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Royal Nomadism and the Valois Castle

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Abstract

This dissertation argues that royal nomadism, the custom whereby medieval rulers moved between many castles in a predetermined cycle, fundamentally affected the floorplan, use, and adornment of courtly built environments. This argument is a new departure for the study of castles. Scholars of medieval castles acknowledge that rulers passed through many sites on a regular basis but have never proposed that castles were designed to accommodate inter-site motion. My research focused on four residences owned by Charles V (ruled 1364-1380) and his immediate family members: The Louvre, the Châteaux of Vincennes, Hesdin in the Pas-de-Calais, and Germolles in the Saône-et-Loire Department in the former Duchy of Burgundy. It revealed that nomadism directed the development of royal castles and urban palaces at all parts of their development, resulting in an architecture that was designed to be occupied and interpreted as part of a larger, regional circuit. Royal residences clustered in areas of especial importance to preexisting itinerancy routes and that the need to maintain multiple castles fundamentally affected the building economy. The expectation that a king or high aristocrat would move on a regular basis also encouraged architectural patrons to highlight different aspects of their identity as rulers at each castle. The Louvre, adorned with sculptures of king Charles V and his family, emphasized the dynastic ties of king Charles V. Imagery in his simultaneously-constructed donjon of Vincennes derived from the Book of Revelation, suggesting that the French monarch was a double for Christ on earth. Hesdin and Germolles, owned by Charles' brother Philip and his wife Margaret of Flanders, contrast with the residences of his brother and with each other, elaborating on the themes of chivalric romance and *pastourelle* poetry respectively.

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Introduction

This dissertation analyses the nomadic lifestyle of three members of the early Valois dynasty – Charles V of France (1338-1380), Philip the Bold (1342-1404), and Margaret of Flanders (1350-1405), and the effect of this lifestyle on the castles they built and inhabited. It is inspired by Geoffrey Stell’s 2006 report on Tioram Castle in the western islands of Scotland (IMAGE 1).¹ While it was in the thirteenth and fourteenth century a major castle for several generations of highland nobles of the Clannranald, it lacks a church, village, and nearby arable land, features that suggested lordly power among thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Scottish clansmen.² This castle’s isolation within a rugged environment is, in Stell’s opinion, a feature of its integration into a lattice of elite sites linked by a single clan community. By travelling between Tioram and other seaside locations, the lords of Clannranald linked this site, so apparently ill-equipped to demonstrate power, to ideologically-redolent but, “relatively far-flung places of residence, worship and burial which were closely associated with Clanranal.”³ Oliver Creighton characterized this system of interconnected houses as, “quite at odds not only to Anglo-Norman models but the entire European mainstream.”⁴

Yet is Tioram that unusual? Perhaps this castle and the system of mobility that produced would appear more normal if scholars of medieval castles and royal courts look at familiar sites with an eye attentive to the relationship between castles liked by the wandering courts of medieval rulers. For like Scottish highlanders, continental European nobles and courts in the thirteenth and

¹ Geoffrey Stell, “Castle Tioram: a statement of cultural significance,” unpublished report, 2006. Available online at <https://web.archive.org/web/20160309074300/http://www.historic-scotland.gov.uk/index/news/indepth/castletioram/castletioram-documents.html> . Accessed 9/2/2017.

² Ibid, 57-60

³ Ibid, 58.

⁴ Oliver Creighton, “Castle studies and the European medieval landscape: traditions, trends and future research Directions, » *Landscape History* 30 (2009), 5-20.

fourteenth centuries cycled through far-flung networks of castles and town residences on a regular basis, and when Valois dynasts like Charles V, Philip the Bold, and Margaret of Flanders invested in new construction projects or in addition to old houses, they built within a system that straddled whole regions and that cohered along the pathways travelled by a common court. In this dissertation, I argue that the assumption that dynasts and courts were nomadic formed the central ordering device that grounded fourteenth-century French and Burgundian approaches to designing, building, and decorating royal palaces. This assumption produced a royal architecture and landscape that emerges as a totalizing presentation of royal authority only when the network is conceived as a whole and experienced through the act of travel between castles. A networked approach to building created individual castles that lack many elements that castellologists consider essential to the presentation of royal authority. It also produced an assemblage of buildings whose ideologically-laden architectural, decorative, and landscape features contrast from one to the next within the same network. When in use, these houses were also filled with a material culture convenient to those who were going to spend much of their time on the road.

English-language scholarship uses the word “itinerancy” to describe the cyclical motion of medieval and renaissance dynasts along a predetermined system of castles, palaces and residences. When describing the cyclical motion of royal courts through multiple houses on a regular basis, this dissertation dispenses of the word “itinerancy” in favor of “nomadism.” It retains the word “itinerancy” in the form of “itinerancy network” and “routes of itinerancy” to describe the network of interconnected houses through which nomadic nobles passed. This modification of terminology is rooted in the continental subject material of this dissertation. Whereas most anglophone castle studies treat buildings in the British Isles or the Crusader States, this dissertation centers on the Valois domains of the continent, namely the regions of the Île de France, Burgundy, and Artois at

the core of the French monarchy and the nascent Valois Burgundian state. Francophone literature rarely uses the term *cour itinérante* unless it is a direct translation from English. Instead, francophone scholars refer to the cyclical motion of medieval elites between multiple castles and town residences as *nomadisme* or *nomadisme chatelâin*. The society that performed it is termed the *cour nomade*, while the lifestyle itself is often the *vie nomade*.⁵

While a hyperforeignism is useless as such, encountering the French term “nomadism” over the course of my research begged an important question: what kinship exists between cyclical motion among late medieval European elites and among people that English speakers more usually associated with the term? This question led me to anthropological work on nomadic societies. In a seminal 1975 article, Richard Symanski, Ian R. Manners, and R. J. Bromly argue that no societies are truly “sedentary,” all societies engage in some form regional or interregional movement, and that all societies have different ways of framing the relationship between movement and place. They adopt a three-tier system to describe travel, one rooted in a Marxist concern with economies. They define nomads as enterally inter-site. Bound to no place in particular, they move their whole households and their possessions every couple of days to every couple of months along a system of places that they consider equally their own. The authors associate this model of movement with animal herders, and contrast it to shifting slash-and-burn agriculturalists who may move every generation or so and “periodic market traders,” merchants and capitalist classes of sedentary societies who maintain permanent residences and imagine other sites they visit as stopping places

⁵ This enduring feature of the French literature emerges in the nineteenth century in, Jean Adrien Antoine Jules Jusserand, *Les Anglais au Moyen Âge : La Vie Nomade et les Routes d'Angleterre au XIVe Siecle* (Paris : Imprimerie A. Lahure, 1884). It remains currently in use, for instance, the articles in, Nicolas Faucherre, Delphine Gautier, Hervé Mouillebouche, *Le nomadisme châtelain, IXe-XVIIe siècle Actes du sixième colloque international au château de Bellecroix*, (Chagny : Centre de Castelloogie de Bourgogne, 2017). ; Françoise Autrand, *Jean de France, duc de Berry, 1340-1416*. ; in Alain Salamagne, *Le Palais et son Décor au Temps de Jean de Berry* (Paris : Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, 2010), 22.

to or from home.⁶ The twinning of nomadism with pastoralism dominates anthropological discourse. In his *Nomadism in Iran: From Antiquity to the Modern Era*, D. T. Potts outlines a historical origin and basic definition for nomadism within Central Asia. At the top of his list is an economy based in animal herding, followed by the maintenance of cattle without the use of gathered and transported sustenance and periodic migrations within a pre-determined geography.⁷ That said, anthropologists who study Central Asian pastoral nomadism emphasize that nomadic societies present great variability in most of the essential aspects of social and economic life, so that attempts to further define it ultimately fall apart.⁸

Taking animal husbandry as the *a priori* definition of the nomadic society, anthropological conceptions of nomadism do not account for the peripatetic lifestyles of elites such as late Roman emperors, medieval French kings, or Mughal emperors. Applied to rulers, “elite” or “royal nomadism” does help to draw attention to affinity between pastoralists and elites of various historical periods in their approaches to place and logistical patterns. It draws attention to internal contradictions of elite mobility: when moving between castles, French kings moved between specific end points that were their own but where they were eternally a visitor, eternally between places. The term also gestures to the dependence upon a fundamental technology, horse riding, the essential hybridity of all peripatetic societies, and the role of other, more sedentary communities in ensuring that the nomads remain light-footed.⁹ In medieval France, moving the king and his court involved people of a many types of skill, whether the literate administrators, people with specialized craft skills, the movers who knew how to get there from here and who owned the

⁶ Richard Symanski, Ian R. Manners, and R. J. Bromly, “The Mobile-Sedentary Continuum,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 3 (1975),

⁷ D. T. Potts, *Nomadism in Iran from Antiquity to the Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 2.

⁸ R. Dyson-Hudson and N. Dyson-Hudson, “Nomadic Pastoralism,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 9 (1980), 16.

⁹ Potts *Nomadism in Iran from Antiquity to the Modern Era*, 5.

vehicles to transport, or the domestic servants who hauled large boxes and cloth packs onto and off of carts. In using this term, I thus hope to draw attention to the collective, participatory character of the mobile court.

I also use the term “nomadism” to gesture to France’s relationship to a broader Afroeurasian world and to similarly mobile elites in regions as distant as Morocco, Java, and Hawaii.¹⁰ Global medieval studies came to occupy the center of medieval scholarship as this dissertation came into being, but this document is in essence a regional study. Medieval France and its particular version of elite nomadism is a puzzle piece in the board of the Afroeurasia: an element with a discrete volume, contour, and pattern that interlocks with others to create a larger image. Yet as a regional study stands upon careful site research, good regional studies are the building blocks of rigorous cross-cultural analysis. An account of among fourteenth-century rulers in the Langue D’oïl and its affect upon architecture may foster analysis of this region’s enmeshment within still broader geographies, cultural milieux, or systems of exchange. It is therefore my hope that this dissertation may serve as the middle of a set of matryoshka doll, mediating between the micro-scale of a medieval castle site and the macroscale of Afroeurasian cultures.

What features does modern scholarship consider characteristic of medieval French nomadism? What are its precedents, when did it begin, and what drove it in the fourteenth century? Unfortunately, royal nomadism in medieval France is poorly researched in modern literature. The core body of rigorous, careful scholarship on royal nomadism of medieval European elites exists within German-language political history, especially that of the Holy Roman Emperors. John W.

¹⁰ John W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936-1075* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 45.

Bernhardt has claimed that the royal *iter* or travel was adapted to the particular structure of rule in the Holy Roman Empire, especially its relatively personal, oral-based form of government.¹¹ Travel through all the duchies of the realm upon coronation manifested transitions of power between generations of rulers.¹² For German rulers, rule was in large part an act of interpersonal relations, ensuring that being in all places in succession was a central element of their ruling style. Hagen Keller has also argued that the royal *iter* emphasized the dual sacral-secular aspect of the king.¹³ In practice, regular appearances throughout the realm lent the semblance that royal power, like that of the supernatural, was in all places.¹⁴ This German scholarship emphasizes nomadism as a stop-gap for lack: lack of governmental institutions, lack of trained and trustworthy students, lack of a political culture grounded in diplomacy and literacy. Nomadism is, in effect, government of a mid-sized territorial state by an Iron-Age warrior elite.¹⁵ Implicit in this argument is the notion that the rulers of smaller polities need not move, and that as political life becomes grounded in documentary culture and as kings exert the power to bring their subjects to themselves (as in the courts of Valois rulers), nomadism ceases or continues on without real social or political meaning.¹⁶

Beyond the political scholarship of the German-speaking and German-adjacent world, specious and dismissive commonplaces about royal nomadism circulate unabated, actively hampering research into this practice and its effect on courtly architecture and art. It is simple to list the most common clichés encountered in medieval studies broadly. Medieval courts move

¹¹ Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany*, 51.

¹² Roderich Schmidt, *Königsunritt und Huldigung in ottonisch-salischen Zeit* VF 6 (1961), 7-8, 97-233.

¹³ Hagen Keller, "Herrscherbild und Herrschaftslegitimation: Zur Deutung der ottonischen Denkmäler (Taf XXIII-XXIX)," *FMS* 19 (1985). 17-34.

¹⁴ Clifford Geertz, "Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in *Culture and its Creators*, ed. Joseph Ben-David and Terry Nichols Clark (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 150-171.

¹⁵ Bernhardt Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany*, 50-60.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 3-4.

because they are parasitic, absorbing the produce of the countryside and moving on once they devour the stockpiles of a place. Like the eternally “rising middle class,” the mobile court is forever “settling down,” preparing for the sedentary, bourgeois, bureaucratic democracies that are supposed to have replaced them. Nomadic courts carry everything needful with them. Nomadism encouraged the development of “mobile” goods of a high artistic quality, especially luxury fabrics and small-scale objects in precious materials like jewelry, toilet articles, precious tableware.

The notion that medieval courts travelled as a cost-saving measure is a mix of old-fashioned dark-ageism and a projection of Victorian social and economic realities onto the fourteenth century. It appears to spring from Jean Jules Jusserand’s 1884 account of medieval travelers, *Les Anglais du Moyen Age: La Vie Nomade et les Routes d’Angleterre au XIV siècle*. In this otherwise rich account of medieval travelling culture, Jusserand claimed that moving between various houses kept aristocratic budgets balanced and trigger-happy hands busy in times of peace.¹⁷ Jusserand does not attempt to support this argument with any medieval evidence at all. Instead he gestures to the “need of landowners of all periods” to keep a tight budget.¹⁸ Later founder of the Alliance Française and French consulate to the United States, Jusserand addressed his work to a learned transatlantic elite at a time when traditional English aristocracies were weathering an enduring agricultural crisis. The opening of the American Midwest to grain agriculture, especially after the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, instantiated a period of low food prices in England. The situation led to a sustained rural depression by the 1870’s, when agriculturally-based fortunes collapsed and titled aristocrats perpetually found themselves

¹⁷ Jusserand, *Les Anglais du Moyen Age*, 33.

¹⁸ Ibid. « Le roi lui-même, du reste, avec toute sa cour, aussi bien que les seigneurs, allait sans cesse d’un manoir à l’autre, par goût et plus encore par nécessité. En temps de paix, c’était une semblance d’activité qui ne déplaisait point : mais c’était, avant tout, un moyen de vivre. Tous, quelques riches qu’ils fussent, avaient besoin d’économiser et, comme les propriétaires de tous les temps, de vivre sur leurs terres des produits de leurs domaines. Ils allaient donc de place en place, et il n’était pas sans intérêt pour eux d’avoir des chemins praticables. »

financially overextended.¹⁹ English aristocrats responded by withdrawing to a select few country houses to live cheaply off produce, destroying many houses that formed the itinerancy networks of their ancestors, and marrying into the families of the captains of industry and finance.²⁰ If Jusserand based his assumption that medieval landed aristocrats were constantly care-ridden by their debts on his own late Victorian experience, he was looking at a political and economic situation different to a medieval one, one in which the whole landed class (rather than just unfortunate members) was in the process of shedding rather than accruing wealth, power, land, houses, and artworks.

The popular imagination of medieval Europe visualizes a sustenance economy too impoverished to sustain a royal court for very long and a transportation infrastructure too primitive to move food from one place to another, lending Jusserand's vision of the king travelling to his dinner a lasting appeal. Scholars have normally accepted the notion that the court moves for economic reasons not because they are especially well crafted but because it is not the center of their interests and disproving it would require much work.²¹ Curiously, this has ensured that Jusserand's claims have slowly expanded to encompass medieval Europe broadly, rather than the fourteenth-century England that he actually describes. Robert Liddiard evokes the economic basis for courtly nomadism, brackets it because it is not especially important to his narrative about the development of castle space, and then moves on.²² J. B. L. D. Strömberg also does this in his account of late medieval mobility in the Danish court. He accepts that mobility can be a response

¹⁹ Giles Worsley, *England's lost Houses* (London: Aurum Press, 2002), 11.

²⁰ Stuart, Amanda Mackenzie, *Consuelo and Alva Vanderbilt: The Story of a Daughter and Mother in the Gilded Age* (London: Harper Collins, 2005), 135.

²¹ J. B. L. D. Strömberg replicates both Jusserand and Stuart's claims about economy and material culture in the introduction to his 2008 article, "The Swedish Kings in Progress - and the Centre of Power," in *Scania* 70 (2008), 167.

²² Robert Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism, and the Landscape, 1066 to 1500* (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2006), 60-61.

to economic concerns, but surely in a period of primitive economic development. Wishing to characterize Denmark of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as economically developed and elite nomadism as grounded in political concerns, he projects an economic concern back onto a supposedly primitive Iron Age and Early Medieval period.²³ While readers can empathize with the call to disentangle customs of mobility of specific cultural milieux from the grab-bag category “medieval,” he merely kicks the can down the road into a period that Jusserand had not envisioned.²⁴

If Jusserand’s throwaway comment has proved remarkably tenacious, so too has the notion that the court is always “settling down.” This teleology enters our perceptions of itinerancy via the study of law, representative governing bodies, and historical narratives concerning the rise of the modern nation-state. To give one example of a diffuse but large body of scholarship replicating this trope, E. Ewig’s 1963 discussion of peripatetic courts is not really an account of mobility as a ruling style or an approach to elite cultural performance.²⁵ Ewig sees the movement of medieval kings as a response to the gestation of competing capitals that were evolving into the center of future nation-states.²⁶ Likewise, Joachim Bumke only accords three pages of his massive *Courtly Culture* to a description of the mobile nature of the court. He spends half of that space describing the “settling” of various government functions into permanent locations, and argues that that this process was necessary for the emergence of the nation-state.²⁷ John Dyer has likewise laid

²³ Strömberg, “The Swedish Kings in Progress,” 168.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ See for instance, E. Ewig, « Résidence et capitale pendant le haut Moyen Age, » *Revue Historique* 230, (1963), 25
Ralph A. Griffiths, *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1991), 137. David Crouch, *Medieval Britain, 1000-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 114-117.

²⁶ Ewig, “Résidence et capitale pendant le haut Moyen Age,” 60.

²⁷ Joachim Bumke, *Court Culture: Literature and Society in the Middle Ages* trans. Thomas Dunlop (London: Overlook Duckworth, 2000), 52-54.

emphasis on the constriction of itinerancy networks among England's elite in the later fourteenth century, which he associates with the economic depression following the Black Death.²⁸

This trope of the eternally “settling down” court particularly common in discussions of France, dominated as it is by nationalist narratives that hold French and Parisian identities coeternal. While the itineraries laboriously built by Ernst Petit abundantly demonstrate the distances, lengths, and diversity of the voyages of Valois rulers like Charles V and Philip the Bold, the author did not conceive of his project as one evincing the vitality of nomadism as a social style or dethroning Paris from the head of the French state. Scholars of French history have been at pains to erase the implication that Paris is not the *axis mundi* built into the existence of courtly nomadism.²⁹ C. Hollister and John W. Baldwin acknowledge that kings in the time of Philip Augustus were peripatetic, but consider the establishment of stable treasuries in castles to be the first evidence of the “settling” of government.³⁰ William Kibler and his collaborators claim that Paris became the uncontested center of royal power by the time of Saint Louis ceased to be peripatetic by the time of Jean the Good.³¹ In his appropriately titled, “Les rois médiévaux sont-ils Parisiens ? Essai de synthèse des itinéraires royaux médiévaux de Philippe Auguste à Louis XI (1180-1483), » Boris Bove combs through the itineraries of medieval French rulers to seek a tipping point after which a Parisian audience can reasonably appropriate them.³² While still seeing

²⁸ John Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200-1520*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 99-100.

²⁹ Petit claims that his text was meant to be a finding-aid to help diplomacists date documents. Ernst Petit, *Les Sejours de Charles V (1364-1380)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux : 1888), 6. Ernest Petit, *Itinéraires de Philippe Le Hardi Et de Jean Sans Peur, Ducs de Bourgogne, 1363-1419, d'Après Les Comptes de Dépenses de Leur Hotel* (Paris : Imprimerie Nationale, 1888).

³⁰ C. Warren Hollister and John W. Baldwin, “The Rise of Administrative Kingship: Henry I and Philip Augustus,” *The American Historical Review* 83 (Oct., 1978), 894-895.

³¹ William W. Kibler, Grover A. Zinn, Lawrence Earp, John Bell Henneman Jr. *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 704-705.

³² Boris Bove, « Les rois médiévaux sont-ils Parisiens ? Essai de synthèse des itinéraires royaux médiévaux de Philippe Auguste à Louis XI (1180-1483), » in *Paris, ville de cour (XIIIe-XVIIIe siècle)* ed. Boris Bove, Murielle Gaude-Ferragu, Cédric Michon (Rennes : Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2017), 25-49.

the end of nomadism in the Middle Ages, this position advances the lifespan of nomadism for several centuries over previous scholarship. To return to the example of E. Ewig, we see a midcentury scholar seeking to disavow the fundamentality of mobility to royal courts as early as the reign of Charlemagne.³³

The notion that medieval courts dragged around all their belongings is also both poorly founded and remarkably enduring. An early example of this assertion is found in Grace Stetton's 1934 account of the mobile household.³⁴ She claims that the household of fourteenth-century English royalty moved around with large quantities of material culture, "practically all of the equipment, and certainly most of the furniture was carried about—especially tapestries, carpets, rugs, beds, clothing, gold and silver plate."³⁵ This image of an endless baggage train rests on misread economic documents. To illustrate this point she gestures immediately to wills and inventories, objects that do not illustrate motion at all, and to the battle booty that Charles the Bold lost at Nancy. That Charles the Bold lost only part of his treasury at Nancy passes by unacknowledged.³⁶ She translates in full a list of luxury gold and silver vessels that the Prior of Saint John of Jerusalem was allowed to remove from the treasury English treasury for a trip to Scotland as another example, even though the document explicitly states that this was not a wholesale removal of a royal collection to a new site but an allotment of a part of a larger collection of valuables for a trip to a foreign country, presumably as currency or a diplomatic gift.³⁷

³³ Ewig "Résidence et capitale pendant le haut Moyen Age," 57-58.

³⁴ Grace Stetton, "The Travelling Household in the Middle Ages," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 40:1 (1934) 86.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 86.

³⁶ He lost significant volumes of treasure at no fewer than four battles, Grandson, Héricourt, Murten, and Nancy, making it abundantly clear that the whole of his vast collection of artworks and precious materials were not with him at any one time. Till-Holger Borchert and Gabriele Keck, ed., "The Swiss Confederates and their Burgundian Booty," in *Splendour of the Burgundian Court, Charles the Bold, 1433-1477* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2009), 332.

³⁷ "Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry V T (1420-14.36), p. 452. The Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England, leaving the roll to fight the Soldan and his powers, had leave to take "gold and silver coin to the value of 100

Like Jusserand, Stetton's claims have stood the test of time and have been applied to regions and cultural milieux far beyond their initial area of focus. The idea that nomadic medieval and renaissance court societies dragged huge quantities of plate and tapestry is flattering to those who have dedicated their lives to the study of this material and, as Alicia Walker has noted, offers a powerful weapon in their battle against the fine/applied arts hierarchy.³⁸ As global studies and networked history comes to dominate medieval art history as a discipline, it also offers the opportunity to place these materials at the center of art historical discourse as the emblematic media of their milieux of production.³⁹ Birgit Frank and Barbara Wetzel thus characterize tapestries as "portable wall paintings" in the catalog for the 2008 *Splendours of the Burgundian Court* exhibition.⁴⁰ The authors of *Paris 1400: les arts sous Charles VI* likewise nodded to their "nature mobilière," while underscoring the continuities between wall painting and tapestry.⁴¹ Jeffrey Chipps-Smith has also emphasized the "portable" nature of tapestry to its usefulness as a public-relations tool for fifteenth-century Burgundian Valois dynasts.⁴² Marina Belozerskaya records a receipt for the movement of tapestry amounting to 5000 *francs* and suggests that this sum, an expenditure that easily overtops the yearly palace-building budget of a French rulers (of, granted, previous generations), is an example of a daily expense incurred by mobile courts and

marks, 3 basins, 3 ewers, 4 pots, 3 silver saucers with covers, 3 dozen silver cups- 8 with covers . chargers of silver, 8 platters of silver, and two dozen silver spoons, one silver chalice, one little bell for the mass and two phials of silver and other suitable equipment." Stetton, "The Travelling Household in the Middle Ages," 87.

³⁸ Alicia Walker, "'The Art that Does not Think,' : Byzantine Decorative Arts – History and Limits of the Concept," in *From Minor to Major: The Minor Arts in Medieval Art History*, ed. Colum Hourihane (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2012), 190-191.

³⁹ Especially emblematic and important to this development is the work of Eva Hoffman. Eva Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," *Art History* 24 (2001), 17-51.

⁴⁰ Birgit Frank and Barbara Wetzel, *Palaces and Tents filled with Art: The Court Culture of Charles the Bold*, in *Splendour of the Burgundian Court: Charles the Bold*, ed. Till-Holger Borchert and Gabriele Keck (Brussels: Marcatorfords, 2008), 53.

⁴¹ Elisabeth Taburet-Belahaye, *Paris 1400: Les Arts Sous Charles VI* (Paris : Fayard, 2004), 92.

⁴² Jeffrey Chipps-Smith, "Portable Propaganda—Tapestries as Princely Metaphors at the Courts of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold," *Art Journal* 48 (1989), 123-129.

evidence for the preciousness of this material.⁴³ This assertion is emblematic of a scholarship attempting by any means necessary to elevate the critical profile of a medium underserved in modern culture.

