

WOMEN AND WEALTH IN  
LATE MEDIEVAL EUROPE

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## CHAPTER 5

# MERCHANT WOMEN AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE GLASS CEILING IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PARIS

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With a population that approached 200,000 around the year 1300, Paris was the largest city in Western Europe.<sup>1</sup> Like other major cities, it had a stratum of wealthy bourgeois merchants who also dominated the local urban government. Paris differed from other French towns, however, because it was the center of royal government and because virtually every major aristocrat and high church leader in France and Flanders had a residence there.<sup>2</sup> The special status of the city offered unique opportunities to the leaders of the Parisian merchant class.

Boris Bove described these opportunities in his recent study of the forty-three merchant families that produced the municipal leaders of Paris between 1260 and 1350. According to Bove, commercial success in Paris frequently resulted in appointments to royal and aristocratic administrative offices. Men of the Parisian upper bourgeoisie who started their careers as drapers (merchants of wool cloth), mercers (merchants of silk cloth and mercery goods), and furriers soared to the heights of wealth and power when they were granted positions such as master of the royal mint, treasurer of the realm, or master of the royal forests and waters. On an even more intimate level vis-à-vis the king, some of these men ended up serving as officers of the royal court itself, as master of the royal stables, chamberlain, king's *pantler*, or king's *argentier* (the officer in charge of purchases of luxury textiles for the king's clothing and that of his family).<sup>3</sup>

A number of the women in these prominent Parisian families were well-known retailers in their own right. Indeed, because Parisian inheritance customs favored dividing an inheritance equally among siblings or among all those of the same degree of kinship, women inherited their family businesses along with their brothers.<sup>4</sup> And because Parisian inheritance practice favored widows, a number of widows in this group took over their husbands' businesses, even if they had children. Often, Parisian widows would share a business with their children, but the widow had the larger share in the business and the children eventually moved on, leaving the widow to run the business on her own.<sup>5</sup> A number of women, moreover, maintained separate businesses even while their husbands were alive. Some, like Erembourc of Moustereul and Genevieve la Fouacière, were independent textile merchants; others—including at least two women from families of Parisian alderman—drew on the capital from their husbands' businesses to lend money at interest.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, even when they rose to the highest echelons of Parisian taxpayers, merchant women in Paris experienced a glass ceiling: they never held municipal office, nor do we see them entering the ranks of the powerful royal and state administrative offices that were held by the men in their families. The financial rewards for top royal administrative positions—especially royal gifts of lucrative rents on administrative offices—greatly enhanced the financial success of the men of Parisian alderman families; the women, however, enjoyed those rewards only indirectly, as wives, widows, and heiresses.<sup>7</sup>

The Statutes, or *Ordonnances*, of the French Royal Household—written rules defining the rights and privileges of various individuals who had access to the king—create an even broader impression of the glass ceiling that excluded women. For instance, a list of Statutes from the reign of King Charles IV (1322–28) mentions over thirty Parisian merchants who had special privileges at the royal court; all of those merchants were men.<sup>8</sup>

Women merchants in Paris experienced a glass ceiling because of restrictions on their access to political and administrative office; and if we are to believe the prescriptions of the *Ordonnances* of the French royal household, they even experienced exclusion from commercial contact with the court. Their apparent exclusion from administrative office and from the royal court fits into a pattern that historians of medieval women have emphasized again and again: with the advent of royal bureaucratic government in the twelfth century and with the growth of urban government, women found themselves increasingly excluded from centers of political power.<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless, if we adjust our sites, focusing not on the very highest administrative offices, but on the next notch down in the hierarchy of

official and unofficial administrative and courtly positions, and if we look at actual practice rather than at royal prescriptions, we find that a number of women became extremely influential as furnishers to royal and aristocratic courts and that commercial contact with royal and aristocratic courts could lead to official positions at the royal court and in royal and aristocratic administrations.

In the rest of this chapter, I will discuss three groups of merchant and administrative women who gained access to and privileges at royal and aristocratic courts in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. First, I will discuss merchant women who sold luxury goods to royal and aristocratic households, focusing especially on three women who dominated their fields in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. I will then turn to a handful of women who gained recognition as official purveyors of luxury goods to the French royal household. Finally, I will discuss over a dozen women—many of whom probably started out as merchants of luxury goods—who attained administrative positions as concierges of royal and aristocratic residences.

While my analysis incorporates evidence from the 1270s to the 1450s, most of the evidence comes from two categories of sources from the years 1292–1328. First, there was a series of seven tax assessments for levies that King Philip IV imposed on the citizens of Paris. The assessments were made in 1292, 1296–1300, and 1313. The assessments of 1296–1300 constituted the last five years of an eight-year period when the king collected 10,000 Parisian pounds (*livres parisis*) each year from between 9,000 and 11,000 Parisian heads of household. These assessments seem to have been based on the estimated value of each taxpayer's business income, inventory, and investment. Manual laborers who were paid by the day or week, people who were too poor to pay taxes, religious professionals, and the nobility were not included on the lists. The assessments for 1293, 1294, and 1295—the first three years of the eight year run—have been lost, as has that part of the 1296 assessment that listed the more modest tax payers, or *menu peuple*, who paid a tax of between 2 and 5 *sous*.<sup>10</sup> The assessment for 1292 includes many more taxpayers—c. 14,500—than are included in the assessments of 1297–1300, largely because taxpayers deemed capable of paying only 1 *sou* were included.<sup>11</sup> Although the precise purpose of the 1292 assessment is not clear, the dominant theory among historians of Paris is that it was drawn up in preparation for the levy that ran from 1293 to 1300.<sup>12</sup> The assessment of 1313 is not quite comparable to the other assessments, because its function was different—it was drawn up for the knighting of the king's oldest son. This assessment included fewer taxpayers than the others—approximately 6,000. Moreover, the 1313 levy occurred after

the currency had been devalued, so it is difficult to draw comparisons between taxes paid in 1313 and those paid earlier.<sup>13</sup>

Despite the differences among the various assessments, they provide remarkable data for a twenty-one year period in the life of Parisian merchants and artisans. Because each taxpayer was listed by parish and street, and because many of them had last names or other consistent markers of identity, in addition to their first names, it is sometimes possible to trace an individual's rise to financial prominence and to analyze the transmission of family businesses from one generation to another. It is also possible to calculate the relative importance of women within a given profession. Overall, women constituted 13.8 percent of the heads of household who were assessed in the tax assessments of 1297–1300 (the years for which we have the most comparable data).<sup>14</sup> Because of the emphasis on heads of household, working wives usually disappear in these assessments. Moreover, not every taxpayer was identified by profession, and the assessors recorded men's professions more often than they recorded those of women—so all attempts at statistical analysis of various professions are only approximations.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, by comparing the percentage of women among the heads of household who were identified as practicing a particular profession to the percentage of women taxpayers overall, we gain some insight into professions that included high proportions of women and professions that included very few women.

