

Vendetta in the Seventeenth-Century Midi

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Abstract:

This paper discusses a previously unknown but potentially significant vendetta in the seventeenth-century French Midi. On 15 July 1674, François de Nogaret, *vicomte* de Trelans, was abducted by forty men from the parish church of La Bastide during mass; his killers subsequently murdered him. Within a month his killer, François de Sénégas, was himself killed in a revenge attack and his corpse burned. The story of the vendetta is important in itself, because the richness of the archival traces it left allows us to reconstruct the events in unparalleled detail. Four significant features emerge. First, the Sénégas were Protestants and the Trelans Catholics and their enmity can be traced back to the beginnings of the Wars of Religion. Second, the immediate cause of their dispute in the mid-seventeenth century was caused by clashes over seigneurial rights and royal taxation, and the evidence suggests that peasants played a major role in the drama. Third, litigation between the parties made the dispute worse and the judicial system failed to stop the violence escalating. Finally, the feud was brought to an end by a peace brokered by the *intendant* in 1678. This accord represents a rare archival discovery and accordingly I have published it as an appendix to the article. It demonstrates William Beik's contention that the purview and activities of the *intendants* changed during the personal reign of Louis XIV, and as a consequence they became more effective agents of social control.

Key-words: France; Vendetta; Law; Peasants; Wars of Religion

If one follows the river Tarn thirty kilometres upstream from Albi one will eventually reach the confluence with the river Rance and the village of La Bastide. Today, the village lies on the edge of the region known at the *Grand Causses*, the southern section of the Massif Central, a region characterized by rugged mountains, high calciferous plateaus, river valleys and steep gorges. The village of La Bastide has always lain on a border, between the mountains of the *Causses* and the gentler plain of the Albigeois, where the provinces of the Rouergue and Languedoc, the dioceses of Vabres, Rodez and Albi, and the modern *départements* of the Tarn and the Aveyron meet. The region is today probably best known for its distinctive cheese, Roquefort, but historically the region was also a centre of heresy, delimiting the more Protestant Rouergue from the more Catholic Midi Toulousain, and it is this frontier which forms the backdrop to the events which occurred in village of La Bastide on Sunday 15 July 1674. On that day, the lord of La Bastide, François de Nogaret, *vicomte* de Trelans, went to do his customary devotions (Foulquier-Lavergne, 1874-1878)¹. During Mass, forty men, armed and masked, entered the church and, following a scuffle, seized him, two servants and the local judge. They were taken across the river Rance, where there were horses waiting to take them up into the hills to the south, a dozen kilometres or so, to a farm [*masage*] at Alban². Here the *vicomte* and his two servants were murdered; the judge was freed.

Violence in sacred spaces was not as uncommon as one might imagine in Louis XIV's France: churches were both a site for violent exchanges and a cause of bloody feuds among local elites. In *Blood and violence in early modern France*, I considered over fifty cases of violence in churches, arguing that it was phenomenon characteristic of the century that followed the outbreak of the French Religion Wars of Religion in 1562 (Carroll, 2006: 65-82, 122-124, 232). It was both the best place to catch your enemy unawares and also difficult to avoid meeting them face to face during a service. Much of the violence was low level, but nevertheless caused serious disruption to parish life. My research since 2006 has confirmed this pattern, but it is also clear that the problem of contested space in churches was a more widespread and persistent problem than I had originally imagined and that

¹ This account, which seems to be based on folk memory, is faulty. The events recounted in the judicial investigation of the *bailli* of Millau require treatment in a separate article: B[ibliothèque] N[ationale] M[anuscrit]S Clairambault 795, fos. 565-588.

² Incidentally called Nougaret and also referred to as a château: A[rchives] D[épartementales] du Tarn, 41 J, Fonds du château de Saint-André: <http://archives.tarn.fr/fileadmin/templates/archives/img_arch81/export_html/FRAD081_41J.htm> (last accessed 19.11.2015).

we need to extend our chronology into the eighteenth century (Atgier, 1908: 339; Bauchy, 1959: 23-30).

But the murder of the *vicomte* de Trelans belongs to a different category. There was no dispute over the church at La Bastide, its fabric or the sacred space within, and we can be certain of that because his killer, François de Durand de Sénégas, sieur de Saint-Pierre de Trivisy, was a Protestant. Nicolas-Joseph Foucault, *intendant* of the *generalité* of Montauban, picks up our story in a letter to Colbert on 29 August 1674:

The sieur de [Nogaret-] Trelans having been murdered in Languedoc by the sieur de Senegas Saint-Pierre, the kin of the former, assisted by the sieur de Senegas's own vassals, entered the Rouergue and besieged him in a small country house [*métairie*], where he was cruelly murdered. I sent a commissioner there to investigate. I am sending you, Monsieur, a copy of the investigation that he did. The case will be placed in the hands of M. d'Aguesseau, who I understand was commissioned to try the case of those guilty of the first crime which happened in his department, this second case being a consequence [of the first]. (Baudry, 1862: 397-398)

What *intendant* Foucault was describing was the consequence of a long running dispute, which historians and anthropologists would describe as a feud or *faide*, although no such term was available to the disputants at the time (Carroll, 2006: *Introduction*). We know this to be the case because of a remarkable document that exists in the *Archives Départementales* of the Tarn – an accord signed by the two families and representatives of their peasants in the Logis du Grand Soleil in Toulouse on 5 April 1678³. Although we have long been aware of the significant role played by out of court or infra-judicial settlements in the Ancien Régime legal system, the practice, by its nature, remains largely undetected. What characterized the Ancien Régime legal system was the ubiquity of out of court settlements and arbitrations relative to judgments and punishments; in the court of the *prévôté* of Vaucouleurs in the eighteenth century, for example, this meant that 60% of lawsuits were abandoned before sentencing (Piant, 2006). Even when sentences were pronounced they were often without effect: only 2 of the 11 capital sentences issued there were carried out, which bears out Tocqueville's maxim: «The whole of the Ancien Régime is there: rigid in rule, mild in practice, such is its character» (Wenzel, 2011: 509). Eric Wenzel has described the discovery of infra-justice as a 'Copernician Revolution' in our understanding of the law. However, it would be fair to say that this revolution rests on comparatively little evidence. We know that most lawsuits were abandoned before sentencing, but we are less well informed about the ways in which deals were negotiated and what they contained. Likewise, we know a lot about pardons, but almost nothing about the negotiations between the parties that were necessary before they could be registered and the *partie civile* satisfied. The accord is a highly unusual document and I have therefore published it *in extenso* as an appendix to this article.

However, the Sénégas-Trelans feud is worth considering in some detail for other reasons. First, the case highlights the corrosive effects of the French Wars of Religion on local life and the fact that, although the religious wars came to an end with the accession of Henri IV, the civil conflicts they caused continued to be a feature of rural life in many parts of France for most of the seventeenth century. The second feature of this dispute is the role played by the peasantry. The dispute between their respective lords had an immense impact on their daily lives, but the peasants were not passive in the dispute and, as Foucault's report above makes clear, they were major actors in the final drama. Thirdly, we can follow the dispute through the courts of law and show why it was not possible to prevent the dispute from escalating. The law was subject to political interference and both parties mobilized its networks of support and petitioned competing jurisdictions. Fourthly, we shall see how the logic of peace emerged from judicial deadlock. Historians have traditionally been very impressed by the repression of aristocratic violence carried out by the *Grands Jours* of the *Parlements* of Toulouse and Paris, which operated in the Midi and the Auvergne in the 1660s respectively, but as I have argued elsewhere, their importance lay in the symbolic reassertion of royal authority and most of the sentences they issued were never carried out (Carroll,

³ AD Tarn, B 100.