If scholars of court art have seized on nomadism as a way to boost the prestige of their discipline, it plays a minor role within the realm of castle studies and architectural history. Geoffrey Stell's suggestion that the itinerant lifestyle of medieval rulers intervened decisively to create an architecture that was fundamentally networked, and that castles were designed to be experienced in succession through cyclical travel, is unusual in this regard.⁴⁴ The implications of this theory have not been tested in other milieux in the British Islands or the continent. In English-language castle studies, itinerancy is baked into accounts of castle building rather than standing as an explicitly-addressed topic. Oliver Creighton has noted that pathways of royal itineraries spurred the development of some castle sites, and that proximity to hunting resources drew royal potentates to others.⁴⁵ Discussions of the choreographic potential of medieval castles and landscapes also rest upon the assumption that people moved in and out of castle landscapes, an act that implies motion of elite audiences between houses.⁴⁶ The low profile of court nomadism is in part due to the fact that English castle studies does not foreground royal sites that hosted the most mobile nomadic courts and stood within the most complex systems of interdependent houses. Synthetic works like Liddiard's *Castles in Context* also approach the question of the symbolism of castles by gathering and presenting outstanding examples of a motif such as mottes, keeps, crenellations, deer parks, et cetera. The absences of certain types of ideologically-rich features that emerged as a characteristic

⁴³ Marina Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts of the Renaissance* (Los Angeles: the J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 98-100.

⁴⁴ Stell "Castle Tioram: a statement of cultural significance," 58.

⁴⁵ Oliver H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community, and Fortification in Medieval England* (London: Equinox, 2002), 91.

⁴⁶ Paul Everson, Bodiam Castle, East Sussex: A Castle and its Designed Landscape," *Chateau Galliard* 17 (1996), 66-72. Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, 51.

of Tioram Castle's inclusion within a larger residential network thus tend to disappear beneath heaps of castles chosen as positive exempla.⁴⁷ Within traditional architectural history, a nod to itineraries or to the mobile nature of medieval courts is a convenient way to demonstrate moments in which court societies activated the latent potential of ideologically-important spaces castles or to argue that the castle *du jour* was favored and therefore important enough to participate in an architectural canon.⁴⁸

Taken in sum, the nomadic lifestyle of medieval courts tends to fall into the cracks between disciplines. Scholars tend to ignore the custom entirely or replicate and enlarge received wisdoms far beyond the shakily-laid claims of their original proponents. A dissertation seeking to reveal the impact of a nomadic court lifestyle on the built environment of medieval castles must build much of the foundation for a new approach to courtly nomadism itself. The first thing that must be done is to separate a discrete court and to closely examine how its nomadic lifestyle functions on a logistical and ideological level. Chapter 1 of this dissertation therefore takes a sustained look at the customs surrounding movement in the courts of Charles V, Philip the Bold, and Margaret of Flanders. I argue that the custom of royal nomadism was in fourteenth century France was a living, functional lifeway, perfectly adapted to and a constitutive element of its contemporary elite ideologies and lifeways. Considering the court's expenditure on three forms of local produce, namely, bread, wine, and hay, will demonstrate in a simple and satisfying way that the costs of moving a royal court far outweighed alternative forms of sourcing basic commodities. If medieval aristocrats did not move by necessity, I also argue that a mobile lifeway was not a choice *per se*.

⁴⁷ See for example, Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, 46-64.

⁴⁸ See for example, Patrice Beck, *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age* (Saint-Cyr-sur-Loire: Alan Sutton, 2002), 104. ; George Frignet, « The Château de Rouvres, » in *Art from the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless* ed. Stephen N. Fliegel and Sophie Jugie (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004), 152.

Nomadism was (and is) a *de rigour* lifeway for the insanely wealthy, a fixed, inescapable aspect of elite status. A critical analysis of the social custom will demonstrate that a nomadism was an essential element of noble lifestyles and a tool through which rulers performed privilege. On a very basic level, a nomadic lifestyle demonstrates that the upper crust functions under a set of rules different to those who are obliged to remain in one place. And as anyone boarding a plane has witnessed, travel produces opportunities for performing status. Chapter 1 will demonstrate that this was the case in the fourteenth century as well.

At the beginning of this study, the absence of published studies into the system of peripatetic courts made the location, size, and contours of the gaps in modern knowledge of the subject unclear. The effect of a nomadic lifestyle on “mobile” or “portable” goods is a particularly strong example. As noted above, tapestries, plate, small scale sculpture in precious materials, toilet items, and manuscripts, the bread-and-butter of the study of medieval art, often fall under the category of the “portable.” Chapter 1 disentangles received wisdoms in art history from the evidence for customary usages of “mobile” goods in fourteenth-century courts. The study takes as a central, guiding principle that transportation as a human action and not an inherent quality of an object. There is no “portable” object as such, but objects that people transported under certain conditions that they judged convenient or necessary. Shifting the burden of evidence from inherent material qualities like size and weight to human agents reveals medieval approaches to “portable” materials that may shock art historians. The daily records of Burgundian dukes demonstrate that nomadism did involve an internally-coherent and nomad-specific material culture, but it did not incorporate the regular transport of large quantities of deluxe tapestry, rock crystal goblets, or manuscripts. In fact, I argue that Valois nobles traveled with few goods at all. Close analysis of Burgundian daily purchase scrolls and yearly registers demonstrate that they constantly rented

basic items for the essential function court offices. They also depended on a constant stream of cheap, coarse goods that could be thrown away when it was time to decamp, as evidenced by mass disposals. Nomadic courts were thus a veritable throw-away culture. Nomadism also discouraged the elaboration of objects that courts required *en masse* at all their houses. For their part, constant travel ensured that any one tapestry or precious vessel was rarely seen by its intended users, lending the abundant display of these types of materials at major ceremonies part of their astounding impact. This study thus offers a new approach to frame and conceive the “mobile,” throws light onto the logistical agency of medieval courtiers of all social classes, and resuscitates a visual grammar through which canonical medieval artworks functioned when they were on display in court pageants.

Chapter 2 and 3 turn directly to the built environment and consider the impact of nomadic lifestyles on buildings and landscapes through a pair of case studies. As courtly nomadism drew houses into relation as elements in a larger whole, each chapter treats two castles bound by the pathways of a particular Valois dynast. Chapter 2 treats the châteaux of Vincennes and the Louvre, two castles linked by the itinerancy network of Charles V, and Chapter 3 Hesdin and Germolles in the networks of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders. Networked, intersite approaches to building had a pronounced impact upon the scale, timing, and types of interventions at each castle. Using Valois building records and archaeological data, I give a blueprint for the normative intervention of a nomadic patron of fourteenth-century France. I argue that nomadism discouraged Valois nobles from pursuing disruptive interventions into major residences. Wholesale reconstructions were cost-prohibitive to rulers who had to keep roofs over many dozen sites at once and threatened to leave a structure within an itinerancy network roofless for an extended period of time, potentially fragmenting the integrity of the whole network of houses. Across these

two chapters, I demonstrate that nomadic patrons pursued partial interventions that appended rather than replaced existing structures, undertook campaigns of preservation, and planned additions on scales that could be swiftly completed.

These two central chapters also pursue a second line of questioning: if a nomadic court builds on the assumption that a dynast could go to any castle when convenient, how does that effect the way they invested houses with ideologically-rich décor and features? I argue that nomadic rulers sought to incorporate a package of generalized, highly-legible spaces and decorative elements in all their houses that made them legible to users.⁴⁹ All four castles are joined by a shared vocabulary of class signifiers, a general package of plans, themes, and motifs – one of which is the difference of a site from other houses within a single residential network. Reserving special features such as deer parks, narrative paintings, or décor with specific narratives for one or a few sites within a larger network scattered fragments of royal ideology across a large region. This allowed a particular strand of ideology, for instance chivalric identity, the metaphor of the Good Shepherd, or the image of Christ as King, to stand in isolation as a distilled program in a specially-chosen castle. By travelling between sites, the nomadic court could access these various elements of identity when they were convenient. The development of especially complex houses then actively encouraged and entrenched intersite motion as an attendant aspect of elite life. The plan, decoration, and use of any one house in a nomadic patron's residential network therefore evolves in explicit coordination with larger topographies united by routes of nomadic courts.

This is not a question of whether medieval nomadic courts could view and use space with eyes to their situation within larger networks. It is demonstrable that they in fact did. The final

⁴⁹ What Matthew Johnson has referred to as a “cultural grammar.” Matthew Johnson, *English Houses: 1300-1800, Vernacular Architecture and Social Life* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2010), 25.

chapter, Chapter 4, therefore pursues two interweaving themes. Using descriptions of aristocratic daily life penned by the chronicler Jean Froissart (ca. 1333-1400), and the poet Christine de Pisan (1364-1430), I argue that nomadic rulers habitually sought to impose a generalizable schedule over their often-chaotic daily lives, one that encouraged the development of the commonly-encountered spaces at Valois castles. This daily schedule was inherently flexible, allowing rulers to take advantage of the “genius of the place,” if one may use the term for this period. The movements of Valois nobles to sites that resonated with their political and ideological goals on a certain day is at its most visible during spectacles. This chapter therefore looks into four festivities recovered from the record books of the courts of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders and one from the court of Charles V. It seeks to demonstrate not only that pageants were thematically tied to the décor of specific houses but that pageants at a specific place were integrated into larger topographies of residences. Any one high-profile event could therefore function as a fragment of a larger narrative that used many castles as elements and travel between them as a narrative device.

Across these four chapters, this dissertation makes use of archival, art historical, and archaeological methods. Three of the four castles in question have been subjected to archaeological investigations and archival research prior to the dissertation, ensuring that on-site features, building histories, and potentially lost elements were known from the beginning. Hesdin was the only site where no archaeological investigation had taken place previous to my research, and I conducted small-scale walking surveys with Stephen Wass of Cambridge University and Sébastien Landrieux of Université de Lille III. The dissertation also relies on objects retrieved from excavation, including objects held in the Association des Amis du site historique du Vieil Hesdin, the Musée Archéologique de Dijon, and the French cultural management system DRAC/SRA (Direction régionale des Affaires culturelles/ service régional d’archéologie). As much of the

mobile culture of itinerancy, especially vehicles and packing materials, are long lost, I call upon images contemporary or near contemporary to the dissertation's time frame to shine a light on now-lost aspects of mobile material culture.

The dissertation also relies on extensive research into untranscribed documents from Valois courts themselves. The archives of the court of Charles V suffer spotty survival, largely thanks to an accidental fire in the Archive Nationale in 1729 and to deliberate destruction in the wake of the French Revolution of 1789. The archives of the Valois dukes of Burgundy in Dijon (hereafter ADCO) and the Archives Departmentales du Nord in Lille (hereafter ADN), by contrast, are in excellent shape. In Lille and Dijon survive the yearly account registers of the bailiwick of Hesdin, the castellany of Germolles, and other documents related to but not penned on-site. In Dijon survive the central account books assembled after every Easter, the end of the financial year. These books presume to record all the expenditures the Burgundian duke across the year, from *deniers* given to the needy as a part of daily almsgiving to the stipends of ducal servants and block sums sent to building sites. Curt as they are, they reveal a wealth of detail about the development and administration of construction on ducal castles and about the economy of a nomadic court.

Also surviving in Dijon are two sets of daily receipts from the households of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders. These receipts are long strips of parchment bound into a bundle by a passing a coiled parchment strip or hemp cord through a hole at the top of each page. In these strips, every day is represented by three pages. The first two are occupied by the expenses incurred by participating household offices over the course of a day, the offices being the *eschansonnerie* (winecellar, tableware), *estmerie* (stables, bedding for the wider court), *fourrerie* (bedding and furnishing for the ducal couple, provision of candles, hygienic equipment, snack-like delicacies), *paneterie* (bakehouse, dogfood), and *cuisine* (kitchen). The third daily page is occupied by the

daily stipend for high-ranking offices. These stipends are apparently related to their expense for their horses, whose number is dutifully tallied every day. Extra pages are appended when the court incurred *expenses extraordinaires*, normally an aspect of moving along a road. The first bound pile of daily rolls, ADCO 33 F. Art 12, represents the month of October 1371, which found the ducal couple travelling through the duchy of Burgundy. The second, ADCO 33 F Art. 15, records a expenditure for the independent court of Margaret of Flanders for the months of March through June, 1384.

The value of these two bundles of documents to a study of elite European nomadism cannot be overplayed. Each purchase by a court office over the course of a day is recorded as an itemized line. This granular detail allows close observation of hitherto undescribed customs and logistical strategies employed by medieval rulers, especially the responses of their household economies to movement along roads and periods of stasis at houses. The survival of a roll for both members of a ducal couple allows comparison between the larger court of Philip and the smaller one of Margaret, opening the field for questions concerning the effect of gender and court size on their relative mobility.

In the process of researching and writing this dissertation, many aspects of Valois nomadism struck me as reminiscent of phenomena that I have witnessed and experienced in my own life. Across all four chapters I therefore make occasional references to modern customs that remind me of medieval practices of movement and relation to place. Evoking modern approaches to mobility seeks to present them as parallels to actions in the past and does not seek to equate them. As a rhetorical strategy, I hope these exempla bring the immediacy of our lived experience to our understanding of actions in the past that may otherwise seem remote, confusing, or illogical. Calling upon modern examples also serves to demonstrate that societies at great temporal and

social distance, invested in and responding to different ideologies, return at times to certain strategies for organizing a life on the go, whether it be following seasonally-prescribed patterns of motion, renting beds, or depending on single-use goods while travelling.

*Some Words on the Historical Situation*⁵⁰

The core area of this dissertation is the royal demesne of the Île de France and two regions to its east, the duchy of Burgundy and the County of Artois. It spans the second half of the fourteenth century, beginning with the ascension of King Charles V of France of the reigning house of Valois in 1364 and ending with the death of Margaret of Flanders in 1405. The period was rocky for the French monarchy, forty years dominated by hostilities with the king of England, jockeying within the royal family, the schism of the papacy, widespread social unrest, and repeated bouts of epidemic. Charles V came to power at the death of his father, Jean le Bon. Jean le Bon's reign was dominated by his struggle with his cousin Edward III, a rival claimant to the French throne, and was indelibly marred by the catastrophic battle of Crécy that led to his captivity in Normandy and England and the disastrous Treaty of Brétigny. This treaty stipulated that the King of England would renounce the throne of France in exchange for territories largely contiguous with the Aquitaine of Henry I. It also secured Jean le Bon's release on condition of payment of half his ransom of 100,000 *livres* and the exchange of high-placed captives in his place.

The battle and its aftermath catalyzed a series of disasters within the now headless state of France. The dauphin Charles V took the reins of government as regent in his father's absence and set about to gather enough money to fulfill the ransom, but resistance to his taxation and devaluation measures in the *États généraux* led to a spiraling situation. Tales of the king's betrayal

⁵⁰ For what follows, see Françoise Autrand, *Charles V le Sage* (Paris: Fayard, 1994). Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: the Formation of the Burgundian State, 1364-1404* (Woodbridge: the Boydell Press, 1962).

by cowardly knights fueled resentment at an aristocracy that reneged on their responsibility to protect the commonwealth of the realm from invasion but had no problem living high on the sweat of the people. Simultaneously, Étienne Marcel, Provost of the Merchants of Paris (a position akin to mayor or alderman in other incorporated cities) found an ally in the slippery, malcontent royal cousin Charles of Navarre, known to posterity as the Bad. Charles of Navarre had a bone to pick with the king over territory and trade monopolies Normandy and Champagne and had a claim to the throne of France itself. The contest of wills led to a scene of violence, as Étienne Marcel brought an army of three thousand citizens to the Palais de la Cité, broke into the Dauphin Charles' bedroom, and murdered two of his marshals before his eyes. Charles fled the city, but the alliance between Paris and Navarre proved short lasting. Étienne Marcel responded to the eruption of the Jacquerie by opening the city of Paris to the rebels. The class warfare alienated the King of Navarre, and with Charles of Navarre leading a lynching campaign against rebellious peasants, the Dauphin could retake Paris without (personally) shedding a drop of French blood.

By the time Jean le Bon returned from captivity, the situation in France had recovered some degree of normality. The Valois dynasty's grasp on the French throne was thus saved by the combination of luck and good judgement (including the foresight to allow rivals to destroy each other) that would characterize Charles V's reign. Charles V's reign as king began in 1364, and was dominated by three major tasks: shoring up the military infrastructure of the kingdom, expelling the bands of erstwhile mercenaries (called *routiers* or *tard venus* in French) that took to brigandage after the signing of the peace treaty with England, neutralizing Charles of Navarre, and the overturning of the Treaty of Brétigny. The reconstruction of France's military infrastructure began under Jean le Bon himself, and took the form of wide-ranging programs of city fortification and castle building. Charles pursued this and other tasks through committee and delegation to experts.

Wary of being caught on the battlefield like his father, he deputized military operations to his general Bertrand du Guesclin and to his brother Philip. Du Guesclin defeated Charles of Navarre on the battlefield and led the rapacious mercenaries into Spain, where they meddled in civil wars in Castile and Navarre as a proxy conflict against the English. Charles threw the dice in a direct conflict against England again in 1369. Rather than seeking pitched battles, he ordered du Guesclin to pursue a war of attrition, opening as many fronts against English-held territories as possible. After the defeat of the English at the battle of La Rochelle in 1372, du Guesclin swept across southern England in a series of naval hit-and-run raids in retaliation for English *chavaulchees* of Robert Knowles and the Black Prince. After many tricky moments, reversals, and close calls along the way (especially the siege of Paris by Robert Knowles in 1371), all English-held territory on the continent returned to the French crown by 1375 excepting the pales of Gascony and Calais.

While Charles V righted the ship of the French state, Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders laid the foundation for the startling rise of Burgundy as a regional power. Margaret of Flanders was sole daughter and heir of Louis de Mâle, Count of Artois, Rethel, Nevers, Flanders, and the Free County of Burgundy. She also claimed the County of Brabant through her aunt, Joanna of Brabant. Margaret married Philip of Rouvres, the last Capetian duke of Burgundy, in 1355. On his accidental death in 1361, her father attempted to arrange an English marriage for her. Jean le Bon, not wishing to see an English-friendly dynasty develop on his eastern border, prevented the match with the aid of Margaret's grandmother, Margaret II of Artois. Margaret instead married Philip, the king's youngest son and hero of the battle of Crécy, in 1364. Jean le Bon claimed the duchy of Burgundy to have reverted to royal hands following the death of Philip of Rouvres and endowed his own son with the duchy as an *apanage*, so after Margaret married her second Philip, she became duchess of Burgundy for the second time. During his Charles V's reign,

Philip the Bold participated in his campaigns and administration while serving his father-in-law's interests in Flanders. After Louis of Mâle's death in 1384, Philip and Margaret came into their full inheritance, Philip administering his wife's Flemish territories *in juris uxoris* while Margaret administered the two Burgundies from Dijon and Châlon-sur-Saone.

Upon the death of Charles V on the 16th of September in 1380, the throne passed to his eleven-year-old son Charles VI. Because of his tender age, he ruled under a regency of the royal uncles Philip of Burgundy, Jean of Berry, and Louis of Anjou. Antagonism between France and England simmered in a series of proxy wars until 1415, but in the meantime, fissures broke within France itself. The royal uncles fought over the control of the young king and the functions of government, especially the treasury and army. Charles V was not even cold when Louis of Anjou filled his pockets with the king's most precious jewelry, and Philip the Bold one-up his brother by using the royal army to pursue his own ends in Flanders. The end of the regency in 1388 saw the return of Charles V's gang of experts to preeminence, but the king's repeated mental breakdowns beginning in 1392 led to a series of regencies under his wife Isabeau of Bavaria, the royal uncles, and later, royal cousins. At the closing of this dissertation in 1405, the toxic brew of weakness at the center, antagonism between members of the royal family, and the machinations of the English had not yet ignited into the civil war and invasion that led to the conquest of Paris by the English and the disinheritance of Charles VII. A tense and restless peace prevailed at home and abroad.

The period covered by this dissertation was a fertile one for courtly visual arts, architecture in particular. Charles V was a noted patron of the book arts, patronizing translations of Latin texts into vernacular French for consumption by the non-Latin literate. Biographers such as Christine de Pizan claim he was also a keen collector of precious arts, a hobby he had in common with his

brother Jean de Berry.⁵¹ Under their patronage and that of Charles VI Parisian goldsmiths reached dazzling new heights of skill and accomplishment, producing great monuments of precious arts such as the Merode Cup and the Goldenes Rössl.⁵² Charles V also pursued building campaigns at numerous castles. Notable among his construction projects were additions to the castles of Melun, Saint Germaine-en-Laye, Vincennes, Beauté, Melun, Criel, Blandy-les-Tours, and the Louvre. The Bastille Saint-Antoine was erected from scratch over the course of his reign, and the Hôtel Saint-Pol assembled from a collection of aristocratic residences.⁵³ On their side, the Burgundian couple invested heavily in their residences, reconstructing sites in Burgundy such as Rouvres-en-Plaine, Germolles, Jaucourt, Montbar, and Argilly.⁵⁴ Important Flemish castles such as those in Lille, Hesdin were renewed, while Philip called for a new fortress at Lecluse at the mouth of the harbor of Bruges.⁵⁵ The brisk pace of building encouraged the rise of a major school of sculpture lead by luminaries such as André Beauneveu, Claus Sluter, and Jean de Marville. These houses, wrought for the needs of their respective mobile court, formed the sites of rule for a troubled dynasty.

⁵¹ Christine de Pisan, *Le livre des faits et bonnes moeurs du roi Charles V le sage* trans. Eric Hicks & Thérèse Moreau (Paris : Stock 1997), 65-69, 130.

⁵² François Avril, *Paris 1400, Les Arts sous Charles VI* (Paris : Fayard, 2004), 165-167, 182.

⁵³ Stéphane William Gondoin, *Châteaux-forts de la Guerre de Cent Ans* (Paris : Histoire et Collections, 2007), 34-57.

⁵⁴ Patrice Beck, "The Ducal Residences: Architecture as the Theater of Power," *Art From the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, 1364-1419* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004), 138.

⁵⁵ Vaughan *Philip the Bold*, 33.

Chapter 1

The Logistics, Ideologies, and Material Culture of the Nomadic Household

As noted in the introduction to this dissertation, three theories dominate scholarly and popular conceptions of the nomadic lifestyle of medieval European rulers. The first is that they adopted this lifeway to economize on the maintenance of their courts, an idea that derives from the 1884 book *Les Anglais du Moyen Age: La Vie Nomade et les Routes d'Angleterre au XIV Siecle*, by Jean Jules Jusserand.⁵⁶ The second theory is more diffuse in the literature. It is the implicit, teleological assumption that nomadism is native to a period of primitive economic and social development and gradually made way for a “settled,” bourgeois form of government. This teleology appears to mirror and draw strength from dark-ageist assumptions of medieval primitivism and Huizinga’s notion that medieval courts were decadent and an intrusive relic of the past in late medieval and early modern Europe.⁵⁷ The third theory is that the travelling household regularly travelled with all the things needful for life, including large quantities of luxury goods, a notion first encountered in the article “Travelling Houses of the Middle Ages,” by Grace Stretton.⁵⁸

This first chapter seeks to correct these three theories. Through close analysis of the bureaucratic records of Valois courts, I argue that Valois nomadism could not represent a strategy to deal with poor transport infrastructure or to allow courts to live cheaply on local produce. These records demonstrate that nobles regularly moved between houses that did not produce significant quantities of goods on site and that some of the houses linked in the same network of itinerancy were so close that they could not possibly represent a new catchment area for agricultural production. Indeed, nomadism made the court more dependent on the infrastructure of roads than

⁵⁶ Jusserand, *Les Anglais du Moyen Age*, 33.

⁵⁷ Johan Huizinga, *Autumn of the Middle Ages* trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁵⁸ Stretton, “The Travelling Household in the Middle Ages,” 86.

supplying a sedentary court ever could and encouraged the court and its scattered manors to integrate production and consumption into local communities and moneyed economies. Because Valois dynasts did not depend on their various castles for basic provision, and indeed went to great lengths and invested vast sums in the tasks of travel, I argue that they actively pursued nomadism at the end of the fourteenth century as a classed and ideologically-charged lifeway. Accounts of Valois courtiers, especially Froissart and Christine de Pizan, demonstrate that dynasts considered their travels as an opportunity to appropriate public space for acts of royal mythmaking and social performance. Valois nobles also vested moving between houses and peripateticism as a lifestyle as an ideological act of itself, one that emphasized the alterity of the Princes of the Blood from other classes in their vision of an ideal feudal society. At occasions throughout this treatment I gesture to phenomena of the twenty-first century that attend the still-nomadic lifestyles of the American bourgeoisie and international superrich in an effort to counter the assumption that nomadism is somehow an intrusion into the *zeitgeists* of the late middle ages, of modernity, or even postmodernity.

The second part of this chapter weaves together two arguments. Informed by the revelation that nomadism amplified rather than minimized the operating expenses of the court, I investigate the strategies that Valois administrators developed to control their operating expenses. This thread thus underscores the argument that nomadism was not pursued passively but was the subject of continuous craftsmanship and attention. The administrators of the Valois dukes of Burgundy exerted great cunning in creating strategies to deal with the complex and costly logistical task of cyclical motion, and the survival of their records provides snapshots of their negotiations on the day-to-day level. These documents reveal the complex infrastructure that supported the court wherever they went and even a material culture specific to their mobile lifestyle.