The other records that are important for this study are the account books that were kept by royal and aristocratic households. In these accounts, administrators who worked for kings, queens, and aristocrats attempted to keep track of the expenses that their employers incurred to maintain their lavish lifestyles. The accounts thus list, usually in separate categories, disbursements for food, clothing, jewelry, and plate, and for the maintenance of furnishings and horses.<sup>16</sup> Among the surviving household accounts that overlap with the tax assessments of 1292–1313, the richest and most complete for what they reveal about Parisian merchants are the accounts of Count Robert II of Artois and his daughter, Countess Mahaut of Artois, covering the years 1292–1328. The count probably generated two to three household account books each year between 1292 and 1302; his daughter apparently generated three household account books each year between 1302 and 1328. Out of approximately one hundred household account books that the count and countess originally generated between 1292 and 1328, thirty-three have survived to the present day.<sup>17</sup> In addition, the archival sources from Artois include not only the household account books themselves but also thousands of supporting documents, including receipts from Parisian merchants and accounts kept by the concierges of several Artois residences.<sup>18</sup>

Royal and aristocratic household account books indicate that between 1278 and 1450 at least twenty women sold textiles to royal and aristocratic households. There were three woman drapers, who sold high-end wools; there was one woman who sold tapestries; there were three individual mercers plus another cluster of unnamed mercers, who sold silk cloth, silk products, and mercery goods; and there were thirteen women who sold fine linens, including table linens, towels, altar cloths, and linen fabric for stockings and underwear.<sup>19</sup> The predominance of linen merchants in this group conforms to what the tax assessments from 1297 to 1300 tell us about women's relative importance in this profession—women constituted 50 percent of the linen merchants who were identified in those tax assessments.<sup>20</sup>

The prominence of women among the linen merchants of medieval Paris, and women's strong presence among the mercers (20 percent in the tax assessments of 1297–1300)<sup>21</sup> also fits a long-term trend: scholars of early modern Paris have recently demonstrated that women mercers—including merchants of fine linen—played a major role in the luxury fashion markets of eighteenth-century Paris.<sup>22</sup> There is evidence for such women in the seventeenth century as well.<sup>23</sup> Although I have not had the opportunity to examine evidence from the sixteenth century, my guess is that the prominent women mercers of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Paris were the heirs to a pattern that had been set by the end of the thirteenth century and that persisted right up to the French revolution of 1789.

But overall numbers and percentages tell only part of the story, for there were some women who clearly attained unrivalled positions as the leading Parisian merchants of a given category of goods. And what we have to remember is that being at the pinnacle of the retail market in thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Paris put an individual at the pinnacle of the retail market in Northwest Europe: every aristocrat in France and Flanders had a residence in Paris. Paris served as a focal point for their itineraries and was frequently the place where they spent the most time.<sup>24</sup> It was in Paris, moreover, that they did most of their luxury shopping—for just about everything except woolen cloth. Paris was the best place to purchase jewelry, gold and silver plate, imported silks, saddles, harnesses, and spices. Moreover, it was a major center—along with Reims and Rouen—for the production of luxury linens; its tapestries were rivaled only by those of Arras; and its embroidered textiles and alms purses were highly prized as well. Even the English kings and queens regularly sent their buyers to Paris to purchase these goods.<sup>25</sup>

One of the women in the group of unrivalled women merchants—Ysabel of Tremblay—was from the highest stratum of Parisian bourgeois

society: her husband served twice as a witness, or *prud'homme*, for the municipal government of Paris, her aunt's husband, Etienne Haudry, served both as a *prud'homme* and as an alderman, and her son served as an alderman.<sup>26</sup> Ysabel's husband, Jean, was a major draper who supplied fine woolens to the household of the Count of Artois.<sup>27</sup> When Jean died, Ysabel took over the family business. Her grown son and her son-in-law lived nearby and were also identified in the 1313 tax assessment as drapers, but the two younger men were clearly less established than Ysabel. In that year, Ysabel paid an enormous tax of 75 *livres tournois* (or 60 *livres paris*), while her son-in-law, who was taxed with her, paid a tax of only 9 *livres tournois*, and her son, whose business was either part of hers or nearby on the same street, paid a tax of 18 *livres tournois*.<sup>28</sup> Ysabel's favored position vis-à-vis those of her son and son-in-law was not at all unusual: Parisian widows usually took over family businesses, and while many adult children started out working under their widowed mothers, most eventually moved on, leaving the widow with full charge of the family business.<sup>29</sup>

Nevertheless, the Parisian tax assessments suggest that Ysabel's role as a major female draper was extremely unusual: in the years 1297–1300 less than 2 percent of the taxpayers who were identified as drapers were women.<sup>30</sup> I suspect, however, that more women participated in this profession than the assessments reveal. The 1292 tax assessment listed over twenty taxpaying women from alderman families—which dominated the draper profession—but no profession is named for any of those women.<sup>31</sup> This was probably because the families were so well-known that no other source of identification was needed. Since these women appear in the assessments it is clear that they headed some kind of business, we simply do not know what it was. I also suspect that because these women were so wealthy and their families were so well known they did not remain in a widowed state for very long unless they wanted to. Once they remarried they may well have continued practicing a profession, but in most cases only their husbands appeared in the tax assessments. Still we do catch occasional glimpses in the tax assessments of working wives in this group. Indeed, the assessment of 1313 indicates that two women who had married into the family of Ysabel of Tremblay's husband were prominent moneylenders.<sup>32</sup>