2006: 301-305). The law was subject to social and political imperatives and crimes committed by members of the aristocracy were always treated differently. More important in our case was the role played by intermediaries, in particular Henri d'Aguesseau, the *intendant* of Languedoc from 1673 to 1685. His peace-making role lends support to William Beik's contention that the purview and activities of the *intendants* changed during the personal reign of Louis XIV, and as a consequence they became more effective agents of social control (Beik, 1998; Carroll, 2003: 112). Finally, we shall need to consider the significance of the seizure of François de Nogaret in a church during Mass, an act of sacrilege which sheds light on the practice of the feud in early modern Europe more widely.

From the very beginning of the French Wars of Religion in 1562 the families of Sénégas and Trelans found themselves on opposite sides of the conflict. The Rouergue and Languedoc were heartlands of the Calvinist movement and the civil wars in the region were to be particularly bloody and prolonged. The Nogaret de Trelans family leaves less of a trace in the documentation⁴. The *vicomté* of Trelans lay in the Gévaudan (presently the *département* of the Lozère) close to the border with the Rouergue, and it was in the Gévaudan where the Trelans made their name as one of the fiercest opponents of Protestantism. As governor, the *vicomte* de Trelans was responsible for the burning of three heretics in 1557. On 3 August 1562 he retook the provincial capital, Mende, from the Huguenots (Ferdinand, 1876-1893, II: 35, 475). He was also accused of committing atrocities against Catholics. The Protestant *Histoire ecclésiastique* talks of the desultory war in the region, which «several took advantage of, some as an opportunity for booty, and others to carry out revenge and their individual passions» (Béze, 1974, III: 234-235).

However, it is the barons of Sénégas who emerge from the sources with more clarity. The Durand family were of comparatively modest origins, but in 1566 Charles Durand, a second son, married the heiress, Anne de Bonne. As part of the marriage contract he adopted his wife's name and arms as well as acquiring her property, becoming Charles Durand de Bonne, baron de Sénégas, which lies 20 kilometres to the north east of Castres (Guerny, 2007). The match was certainly a reward for his services to the Protestant cause and to the young Henri de Navarre, in particular, in whose household he served as *gentilhomme de la chambre* and later *chambellan*. He was one of the most important Protestant captains in the Midi, appearing as colonel of a regiment of 1,000 foot, which was raised in Castres in 1568, and playing a prominent role in the fighting in Languedoc over the next decade (De Vic - Vaissete, 2003, XI: 508, 517, 556, 565, 614, 655). He was a commissioner for the implementation of the peace edicts in 1577, 1579 and 1580 and in 1582 was sent on an embassy to England. During the wars of succession (1584-1596), in which Navarre was opposed by the Catholic League, the region was divided between Albi, which held for the League, and Castres, which had long been a bastion of Protestantism – Sénégas is recorded in the thick of the fighting (Pradel, 1894: 67). Albi held out against Navarre, now Henri IV, until in 1596, when it capitulated by the treaty of Folembray.

Across large parts of France, this was a war characterized less by the movements of field armies than a fragmented and highly localized struggle for every stronghold and château, pitting village against village and neighbour against neighbour; it constituted the most destructive phase of the Wars of Religion. This was no less true of the Rance valley, where the strategic château of La Bastide dominated the confluence with the Tarn. It was held for the Catholic League by the *vicomte* of Trelans against his neighbours, many of whom were Protestants. On 13 February 1587, at the head of 800 men, he took the neighbouring *château* of Plaisance (Foulquier-Lavergne, 1874-1878: 167). And over the next few years he seized several other Protestant strongholds. The importance of this for our story is that, if they had not done so before, Sénégas and Trelans would soon come face to face. In July 1595 Sénégas received a commission to receive the submission of the forts and châteaux still in Trelans's possession, including that at Curvalle (Guerny, 2007: 22). The fate of both Plaisance and Curvalle will later become crucial to our story.

Charles Durand baron de Sénégas emerged from the Wars of Religion very much a victor: not only had his freedom to worship been guaranteed, but his social position had been significantly enhanced. In 1598, his son Jean was married to

⁴ Barrau, 1853-1860, II: 632-633, contains many errors.

the daughter of the *sénéchal* of Castres who paid a dowry of 30,000 *livres*, a sum worthy of a member of the provincial elite (Guerny, 2007: 17). In 1608 Charles purchased the seigneuries and châteaux of Plaisance and Curvalle for the comparatively small sum of 4,200 *livres*, which suggests that the properties were heavily mortgaged and/or damaged during the civil war. Charles seems to have moved his principle residence to Curvalle, as he died there in 1618, drawing up his will on 3 October in favour of his grandson, Charles (Barrau, 1853-1860: 604).

However, the reconciliation effected by Henri IV, was always tenuous. Beyond Paris civil conflict continued: in 1607 Charles's youngest son was murdered on the open road (Dumont, 1969-1971, II: n. 13338, 3 December 1607). And the uneasy settlement began to unravel with the royal minority and dynastic instability that followed the king's assassination in 1610. By 1615 Sénégas was mustering troops and, in the year before his death, was forbidden by the Parlement of Toulouse from fortifying his 'vieux château' at Curvalle (Extraits, 1883: 238; Pradel, 1894b: 16). His son, Jean, was among the supporters of the Protestant rebel Rohan in 1621-1622, but hesitated to rejoin the duke in 1627 (Vaissete - De Vic, 2003, XI: 947, 962, 1008). There is some evidence that by the mid seventeenth century the deteriorating political situation for Protestants was having an economic impact, as the avenues for office-holding were narrowed and the steady flow of converts to Catholicism among the nobility drained the pool of potential marriage partners and depressed dowries (Mentzer, 1994). When, in 1638, Charles de Durand, Jean's son, married Marthe de Montcalm, daughter of a judge in the *Chambre de l'Edit* at Castres, he received a dowry 10,000 *livres* less than his father had received (Guerny, 2007: 17). However, this marriage into the local magisterial elite would provide great support in his struggles to come.

The trouble began in the following year. This was year in which the royal domain in the village of Curvalle was pawned to Louis de Manelphe, canon of Albi cathedral, one of the many financial expedients used by the crown to meet the demands of the war against Spain (1635-1659). The taxpayers wished to buy Manelphe out, but they did not have the wherewithal to do so. In 1647 Sénégas agreed to advance them 11,600 *livres* on condition that he enjoyed the revenues of the domain for six years. However, at the end of the period contention arose over the «various fees and expenses» that he had incurred, giving rise to «several encounters (*rencontres*) between the said sieur de Sénégas, dame Marthe de Montcalm his wife and Messieurs their children on one hand and the deceased Messire François de Nogaret vicomte de Trelans, Messires Jean-Luc and another François de Nogaret his children and others»⁵.