How does a Mobile Court Function?

Before considering the impact of nomadism on the economy and material culture of a Valois court, a few words must be said about the functions of their main household departments and their methods of operation. Daily scrolls from the courts of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders suggest that most of the work of moving the household took place in six household departments: the *paneterie*, *enchaussonerie*, *fourrerie*, *cuisine*, *fruiterie*, and *estmerie*. Each of these departments gathered their purchases into a strip of parchment every day. These records were likely meant to be destroyed after they were tabulated into a monthly expenditure for the yearly books of the *chambre de comptes*. Two groups of these documents survive from the Valois court, both in the Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or. One is shelf marked Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or B. 320ter., and represents expenses for the court of Philip the Bold between the first of August and the thirty-first of October, 1378. The other, ADCO Serie 33 F, 12-19, recounts the expenses of the court of Margaret of Flanders from December of 1384 to June of 1385. Given their ephemerality and the granular detail they provide about the daily functions of a late medieval royal court, these bundles of documents are of the first order of historical importance.

Each department undertook specific roles and were answerable to the authority of their head officer. The *estmerie* had two major charges: providing for horses and furnishing of bedding for staff. It also arranged for repairs to carts in the ducal baggage train and paid for rented vehicles when necessary. The *fourrerie* managed the accommodations of the dynast, including the tasks of cleaning ducal chambers and the hall, spreading rushes on the floor, hanging tapestries, providing sanitary items such as chamber pots and washing basins. In larger courts, such as those of Charles V and Philip the Bold, the *guardrobe* managed a dynast's clothing and jewelry, but this function

belonged to the *fourrerie* of the smaller courts of Valois women and children.⁵⁹ The *paneterie*, as its name implies, was largely concerned with the provisioning of bread to the court. The *paneterie* also managed stocks of other dietary essentials such as mustard, butter, and cheese. Beyond bread, the provisioning of meals was the province of the *cuisine*, while the officers of the *enchaussonerie* were responsible for purchasing, guarding, and preparing wine for the table.

The division of the court into departments helped to organize movement on the road. When the mobile court of Philip the Bold prepared to move house, the *enchansonnerie*, for example, packed and transported the silverware used for wine.⁶⁰ Other types of silver and gold vessels fell under the jurisdiction of the *cuisine* and *fruiterie*.⁶¹ Such an organization broke large bodies of material into manageable parts and assured that someone was always accountable for ensuring the court had the equipment it needed and that someone always had an eye on a discrete body of precious goods when they were actively in use. Breaking the household into departments also staggered the arrival and departure of the court at sites, ensuring that houses were successfully opened and closed in an orderly fashion. The daily records of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders demonstrate that the *fourrerie* moved in several segments when the duke travelled. Some moved two to three days in advance of the main body to ensure that the next stopping place would be prepared for the arrival of the court.⁶² Other officers remained behind when a dynast left a place

⁵⁹ Marcel Canat, *Marguerite de Flandre, Duchesse de Bourgogne, sa Vie Intime et l'Etat de sa Maison* (Paris : Librairie Curieuse et Historique D'Auguste Aubry, 1860), 122.

⁶⁰ Marcel Canat, *Marguerite de Flandre, Duchesse de Bourgogne, sa Vie Intime et l'Etat de sa Maison*, 122.

⁶¹ See for example, from the daily scrolls of Margaret of Flanders, ADCO B. 33 F13 January 1, 1385: « Jeh vouchot po son dis et dune aide venu deant po tende a chambre de madamoiss II s VIII d »; ADCO B. 33 F16., August 26: « Jossequin ql a paie a la priere po sa soing ql est venus devat pour tend la chambre de madamoiss xx d, »; ADCO B. 33 F18 September 15, « Henequin de la chambre po sa disn ql est venue devat a beaue pour tendre la chambre de mad xx d. »; September 26, « Josseqn pour sa disn l est alez devat a beaune pour tendre la chambre de madamoiselle xx d ; Hennequin de la chambre samble po tendre la chambre de mad pour sa disn xx d. »

⁶² Canat, *Marguerite de Flandre, Duchesse de Bourgogne*, 154.

to clean the residence before rejoining the main body of the travelling court.⁶³ The first officers of the *fourrierie* and the *estmerie* began the task of cleaning and opening a house, purchasing goods from merchants and peasants, and hiring labor. Rather than departing and arriving in one burst, a court therefore left and arrived as a series of pulses, a foreguard, vanguard, and rearguard, softening the blow on the castle and the surrounding locale when the duke or duchess finally arrived.

The Economy and Ideology of Fourteenth-Century Valois Nomadism

Jean Jules Jusserand's notion that royal courts moved between houses in order to take advantage of the economic produce of the countryside rests upon the spurious notion that the major residences of medieval rulers were self-sufficient production centers. For one thing, many of the houses essential to the itinerancy networks of Valois rulers were not attached to any farms at all but stood within the walls of large urban centers. Charles V inherited several sites within the walls of Paris, particularly the Palais de la Cité and the Louvre.⁶⁴ Across his reign, he also developed the Hôtel Saint-Pol on the Quai de Célestins and the adjoining Bastille.⁶⁵ Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders also inherited urban palaces in Lille, Arras, Ghent, and Dijon, plus urban residences in Paris such as the Hôtel d'Artois and the Hôtel de la Rue de la Fosse-aux-Chiens on the modern Impasse des Bourdonnais in the First Arrondissement of Paris.⁶⁶ While these urban houses

⁶³ See, for example, from the daily scrolls of Margaret of Flanders, ADCO B. 33 F12, December 22, 1384: "Regn de la sauss po son disn ql est demour derr a brie couterob po amener la vaisselle q estoit demour derr XVI d."

⁶⁴ Genevieve Bresc-Bautier and Guillaume Fonkenell, *Histoire du Louvre: Des Origines a L'Heure Napoléonienne* (Paris : Fayard, 2016), 75-77.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ The Hôtel de la Rue de la Fosse-aux-Chiens has not been widely published, likely thanks to its eclipse by the Hôtel d'Artois after the death of Louis of Mâle in 1384. It is found regularly in records from the early days of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders under the names "Hôtel de la Rue de la Fosse-aux-Chiens" or "Hôtel de la Rue aux Bourdonnais." ADCO B. 1430 123v. « A Jehan le Clerc Sarrui demour a Par qui devs li estoient. Cest assavoir pour facon de XI trailliz de fer que il a refaiz des vis trailliz du dit hostel et mis et assis es ii pignong neufs du dit hostel par devs la rue du foss aux chiens au dessous de la prire des dis pignons pour chascun pignon liin parmn laut xii s p valent vi livres xii s p / pour viii(xx) livres de fer despaigne pour faire tout neuf un trailliz assis es diz ii

contained gardens, none were associated with substantial fields, pastures, or vinelands capable of supporting the basic sustenance of wine and bread upon which the court depended.

As Oliver Creighton notes in an English context, major royal castles are less closely associated with rural landholding than those of people lower down the social hierarchy, and tend to have rather small estates attached.⁶⁷ This of itself upends the notion that the most mobile elites, kings and their near kin, moved their whole court to take advantage of free produce. Even when at major production centers, Valois courts habitually purchased even their non-perishable essentials like food from local communities. Records in the daily scrolls of Philip the Bold for purchases of flour, hay, and oat purchases during the month of September 1378 shed light on this situation. As a graph of their daily purchases shows, the *paneterie* and *estmerie*, the ducal administrators charged with bread and horses, relied upon external contractors to fill their stocks when at the major ducal residence of Argilly, fifteen miles east of Beaune in the Bourgogne-Franche-Comté region (IMAGE 1). During this time, the head baker Le Borgne and the head groom Mahiet Marchart drew flour, hay, and oats from a variety of places. Across the two-week period, Le Borgne purchased flour on four occasions while Mahiet bought feed on five occasions. Purchases of hay normally amounted to four *chretee* or cartloads each shipment and came from five different agents from the surrounding countryside and nearby towns. The constant purchases of basic essentials like flour, oats, and hay emphasizes that nomadic courts depended upon wider

pignons sur la cave vii d p la l valend iiii l xiii s iiii d p. » ADCO B. 1444 114r. « A la concierge de lostel de mons a paris qui es avoit paies du sien a un home estrange pour lachet et avoire de lui les livres de cenfines de lostel de la rue ans bourdonnoiz quil avoit deus lui vi franz. »

For the other residences, see the *Art from the Court of Burgundy* catalog. Patrice Beck, “The Ducal Residences: Architecture as Theater of Power,” Emmanuel Laborier, “Montbard: A Capetian Fortress for the Duchess,” George Frignet, “The Château de Rouvres,” Priscillia Debuige, “Philip the Bold’s Chateau at Argilly (1363-1404); Philippe Plagnieux, “The Artois Mansion: Residence of John the Fearless,” and Francois Duceppe-Lamarre, “The Ducal Residence at Hesdin and its Place in Courtly Art under Philip the Bold and his Son (1384-1419), in *Art from the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, 1364-1419* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004), 137-163.

⁶⁷ Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, 91.

communities and monetized economies even when at relatively rural sites. Indeed, the court would not demand such large quantities of hay and oats at all if it were not nomadic and dependent upon numerous horses for continuous transportation, so court nomadism encouraged the flow of money both into and out of the court and the monetization of transactions in local communities.

There is another basic factual problem with Jusserand's theory that the court moved between houses to avoid the cost of buying and transporting bulky foodstuffs: the court did move produce between houses. Looking to the wines that the *eschassonerie* used on any one day, it becomes abundantly clear that the duke of Burgundy used his lattice of elite houses as a system of mutual stocking and transport. When the court of Philip the Bold stayed at Châtillon-sur-Seine in September of 1378, the cupbearers sent to the tables wine from Beaune, Montbar, Chenôve, and Montaigne, all dual holdings, in addition to wine purchased from the local sellers such as Guillaume de Comblans and "le Grant" Guillomet of Buncy.⁶⁸ Wine from various ducal houses travelled with the *eschansonnerie* during the movements of the court. It also travelled in special dispatches, especially wine originating in the vineyards from Chenôve and Talant on the outskirts of Dijon. Wines from these vineyards wound their way to Margaret of Flanders' table at Montbar in 1375.⁶⁹ In 1371, Theibaut the carter of Dijon brought Chenôve wine to Paris.⁷⁰ In the spring of 1378, he brought wine from Chenôve to Valenciennes and Ghent.⁷¹ On another occasion, he

⁶⁸ ADCO B. 320ter, September 25-29.

⁶⁹ ADCO B. 1444 40v. « Pour la voiture de mener de Dijon et de talant a monbar devs madame pour la despense de son hostel XXV queues de vin pses cest assavoire a chenoves vi queues et a talent xv queues des garnisons estans allec. »

⁷⁰ ADCO B. 1435 107r. « Thiebault le Vourrellier voiture pour la voiture de mener iii ques de vin de Chenones a Paris les quelles monss ennoyoit a sire nicolas de Fontenay pour ce p man de mon dit ss donn xix davril ccclxxii. »

⁷¹ ADCO B. 1452 90v. « A Theibaut le vorrielier de Dijon qui deus lui estient tant pour la voiture de menu du dit lieu de Dijon xvi ques et I ponicon de vin a valenciennes p terre come de les faire mener de valenciennes a gand p yaue qu quell lieu de gand mons les a fair mener pour es pnter mons de flandres et li donna lon p men chascune que xiii franz a mener des chenoues a valencennes et aussi pour pluss auts pties et missions p lui stes pour les diz vins en menaient iceux au dit lieu de gand. Les dtes pties missions contenues et un rollle ou ql le mandemt de mons sur ce fait es contenu pour ce p le dit mandmt et quittance donn xiii de juing 78 II C LV franz vi gros i quart. »

carried wine, again from Chenôve, from Dijon to Aisey-sur-Seine on the border of Champagne.⁷² Indeed, the Valois tendency to move local produce around their system of houses undercuts the idea that medieval estates were self-sufficient.⁷³ It also demonstrates that nomadism instead offered moving businesses frequent patronage and the opportunity to develop long-term relationships with wealthy clients.⁷⁴

In a further blow to Jusserand's theory, Valois courts frequently moved on such small scales that such travel cannot be reasonably attributed to any economic incentive to eat local produce. Charles V's frequent rotation between various urban palaces in Paris is an example of this phenomenon, which I name micro-nomadism. Micro-nomadism can be simply defined as the movement of a court between residences at a distance of less than twenty kilometers. This motion includes movements between several houses within an urban center, between an urban center and an associated suburban palace, or between residences studding the circumference of a park. These small-scale displacements are among the most common forms of nomadism encountered in the records of Charles V and his siblings. Charles V frequently moved between the Hôtel Saint-Pol and the Louvre, for instance.⁷⁵ Charles V also regularly cycled between the city and his extramural residence at Vincennes and even between the main castle of Vincennes and the residence of Beauté

⁷² ADCO B. 1454 112r. « Thiebault le voirrelier de Dijon et Villot de saint aubin cest assavoir au dit thiebaut p men de chenoues a chesteillon xx quell de vin a ii franz la quell XL franz et au dit villot pour men du dit chenoues a aisey x ques de vin a ii flor la que xvi franz viii gros. »

⁷³ This conceit has long been rejected by castle scholars, who recognize that local production is usually gathered in the form of rents and consumed as cash.

⁷⁴ Theibault is also found moving the duchess's *garderobe* in 1371. B. 1435 107v. He brings jousting harnesses from Dijon to Paris in 1378. B. 1454 122r. In 1389 he participates in a large baggage train that brings the effects of Margaret of Flanders from Dijon to Conflans. ADCO B. 1479 84v-r.

⁷⁵ Explicit instances of Louvre-Saint-Pol transit are found in the itineraries of Charles V for October of 1367, April of 1368, November of 1369, September of 1372, January, February, March, April and July of 1374, April, October, and twice in January of 1375, and in January of 1378. Other moments may be obscured by his notaries' tendency to refer to all of his Parisian palaces under the category "Paris." Ernest Petit, *Les Sejours de Charles V (1364-1380)* (Paris : Ernest Leroux, 1888).

on the banks of the river Marne.⁷⁶ As Oliver Creighton notes, English nobles tended to stud the perimeters of parks with houses and invest landscapes with self-contained subsidiary residences, suggesting that nomadic rulers of various European nations adopted micro-nomadism as a common classed lifestyle.⁷⁷

Margaret of Flanders frequently undertook micro-itineration. ADCO B. 1435 contains a daily register detailing the whereabouts of Margaret of Flanders at midday and in the evening for each day between April and October of 1371. During this period, she tended to inhabit either Dijon or the rural estate of Rouvres-en-Plaine, fourteen kilometers to the southeast of the city, for periods of up to several weeks. Within these long sojourns, she would take short trips as short as a day or half a day to nearby castles or residences such as Asnières-lès-Dijon. On July 14th and 15th, for instance, she made half-day trips between Dijon and Rouvres.⁷⁸ On the 14th, she lunched at Dijon and slept at Rouvres, while the next day she returned to Dijon after eating lunch at Rouvres.⁷⁹ At some points in the document, it becomes apparent that the castle infrastructures were so intimately bound and within such close reach that Margaret could move independently of the court. When Margaret moved between Dijon and Rouvres on September 22nd, for instance, the record specifies that part of her court remained behind in Dijon.⁸⁰ Likewise, the daily scrolls in ADCO B. 320ter demonstrate that the combined courts of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders travelled between Chalon-sur-Saône and the village of Montcoy across the river on several occasions in

⁷⁶ Paris-Vincennes and Paris-Beauté movements are too numerous to cite in detail, and any page of Petit's itinerary will show such movements. Vincennes-Beauté motions occurred frequently after the completion of the house in 1377. Petit records instances in April, June, August, September, and two in October of 1377; February, March, June, and November of 1378; January and February of 1379; February and August of 1380. Petit 1888.

⁷⁷ Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, 91.

⁷⁸ ADCO B. 1435 26r.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ ADCO B. 1435 27r.; October 1st, 2nd, & 6th: ADCO B. 1435, 27v.

August of 1378 (IMAGE 2).⁸¹ As the chart demonstrates, these stays frequently lasted as little as part of the day, and often did not involve the transportation of the entire court with the person of the duke, effectively nullifying any expense accrued to move the court.

Whether micro-nomadism connected two or more urban residences, urban and suburban residences, or residences within the same park landscape, this custom is one of the most frequently-encountered forms of movement accomplished by fourteenth-century Valois courts. This essential type of movement can hardly be understood as a response to the ability of a castle or even region to support a court. Neither the Louvre nor Saint-Pol included fields, vineyards, or pasture, nor did Charles V or his siblings enter a new area of economic catchment when they moved between such closely-spaced houses. To put it more simply: if the hinterland around Paris supported city of 200,000 people at the end of the fifteenth century, it could handle feeding a court of approximately three hundred.⁸² If it could not, moving from the Louvre to the Hôtel de la Cité or even Vincennes was not going to remedy the stocking situation. The same holds true of other urban centers like Dijon, Arras, and Hesdin, all of which welcomed courts on a regular basis during the lifetimes of Charles V, Philip the Good, and Margaret of Flanders.

While he did not describe micro-nomadism custom and indeed used statistical methods to erase it completely, Boris Bove effectively argued that this custom is a symptom of the decline of nomadism in the late fourteenth century and its replacement with a sedentary royal lifestyle.⁸³ Seen from another vantage point, these short movements gesture onto the robustness and vibrancy of

⁸¹ ADCO B. 320ter. 9th of August – lunch in Moillecon and sleeping at Chalon-sur-Saône; 10th of August – lunch at Chalon and sleeping at Moillecon; 11-14 of August at Moillecon; 15th of August, lunch and dinner in Chalon, sleeping at Moillecon, 16-17, all day at Moillecon; 18th of August, lunch at Moillecon and sleeping in Chalon; 20th lunch and dinner at Chalon sleeping at Moillecon. 21st lunch at Moillecon sleeping in Chalon, 22-25 at Chalon all day; 26th dining at Moillecon and sleeping at Chalon.

⁸² Alfred Fierro *Histoire et dictionnaire de Paris* (Paris : Robert Laffont, 1996), 280. Boris Bove & Claude Gauvard, *Le Paris du Moyen Age* (Paris : Belin, 2014), 7.

⁸³ Boris Bove, « Les rois médiévaux sont-ils Parisiens ? » 25-49.

nomadism in the period in question. Moving between the Louvre and the Hôtel Saint-Pol displaced Charles V to a vanishingly small distance, so that the modern scholar asks why he did not just stay at the Louvre and spare the trouble entirely. Indeed, in an age of international super-rich, it is hard to imagine a modern oligarch flitting between so many houses or habitable apartments in the same urban center, even when the urban-suburban or urban-shore house pairing is readily familiar to twenty-first century nomadic elites and their adjacents. Yet Charles V regularly went to the trouble of ensuring his household was packed, his horse (or his barge) prepared, and took a half-hour journey across the city to a new house. The most fitting explanation for this cascade of decisions is that the travel among and habitation of multiple houses, that is to say the pursuit of a nomadic lifestyle, was itself an ideological act of the first order of importance.

Before considering the symbolic aspects of a nomadic lifestyle, a word should be said about the expense and effort involved in moving Valois Princes of the Blood around larger regions. This will underscore the immense effort that sustained nomadic lifestyles, and the participation of all walks of social life in this process. Rather than keeping overhead costs low as Jusserand would have it, keeping a court mobile dramatically increased its operating expense. If the court had to regularly move, that means that all its offices had to find some mode of transportation. A substantial portion of the court travelled by horseback or in vehicles. Frequent references to saddles in the yearly records of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders demonstrate that nomadic courts put them through intensive use.⁸⁴ But even more expensive than the saddles were the horses

⁸⁴ Saddles, like boxes, were such a continual expense that the notaries adopted the heading *SELLES MALES ET COFFRES* to contain this category in their yearly books. Such a heading appears, for instance in ADCO B. 1501 64r. For an example of a record for saddles, see ADCO B. 1454 56r. « A Jehan de Saint menchost sellier demourant a dijon auquel mons les devoit pour les caus et pties qui san sunent cest ass p ii selles garnes p madame la duchesse ii franz sens garnir et un fons pour la litiere de ma dte dame et ny sont en Riens compris les peauz de corduan ne les clos mis es des selles pour ce q len les prmt a paris XXVI fnz Pour vi autres selles ... pour les dames et damoiselles de ma dte dame cest assavoir v cers et une psse garnies et ny est en riens compris le drap p la couverture des dtes selles au fuer de vii franz. »

themselves. Paul B. Newman notes that male war horses, *destriers*, were particularly valuable, frequently costing over 100 *livres tournois*, while horses for peacetime riding cost about half, at 50 *livres*.⁸⁵ His estimates, based upon English sources, find parallels in the yearly records of Philip the Bold's chamber of finances. In 1371, Philip the Bold paid four hundred thirty *livres tournois* for riding horses for his own use.⁸⁶ He also regularly gave riding horses as gifts to family members, members of his court, and members of the court of other aristocratic houses. For example, in 1371, Philip gave Sir Arnault de Beau, maître d'Hôtel of the Duke of Anjou, a courser worth 200 *livres tournois* when he accompanied Philip on the battlefield. In 1372 he gave Jehan de Poysse, one of the pages of the *enchausonnerie*, a horse worth 60 *livres tournois*.⁸⁷ In 1371, Philip the Bold's thirty-nine highest officers travelled with eighty-three riding horses for their personal use, demonstrating the immense investment of the ducal fiscal power in keeping the highest members of the court mobile.⁸⁸

All modes of transportation employed by Valois courts, including litters, carts, and carriages, required teams of animals. The accounts of the Duke of Burgundy frequently refer to the purchase of pack and cart horses. These records demonstrate that the court society evaluated animals, like people, according to a hierarchy. At the bottom of this hierarchy stood animals destined to move things from place to place. The price of this type of animal could fluctuate, but never cost more than forty *livres tournois*. A horse purchased to carry water to Margaret of Flanders's bathhouse cost 23 *livres tournois*. In July of 1371 Philip the Bold paid 30 *livres 6 sous* each for two pack horses to carry boxes, while in September of the same year he purchased a pack horse to carry silverware for only eighteen *livres tournois*. On the 22nd of April, of the same year,

⁸⁵ Paul B. Newman, *Travel and Trade in the Middle Ages* (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, Inc, 2011), 29.

⁸⁶ ADCO B. 1435 57v.

⁸⁷ ADCO B. 1435, 58v.

⁸⁸ ADCO 320 ter 2nd October.

Philip the Bold purchased a gray draft horse for 35 *livres tournois*.⁸⁹ Taking 30 *livres tournois* as the base price for a cart horse, every five-horse cart carrying an office's boxes and passengers represented a sunk investment of one hundred fifty *livres tournois*. Animals that drew elite passenger vehicles were significantly more expensive than horses destined to be yoked to carts. In 1371, for instance, Margaret of Flanders paid ninety *livres tournois* for a mule to help carry her litter, almost three times the price for a draught horse for carts.⁹⁰

The vehicles that carried offices and members of the court also represented a major expense in their own right, one that would have been obviated if a Valois dynast adopted a more sedentary lifestyle. The yearly *comptes* in Dijon occasionally refer to the high cost of carriages. In 1373, Philip spent over 108 *francs* for a carriage for his jousting equipment.⁹¹ When Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders' daughter Margaret married Leopold of Austria, her nuptial carriage cost 279 *franz 1 gros*.⁹² A document dated to the 26th of September, 1377 records a payment for a carriage and other unnamed wooden objects. The high sum total of this receipt, at 411 *franz*, is certainly due in large part to the cost of the vehicle.⁹³ Such carriages also required harnesses and yokes, while horses used as pack animals required their own substantial harnesses. Whether they drew carriages and carts, served as pack animals, or mounts, horses in the Valois courts also received

⁸⁹ ADCO B. 1435, 56r.

⁹⁰ ADCO B. 1435 57v.

⁹¹ ADCO B. 1438 « A Henry de Mucy estmer destver de mons qui deuz lui estoient pour les causes qui sens/ Cest assavoir q il avoit paie a Jaquot le Reuher et son compaignon ouvriers du roy / et a dit Marchant feme pour les matieres ouvrages et autres choses neccessaire a la p feccon dun chariot q mons a fait faire pour mener avec lui son hnoiz darmur par march fait aux dess diz par le dit henry xxxvi l t Pour ver mener et paindre le dit chariot et pour autres menues chos mises et connertiez en ycellui IIII L t et a Jehan guille espic et bourgoiz de paris pour VIII aimes de toile ciree et XII armes de chenevas p enforeir et couvrir le dit chariot C VIII L I d XV t pour ce p mand de mons et quittance du dit henry donn iiiii de Juillet CCCLXXIII. »

⁹² ADCO B. 87r. « DENIERS PAIEZ POUR LA FACON DU CHARIOT OU CURRE DE MA DAME DOSTERICHE OU QUEL ELLE A ESTE MENNE OU PAIS DOSTERICHE... SOME II LXXIX franz I gros III qurs II d ob t. » For the full reference, see Appendix 1.

