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**DOCUMENTS OF MARY OF CAYEUX
CONCERNING GRANTS TO THE ABBEY OF DOMMARTIN
AND AN AGREEMENT WITH THE KING OF ENGLAND**

Abstract: Following up on recent research about Mary of Cayeux, sister of Queen Helen of Serbia, the paper examines the documents issued by Mary and her son Anselm during their stay in Picardy, the family's region of origin, in the second half of the 1270s. It is established that one of the five documents previously ascribed to them is not theirs, but also that there are four other previously unknown or unused documents issued by them or on their behalf, bringing the total to eight. Seven of these date from 1276–1277 and deal with grants made by the family to the Abbey of Dommartin (Saint Josse au Bois) in the County of Ponthieu, while one from September 1279 concerns an agreement with King Edward I and Queen Eleanor of England, who had inherited the county earlier that year. The paper offers the first full text edition of all eight documents and discusses the information provided by them about Mary and her family.

Keywords: medieval documents, Picardy, Ponthieu, Mary of Cayeux, Anselm of Cayeux, Abbey of Dommartin (Saint Josse au Bois), King Edward I, Queen Eleanor.

The treatment in historiography of the 13th century noblewoman Mary of Cayeux presents an example of gradual transformation from a useful collateral source of information about renowned contemporaries with whom she was associated into a personage deserving of attention and appreciation in her own right. At the beginning of the 19th century she was unknown to the point that, despite the obvious difference in names, she was amalgamated with her most renowned close relative – her sister Helen, who from around 1250 to her death in 1314 had a highly prominent

role as queen-consort and queen-mother of Serbia.¹ From the 1860s and 70s, when research in the archives of the Angevin kingdom in southern Italy clearly separated the two and established them as siblings,² information about Mary became one of the focal points in efforts to elucidate the mysterious origins of Queen Helen. This also drew early attention to her marriage with the nobleman Anselm of Cayeux,³ which ultimately, in 1983, provided the key to the mystery of Mary's and Helen's origins with the "discovery" of Mary's marital documentation revealing the identities of her parents.⁴ Although this answer was only hesitatingly accepted with regard to Helen,⁵ it created the preconditions for finally establishing Mary's place in historiography outside of the shadow of her sister. As a result, in recent years articles have appeared addressing her role in relations between the Italian Angevins and Hungary⁶ and in the policy of the Latin Empire of Constantinople towards other Balkan powers, namely Hungary and Serbia,⁷ as well as one article propagating an alternative solution regarding Helen's and her origins, but primarily significant for drawing attention to Mary's activities concerning her late husband's assets in France.⁸ Finally, in the past year, Serbian historiography has produced

¹ D. FARLATI – G. COLETTI, *Illyricum sacrum* VI, Venetiis 1800, 429, 440–441; VII, Venetiis 1817, 59, 252.

² В. МАКУШЕВ, Итальянские архивы и хранящиеся въ нихъ материалы для славянской истории П. Неаполь и Палермо, *Приложение къ XIXму тому Записокъ Императорской академии наукъ* 3, Санктпетербургъ 1871, 31 [V. MAKUŠEV, Ital'janske arhivy i hranjaščiesja v nich materialy dlja slavjanskoj istorii П. Neapol i Palermo, *Priloženie k XIXmu tomu Zapisok Imperatorskoj akademii nauk* 3, Sanktpeterburg 1871]

³ Ч. МИЈАТОВИЋ, Ко је краљица Јелена?, *Летопис Матице српске* 217/1 (1903) 1–30, стр. 15–18. [Č. MIJATOVIĆ, Ko je kraljica Jelena?, *Letopis Matice srpske* 217/1 (1903) 1–30]

⁴ G. L. MCDANIEL, On Hungarian-Serbian Relations in the Thirteenth Century: John Angelos and Queen Jelena, *Ungarn Jahrbuch* 12 (1982–1983) 43–50.

⁵ For references to works illustrating the attitude of recent Serbian historiography see Н. ПОРЧИЋ, Марија, сестра српске краљице Јелене, *Историјски часопис* 70 (2021) 31–68, стр. 32–33 [N. PORČIĆ, Marija, sestra srpske kraljice Jelene, *Istorijski časopis* 70 (2021) 31–68].

⁶ D. BÁCSATYAI, A 13. századi francia-magyar kapcsolatok néhány kérdése, *Századok* 151/2 (2017) 237–278, pp. 246–264.

⁷ F. VAN TRICHT, Latin Emperors and Serbian Queens: Anna and Helena. Genealogical and Geopolitical Explorations in the Post-1204 Byzantine World, *Frankokratia* 1 (2020) 56–107, pp. 56–64, 92–100.

⁸ N. PETROVICH, La reine de Serbie Héléne d'Anjou et la maison de Chaources, *Crusades* 14 (2015) 167–181, pp. 170–178.

two mutually independent specialized studies about her, aiming to present a comprehensive picture of her life.⁹

In spite of these rather intensive research efforts, the wide range of Mary's familial and other ties to historically important contemporaries and locations, coupled with her high personal mobility, make it probable that there are still not only unexplored possibilities of reconstructing and interpreting her activities, but in fact undiscovered or unused primary sources that contain information about them. This article will present several such sources and complement the texts of several others, which have so far been published only in excerpts. However, in order to properly contextualize them within the history of Mary of Cayeux, it seems worthwhile to first provide an overview of that history as established by recent research, especially since the latest results of that research have been published only in Serbian.

The earliest sources mentioning Mary are three papal letters concerning the conclusion of her marriage to Anselm of Cayeux – the first, from July 1253, grants the couple dispensation to marry regardless of fourth degree of kinship; the second, from January 1254, grants permission to consummate the marriage regardless of that kinship; the third, from January 1255, permits them to stay married although it has turned out that there is in fact a closer kinship between them, in the third and fourth degree.¹⁰ These documents reveal that Mary's and, by inference, Helen's parents were John Angelos, son from the marriage of the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos (died 1204) with a daughter of King Béla III of Hungary (d. 1196), and Matilda, niece of the Latin emperors Robert (d. 1228) and Baldwin of Courtenay (d. 1273) and great-great-grand-daughter of King Louis VI of France (d. 1137).¹¹ Mary was almost certainly

⁹ The other study – besides Н. ПОРЧИЋ, Марија, quoted above – is А. УЗЕЛАЦ, Марија де Кајо, сестра краљице Јелене, *Између Подунавља и Средоземља. Тематски зборник посвећен проф. др Синиши Мишићу поводом његовог 60. рођендана* (ур. К. МИТРОВИЋ – А. УЗЕЛАЦ), Пожаревац – Ниш 2021, 187–206 [A. UZELAC, Marija de Kajo, sestra kraljice Jelene, *Između Podunavlja i Sredozemlja. Tematski zbornik posvećen prof. dr Siniši Mišiću povodom njegovog 60. rođendana* (ur. K. MITROVIĆ – A. UZELAC, Požarevac – Niš 2021, 187–206].

¹⁰ *Les registres d'Innocent IV*, vol. III (ed. É. BERGER), Paris 1897, 289, no. 6862, and 351, no. 7178; *Les Registres d'Alexandre IV*, vol. I (ed. C. BOUREL DE LA RONCIÈRE), Paris 1895, 13, no. 48. The couple's consanguinity is explored by А. УЗЕЛАЦ, Марија де Кајо, 197–198, 202 (genealogical table).

¹¹ The lineages were essentially established by G. L. MCDANIEL, *On Hungarian-Serbian Relations*, 44–45, and further developed by F. VAN TRICHT, *Latin Emperors and Serbian Queens*, 60–63.

born in the Kingdom of Hungary, where her father held large possessions and important offices on the country's southern border, facing the Kingdom of Serbia.¹² After John died, likely around 1243 or soon thereafter,¹³ the family still had its seat in Hungary, since in the papal letter from 1253 Mary's mother Matilda bears the Hungarian title of mistress of Požega, but their possessions were probably significantly reduced.¹⁴ As for Mary's time of birth, the gradual progression from marriage to its consummation, as well as the fact that she was represented in the proceedings by her mother and her uncle Baldwin II, suggest that the marriage to Anselm was her first and that she was therefore born around 1240. This would also mean that she was certainly younger than her sister Helen, who around 1255 already had two sons with a significantly more distinguished spouse, King Stefan Uroš of Serbia.¹⁵

Mary's subsequent movements can only be inferred from information about her husband. Anselm of Cayeux was a scion of one of the foremost noble families of the Latin Empire, the realm established by crusaders from Western Europe, primarily France, after they captured the Byzantine capital of Constantinople in 1204. An Anselm (I) de Cayeux was a notable participant of that expedition, and Mary's husband was his direct descendant, probably his grandson, since between them there is mention of an Anselm (II) of Cayeux who seems to be different from both.¹⁶ Anselm (III) is mentioned in Constantinople in 1260,¹⁷ and he

¹² On the presence of John Angelos and his mother Margaret in this area see Ђ. ХАРДИ, Један прилог питању византијског наслеђа на тлу Овостраног Срема (Sirmie Citerioris), *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 54 (2017) 117–142. [Ѓ. HARDI, Jedan prilog pitanju vizantijskog nasleđa na tlu Ovostranog Srema (Sirmie Citerioris), *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 54 (2017) 117–142].