More detail can be gleaned from the judgement issued by the royal *Conseil d'Etat* in 1664. This ruling, which confirmed the evocation of the affair to the *Chambre de Justice* (established by Colbert in 1661 to investigate financial malpractice and peculation) was hostile to Sénégas and needs to be used with caution: not only was he charged with fraud, but also murder and sacrilege. The religious aspect to the case is foregrounded at the beginning of the judgement, which mentions Sénégas's Protestantism, and that «in order to render himself master and lord of this community [Curvalle], and its domain, which is held by His Majesty, he spared no effort to violate all human and divine laws» (*Arrest du Conseil d'Etat*, 1664: 1). The agents [*syndics*] of the community complained that, once the six years were up, he refused to return the village's property and that his demand for interest and fees was nothing more than extortion. They also complained that Sénégas used his connections in the *Chambre de l'Edit*, which had been established under the provisions of the Edict of Nantes in 1598 to provide impartial justice for Protestants, to coerce them. First, he had some villagers killed and intimidated the rest, covering his actions in the legal judgements of this court. Second, he imposed village consuls and syndics «by his own private authority, all under his control, and by this means excluded all the inhabitants from control over the business, taxes and levies of His Majesty» (*Arrest du Conseil d'Etat*, 1664: 2). Over the next four years the collections of these dues was contested between the villagers and Sénégas's henchmen, resulting in several affrays and murders. His opponents in the village addressed their complaints to other courts, most notably, the *Parlement* of Toulouse, which had a reputation for hostility to Protestantism.

⁵ AD Tam, B 100, p. 1.

The village represented itself as a 'poor' community bravely struggling against a petty tyrant and heretic, who resorted to chicanery to achieve his ends. We should be wary of this rhetoric. Sénégas's supporters were among the dead and it is clear that the peasants were able to call on outside muscle to resist him. This included the local head of police, the *prévôt des maréchaux* of Albi, also called Louis de Manelphe, and almost certainly a relative of the original holder of the usufruct and therefore hardly a disinterested party⁶. Secondly, and more significantly for our story, was François *vicomte* de Trelans, who was first named in the blizzard of legal judgment emanating from the competing courts in September 1658 (*Arrest du Conseil d'Etat*, 1664: 7). Trelans and his sons joined Manelphe's attempts to arrest Sénégas, but entry to the château of Curvalle was resisted by Sénégas's wife and sons. Sénégas stuck back on 7 December 1663, «chasing Trelans and his family from his house at La Bastide [...] seizing it and placing a garrison of rascals in it, all *Religionnaires* like Sénégas, who pillaged everything, and carried off furniture, papers, titles and money; not content with this they pulled down the bell-tower of the Church» (*Arrest du Conseil d'Etat*, 1664: 11).

This incident makes Trelans's involvement in the dispute clear. Bells marked time and their inappropriate ringing was a cause of tension among neighbours. As Alain Corbin has shown, even in the nineteenth century, disputes arose «over the power to decide when the bells were to be rung and when they were to remain silent during the rites of passage» (Carroll, 2006: 78-79). In the sixteenth century bell-ringing caused particular irritation to Protestants. Catholics were aware of this and they also tried to drown out Protestant services; it was the cause of the Saint-Médard riots in Paris in 1561. La Bastide was only a couple of kilometres from Curvalle and perhaps Sénégas was exasperated by the bells attracting his tenants to worship on his enemy's domain. The complexity of feudal law was such that they shared many tenants and that either man could consider the other his subject. Curvalle «was part of the justice and seigneurie of Verdun in the *sénéchaussée* of the Rouergue, which contained three mills, woods, mastage, and in addition a house or château at Curvalle which is noble and fortified [...] rents and dues on the inhabitants of Curvalle [...] the seigneurie of Plaisance and its whole justice, high, medium and low [...] and in the land of the seigneur de la Bastide the fief of Bousquet» (Guerny, 2007: 34-35). In the early modern period we disentangle the sacred from more material concerns at our peril. The primary reason for Sénégas's occupation of La Bastide, as the 1678 accord makes clear, was his desire to recover stolen cattle and legal damages owed by Trelans.

Moreover, François de Trelans was an unlikely Counter-Reformation warrior. He had been involved in the resistance of the civic elite of Mende against attempts by the bishop to increase ecclesiastical authority in the town. On 30 April 1645 he led 80 men into the cathedral in Mende and approached the altar while the bishop was administering Holy Communion; they would have killed him had the canons and choristers not promptly closed the doors, separating the altar from the knave, and bundled the bishop out of the church (Porée, 1901: LI-LVII). Trelans was also involved in a long running feud with neighbours in his properties in the Gévaudan, which led him to be interrogated by the *Grand Jours* of Languedoc on suspicion of the murder of twenty men⁷. Although he was condemned *in absentia* and technically an outlaw, he still had managed to have recourse to justice: the *Chambre de Justice* found in his favour, ordering Sénégas's men to quit the château of La Bastide and the judges of the *présidial* of Villefranche-de-Rouergue to open a criminal investigation. This court soon issued a capital sentence against Sénégas, his mother, his sons and his niece, Catherine Guirard, and sequestered property, including a tapestry and other furniture.

The case against Sénégas was sent to the *Grand Jours* of the Auvergne at Clermont. Sénégas «greatly embarrassed Messieurs des Grand Jours, as much as for the great number of charges as for his comportment, who defended himself with a great deal of spirit and resolve» (Chérueil, 1856: 210). His interrogation on 7 January 1666 gives us more detail on the accusations. Not only was he charged with three murders, violence, false imprisonment, the usurpation of royal rights and levying his own taxes by force, but also of «taking down a [church] banner, demolishing a chapel consecrated to the virgin and using the material to fortify

⁶ *Prévôt* Manelphe was himself murdered in 1670.

⁷ AD Haute-Garonne, B [92 M] fo. 142, 27 October 1666.

one of his houses [...] of appropriating the title of a prior in one of his territories». The diarist Esperit Fléchier was impressed: «the accused defended himself very skilfully, although he appeared to be very wicked and deceitful» (Chérueil, 1856: 211). He turned the tables on his accusers and protested that the charge of sacrilege was fabricated by his enemies. Everyone, according to Fléchier, expected him to be executed, but the judges were divided. It was fortunate for Sénégas that the case was heard by the magistrates of the *Parlement* Paris and not those of Toulouse, who held their *Grands Jours* of Languedoc at Le Puy, and who were particularly sensitive to the crime of sacrilege and severe on Protestants (Le Blanc, 1869). The President of the *Grand Jours* at Clermont opined for the death sentence, but Sénégas had friends in the capital and it was «certain political considerations which led the other judges to let him live» (Chérueil, 1865: 212). He was condemned to be banished from the kingdom, fined 20,000 *livres* and the fortifications at Plaisance and Curvalle were to be razed to the ground.