⁹³ ADCO B. 1452 39v. « A (Jehan de Troies) lui deuz lui estient pour pluss pties de son mestier tant pour un chariot branlant come autres les dtes pties contennes en un cedule en la quelle le mandemt de mons fait fin ce est annex pour ce p le dit mandemt et quittace don le samedi xxvi de septambe 77 IIII C XI franz. »

bahuts or waterproof coverings that could be of leather or cloth.⁹⁴ Many of these coverings were brightly colored or emblazoned with heraldic charges that lent the cavalcade a grand and festive appearance as it progressed down the road.

Once constructed and equipped with teams of horses or other draft animals, the carts, vehicles, packs, and saddles still required regular overhauls, ensuring that ducal budgets had to account for recurrent expenses. As demonstrated above, horses and mules needed to be fed, which required a constant flow of hay and oats from local farmers and inns. Wheels and axles also needed to be replaced or refurbished regularly. In July of 1379, Philip the Bold paid 68 *livres* to repair wheels and replace cloth awnings on a single cart in his wagon train.⁹⁵ Notaries report the replacement of the awnings of Margaret of Flanders' carriage in 1384.⁹⁶ Litters, smaller and less complex than wheeled vehicles, normally required fewer repairs, mostly in the way of repainting and replacing faded fabric elements. Philip the Bold paid for just such a restoration, amounting to only 7 *francs 2 gros*, when Margaret was laying in pregnancy in Montbar in May of 1378.⁹⁷ The

⁹⁴ ADCO B. 1495 71v. « it et pour vi auts bahus de tapissie bleux chun a iiii compas des armes de ma dte damoiselle pour mett sur vi de ses somiers couten chun iiii anes et demie quar a xl s t larme LIIII fre paie p mand d mon soue a argilly le Ve jour de novembre 91 et etificacon de ma dame de viamual et quitt sur ce VI(XX) IIII fr II S VI D T. » ADCO B. 1486 29r. A lui pour Bahuz de haut lice d'azure avec ds armes de mons le conte de nevers. ADCO B. 1511 108v. for other *bahuz* of *haut lice* tapestry to cover pack animals.

⁹⁵ ADCO B. 1454 119r. « A Andry de Rougy Lambert le rouyer guille le mareschal garnier de bese et a pluss autrs personnes qui deuz leur estoient pour pluss ais de noier bois de graigne gris clox p faire le chariot des couvres de moss pour froter les roes dudit chariot pour drap de pluss couleurs pour couvrir le dit chariot et pour plus joun de leur mest et autrs chos p eulx mis ou dit chariot les pties et les noms des dtes psonnes contenues en un rolle de pchemin beriffe de Josquin armur et vallet de chambre de monss ou quel le mand de mon dit seigneur sur ce fait est contenu . Donne a villanies en doys mois viii de juillet 79 pour ce p le dit mandment de sens aut quit LXVIII franz vi g. »

⁹⁶ ADCO B. 1461 B. 158v. « A Jehan de Namur pour faire rappeillr luue des chambres de ma dame XV gros pour xxiiii aubies de toille pour couvrir le chariot de ma dame p marchie fait p Jehan de Villres maistre dostel de ma dame III franz III gros – other boxes and fittings for the chariot 12 Octobre XXIII franz I gros. »

⁹⁷ ADCO B. 1452 fol 47r. « Pour xvii anees de grosse toille baill a copin pour la titie e madamme xviii gros a Hennequin grppe pour xiii anees de toille blanche achat de la suer pier juliot pour garin une houce et ii mantelex en la dte litre xix groz demi A Jehan de fontaines chapentier des menues ouvrages de mons pour la fermre de la dte littie xx gros a lui pou la dte litie en la maison de alnol paintre pour paindre icelle i gros a lui pour ix anees de toille blanche achat de la feme richart guillot pour fair iiii granz chasis qui sont mis es gns sales a rouvre xviii gros pour un peau roues et pour iiii c et demi de petiz clous a cloer les dis chassis iiii gros demi et aestienne laschier pour un joun de son mestier a aidier a fore les diz chassis avec le dit jehan iii gros et pour port les diz chassis a rouvre i ros pour tout p mandmt de mon dit seigneur seus autre quittance donn a rouvre xii de may 78 VII fanz i gros. »

paint job on carts was refreshed on several occasions, keeping their visual aspect bright and keeping wet from seeping into porous wood.⁹⁸

Nomadic courts also had to invest significant resources and attention to horse equipment, especially in the days running up to active travel. During periods at a residence, the *estmerie* ensured that the horses of their and all other offices were well-shod. They refitted the carriages, carts, and travelling boxes with new parts and ensured that saddles and packs were stored properly and away from damp. They also built up small stockpiles of horseshoes, nails, and spare wheels in case of emergency. Philip the Bold's daily scrolls for 1378 demonstrate that the *estmerie* Mahiet purchased 31 horse-shoes on his last full day at the castle of Villaines, while he received 52 horseshoes and 200 nails on his last day at Châtillon-sur-Seine. Mahiet purchased these stocks immediately before the main body of the court left a major residence, ensuring that the baggage train would not be needlessly slowed or endangered by foreseeable incidents.⁹⁹

Then as now, preparations for travel were not foolproof. Breakages routinely took place upon the road. The metal parts of carts, saddles, boxes, and other paraphernalia were prone to snapping, demanding roadside assistance by specialists, especially blacksmiths. The expense reports of transit days are replete with small payments for repairs in villages and towns along the way to a specific destination. In the surviving scrolls recording Philip the Bold's travel between Argilly and Villaines, for instance, blacksmiths in villages along the road replace six horse

⁹⁸ ADCO B. 1444 99v. « Jehan Petit Paintre demeure a TROIES qui deuz li estient pour son salaire de PAINDRE LE CHARIOT de Ma Dame / p m chie fair a li p mand de be a nnal et p les maistres dostel xxiii Franz A Gillot de saint lienart pour or pris de lui pour les dit ouvrages ii franz en pluss autrs chouses neccessaires pour le dit chariot p mand de mons donn a mombar premier jour de fevrier ccclxxiiii xxv franz. » ADCO B. 1444 96v. A Jehan Petit painter en de antoiz wabat de estmerie fuine darg qui deue li estoit et quil avoit avoire pour paindre le chariot de madame par mand de madame et quittance donn xxii de decembre ccclxxiiii iiiii franz. ADCO B.1445 47v. « Jehan Petit de Troies paintre qui deuz li estoient pour la peinture et penne quil a mis a paindre i petit chariot pour Jehan mons / p mand de mons sens quittance donna a jancourt x davril ccclxxiiii avant pasques iii franz. »

⁹⁹ ADCO 320ter, 1 October, 1378.

shoes.¹⁰⁰ Horses occasionally died, leaving ducal servants stranded in the countryside.¹⁰¹ These incidental payments accrued over time, adding to the already significant hassle of moving between houses.

Because the purchase and the maintenance of a whole court's worth of horses and carts was a labor- and resource-intensive task, the administrators of Philip the Bold's and Margaret of Flanders' courts experimented with other methods of keeping the court mobile. A favorite trick was to outsource much of the work of transport onto local populations and their vehicles. Jusserand pointed to this system as one of appropriations, which he considered symptomatic of feudal coercion of local peasantry.¹⁰² This must be considered mythological and, as argued above in the context of wine dispatches, the courts in fact relied on professional (or semi-professional) carters. The system of outsourcing in which they participated resembled in its broad outlines the eighteenth-century commercial stagecoaches of Europe and North America. When the baggage train of a Valois lord rolled into a town, it normally included among its ranks several carts manned by professional carters and a team of animals picked up in the previous town. When the duke's people decamped at a residence, monastic house, or the castle of a host, the professional carters unloaded their carts and went back the way that they came. The duke's administrators then sought and commissioned carts, a carter, and a team of animals in the local community to bring them to the next stopping point, and so the system continued on indefinitely. Though this practice obviated

¹⁰⁰ ADCO 320ter September 15, 16.

¹⁰¹ For an instance of a horse dying, possibly on a trip, see ADCO B. 1469 82r. « ITEM A Compaignot Vinon chastellain dargilly pour don a lui fait par le dit monss en recompensacon des despens que il fist en alant en karesine derr passee et une an de la duchie de bourgogne en flandres devers madame la duchesse p son rdonnance pour aucunes chouses touchans les ouvrages des chaseaulx et lieux du dit Bourgogne p mandement du dit monss donne le ve jour de novembre 87 et quittance II C franz ITEM A lui pour don a lui fait p a dame la duchesse pour lui remontez dun cheval quil a eu mort en son survice et des franz quil a faiz depuis monel jusques au jour duy en alant visitez pluseurs des chasteaulx du dit monss p ma demt de ma dte dame donne le xxie jour de juillet 88 XXX franz. »

¹⁰² Jusserand, *Les Anglais au Moyen Âge*, 34.

the need for large numbers of specially-made carts, it required the court to constantly unpack and repack carts that could have otherwise remained packed for the duration of a long journey.

The court of Philip the Bold tended to be fairly self-sufficient while moving within the duchy and friendly territories, but a visible spillover into rented carts is still encountered under the headings of each household department. When he travelled to visit Margaret's father in Ghent in 1378, for instance, this travel required court officers to rent carts, as demonstrated in the graph below (IMAGE 3). On the 21st of October of 1378 Philip the Bold's court stopped at midday in the town of Lestres to rent the cart of Jehan Cordier to carry the boxes of the *garderobe* to Chalon-sur-Seine, a distance of less than forty miles. He unloaded the boxes and returned home, and the office of the *eschassonnerie* rented the cart of Coleson "le Petit" Cordier along with its five horses to carry unspecified "offices" of the household from Chalon-sur-Seine to Neuchatel. At Neuchatel he handed the job off to Colin Armat, a bourgeois of the town. Colin carried the "offices" on his five-horse cart from Neuchatel to Audenarde over three days. Upon arrival in Audenarde, the officers sought out another local carter, Guiselm de la Montagne, whose four-horse cart carried the overflow of luggage on the last stage on the journey for Philip's trip to Ghent.¹⁰³

Margaret of Flanders' court appears to have depended almost completely upon rented carts to move her court. The long list of expenses for outsourced carts, manpower, and animals encouraged her officers to include a new heading, the "*expense extraordinaire*," on the day her debts for transport were paid. This sub-heading recorded payments for no fewer than seven rented carts and at least three pack horses during her voyage from Paris to Arras in early January of 1385 (see appendix 2).¹⁰⁴ Similar outlays for third-party transport bookend major stages in the duchess's

¹⁰³ ADCO 320ter October 21-30th.

¹⁰⁴ ADCO 33 F 13, January 6. For a full transcript, see Appendix 2.

movements - for instance on the 31st of December and the 22nd of March 1384 and on the 11th of June in 1385.¹⁰⁵ Margaret's dependence upon outsourced transportation demonstrates that this strategy appealed to smaller and less well-funded courts, offering a method to keep a dynast in motion without expensive, long-term investments in hardware, animals. It also suggests that small courts are not "streamlined," and that the expansion of courts to certain critical masses in the fourteenth century allowed them to conduct more tasks associated with nomadic lifestyles on their own.

When conducting interregional travel through friendly territories, the officers of a nomadic Valois court relied upon local merchants for provisions. Active travel up-ended some of the court functions, and the court adapted by shedding non-essential staff. When Philip the Bold travelled from Châtillon-sur-Seine to Ghent in October of 1378, the bakers of the *paneterie* did not have the time or resources to bake bread. The head officers resorted to a logical solution: he would purchase bread for the court when it stopped in a town for the midday meal. Perhaps surprisingly, this did not increase the cost of running the *paneterie*. During days of travel, the court paid forty-two *sols* one *denier* a day on average, in comparison to the average expense of sixty-two *sols* it incurred as a daily average when it was at rest for two weeks at Argilly and could bake bread from flour purchased locally (IMAGE 4).¹⁰⁶ Comparing these two periods of purchase underscores the court's dependence on external vendors even when at rest in a rural production center and the expense the court saved when it did not host large groups of "strangers" and "councilors" that were perpetually hanging around when it resided in its own castles.

¹⁰⁵ ADCO 33 F 12, December 31.; ADCO 33 F 15, March 22nd.; ADCO 33 F 16, June 11.

¹⁰⁶ ADCO B 320ter October 19 to 29th.

Even if local people along a route of travel were apprised to the coming visitors, the staffs of a Valois court were large enough to disrupt everyday life, leading to friction between locals and nomadic courts on the road. One tried-and-true approach to this problem was to let local power structures deal with the headache of courtly visits and throw money at local leaders for their troubles. When Philip the Bold travelled through Champagne on his way to Ghent in 1378, he gave cash tips of up to forty-five *sous* to the owners of each castle he visited, recompense for the “disorder imparted on the household of the host of my lord.”¹⁰⁷ Some years later, the chatelain of Tournay and the people living around the castle received a full 50 *livres* for the ruin visited upon their gardens and households by the combined courts of Margaret of Flanders, Jean the Fearless, and Margaret of Bavaria.¹⁰⁸

If the courts of Valois dynasts did not alleviate financial burdens in pursuing a nomadic lifestyle but indeed invested enormous effort and cunning to move from place to place, why did they do it? As noted in the introduction, a strong strand of German scholarship has emphasized the importance of personal, face-to-face rule to medieval potentates.¹⁰⁹ As will be argued most completely in Chapter 4, nomadism was also an architectural strategy, one that offered Valois dynasts and their courts an opportunity to interact with a large group of built environments and

¹⁰⁷ ADCO 320ter, 24th, 25th, 26th, 30th of October.

¹⁰⁸ ADCO B. 1469 82r. « A Perrin Maillebourre concierge de hostel de tournoye emps promis appten a messe jehan de mornay pour don fait au dit pprin par mod it seignr pour les domaiges quil prest avoir euz des gens du dit mons pour le temps q le dit mons ma dame la duchesse mons le conte et sa feme y on teste longiez xxx franz et au cuire de sourdun pour les distoner aux auts personnes demour et qui ont leurs leurs terres et jardinaiges piez et environ le dit hostel de tornoye qui semblement one este domaiges p le dit temps a chastun sa quittance et portion selon les domaiges ue ils prent avoir euz dont le dit cire est chargie en sa conscience xx franz pour tout p mandemt du dit mons donne le xie jour daoust 88 et deux quitt L franz. »

¹⁰⁹ Carlrichard Brühl. *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis: Studien zu den Wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen des Königtums im Frankenreich und in den Fränkischen Nachfolgestaaten Deutschland, Frankreich und Italien vom 6. Bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1968). Bernhardt: *Itinerant kingship and royal monasteries in early medieval Germany*. Wilhelm Berges, “Das Reich ohne Hauptstadt,” in *Das Hauptstadtproblem in der Geschichte* (Tübingen: Max Nimeyer Verlag, 1952). These arguments are summarized in, JBLD Strömberg, “The Swedish Kings in Progress.”

position themselves before many variations of elite ideology. Here I wish to make an argument corollary to the notion of personal rule. Moving along on roads also offered nomadic Valois rulers an opportunity to forge and broadcast messages about the shape of royal authority. Historians of the Burgundian court have frequently emphasized the importance of ceremonies such as Joyous Entries as points of signaling and negotiation between Valois rulers and urban constituencies. Neil Murphy and Peter Arnade have argued that the ceremonial arrayal of both court and urban populations in Joyous Entry festivities displayed a morally-charged order and organization, the war-readiness of both parties, and offered the opportunity to interact with ideologically-redolent symbols and material culture.¹¹⁰ For nomadic courts, the act of moving along roads multiplied the opportunities for publicly-visible court ceremonial beyond high holidays and state events that have hitherto occupied the attention of modern scholars. Nomadism offered a repetitive intervention into public space, creating a practice caught between the ephemerality of the Joyous Entry and the persistence of building or renovating buildings.

Christine de Pizan's *Livre des Faits et Bonnes Moeurs du Roi Charles V le Sage* describes the order that Charles V used on his road in some detail, and lends a critical insight into the power of nomadism to create opportunities for pageantry and virtue-messaging,

[Charles V] normally travelled with a magnificent cavalcade, because he was accompanied by a large number of noble knights and gentlemen, all richly equipped and on beautiful horses. He himself rode a palfrey of a noble line and always wore a regal garb and rode among his people. These retained a distance from him, and the ordering of the cortege was so well maintained that anyone who saw it, be they foreign or local, could know and recognize which one was the king merely by the majesty of this disciplined escort. The nobles were placed before him, with a large number of men-of-arms all arrayed for combat, as well as troops of lancers who followed their leaders, and all of them illustrious knights. All received rich wages

¹¹⁰ Neil Murphy, "The Court on the Move: Ceremonial Entries, Gift-Giving, and Access to the Court of France, c. 1440-1570," in *The Key to Power? The Culture of Access to Princely Courts, 1400-1750* ed. Dries Raeymaekers and Sebastian Derks (Leiden : Brill, 2016), 49.; Peter Arnade, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

and recompenses for their service. They went before the king girdled with sashes with the fleur de lys. The squire of the king presented, according to noble and ancient customs, the ermine mantle of the House of France, and the sword and royal cap. All around the king were his family members and his closest people, the barons and Princes of the Blood, his brothers and others, but nobody approached the king unless called. There were many magnificent destriers of great size that were held to the right. They were dressed in beautiful harnesses of great splendor. When the king entered his good towns, where the people received him with great joy, or when he crossed Paris while observing great majesty, one saw well that there was seen the pomp of a prince of great power and great dignity. Thus, our very wise king respected in everything that he did the noble virtues of order and just measure.¹¹¹

Several key features stand out in this passage. Pizan repeatedly calls attention to the desirable and eye-catching clothing, equipment, and animals involved in royal appearances on the road. She also emphasizes the control, order, and hierarchy of the assembled nobles. All respected protocol built on a supposed ancient precedent over the course of the cavalcade, and the whole organization of the assembly was designed to respect tradition rather than to flatter the ego or whims of the ruler. In her account, travel also offered the opportunity to display key symbols to Valois ruling style. The king's squire displayed a royal cap, probably like the pointed and pearl-encrusted one that Froissart mentions in his description of the visit of the Holy Roman Emperor to Paris.¹¹² He also displayed a sword and an ermine mantle, objects loaded with symbolic resonances of the king's legal, sacral, and military authority over the body politic. The sashes worn by the king's guard-of-honor also displayed the fleur-de-lis. This symbol was the subject of great intellectual elaboration by the end of the fourteenth century. Contemporary writers claimed that it was passed down from Clovis, whose shield miraculously changed to the image of the lily in a sign of divine favor. Charged under the later Capetian dynasty with evocations of purity, the Trinity, and virtues such as Wisdom, Faith and Chivalry, the symbol also emphasized Valois ties with the monarchy's past,

¹¹¹ Christine de Pizan, *Le livre des faits et bonnes moeurs du roi Charles V le sage* trans. Eric Hicks & Thérèse Moreau (Paris : Stock 1997), 72.

¹¹² František Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit, 1377-78: Emperor Charles IV and King Charles V of France* (Prague, Karolinum Press, 2014), 199.

and moving along the road offered an opportunity to transport this richly loaded symbol into the physical spaces and the political consciousness of their subjects.¹¹³

The glitter, symbolic clout, and order that Christine de Pizan considered essential to Charles V's travelling cavalcade aggregate into a single, overarching principle, that of magnificence. Charles V's ruling style emphasized magnificence as a royal virtue. The concept of magnificence was an ancient one by the fourteenth century, one that derives ultimately from Plato. In his *Republic*, Plato described magnificence as a characteristic feature of the ideal philosopher-king and defines it as graciousness and open-handedness.¹¹⁴ Aristotle redefined the concept to emphasize magnificence as liberty, high lifestyle, and displays of wealth, as well as the spending of money on high-profile public works like fortifications and civic buildings. He emphasized the importance of taste, decision-making, and control in public displays, a concept carried on by later commentators on his work.¹¹⁵ Charles V encouraged Nicolas Oresme to translate important literary and theoretical texts from Latin into vernacular, including the *Ethics*, *Politics*, and *Economics* of Aristotle.¹¹⁶ The resulting *Livre de Politique* survives in no fewer than eighteen manuscripts.¹¹⁷ Charles V's personal copy of the translated *Ethics* is now in the collection of the Bibliotheque Royale de Belgique.¹¹⁸

Charles V appears to have taken Aristotle's image of the ideal king to heart. Albert Menut has attributed the king's reorganization of the laws of succession and regency to the principles laid

¹¹³ Michel Pastoureau, *Heraldry: Its Origins and Meaning* (London: Thames & Hudson 1997), 99–100.

¹¹⁴ R. A. Gauthier, *Magnanimité. L'idéal de la grandeur dans la philosophie païenne et dans la théologie chrétienne* (Paris: Vrin, 1951).

¹¹⁵ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book IV, Chapter II., trans. W. D. Ross. Retrieved from the MIT Classics Library, <http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/nicomachaen.html>.

¹¹⁶ Claire Richter Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle: Verbal and Visual Representation in Fourteenth-Century France* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 6-7.

¹¹⁷ Albert Douglas Menut, "Introduction," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 60 (1970), 34-43.

¹¹⁸ Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 09505-09506. <http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/manuscrit/74195>.

out in Nicholas Oresme's translated and annotated *Livre de Politique*.¹¹⁹ Creating an image of rule after the political theories he promulgated, he was familiar with the notion of magnificence as an accessory to good rulers. The concept of magnificence drove Charles V to collect and display deluxe artworks like valuable plate and textiles and to undertake large building campaigns across his reign.¹²⁰ It also encouraged him to take his displays of magnificence out of the palaces themselves into the street. As Christine de Pizan notes in the passage quoted earlier, one of the major opportunities for type of display was his civic entries. Studies by Andrew Brown, Wim Blockmans, and Peter Arnade have demonstrated that Valois rulers used civic entries to project visions of opulence, splendor, and magnificence.¹²¹ The planners of pageants actively developed symbolic codes to display urban and courtly hierarchy, frequently on the spot, so that participants and audiences to these spectacles frequently participated symbolic actions at the actual moment of their inception.

Charles V's assent to using moments in public to display social order through symbol and luscious display drove his approach to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV visited France in 1378. When preparing for the emperor's entry, the king's planners were at pains to ensure that the emperor and his son Wenceslaus did not enter the city on white horses, which would have suggested he claimed liege-status over Paris and the King of France. The king therefore sent the Emperor and his son the blackest horses he could find to ride into Paris while he himself rode a white horse.¹²² Froissart's account also gives four chapters to descriptions of the pageantry of the

¹¹⁹ Albert Douglas Menut, "Introduction," 9.

¹²⁰ Genevieve Bresc-Bautier and Guillaume Fonkenell, *Histoire du Louvre, Tome 1 : Des Origines à L'heure Napoléonienne* (Paris : Fayard, 2016), 76.

¹²¹ Arnade, *Realms of Ritual*, 32. Andrew Brown, "Bruges and the Burgundian 'Theatre-state': Charles the Bold and Our Lady of the Snow," *History* 84 (October 1999) 573-589. Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

¹²² Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit*, 199.

entry. Like Christine de Pizan's general account, Froissart's description emphasizes the presence of great lords in the company of the king, the symbolically-charged symbols that they bore (especially colored clothing and headgear), and the rigorous order which they maintained during the progress.¹²³

Crucially for the consideration of nomadism as an ideological practice, Christine de Pizan claims that the type of pageantry that took place on the road during key ceremonial moments such as weddings, funerals, coronations, or state visits also animated the movement between houses, especially those within the city of Paris. Cyclical acts of moving between residences, that is to say nomadism, offered the opportunity to stamp the city with the presence of the royal persona in all its glamor, military potency, sacral significance, and virtue-laden orderliness. It was an opportunity that the wise would not pass up in the aftermath of the social fragmentation that attended the disorders of the 1350's, especially the catastrophe at Poitiers, the Jacquerie, the rebellion of Étienne Marcel, and the relentless scheming of Charles of Navarre. Charles V thus fostered the proliferation of houses within a single urban center and regularly appeared in public to pass between them, these repeated appearances emphasizing the presence, stability, good order, and control of the crown.

The utility of travel as a moment of virtue signaling also drove his and his brother's desire to make the hardware of travel – the harnesses, caparisons, saddles, litters, carriages – so opulent and eye-catching to onlookers. As noted above, carriages and litters could involve quite large outlays of money, and much of this was for the decoration. When Margaret of Artois, the aunt of Margaret of Flanders, had a new litter made in 1381, the resulting undercarriage was brightly

¹²³ Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit*, 199-204.

painted and gilded.¹²⁴ When Philip the Bold's daughter Katherine married Leopold IV, Duke of Austria, their new nuptial carriage consisted of an elaborately painted and gilt undercarriage. Its wooden overcarriage also received gilt and enameled finials.¹²⁵ Carriages and litters were also incorporated abundant fabrics of luxurious weaves and brilliant colors, and the inside of Katherine of Burgundy's *retrait* carriage was roofed with scarlet cloth and padded against bumpy roads with feather-stuffed cloth.¹²⁶ These eye-catching colors and materials transformed utilitarian tools of travel into objects of desire, emphasizing the wealth and status of their owners and drawing attention to them on the street or road. The desire of elites to transform tools of travel into spectacles is familiar to those who design Ferraris and Porsches or those who have had the misfortune of hearing a driver of such a car blast all the cylinders as he (and isn't it invariably a he?) barrels down a street.