Whether there were more women drapers than the tax assessments would lead us to believe, it remains the case that Ysabel of Tremblay was extremely unusual. Indeed, the size of the tax that she paid in 1313 placed her among the top sixteen tax payers—or the top .27 percentile—of people who were assessed in that year.<sup>33</sup> That group included no other women. Ysabel was also unusual because for at least six months, if not

longer, she held a virtual monopoly on the sale of luxury woolens to the French royal household. In the second half of 1316, a period for which we have one of the rare surviving records of the *Argenterie*, or French royal wardrobe accounts, Ysabel supplied the French royal household with virtually all of its wool cloth—including purchases for All Saints' Day (November 1), when winter clothing was disbursed to household members, Christmas, the installation ceremony of Pope John XXII, and the coronation ceremony of King Philip V and Queen Jeanne of Burgundy. The wool that Ysabel sold to the royal household in 1316 was used to make garments for the king, the queen, and the royal children, and it was given away as gifts and liveries to approximately 120 people. The total value of Ysabel's sales to the royal household in 1316 added up to more than 2,215 *livres paris*, which was a huge sum of money.<sup>34</sup>

The next two prominent merchants whom I want to discuss dominated the aristocratic linen market in Paris for almost fifty years. The first of those two was Jeanne la Fouacière, who first shows up in an account of purchases made by the English royal household in 1278, when agents for the English king were sent to Paris to purchase luxury goods in preparation for a tournament at Windsor castle.<sup>35</sup> The agents purchased a total of 130 *livres* worth of fine linens at that time, all of them from Jeanne la Fouacière. In the rare French royal accounts that record purchases of linen cloth, we find Jeanne two times, in 1307 and 1308.<sup>36</sup> In each of those cases, the linen purchases involving Jeanne are the only ones that are mentioned. Jeanne also shows up as a frequent supplier of fine linens to the household of the Countess of Artois between 1302 and 1310, although she is not the only linen merchant in those records.<sup>37</sup>

When she wrote her last will and testament in 1313, Jeanne la Fouacière identified herself as a widow, but we are never told the name of her husband, nor what profession he may have exercised.<sup>38</sup> In her testament, Jeanne also mentions her sister, Genevieve, who, like Jeanne, shows up in the Artois accounts as a linen merchant. Genevieve's husband, William of St.-Marcel, was a mercer.<sup>39</sup>

Jeanne la Fouacière also appears in the late thirteenth-century Parisian tax assessments, although she is never identified in those assessments as a merchant of linen cloth. Her tax assessments were well above those of most women who sold linen cloth: whereas the average tax for women who were linen merchants was under 3 *livres*, Jeanne paid between 12 and 16 *livres*.<sup>40</sup> These tax payments put her in the range of the average taxes of the Parisian aldermen—whose members included the wealthiest of the Parisian bourgeoisie.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, Jeanne's social connections overlapped with those of alderman families—one of the executors of her will was a priest who served as executor for Jeanne Haudry, wife of the alderman

Etienne Haudry.<sup>42</sup> There is no evidence, however, that Jeanne was, herself, related to any aldermen.<sup>43</sup>

After Jeanne la Fouacière died in 1313, Erembourc of Moustereul emerged as the leading Parisian furnisher of fine linens. She shows up both in the accounts of Countess Mahaut of Artois and in the French royal accounts.<sup>44</sup> The Artois accounts also indicate that Erembourc provided services for the Pope in Avignon: in 1327 and 1328 she took charge of shipping to Avignon the clothing, saddles and harnesses that Pope John XXII delivered to his knights during his Easter and All Saints' livery ceremonies.<sup>45</sup> It made sense for a linen merchant to take on these responsibilities: silks, especially, were always wrapped in linen for shipment.

The tax assessments indicate that Erembourc rose to prominence as a linen merchant from a relatively modest background. Between 1298 and 1300 she was listed in the tax assessments as a mere linen weaver, paying an annual tax of 10 *sous*, which was half a *livre*.<sup>46</sup> This was below the average tax for the overall population, which was just under a *livre*. By 1313, however Erembourc's fortunes had changed dramatically. She does not appear in the tax assessments herself that year, but her husband does, paying a relatively large tax of 6 *livres tournois*, which was close to three times the size of the average tax paid in that year.<sup>47</sup> What is particularly striking, however, is the fact that Erembourc's husband is listed in relationship to her, as "Fee Baudichon, husband of Erembourc of Monteruel." In Erembourc and Fee's case, the tax assessors conformed to the usual norm of listing only the male head of household in the tax assessment, but they acknowledged, nevertheless, that it was Erembourc who earned the more significant income.

One privilege that was available to prominent merchants who furnished the French royal household was the opportunity to participate in the process of compiling an inventory of the possessions of recently deceased members of the royal family and the opportunity to purchase some of those possessions. In 1328, Erembourc of Moustereul was the only person who purchased linens that had belonged to the recently deceased Queen Clemence of Hungary.<sup>48</sup> Jeanne la Fouacière must have been offered a similar opportunity to purchase linens from the estate of Queen Margaret of Provence, widow of King Louis IX, who died in 1295. When she wrote her own will in 1313, Jeanne bequeathed to the main hospital of Paris (the *Hôtel Dieu*), "my best bed set, with a coverlet, which once belonged to Queen Margaret, the widow of King Louis IX."<sup>49</sup> We can well imagine that between 1295 and 1313 the bed linens of Queen Margaret held pride of place in the shop of Jeanne la Fouacière, reminding Jeanne's customers of her special relationship with the French royal court.

The second group of prominent Parisian women merchants that I want to discuss consists of those who gained recognition as the French king's official purveyors of particular commodities. In the scattered royal and aristocratic household accounts from 1278 to 1450 I have located four of these women: Peronnelle, who was the king's spice merchant or spice specialist (*Espicière le roy*) between 1299 and 1307; Peronnelle de Crepon, who was identified as the king's tapestry merchant or tapestry weaver in 1374; another Peronnelle, who was the purveyor of the king's gloves between 1368 and 1375; and Jeanne of Dammartin, purveyor of the king's gloves in 1387.<sup>50</sup> My discussion focuses on Peronnelle the spice merchant because the Parisian tax assessments enable us to piece together the evolution of her career.