But there was no such thing as a final judgement in the Ancien Régime legal system; for those with the wherewithal there was always another court, another avenue to pursue. In 1669, after five years in prison, Sénégas had the judgement, obtained «by his enemies and their pernicious designs», against him quashed. He seems to have died soon thereafter, as it was his widow, Marthe de Montcalm, the daughter of a judge, who set about mobilizing her considerable contacts in the legal world to restore the patrimony. In 1670 she obtained a judgement from the *Parlement* of Toulouse which absolved her and her sons and returned Plaisance and Curvalle. Their opponents immediately appealed to the *Parlement* of Paris. But the financial cost to the Sénégas was now taking its toll and they were forced to mortgage their property (Guerny, 2007: 31). The crown also had no intention of repeating the failures of the past and in 1674 the royal chancery issued an order forbidding any court to receive the plaintiffs. The agreement of the parties to accept the arbitration of the *intendant* of Languedoc, Henri d'Aguesseau, was seen by Louis XIV on 3 August 1674⁸. The accord tells us that the parties wished to avoid more expense.

Alas, the truce was almost immediately broken by the murder of the *vicomte* of Trelans and his son's revenge. François de Nogaret de Trelans married in 1628 and must have been well over sixty at the time of his murder. We know more about his killers at this stage, because of the richness of the Sénégas family archive. Charles de Durand de Bonne was succeeded by five sons, three of whom held commissions in the armies of Louis XIV. There seems to have been a disagreement between the brothers over the peace negotiations. It was the second son François, sieur de Saint-Pierre, captain of dragoons on the ill-fated French mission to Candia in 1668-1669, who carried out the abduction and murder. Saint-Pierre must have felt secure from a counter-attack for he and his men repaired to the farmhouse at Verdun only a few kilometres up the Rance from La Bastide, ostensibly to help with the harvest. But, on 9 August 1674, the house was invested by his victim's son, Jean-Luc de Trelans with 200 peasants and soldiers. On the morning of the 14th Saint-Pierre and his men, lacking water, tried to break out. He was captured and taken to Trelans's territory, where he was murdered and his body subsequently burned⁹.

During the siege, he managed to smuggle out a letter, dated 12 August 1674, to his sister-in-law. The letter contains a pitiful plea: «in the name of God to take particular care of the children, wives and kin of the poor men whose throats will be cut with mine should God not take pity on us». He further requested that the rest of his papers were to be sent to the sieur de Saint-Maurice, «being assured that I die honouring [you] more than any other person and the sieur de Saint-Maurice who I loved more than a brother». The likeliest candidate for this show of affection was Guillaume de Passemar, sieur de Saint-Maurice and baron d'Alban. The fact that Trelans had been taken to Alban in order to be murdered implicates Saint-Maurice in the conspiracy (Guerny, 2007: 20).

The letter confirms the split in the Sénégas family, for Saint-Pierre begged his «dear» sister-in-law «to forget all that has passed between us, and I make the same plea to my brother, your husband». His elder brother, Jean-Louis, was in Paris at the time of the murder, presumably lobbying on behalf of the peace deal and, although he was arrested under suspicion of complicity, he was subsequently

⁸ AD Tam, B 100, 5-6.

⁹ BN MS Clairambault 795, fos. 565-88.

released. The logic of peace was strengthened by the deaths of two of the main protagonists on either side, a symmetry which preserved the equilibrium between the two feuding families. In any case, the new *vicomte* de Trelans, Jean-Luc, had other fish to fry; in pursuit of his claim to the château of Lafox in the Agenais he installed a garrison of 25-30 men, which occasioned another «endless lawsuit» (Marboutin, 1910: 304). Moreover, the agents of the crown had no intention of repeating the mistakes of the past and using punitive measures that might prove counter-productive. The peace-making activities of the prince de Conti, governor of Languedoc, who held twice weekly arbitration audiences in the 1660s, were widely known and celebrated as model to be imitated (Carroll, 2003: 96).

The 1678 accord, which encompassed the kin, tenants and vassals of each faction, was the work of three arbiters – Jacques de Loubens comte de Verdalle, Jacques de Châteauverdun seigneur de Belvèze and André de Retz seigneur de Bressolles – who interviewed both parties and inspected written depositions¹⁰. The haggling centred mainly on the amount of reparations that were due to Sénégas from his tenants for the destruction of his property and the loss of revenue since 1664. He demanded 3,400 *livres* plus interest and damages. The peasants countered that these were void and demanded the return, among others things, of a hundredweight (*quintal*) of Roquefort cheese. They demanded the reinstatement of Sénégas's non-noble fiefs onto the tax rolls. This was a region of the *taille réelle*, where the tax was owed on property and did not depend on social status. While this is usually considered to be a fairer way of apportioning the *taille*, it was clearly open to abuse. Their complaint is redolent of long-standing peasant grievances, and royal ministers and *intendants* were well aware of the deleterious effects of the erosion of communal rights on royal revenues. Royal bureaucracy had a vested interest in supporting peasant attempts to erode the power of the seigneurie (Root, 1987).

The peasants also required that Sénégas meet the obligations of the lordship of Plaisance to provide annually for the poor and to support a preacher in the local church. To what extent this supports the confessional as opposed to economic underpinnings of the dispute is difficult to say. Louis XIV's hostility to Protestantism undoubtedly improved the villagers' case and they were careful to deploy the rhetoric of confessional difference when appealing to the *Chambre de Justice*. This underlines how the policy of harassment and violence towards Protestants, which culminated in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, might be exploited locally. But overall the evidence does not support such an interpretation. The peasants were divided – Sénégas had supporters among them – but there is no evidence that this was along confessional lines. The complaint against the 'Religionaires' in 1664 was made at the behest of Trelans, following the trashing of his *château*. The 1674 murder investigation made no mention of religion and the fact the Sénégas's had the support of the rector of Miolles and the *curé* of Curvalle reinforces the view that confessional identity was a secondary factor in factional allegiance. The spectre of heresy was raised in 1664 for tactical reasons, but otherwise the peasants were more concerned to assert their ancient right of provision for alms and a preacher. That said, there is no doubt that the Sénégas felt pressured by the climate of hostility into concessions. In 1669 they had come to an agreement when an enterprising priest from Toulouse found a pious bequest in the archives and sued for 5,000 *livres* in arrears and interest (Guerny, 2007: 36). The bequest had remained unpaid since the destruction of the church at Sénégas by the Protestants in 1568. The priest settled out of court for an annual pension of 200 *livres*.

The 1678 accord was a far from comprehensive settlement. It settled the dispute between Sénégas and the village of Plaisance; they agreed to pay him 3,000 *livres* and return his property and, in turn, were given control over the pious bequests. Trelans relinquished a meadow, fields and a castletet (*chasteaurette*). Although the rights and property of the commune had been settled, the *comte* de Verdalle was left to arbitrate the many suits between individuals. In addition, neither side renounced its right to pursue the murderers of their respective kin, nor did any of the parties drop their pursuit for civil damages. This indicates that the 1678 accord was only a part of the process and that a comprehensive settlement would require further negotiation, pressure and persuasion from the mediators. The settlement of

¹⁰ AD Tam, B 100, 7-8: The choice of Retz is interesting as his family had a long and bloody feud with the Trelans in the Gévaudan.

the murders was, in many respects, probably the most straightforward element of this. Pardons were ubiquitous and for felons of high social status registration was largely a formality once the victim's family had been satisfied. If this were the case, the Trelans had already been effectively satisfied by revenge, and what remained was the wrangling over civil reparations, costs and legal fees, which could be significant (Carroll, 2005).