¹²⁴ ADN 15283 Chandelier : It pour pluss ss missions ouvrages qui ont este fait a faire une neuve litier pour madame dont les ptres ens sont contenues en i raoulle de pchemen p iii le quel les lres de mad sont annex baillet p les dtes lres qui fait donn a arras le iiiie jour de feurr lan cccIII(XX)i monn de ce cappel LX s Et ce p les ptes qui seuss et et assiste a Jaque le cordier de Hesin Pour couleurs de painter ix ss vi d A johan de brousselles demur a abe po iiC de fin or double iiiii lb xii s vi d Au dit laurens de loulougne po pluss pts sur leur sebre au dit raoulle montans vi lb xix ss A gille le wautier pour dole vi ss A wylle choquel pour ii los dole ix ss iiiii d A gille de wantenas po un livre de blanc vernis vi ss A pre milloquin pour xvi armes et demie de toile xxviii s vi d A guillaume nioniac peintre pour y ouvrier p LXXVIII jours dune pt iiiii ss p jour vale xv lb xii s It ali dautre pt por ouvrier madame estant a hesdin XXI jour iii s p jour vailld IXIII s A pre du Bos peintre po ouvrier xvi jours iiiii s pro vale LXIII s A adam de le cuisine pour xx mailles dor quil avoit baillies a lorfourre pour dorer les pomaux a xv s pa le piece valt xv lb pars it po vif argent ii fns de xxxii s it pour argent a faire les esmailles debdis pour maux ii fns de xxxii ss it pour i varlet qui a porta les archons et a stelles de hesdin a arras viiii ss fort des pties en some de some de xviii lb sii s le fnc xvi ss qui font a xviii s vi i le fn

¹²⁵ ADCO B. 1494 88r. « ITEM Arnoul picarnet peinture demour a dijon qui dehuz li estieot de marchiez fait a lui p es dess domez damou dorer et pot le dit chariot de fin or vrony et de le avoir ormier des armes de mons le duch dosteriche et de ma dte dame sa fame et de avoire ponssonner les estales et celles des diz chonaux du dit chriot pour le pris de LV franz et appt lp les roles mandemet t assis rend que de ss et p quitt et rend q ten sicce en la ptie precedent LV franz ITEMA Jehin aroulet orfeure demour a dijon q lon lui dovoit po xviii pomeaux de cour esmailliez des diz armes mis ou dit chariot pour mchie fait a lui p le dit tresor sur le bureau en la chambre des comptes po le pris de VII(XX) franz et appt p les role mand et etissie rend guie dess et p quitt et rend conten sicce en la ptie pard VII(XX) franz. »

¹²⁶ ADCO B. 1494 88r. A Jehan gmot pour xviii alnes de toile touite achetee de lui pour double le drapt mis sur le dit chriot pour le pris laune de i gros valent xviii g it po vi alnes de toile vermoille taite en bresy pour doubler le drapt mis ou tour la chere du retrait pour ma dte dame I franc et pour deux lun de plume mis ou tour la dte chere ii gros po tout ii franz ung gros demi et appt come des et p quitt et rend ii franz viii g

If moving down a road with a full cavalcade emphasized the magnificence and thus the alterity of rulers from the ruled, so did the very ability to dwell between place. Nomadic lifestyles functioned and function to this day as a lifestyle that separates elites from the rest of society. As argued above, nomadism was a form of conspicuous consumption among fourteenth-century Princes of the Blood. It required the maintenance of multiple houses and a large infrastructure of travel. It also required a special political and legal status specific to the second estate of society. Where serfs were legally tied to lands, bourgeois enjoyed freedom of circulation within the walls of their city, or ecclesiasts bound to a monastery, cathedral, or canonry, high secular rulers by definition moved between places.¹²⁷ This is not to say that members of these other classes were incapable of long-distance travel or sustained cycling between many places, but few other milieux outside of great secular courts enjoyed a lifestyle that was predominantly ordered around the assumption that they were always prepared to go. To put it simply, Valois rulers travelled because they could, and because travelling was something that an elite dynast did.

Here a modern equivalent may be made. Mobility as a phenomenon attendant to wealth finds explicit acknowledgement in the term “jetsetter class,” in the streamlined process for obtaining “Golden Visas,” and the multinational citizenships regularly enjoyed by members of the international financial elite.¹²⁸ While wealthy gay men may not perceive themselves as itinerant or nomadic as such, they regularly perform privilege by cycling between Manhattan residences, beach houses on Fire Island and in Provincetown, by attending Chicago Market Days, San Francisco’s Folsom Street Fair, and the international circuit of pride festivals. As will be

¹²⁷ John Bernhardt and Gillingham have made similar observations. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany*, 50. Gillingham, “*The Kingdom of Germany in the High Middle Ages*,” *Historical Association Pamphlet 77* (1971).

¹²⁸ B. Lana Guggenheim, “The Buck Stops Here: Portugal Introduces Changes,” *South European Union Summit* (February 15, 2020). <https://www.southeusummit.com/europe/portugal/the-buck-stops-here-portugal-introduces-changes/>.

demonstrated more fully in Chapter 4, Valois rulers similarly travelled among houses to participate in seasonal offerings of their parks in the summer and autumn, reentering Paris to participate in the festive season in the winter. That said, the very act of owning and travelling to an extramural park in the summer is part of nomadism's social signaling. Similarly, modern people travel to take advantage of the particular venues of a place but also in order to participate in travel as a form of social posturing, especially if the travel conforms to specific places and times mandated as desirable by their particular social milieu.

Furnishing the Homes of a Mobile Court

As argued above, keeping the nomadic Valois court mobile was a major challenge for household administrators. Above all else, the major difficulty facing nomadic courts was the expense of carts and horses and their resulting refusal to keep enough to move all the materials that the court needed to carry out its daily functions. The administrators simultaneously deployed several solutions to this problem. As argued above, they relied on vehicles and animals rented in stopping places along their routes of itinerancy to carry goods. On the other, they attempted to move with small batches of goods curated from their massive collections, frequently hampering the ability of the court to carry out its normal functions. Moving with a little more than nothing, they came to rely upon localities for a whole variety of tools and furniture. In the process, the courts developed customary uses of goods that have hitherto gone undescribed, customs that framed the flow of commodities between the court and local communities and developments in the arts of textiles, ceramics, glass blowing, and woodworking.

In some instances, the court's insistence on relying upon localities for their material needs translated into the renting of tools and furniture from local communities. This strategy is especially apparent in cooking tools and beds. When Philip the Bold travelled to Ghent to visit his in-laws in

1378, for example, the kitchens abandoned their equipment in Burgundy and rented cooking instruments like skewers, mortars, and pans when they arrived in Flanders.¹²⁹ When the court of Philip the Bold spent August of 1378 in the neighborhood of Chalon-sur-Saône, it also rented beds in various inns in the town. On days that the court spent in town, the number of rented beds fluctuated between seventeen and twenty-five per night, with an average of twenty-three. Given the medieval habit of sleeping two or more to a bed, this suggests that upwards of forty courtiers a night slept on rented mattresses. On days that Philip, Margaret, and their combined courts spent in Chalon-sur-Saône, the court rented these mattresses from local inns such as L'Ange, L'Epee, Les Quarts Fils Henon, and Le Croissant. The flood of courtiers into the ducal town appears to have overwhelmed the rooms in the inns, as private citizens also contributed beds.¹³⁰

Art historians have long asserted that artworks characteristic of late medieval nomadic courts, especially tapestry, gold plate, and jewelry are inherently “mobile” or “portable.”¹³¹ Grace Stretton conjures the image of medieval kings and high nobles moving between bare residences with carts stuffed with luxurious tapestries and plate, and art historians have presented this supposed custom as the driving force behind the adoption of these art media as the focal point of aristocratic art consumption.¹³² Marina Belozerskaya too has emphasized the ability of tapestry to be moved as a major part of its appeal.¹³³ As argued in the introduction, the concept of “portability” rests upon shaky intellectual foundations. Artworks do not move, nor are people passive participants in the travels of mobile goods. Humans move artworks, and any instance of movement is a discrete

¹²⁹ ADCO 320ter October 27. « Jeh le boulongr pour le loier de v paceles et ii chandier II morta ii pestez ii rs et aautres plusieres vaiss pour cuisine xviii s a v - ille jours. »

¹³⁰ ADCO B. 320ter « Hostellage Lange v lis xi chz Lepee vi lis vi chx Lostoille v lis xiiii somniers Iiii filz hemon ii lis x chx Croissnt iiii lis v chx Ame bouffeau iii lis iiii chx. »

¹³¹ See for instance Birgit Frank and Barbara Wetzel, “Palaces and Tents filled with Art: The Court Culture of Charles the Bold,” 53.

¹³² Stretton, “The Medieval Travelling Household,” 86.

¹³³ Marina Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts of the Renaissance* (Los Angeles: the J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 98-100.

choice driven by human desires, rationales, logistical competence, and plain hard work. The intercontinental migrations of the obelisks in the square of Saint Peter in Rome or the gargantuan architectural moldings from a column from the Temple of Artemis at Sardis demonstrate that the category of the “mobile” is devoid of descriptive power if it decenters human desires and action from the act of moving (IMAGES 5 & 6). Humans can move just about anything if desire, skill, and resources are present. Conversely, even small objects like finger rings will remain fixed in a single site or physical position for centuries under certain social conditions, for instance their inclusion in cathedral treasuries.¹³⁴

Recentring people in the story of moving luxury goods reveals a fuller and decidedly more interesting account of the concerns and phenomena that drive the motion of luxury goods associated with late medieval nomadic courts. In the following section I explore the methods that late medieval nomadic courts of France and Burgundy deployed to position themselves against the deluxe jewels, precious plate, and deluxe textiles that they so avidly purchased. I reveal in the process the surprising ways in which nomadism effected the use of objects modern historians have frequently characterized as “mobiles.” This set of customs is specific to this time and place, and the findings thus may be different from those that scholars of other courts, cultural milieux, or regions may find familiar. Close analysis of original resources therefore decouples this specific court culture, the work of individuals and their choices, from broad generalizations about medieval and renaissance court nomadism that have hitherto been standard of the study of these artworks.

Close attention to documents and lacunae in the registers and inventories of Valois dynasts demonstrates that nomadic Valois courts depended upon a whole range of strategies to ensure they

¹³⁴ Sandra Hindman with Scott Miller, *Take this Ring: Medieval and Renaissance Rings from the Griffin Collection* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 181.

would be surrounded by luxury textiles and precious plate at all times. Some of these methods actively discouraged the movement of artworks that modern art historians have assumed were customarily “portable.” The major challenge of moving artworks like tapestry and plate was the preciousness of the materials and the sheer size of princely collections. Roads were precarious places for precious materials. Robbers and marauding armies haunted the countryside at many points during the lifetime of Charles V and Philip the Bold.¹³⁵ Be it a time of peace or war, roads could bump and smash objects, while weather and rough handling by movers threatened further damage. Such concerns are quite familiar to the professional art handler, museum courier, or anyone who has attempted to move into a house on a rainy day. And though a single tapestry, ivory carving, or golden cup may offer little challenge to a fourteenth-century administrator tasked with moving his employer, the accumulation of tapestries by the hundred and artworks in precious materials by the thousand made the wholesale movement collections that Grace Stretton imagines a herculean endeavor.¹³⁶

While major processions such as Joyous Entries might make a grand display of luxury materials, nomadic courts normally took pains to keep precious cargo away from the public eye and safe from mechanical damage and weather. Moving a quantity of any items, from silk tapestry to kitchen tools, required scores of packages, chests, and trunks. Yearly expenditures for storage boxes form a special division within the yearly registers of the *chambre de comptes* of Philip the Bold. These boxes come under a variety of names: *malle*, *bahut*, *arc* and *coffre*, for instance. With the accounts, *malle*, *arc*, and *coffre* apply to large chests of wood, while a *bahut* could refer to a

¹³⁵ Françoise Autrand, *Charles V*, 460, 491-518.; Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: the Formation of the Burgundian State*, 152-157.

¹³⁶ For a sense of the scale of these collections, see the published inventories of Charles V, Philip the Bold, and Margaret of Flanders. E. Deshaines *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le XVe siècle, Tome II* (Lille : Impremière L. Danel, 1886), 880-905. Jules Labarte, ed. *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, roi de France* (Paris : Imprimerie Nationale, 1879).

chest or to a waterproof covering of leather or high-quality cloth for a carriage, litter, pack animal, or box.¹³⁷

Surviving boxes securely associated with late medieval nomadic courts, such as the late-fifteenth-century chest of Lady Margaret Beaufort, now in the collection of the Westminster Abbey Archive (IMAGE 7), give an outline of the shape and design principles of boxes meant for packing on carts. This large, robust wooden chest is padlocked and reinforced with strips of iron. The domed lid and covering of Hungarian leather are designed to slough off rain, while the handles on the sides help to move it onto and off of carts. The researcher looking at the yearly registers of Philip the Bold regularly encounters purchases of this type of object. They varied in price, presumably due to size and quality. On June 5, 1378, Philip the Bold paid five *franz* for a *coffre* to store the *fruiterie* when on the road, while in January of 1381, Philip the Bold purchased two *malles*, paying only six *frans* each.¹³⁸

Thanks to the frequency with which Margaret of Flanders and Philip the Bold paid for packaging materials and for the act of packing itself, the methods used to keep objects safe on the road can be reconstructed in granular detail. This process of packing involved nesting layers of protection for each of a box's more precious cargo. Within the large, powerful boxes, objects would be packed with great care. Expensive, small-scale objects like books, fine glassware, and

¹³⁷ The use of "*bahut*" as a waterproof covering for vehicles, animals, and boxes is widespread. See ADCO B. 1438 35r, « A Pre loste coffrier de Paris qui deuz li estoient pour II bahuz de cuir achat de lui pour couvrir le vin de monss p mand de monss zenz aut quittance donn a Paris X de May IIII franz. » ; 1461 88r « A lui pou un fair de coffres garnis de courroies pour leschancomier de ma dte dame pour ii bahus pour une grnt male de chambre ganie de courroies et pour ii somes garnies de courroies et de sengles. » ; 1487 39r. « A jehan rozier voiturier demour a Paris pour le charoy et menage de pluss chose quil a conduites de paris en bourgogne devers madame la duchesse cest ass IIII conutes de bahuz pour couvrir les charioz de ma dte dame et aussy certains draps et pennies pour ma dte dame et mons le conte de nevers pour ce p mand donne le xiiiie jour doctobre 91 et quittance donn xxii franz. »

¹³⁸ ADCO B. 1457 32v. « VI coffres de chamber xxx franz III males et iii behuz xxiiii franz for madame. » ; ADCO B. 1460 79r. « item po une male et un bahu pour la chapelle de mon dit seigneur vi franz Item pour une paire de coffres fermaus a deux clefs po mettre les robes de mon dit seigneur chastun coffre vii franz demi val xv. »

silver plate could be held in *estuis*, form-fitting boxes of wet-formed leather, while small boxes filled with objects could be put within large trunks (Image 8). Court functionaries also used cloth to envelope objects, including tableware, jewelry, tapestry, and clothing, before putting them into boxes.¹³⁹ In one famous albeit late example, the central figure of the tapestry *A mon seul Desir* in the Cluny Unicorn cycle is depicted at the moment she unwraps an elaborate necklace from a piece of cloth (IMAGE 9). Cloth envelopes such as hers ensured that objects in precious metals did not break or scratch each other when jostled. Envelopes, boxes, and even the carriages themselves were designed to prevent water damage on tapestries and fine clothing.¹⁴⁰ Their function was therefore similar to the plastic covers used to wrap garments and dry-cleaning in the modern world.

When a court functionary filled a large *bahut* or *malle* with the objects desired, each in their own package or box, space frequently remained. To ensure objects would not shift or shatter on the road, the administrator packed the remaining space with soft materials like straw or raw cotton, the medieval equivalent of packing peanuts.¹⁴¹ Whether the packing process took place

¹³⁹ For cloth envelopes for *objets*, see for instance ADCO B. 1487 98v. « A Enguerran Culot et drue daveudoin pour laenage de la vaiselle dor dargent q mon dit ss a fait a point sur huit chaulx en peniers et iiii vouturiers pour les conduire de hesin a dijon a sa venue en bourgne ou il a accendu monss de thouranne p marchie fait avec les diz voitures p jeh ls gambier vallet de chambre et garde d la tapisserie de mon dit ss LVI fr cet ass chun chal VII franz et pour penuries et toil pour envelopper et mettre la dte vaisselle xxxvi s p pour tout p mand de mon dit ss donne le xiiiie jour de janvier 90. » ; ADCO B. 1451 55v. « A Jehan de compeigne qui deus lui estient pour VII fustames les iii tenaus XXXVI oeures la piece et le demor xviii aunes pour entoier ii lis pour Jehan mons et madamoiselle marguerite xxv franz xix s t pour les diz deux lis lun achete dehanin jaquot et a jehan rougemot de troeis et pour la facon les faire a entoier xxviii fanz pour LXVII livres de duvot achetees de la feme Jehan Jaquot pour emlor les deux lis cy dessus pour toille pour les envelopper pour les mener a dijon XIII f VIII s pour deux queues pour mettre les dix lis x s pour tout par mand de mons et ii quittances lune donn le mard apres la feste du saint sacrement 77 et lautre le mecredi apres la dit feste ou dit an LXXI franz vii s t. »

¹⁴⁰ For cloth envelopes for clothing, see ADCO B. 1452 80v. « et pour toille pour envelopper les robes de mons viii s par XXI de Juing 78. »

¹⁴¹ For the purchase of cotton and straw stuffing for boxes, see ADCO B. 1444 38v « pour coton pour envelopper les diz joyeaulx ii st et a Jeh le valant pour unes valentes et i peit pois dun marc pour pes perles et prieres ii franz pour tout par mand de mons sens aut quittance donn penultimate jour de sept xxxlxxiiii xl franz xii s t. » ; ADCO B. 1490 81v. « item a regnaut gmal tixeiant pour xxxii aulnes de toille pour cordes a faire les dtes balas et pour coton a enfentrer les dtes vaiss ii s ix g ix d. » For straw stuffing, see ADCO B. 1452 88v. « A jehan de namur vallent de chambre de mons les quelx il avoit paie pour feurre a envelopper les tapis de mondit seigneur qui furent menez a dijon et our le salaire de ceulx qui ferrent la gibe ou il fuern mis xxiiii s vi d par. »

indoors or on the cart itself is unclear. If a wooden box was packed indoors, it would have been heavy and difficult to maneuver, especially around the tightly coiled stairs that lend access to surviving Valois residences. This suggests that one might wish to pack up a box when it is already in the cart. On the other hand, expenditures for extra hands to haul boxes, especially frequent when large quantities of material were being specially moved into and out of major residences, suggests that they may have been moved while fully packed (Appendix 2).

Packaging for the road could also involve the creation of *gibes*, cloth packs bundled with rope into a more-or-less boxy shape. References to these packs, especially payments for making and moving them, are abundant in the yearly records of the *Chambre de Comptes* in Dijon.¹⁴² Gibes of cloth provided less protection against the elements and were less secure than padlocked, leather-covered boxes, yet, despite these drawbacks, records of payment to Jehan Cambier, Philip the Bold's *garde de la tapisserie*, demonstrate that he routinely prepared cloth packs to move precious objects like tapestry and plate. *Gibes* offered officers of Valois courts many benefits over trunks. Made of rough cloth and cord, they were light, inexpensive, and easy to make in a pinch. The elements of a *gibe* were as reusable as boxes, but unlike boxes they could be form-fitted to the shape and quantity of material to be moved.

The difficulty and risks involved in moving large quantities of precious objects encouraged administrators to avoid it when possible. Instead of trying to continuously move a whole collection of artworks with a Valois dynast, nomadic courts developed an infrastructure of consignments centered on the institution of the regional stockroom or treasury. Historians have frequently pointed out that Valois dynasts scattered their precious material culture between treasury rooms in

¹⁴² References to this type of package exist for every year under various headings, especially the “*DESPENCE COMMUNE*.” For a typical example, see ADCO B. 1454 110v. « A plus compaignongs p faire ii gibes de pluss des chos de madame la duche pour les men en flandres ou elle aloit lors xiii s iiii d t. »

various castles. They have failed to note, however, that an important commonality exists among the castles set aside as stockrooms: they were all frequently-visited structures in the itinerancy cycles of their owners. The death inventory of Charles V demonstrates that his collections of tapestry, plate, jewelry, and other precious goods resided in the *donjon* and library of the Louvre, his *études* or study rooms in the Hôtel Saint-Pol, Beauté-sur-Marne, Vincennes, as well as the castles of Saint Germain-en-Laye.¹⁴³ Margaret of Flanders and Philip the Bold divided their collections the castles of Arras, Dijon, Rouvres, the Hôtel d'Artois, and especially Hesdin. At Hesdin, a room within the *Tour aux Cornes* served as the repository for the majority of Philip and Margaret's collection of tapestry and the official residence for their *maistre de la tapisserie*, Jehan le Cambier, who served as the head administrator for the whole system of consignments.

The organization of treasuries also sought to lend order to the mass of goods and to keep them safe and clean over long periods of time with minimal human intervention. In the stockrooms, some objects such as tapestries sat within cloth envelopes or *etuis*. Others resided within padlocked boxes. The inventory of Charles V states that the various objects in his *étude* at Vincennes sat in padlock boxes, presumably ones similar to the Alsatian example in the Art Institute of Chicago (IMAGE 10). This flat-topped box bound in iron offered its contents physical security. It has handles, suggesting it was designed to be occasionally moved, but its makers likely intended this motion to take place largely within interiors, to judge from its flat, unlined lid. The inventories of Philip the Bold state that boxes of this type bore letters, possibly attached seals over the lock.¹⁴⁴ Using a written inventory as an index, court functionaries who arrived at a house with a stockroom could seek a specific box to find a specific object without having to rifle through many boxes. To

¹⁴³ Labarte *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, roi de France*, 35, 39-40.

¹⁴⁴ Deshaines E. *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le XVe siècle, Tome II*, 835.

judge from receipts for new furniture for the treasury of Hesdin, these rooms and their locked armoires and chests were under perpetual armed guard.¹⁴⁵

The infrastructure of the regional stockroom was an elegant and resourceful alternative to transporting all the artworks that the court owned. Instead of moving large quantities of plate, tapestry and other decorations between residences and incurring transport expenses that ballooned with every new gift or purchase (not to mention the security risk of moving large quantities of precious goods on public roads) a Valois dynast broke the collection of precious household decorations into parts which remained behind locked doors more-or-less permanently. Served by such a network of treasuries, a nomadic court travel with almost no baggage at all while still participate in the culture of opulent built environments central to fourteenth-century conceptions of magnificence. In such a system, new additions to royal or ducal collections did not become an enduring strain on the ability of the court to move swiftly and economically. This strategy also simplified the task of opening houses. In order to prepare a house for the arrival of a Valois dynast, the *fourrieres* moving before the main body of the court would be responsible only for moving objects from the treasury to the apartments for display. This obviated the need for large quantities of carts, which in turn eased the logistical and financial challenges of moving the courts.

Art historians have occasionally intuited that specific luxury objects stayed in place, but never before has the infrastructure responsible for it been fully revealed.¹⁴⁶ In a peculiar and counterintuitive twist, the very compulsion of nomadic Valois nobles to retain agile courts

¹⁴⁵ This treasury room received new furniture. Archive du Nord B. 15294r. « IT pour avoir fait en le tour as cornus dedens le dit chastel grans drechoirs doubles pour y asseir et mettre le vaisselle dor et dargent de monss que garde le cambr pour surete. »

¹⁴⁶ One example of this is Stephen Fliegel's treatment of the Cleveland Table Fountain. He imagines that it was a permanent installation into a domestic setting. More likely, this precious object spent most of its life in a trunk with other works of precious silverware, and was installed by plumbers in a hall or chamber only for major events. Stephen N. Fliegel, "The Cleveland Table Fountain and Gothic Automata," *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art* 7 (2002), 6-49.

encouraged them to treat tapestries and small-scale luxury goods as essentially stable, fixed to a specific site, and infrequently used or seen in public. Tapestries kept continuously in attic repositories of various castle *donjons* were less likely to be stolen or ruined by weather or handling, and indeed the survival of numerous tapestries from the late middle ages attests to their infrequent handling in a system akin to the high-security bank vaults where modern oligarchs, themselves habitually international nomads, hoard artworks as cash investments.

Dynasts also used hoards as staging grounds for short-term loans of luxury goods. Valois officers would select a small consignment of objects from a collection, pack them carefully, and send them out for display for a short duration. The plate and tapestry that formed the backdrop for Valois ceremonial thus spent most of their lives shut away in static confinement or, when mobile, often moved independently of dynasts. An example from August of 1385 gives a general outline of how this system worked. At the beginning of the month, Philip the Bold travelled from Paris to Flanders for a three-month sojourn in the towns of Lille, Arras, and Brussels.¹⁴⁷ When he arrived in the county, he commanded Jehan le Cambier, the keeper of his tapestry collection in Hesdin, to send a quantity of tapestry and plate to Arras. Jehan le Cambier prepared an unspecified quantity of objects and accompanied them on their journey to the court in Lille with servants and rented carts under his command. After the scheduled *rendez-vous* in Lille, Jehan and his charges formed a part of the ducal baggage train. On the first of December, Philip sent Jehan le Gambier back to Hesdin with all the silverware and tapestries he had brought with him and travelled to Paris unencumbered by the plate from the Hesdin stockpile.¹⁴⁸ During Pentecost, Christmas, and New

¹⁴⁷ Ernest Petit, *Itinéraires de Philip le Hardi et Jean Sans Peur, ducs de Bourgogne (1363-1419) d'après les comptes de dépenses de Leur Hotel*, 186-187.