¹³ After numerous mentions in Hungarian royal documents, he suddenly disappears from them after November 1242 – for references to sources see Ђ. ХАРДИ, Један прилог, 125, note 39.

¹⁴ A new lord of the area held by John Angelos appears in sources only in 1254, but he was likely installed there some time before that – Ђ. ХАРДИ, Један прилог, 128–130. Matilda is mentioned as mistress of Požega already in 1250 – Н. ПОРЧИЋ, Марија, 43.

¹⁵ Н. ПОРЧИЋ, Марија, 40–41.

¹⁶ For these conclusions see F. VAN TRICHT, Latin Emperors and Serbian Queens, 58–59. А. УЗЕЛАЦ, Марија де Кајо, 193–197, supports some earlier views that Mary's husband was a son of Anselm (I).

¹⁷ D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, Cambridge (Mass.) 1959, 75–77; F. VAN TRICHT, *Horoscope of Baldwin II. Political and Sociocultural Dynamics in Latin-Byzantine Constantinople*, Leiden 2019, 58–60, esp. note 18.

might just as well have been there in 1261, when the Byzantines recovered the city in a surprise attack, forcing Emperor Baldwin II to flee to the West. Whether and to what extent Anselm accompanied his suzerain in exile is not known, but some contact must have existed because he appears beside Baldwin II with the title of imperial chamberlain in 1270, when the Emperor was staying in the Kingdom of Sicily.¹⁸ That kingdom, which encompassed both Sicily and the southern part of mainland Italy, had recently been taken over by the French prince Charles of Anjou, who was also planning a campaign of conquest against Byzantium, ostensibly to help Baldwin recover his empire. At the same time, Charles arranged a marital alliance with King Stephen V of Hungary, and was preparing to send the marshal of his kingdom, Dreux (Drogo) of Beaumont, to the Hungarian ruler to see the matter through.¹⁹

It is at this juncture that available sources again speak directly about members of Anselm's immediate family, when in June 1270 he concluded an agreement with Dreux of Beaumont by which the marshal was to marry his daughter Eva.²⁰ Interestingly, the agreement stipulated that Dreux will marry Eva within a month after his arrival at the Hungarian court, implying that the bride-to-be was living in Hungary. The most plausible explanation for this arrangement is, of course, Mary's Hungarian background, and although details are unknown, it is entirely possible that Mary also stayed there with her daughter, at least occasionally. In fact, it seems that Anselm and Mary had put in place a wider scheme, using Mary's leverage in Hungary to acquire offices in that country as compensation for the wealth and revenue lost in the Latin Empire.²¹ A strong indication in that direction is provided by the appearance in 1272 of an individual named Anselm in important positions in and near the southern regions of Hungary which were once held by Mary's father. However, before the end of that year Stephen V died and Hungary was embroiled in internal conflict which effectively ended any designs that might have been made by the Cayeux spouses, since the positions held by Anselm are almost immediately found to be occupied by another holder.²²

¹⁸ *Registri della cancelleria angioina* (=RCA) III (ed. R. FILANGIERI), Napoli 1951, 80; IV, 96, 156–157; V, 29.

¹⁹ J. DUNBABIN, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily*, Cambridge 2011, 147–148, 189–190; D. BÁCSATYAI, A 13. századi francia-magyar kapcsolatok, 258–259.

²⁰ RCA IV, 156–157; D. BÁCSATYAI, A 13. századi francia-magyar kapcsolatok, 258–260; Н. ПОРЧИЋ, Марија, 45–46.

²¹ On Anselm's and Mary's apparent Hungarian project see D. BÁCSATYAI, A 13. századi francia-magyar kapcsolatok, 260–261.

²² Н. ПОРЧИЋ, Марија, 46–48.

An attempt by Anselm and Mary to build a strong presence in Hungary would be all the more understandable when viewed in conjunction with the stipulations of the marriage agreement concluded with Dreaux of Beaumont in 1270. Anselm had thereby promised a dowry of 3000 pounds, for which he pledged to the marshal as collateral the incomes from all of his possessions in France, as well as 600 marks of silver from possessions in the Latin Empire “once that land is recovered from the hands of schismatics and enemies”.²³ Coming on the heels of this arrangement, the apparent setback in Hungary might have severely jeopardized the family’s capability to maintain the standard of living they were used to. Perhaps as a consequence of that, in 1273 Anselm is found in direct service of Charles of Anjou, who appointed him “captain and vicar general” of the Kingdom of Albania, an Angevin bridgehead against the Byzantines on the southeastern Adriatic shore. It is also at this time that Mary is finally mentioned again in known sources – she was living in southern Italy and in December 1273 King Charles granted her a sum of money.²⁴ However, these promising developments were soon cut short, as by the end of March 1274 word had reached the Angevin court that their captain in Albania, Anselm of Cayeux, was dead.²⁵

Anselm’s death proved to be more than an emotional blow, as King Charles immediately launched an audit of funds that had been given to the late captain “for the conduct of royal affairs”, undoubtedly with the intention of taking back whatever had remained unspent.²⁶ For Mary and her family this period was probably difficult – they had been expelled from the Latin Empire and, apparently, thwarted in Hungary, their lands in France were essentially pawned, and they had suffered the loss of the head of their household, which probably resulted in a reduction of whatever support they had received in Southern Italy from Charles of Anjou. On top of all this, sometime between April and September 1275, the marriage between Eve and the marshal of Beaumont was dissolved, perhaps because the changed status of the Cayeux family had made it unappealing to the marshal.²⁷ Nevertheless, for Mary this was probably a blessing in disguise, because it meant that Anselm’s French possessions reverted

²³ See note 20 above.

²⁴ Source information on Anselm’s service to Charles I in Albania has been published in RCA X, 78, 81, 98, 101, 116, 264.

²⁵ RCA XI, 206–207.

²⁶ Н. ПОРЧИЋ, Марија, 48–49.

²⁷ Dreaux of Beaumont remarried almost immediately but died soon afterwards – Н. ПОРЧИЋ, Марија, 49–50.

back to the family. In fact, Mary's presence is soon recorded in the French region of Picardy where, just south of the Somme River estuary, within the boundaries of the medieval county of Ponthieu, still stands the town of Cayeux-sur-Mer. By June 1277, she and her son, also named Anselm (IV) of Cayeux, appear as issuers of a total of four documents granting lands and incomes to a leading regional cult center, the abbey of Saint Josse au Bois, also known as Dommartin.²⁸

These grants demonstrate not only that the family was in control of its French assets, but also that those assets were sufficient to provide for a life befitting their noble rank, including frequent manifestations of pious generosity. However, in June 1280, Mary is again mentioned in southern Italy, travelling with "her son", who on that occasion remains unnamed, "to see the Queen of Serbia, her sister". Although the wording suggests a family visit, the fact that Mary's travel party included her household (*familia*) and "20 horses of her own", three of which were apparently war horses, may indicate plans for a long-term relocation. That proposition finds support in subsequent events. First, in June 1281, a new record in the registers of the Angevin kingdom has her "returning" to Serbia in the company of the Serbian king's ambassador, with some 30 men and 25 horses.²⁹ After that, all mentions of her come from the records of the eastern Adriatic port of Dubrovnik, in which she appears in 1283 and 1285 as mistress of the Serbian coastal town of Ulcinj and confidante of her sister, who at that time ruled as queen-mother over an appanage encompassing the coastal regions of the Serbian kingdom.³⁰

The sudden discontinuation of the relatively frequent mentions of Mary of Cayeux in Dubrovnik records after 1285 can be attributed to a decade-long lacuna in the city's preserved registers. When the register series recommences after 1295, her name is not found, so it may be presumed that she died in the meantime. A reliable later tradition identifies as her burial place the Franciscan church in Ulcinj.³¹ Also mentioned as

²⁸ A discussion of these documents with references to currently available editions is offered in N. PETROVICH, *La reine de Serbie*, 174–175.

²⁹ The records from 1280 and 1281, first published by Makušev (see note 2 above), have been published again with supplements from other editions in N. PORČIĆ, *Serbia in the Registers of the Angevin Chancery (1265–1295). An Attempt at Reconstruction*, *Initial. A Review of Medieval Studies* 8 (2020) 119–163, pp. 147–150.

³⁰ Mary's arrival and stay in Serbia are treated by Н. ПОРЧИЋ, *Марија*, 52–55, and А. УЗЕЛАЦ, *Марија де Кајо*, 190–192.