Peronnelle l'Espicière first shows up in the Parisian tax records in 1292, when she was identified as a spice merchant.<sup>51</sup> By 1299, however, and again in 1300, she was identified in the tax records as *Espicière le roy*, a position that she apparently held until at least 1307.<sup>52</sup> Peronnelle's role as the king's favored furnisher of spices was not a monopoly—the French royal court did not allow that—nor did her relationship with the royal court prevent her from doing business with other customers.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, we can assume that in identifying Peronnelle as the official furnisher of spices to the king, the royal court enhanced her business reputation, and thus her circle of customers.

Spice dealers sold a variety of goods, most of which arrived in Paris via long distance trade. Their merchandise included spices from the Far East; sugar, rice, cotton, and silk cocoons from the Mediterranean basin; as well as wax, nuts, pigments, and dyes.<sup>54</sup> Apparently because spices were often used for medicinal purposes, spice specialists could attain prominent positions in royal and aristocratic courts. Indeed, according to the statutes of the French royal household written in 1316, the king's spice specialist at that time was one of the king's three "valets de chambre," along with his barber and his tailor.<sup>55</sup>

Overall, women were slightly underrepresented among merchants of spices: in the Parisian tax assessments of the years 1297–1300, women who were heads of households constituted 11 percent of spice dealers paying taxes, which was just less than women's overall representation in the tax assessments (13.8 percent).<sup>56</sup> This is about what we would expect, since women who were spice merchants paid a tax that was slightly above the average tax, and women's representation within a given profession tended to decrease as the average income of the profession increased. In the years 1297–1300, the years for which we have the most comparable data, women spice merchants paid an average tax of 1.7 *livres*; the average tax payment during those years was just less than 1 *livre*.<sup>57</sup> As we

might expect for the woman who came to be known as the king's spice merchant, Peronnelle did even better than most women within her profession: between 1297 and 1300 Peronnelle's assessments ranged from 6 *livres* to 8.75 *livres*.<sup>58</sup>

Already in her earliest appearance in the tax assessments, in 1292, Peronnelle's place both within her profession and within her family is striking: it appears that she and her brother had inherited a family business, but that she was now the one who was in charge. In that year Peronnelle paid a tax of 7 *livres*, while her brother paid one of only 2.5 *livres*. Moreover, her brother appeared on the tax assessment immediately after her, and he was identified as "Pierre, her brother."<sup>59</sup> Peronnelle was assessed each year between 1296 and 1300. In 1296, 1298, 1299, and 1300 she was listed as the first taxpayer on the Petit Pont, the bridge between the left-bank and the Île-Notre-Dame, where the king resided. Of over a dozen spice merchants on the Petit Pont, Peronnelle paid the highest tax. Peronnelle's brother Pierre was assessed only in 1296 and 1299. In both cases, he was identified as Peronnelle's brother, and in both cases, his tax was considerably lower than hers: in 1296 he paid a tax of 58 *sous* while she paid a tax of 6 *livres*, 10 *sous* (a total of 130 *sous*); in 1299 she paid 8 *livres*, 15 *sous* (or 175 *sous*) while he paid only 20 *sous*.<sup>60</sup>

Peronnelle thus provides an example of a woman who enjoyed a favored position over her brother in inheriting a family business. This was unusual: the Parisian tax assessments indicate that while daughters often inherited a business, it was relatively rare for a sister to gain precedence over her brother.<sup>61</sup> Even more unusual is the fact that Peronnelle emerged, within a profession dominated by men, as the king's favored furnisher of spices.

As prominent purveyors of luxury goods, women like Ysabel of Tremblay, Jeanne la Fouacière, Erembourc of Moustereul and Peronnelle l'Espicière had the kinds of experiences that could lead to administrative positions: they were literate and numerate, so they could keep accounts; they knew luxury products and luxury markets; and they had connections in high places. It is for this reason that so many of the male drapers, mercers, and furriers of Paris ended up serving as administrators to aristocrats and kings.

The same was true, I believe, for some of the women merchants of Paris. At least a dozen women in and around Paris served as concierges of aristocratic and royal residences in the years 1292-1328.<sup>62</sup> I do not know the backgrounds of most of these women, but the evidence indicates that some concierges started out as merchants of luxury goods: one male concierge for the Parisian residence of the Count of Artois was also

a goldsmith, and a woman spice dealer who did a lot of business with the Countess of Artois ended up working as her concierge as well.<sup>63</sup>

Concierges did not enjoy an intimate relationship with their employers: along with their household entourage, kings and aristocrats led a peripatetic life, moving several times a month from one residence to another; concierges by contrast were tied to one particular residence. Nevertheless, the concierge of a rural chateau or urban aristocratic residence was more than a simple guardian. Moreover, the concierge of an aristocrat's Parisian residence had extra responsibilities, because on multiple occasions when the lord or lady of the residence was not in town the concierge would be asked to make important purchases of luxury goods. We know from the surviving accounts kept by several concierges of the Count and Countess of Artois that their duties encompassed acting as property managers, contractors, rent collectors, interior designers, and railors. In the 1270s the concierge of the Artois residence in Paris collected rents on eighteen rental properties that the count owned on the adjacent rue Pavée.<sup>64</sup> In 1302 an unnamed concierge, probably a woman, paid to repair the porter's room, which had been damaged by fire, and had the rabbit warren repaired to keep the rabbits away from ditches and trees in the garden.<sup>65</sup> In 1303 the Artois concierge, Madame Bienvenue, paid to repair the kitchen, several doors, several pieces of furniture, the fountain, and the stables at the Artois residence in Paris. She also employed a gardener to tend to the grapevines, bought silk to cover a book that had belonged to the queen, and commissioned a silk embroidery for the chapel.<sup>66</sup>

The records of Count Robert of Artois and his daughter indicate that at least ten individuals served as concierges for the Artois residence in Paris between 1292 and 1328.<sup>67</sup> Three of the ten were women. One of the three—Jeanne of Léry—served as concierge for the Artois residence for at least six years, from 1297 to 1301, and again in 1302-3.<sup>68</sup> This is one of the two longest periods of service that I have identified for any single concierge in the Artois records.