¹⁴⁸ ADCO B. 1465 118r. « A Jehan le gambier vallet de chambre de mons de bourogne pour pluss despens et missions par lui ftes par le comandemt de mon dit seigneur de puis le mois de septembre 86 juswues au mois de novembre ens tant en menant la tappisserie de mons en sa vaisselle dor et dargent des hedins a arras et dillec a bruges come en retoun du dit lieu de bruges a tout les dtes tappisserie et vaisselle au dit lieu darras les menues pties conten

Year, the duke presumably contented himself with objects store away in the Hôtel d'Artois. Rotating luxury goods between use and a static stockpile in this way allowed Philip the Bold to surround himself with a shifting array of diverse art objects without having to support a transportation infrastructure capable of moving the whole collection or a significant fraction of it.

Dozens of entries in the registers of Philip the Bold's *chambre de comptes* attest to the transport of luxury goods between hoards and the current location of a Valois dynast. Several variations are apparent within the records. In some situations, ducal officers like Jehan le Gambier organize and transport the goods themselves. On others occasions, professional carters take up the challenge, as when one Jehan Meuron, a villager of Auchy-les-Hesdin, transported tapestries and other unspecified goods from Hesdin and Arras to the duke, who was currently in Paris.¹⁴⁹ Some of the records specify that the transport was round-trip, with objects going from a hoard, serving for a brief period, and returning to their stockpile. In others, only the outbound voyage is recorded, suggesting that the consignment of goods might have travelled as a part of the ducal baggage trains for a while, were thereafter stored at the destination, or that the return journey was recorded in another receipt. Some goods travelled over especially long distances. For example, Jehan le Gambier accompanied a consignment of tapestry from Hesdin to sites as distant as Germolles, Dijon, Paris, Germany, and even England.¹⁵⁰

en un roolle de pchemin en la fin du quel le mandemt de mon dit seign est contenu donn pmier de decembre 86 pour ce par les diz roolle et manemt seuz quitt LIII XIII s p ob p. »

¹⁴⁹ July of 1388. Petit, *Itinéraires*, 195. ADCO B. 1469 92v. « Pour plusieurs fraiz et missions faiz pour menez pluseurs pties des tapisserie vaisselle et autres chouses pour mon dit seigneur tant pour char/ deschargez / veilliez / iez et enfardelez en menez sur pluseurs chars de paris a conflens / de hesdin a arras / du dit arraz au conflas et de paris a montbar et en bourgogne les partis contenues en un rolle de pchemin montans a VIII(XX) V franz III s IIII d p»

¹⁵⁰ ADCO B. 1479 161v.; ADCO B. 1479 22v.; For going to Germany, see ADCO. B1467 27v.; For travel to England, see ADCO B. 1487 29r-v.

Scholars have frequently beheld these records of motion to see records of courtly art media that flowed as freely as the personnel of the court. In his account of Philip the Good's Gideon Tapestries, for instance, Jeffrey Chipps-Smith sees the apparent flexibility and portability of the massive tapestry cycle as a central element of its power to project Burgundian ideologies. Such a method does not acknowledge that scribes recorded special dispatches of tapestry, plate, clothes, or other precious goods precisely because these moments were relatively unusual, incorporating tasks and staff beyond the daily function of the court. Scholars emphasizing the "portable" quality of court arts also lose sight of the time that lays between these visible flashes of labor-intensive and logistically challenging acts of transport and display. What deep layers of dust did a tapestry gather in the months and years between occasions that a Jehan Cambier opened its chest, dusted it off, and hung it to a wall? In the example of Chipps-Smith's research, he elides the several years that elapsed between displays of the tapestries of the Story of Gideon. Indeed, by his admission the tapestries were displayed on consecutive occasions in Arras, so that their journey over the course of ten years may be measured in meters rather than miles.¹⁵¹

The high visibility of tapestry and luxury plate dispatches in the records of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders can distort modern impressions of their regularity, their gross and relative volume, and the importance of this method over time. The ducal couple leaned on this method most heavily in the early years of their rule, when they travelled frequently in regions that they did not yet directly rule and their collections were still in the early stages of development. The fiscal year of 1378-1379, for instance, saw no fewer than eleven independent dispatches of goods between various houses, shipments that included tapestries and plate but also *garderobes*, jousting

¹⁵¹ Jeffrey Chipps-Smith, "Portable Propaganda—Tapestries as Princely Metaphors at the Courts of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold," 125.

equipment, and wine and which occupied up to three carts.¹⁵² Upon the death of Louis de Mâle and Philip and Margaret's ascension to their full inheritance, their network of treasuries came to extend into all corners of their normal itinerancy network. Their income also increased dramatically, spurring the growth of their art collections kept at each place. During this period, the regularity and scale of tapestry dispatches decreases. The fiscal year of 1397-1398 stands as an excellent instance of the relative rareness of dispatches and inter-treasury motion of goods. References to payments for carts commissioned in that year come to only four discrete occasions of motion.¹⁵³ The next fiscal year, 1398-1399, similarly comes in at four individual dispatches.¹⁵⁴ Some of the records note the timing, scale, and duration of these dispatches. They are normally meant for major holidays like Pentecost and Easter, and last from approximately a week to four months. The volume of each instance varied, but never required more than two carts. The notaries note that each cart normally carried a single *gibe* or box, a detail that suggests the great size of such chests while simultaneously gesturing to the deliberate act of curation from a vast collection. When preparing works for travel, Jehan le Cambier chose a small body of works for display from the hundreds of tapestries and precious goods that he managed in the stockroom of Hesdin's *Tour as Cornu*. He probably tailored his choice of décor to the size of the rooms he would be tasked

¹⁵² ADCO B. 1454 110r. 3 carts with the goods of the duke; 110v. for moving the goods of the duchess in Flanders; for going from Paris to Dijon with tapestry; for moving 2 carts with 2 packages full of the duchess's goods from Ghent to Chastellon-sur-Seine; for transporting jousting equipment from Dijon to Paris; 112r. for carrying the garderobe of the duchess in 1 cart; for 5 horses going from Chasteillon to Dijon and back for the needs of the lady; for sending more jousting harnesses by rented carts from Paris to Dijon; for bearing chambers of tapestry from Dijon to Montbar; 113v for moving round clothing; for moving other things being moved around, including wine.

¹⁵³ 1397-1398 movements include two carts from Hesdin to Arras ADCO B.1514 271r.; two carts from Hesdin to Arras and Lille and Conflans, ADCO B. 1514 274r. The return trip is recorded in ADCO B. 1517 B. 209r.; to "many towns and places." ADCO B. 1517 B. 210r.

¹⁵⁴ For various tents moved in this year, see ADCO B. 1521 79v.; Tapestries and plate from Hesdin to Nesle, see ADCO B. 1517 208r.; tapestries and plate from Hesdin to Paris, see ADCO B. 1517 208r.; tapestries and plate from Hesdin to Conflans, ADCO B. 1517 208r.

with adorning and the specific occasion that warranted decoration, choosing representations of sacred history for the feasts of Good Friday and Easter, for instance.

Because Valois nomadism encouraged nobles to keep their tapestries and plate in place, artists began to conceive and design tapestries not as generic scenes of easily-moved proportions but as monumental, multi-room decorative cycles thematically tethered to specific palaces. In a receipt dated to the 12 of September 1391, for instance, a scribe in the court of Margaret of Flanders noted that materials purchased to create “patrons de tapisseries de bergiers et bergieres,” cartoons of tapestries of shepherds and shepherdesses, were specifically “pour ma dame la duchess pour son hostel a Germolles,” for my lady the Duchess at her residence at Germolles.¹⁵⁵ This cycle was conceived and executed upon a colossal scale. The court artist Melchior Broederlam required no fewer than two hundred *aunes* of fabric for the cartoons, equivalent to approximately 224 meters or 734 feet, roughly three times the current length of the Apocalypse cycle of Angers. Though Broederlam may have made multiple drafts on canvas and this length cannot therefore be taken to index the length of the cycle itself, the thirty-odd tapestries Germolles tapestries in Margaret’s 1405 inventory lend a sense of the scale to which tapestry cycles could aspire when fixed in place.¹⁵⁶ These hangings all represented shepherds and shepherdesses watching over their sheep and engaging in rural pastimes like the making straw hats.¹⁵⁷ This thematic conceit was explicitly tied to the larger decorative program of the castle of Germolles which, as will be seen in Chapter 3, was decorated in homage to the tradition of *pastourelle* poetry.

¹⁵⁵ ADCO B. 1481 36v. « A Colart Honnore marchant demour a arras qui deuz li est pour les cause et pties qui seuss cest assavoir pour II c aunes de toille grosse a laine du dit arraz xvii f lit pour ii douz ames de pchemin xxv s t item pour iiii libs de flouree iii fil demi et pour ii lb dor puurent ii fil tout de ce pour faire patrons de tapisseries de bergiers et bergieres pour ma dame la duchesse po son hostel de germollez certificacons lune de melchior broederlam peintre et varlet de chambre de mon dit seigneur ... »

¹⁵⁶ Deshaines E. Deshaines *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le XV^e siècle*, Tome II, 903-905.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 903.

While the emphasis of Valois nobles on moving light effectively stabilized many of the artworks modern scholars characterize as “portable,” I do not wish to claim that these dynasts travelled entirely without any luxury goods beyond the occasional dispatches from major storehouses. The *fourrierie*, *estmerie*, *cuisine*, and *eschansonnerie* of Philip the Bold each had its own cart (or multiple carts), and the numerous receipts in yearly books and daily scrolls for chests and packing materials for each household office suggests that they were capable of carrying some quantity of material at any one time. While inventories of these carts were made, none survive to the present to shed light onto the normal contents or even the gross volume of goods they regularly carried. Experiments in packing tapestry and mold-formed leather *etui* into surviving medieval chests may lend insight to the number of objects a single box could safely hold, and thereby shed evidence to the quantity of this type of material that a loaded cart could feasibly carry. Until such a time, it will suffice to reasonably guess that a Valois noble like Philip the Bold or Margaret of Flanders did move with a small selection of specially-chosen or curated objects gleaned from their massive and ever-growing collections. The court offices could carry a small selection of luxury tableware could serve the high table (though Marcel Canat claims that Margaret of Flanders ate off bronze rather than silver or gold), enough hangings to cloak a couple of *chambres*, plus personal items such as combs, a mirror, a selection of jewelry, and clothes.¹⁵⁸ The difference between this system and the one assumed by modern scholars to function in the middle ages is akin to the difference between house moving and packing for a vacation. Only novice or occasional travelers overpack. Those who live out of suitcases learn to streamline and to frame their conception of the needful against the expectation of the hassle of encumbered travel.

¹⁵⁸ Canat, *Marguerite de Flandre, Duchesse de Bourgogne*, 51.

Disposable Goods and Mobile Societies

If nomadism drove the courts of nomadic Valois rulers to stockpile deluxe material culture and to move with small selections of favored objects, it also drove the development of a form of material culture not normally associated with the Middle Ages, namely the disposable, single-use commodity. Single-use commodities may strike readers as a modern concept, one associated especially with the mechanized industry, capitalist branding, and consumer culture of post-world war America.¹⁵⁹ Yet the central logistical doctrine of royal nomadism was to leave everything behind everything possible and travel with a little more than nothing created a space for a similar approach to develop in the fourteenth century. Like stockpiles, home goods that could be abandoned and replaced at small cost during moves were convenient to nomadic elites.

Tableware is perhaps the most striking and unexpected example of disposable material culture in Valois courts. Historians of Valois courts, especially of court arts, have long been accustomed to imagine the tables of Charles V, Jean, Duke of Berry, and the Dukes of Burgundy as phantasmagorias of deluxe materials and tour-de-force artistry. The *Chroniques* penned by Jean Froissart and George Chastellain, along with eyewitness accounts of Olivier de la Marche's *Memoires*, lend the impression of dazzling glamour at major feats. Marina Belozerskaya has emphasized the gravity of Burgundian table plate as royal performances and objects of desire.¹⁶⁰ If, as demonstrated above, these objects of precious materials spent most of their lives squirreled away in treasuries and whether by design or by accident proved ephemeral, they certainly were not lightly subjected to abandonment.

¹⁵⁹ XiaoZhi Lim, "How Postwar Ads Got Us Hooked On 'Disposable' Single-Use Plastic," *Huffington Post*, May 15, 2019.

¹⁶⁰ Marina Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts Across Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 103-124.

Visual and chronicle descriptions of courtly glamour have lent modern scholars a lopsided view of material culture in Valois courts, one focused on the high table with its curated gleanings from castle stockpiles, not a representation of the festal room as a whole.¹⁶¹ More humdrum documents meant to keep tabs on money flow, namely the daily receipts for the household, demonstrate that deluxe plate was a small element in dining rooms of nomadic Valois princes. These documents demonstrate that more humble but ephemeral materials dominated food service in Valois courts. Tableware found in the daily registers of the Philip the Bold's *eschansonnerie* normally fall into five categories. The first is the *pot*, invariably encountered in the plural as *poz* or *pos*. The purchase by the cupbearers and *sommeliers* suggests they were wine cups rather than storage vessels, called *tonneles*, or serving vessels, which the same staff members purchased under the category of *cruche*. The *eschansons* note that the *poz* that they purchased could be large or small and made of terracotta or glass. The notaries of Margaret of Flanders' court never use the word *pot* or *poz*. Instead, they purchased similarly large quantities of *gobelez*.¹⁶² Both courts also purchased *verres* or *voirres* that could be large or small.¹⁶³

The custom of disposing *poz* and *verres* of glass and terracotta after one or a few uses comes into view obliquely, through attention to the volume and pace of purchase. The quantity of tableware purchased by the nomadic courts over the course of a single month is nothing short of extraordinary (IMAGE 2). During August in 1378, total purchases of tableware for the court of Philip the Bold amounted to 148 terracotta cups, 168 small glasses, and 42 large glasses. The short lifetime of any one of these cups may be deduced from the rhythm of purchase. The court did not

¹⁶¹ As Christina Normore noted in her article on court banquets for the *Feast for the Senses* exhibition at the Walters. Christina Normore, "Sensual Wonder at the Medieval Table," (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 75-76.

¹⁶² For a representative entry in the daily receipts for the court of Margaret of Flanders, see ADCO 33 F 16, August 27. "Enmar le barbier pour iiii douz de voirez et gobllz viii s. »

¹⁶³ For an example of such purchases from the court of Philip the Bold, see ADCO B. 320ter, August 3: « Tassin quil a paie po vue douz de poz (pots) de t(er)re vue douz de petiz verres et vi grans verres v sd a lui. »

arrive at this high number through a single bulk purchase but a steady pulse of buying by the dozen approximately every other day. Purchases for Philip the Bold's court in the month of August, 1378, is an excellent example of this trend. The *eschansons* purchased two dozen earthenware pots for the ducal table on the 5th of the month. The same office bought another two-dozen small glasses and four dozen large glasses on the next day. Two days later they purchased three more large glasses. The record continues on: the day after that they needed another two dozen glasses, and the day after that, a dozen terracotta and a dozen glass cups. Across the whole month, Philip the Bold's *eschansonnerie* purchased cups on fourteen days. This rhythmic pulse of purchases suggests that the nomadic courts required a constant supply of cups to make up for breakages or other disposals.

The low cost of the terracotta and glass tableware encountered in Valois daily scrolls suggests that they were simple, hastily made in bulk, and likely of crude manufacture. The terracotta and small glasses were very cheap, costing between two and four *sous* a dozen.¹⁶⁴ Large glasses were more expensive and therefore purchased individually. On the 18th of August, the *eschassonnerie* paid a little over a *sous* for large glass cup, while they paid the same price for a dozen on the 30th of the month.¹⁶⁵ Humble, unglazed ceramics have been recovered from near-contemporary castle sites associated with the Burgundian ducal family. The ducal castle at Poilvache in the Province of Namur, Belgium was destroyed during a siege in 1430 by the citizens of Liege during their revolt against Philip the Good, preserving the contents of its warehouse under a layer of ash. Excavation of these store rooms uncovered a quantity of rough terracotta pitchers, storage jars, and cups.¹⁶⁶ The cups are quite humble to look at, a true antidote to the Burgundian

¹⁶⁴ See for example, ADCO 320ter August 18, 1378, « Jehan de mascon pour une douz de poz de terre ii s. »

¹⁶⁵ ADCO 320ter August 18, 1378, « A lui pour vi grans autres voirres v s. »

¹⁶⁶ Sophie Challe, « Quoi a Neuf a Poilvache ? Les Objets : Ceramique, metal, pierre. » in *Quoi de Neuf à Poilvache ? Une Forteresse Médiévale en Vallée Mosane, Catalogue d'Exposition* (Dinant : Maison du patrimoine médiéval mosan, 2018), 157-161.

court's reputation for spectacular opulence (IMAGE 11). They are of an unglazed grey clay body. Smooth and unadorned, they have distinctive wide mouths, shallow bowls, and small feet that lend them profiles similar to contemporary mazers in wood or *hanaps* in precious metals. Judging from their simplicity and roughness, these terracotta cups are likely the *poz* mentioned by the cupbearers of Philip the Bold's court or near equivalents.

If the form of the cups suggests that they were low-value and therefore potentially disposable, so too does the regional distribution of this type of cup. Sophie Challe has associated the cups of Poilvache with regional production centers in Siegburg, Lagerwehe, Raeron, and Brunssum-Schinveld to the southeast of Cologne, demonstrating that these cups were the objects of large-scale production for regional consumption rather than the piece-work of local artisans.¹⁶⁷ The large scale and distribution of this material forms a continuity with modern expectations that disposable goods be cheaply made in bulk and, of especial interest to the nomadic dynast, that identical products be available throughout a network of itinerancy. The distribution of terracotta cups across a regional network also reveals that demand rather than supply created the steady pace of purchases encountered in the record. A sceptic of the disposability of terracotta could claim that the purchases of tableware responded not to use and subsequent disposal but the ability of an artisan to complete large orders. The interregional trade in simple, unglazed terracotta tableware suggests, instead, that the *potiers* with which the court had dealings were frequently retailers rather than artisans. In such a circumstance, purchases made every other day slowly depleted stocks brought in from the last shipment from Cologne.

¹⁶⁷ Sophie Challe, « Quoi a Neuf a Poilvache ? Les Objets : Ceramique, metal, pierre. », 160.

Glassware recovered from other fourteenth-century French castles conforms broadly to the characteristic simplicity and swift manufacture of disposable terracotta. Excavations of a garbage pit in the Château de la Madeleine in Chevreuse, Department de Yvelines have revealed a number of footed and stemmed glass cups from the late fourteenth century (IMAGE 12). Their shapes vary, from wide, flat, stemmed vessels like mazers and the *poz* of Poilvache to taller, more deeply-bowled vessels whose silhouettes closely resemble modern wine classes and are indeed typical of fourteenth-century table glass production in France.¹⁶⁸ Similar examples to these high-stemmed glasses have been found at the Louvre, Bourges, and Mans. At the monastery of Saint Denis, which in addition to being a monastic center served as a royal residence, nearly a hundred such cups were recovered, suggesting the scale with which these cups were used and abandoned.¹⁶⁹ Massive deposits of pottery and glass have also been found in England, particularly at Acton Court in Gloucestershire.¹⁷⁰

The simplicity of this glassware also suggests its relative cheapness. The glasses recovered from the Château de la Madeleine in Chevreuse are cloudy white (once clear) or light blue. The form and decoration of the glassware recovered from the midden are simple. All the shapes and ornaments were hot-formed during the initial production process in techniques that took a few minutes to accomplish. The cups and bases were produced by opening a hot glass bubble and spinning it until it produced a desired shape. The two jugs recovered from the midden are adorned with spiral ridges produced by blowing a glass bubble into a mold and twisting the hot glass while attached to an iron pontil. The most complex cup, a tall stemmed goblet, is formed out of two

¹⁶⁸ Nicole Rodrigues, « Le Temps de Verre à Tige, » in *Le Verre: un Moyen Age Inventif* ed. Sophie Lagabrielle (Paris : Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2017), 112-115.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 114.

¹⁷⁰ K. Rodwell and R. Bell, *Acton Court: the Evolution of an Early Tudor Courtier's House* (London: English Heritage, 2004), 294-298.

opened bubbles joined with a stem formed by pulling a glass blob and adorned with pincer-formed ridges. The other tall goblet features decorative trailing on the stem produced by drawing liquid glass across the stem and rolling it on a smooth surface. These simple, hot-formed pieces contrast sharply with deluxe glassware produced and imported from contemporary North Africa (IMAGES 13 & 14). Medieval Europeans valued glassware made in regions outside their immediate systems of nomadism and within systems of customary residence that encouraged the development of glass and ceramic into refined luxury goods, as is apparent from the mounts they afforded them and the assiduous care they provided them in their royal collections. By contrast, they tossed simple, swiftly-made glasses into a garbage pit, suggesting that coding had to do with cost and rarity of a foreign item rather than material *per se*.

Single-use and disposability was a key feature of another aspect of Valois table provision, namely the ubiquitous bread trencher. Bread trenchers are flat pieces of bread, frequently hardened overnight, that served as plates. Bread trenchers have a long history in Europe and the Mediterranean. They were mentioned by Virgil in his *Aeneid*, and the use continued among many social classes until deep into the seventeenth century to judge from their frequent reference by William Shakespeare.¹⁷¹ For nomadic courts of the fourteenth century, bread trenchers afforded all the benefits of the disposable cup. Served as alms to the poor after use as a plate, the trencher was the ultimate single-use tableware, obviating the need to carry around large quantities of plates. In the daily records of Philip the Bold, the word *trancheur* is not in use. This type of table setting likely falls under the heading of *pain commun*, a category that contrasts this rough, hard substance frequently fed to dogs to the more palatable *pain a bouche* made for consumption. The *paneterie*

¹⁷¹ Virgil, "The Aeneid", trans. by C.H. Sisson (London: Everyman 1998) p. 66.; See, in William Shakespeare, "Henry VI, Part II, Act IV, Scene 1, 2210. "How often hast thou waited at my cup/ Fed from my trencher, kneel'd down at the board/ When I have feasted with Queen Margaret?"

made this type of bread in large quantities on a daily basis, forming a further continuity with the consumption of disposable tableware.¹⁷²

The ubiquity of fragile and low-value materials like ceramic and glass on Valois tables is certainly one of the more surprising results of their nomadic lifestyle. Yet these materials, so apparently ill-equipped to a life spent on bumpy roads, reveal the very essence of nomadic lifeways, of the deliberate weighing of options, of choice-making, and of active crafting involved in nomadism. Far from mindlessly and passively following archaic lifeways laid down by their ancestors, the Valois dynasts of the late fourteenth century and their court functionaries crafted their relations to the world of artifacts around them through the lens of a nomadic lifeway. Pressed with a choice, providing suitable drinking and eating utensils for a large court, they weighed the effect of all choices on the strain it would place on the court's ability to move. They could have invested large sums of money in materials that would endure transportation, but that would involve transportation with all its headaches. Alternatively, they could treat a body of cheap, humble goods as disposable. Ultimately, they chose to continuously spend a little (in the short and medium term) on a large amount of ephemeral materials and cut out the need to cart materials altogether.

Treating ceramic and glass as ephemeral created a positive feedback loop in domestic home goods. Systems of ephemeral goods tend to be self-perpetuating, as continuous purchases disincentivizes other choices that require larger investments of time and money. The dominant custom of throwing away goods when the court moved also created a system of court material culture of such low quality that goods could not be hygienically used more than once or a few times. Clay cups are an excellent example of this phenomenon. While terracotta will be

¹⁷² See for instance ADCO 320ter. August 4, 1378, « De lui pain de commun XL douz dont il chiet po mon couron iii douz. »

biologically inert after its removal from a kiln, the absorptivity of unglazed or slip-covered terracotta intensified the odium of cleaning and made eating utensils unhygienic after a few uses. Indeed, the problem of rancid terracotta was so common among cooking utensils that Ibn Sayyar al-Warraq included a recipe for cleaning smelly pots with walnuts in his cookbook, while European cookbooks of the fourteenth century frequently begin with the phrase, “take a new pot.”¹⁷³ Indeed, the food crusts imbedded in archaeologically-retrieved cooking vessels are so tenacious that they have become a useful testing site for medieval foodways.¹⁷⁴ Throwing a terracotta cup away after a few uses obviated this problem. Similar concerns animated the development of chamber pots as a class of disposable products. The *fourrieres* of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders bought terracotta *urinaulx* or chamber pots on a regular basis for the chambers of the duke and duchess, normally in shipments of a half dozen.¹⁷⁵ These sanitary goods had lives of a few days or weeks, thrown away when their smell became unpleasant, an event swift in coming for terracotta receptacles for bodily waste.