³¹ The tradition is recorded in *Illyricum sacrum* (see note 1 above). Cf. also Г. СУБОТИЋ, *Краљица Јелена Анжујска – ктитор црквених споменика у Приморју*,

buried beside her is her son Anselm. However, before being laid to rest at the place which had apparently become the new family seat, this Anselm (IV) of Cayeux left some other traces of his activity. In June 1289, the son and successor of Charles of Anjou, King Charles II, granted to a new holder two thirds of the income of the castle of Caposele,³² situated in the mountainous area around the source of the Sele River, about 30 km inland from Salerno, duly noting that the fief had previously belonged to Anselm “de Cahors”, who had gone to Serbia and, upon being summoned back, had failed to appear in time.³³ After that, in 1292–1294 Anselm is mentioned several more times, mostly in the service of Charles II, accompanying him during his stay in France as a member of his household.³⁴ After that he also disappears from the sources. Based on information about his gravesite, it can only be supposed that he returned to Serbia and died there, a solution that finds some additional support in a record from 1302 mentioning in conjunction with the Serbian queen Helen a certain George of Cayeux, perhaps Anselm’s son or, less likely, younger brother.³⁵

As for Mary’s other confirmed child, her daughter Eva, after the breakup of her marriage to Dreux of Beaumont, glimpses of her appear in the sources on only two occasions – in 1282, as a lady of the Angevin court named “Eva of Hungary”, and then as “the lady Eva”, first companion of the Angevin princess Isabella, former Queen of Hungary, on her return to Southern Italy in 1300.³⁶ This continued association of Eva with

Историјски гласник 1–2 (1958) 131–147, стр. 139–141 [G. SUBOTIĆ, Kraljica Jelena Anžijska – kitor crkvenih spomenika u Primorju, *Istorijski glasnik* 1–2 (1958) 131–147], and A. УЗЕЛАЦ, Марија де Кајо, 191–192. The same tradition places the founding of this and other Franciscan convents in Queen Helen’s maritime lands in 1288, which would indicate that Mary’s death burial in one of their churches occurred after that time – Н. ПОРЧИЋ, Марија, 55.

³² This share of the income was reckoned to be worth a relatively modest sum of 20 ounces of gold per year.

³³ N. PORČIĆ, *Serbia in the Registers*, 152–153. The error in Anselm’s *nom de terre* most likely originates from later copyists whose summaries of the original registry entry now represent the only form in which it has been preserved. The association with Serbia leaves no doubt that this is in fact a reference to Anselm (IV) of Cayeux.

³⁴ RCA XXXVI, 63, 72; XLIII, 56; XLIV/2, 110, 494, 502; XLVI, 128; XLVIII, 139; Н. ПОРЧИЋ, Марија, 57–59.

³⁵ Н. ПОРЧИЋ, Марија, 60–61, with reference to sources.

³⁶ These mentions were noted and discussed by D. BÁCSATYAI, A 13. századi francia-magyar kapcsolatok, 261–264, who, seems more inclined to consider this Eva a daughter from the marriage of Dreux of Beaumont and Eva of Cayeux. However, indications that the Eva mentioned in 1282 was an adult point to the solution presented here –see Н. ПОРЧИЋ, Марија, 59–60.

Hungary, the country of her mother's birth, coupled with Anselm's (and George's?) association with Serbia, the country where Mary of Cayeux spent the last years of her life, serve as fitting reminders of the extraordinary range of diversities that Mary had brought together. As a descendant of Byzantine and Latin emperors and Hungarian and French kings, she was imbued with influences from three major cultural circles present in 13th century Southeastern Europe – the Eastern Orthodox Greek culture of Byzantium, the Latin and Roman Catholic, yet highly locally specific culture of Hungary, and the expansive “Frankish” Roman Catholic Latin culture of Western Europe, personified by newly arrived crusaders of predominantly French origin. Further supplemented by her close encounters with the Mediterranean Latin culture of Italy and the Slavic Orthodox culture of the central Balkans, as well as with their curious Slavic-Latin symbiosis on the eastern Adriatic coast, these experiences enabled her to move with apparent ease and confidence among the highest circles of society in such different settings as Latin Constantinople, Hungary of the Árpád dynasty, Angevin Southern Italy, Capetian France and Nemanjić Serbia, leaving a variety of traces in source material, including some that have not yet been picked up.

Almost all of the information on Mary of Cayeux and her family comes from official documents. The vast majority of these are documents issued by various authorities with whom they came into contact, such as the papacy, the Italian Angevins or the commune of Dubrovnik.³⁷ One major group of sources that does not fit into this mold are the documents issued by Mary and her son Anselm (IV) during their stay in France. This group was only recently introduced into the discussion about Mary in the article by Nicolas Petrovich,³⁸ who presented it as consisting of five documents – two “charters” issued in favor of the abbey of Dommartin by Anselm in March 1275, with one of them also mentioning his mother Mary,³⁹

³⁷ Among the documents preserved from these sources, only two can be considered as directly expressing actions on the part of the Cayeux – the Angevin record of the marriage agreement between Anselm of Cayeux and Dreux of Beaumont from 1270 and Mary's statement confirming receipt of a payment by the “commune and men” of the Serbian coastal town of Bar, entered in Dubrovnik registers in late February 1281, probably on the outbound leg of her journey to southern Italy from which she is recorded as returning in early June (see above, note 30).

³⁸ See above, notes 8 and 28.

³⁹ For these Petrovich refers to M. CHAMPAGNE, *La châtellenie de Longvilliers du 12e siècle au 14e siècle, ses seigneurs et leurs alliances*, Wambrechies 2007, 16. This work has unfortunately remained unavailable to the author of the present paper.

two “letters” for the same abbey issued by Mary and Anselm jointly in June 1277,⁴⁰ and a “donation” to the abbey of Valloires issued by Anselm and mentioning his wife, who is also named Mary, in April 1283.⁴¹

An examination of the references provided by Petrovich revealed that apparently the only one of these documents to have been published in full is the donation to the abbey of Valloires.⁴² However, although Petrovich denotes its issuer as “fils d’Anselme de Cayeux, grand baron et chambrier de l’empire de Constantinople, et de Marie précédemment citée”, none of that information actually appears in the text. Instead, this Anselm of Cayeux styles himself only as a knight and “lord of Daminois”, a title which is not used in any known references to Mary’s son. Furthermore, the donation was immediately confirmed by a “William, lord of Cayeux”, who calls Anselm “my brother and my liegeman”.⁴³ Since this situation can hardly be reconciled with the fact that the other documents present Anselm (IV) as “son and heir” of Anselm (III), acting in close conjunction with his mother and without any trace of an older and hierarchically senior brother, it seems evident that the donation to Valloires was made by another Anselm of Cayeux.⁴⁴ In fact, although the lineage of the Picard nobles who bear the Cayeux name can be reliably reconstructed only in small segments whose mutual connections remain uncertain, by the second half of the 13th century there clearly already existed various branches which, nevertheless, remained attached to a handful of ancestral male names, going back to such figures as Anselm of Cayeux and his sons William, Stephen and Arnold, who in the first half of the 12th century initiated the founding of the abbey of Our Lady of Séry about 25 km southwest of Abbeville, the capital of the county of Ponthieu.⁴⁵

The remaining four documents from the group presented by Petrovich are all known to scholars only in the form of excerpts and summaries. They were all issued to the abbey of Dommartin, established in the 1120s

⁴⁰ With reference to *Cartulaire du comté de Ponthieu* (ed. E. PRAROND), Abbeville 1897, 277–278.

⁴¹ With reference to M. CHAMPAGNE, *La châtelainie de Longvilliers*, 73.

⁴² In G. RAYNAUD, *Chartes françaises du Ponthieu*, *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des chartes* 36 (1875) 193–243, pp. 207–208.

⁴³ G. RAYNAUD, *Chartes*, 208.

⁴⁴ There is another document issued by this Anselm, “Lord of Daminois”, in August 1286 – G. RAYNAUD, *Chartes*, 209–210.

