at Cîteaux next and his body *decca la mer*, in Acre, in both cases next to his brother (*delès … mon frere*). See above, n xx

[183] Much more should be said about the movement of Eudes's heart in relation to the complex and fascinating contemporary Romance, *Le Roman du Castelain de Couci et de la dame de Fayel* (Jakemés, c. 1280) and the German analogue, *Herzmaere*, for Eudes's is an historical example of such separation. Marisa Galvez offers a marvelous discussion of this text and its crusading context, Galvez, *The Subject of Crusade,* 87-97, and she treats the themes more broadly throughout. For the text, see Jakemés, *Le Roman du Castelain de Couci et de la Dame de Fayel par Jakemes*, ed. John E. Matzke and Maruice Delbouille (Paris: SATF, 1936). The fundamental study is Helen Solterer, "Dismembering, Remembering the Châtelain de Coucy," *Romance Philology* 46 (1992): 103-234. On the German tradition, see Claire Taylor Jones, "Relics and the Anxiety of Exposure in Konrad von Würzburg's *Herzmaere*," *Journal of English and German Philology* 116 (2017): 286-309.

Outremer, constituted by habits of thought, embodied practices of behavior, ritual, comportment, and profound acts of devotion and penance all done in an "other" space, across the sea. Eudes's death in the east, burial in Acre, and the embalming and translation of his heart, served as a pious model for King Louis IX of France, Count-King Thibaut V of Champagne and Navarre, and Jean Tristian among other lords who would die on campaign in Tunis in 1270, and whose hearts were likewise separated from their bones and viscera for commemorative burial.[184] Whether Eudes's heart traveled with one of his knights, a servant, or someone unnamed, we cannot know. Might we imagine Eudes's father, Hugh IV of Burgundy -- whose son, now dead, having fulfilled his crusade vow in his stead – present with Eudes's daughter, Yolande, and son-in-law Jean Tristian, assembled at Cîteaux to mourn the count. Might they have been there with other knights and retainers, listening perhaps to Rutebeuf's *Complainte* performed as a commemoration and celebration of Eudes of Nevers?[185] Could the *rouleaux* have made their way into France at this time too, serving an administrative and memorial function? The parchment *rouleaux*, which contain so many things whose material imprint and meaning have persisted over time, makes this worthy of at least some imaginative historical indulgence. The material object suggests as much.

[184] Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Authority, the Family, and the Dead in Late Medieval France" *French Historical Studies* 16 (1990): 803-832.
[185] Rutebeuf, *Le Complainte du Comte Eudes de Nevers*, in Bastin and Faral, *Onze poèmes de Rutebeuf,* 69-75.