The word used to describe the settlement was «une rémission». This was a term synonymous with pardon letters, which through the bestowal of royal grace obliged the victim's family to forgive the offender. But the tenor of the document in question is different: «Les amis communs desd[ites] parties les auroient obligé a remettre tous les differens»¹¹. In some parts of Italy formal distinction was made between *paci* (peace pacts) and *rinunce*, a strictly legal term which referred to the cessation of lawsuits (Niccoli, 2007). The 1678 accord seems to be similar to the latter. The 1678 remission was not an act redolent of the Christian obligation to renounce enmity, but rather it arranged for the mutual abandonment of some of lawsuits.

I have argued in this paper that the study of the feud offers a wider purview on the early modern Midi: it reveals the long-term effects of civil war, a phenomenon that we are more aware of today than twenty years ago; the continuing importance of peasants as participants in rural politics; the Janus-faced nature of the law, which embroiled litigants in seemingly endless disputes because of contradictory judgements in competing courts; the logic of peace brought about by financial exhaustion, the pressure of mediators and a monarchy keen to repair social relations and avoid the dislocations caused by the policies of the Cardinal Ministers. What of Sénégas's violation of sacred space? I would argue that this was less significant than we might assume even in the febrile religious atmosphere of the 1670s. Violence in churches was more frequent in early modern France than commonly supposed, because they were often at the heart of political and social conflicts, particularly in rural areas. In these disputes, the concern over the violation of sacred space was usually secondary to matters of honour and, since the crimes were in most circumstances justifiable, rarely subject to the full force of the law. The phenomenon of assassinations in churches has been explored by Italian historians since Burckhardt. «So well was the tyrant guarded, he noted, that it was almost impossible to lay hands upon him elsewhere than at solemn religious services; and on no other occasion was the whole family to be found assembled together» (Burckhardt, 1990: 54). This describes well the motivation of François de Saint-Pierre in 1674; he was getting rid of a tyrant. But there remains more work to be done. The killings of Trelans and Saint-Pierre went beyond the normal boundaries of vindictory violence (Carroll, 2006: chapter 7). In particular, the burning of Saint-Pierre brings to mind the rites of sixteenth-century religious violence in which the corpses of heretics were desecrated and then scourged by fire (Davis, 1975: 163).

In the aftermath, the remaining Sénégas brothers were once again divided: in 1685 two, Balthazar and Auguste, chose exile and service in foreign armies against Louis XIV, while Jean-Louis converted to Catholicism and received a pension from the king (Guerny, 2007: 27). Whether this was a deliberate strategy or indicative of the divisions that already apparent in 1674 is moot. The feud was over, but feuds, although tempered by a more judicious and vigilant bureaucracy, continued in the region. The removal of Protestantism did not spell the immediate end to the problem. Pew disputes, one of the most common causes of conflict among French elites, were symptomatic of this. As a member of the Sénégas kin network, Jean Guirard de Montarnal (1643-1710) was a signatory of the 1678 accord. Problems occurred, however, when he converted to Catholicism in 1687 and found that another family was occupying the family pew in the church on his domain at Sénérgues. Guirard was not a man to be trifled with – he too had once been outlawed by the *Grand Jours* – and backed up his claims with force. His sons continued the feud until 1727, when the abbot of Conques made peace. Relevant here is that, although there were numerous affrays and skirmishes, no one was killed, suggesting that the disputants had learned from their experience and adapted to the new political realities of absolutism (Gras, 1998).

¹¹ AD Tam, B 100, 8.

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ARCHIVES DÉPARTEMENTALES DU TARN, B 100, 5 APRIL 1678

Comme soit ainsin et aye esté dit par les parties souscriptes qu'a causes des contestations d'entre feu Messire charles de durand et de bonne baron de senegas et les tailhables de la communauté de curvalle au diocese d'alby pour raison de Remboursement des sommes que ledit sieur de senegas pretendoit avoir fournies et avances pour ladite Communauté tant pour le rachapt du domaine du Roy Engagé par sa majesté en faveur de Monseigneur Louis de manelphe chanoine en lesglise cathedrale d'alby en lannnee mil six cens trente neuf, que pour divers frais et despens exposés par ledit sieur de senegas a leffect dudit Rachapt. Il seroit arrive plusieurs rencontres entre ledit sieur de senegas, dame Marthe de montcalm son espouse et messieurs leurs enfans dune part, et feu messire françois de nogaret viscomte de trelans, Messires Jean Luc et autre françois de nogaret ses enfans et autres qui autoit donné lieu a plusieurs accusations et procedures criminelles respectives en diverses cours et soubz le nom de diverses personnes tierces et autres sur lesquelles il estoit pretendeu quil estoit intervene divers arretz par deffaut en la cour des aydes de Montpellier, chambre de ledit de languedoc, parlement de tholose et autres mesmes aud[it] parlement de tholose a la requeste de mons[ieurs] le procureur general et autres. Soubz pretexte duquel arrest que led[it] s[ieu]r de senegas pretendoit avoir fait casser en la chambre de ledit, il auroit este execute sur les cabans a la requeste d'anthoine poullhé par l[e]xploit du vingtroisie[me] avril mil six cens soixante un. De laquelle execution led[it] sieur de senegas la prenant pour une voye de fait de la part dud[it] sieur de trelans en ayant aporte sa plainte en lad[it] chambre de ledit et auroit obtenu trois arretz du vingt huitie[sme] avril, sixi[esme] juillet et unzie[me] may aud[it] an mil six cens soixante un. Par lesquels led s[eigneu]r de trelans, franços colan, (p. 2) syndic de lad[it] comm[unauté] et autres auroient este condamnés a la restit[ut]ion desd[ites] bestieauz avec despense et espices. En consequence dequoy led[it] s[eigneu]r auroit poursuiivy decret execute le dernier juillet mil six cens soixante trois sur la maison et seigneurie de la bastide appartenant aud[it] s[eigneu]r de trelans et en auroit jouy pendant lespace de neuf mois. Mais led[it] sieur de trelans prenant lad[it] mise de possession pour une violence et voye de fait, et pretendant led s[ieu]r de senegas, lad[ite] dame de montcalm et messieurs leurs enfans luy avoir enlevé soubz pretext de lexecu[ti]on dud[it] decret tous les meubles, grains, vaisselle, bestiaux titres et documents quil avoit dans led[it] chateau de la bastide et ses metheries, se seroit randu plaignif en lad[it] cour de parlement de tholose. Et par arrest du vingtroisime aoust mil six cens soixante trois auroit obtenu la recreance de sad[ite] ma[is]on, meubles, cabans, et papiers. Et parceque toutes les instances d'entre led[it] syndic et autres tailhables dud[it] Curvalle auroit este renvoyées en la Chambre de Justice, lad[it] Chambre ayant decreté prinse de corps contre led s[ieu]r de senegas. Estant arreté prisonier il seroit pourveu au Conseil par deux arretz des troisi[eme] octobre mil six cens soixante deux et vingti[eme] fevrier mil six cens soixante trois soubz le nom de gautran et meliere et fait renvoyer lesd[ites] instances en lad[ite] Chambre de ledit. A suite dequoy led. syndic desiroit pourveu de nouveau contre lesd. arretz et par autres du treizie[me] fevrier mil six cens soixante quatre auroit fait renvoyer en lad. Chambre de Justice toutes Instances criminalles faites contre led. s[ieu]r de senegas, et autres au nom dud. syndic et au[tres] pour estre procedé. Tout ainsin quil eut peu estre fait avant lesd. arretz des troisi[eme] octobre mil six cens soixante deux, et vingti[eme] fevrier mil six cens soixante trois, et tous autres arretz du Conseil et (p. 3) autres que led. s[ieu]r de senegas auroit fait rendre en lad. chambre de ledit, tant a son nom que au nom de lad. dame de montcalm, marguerite quatrain, anne meliere, yzac vieu, pierre bonnet, jean bermond, jean, sentoul, georges fabre, gilles carrie, marteil bareilhes et au[tres]portant divers condamnations a mort par deffautz contre led s[ieu]r de trelans ses enfans et plusieurs habitants de plaisance et curvalle. Et cependant que led s[ieu]r de trelans seroit reintegré de son chateau de la bastide en consequence dequoy led s[ieu]r de trelans auroit poursuiivy autre arrest en lad. Chambre de Justice du septie[me] mil six cens soixante quatre, ordonnant que led sr. de trelans seroit reintegré de ses meubles, et papiers et ensuite lad. Chambre auroit de nouveau decreté de prinse de corps contre lad. dame de senegas lesd. sieur ses enfans et autres leurs consortz. Et comme les