⁴⁵ J. DE VISMES, *Essai généalogique sur les premiers Sires de Cayeu*, *Bulletin de la Société d’Emulation Historique et Littéraire d’Abbeville* 15 (1932–34) 393–442, pp. 396–397. For the location of places in northern France mentioned in the paper see Map.

as a house of the Premonstratensian order of regular canons on the northern bank of the river Authie about 25 km north of Abbeville. Since it was located in the woodlands which had served as the retreat of the much revered seventh century prince-turned-hermit Josse (Judocus), the abbey was officially known as Saint Josse au Bois.⁴⁶ Although it ceased to exist during the French Revolution, a significant portion of its medieval archive has survived, primarily in the form of cartularies, two of which are fully accessible online⁴⁷ – a rather elegantly written late-13th century 80-leaf manuscript now preserved in Metz,⁴⁸ and a two-volume, 700-leaf manuscript from the mid 17th century kept in the archives of the Pas-de-Calais *département* at Dainville near Arras.⁴⁹

Within these two cartularies it was possible to locate the full texts of all four documents presented by Petrovich – the two documents dated to March 1275 are found in the first volume of the Dainville cartulary, ff. 348r–349v, whereas the two documents from June 1277 are located in the Metz cartulary, ff. 10v–11v. But in addition to that the Metz cartulary also yielded some documents concerning Mary of Cayeux and her family which had hitherto gone unpublished and, it would seem, largely unused. These include one more document issued by Mary and Anselm (IV) to the abbey of Dommartin in June 1277 (f. 10v), as well as an instruction

⁴⁶ J. BECQUET, *Abbayes et Prieurés de l’Ancienne France XIV: Diocèse d’Amiens (Province de Cambrai)*, *Revue Mabillon* 249 (1972) 225–272, 238–244; A. BONDÉLLE-SOUCHIER, *Bibliothèque de l’ordre de Prémontré dans la France de l’Ancien Régime. I. Répertoire des abbayes*, Aubervilliers 2000, 127–132. The Cistercian abbey of Valloires, recipient of the donation made by the other Anselm of Cayeux, is located only 10 km downstream from Dommartin, while the hamlet of Daminois (or Dominois), of which this Anselm was the lord, lies halfway between them.

⁴⁷ H. STEIN, *Bibliographie générale des cartulaires français, ou relatifs à l’histoire de France*, Paris 1907, 474. In addition to these two, there is also a 232-leaf cartulary of Saint Josse au Bois in the National Library of France, but this is not accessible online.

⁴⁸ Bibliothèque municipale de Metz, ms. 1197 (H. STEIN, *Bibliographie*, 474, no. 3454), accessible online at: <https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/23230/manifest>

⁴⁹ Archives départementales du Pas-de-Calais, H(20) 1–2 (H. STEIN, *Bibliographie*, 474, no. 3456), accessible online at: <https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/31941/manifest> (volume 1), <https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/31942/manifest> (volume 2).

by the judicial vicar (*officialis*)⁵⁰ of the bishopric of Amiens to the dean of Saint-Riquier to conduct a hearing about Mary's and Anselm's arrangements with the monks of Dommartin (f. 11v) and the dean's reply which effectively records the agreement reached by the two sides (ff. 11v–12v). Moreover, these finds have been complemented by another discovery outside the scope of the Dommartin cartularies, namely in the Department of Manuscripts of the National Library of France, where it turned out that a volume of blank pages serving as a holder for original medieval documents from the county of Ponthieu contains the originals of both documents from June 1277 presented by Petrovich.⁵¹

As a result of these finds it became possible to publish here the full texts of all documents issued by or on behalf of Mary and Anselm (IV) of Cayeux concerning their grants to the abbey of Dommartin. The editions are presented in the appendices to this paper. Appendix A contains the texts of documents from the Dainville cartulary:

- (#1) a confirmation by Anselm, acting upon the advice of Mary and "other good men", of a grant of four *setiers*⁵² of grain a year according to the measure of Blangy at the mill of Grouchet,⁵³ which had been given to Dommartin by his ancestors, and

- (#2) a grant by Anselm to Dommartin of six *setiers* of grain a year, half rye and half oat, at the mill of Nempont,⁵⁴ in exchange for the four *setiers* of grain received by the abbey at the mill of Grouchet.

Appendix B presents the texts of documents recorded in the Metz cartulary:

- (#3) a confirmation by Mary and Anselm of Dommartin's rights to four *setiers* of grain a year at the mill of Grouchet, according to the measure of Blangy, which had been given by their ancestors to the abbey

⁵⁰ The office of the episcopal judicial vicar in medieval France has been treated in detail by P. FOURNIER, *Les officialités au Moyen Âge. Etude sur l'organisation, la compétence et la procédure des tribunaux ecclésiastiques ordinaires en France de 1180 à 1328*, Paris 1880. For a recent brief survey based on an individual example see W. C. JORDAN, *Servant of the Crown and Steward of the Church: The Career of Philippe of Cahors*, Toronto 2020, 9–12.

⁵¹ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Picardie 298, no. 44, 45.

⁵² For the *setier* (*sextarius*) and other units of measure used in the documents see R. E. ZUPKO, *French Weights and Measures before the Revolution*, Bloomington – London 1978.

⁵³ For the identification of these localities see below, note 55.

⁵⁴ Nempont is also located on the Authie river, around 20 km downstream from Dommartin.

of Our Lady of Séry, and then transferred by Séry to Dommartin as part of an exchange;⁵⁵

- (#4) a grant by Mary and Anselm to Dommartin “for our souls and for the soul of the aforesaid lord Anselm the knight and of all ancestors and for our anniversary to be held every year in the aforesaid church”, consisting of all their arable lands from Nempont towards Moustruel,⁵⁶ all their incomes in money and in capons at Nempont itself, six *setiers* of grain a year, half wheat and half oat, at the mill of Nempont, and all other possessions in Nempont and its appendages, withholding only that which had been given in fief to John of Nempont;

- (#5) a grant by Mary and Anselm to Dommartin, given with the same rationale as #4, comprising all lands held by them (and, apparently, by Dommartin from them) at Waben,⁵⁷ as well as the one *mine* (half a *setier*) of grain and two capons owed to them every year by the house of Bamieres from Waben;

- (#6) the abovementioned letter of the *officialis* of Amiens to the dean of Saint-Riquier, and

- (#7) the dean’s reply specifying the arrangements between the Cayeux and the abbey, essentially repeating the contents of #3, #4 and #5.

As their summaries suggest, the documents issued by the Cayeux in favor of Dommartin represent a valuable source for the history of this

⁵⁵ This grant seems to be a follow-up on the stipulations of #1 and #2 – after Anselm had replaced the old grant to Dommartin at the mill of Grouchet with a larger grant at the mill of Nempont, Mary and Anselm now decide to let the abbey keep the old grant as well. The clarification that the grant at Grouchet was first donated by Anselm’s ancestors to the old Cayeux family foundation of Our Lady of Séry makes it tempting to identify the Blangy whose measure was to be used to determine the quantity of grain as Blangy-sur-Bresle, an important medieval town and commune southwest of Abbeville, in close proximity both to the abbey of Séry and the ancestral possessions of the Cayeux. However, in #7 below it is explicitly stated that the mill of Grouchet was located “apud Blangiacum in dyocesi Morinensi“, meaning the diocese of Thérouanne, to the north of the diocese of Amiens. This diocese did in fact encompass the locality of Blangy-sur-Ternoise, renowned for the abbey of Saint Bertha of Blangy and – what is especially noteworthy in this case – recorded in the 13th and early 14th century as a possession of the bearers of the title of “bouteiller de Selles”, which is attributed to Anselm (III) in almost all of the documents presented here (see below, note 67). Therefore, the mill of Grouchet was more probably located in that area, about 25 km northeast of Dommartin.

⁵⁶ The name Moustruel refers to Montreuil, at that time an important town with communal status north of Nempont.

⁵⁷ Waben lies west of Nempont, near the Authie estuary. In the 13th century it was an urban settlement with communal status and one of the five main administrative centers (bailiwicks) in Ponthieu.

religious community, especially for the period during which it was led by abbot William of Cromont (1271–1285), whose abbacy is notable for the number and value of received donations.⁵⁸ In addition to that, they offer useful information for the economic and social history of 13th century Picardy in general⁵⁹ and the mentioned localities in particular. Also, there are glimpses of such phenomena as the routine activities of ecclesiastical judicial authorities or the religious devotion of the nobility. Finally, there is the aspect that comprises the main focus of this paper – the light shed by these documents on the biographies of Mary of Cayeux and her family members.

In that respect, using the information provided by Petrovich as a starting point, it must first be pointed out that his dating of the first two documents to March 1275 is incorrect. Although that is their recorded date, French custom at the time fixed the beginning of the new year at Easter, meaning that the year numbered 1275 ran from Easter in 1275 (April 15) to Easter 1276 (April 5). Thus, the two documents were in fact issued in March 1276, a date which fits perfectly into the known history of Mary's family.⁶⁰ When arranging the marriage of their daughter Eva to Dreux of Beaumont in 1270, Mary's husband Anselm (III) had promised the groom a dowry of 3000 pounds, for which he pledged as collateral the incomes from all of his possessions in France. Those possessions could have reverted to the family's control only after the dissolution of Eva's marriage in the spring or summer of 1275, preventing the family from managing them in March 1275, but making it possible and, given the circumstances, highly reasonable for them to be doing so in March 1276.

The joint management of the family affairs by Mary and her son is especially interesting. In the cartulary heading to document #1, as well as in the text of document #6, Anselm (IV) is designated by others as an *armiger*. Essentially denoting a knight's assistant (squire), in this case the term seems to have meant a young scion of a knightly family with the right to bear heraldic arms who was not (yet) knighted himself, but was committed or even apprenticed to learning the ways of knighthood.⁶¹ Interestingly, this sense is not conveyed as strongly by the two earlier docu-

⁵⁸ A. DE CALONNE, *Histoire des abbayes de Dommartin et de Saint-André-au-Bois, ordre de Prémontré, au diocèse d'Amiens*, Arras 1875, 39–41.