As concierge of the Parisian residence of the count of Artois, Jeanne of Léry was paid a daily wage of 1.5 to 2 *sous* a day. 2 *sous* per day was a typical wage for the literate clerks who worked for the state bureaucracy. For instance, that was the wage that was paid in 1313 to the clerks who assisted in compiling the Parisian tax assessment for the knighting of the king's oldest son. However, clerks who worked for the state were not paid on Sundays or holidays.<sup>69</sup> More important, I suspect that the official wages of concierges constituted only icing on the cake—a supplement to the free housing that they received, to whatever business income they continued to generate on the side, and to perks that they folded into

expense accounts submitted to their employers. Jeanne of Léry's tax payment of 1 *livre* was about the same as the average overall tax in Paris; it was above average for a woman's tax.<sup>70</sup>

In addition to these two women whose work for the Artois household was limited to the role of concierge, a third woman—Jeanne l'Espicière, who was indeed a spice merchant—seems to have provided multiple services to the Artois household. Jeanne l'Espicière first appears as a supplier of spices to the Artois household in 1308,<sup>71</sup> but by 1310 she was providing other services as well. We find her in that year, together with Pierre the Tailor, who was identified as the concierge of the Artois residence in Paris, buying linen from Jeanne la Fouacière, which was used to make bed sheets in the Artois residence and clothing for members of the Artois household.<sup>72</sup> In 1315, the Artois household reimbursed Jeanne in her capacity as concierge for payments that she had made to masons, glaziers, and tile cutters who had worked on the residence and its fountain and for her purchases of linen cloth and linen towels.<sup>73</sup> In 1317 she shows up again, along with another man who is identified as the concierge, as a witness when the countess's treasurer removed funds, in an official capacity, from the Artois treasury in Paris.<sup>74</sup> Throughout the period that she provided these services for the residence, Jeanne and her husband, Pierre le Vaillant, continued to sell spices to the Artois household.<sup>75</sup>

There is no question that elite women merchants of the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries experienced an administrative glass ceiling in Paris. They were not awarded valuable positions as masters of the royal mint, as officers of the royal forests, or as treasurers of the realm. Nevertheless, a number of women gained unsurpassed reputations as merchants of fine luxury goods, and through those reputations they gained favor in the courts that they served. Moreover, while these women could not hold the highest offices in royal, aristocratic, and state administrations, they could hold some offices, such as that of concierge of a major royal or aristocratic residence; and a number of them were recognized as officially named purveyors of goods and services to the royal household. Even without an official title, moreover, some prominent women retailers came to hold near monopolies in supplying royal or aristocratic households with a particular category of luxury goods, and their favored relationships with those households could lead to favored opportunities, such as the chance to own and display luxury goods that had once belonged to members of the royal family.

The evidence of aristocratic and royal household accounts indicates that women merchants of Paris continued to hold prominent positions as purveyors of fine linens, silks, and mercery goods well into the fifteenth century. Indeed, it appears that the gendered patterns that were

established in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries continued into the early modern period as well. By the end of the thirteenth century, women were strongly represented among the mercers and linen merchants of Paris; two of those women dominated the Parisian market in fine linens for nearly fifty years. By 1378 several women mercers had attained highly prestigious stalls in the gallery of the Palais Royale in Paris; women mercers and merchants of fine linens and laces were still well established in the Palais Royale in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although in the eighteenth century many of those mercers relocated to the Rue St. Honoré once it became a center for shops specializing in luxury fashions.<sup>76</sup>

During the reign of King Louis XVI, the dressmaker Rose Bertin held so much sway over Queen Marie Antoinette that many called her "the minister of fashion." Rose was only one of a whole group of women merchants who set fashion trends in eighteenth-century Paris. According to Jennifer Jones, "from seamstresses and linen drapers to female hairdressers and *marchandes de modes*, women played an important role in the Parisian fashion trade" in the eighteenth century.<sup>77</sup> Women's prominence in these trades, Jones argues, is indicative of an eighteenth-century feminization of fashion, which resulted from a growth in the numbers of women among the working poor as well as from a perception, on the part of social reformers, that access to work in the clothing trades could provide single women and widows with a respectable way to support themselves.<sup>78</sup>

But how much of this was really new in the eighteenth century? As I have argued elsewhere, singlewomen and widows already constituted a significant proportion of the working poor in thirteenth-century Paris.<sup>79</sup> It is clear, moreover, that many of those women contributed to the production of luxury textiles and fashion accessories: the seven female guilds that were created in Paris between c. 1260 and 1300 were all connected with the creation of silk fabric, silk accessories, embroidered accessories, and women's hats; and women constituted approximately 90 percent of the silk weavers in late thirteenth-century Paris.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, by the end of the thirteenth century, merchant women in Paris were well established as purveyors of linen and silk textiles. Already in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in the prominent careers of women like Jeanne la Fouacière and Erembourg of Moustereul, we see the precursors of Rose Bertin and the other eighteenth-century *marchandes de mode*. Moreover, in the careers of Peronnelle L'Espicière, who became the king's purveyor of spices, and Jeanne L'Espicière, who served the Countess of Artois both as a supplier of spices and as concierge, we see the ways in which medieval women managed to cross the gender barrier between commerce and administration.