sieurs de resseguier et dupuy procureurs du Roy au presidial de Villefranche pour leur faire le procès, et posterieurement le sr. de la griffoul siege de la guyolle, et lesd. sieur de Resseguier et dupuy sestants transportes aud plaisance pour cest effect a la requete de francois blanc sr de lafargues syndic dud curvalle. Ayant procede a la description et sequestration des biens de lad. dame et ses enfans le cinquieme Juin aud an mil six cens soixante quatre Il auroit este fait plusieurs informations a la requete de demoiselle Catherine de giuraud mere dud. sr. de senegas accusant lesd. srs de trelans, le sr de Resseguier, led. sr dupuy at autres d'avoir enlevé de la maison de plaisance appartenant aud. srs de senegas une tapisserie et plusieurs autres meubles. Et led sr de la griffoul ayant rendu sentence le neufvieme avril mil six cens soixante cinq portant condamnation a mort contre lad. dame et les sieurs ses enfans at autres en nombre de quatre vingtz ou cent. Le proces auroit este renvoye en la cour des granzz jours dauvernhe, ou seroit intervenu (p. 4) arrest le septieme Janvier mil six cens soixante six par lequel entre aultres choses led. feu sieur de senegas feut condamné au Banissement perpetual hors du Royaume avec confiscation de ses biens et vingt mil livres demandes envers le roy, et ordonne que le chateau du fort situé en la ville de plaisance, la tour de Curvalle et toutes les fortifications des maison appartenantes aud. sieur seront demolish et razées. Et que lad sentence de la griffoul seroit execute selon la forme et teneur contre lad. dame, les sieurs, les enfans, et autre leurs consortz. Et que les minutes des informations dont les sieur de senegas se trouva saizy et autres par luy produit demeuoient supprimés desquelles seroit fait proces verbal et description par le greffier de la cour avec defences de sen server ny des jugemens sur icelles interviennes alaquelle description auroit est proceed par Maitre jean drouët advocate en parlement et greffier le vingt avril mil six cens soixante sept consistant en nonante sept article. En vertu duquel arrest le sieur Greffier advocate a se depute assisté du sieur du tressan prevost de Languedoc auroit proceed au razement desd. Maisons, tour et fortifications, et le syndic dud Curvalle fait proceder a la saizie des biens dud feud sr. de senegas, la dame sa femme et lesd. enfans. Apres quoy lexcution du surplus dud arrest auroit este renvoyé au parlement de paris par arrest du conseil du vingt-septieme juillet mil six cens soixante huit. Et lad dame et les srs. ses enfans auroient obtenu arrest le quinzieme may mil six cens soixante neuf avec monsieur le procureur général renvoyant toutes leurs accusations pardevant le plus antien de messieurs les conseillers du seneschal de tholose pour leur procès estre instruit iusques a sentence diffinitive exclusivement. En execution duquel arrest lad dame, Messieurs Jean-Louis de duran de bonne son fils ayné, ses autres enfans et la plus (p. 5) grande partie des autres condamnés compris en ladite sentence de deffaut sestans randus volontairement prisoniers dans les prisons dudit tholose et ledit syndic, nayant pas fait remettre les procedures ny fait venir les tesmoins confrontables, le seigneur destadins entien conseiller dud seneschal auroit randeu une ordonnance du vingt septembre mil six cens septante portant eslargissement desd. Sieurs, provision de deux mil livres et main levee ded. saisies. Surquoy led syndic sestant pourveu aud parlement de paris feut randu arrest le quatorze novembre mil six cens septante deux qui ordonne que la sentence randue par le juge de la guyolle seroit execute comme contradictoire et encore un ordre du Roy du vingt huit du mesme mois qui ordonne lexcution dud arrest et autres esnonces en icelluy. Et lesdits sieurs de senegas ayant formé opposition envers led arrest et auroit obtenu un autre le unzieme fevrier mil six cens septante trois portant commission au lieutenant criminal dengolesme pour le transporter sur les lieux pour instruire les accusations respectives des parties. Lequel a faute de remettre les procedures et faire venir les tesmons, eslargit ladite dame, ledit sieur de senegas et ses fils, ordonna la main levee desdites saisies par son ordonnance du douzieme decembre mil six cens septante quatre contre lequel arrest et ordonnance led syndic se seroit pourveu fondé sur cequil auroit obtenu et fait signifier audit sieur lieutenant des lettres du grand seau en reglement de juges qui luy faisoit defences de passer outre, et au parlement de paris et de tholose den cognositre iusques a ce que par sa maiesté en eut esté ordonné. Et les choses estant en cest estat Monsieur de Brou lors Intendant de Guyenne ayans voulu prendre soin de faire cesser ces conflitz auroit prins des consentements desd. srs de senegas e de trelans pour faire renvoyer leuers differance, circonstances et dependances pard. Monsr. Daguesseau