⁵⁹ That subject has been extensively treated in R. FOSSIER, *La Terre et les hommes en Picardie jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle*, Paris – Louvain 1968.

⁶⁰ Н. ПОРЧИЋ, Марија, 49–50, especially note 65.

⁶¹ On the complex uses of the term, with references to earlier works, see D. CROUCH, *The Image of the Aristocracy in Britain, 1000–1300*, London – New York 1992, 124–129.

ments, in which Anselm appears as the sole issuer, albeit with the counsel of his mother and “other good men”, as by the documents from June 1277, in which Mary appears as the primary issuer. That Anselm was a youth at this time is further indicated by the absence of any titles attached to his name. In the documents issued by the family (#1–#5), Anselm (III) is designated as the “bouteiller de Seles”, a “knight” and/or “grand baron and chamberlain of the Empire of Constantinople”,⁶² but Anselm (IV) describes himself exclusively as “the son and heir” to his father (#1, #2) or to both of his parents (#3, #4, #5), while in #1, with an apparent sense of pride, he speaks of “the grants and goods done by my ancestors, whose heir I am”. However, the most precise indicator of Anselm’s age comes from #7, where he is named after his mother with the note “having legitimate age”. In conjunction with the above, this would indicate that he was old enough to legally give his consent to actions that concerned him, but not yet old enough to legally inherit, placing him somewhere in his middle or late teens.

Finally, the documents provide information about the place and standing of the family in the Picard context. In that context, the family, or more precisely its head, seems to have been primarily known by the title of *bouteillier* (bottler, cup-bearer) of “Seles” – this title is accorded to the late Anselm (III) in four of the five documents issued by the family (the lone exception is #5), as well as in both documents issued by church authorities, and it also appears in the header of page 12v of the Metz cartulary. Petrovich remarked in passing that this referred to “Selles, en Boulonnais”, which is a village about 20 km east of Boulogne-sur-Mer, but the quotes from sources offered in his paper provided no confirmation for this, giving rise to the hypothesis that the title might be associated with the castle of Caposele at the source of the river Sele in southern Italy, recorded as a former possession of Anselm (IV) in 1289.⁶³ However, document #3 now confirms that the title does refer to “Seles en Bouleinois”, which was apparently a possession awarded by the counts of Boulogne to their bottlers and one of the four peerages of that county.⁶⁴

⁶² It is interesting to note that the designations associated with the Latin empire appear only in the documents in which Mary appears as the primary issuer.

⁶³ Н. ПОРЧИЋ, Марија, 57. See also above, at note 32.

⁶⁴ On county peerages in this region see P. FEUCHÈRE, Pairs de principauté et pairs de château. Essai sur l’institution des pairies en Flandre. Étude géographique et institutionnelle, *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 31 (1953) 973–1002, pp. 979–980. The other peerages were also accorded to the household officers of the counts of Boulogne – the seneschal, the marshal and the standard-bearer.

How exactly Anselm (III), a member of the Cayeux family originating from the county of Ponthieu, obtained this distinguished title in the neighboring county of Boulogne is not known.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, it is clear that he also remained firmly connected and established in Ponthieu as well. Most of the grants made by Mary and Anselm (IV) to Dommartin – Waben, Nempont and the lands from Nempont towards Montreuil – were located in that county. Also, in #3 Anselm (IV) expressly speaks of the grant made by his ancestors to Our Lady of Séry, founded by the Cayeux family in the first half of the 12th century,⁶⁶ confirming his shared ancestry with the Cayeux of Ponthieu.⁶⁷ These grants, consisting of possessions and revenues in two important settlements and other additions, also confirm that in the Picard setting Anselm (III) was a man of considerable assets, whereas his peerage in the county of Boulogne and the testimony from #4 and #7 that John of Nempont, “the lord of that village”, was the family’s vassal seem to place him and his heir in the upper middle ranks of the regional feudal class, below the counts but clearly above the petty nobility.

In addition to the full texts of previously noted and unnoted documents about the grants of Mary and Anselm (IV) of Cayeux to the abbey of Dommartin, research of this subject has led to the discovery of another document issued on behalf of the family. As it turned out, the same volume from the Department of Manuscripts of the National Library of France which holds the originals of #4 and #5, also contains an original

⁶⁵ The presence of the Cayeux in the region of Boulogne is well attested already in the 12th century – L-E. DE LA GORGUE-ROSNY, *Recherches genealogiques sur les comtes de Ponthieu, de Boulogne, de Guines, et pays circonvoisins I*, Boulogne-sur-Mer 1874, 370.

⁶⁶ It is significant to note that Séry was also a Premonstratensian abbey, in whose founding the Cayeux family requested and received support from Dommartin – A. BONDÉLLE-SOUCHIER, *Bibliothèque de l’ordre de Prémontré*, 285–286.

⁶⁷ In view of these links, it is tempting to consider that a certain Eustace, recorded as the bearer of the title of bottler of Selles in 1215, might be identical with the Eustace of Cayeux killed in the Albigensian crusade in 1218, who is known to have been the son of William, Lord of Boulaincourt-en-Séry in Ponthieu – cf. G. DE LHOMEL, *Le cartulaire de la ville de Montreuil-sur-Mer*, Abbeville 1904, 163–164; J. DE VISMES, *Essai généalogique*, 402–403. Other known bottlers of Selles include an Ordre in 1238 and a Hugh in 1323, who both notably had possessions at Blangy-sur-Ternoise (*Dictionnaire historique et archéologique du Pas-de-Calais. II Saint-Pol* (ed. E. VAN DRIVAL), Arras 1880, 303), but it is not known whether they had any connection to the Cayeux. It should again be stressed that the book M. CHAMPAGNE, *La Châtellenie de Longvilliers*, has remained inaccessible during the writing of this paper.

document of the *officialis* of Amiens, dated September 2, 1279, recording the assent of Mary of Cayeux to an agreement that her son Anselm had reached with the King and Queen of England.⁶⁸ As a hitherto unknown document, it is published here in full within the main text as document #8, accompanied by an English translation:

(#8) Universis presentes licteras inspecturis officialis Ambianensis salutem in Domino. Noveritis [quod] |2| nobilis mulier domina Maria, relicta domini Anselmi de Kaieu quondam militis, |3| buticularii de Seles, vidua et sui iuris existens, in nostra propter |4| hoc presencia personaliter constituta contractui quem sivit dominus Anselmus |5| de Kaieu, buticularius de Seles, miles, filius ipsius domine Marie, cum |6| illustrissimo viro domino rege Anglie et nobili muliere regina Anglie, |7| eius uxore, de hiis que tenet dictus dominus Anselmus miles de dictis rege |8| et regina apud Waben et pertinentiis eiusdem loci, regione comitatus |9| Pontivensis, quem tenent iidem rex et regina Anglie iure hereditario |10| ex parte ipsius regine, videlicet in homagiis, traversis, redditibus et rebus |11| aliis quibuscumque ville de Waben et pertinentiis eiusdem loci pertinentibus |12| ad ipsum dominum Anselmum militem, in quibus ipsa nobilis mulier mater dicti |13| domini Anselmi militis dotalicium habere se dicebat, benignum praebeat |14| assensum coram nobis; et totum ius et dotalicium quod ipsa domina |15| Maria vidua habebat vel habere poterat quacumque ex causa in eisdem rebus |16| quamdiu easdem res dicti rex et regina tenebunt in manu nostra ad opus |17| dictorum regis et regine spontanee resignavit, promittens dicta domina |18| Maria vidua et sui iuris existens iuramento corporaliter prestito coram |19| nobis quod contra huiusmodi contractum non veniet nec dictos regem et |20| reginam Anglie aut aliquem ex parte ipsorum quamdiu easdem res tenebunt |21| super hiis per se vel per alium nomine dotalicii, victus, hereditatis, |22| acquestus, assignamenti, elemosine seu aliquo alio nomine vel modo aliquotenus |23| molestabit nec molestari procurabit in foro ecclesiastico vel seculari. |24| In cuius rei testimonium presentes litteras confici fecimus et sigillo |25| curie ambianensis roborari. Actum anno Domini M^o CC^o septuagesimo |26| nono, mense septembri, die sabbato ante nativitatem beate Marie virginis.⁶⁹

Cotemporaneous dorsal note: Carte buticularii de Seles.

Later dorsal note: Waben.

⁶⁸ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Picardie 298, no. 47.

⁶⁹ September 2, 1279.