The ultimate fate of the terracotta and glass tableware that the court abandoned at castle sites is unclear. The archaeological finds at Poilvache and Chateau de la Madeline are exceptional, as archaeologists rarely encounter domestic middens at Valois castle sites. Marcel Canat claimed in his 1860 edition of Margaret of Flanders’ daily rolls that the court administrators would downcycle the terracotta and glass cups by presenting them to chatelains, hosts, or local communities when they decamped to a new residence.¹⁷⁶ They also may have put any unused

¹⁷³ Nawal Nasrallah, trans. and ed. *Annals of the Caliphs’ Kitchens: Ibn Sayyar al-Warraq’s Tenth-century Baghdadi Cookbook* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 12.1.

¹⁷⁴ J. Dunne A. Chapman P. Blinkhorn R. P. Evershed “Reconciling organic residue analysis, faunal, archaeobotanical and historical records: Diet and the medieval peasant at West Cotton, Raunds, Northamptonshire,” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 107 (2019), 58-70.

¹⁷⁵ ADCO B. 33 F 19. « A lui paie ql a paie pour aidez po vi urinaulx vi valez x s. »

¹⁷⁶ Canat, *Marguerite de Flandre, Duchesse de Bourgogne*, 53-55.

pieces in store rooms to sit until the court's return or their use by the castle's skeleton staff, or they may have thrown them away. Peasants frequently spread garbage on fields as fertilizer, including shards of terracotta, while glassware may have made their way back to a crucible after a stint in local communities.¹⁷⁷ Finds of domestic terracotta and glass in contexts associated with urban and agricultural communities may thus indirectly index the enmeshment of wider societies in the system of court nomadism and gesture to the rhythmic consumption and disposal of humble goods at royal courts.

The prevalence of single-use goods on the tables of Valois rulers may surprise those historians, sociologists, and art historians who interpret the Valois feast as a site of showmanship, social performance, and conspicuous consumption of luxury goods. Yet the presence of disposable goods at the tables of even the highest Francophone lords suggests that tableware did tell stories about class performance, but stories different to those previously imagined. Disposable cups and bread trenchers on the table gestured to lifeways among the elite that stood in contradistinction to those classes that were, in theory at least, tethered to discrete locales. A comparison may be drawn between these types of disposable material culture and those more familiar to the reader: the Starbucks Cup. The Starbucks Cup is a single-use, wax-coated cardboard cup, normally presented to consumers in a sleeve of brown corrugated cardboard and a white plastic cap (IMAGE 15). None of these materials code to modern users as especially high-end or luxurious, but the cup itself bears social capital as an index of a consumption vested with a certain degree of cultural *caché*. Similarly, the terracotta, glass, and bread vessels on the tables of Valois lords likely coded to viewers as elements of an elite self-styling – an index of elite livelihoods that were forever between

¹⁷⁷ Richard Jones, "Manure and the medieval social order," *Land and People: Essays in Honour of John Evans*, edited by M. Allen et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009), 215-225.

places. It was a brand of self styling that served, in its turn, as a conceptual backdrop for more eccentric performances or demonstrations of class privilege and conspicuous consumption. According to popular fable, Augustino Chigi threw his silver and gold utensils out a window after using them once.¹⁷⁸ Other tellings have Venetian nobles do this and casting their precious plate into the city's canals.¹⁷⁹ It is likely the very custom of throwing away terracotta after one or a few uses that forms the conceptual framework for this alleged act of conspicuous wastage.

The custom of cultivating certain classes of materials as disposable animated other types of court material culture, especially those related to bedding and floor covering. As argued above, the court under no circumstances carried enough mattresses to serve all its members. The daily records of Philip and Margaret's courts demonstrate the continuous making of straw mattresses on a regular basis, especially when they stayed at remote, rarely-visited residences. Unlike cups (but like bread trenchers), this form of disposable good was not the product of interregional trade but a DIY solution. As previously noted, the combined courts of Philip and Margaret spent several days in and around the village of Montcoy, just across the river from Chalon-sur-Saône in August of 1378. On August 10th, the court abandoned its rented beds in the city. The scrolls on that day record a single expenditure for straw earmarked for bed-making. Thereafter, bed-renting ceases until the next time that the court shifts back to Chalon-sur-Saône. During the whole month of August, the court cycles between the beds in inns and the ad-hoc beds made of straw in the country house. When the court moves on to Beaune on the 27th of the month, it is likely that the straw beds were thrown away and Montcoy remained bare of bedding until the next time the court was in town.

¹⁷⁸ "Il Cardinale Hohenlohe," *Bollettino di studi storici ed archeologici di Tivoli e regione* 8 (1926), 1054.

¹⁷⁹ Anna Dumont, *op. cit.*

Grass or rush floors are another ubiquitous disposable good associated with the mobile court. Like terracotta and glass cups, grass floors were an inexpensive, replaceable version of precious materials that warranted stockpiling and that the court was not willing to transport between castles on a regular basis. Persian and Turkish textiles, possibly like the carpets featured so prominently thirty years later in the paintings of Jan van Eyck, are found on occasion in the receipts of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders under the name *tartaire d'alixadri*.¹⁸⁰ The luxurious fringed and patterned carpet adorning the floor of the Isabeau de Bavaria's *chambre* in the dedication page of Harley MS 4431 f3v is probably of this type (IMAGE 16). No fewer than nine such floor coverings, called *natte d'Espagne*, are found in the inventory for Margaret of Flanders' house at Germolles. These may be high-end carpets of this type.¹⁸¹

Beginning in 1384, Margaret of Flanders also purchased locally-made *nattes* or mats of plaited rushes, a less expensive floor covering than foreign textile carpets.¹⁸² The records note they were made for specific rooms in castles, demonstrating that they were enduring, permanent installations.¹⁸³ To judge from my modern experience with the current installations of rush mats

¹⁸⁰ ADCO B. 1462 44r Digne Responde marchart demourant a paris pour xiiii tartaires alixandris pour la chambre de madmoiselle marguerite a xv franze la piece pr mand de mons et quittance don xxvii doctobre vii II C x franz

¹⁸¹ Deshaines *Documents et Extraits diverses Concernant l'Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre, l'Artois, e le Hainault avant le XVe Siècle*, 903: « XIII nattes d'espaigne. » Ibid, 904. « item, une natte d'espaigne, biene grande, despichee en plusieurs lieux. »

¹⁸² The first one is dated to January of 1384. ADCO B.1463 156r. « Jehan de Fisines messaigier qui est deulx pour avoir cherche deux natteurs de Chalon qui ont natte les chambres de ma dte dame »

¹⁸³ ADCO B. 1495 B. 79v « A madame de biaual qui deuz li est pour pluss nattes quelle a achata et fist mett es chambres et galeries du chastel de corbeul lause loige madame la duchesse quant elle est au dit corbeul paie a elle p mand de monss donne a paris le xxiie jour de janvier 92 et quittance xxiii fr. » B.59v. ; ADCO B. 1502 59v « A Guille Dougeon faiseur de nattes jourses despense destre venues de chalon a Dijon pour natter les chambres de ma dte dame et de mess les enanz et a pluss auts po pluss oyages par eulx faiz p mandemt de ma dte dame donn le xxvii de decembre 95 pour ce par le dit mandement frz quit et les menues estptes en un cayer en la fin de ce compte XXVIII f viii g. » ; ADCO B. 1502 74v. 74v A guille Dongeon faiseur de nattes pour le salaire de lui iiiie po avoir nattees les chambres de ma dame et de mess les enfans tant a rouvre come a dijon ont-ils ont vacque fe les dtes nattes et mettre en envire po six sepuairines compris onz leur hostelage la chanbaolle quils ont ey p nuit en faisant les dites nattes et po leurs venne devs chalon ou ils demeurent et pour ler retour le viiie jour de decembre 95 XIII fl. ADCO B. 1508 160r. A pierre le voiturier pour avoir rapparellie les voituriers de la chambre de mon dit ss de ses eux chambres de retrait de la chambre de monss mess phe et de la chambre de monss de la tremoille x fr et a Jeh le

at Aisey-le-Rideau, the matts pervaded the interiors of Valois houses with lush olfactory experience of grass floors and some of the pattern-making potential of textile carpets. The visual play of rush matts is derived from its plaited quality, as can be appreciated in a later miniature depicting an aristocratic interior in Charles d'Orleans' *Livre de la Cour d'amour eprit* (IMAGE 17). As the miniature demonstrates, matts and luxurious textile floor coverings are not necessarily mutually exclusive. They may have been used in conjunction as a visual vocabulary of hierarchy and rarefication in Valois houses. More expensive materials may have been reserved for display on special occasions, similar to Halloween ornaments in modern American households, and *fourrieres* may have laid down rush floors and more luxurious coverings together to underscore transitions between rooms or parts of rooms of higher and lower prestige.

While Valois courts invested in luxurious textile and plant material carpets, fresh grass could be sourced at home as a disposable alternative. The daily receipts of Margaret of Flanders' court demonstrates that her *fourriere* (whose name derives from his role in purveying this type of decoration), brought fresh grass into the household every day.¹⁸⁴ It was likely sourced from meadows directly outside the walls of a castle. Replaced on a daily basis when in season and sometimes scattered with flowers, the grass provided a soft cushion to hard floors of wood, stone, or ceramic tiles, muffled sounds, and provided a rich olfactory environment. Grass was obviously a seasonal decoration. In the daily rolls of Philip the Bold for 1378, the latest shipment of fresh grass was the 16th of September, after which it was replaced by dry straw.¹⁸⁵

nateur pour avoir natte de neuf la petite chambre haulte de retrait de mon dit ss IIII fr pour ce paie au ss dessus diz par mandemt du dit mons le duc donn le iie jour de feurier 95.

¹⁸⁴ See, for example. ADCO 33 F. 12 May 26, « Herbes pour lez chambres et a sale IIII s. » and the next day, May 27, « A loste de mad a la ville neurse ... a lui pour herbe po lez chambres et la sale IIII s. »

¹⁸⁵ ADCO B. 320ter September 16, «Jaquin de Montot pour erbe a jachr et deffoy de son hostel v s x d . » ; September 20, « fourrerie : Le maistre de nailly pour ii chretees de feurre vi s. ITEM Jehan le duret pour i chrete de feurre iii s iiii d. »

Received wisdom holds that nomadic royal courts carried around all their domestic furniture when they moved between houses. While some small or especially liked pieces of furniture may have participated in the shadowy body of elect, curated objects that moved in the carts of the *fourriere*, it is highly unlikely that wooden furniture moved between houses in quantity on a regular basis. Lived experience of modern furniture moving should be enough evidence to banish the absurd notion that medieval courtiers regularly transported large furniture, even in the face of linguistic conventions in European languages that frame armoires, tables, and couches as the literal and original “mobile.” Like tapestries and precious plate, wooden furniture made for nomadic Valois courts more often than not resided in a specific place indefinitely, frequently by design. And while objects like folding chairs were made to be moved, the distance was not customarily interregional but between the locked storeroom and the chamber where it was in use during royal visits. In the case of the ubiquitous folding trestle tables, customary “portability” can be measured in the meters between the middle of the room and the wall where the *fourrieres* tucked them away between mealtimes.

The customary fixity of furniture among nomadic Valois dynasts is well attested in the records of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders. The system of occasional interregional material dispatches through which textiles and luxury plate circulated through numerous palaces are entirely non-existent for wood furniture. The only time furniture demonstrably moved from one region to another was when Margaret of Flanders stripped Germolles of its nicest fixtures and brought them to Arras in the year before her death.¹⁸⁶ The duke and the duchess of Burgundy habitually commissioned furniture for specific rooms in their palaces, and the resulting pieces

¹⁸⁶ As recorded in Margaret’s inventory of 1405. Deshaines, *Documents et Extraits diverses Concernant l’Histoire de l’Art dans la Flandre, l’Artois, e le Hainault avant le XV^e Siècle*, 903.

appear to have been assembled on or near the site. In one record, for instance, Margaret of Flanders payed Jehan de Fontaines and Estienne de Beaune for the making of boxes for her daughter Margaret, a dresser for her chamber, and a pair of tables and four trestles for the *chambre* of her son John at Rouvres.¹⁸⁷ On a later occasion, the same room also received a bench and a chair.¹⁸⁸ Margaret also bought boxes for specific rooms in the palace in Dijon, along with a table and trestles earmarked for the *chambre* of her son Anthony.¹⁸⁹ The ducal couple also commissioned a bench of thirteen feet long and a matching table of the same length and of three feet in width for the *chambre de parer* in the Hôtel d'Artois in Paris, pieces of furniture that could not be moved without planning and muscle power.¹⁹⁰ Telling of the fluidity between building fixtures and furniture, they were often made by the same craftsmen as a part of the same campaign. Colin de la Vache, the carpenter responsible for the monumental table at the Hôtel d'Artois, also produced window frames and shutters for the apartments of Philip's courtier Pierre de Tremoille and added new doors to armoires in the same group of rooms.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ ADCO B. 1451 94v. "A Jehainn de fontaines et a estienne de beaune oiviers de menuies euvrieres qui devs leur estoient pour la facon dun petit coffret sens ferrure p madmoiselle marguerite pour un dresseoir mett en la chambre de madame assavoir pour deux tables et iiii tresteaux pour les chambres de jehan mons et de ma dte demoiselle au dit rouvre pour ce par mand de ma dte dame sens autre quittance donn a rouvre VI davril 77 VI franz

¹⁸⁸ ADCO B. 1460 B. 129v. Master Thomas de Sombresse maistre des menues evures de monss qui deuz lui estient po le bois et facon dun grant banc quil a fait et deliver pour la chamber de Jeh monss a Rouvre et de une chayere pour le dit Jehan mons. P mand de ma dame la duchesse et quittance donn X de decembre 82 VI franz. »

¹⁸⁹ ADCO B. 1465 119r. « A Estienne et jehan diz lrchr demour a dion qui deuz leur estoient est assavoir pour ii vances mis en lostel de mons a Dijon lune n la chambre a parer et lautre en la chambre de coste la Chappelle au pris de vi franz de lairez A Jehan de villay maistre dostel de mons pour ii arches garnies de sapreures au pris de iii franz delivres a lavent de corbertran lune pour men la tapperie a rouvre et lautre es en la chambre decoste de prael pour un table et les tresteaux pour la chambre de anthoine mons au pris de I franc et pour ii eschielles deliuvres a hennequin de grantmont pour tender chamb au pris dun franc pour tout par mand.. duchess donne xv de mars 85 quittance donne xvi de sept 86 xi franz. »

¹⁹⁰ ADCO B. 1521 92r. « Au dit receveur quil a paie du comand et ordonnan de mon dit ss a colin de la vache et a colin de la vacherie charpentiers la some de LIII fr demi a eulx deve pour les causes et part qui sens cest assavoir au dit colin de la vache pour un banc de xiii pies de long a marche devant et a perche darie guy dune table de noyer de la longueur du dit banc et de trois pies de large avec trois haulx trestreaux assis en la chambre a parer de lostel dartis x. »

¹⁹¹ ADCO B. 1521 92r. « a lui pour un chassis a voiere et a fenestre assis en moutain la is du dit hostel dartois en la chambre ou est logies pre de la tmoille ... avecques un dresseoir tout dune piece et pour deux fenestres qui fmerrent deux amiovr lesquelles sont housses de bois p dedans iii f v s t. »

The stasis of furniture is so strong in Valois courts that they did not move all the furniture of a place even when a house was in the process of abandonment. As just noted, Margaret of Flanders did remove the majority of the tapestry and luxury fabric before she abandoned the house, which would never function as a major court site again. The amount of wooden furniture moved was actually rather small, suggesting a curated movement of only the most finely-made pieces. Included in the inventory of furniture that moved to Arras were seventeen chairs, all of which featured elegant paint jobs and nailed-down upholstery of silk, cloth-of-gold, or Moroccan leather.¹⁹² Although the court never occupied Germolles again, the house remained stuffed with other pieces of wooden domestic furniture deep into the fifteenth century. Indeed, it appears that the closed residence was being used as a lumber room, serving as stock rooms for all things needful for the function of Germolles as a manorial site. The inventory of 1440, ADCO B. 4801 f. 156-165, the *Chambre de Roses*, a room within the duke's apartments, retained two buffets, one bench, a buffet-table of oak, a table of fir wood, and five trestles. It also held two plowshares. In the *Chambre des Brebis*, there were two benches, one large and one small, a green chair, and two buffets of oak. Patrice Beck and Matthieu Pinette calculate that Germolles retained in total 66 trestles, 33 tables, 52 benches, three chairs and a foot rest, 27 buffets, a screen, a writing table, an armoire, a wardrobe, six bed frames, nine boxes and five other chests.¹⁹³ In other words, the nomadic noble's compulsion to leave furniture in place created a large body of furniture not really

¹⁹² Deshaines, *Documents et Extraits diverses Concernant l'Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre, l'Artois, e le Hainault avant le XV^e Siècle*, 903-906, « ITEM VII chayeres de bos peintes de vert semees de brebis I lb. ITEM IIII banquiers de vert a brebis, aux armes de madame, dont les II sont grans et les autres petits. Ibid, 906. « ITEM deux semblables chayers, peintes a myawes et couverts de velayau vermeil, Item, deux chayeres peintes a brebis. » Ibid, « ITEM III chayeres a feulx esteaux, garnies de drap d'or a chardons. ITEM un autre chair couverte de cuir rouge sans dossier ITEM deux autres chayers, garnies de drap de soye blue a chardons. »

¹⁹³ Beck 2002, 101-102.

worth the trouble of moving. Thus, even when left to dereliction, a house built for a mobile court retained an abundance of static, site-bound wooden furniture.

The custom of treating large-scale furnishings like benches, tables, buffets, and chairs as static elements of a room impacted their form and decoration, but it is one that can be viewed only obliquely through an analysis of lacunae and primary sources. Furniture and furniture fittings and decorations from the ancient world form a large body of archeologically-preserved material, but they are vanishingly rare from medieval France. Plaques for mounting onto tables and chairs form nearly the entire body of ivory carvings from the Bronze Age until the end of the Roman Empire (IMAGE 18). Romans elites also consumed domestic furniture wrought of colored marble and hardstone and wooden furniture adorned with appliques of gold, bronze, bone, and wood inlay. The Art Institute of Chicago preserves magnificent furniture mounts in cast and chased bronze, attesting to the opulence and technical sophistication of domestic furniture in the second and third centuries (IMAGE 19). The Metropolitan Museum of Art preserves a Roman couch of the same period (IMAGE 20 & 21). Itself a work of extraordinary panache and extravagance, its extensive use of bone in the place of ivory and its *millefiori* glass representations of pearls, gold, and emeralds gestures onto even more sumptuous contemporary works of furniture. The discovery of contemporary precious furniture mounts with glass paste gems suggests that such imagined works could be encountered in the most luxurious Roman domestic spaces (IMAGE 22).

The Roman tradition of elaborate investment in furniture persisted in the Mediterranean throughout the Middle Ages, as demonstrated by Italian episcopal thrones of ivory and the strong traditions of ivory inlay in Islamic and Islamic-adjacent societies of North Africa and Spain (IMAGE 22 & 23). One seeks in vain for inklings of this type of elaboration in fourteenth-century French domestic furniture or surviving examples of domestic furniture at all, even as its nomadic

elites encountered past and current societies that produced and consumed deluxe furniture. Like ancient Rome, fourteenth-century French artisans produced vast quantities of ivory carvings. Yet not a single ivory furniture mount survives from this productive and well-studied milieu.¹⁹⁴ The only piece of furniture with ivory mounts to survive from medieval temperate Europe is a compound twelfth-century and fifteenth-century folding stool from Stift Nonnburg, Austria, now preserved in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst (IMAGE 24). Made for an abbess, it explicitly gestures to the *curule* of the Roman emperors. Bronze, another favored medium for Roman and early medieval chairs, is also scarcely attested among nomadic courts of northern Europe in the fourteenth century. Edward I famously ordered a bronze throne upon capturing the Stone of Scone. Pipe rolls recount that his court artists suggested bronze because it would be “more magnificent” than a throne of wood or stone. It was never finished. The full story is more peculiar. The workman had actually cast the bronze throne and were in the process of chasing when in 1297 Edward pulled the plug on the process and contented himself with one made of wood. English rulers use the wooden workshop prototype on state occasions to this day (IMAGE 25).¹⁹⁵

Furniture survives in France only from the end of the fifteenth century. The lacuna itself is telling of a body of material too crude to warrant preservation at home or donation to religious institutions, and when surviving pieces begin to emerge, they bear telling marks of the impact of Valois customary nomadism. Late gothic furniture from France and Belgium is bulky, and invariably rectangular in silhouette (IMAGES 26-28).¹⁹⁶ These features contrast sharply to the material and technical elaboration of the classical period, the contemporary Mediterranean, or the

¹⁹⁴ See for instance the catalogs in Richard H. Randall, *The Golden Age of Ivory: Gothic Carvings in North America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993). Peter Barnet, *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects from the Gothic Age* (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1997).

¹⁹⁵ John Steane, *The Archaeology of the English Monarchy* (New York: Routledge Press, 1999), 38-39.

¹⁹⁶ Monique Blanc, *Le Mobilier Français, Moyen Âge et Renaissance* (Paris : Editions Charles Massin, 1999), 27-56.

techniques that became characteristic of French production in subsequent periods. Unlike later French furniture, surviving wood armatures of late medieval French furniture never feature decorative mounts in precious materials (though iron hinges and locks of wrought iron are often *tours de force* of gothic tracery), and ornament is carved directly into the oak panels rather than applied in the manner of veneer.

It should be said that this whole body of material is deeply questionable. Many examples of “gothic” carved furnishings are obviously composed of carved panels removed from choir and rood screens and reassembled into the semblances of domestic furniture (a practice the antique market calls “boiling up”), later carvings on older wood boards, or just simply fakes based on furniture depicted in medieval miniature paintings.¹⁹⁷ Records from the court of Burgundy suggest that this body of furniture does reflect in its broad outlines the court furnishings of the preceding century, which were dominated by objects of low intrinsic worth, whatever their aesthetic qualities. Upon the death of Margaret of Flanders, the inventory of the copious furniture made for Germolles describes the objects in surprising detail. Like surviving examples from around the year 1500, the wooden furniture in the inventory, including chairs, do not appear to have elaborate ornaments made of precious metals or materials. They were, however, painted with flower motifs and sheep against brilliantly painted grounds.¹⁹⁸ The painting on the furniture was likely a linseed oil similar to that used on the walls of the interior of Germolles itself.¹⁹⁹ Linseed oil, to this day a polishing agent for high-sheen wood stains, lent the colors a rich saturated appearance and a slick, shiny

¹⁹⁷ Anja Grebe, « Mikroarchitektur und Möbel - Ornament, Form, Konzept, » in *Mikroarchitektur im Mittelalter: ein gattungübergreifendes Phänomen zwischen Realität und Imagination : Beiträge der gleichnamigen Tagung im Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg vom 26. bis 29. Oktober 2005*, Albrecht Uwe & Christine Kratzke ed.; (Leipzig: 2006), 519-533. John Harris, *Moving Rooms, the Trade in Architectural Salvages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 173.

¹⁹⁸ Deshaines *Documents et Extraits diverses Concernant l'Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre, l'Artois, e le Hainault avant le XVe Siècle*, 904.

¹⁹⁹ Beck *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age*, 73-81.

surface similar to lacquer. The other major form of adornment on this furniture found in this inventory were nailed-on upholstery, pillows and slip-on seat covers called *banquiers*.²⁰⁰ Both types of covering were made of deluxe cloth and covered in embroidery. Conceived as structural armatures meant to be covered with fabric, wood furniture was relatively modest. It respected a budget that was responsible for the upkeep and furnishing of many places simultaneously and ceded pride of place to fabrics that were more easily removed and locked into treasuries during prolonged absences from a house.

Surviving French furniture, with its bulky contours and inexpensive decorative treatment, are precisely what should be expected from nomadic royals. It responded to the same set of internal logics that created stockrooms for tapestry and disposable tableware. If a nomadic court lavished great attention and resources to create opulent but heavy furniture in expensive materials, they would be compelled to carry it around with them and endure the cost and security risk or lock it up and have no furniture to sit on most of the time. They thus chose a different strategy. Because it would be cost prohibitive to make many sets of luxurious furniture, they normally furnished their houses with pieces that were relatively simple and cheap to make. Lacking fixtures made of precious materials like silver or ivory, chairs, tables, and benches could be left in place without fear that they would be stolen or dismembered when the dynast was away from a particular palace. This relative cheapness furthermore ensured that large furnishings like buffets, tables, and chairs would not have to be stored in the most high-security storerooms and crowd for space with other, smaller objects made of precious materials. Their great bulk also ensured that they were unlikely to vanish from the apartments during long absences.

²⁰⁰ Deshaines *Documents et Extraits diverses Concernant l'Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre, l'Artois, e le Hainault avant le XV^e Siècle*, 904-905.

Seen from this point of view, the complete disappearance of early Valois furniture comes into focus as a function their adaptation to the lifestyle and concerns of nomadic rulers. Unlike contemporary ecclesiastical patrons, whose church furniture and paneling brought woodwork, especially carving, to a great state of refinement, Valois dynasts did not lavish patronage and attention on decorative woodworking as an art form. The relative simplicity and low status of objects made in this milieu was not conducive to preservation. Wooden furniture was likely destroyed immediately when it broke, became worn, or became archaic, and lacking ornamental appliques that may have warranted preservation, the whole body of material has disappeared completely.