## Notes

1. See Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), p. 17, note 19 for general discussion of the debates surrounding the size of the population of Paris.
2. Josef Semmler, "Die Residenzen der Fürsten und Prälaten im mittelalterlichen Paris (12.–14. Jahrhundert)," in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, ed. Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Riou, 2 vols. (Poitiers: Société d'études médiévales, 1966), 2:1217–36.
3. Boris Bove, *Dominer la ville: prévôts des marchands et échevins parisiens de 1260 à 1350* (Paris: Editions CTHS, 2004), pp. 69–105, 269–91.
4. Le Roux de Lincy, *Histoire de l'Hotel de Ville de Paris* (Paris: J. B. Dumoulin, 1846), pt. 2, pp. 121–22 (Sentences of the Parloir aux bougeois from 1293).
5. Janice Archer, "Working Women in Thirteenth-Century Paris (PhD Dissertation, University of Arizona, 1995), p. 142. See the discussion of Ysabel of Tremblay in this chapter, p. 94. Ysabel was a widowed draper whose share in her husband's business was much larger than those of her son and son-in-law. Another widow from the alderman class who went into business with her son, but had the greater share in the business, is Peronnelle, "widow of Jehan Augier," who, in 1297 paid a tax of 11 livres 5 sous. Next to her on the tax assessments and sharing a valet and chambriere with her was Jehan Augier, apparently her son, who paid a tax of 7 livres 16 sous. Karl Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille de Paris, l'an 1297* (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1962), p. 33. Peronnelle or her deceased husband also had two daughters (Agnes, "daughter of the deceased Jehan Augier" and Jeanne, "daughter of the deceased Jean Augier") who had moved to another street, where they had a joint business with a combined value that was almost equal to the combined value of the business of their mother and brother Michaelsson, *Le livre de la taille... 1297*, pp. 26–27.
6. The tax assessment of 1313 included marginal notes concerning ten men of various occupations (draper, spice merchant, innkeeper, maker of armor, etc.) whose wives were identified as "monnoieres"; two of those women were married to men in the de Tremblay family, which included several aldermen (see discussion of Ysabel of Tremblay, below). While the term "monnoier/e" could refer either to a person who minted money or to a person who changed or lent money, the context for these women suggests that they lent money: most of the marginal notes for these wives indicate that the wife's share of the tax burden was one-half of the total tax burden for the household; the assumed relationship between the value of the husbands' businesses and the value of the wives' businesses suggests that the women were money lenders and that the money that they had to lend was generated by their husbands' businesses: Karl Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille de Paris, l'an de grace 1313* (Göteborg: Wettergren & Kerbers Förlag, 1951), pp. xviii–xix.
7. On institutional rents, which were much more lucrative than rents on urban properties, see Bove, *Dominer*, pp. 106–14.
8. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. Clairambault 833, fol. 736–737, 739.
9. Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne Wemple, "The Power of Women Through the Family in Medieval Europe, 500–1100," in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), pp. 83–102; Marian F. Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987–1237," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 5 (1968): 3–47; Lois Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Rochester, NY: Boydell, 2003); Martha C. Howell, *Women, Production and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).
10. For general discussion of the 1293–1300 assessments, see Archer, "Working Women," pp. 77–80, 152–53. All five of the assessments from 1296 to 1300 are contained in ms. KK 283 in the Archives Nationales in Paris (henceforth AN KK 283). The assessments of 1296 and 1297 have been published: Karl Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille de Paris, l'an 1296* (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1958); Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille... 1297*. I am grateful to Janice Archer, who shared with me her alphabetized printout of all of the women in the 1292, 1296–1300, and 1313 tax assessments.
11. Hercule Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel d'après des documents originaux et notamment d'après un manuscrit contenant 'Le Rôle de la Taille' imposée sur les habitants de Paris en 1292*, rept. ed. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1991); David Herlihy, *Opera Muliebra: Women and Work in Medieval Europe* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1989), p. 135; Archer, "Working Women," p. 82.
12. Archer, "Working Women," p. 79.
13. Archer, "Working Women," p. 78.
14. Archer, "Working Women," p. 110.
15. Archer, "Working Women," pp. 80, 106; Caroline Bourlet, "L'anthroponymie à Paris à la fin du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les rôles de la taille du règne de Philippe le Bel," *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne*, ed. Monique Bourin and Pascal Chareille, vol. 2–2 (Tours: Publications de l'Université de Tours, 1992), pp. 16, 23.
16. For a general introduction to aristocratic and royal household account books see Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 69–80.
17. For a list of the surviving accounts of Robert II and Mahaut of Artois see Robert-Henri Bautier and Janine Sornay, *Les Sources de l'histoire économique et sociale du moyen âge: Les états de la Maison de Bourgogne* (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1984), pp. 256–60.
18. Supporting documents are in Series A of the Archives départementales de Pas-de-Calais (Henceforth PdC A); most have been catalogued by Jules-Marie Richard, *Inventaire-Sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790, Pas-de-Calais, Archives Civiles—Série A*, 2 vols. (Arras: Imp.

- de la Société du Pas-de-Calais, 1878, 1887). See below at notes 64–66 for accounts kept by concierges.
19. On the draper Ysabel of Tremblay, see the discussion in this chapter on pp. 93–95. Other drapers were Genevieve de Lille and La Dame de Trumelières: Bove, *Dominer*, p. 650; L. Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'argenterie des rois de France au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Jules Renouard et C<sup>ie</sup>, 1851; rpt., New York, London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1966), p. 86. On the tapestry merchant, Peronnelle de Crepon see below at note 50. The mercers were Martine la Thierrie (1368–76); “une merciere de Paris” (1368); “Mercieres du Palais de Paris” (1378); and Ysabiau la Cauchoise (1386): Bernard Prost, *Inventaires mobiliers et extraits des comptes des dues de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois (1363–1477)*, 2 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1902–1904), 1:116, 124, 150–151, 158, 166, 495; 2:22, 583. On the linen-merchants Jeanne la Fouacière, Genevieve la Fouacière and Ercebourc de Moustereul, see below at notes 35–49. The others were Jeanne la Fruictiere (1304); Jeanne la Pareitère (1315); Guillemete de la Pomme (1352); Jeanne de Brie (1387); “une marchande de linge de Paris” (1371); Amaline la Haronne (1368); Asselot, lingiere (1401); Jeanne la Buoise (1383); Jamecte Buynarde (1450); and Marguerite Bourdelote (1450): PdC A 199, fol. 93; PdC A 329, fol. 18v; L. Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'argenterie*, pp. 93–96, 143, 297; L. Douët-d'Arcq, *Nouvelle recueil de comptes de l'argenterie des rois de France* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1874), pp. 241, 260; Prost, *Inventaires* 1:106, 158, 257; 2:149, 225, 330–31, 334.
  20. Archer, “Working Women,” p. 180.
  21. Archer, “Working Women,” p. 325.
  22. Jennifer Jones, *Sexing La Mode: Gender, Fashion, and Commercial Culture in Old Regime France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
  23. See, for instance, the seventeenth-century engraving by Abraham Bosse depicting the Gallery of the Palais Royale. One of the commercial booths in the gallery is that of a woman selling fine linens and laces: Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 54.
  24. Vale, *Princely Court*, 145–52; M. Le Comte de Loisine, “Itineraire de Robert II, Comte d'Artois,” *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1913): 362–83.
  25. On aristocrats and kings shopping in Paris: Vale, *Princely Court*, pp. 351–54; Samuel Lysons, “Copy of a Roll of Purchases Made for the Tournament in Windsor Park, in the Sixth Year of Edward the First,” *Archaeologia* 17 (1814): 297–310; Frédérique Lachaud, “Textiles, Furs and Liveries: A Study of the Material Culture of the Court of Edward I (1272–1307)” (DPhil: Oxford, 1992), 121–22; Françoise Pipponnier, *Costume et vie sociale: La cour d'Anjou xiv<sup>e</sup>-xv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Mouton, 1970), pp. 27, 41; *De Rekeninghen der graven en gravinnen uit het Henegouwsche huis*, ed. J. Smit, 3 vols. (Amsterdam and Utrecht: J. Müller, 1924–39), 1:178–9, 521–2, 558; PdC A 132/3; PdC A 151/91; PdC A 263, fol. 21v; PdC A 270, fol. 25v; Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, CC 1, membrane 19; Ghent, Rijksarchief, Inventaire