(To all who may inspect this letter, the judicial vicar of Amiens sends greeting in the Lord. Know that the noble woman Lady Mary, widow of Lord Anselm of Cayeux, former knight, Bottler of Selles, being husbandless and in her own right, personally appeared in our presence for this matter and provided before us her kind assent to the contract which Lord Anselm of Cayeux, Bottler of Selles, knight, son of Lady Mary, had laid down with that most illustrious man, the lord King of England, and the noble woman Queen of England, his wife, regarding that which Lord Anselm the knight holds from the king and queen at Waben and the pertinences of that place in the region of the county of Ponthieu, which the King and Queen of England hold by hereditary right on the part of the queen, namely in homages, tolls, revenues and whichever other things of the town of Waben and the pertinences of that place pertaining to the Lord Anselm the knight, in which that noble woman, the mother of the said Lord Anselm the knight, is said to have right of dower; and any right and dower that the same Lady Mary the widow has or could have in those things on whatever ground she voluntarily relinquished into our hands on behalf of the said king and queen for however long the said king and queen shall hold those things, with the said Lady Mary, being husbandless and in her own right, promising before us by corporal oath that she will not come to oppose a contract of that sort, nor will she, either personally or through someone else, under any circumstances molest or undertake to molest the said King and Queen of England, or anyone on their part, regarding these matters, in an ecclesiastic or secular court, on the grounds of dower, sustenance, inheritance, acquist, assignment, charity or any other grounds or means for however long they shall hold those things. As testimony of these matters we saw to it that this letter is made and corroborated with the seal of the court of Amiens. Done in the year of the Lord 1279, in the month of September, on the Saturday before the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.)

(Dorsal notes: Documents of the bottler of Selles. Waben.)

This new testimony of the continued presence of Mary and Anselm (IV) of Cayeux in Picardy after the documents from March 1276 and June 1277 finds the family in a somewhat changed political environment. In March 1279 Countess Joan of Ponthieu died in Abbeville after ruling the county for a quarter of a century. With her death, the rights to the county passed to Eleanor, her daughter who was also queen-consort to King Edward I of England. In the grand scheme of Anglo-French relations, this marked the first time a possession in northern France had come under the control of an English king since the defeat of King John at the beginning of the 13th century. In Ponthieu, it meant a transition to the rule of an absentee count who was at the same time a foreign monarch. Regardless of

these aspects, the transition of power was generally smooth, with Edward and Eleanor paying a brief personal visit to their new county in June 1279 to attend the customary ceremonies.⁷⁰

It is highly probable that at this time Anselm (IV) appeared before the royal couple to swear his oath of fealty, because document #8, issued on September 2 of the same year, mentions him as already holding the possessions at Waben “from the king and queen” (lines 7–8).⁷¹ Moreover, the wording seems to indicate that the contract to which the document refers was also arranged directly, although it could have been finalized at a later date with the seneschal whom Edward I appointed to administer the county. Details of the contract’s content remain unknown, but it is possible to make an educated guess about its general sense and purpose. Practically immediately after taking over, the new rulers of the county began to arrange purchases and exchanges of fiefs and rights in order to increase the assets under their own control.⁷² This activity is attested already in June 1279 and can be observed through numerous examples, mostly concentrated in the next few years, with one that seems to have gone unnoticed in historiography being the decision made in January 1281 by the abbot and convent of Dommartin to relinquish to Edward and Eleanor for the sum of 100 pounds *tournois* the grants that “Anselmus de Kaioco, miles, camerarius imperii Constantinopolitani” had given to them with the assent of his mother Mary.⁷³ In view of all this, it would be entirely plausible that Anselm himself agreed to a similar deal regarding the assets that remained to him in the Waben area after the grant made to Dommartin in June 1277.

⁷⁰ On the establishment of English rule in Ponthieu see H. JOHNSTONE, The County of Ponthieu, 1279–1307, *The English Historical Review* 26 (1914) 435–452, pp. 435–441, and H. E. SHEALY, The Persistence of Particularism: the County of Ponthieu in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, *Documenting the Past: Essays in Medieval History Presented to George Peddy Cuttino* (eds. J. S. HAMILTON – P. J. BRADLEY), Woodbridge 1989, 33–51, p. 34.

⁷¹ In the case of Edward’s and Eleanor’s succession to Ponthieu the new subjects first swore fealty to the queen as the bearer of the rights to the county and only then to the king – H. JOHNSTONE, The County of Ponthieu, 440–441.

⁷² Examples are mentioned by H. JOHNSTONE, The County of Ponthieu, 444; H. E. SHEALY, The Persistence of Particularism, 37–38, but the most exhaustive list of references is provided by J. C. PARSONS, The Beginnings of English Administration in Ponthieu: An Unnoticed Document of 1280, *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988) 371–403, pp. 382–385, along with an overview of relations between the Ponthieu nobility and their new rulers.

⁷³ *Cartulaire du comté de Ponthieu*, 303.

Besides providing information about the arrangement with the new overlords, #8 also offers some new insights into the Cayeux family situation. For one thing, it clearly shows that Anselm (IV) had in the meantime become a knight and had assumed his inheritance, including the characteristic title of bottler of Selles.⁷⁴ Although his mother is again involved in the legal affair, that involvement – at least in the part visible in the document – comes after the main agreement had already been made and concerns only her personal rights of dower. This would probably mean that Anselm had in the meantime reached the age of majority, which for the knightly class was considered to be 21.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, it appears that he remained somewhat overshadowed by his mother – the Dommartin document about the sale of donations received from Anselm to Edward I and Eleanor from January 1281 still finds it necessary to state that the donations were made with Mary’s “assent and willingness”, while the Angevin document about Mary’s trip to Serbia in June 1280 mentions that she was accompanied by her son, but fails to even record his name.⁷⁶

Finally, document #8 conclusively extends the known timeframe of Mary’s and Anselm’s stay in the “old country” by more than two years. In conjunction with the dating of #1 and #2 discussed above, it indicates that the family stayed in Picardy from at least March 1276 to September 1279, and, if one takes into account the natural medieval tendency to avoid long distance travel during winter, maybe even from as early as autumn of 1275 to as late as the beginning of spring 1280. Such a long stay, starting, as it appears, very soon after the release of the family assets from obligations towards Mary’s son-in-law Dreux of Beaumont, would suggest that the move was envisaged as a long-term, even permanent,

⁷⁴ Use of this title as the main designation for the family in Picardy is further confirmed here by its appearance in the dorsal note. Incidentally, it is unclear whether the apparent use of plural in that note (“carte buticularii de Seles”) referred to the two Cayeux originals from June 1277, which are preserved next to #8 today or perhaps to some other documents related to the agreement with Edward I and Eleanor (such as the “contract” itself), of which there is now no trace.

⁷⁵ S. S. WALKER, Proof of Age of Feudal Heirs in Medieval England, *Medieval Studies* 35 (1973) 306–323, p. 307.

⁷⁶ This fact leaves open the possibility that Mary was actually travelling with another, younger son, but the only trace of such an individual’s existence would be the mention of a George of Cayeux in conjunction with Queen Helen of Serbia in 1302 (see above, note 35). On the other hand, Anselm (IV), who disappears from Picard records after is known to have stayed in Serbia and to have been buried there (see above, notes 33 and 34).

relocation to the Cayeux ancestral lands.⁷⁷ Yet, in 1280 the family returned to the East. It is possible that the intensification of Angevin plans for a campaign to restore the Latin Empire had rekindled Mary's and Anselm's hopes for the recovery of their eastern fortunes – in the Dommartin document of January 1281, issued after the family had already left Picardy, Anselm (IV) is designated not by the usual title of bottler of Selles, but by his father's "eastern" title of chamberlain of the empire of Constantinople. However, judging by the fact that already in June 1280 their destination turns out to be Serbia, it would seem more probable that the move was caused by the changed status of Mary's sister, the Serbian queen Helen. At some point after the dethronement of her husband, King Stefan Uroš I, by her son Stefan Dragutin in 1276, Helen received as an appanage the coastal regions of the Serbian kingdom, enabling her to provide her sister's family with direct substantial support.⁷⁸ Thus, although that cannot be conclusively proven, their departure from Picardy could easily have been initiated by her invitation.

The above presentation of documents issued by or on behalf of Mary of Cayeux and her son in the region of her late husband's origin is by no means complete, even within the narrow scope of a family history. For example, the existence of five documents authored by them, including two originals, could justify an analysis from the standpoint of diplomacy,⁷⁹ and further efforts could be made in determining genealogical and social links, as well as the family's possessions. On the other hand, the publication of these documents has enabled some new conclusions and propositions to be put forth, while also contributing to the striking

⁷⁷ Grants to the abbey of Dommartin, donated for the souls of Anselm (III) and all ancestors, as well as for Mary and Anselm (IV) themselves, and accompanied with the establishment of memorial celebrations for all of them, could also perhaps be taken as indications in that direction.