Intendant de languedoc. Surquoy par arrest (p. 6) du trois aoust mil six cens septante quatre, Le Roy veu led consentement auroit renvoyé le tout pardevant led sieur d'aguesseau pour juger diffinitivement et en dernier resort. Mais parce que ledit sieur de trelans dans lintervalle desdites consentemens et arretz auroit esté assassin et tué et que led sieur de senegas estoit accuse den estre complice quoy quil feut a paris. Le sieur viscomte fils, en vertu dun ordre du roy obtenu sur sa plainte auroit fait arrester led. sr baron de senegas aux prisons de fort levesque et conduit en la ville de Montpellier et dudit Montpellier a tholose a la suite dudit seigneur daguesseau Intendant, lequel avec messieurs les conseillers du seneschal de tholose auroit randu jugement le quinzieme juillet mil six cens septatante cinq, qui ordonne le confrontation des tesmoins contre ledit sieur de senegas. Et cependant ordonne son eslargissement et casse la sentence du sr cormières conseiller au senechaussée de rodes du...Et parceque dans le cour des procès le sieur de st pierre frere aud sieur de senegas auroit este tué et que ledit defunct sieur de senegas, ladit dame de montcalm, leursdits enfans, la dame de gieux espouse dudit sieur baron, ledit defunct sieur de trelans et les sieurs les enfans, ledit blanc sieur de lasfargoux, en qualité de syndic dudit curvalle et les habitans dudit plaisance auroient a leur nom ou sur le nom de diversses personnes fait diverses accusations les uns contre les autres pour raison de divers pretendus meurtres, emprisonnements de personnes, enlevemens de biens at autres crimes, et obtenu divers decretz, sentences, arretz en plusieurs lieux et jursidictions tant contre lesdits parties et domestiques que autres personnes. Mesme ledit defunct sieur de senegas, ladit dame son espouse, lesdits sieur ses enfans, ladite dame de gieu a lencontre desdites sieurs de trelans, les habitans dudit plaisance et curvalle leurs domestiques et autres personnes tant en leur nom des sieurs de senegas, les nepveu et niece de monsieur de saint verain conseiller en la chamber, la demoiselle de turin, vincens carrie, antoine turier, andre boucard et ses enfans, pierre carcenac sa femme et enfans, pierre connac, Bareihes martis ditz duroux, fabres de trebas pere et fils, gasilhou pere et fils, derrivis sa femme et enfans, bonnet notaire et ses enfans, la damoiselle du Plessis bourlasque, girard constans, roquereau pere et fils, et lecoules sa femme, la saudarede, canac, anne meliere, marguerite de gautran, valery, velon, vaussiere, les sieurs de Preges pere et fils, cailhol et son fils, maitre cazaleus rector de Mioles, maitre thomas cure de st pierre, curvalle, albergé. Jacques marc, jean carles marcouvelle et autres vassueaux et domestiques desdits sieur de senegas tant en la chambre deledit de languedoc, parlement de paris et tholose que cours de monsieur le seneschal de Carcassonne, juges de castres et senegas, cabannes, et autres ordres, et devant nos seigneurs les Intendants de Guyenne et languedoc, et les prevots des masreschaussées. Et lesdits sieurs de trelans dautre part contre ledits sieurs et dame de senagas plusieurs leurs domestiques et vasseux, parens et amis, tant au nom desdits sieurs de trelans que soubz le nom de Monsieur molevy prebstre, massebeuf prebstre, pierre sol, andre blanc, andre sourveze, maitre guilhume yzarn prebstre et les habitans dudit plaisance au nom des conseils et procureur du roy dudit plaisance, jean gasc, du village de la caze, Maitre penchencer prebstre, michel pierre lattes. Lesdits sieurs et dame de senegas, le nomme bonnes courreulx, Bonnetz turies, pierre carenac, combescure et autres, pardevant Monsiuer du puy Juge royal de saint sernin et subdelegué de monsieur de pelot lors intendant de Guyenne, dauthroite du parlement de tholose et dauthroite des ordres des plaisance, prevost de Languedoc, et rouergue, et presidial de Rodez. Les amis communs desd[ites] parties les auroient oblige a remettre tous les differens pour Raison de ce dessus et autres a Messieurs Jacques de loubens comte de verdale, Jacques de chasteau Verdun seigneur de belbeze (p. 8) de puech calvel, et andre deres seigneur de Bressoles cheminade. En consequence de laquelle remission chacun desdites parties auroient fait représenter leurs droitz auxdites sieurs arbitres concernant lesdites differens crimes verbalement et par escript et en outre se seroient fait Respectivement plusieurs autres demandes: Mesme ledit sieur de senegas aux habitans de plaisance la somme de trois mil quatre cens livres contenues en deux obligations consentis audit feu de senegas son pere avec les intheretz, la restitution des fruitz de ses biens de plaisance depuis lannee mil six cens soixante quatre jusques a present et encore les dommages et intheretz pour louy avoir achevé la demolition de sa maison de plaisance, deterioré, brullé et ruiné, ces

autres maisons de plaisance et curvalle et celles de sa metherie de Verdun, ou pour larrachement des vignes quil avoit audit plaisance, coupemens d'arbres, fruitiers et autres et sauvages enlevé d'authorité privée, les meubles et denrées des ses maisons et de celle dartzoux et les bestiaux de ses metheries. Aquoy lesdits habitants deffendoit disant que sur estant moins de ladicte somme de trois mil quatre cens livres auroit esté paye celle de quatorze cens livres audit feu sieur de senegas et le surplus auroit esté rayé par arrest du conseil du quinzieme febvrier mil six cens soixante huit et demandit la cancellation desdites deux obligations et restitutions des Intheretz dicelles et deplus la restitution dun quintal de fromage de Roquefort et de dix huit livres argent que ledit feu sieur de senegas auroit exigé de ladite communauté de plaisance depuis vingtneuf ans avant l'instance faite pour raison de ce devant messieurs les commissaires verifications des debtes, comme aussy la restitution des biens rureaux dudit sieur de senegas situés dans la taillable dudit plaisance depuis vingt neuf ans avant ladite instance jusques en l'année mil six cens soixante quatre en encore les arrerages (p. 9), de trente cetiers segle et trente cestiers avoine grosse d'amosne annuelle pretendant deu aux pauvres dudit plaisance annuellement par le feu sieur de senegas comme bien tenant de feu noble Raymond de navas son autheur et les arrerages aussy de la somme de trente livres, une pipe vin, et six solz bled segle que led Raymond de navas auroit donné annuellement pour lesgages et l'entretien dun predicateur en ladicte eglise de plaisance et autres choses portees par lad fondation, desniant pour le surplus d'avoir rien contribué a la ruine desd. maisons, vignes, bois et bergers ny pourveu aucuns fruitz ny revenus cy ce nest depuis mil six cens septante quatre Inklusivement. Que les consuls et exacteurs ont fait saizir et vendre une partie pour payer des tailles et depens, lesdits sieur de senegas nyant quil nest heritier ny bien tenant dudit Raymond de navas, et alesgart des tailles que les biens fons par luy possédés au taillable dudit plusieurs sont nobles et exemptz de taille et pour ce qui est du homage et dix huit livres argent que led feu sieur de senegas avoit acquis la justice dudit plaisance du feu sieur vicomte de panat avec lesdits droitz et pour ce qui conserne la somme de trois mil quatre cens livres quil est en voye de la faire restablir sauf a tenir en compte ce qui se trouvera legitimement payé audit feu sieur de senegas son pere soustenant au surplus que ledits habitants auroint ruiné ledits maisons, vignes, bergers et bois ainsin quil fairoit aparoir par lesdites informations et procedures. Sur ce faite a raison desquelles contestations les parties estant en voye de faire de plus grandz frais et voulant iceux eviter par l'entremise desdites sieurs arbitres et suivant leur advis ont transigé et accord ce que sensuit. Pour ce est il que ce Jourdhuy Cinquieme du mois dabvril mil six cens soixante dix huit a tholose apres midy regnant nre. tres chrestien prince Louis par le grace de dieu Roy de france et de Navarre pardevant moy notaire et tesmoins bas nommes one est consitués en leurs personnes ledit Jean-Louis de duran et de bonne (p. 10) Baron de senegas et autres places faisant tant pur luy que pour sae Esther de gien son espouse, Messire Daniel Balthazar et auguste de duran de bonne ses freres, de demoiselle Marthe de duran de bonne sa seur, Messire Jean de Guirard de Monternal et de senergues, monsieur de st veran, conseiller en la chamber de ledit et autres cy dessus nommés qui ont porté en plainctes, fait informer, obtenu de decretz et condamnations contre lesdits seigneur de trelans, les habitants de plaisance leurs haderans et comprins accusations, informations et condamnations exprimées en la narrative de la presente transaction et autres non exprimées qui pourroint avoir esté faites d'une part. Et Messire Jean Luc de Nogaret viscomte de trelans, et messires francois de nogaret son frere faisant tant pour eux que pour les autres qui ont porte plainte, fait informer, obtenu de decretz et condamnations contre lesdits seigneurs de senegas, ses freres, lad dame et autres. Et encore Maitre francois de faramon sieur de la catussie advocate en la cour de parlement et le sieur Jean Pussol, bourgeois, habitant dudit plaisance faisant pour ledit blanc et pour les consuls et communauté dud plaisance, suivant les procurations des quatorze et quinze mars derniers retenues par Maitres Rolland et griffet notaires remises en original devers moy notaire parrafées par lesdits sieurs de la catussie et pussol d'autre. Lesquelles parties soubz reciproque stipulation et soubz le bon plaisir du roy et dudit seigneur daguesseau son intendant en ladicte province de languedoc ont par cest acte mis et metent fin ausdits process circonstances et dependances veulent et