- Gaillard, 52, membrane 5, 7; Ghent, Rijksarchief, Inventaire St.-Genois, 668. On luxury goods produced in Paris: Marian Campbell, “Paris, miroir ou lumière pour l'orfèvrerie anglaise vers 1300?” in *1300: L'art au temps de Philippe le Bel*, ed. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin and François Avril (Paris: Ecole du Louvre, 2001), 203–18; Sharon Farmer, “Biffes, Tinetaines and Aumoniers: 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): 75–89.
26. Bove, *Dominer*, pp. 644, 646 (under Haudry, Tremblay). For an explanation of the function of prud'hommes, see pp. 230–35. On Ysabel's relationship to Jeanne Haudry, the first wife of Etienne Haudry, see Jeanne Haudry's testament: Boris Bove, “Vie et mort d'un couple de marchands-drapiers parisiens, d'après les testaments de Jeanne et Étienne Haudry (1309, 1313),” *Paris et Île-de-France, Mémoires*, 52 (2001): 71.
  27. Bove, *Dominer*, p. 648.
  28. Michaelsson, *Livre de la taille... 1313*, p. 202. Ysabel's role as head of the family business is partially discussed by Bove, *Dominer*, p. 407.
  29. Archer, “Working Women,” pp. 139–51.
  30. Archer, “Working Women,” p. 254. I have calculated the percentage from her estimated numbers for all four years.
  31. They are Agnes, daughter of the deceased Bertaut Arrode; Alison Arrode and her sister; Perronnelle Arrode; Jehanne Arrode and Gilete her daughter; the daughter of Jehan Augier; Perronnelle, sister of Antoine Boucel; Alice, widow of Etienne Bourdon (taxed with her unnamed four children); Marie, mother of Adam and Jaquet Bourdon; Dame Edeline of Dammartin; Marie la Marcele; Genevotte, niece of Raoul of Pacy; Perronnelle of Pacy; the widow of Philippe Paon; Dame Jehanne la Piz-d'Oe (taxed with her unnamed three children); the widow of Thomas Piz-d'Oe and Marote her daughter; Dame Agnes la Sarrazine; Dame Jehanne la Sarrazine; the sister of Jehannot of Tremblay; Ameline of Tremblay; Jehannete, daughter of Guillaume Toussac; Marie, widow of Guillaume Toussac: Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel*, pp. 16, 17, 18, 25, 29, 30, 35, 38, 63, 67, 71, 72, 90, 91, 99, 137.
  32. See note 6 above.
  33. I have derived the list of sixteen taxpayers paying 75 *L tournois* or more from Michaësson's list of those paying 20 *L tournois* or more in 1313: *Le livre de la taille... 1313*, pp. xvi–xviii. There were 5979 tax paying units in that year: Michaelson, p. xiv.
  34. Douët d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'argenterie*, pp. 5–6, 20–22, 27–28, 37, 40, 45, 52–54, 63, 67.
  35. Lysons, “Copy of a Roll of Purchases,” 305.
  36. Robert Fawtier and François Maillard, editors, *Comptes royaux (1285–1314)*, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954), #23992, 24078.
  37. PdC A 178; PdC A 189/3; PdC A 192; PdC A 263, fol. 18; PdC A 270, fol. 22; PdC A 280, fol. 20.