⁷⁸ There is a general understanding in Serbian historiography that Helen received her appanage soon after Dragutin's ascension, but it is possible that this interval was somewhat longer, especially since her presence in the maritime regions is not recorded in Dubrovnik registers until February 1280 – М. КОПРИВИЦА, „Држава' краљице Јелене“, *Јелена – краљица, монахиња, светитељка* (ур. К. МИТРОВИЋ), Манастир Градац 2015, 13–25, стр. 14 [Koprivica M., „Država' kraljice Jelene“, *Jelena – kraljica, monahinja, svetiteljka* (ur. K. Mitrović), Manastir Gradac 2015, 13–25].

⁷⁹ With that in mind, it can be pointed out that Petrovich's designation of the #1 and #2 as "letters" and #4 and #5 as "charters" is vague and misleading, as all five documents clearly belong to the type of *littere aperte*.

portrait of Mary of Cayeux as a living embodiment of the complexities that made up 13th century Southeastern Europe. A descendant of the imperial and royal families of Byzantium, Hungary, the Latin Empire and, ultimately, France, she appears in these documents in her capacity of a mature, dignified French noble widow of the late Capetian period. Once again, she seems to fulfill that role quite naturally, guiding her young son to his inheritance, extending due respect and support to the local church, and even managing to add to her impressive list of royal contacts the King and Queen of England, only to leave all that behind and readily embark upon a new transformation on the opposite end of the continent, beside her sister, the Queen of Serbia.

Appendix A: Documents from the Dainville Cartulary

|348r| Nempont

De quatuor sestariis frumenti nobis confirmatis ab Anselmo de Kayeu, armigero.

(#1) Je Ansiaus de Kayeu, fieus et hoirs Ansel de Kayeu, chevalier, jadis bouteillier de Seles, fais savoir à tous cheaus ki ches presentes lettres verront et orront, ke comme l'eglise de Dommartin de l'ordre de Premonstré de l'eveskie d'Amiens fust en possession et en longe tenanche, si comme je l'ay entendu de preudoumes ki sont arroine en chest fait, de quatre sestiers de fourment à le mesure de Blangy ke chele eglise recevoit chacun an el molin de Grouchet des aumosnes, des dons et des biens faicts à mes anchiseurs, qui oirs je sui u liu devantdit, je de consiel Marie medame et me mere et d'autre bone gent, pour le remede de m'ame et de tout mes anchiseurs et pour che ke je aye part es biens speritueus de chu liu, je le devant dite aumosne grée et otrie à tousjours iretalement à chele eglise. Et pourche ke che soit ferme chose |348v| et estavle j'ay donne à le dite eglise ches lettres seelees de mon seel, ki furent faites l'an de l'incarnation mil deux cens sexante et quinze, u mois de march.

De quatuor sestariis frumenti in excambium ab Anselmo predicto

(#2) Je Ansiaus de Kayeu, fieus et oirs Ansel de Kayeu, chevalier, jadis bouteillier de Seles, fais savoir à tous cheaus ki ches presentes lettres verront et orront ke comme l'eglise de Dommartin de l'ordre de Premonstré de l'eveskie d'Amiens receust iretalement chacun an du don et des aumosnes

à mes anchisseur u moulin de Grouchet quatre sestiers de fourment à le mesure de Blangy, derekief comme je recheu par muison chacun an u molin de Nempont trois sestiers de soilé et trois sestiers de molturage et un cent d'anguiles, je par escange fait en bonne maniere sans don et faut promesse quite à le dite eglise lis six sestiers, tant de soilé ke de molturage [349r] devant dis ...⁸⁰ Et le dite eglise quite à mi et à mes oirs lis quatre sestiers de fourment devant dis kele recevoit u molin de Grouchet devant dit en tele maniere ke se l'eglise ne godit de l'escange devant dit bien et en paix elle peut et doit(?) reverir frankement et delivrement as quatre sestiers de fourment devant dis u molin de Grouchet devant dit. Et je et mi oirs reverriesmes ensemment frankement et delivrement as sis sestiers, tant de soilé que de molturage devant dis. Et est à savoir ke pourche ke l'eglise a usage anchien d'aller par ses yauer ki keurent par men fié et faire sen exploit pour le preu de l'eglise, je Ansiaus devant dis retieng à mi et à mes oirs le cent d'anguilles par dessus dit et vuol, gree et otri ke l'eglise ait seu usage et sein(?) maniemment par les choses devant dites si keme il ont tousiours euu. Et bien vueil ke les lettres ke l'eglise à de mi li demeurchent en leur value des quatre sestiers devant dis sele ne pooit goir de l'escange je ne mi oir ne poons à nul jour aler encontre ne rapeler le fait devant dit. Et en [349v] tesmoignage de cheste cose j'ay donne à l'eglise devant dite ches presentes lettres seelees de meu seel ki, furent faites l'an de l'incarnation nostre segneur mil deus cens sexante et quinze, el mois de march.

Appendix B: Documents from the Metz cartulary

|10v1|⁸¹

...⁸²

De domina Maria de Kayeu et Anselmo filio eius super predictis III^{or} sestariis

(#3) Nous Marie de Kayeu, iadis fame mon segneur Ansiau de Kayeu, grant baron et chamberlenc de l'empire de Constantinoble et bouteillier de Seles en Boulenois, et Ansiaus, leur fieus et leur oirs, faisons savoir à tous cheaus ki ches presentes leters verront ke comme l'eglize de Saint Giosse el Bos persist et eust pris de lont tans et pregne encore en no molin de Blangi en

⁸⁰ Illegible.

⁸¹ Numbers 1 and 2 after the folio designation denote columns.

⁸² Unrelated text.

terenois ki est apeles Grouchet quatre sestiers de fourment ke no anchiseur amosnerent à l'eglize de Nostre Dame de Seri, de le quele eglize le devant dite eglize de Saint Giosse el Bos l'à aquis per escange souffisant, nous volons et otrions ke chele glize de Saint Giosse pregne et rechoive les quatre sestiers de forment devant dis iretalement sans contreat. Et leur summes tenu |10v2| nous et nos oirs à warandir encontre tous cheaus ki à droit et à loi vaurroient venir ke kil aviegne. Et en tesmoignage de cheste cose nous avuns seelees ches presentes leters de nos seaus. Faites l'an de l'incarnation nostre segneur M CC sessante dis et set, el mois de jun.

De sex sestariis siliginis et baillardi per medium elemosinatis cum aliis apud Nempont

(#4) « Nous⁸³ Marie de Kayeu,⁸⁴ jadis fame mon segneur Ansel de Kayeu, chevalier, grant baron et cambellenc de l'empire de Con|2|stantinoble et bouteillier de Seles, et Ansiaus de Kayeu, leur fieus et leur oirs, faisons savoir à tous cheaus ki ches presentes le|3|tres verront et orront ke nous avons doune et dounons encore pour Dieu à l'eglise de Saint Giosse u⁸⁵ Bos en pure et pepetuel(!)⁸⁶ |4| aumosne pour les ames de nous et pour l'ame de mon segneur Ansel chevalier devandit et de tous nos anchiseurs et pour |5| nostre anniversaire faire chascun an en |11r1| l'eglise devant dite toutes nos tieres waaignaules ke nous aviemes u tiereoir de |6| Nempont devers Moustruel et poons avoir, et tous les cens de deniers et de capons et toutes les rentes de blé et d'avene⁸⁷ |7| ke nous avons et poons avoir en chele meesme vile de Nempont. Derekief nous avons doune pour Dieu en aumosne à che|8|le meesme eglise sis sestiers moitié soilé et moitié baillart ke nous recheviemes chascun an de rente à le mesure de |9| Moustruel el molin de l'eglise ki est en le dite vile de Nempont et toutes les autres choses ke nous aviemes et poie|10|mes avoir en chele vile et es appendanches en conkes⁸⁸ maniere ke che fust à tenir à l'eglise ou à sen kemant et à fairent |11| tous ses bons pourfis et ses volentes à tous jours parduralement, frankement et en pais, retenu à nous et à nos |12| oirs l'oumage Jehan de Nempont et chou k'il tient de |11r2| nous en fief sans plus. Ches aumosnes si kemeles⁸⁹ sunt devant

⁸³ Text in guillemets is transcribed from the original charter (BnF, Département des Manuscrits, Picardie 298, no. 45), with more significant variations from the Metz cartulary given in footnotes.

⁸⁴ Always: Kaieu.

⁸⁵ Always: el.

⁸⁶ perpetuel.

⁸⁷ avame.

⁸⁸ quelconque.