entendent quil nen soit fait aucune poursuite directement ny indirectement ce. Ce faisant ont consantz le consenteur aux relaxes respectifz de tours lesdites decretés accusés et condamnés de part et dautre pour lesquales relaxes aui seront poursuivis chacun a ses coups et despens sans Esperance de repitition, ils donnent dors et desja et donneront tous les consenteens requis et necessaires et toutes procurations en toutes les cours ou besoin sera se despartant ledites parties de toutes plaints, informations, arretz et condamnations par eux obtenir les uns contre les autres exprimés (p. 11) ou non exprimés en la narrative de la presente transaction consentant que le tout demeure nul et pour non advenu. En second lieu a esté convenu et acordâ que lesdits seigneur de senegas tout de leur chef que qu'en la qualité quils precedent renoncent a toutes les demandes quils se faisoient des choses excecutes ou enlevées de part et dautre pour avoir este le tout compensé entre parties promettant de nen faire aucune demande directement ny indirectement. En troisieme lieu a este convenu et acordé que moyennant la somme de trois mil livres que ledits sieurs de la catussié et pujol en ladit qualite de procureurs desdits blanc sindic et habitans de plaisance sobligent de payer dans deux ans prochains a comptes de ce jourdhuy avec les Interetz audit sr. de senegas. Led sieur de senegas et ladite communauté de plaisance demureront respectivement quittes des demandes quils le faisoient les uns aux autres exprimés en la narrative de la presente transaction sauf et excepté les sommes que les particuliers habitans dudit plaisance peuvent devoir audit sieur de senegas par de Contractz, obligations, arrerages, directe droitz et devoirs seigneuriaux depuis vingt neuf ans. En quatrieme lieu a esté convenu que les jouissances que led sieur des senegas a audit lieu de plaisance du pré situé a Curvalle dit alalande et maurel faites depuis dix ans luy seront rendus par ceux qui ont jouy desdits biens et prins les fruitz sans titre legitime sans prejudice ausdites particuliers habitans dudit plaisance des demandes quils ont a faire audit sieur de senegas et sans prejudice aussy de la pretension que ledit sieur de senegas et lesdits habitans de plaisance ont lun contre lautre, tant pour le regart du capital de la somme de trois mil quatre cens livres contenue aux deux obligations consenties en faveur dudit feu sieur de senegas sous le nom de noel et autres que la demande que lesdits habitans font audit sieur de senegas pour le bien fons quil possede audit plaisance. Toutes lesquelles demandes cy dessus exprimés et non réglés lesdites parties ont remises et remetent au dire et au jugement dudit seigneur comte de verdalle pour les juger et regler en seul ou les faire juger sur les lieux a tells personne qui bon luy semblers. En cinquiesme lieu a este converse et acordé nonobstant la clause generale cy dessus aposée que pour ce que conserne les demandes desdits habitans en consequence des fondations faites par feu Raymond de Navas lesdits habitans agiront comme bon leur semblera pour la rente obituaire et arrerages sur les biens dudit navas. En sixieme lieu il a esté convenu et accordé, nonobstant lesdites clauses generalles, que lesdits sieurs de trelans se reservent de pouvoir poursuivre la reparation du meurtre dudit feu sieur de trelans leur pere contre les meurtriers et complices, et respectivement ledit (p. 12) sr. de senegas se reserve aussy de poursuivre la reparation du meurtre dudit sieur saint pierre son frere contre les meurteres et complices, nentendant lesdites parties se prejudicier en maniere quelconque pour ce regard comme aussy se reservent lesdits srs. de senegas et de trelans comme a chacun les conserve les somme que la communauté de curvalle leur peut devoir. A quoy nentendant se prejudicier par le present acte, ny ledit sr. de senegas aprouver ledit arrest des grandz jours d'auvernhe, contre lequel il pretend au contraire se pouvoir par les voyes de droit et comme son conseil trouvera a propos. Ce que lesdites srs. de trelans et procureurs desdis habitans de plaisance et dudit blanc nentendant empescher consernant les condamnations criminelles continues contre ledit sr. de senegas, ses freres et autres se reservant neanmoins leurs exeptions pour ce qui regarde les condamnations civiles. Et led sr. de senegas se reserve aussy les affaires civiles quil a contre ledit blanc. Et icelluy blanc ou ledit pujol son procureur ses exeptions au contraire. Icy a este convenu et arresté que le pred, terre et chasteaurette de mousse vigne situé au vignoble de la bastide dependant de la metherie del puech et le phief del bousquet apartiendront et demeureront en propriété audit sieur de senegas et lesdits srs. de trelans deschargé de la restitution des fruitz quils en ont prins. Et pour lobservastion de tout ce dessus lesdites parties ont obliges tous et chacuns leurs biens, presens et

advenir soubmis aux Rigueur de Justice et lesdites sieurs de la catussie et pujol procureurs, ceux desdits blanc et habitans de plaisance en vertu desdits procurations fait et pases dans le logis du grand soleil ou loge ledit seigneur comte de verdalle ez presence de Maitre anthoine de miau procureur audit parlement de tholose, et le sieur Louis vareilhes du reclot habitant du fort de la fenasse diocese de Castres signes a la cede avec ledites parties et lesdits seigneurs arbitres assistants, et moy Mathieu campagnac notaire royal dudit tholose requise soubzne campagnac notaire ainsin signe.