38. Paris, Archives Nationales, L 938/46.
39. PdC A 151/34.
40. Jeanne's tax assessments: Michaëlsson, *Livre de la taille*... 1297, p. 30; AN KK 283, fols. 100, 160, 238v. The average tax assessment of linen merchants ("chanevaciere," "vendeur de toiles,") in the 1297-1300 tax assessments is based on my own calculations of listings of linen merchants in the 1297-1300 tax assessments: AN KK 293, fols. 39, 45, 60, 105, 156.
41. Bove, *Dominer*, p. 60. Aldermen who were active between 1292 and 1313 paid an average tax of 14 *L paris*.
42. Paris, Archives Nationales, L 938. The executor was Bernard de Pailly. For his role as executor for Jeanne Haudry, see Bove, "Vie et mort d'un couple," 71.
43. While the aldermen of Paris included mercers, Jeanne la Fouacière's brother-in-law, Guillaume of St.-Marcel, was not a member of any of the alderman families.
44. Douët-d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'argenterie*, p. 36; PdC A 357; PdC A 361; PdC A 368; PdC A 374; PdC A 379; PdC A 387; PdC A 403; PdC A 396, fol. 14v, 15; PdC A 448, fol. 26; PdC A 458, fol. 32.
45. PdC A 461, fol. 30v; PdC A 470, fol. 21v; PdC A 474, fol. 15.
46. Paris, AN KK 283, fol. 112, 189, 265v.
47. Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille*... 1313, p. 118. The total amount collected in the Paris levy of 1313 was 10,000 *livres paris*, which amounted to 12,500 *livres tournois*. Tax payers were assessed in *livres tournois*. There were 5979 tax paying units, so the average tax (12,500/5979) was 2.09 *livres tournois*. I have calculated this average from the figures given by Michaëlsson, pp. xiii, xiv.
48. Douët-d'Arcq, *Nouvelle recueil de comptes de l'argenterie*, p. 77.
49. Paris, Archives Nationales L 938.
50. On Peronnelle the king's spice merchant, see discussion that follows. For the other three women see Prost, *Inventaires*, I:193, n. 3, 364, 385, 428; Douët d'Arcq, *Nouvelle recueil*, p. 215.
51. Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel*, p. 139 (fol. 62a).
52. Paris, AN KK 283, f. 210v, 285v.
53. Bove, *Dominer*, pp. 86-87.
54. Francesco di Balduccio Pegolotti, "Spices," trans. from *La prattica della mercatura* by Robert S. Lopez, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 109-14. See also W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du levant au moyen âge*, trans. into French by Furcy Raynaud, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1923, 1936). 2: 563-711.
55. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Clairambault, ms. 832, pp. 529, 571.
56. Archer, "Working Women," p. 325.
57. Archer, "Working Women," p. 325.
58. Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille*... 1297, p. 181; AN KK 283 fol. 121v, 210v, 285v.
59. Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel*, p. 139.
60. Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille*... 1296, p. 202; Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille*... 1297, p. 181; AN KK 283 fol. 121v, 210v, 285v.
61. Archer, "Working Women," pp. 150, 275-314. In Archer's appendix concerning the transmission of family businesses, I find only one sister winning out over her brother: p. 303.
62. Women concierges in the Parisian tax assessments: Adeline, concierge of the Count of Ponthieu; Ameline, concierge of Mon. Godefroy; Cateline, concierge of the Bishop of Chartres; Isabel la concierge; Isabel, concierge of the Seigneur of Beaumont; Jacqueline, concierge of the Seigneur of Coucy; Jeanne of Léry, concierge of the Count of Artois; Perrine, concierge of the Duke of Burgundy; Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe-le-Bel*, p. 159; Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille*... 1296, p. 20; Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille*... 1297, p. 274; AN KK 283, fol. 103v, 166, 163v, 201v, 225v, 242, 245, 258, 275v, 277v. Parisian women concierges in other sources: Marguerite, concierge of the King; Bienvenue, Concierge of the Count of Artois; Jeanne l'Espicière, Concierge of the Count of Artois; Bove, *Dominer*, 282-83; PdC A 187/1; PdC A 329—these last two are accounts by Bienvenue and Jeanne l'Espicière, partially edited by Jules-Marie Richard, "Documents des xiii<sup>e</sup> et xiv<sup>e</sup> siècles relatifs à l'hôtel de Bourgogne (ancien hôtel d'Artois) tirés du trésor des chartes d'Artois," *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* 17 (1890): 140, 152-4. Concierge outside of Paris: Jeanne, concierge of the Count of Artois at Conflans: PdC A 176/1 (account by Jeanne).
63. Mahy of Arras, goldsmith/mercier and concierge of the Count of Artois: PdC A 28, PdC A 32. On Jeanne l'Espicière see below at notes 71-75.
64. Richard, "Documents," pp. 138-39.
65. PdC A 181/4.
66. Richard, "Documents," pp. 152-54; PdC 187/1.
67. They are Mahy of Arras, goldsmith/mercier, 1283, 1286: PdC A 28, PdC A 32; Nicolas Renaud, 1292: PdC A 133; Jacques de la Fouriere, 1296: PdC A 140; Robert, 1297: Michaëlsson, *Livre de la taille*... 1297, p. 51; Jeanne of Léry, 1297-1301, 1302-3: Michaëlsson, *Livre de la taille*... 1297, p. 274; AN KK fols. 103v, 166, 245; PdC A 158; PdC A177; PdC A193; *Le compte general du receveur d'Artois pour 1303-4*, ed. Bernard Delmaire (Brussels: J. Duculot, 1977), p. 181, #3093; Bienvenue, c. 1302-3: Richard, "Documents," p. 140, 15-3; PdC A 184, A 187, A 192, A 193; Pierre le Tailleur 1307-13: PdC A 232; PdC A 242; PdC A 280; PdC A 316; Quentin Messier, 1314: PdC A 325; Richard Langlois, 1326: AN KK 393; Richard, "Documents," p. 142; Jeanne l'Espicière: Richard, "Documents," p. 140.
68. See previous note.
69. Michaëlsson, *Livre de la taille*... 1313, p. xi.
70. AN KK 283, fol. 103v, 166, 245.
71. PdC A 243, #13.
72. PdC A 280 (and A 242 for Pierre's identity as concierge).

73. PdC A 316 fol. 2, 20; A 334 fol. 33v.
74. PdC A 351, fol. 1.
75. Jeanne alone: PdC A 280 fol. 20v, 21; PdC A 273; PdC A 293; PdC A 298, fol. 20v. Jeanne and Pierre le Vaillant: PdC A 303; PdC A 448, fol. 25v. Pierre le Vaillant: PdC A 357, fol. 22v-23; PdC A 374, fol. 26; PdC A 378, fol. 14, fol. 22; PdC A 396, fol. 13v; PdC A 403; PdC A 458; PdC A 483.
76. Prost, *Inventaires*, 2:22; Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1996), pp. 18-23, 136. On the seventeenth century, see note 23 above.
77. Jones, *Sexing la Mode*, p. 96.
78. Jones, *Sexing la Mode*, pp. 96-98.
79. Farmer, *Surviving Poverty*, pp. 136-40.
80. Farmer, *Surviving Poverty*, p. 142, n. 14. On silk weavers: Archer, "Working Women," p. 252, numbers for "carier de soie," "fabricante de tissu," "ouvriere de soie," "fabricant de draps de soie," "fabricant de velours," "tisserand de soie"; and on p. 270, "fabricant de draps d'or."