⁸⁹ keles.

|13| devisees⁹⁰ nous Marie et Ansiaus de Kayeu devant noume sommes tenu à tenir et à warandir bien et loiaument à le |14| devant dite eglise ou à sen kemant cheste letre aportant envers tous cheaus ki à droit et à loy en vauroient venir |15| ne ni poons ne nostre oir ensemment apres nous nule cose iamais reclamer ne demander. Et à toutes ches choses obli|16|gons nous nous et nos oirs et tous nos biens. Et pour chou⁹¹ ke che soit ferme cose et estavle, nous avons doune à |17| l'abbe et au couvent de le dite eglise ches presentes lettres seelees de nos seaus, ki furent faites l'an de grasse mil |18| deus chens sexante et diset,⁹² el mois de juin, lendemain du jour saint Barnabas l'apostre.⁹³ »

De terragio domini de Seles nobis elemosinato in territorio de Waben

(#5) « Nous⁹⁴ Marie de Kaeu, iadis fame monseigneur Ansiau de Kaeu, grant baron et chamberlan de l'empire |2| de Constantinoble, |11v1|et Ansiaus, leur fius et leur oirs, fasons⁹⁵ savoir à tous chiaus ki ches presentes |3| lettres verront ke nous avons doune et dounons encore pour Dieu en aumosne et faire⁹⁶ l'anniversaire |4| de monseigneur Ansiau devandit et de nous et de nos anchiseurs à l'eglise de Saint Giosse el Bos tout |5| le terage ke nous prenons⁹⁷ es teres ke le dite eglise a et ke on tient de lui⁹⁸ el teroir de Waben |6| et une mine de fourment et deus capons ke le maison⁹⁹ de Bamieres de les Waben nous rendoit |7| chascun an à tenir et à avoir frankement et kitement et iretalement en pure aumosne. |8| Et ne poons iamais riens clamer en ches choses, ne no oir. Et obliions¹⁰⁰ nous et nos oirs et tout |9| le nostre envers l'eglise devandite pour warandir cheste aumosne si ke ele est devisee par de sus |10| en contre tous chiaus ki à droit et à loi vaurroient venir kekil aviegne. Et en tesmogna|11|ie¹⁰¹ de cheste |11v2| cose nous avons seelees ches lettres¹⁰² de nos seaus. Faites l'an de l'incarnation nostre segneur M CC sexante dis et set, el mois de jun. »

⁹⁰ devisees devant.

⁹¹ che.

⁹² dis et set.

⁹³ June 12, 1277.

⁹⁴ Text in guillemets is transcribed from the original charter (BnF, Département des Manuscrits, Picardie 298, no. 44), with more significant variations from the Metz cartulary given in footnotes.

⁹⁵ faisons.

⁹⁶ et pour faire.

⁹⁷ permons.

⁹⁸ deli.

⁹⁹ le maisons.

¹⁰⁰ obligons.

¹⁰¹ tesmoignage.

¹⁰² ches lettres seelees.

Commissio curie Ambianensis de eodem

(#6) Officialis Ambianensis ..., decano Sancti Richarii in Pontivo, salutem. Auctoritate qua fungimur vobis mandamus quatinus conventiones habitas inter Anselmum de Kayeu, armigerum, et dominam Mariam matrem eius, relictam domini Anselmi quondam militis, butularii de Seles et patris predicti Anselmi, ex parte una, et viros religiosos abbatem et conventum Sancti Judoci in Nemore ex altera, loco nostri audiatis, et eas cum omnibus circumstantiis earumdem nobis ambos sub sigillo vostro remittatis apertas. Datum anno domini M^o CC^o LXX^o septimo, feria secunda post festum beati Barnabe apostoli.¹⁰³

Rescriptio decani de eodem

(#7) Viro venerabili et discreto ..., officiali Ambianense, A., decanus Sancti Ricarii, salutem et obedientiam cum omni reverentia et honore. Noverit vostra discretio quod coram nobis vices vostras gerentibus in hac parte personaliter constituti nobilis mulier domina Maria de Kayeu, relicta domini Anselmi de Kayeu, quondam militis et bouteillier de Seles, et Anselmus eorumdem fillius et heres, habens legitimam etatem, recognoverunt se dedisse et concessisse in puram, perpetuam et omnino liberam elemosinam pro anima dicti Anselmi militis et animalibus suis et predecessorum suorum et pro anniversario suo faciendo ecclesie Sancti Judoci in Nemore omnes terras suas arabiles quas habent, habebant, habere poterant seu debebant in territorio de Nempont versus Moustreolum; similiter omnes censos denariorum et caponum et omnes redditus suos bladum et avenarum quos habent vel habere possunt in dicta villa de Nempont et omnia que habebant vel habere poterant in eadem villa et ipsius territorio, retento sibi homagio Iohannis de Nempont, domini ipsius ville et ea que de ipsis tenet in feodum Iohannes supradictus. Item, sex sestariis, medietatem siliginis et medietatem baillardi, quos ipsi recipiebant annui redditus in molendino deme Grouchet [ad] mensuram Moustreoli nunc currentem. Item, omnia terragia que accipiebant in terris ipsius ecclesie ad Waben vel in terres que de ipsa ecclesia tenentur. Item, unam minam frumenti et duos capones que eis debebantur annis singulis pro quodam manerio sito in territorio de Waben vocato Bamieres. Item, cum ecclesia beate Marie de Seriaco acquisivisset ab antiquo ex donis et elemosinis atecessorum(!) predicti Anselmi quatuor sestariis frumenti in molendino suo quod vocatum est Grouchet apud Blangiacum in dyocesi Morinensi et predicta ecclesia Sancti Judoci dictos quatuor sestariis per excambium acquisierit ab ecclesia de Seriaco antedicta volunt et concedunt quod ecclesia Sancti Iudoci superius nominata dictos quatuor sestariis habeat et recipiat quolibet anno pacifice, quiete et libere.

¹⁰³ June 14, 1277.

Omnia vero supradicta sicut superius sunt expressa dicta Maria et Anselmus |12v1|¹⁰⁴ filius eius recognoverunt coram nobis dedisse et contulisse in puram elemosinam donatione inter vivos predictae ecclesie Sancti Judoci in Nemore ad omnes usus suos. Resignavit insuper dicta Maria in manu nostra ad opus ipsius ecclesie spontanea, non coacta, quicquid in predictis nomine dotalicii seu quolibet alio nomine habebat vel habere poterat seu debebat. Renuntiantes tam dicta Maria quam Anselmus filius eius et heres omni juris axilio(!) et beneficio canonici et civilis et omnibus privilegiis indultis seu etiam indulgentis et omnibus aliis rationibus et exceptionibus que de iure vel de facto possent opponi contra presens instrumentum. Promittentes sacramento super hoc prestito corporali quod contra huiusmodi elemosinam de cetero non venient nec dictam ecclesiam aut aliquem ex parte ipsius per se sive per alium aut per alios aliquatenus molestabunt nec procurabunt ab aliquo molestari, sed dictam ecclesiam indemnem penitus conservabunt ad omnia et singula |12v2| supradicta firmiter observanda se et heredes suos in perpetuum obligantes. Quas conventiones prout coram nobis facte, iurate et recognite sunt de mandato vestro vobis sub sigillo nostro remittimus ad instantiam partium, sigillo curie Ambianensis sigillandas. Datum anno domini M^o CC^o LXX^o septimo, feria quarta post festum beati Barnabe apostoli.¹⁰⁵

Небојша Порчић

**ДОКУМЕНТИ МАРИЈЕ ОД КАЈОА
О ДАРОВИМА ОПАТИЈИ ДОМАРТЕН И О
СПОРАЗУМУ СА ЕНГЛЕСКИМ КРАЉЕМ**

Резиме

Надовезујући се на недавна истраживања о Марији од Кајоа, сестри српске краљице Јелене, рад се бави документима које су Марија и њен син Анселм издали током свог боравка у француској покрајини Пикардији, завичају породице Кајо, у раздобљу након 1275. Утврђено је да један од пет докумената који су претходно приписивани овим ауторима није њихов, али и да постоје још четири досад непозната или

¹⁰⁴ Of all the pages used to record documents concerning the Cayeux grants, only 12v has a header, which reads: "Donmartin. De Seles."

¹⁰⁵ June 16, 1277.

неискоришћена документа који се могу сврстати у ову скупину, чиме се укупан број повећава на осам. Седам њих тиче се дарова опатији Домартен (познатој и као Свети Јудок у Шуми) у грофовији Понтије – два из марта 1276 о даровању годишњег прихода у житу из млина Груше, вероватно код Бланжија на Терноази, три из јуна 1277, којима се опатији додељују додатни приходи и поседи у млину Груше, селу Немпон и комуни Вабен, те два документа из истог месеца којима црквени суд дијецезе Амијен потврђује ове дарове. Поред тога, истраживање је открило и један документ истог суда из септембра 1279, којим се Марија одриче свог удовичког дела у поседима и приходима на подручју Вабена у складу са споразумом који је њен син Анселм склопио с енглеским краљем Едвардом I и његовом супругом краљицом Елеонором након што су они раније те године наследством стекли грофовију Понтије. Рад доноси прво потпуно издање текстова свих осам докумената и разматра податке које они пружају о Марији и њеној породици, попут хронолошких и генеалогских питања, титулатуре и друштвеног и економског статуса.

Кључне речи: средњовековни документи, Пикардија, Понтије, Марија од Кајоа, Анселм од Кајоа, опатија Домартен, краљ Едвард I, краљица Елеонора.

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