That is not to say that medieval nomadic court cultures were incapable of making magnificent pieces of furniture. The colossal black marble table permanently affixed to the dais of the Palais de la Cité demonstrate that nomadic royals could command the creation of monumental furniture in an especially high-profile and symbolically important place.²⁰¹ In general, however, the domestic furniture made for nomadic royal courts in fourteenth-century France was a physical armature made to be covered. When in use, the wooden elements of chairs and benches were covered with removable pillows or upholstery and backed and roofed with *dossiers* and *ciels* of extraordinary richness and symbolic loading. Trestle tables likewise functioned under cloaks of linen table cloths and sideboards when in use hid beneath embroidered runners and displays of luxury plate. Perhaps this is why Edward I's commission for a sumptuous bronze chair ultimately fell through. While he initially caved to his court artist's suggestion to make an elaborate chair in bronze, the notion of vesting the physical armature of a chair with costly material and artistry was

²⁰¹ Herveleine Delhumeau, *Le palais de la Cité, Du Palais des rois de France au Palais de Justice*, (Arles : éd. Actes Sud), 2011, 61.

too a foreign concept to a royal on the road to come to fruition, especially as the bills began to pile up. For the man who wrote the check, furniture was at best the physical support for the fabrics that could be curated and selectively moved, materials that lay at the crosshairs of the royal imagination of magnificence.

Conclusions

Folio 93v, of the Milan-Turin Hours, otherwise known as the *Très Belles Heures du Duc de Berry*, sets the infancy of John the Baptist within a contemporary home in the Burgundian State (IMAGE 29). The room is dominated by a bed with a canopy and drapes suspended from the ceiling. The valences that trim the poles of this complicated rigging are still creased from a long period locked in a box. Such a box, robust and roughly made, stands open in the middle ground between the bed and a woman sat upon a three-legged chair. Flung open, the box reveals its contents of bedroom linens and little bark boxes. The woman's chair hides beneath a gorgeous pillow of a blue *perse*, but its modest aesthetic dimensions are evinced by a matching chair on the opposite side of the room. In room's center stands a blocky wooden table adorned with carved tracery and a decorated lock. Upon it sits a variety of quotidian materials. A brass *dinanderie* pitcher, a pair of simple glasses, and low vessel occupy the top shelf, while a brass candlestick, basket, and rough-made terracotta pitcher the lower. Another pitcher of rough terracotta stands on the window seat above the draped and pillowed bench in the background. The humdrum tableware within reach of the room's inhabitants contrasts to the splendid collection of silver and silver-gilt decanters, plates, and candlesticks above a door, beyond which the quiet duties of domestic life continue apace.

When Hand G, often considered to be Jan van Eyck, set about crafting this image, they delivered intimacy to a maternal experience through material culture familiar to nomadic courts –

its rough-made terracotta and glass, its lush but storage-wrinkled cloth, its stocky furniture. To original audiences, the presence of an exquisitely-dressed woman in the maternal chamber also gestured to the travels that connected elite families and allowed them to remain present in each other's lives. One such journey brought Margaret of Artois to Dijon to attend the *couche* or lying-in of her granddaughter Margaret of Flanders and to celebrate the birth of John the Fearless.²⁰²

For art historians, a study of the logistics, ideologies, and attendant material culture of nomadism enriches an encounter with an image like the *Birth of John the Baptist* from the Milan-Turin Hours. Art historians are trained to imagine the courts as the domain of exuberant display of precious materials. Unfamiliar with the material culture of late medieval nomadic courts, we do not register this image, with its simple glassware, kiln-blackened terracotta pitchers, or humble three-legged chairs in the Milan-Turin Hours as a representation of residences familiar to the royal patron of this miniature, John, Duke of Holland.²⁰³ Trained to ignore this material, we miss many of the dynamics by which objects give meaning to this image. More broadly, attending to Valois nomadism as an act that played out in real life and its material culture has opened doors to an unimagined set of tools by which Valois Princes of the Blood managed their public images and told stories about themselves through objects and spaces. For historians of courts, urban cultures, and the agricultural economy, it has also called attention to the mixed and open quality of the court. A nomadic court was an opportunity for people of all walks of life, from the goldsmith doing repairs to banged-up cups to the carter who carried wine and the farmer's wife who made extra money selling milk when the court was in town.

²⁰² ADCO B. 1435 26r.

²⁰³ Albert Châtelet, *Jan van Eyck enlumineur: les Heures de Turin et de Milan-Turin* (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 1993), 28.

Chapter 2 Royal Palaces for a Nomadic Court

This chapter follows two building projects at the Louvre and Vincennes, two major residences in the immediate neighborhood of Paris. From the early 1360's to the death of Charles V, the twelfth-century castle of the Louvre gained small-scale aggrandizements while the Château de Vincennes transformed into a massive, geometrically-organized tower-city. United by a common patron and a set of concerns rooted in elite nomadism, the structures and their attendant landscapes developed on different courses. This chapter therefore follows the construction projects in stages to draw attention to the quiet influence of court nomadism as it guided the decision-making processes on the worksites. It opens with the Louvre and Vincennes as they stood in the childhood and adolescence of Charles V, and investigates the impact of the patterns of motion of Charles V and his predecessors on his decision to intervene there. The workshop of Raymond Temple, the master mason of Charles V, crafted solutions to site-specific problems that incorporated a generalized set of parameters for the acceptable cost, extent, and timeline for a residential construction project. The decorations of Vincennes and the Louvre shared a set of common features with the travel hardware of elite nomadism, some of which developed as sign posts to help courtiers situate themselves in potentially unfamiliar residences. The chapter will close with a consideration of how a multiplicity of houses and other aspects of itinerant practice directed the incorporation of ideologically-rich decorative elements into the built environment.

Several themes of a mobile built environment become apparent through this narrative. As a regime of life, court nomadism produced customary uses and expectations for space. The inexorable and ideologically-driven impulse to move the court on a regular basis governed all aspects of building for the court of Charles V, from the choice of sites to the types of intervention, the scale of works, and the adornment of space with ideologically meaningful ornaments. A

comparison of two sites, the Louvre and Vincennes, demonstrates that Valois versions of elite nomadism produced an approach to space that mirrored the approach to material culture discussed in the previous chapter. Nomadic court societies were inherently practical and flexible. They were accustomed to and indeed expected contradiction and simultaneity in their built environment. Yet with a common set of building blocks composed of types of spaces, decorative media, and resonant ideologies, builders working for the court of Charles V assembled site-specific solutions that scattered ideological touchstones of their patron in different places. They created and passed between residences and landscapes that exhibit both marked contrasts and points of regularity. In doing so, they created a series of houses that only ever represented part of their vision of elite status and rule, and a picture of royal identity was only complete when joined to the other sites in the itinerancy circuit and activated through movement on river and road.

Locating the Palace

In 1364, the Louvre and the Château de Vincennes had undergone contrasting histories and previous uses but were united by one essential feature: their location promised swift ingress and egress for a mobile court. As the panel painting *Pietà de Saint Germain des Prés* demonstrates (IMAGE 1 A&B), The Louvre was (and is) a riverside site on the western fringe of Paris, ensuring easy access by barge. Vincennes stood a short three miles from the Port-Saint-Antoine, the main eastern gate of Paris and was the closest exurban castle to the city that featured a park (IMAGE 2). A walk of little over an hour from Vincennes to the city, the court could easily move to Vincennes for brief stays and conduct business that required the input of bureaucrats and lawyers from the capital. To judge from Froissart's account of travel among Parisian and extra-urban residences, it

appears that the kings of France found barges to be a convenient way to move between palaces.²⁰⁴ Close proximity to water is shared by most of Charles V's most frequently visited residences. In Paris, Charles V inherited the Palais de la Cité, bound by two arms of the Seine, and developed the Hôtel Saint Pol, which faced onto the Quai des Celestines in the Marais. Hinterland estates that Charles V chose to develop, including Saint Germaine-en-Laye, Melun, and Creil also face onto the Seine and its navigable tributaries. When Charles V chose sought sites to inhabit and develop, he chose those that fostered motion by a method of travel in which he was invested.

The convenient access offered by water travel encouraged the development of the built environments of the Louvre and Vincennes before the onset of Charles V's reign. The riverside palace of the Louvre that Charles V knew in his childhood and adolescence was part of the legacy of Parisian urbanism instantiated by Philip Augustus and elaborated by later rulers. Philip Augustus is best known for his conquest of most Angevin domains on the continent. He also undertook an ambitious building campaign in Paris, fostering its transition from a mid-sized regional city to the showpiece of royal ascendance and an expansionist polity. Among these projects were the paving of the city streets, the reconstruction of the Chatelet on the Petit Pont, and the construction of new marketplaces on the Right Bank. In 1183 Philip purchased Paris's fairs from the monastery of Saint Lazare. He built two covered markets – Les Halles – and surrounded the whole complex with a stone wall.²⁰⁵ Philip's rule also coincided with almost the whole project

²⁰⁴ In his addition to the *Grande Chroniques de France*, Froissart mentions that Charles V and the Emperor Charles IV travelled between the Palais de la Cité and the Louvre and the Louvre and the Hôtel Saint-Pol by barge. Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit*, 215-216, 223.

²⁰⁵ Robert-Henri Bautier, « Paris au temps de Philippe Auguste, » *L'enceinte et le Louvre de Philippe Auguste*, ed. MM. Maurice Berry et Michel Fleury (Alençon : Imprimerie Alençonnais, 1988), 26-28.

for the reconstruction of the Cathedral de Notre Dame, though the disappearance of its building records renders the extent of his direct patronage obscure.²⁰⁶

The Louvre was a central element of the civic building of Philip Augustus, serving as the riverside western terminus of his new city wall. On the Right Bank, Philip Augustus called for a 2600-meter-long wall between 1190 and 1209. Composed of limestone rubble infill and faced on the exterior with limestone ashlar 2.8 meters thick, it rose between six and eight meters and was capped with a crenelated parapet and a walkway. At 60-meter intervals stood cylindrical towers ten meters in diameter and fifteen meters high.²⁰⁷ The new wall arced in a semicircle away from the Seine and back to it, meeting it in the east at the Tour Barbeau and at the west at the Tour du Coin. During times of insecurity chains could be stretched across the Seine between towers on either side of the river. The king paid for a new, less ambitious wall on the Left Bank, which rose in stages between 1200 and 1220.²⁰⁸ Together, the rebuilt walls of Paris stretched over seven kilometers.²⁰⁹

Michel Fleury suggests that the building program of Philip Augustus served practical strategic ends. Before the conquests of 1215, Philip's Angevin enemies occupied the Vexin and the fastnesses of Gisors and Chateau Galliard downstream of Paris. He interprets the position of the Louvre on the northwest bank of the river as evidence of strategic concerns, namely the desire to bar hostile English forces access to the Seine. Positioned on the north bank of the river, the wall

²⁰⁶ Henry Kraus, *Gold was the Mortar: the Economics of Cathedral Building* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2002), 4-5.

²⁰⁷ Maurice Berry, "The Philip Augustus Wall," in *L'enceinte et le Louvre de Philippe Auguste*, ed. MM. Maurice Berry et Michel Fleury (Alençon : Imprimerie Alençonnais, 1988), 200.

²⁰⁸ Simone Rue, *Paris in the Middle Ages*, trans. Jo Ann McNamara (Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 9-10.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

and Louvre guarded the hitherto open settlement. Fleury suggests that Philip Augustus trusted the fortified abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés to guard the southern bank of the river.²¹⁰

Michel Fleury draws attention to the precedent of London for this project of city fortification. After 1066, William the Conqueror placed the Tower of London downstream of the main settlement as the focal point of its line of walls. Medieval texts appear to mirror this equation. A receipt rendered to Philip Augustus's *chambre des comptes* in 1202 describes the Louvre complex as the "Turrus Parisius," the Tower of Paris.²¹¹ Yet in conjuring the precedent of the Tower of London for the formation of this structure, Fleury draws attention to the narrow scope of his view of secular and civic architecture in the twelfth century. If the Louvre was a new foundation and lacked ancient establishment and the association with Roman imperialism of the Tower of London, they shared a multifunctional role as fastness, as residence, prison, and a symbol of royal prestige and dominion.²¹²

Like the Tower of London, the Louvre gathered potent symbolic overtones and after its completion swiftly developed functions beyond the strictly strategic. Its donjon or *Grosse Tour* especially resonated as a powerful symbol of royal majesty and legal authority. This function encouraged its use as the prototype for other "Châteaux philippiens" throughout Philip Augustus's enlarged domains, including at sites as dispersed as Dourdan, Yèvre-le-Chatel, Montruiel-sur-Mer, Péronne, Villeneuve-sur-Yonne, and perhaps also at Saumur.²¹³ Given the

²¹⁰ Michel Fleury « Le Louvre de Philippe Auguste » in *L'enceinte et le Louvre de Philippe Auguste*, ed. MM. Maurice Berry et Michel Fleury (Alençon : Imprimerie Alençonnais, 1988), 140.

²¹¹ Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier, *Le Premier Budget de la Monarchie Française. Le Compte Général de 1202-1203* (Paris : Bibliographie de Lecole des Hautes Etudes, Ive Section, fasc 259, 1932), pp 117 et CLIII. « Et post, pro facienda turri et de ballio turris Parisius, XII c 1. » ; Cited in Fleury 1988, 140, 158.

²¹² Creighton 2002, 138.

²¹³ John Baldwin, *Philippe Auguste et son gouvernement - Les fondations du pouvoir royal en France au Moyen Âge*, traduit de l'anglais par Béatrice Bonne, préface de Jacques Le Goff (Paris : Fayard, 1991) 380-386. ; Philippe Bragard, « Essai sur la diffusion du château "philippien" dans les principautés lotharingiennes au xiii^e siècle », *Bulletin Monumental, Société française d'archéologie* 157 (1999) 141-167. ; Histoire du Louvre, 55.

Louvre's strong tower and convenient position near the waterside across from the Palais de la Cité, Philippe le Bel transferred the royal treasury to its donjon in 1295, emplacing an administrative function of great prestige on the site.²¹⁴ Within later French jurisprudence, the highest rung of feudal landholders occupied a category called *du Château du Louvre* or *de la grosse tour du Louvre*.²¹⁵ Fleury claims that the *grosse tour* was written into the wording of feudal vows themselves, with vassals making their vows "because of the *grosse tour du Louvre*."²¹⁶ Even city walls have emerged in modern scholarship as multivalent structures that evade pigeonholing as simple "fortification." They variously conjured notions of civic pride and seigneurial power, physically separated the legally privileged city from its suburbs, and served as barriers for traffic between commercial hubs and travelers from outside.²¹⁷

The riverside position of the Louvre ensured that it served as an aristocratic residence almost as soon as the progress of works rendered it habitable. After Philip Augustus defeated John of England in 1214, he housed his rebellious vassal Ferrand, Count of Flanders, in the Louvre until the count's supporters could drum up a ransom.²¹⁸ In medieval French practice, aristocratic prisoners were normally housed in residences that were not currently in use, ensuring that there was limited distinction between aristocratic prison and dwelling.²¹⁹ The fragmentary itineraries of early kings of France demonstrate that kings used the Louvre as a court site. Charles IV in

²¹⁴ Genevieve Bresc-Bautier et Guillaume Fonkenell, *Histoire du Louvre, Tome 1*, 70.

²¹⁵ Duchemin de Villiers, *Historiques sur la Ville et le pays de Laval en la Province du Maine, ave des explications élémentaires et théorétiques en faveur des personnes qui n'ont pas vécu sous l'ancien régime et qui désirent le connaître* (Laval, Imprimerie de J. Feille-Grandpre 1837) : 4, 8.

²¹⁶ Michel Fleury and Venceslas Kruta, *The Medieval Castle of the Louvre* (Paris, Editions Atlas, 1989): 41.

²¹⁷ For an extensive discussion of this phenomenon, see two published volumes of articles. Michael Wolfe, ed. *Walled Towns and the Shaping of France: From the Medieval to the Early Modern Era* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009). Catherine A. M. Clarke, ed. *Mapping the Medieval City: Space, Place, and Identity in Chester ca. 1200 – 1600* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011).

²¹⁸ Fleury and Kruta, *The Medieval Castle of the Louvre*, 51.

²¹⁹ Charles V's own father dwelt in the Savoy Palace, Somerton Castle, Windsor Palace, and the Tower of London while captive in England.

particular resided with some frequency at the Louvre, and stayed there in December of 1331, February of 1332, December of 1336.²²⁰ Before Charles V's rule, the Louvre also found use as a site for ceremonies of fealty and assemblies, a function that explains the castle's inclusion within feudal vows and legal niceties.²²¹ In 1303, Philippe le Bel met Boniface VIII at the Louvre, which documents call a "demeure royale."²²² Ten years later, jousts took place at the Louvre and the castle served as the reception site for the ceremonial entrance of ladies to the joust's festivities.²²³ The castle's prominence within the residential circuit and performance of French kingship encouraged the development of a ring of aristocratic residences, including the Hôtel de Petit Bourbon, the Hôtel de Petit Alençon, the Hôtel de la Rue de Fosse aux Chiens, and the Hôtel d'Artois.

In the first half of the fourteenth century, the Louvre became a residence closely associated with the minor heirs of the realm, ensuring that Charles V was deeply intimate with the site as Duke of Normandy, Dauphin, and regent. Jean the Good resided there as crown prince, and unpublished documents from the regency of Charles V uncovered during this dissertation research demonstrate that he continuously returned there between 1358 and 1360.²²⁴ Philip's brother Louis, the Duke of Anjou, also resided in the Louvre in 1356 as the lieutenant when his elder brother the Dauphin took a tour of the provinces. Indeed, the receipts of Pierre Culdoe, *chatelaine* of the

²²⁰ Hughes-Daniel Chaubert and Claude Herdesant, *Pieces Fugitives pour servir a L'Histoire de France avec des notes historiques et géographiques Tome i. Partie Premiere* (Paris, Hughes-Daniel Chaubert and Claude Herdesant 1756), 88, 91.

²²¹ Fleury and Kruta, *The Medieval Castle of the Louvre*, 51.

²²² Bautier and Konkenell, *Histoire du Louvre, Tome 1*, 70.

²²³ *Ibid* 71.

²²⁴ He resided there in January 1358 (AN JJ 90 15v); February 1358 (AN JJ 87 104r, 109r); March 1358 (AN JJ 87 104r, 106v); April 1358 (AN JJ 87 112r); October 1358 (AN JJ 87 78v); November 1358 (AN JJ 87 81r); December 1358 (AN JJ 90 13v); January 1359 (AN JJ 90 205r); April 1359 (AN JJ 90 181r); May 1359 (AN JJ 86 65r); June 1359 (AN JJ 90 107r); July 1359 (AN JJ 87 153r); August 1359 (AN JJ 87 126r, 235r, 237v); September 1359 (AN JJ 87 127v); October 1359 (AN JJ 87 148v, 149v), November 1359 (AN JJ 90 102v); and December 1359 (AN JJ 87 155v).

Louvre, suggest that Louis managed or even called for the first works at the Louvre in the name of Dauphin Charles in 1363.²²⁵

Like the Louvre, the Château de Vincennes of the mid-fourteenth century was the product of a long history of accretions and evolving uses. Where the Louvre developed out of a city fortification project, Vincennes developed into a royal residence as a function of the Bois de Vincennes, the main hunting ground used by the king. Its prominence derived from the fact that it was the closest forest to Paris rather than the largest or most well adapted to the chase on the outset of its use. The Bois de Vincennes had borne royal associations since the Merovingian period. Documents of the six to ninth century demonstrate that the kings of the Franks held property in the area around Vincennes.²²⁶ A royal charter dated to 1037 lent the abbey of Saint-Maur-des-Fosses the right to remove firewood from the forest, lending a *terminus ante quem* for the placement of the castle under royal dominion. Louis VII extended similar rights to the abbey of Montmartre in 1134, Saint-Lazare around 1154, and the convent of Grandmontains 1158-1164. This monastic house was installed within the forest itself and remained in place through the seventeenth century, as demonstrated in plans from the time of Louis XIV (IMAGE 3).²²⁷

The first attested wall of the park rose in 1183, after which its function as a hunting reserve is frequently attested in surviving records. Documents from the reign of Henry II demonstrate the movement of roe and fallow deer caught in the forests of Aquitaine and Normandy, a process that continued under Philip Augustus.²²⁸ Philip Augustus sought to exert a monopoly over the park's

²²⁵ Bautier and Konkenell *Histoire du Louvre, Tome 1*, 72.

²²⁶ Josaine Barbier, « Le Palais de Nogent et les Résidences Merovingiennes de L'est Parisienne, » in *Vincennes aux Origines de l'Etat Moderne*, ed. Jean Chapelot et Elizabeth Lalou (Paris, Presses de L'Ecole Normale Supérieure, 1996), 1- 9.

²²⁷ Ibid, 25-26.

²²⁸ François Delaborde, *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste* tome 1 22 (Paris : Librairie Renouard, H. Loones, 1885), 34. ; Cited in Jean-Pascal Foucher, « Le Bois de Vincennes de l'IXe

hunting and wood resources. He chartered guarantees of yearly incomes to monastic establishments associated with the forest on the condition that they forfeited their rights to the park and its resources. He also purchased much of the land associated with the abbey of Grandmontains and enclosed it within a wall and ditch. The enclosure of a park, stocking with animals, and legal alienation land from use by wider communities reflects wider developments in aristocratic land use in the late twelfth century, when numerous nobles, especially those of Normandy, invested in land to create hunting reserves. Louis VII and his heirs visually underscored the prestige of their park by affording it walls of stone rather than wood palisades and ditches more commonly encountered in contemporary park pales.²²⁹

The instantiation of the park as an aristocratic preserve involved continuous maintenance. The land within the park pale offered captive animals both dense tree cover and open meadows. Documents from the courts of thirteenth-century kings demonstrate the rigorous management that went into this contained landscape. Reapers worked on the meadows in summer to prepare hay for the use of captive animals in the winter. By the middle of the fourteenth century, park staff recorded sales and cutting within the Bois de Vincennes, likely to ensure that the park always retained a ready supply of large timber. In 1239, the king built a *vivier* or fishpond outside the park pale near the village of Saint Mandé. This *vivier* only stood beyond the pale for forty years, and was incorporated into an expanded park wall between 1274 and 1276.²³⁰

The care taken by successive generations of French kings demonstrates the importance of this site to their mode of self-presentation and rule. It should be of little surprise. Anglophone

au XVe siècle » in *Vincennes aux Origines de l'Etat Moderne*, ed. Jean Chapelot et Elizabeth Lalou (Paris, Presses de L'Ecole Normale Supérieure, 1996), 27.

²²⁹ Foucher « Le Bois de Vincennes de l'IXe au XVe siècle, » 28.

²³⁰ *Ibid*, 29.

castle archaeologists have emphasized the importance of forests and hunting preserves to medieval aristocrats. On one level, owning a labor-intensive and frequently costly feature like a deer park exemplified aristocratic status, and Robert Liddiard has gone so far as to call the deer park the, “*sine quo non* of aristocratic rank.”²³¹ Parks, surrounded by their pales and protected by draconian forest laws, emphasized the special status accorded to the ruling class. Hunting semi-captive deer, waterfowl, and boar on horseback required great physical exertion, and knights hunted as an aspect of their professional training.²³² While officially not sanctioned by the church, high clergymen of aristocratic families often hunted and frequently included deer parks on their estates to entertain lay nobles who visited them during their travels.²³³ Hunting also touched upon current moral and religious discourses. Aleksander Pluskowski has noted, “the aristocracy emerged as a self-conscious ‘predatory’ class; skill in the art of hunting came to define the knight *par excellence*.”²³⁴ Liddiard claims that hunting could be upheld as an appropriate aristocratic pastime on the grounds that it presumably helped nobles avoid sin by keeping busy and because Western Christianity held that humans wielded dominion over the biological world by divine mandate.²³⁵ Other scholars have noted that the chase could stand as a metaphor for spiritual progress, and participated in conversion narratives like that of Saint Eustace.²³⁶

The close links between parkland, the hunt, and aristocratic status ensured that it was a frequent site for royal visits. In turn, the presence of successive rulers on the site heightened its

²³¹ Robert Liddiard, *Designs upon the Land*, 106.

²³² *Ibid.*, 105-106.

²³³ Dominic Barker, Ryan Lash, Kristian Strutt, “Knole: Sport, Labour, and Social Contest,” in Johnson, M. (ed.) *Lived Experience in the Later Middle Ages. Studies of Bodiam and Other Elite Landscapes in South-Eastern England*. (Southampton: University of Southampton, 2017), 123-124.

²³⁴ Aleksander Pluskowski, “The Social Construction of Medieval Park Ecosystems: an Interdisciplinary Perspective,” in *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* ed. Robert Liddiard (Bollington: Windgather Press, 2007), 63-64.

²³⁵ Liddiard, *Designs upon the Land*, 105.

²³⁶ Barker, “Knole: Sport, Labour, and Social Contest,” 123-124.

power to evoke the ideologies of the French royal house. Perhaps the most important king associated with the site was Louis IX. Records of the king's itineraries, namely the wax tablet of Jean Sarrazin for the years 1256-1257 and two accounts fragmentary household accounts dated to 1234 and 1239, demonstrate that he stayed at the site with relative frequency.²³⁷ Of greater importance for the time of Charles V was the mythological association between Louis IX and the site. In his *Livre des Saintes Paroles et des Bons Faiz de Nostre Saint Roy Looÿs*, Jean de Joinville relays the memorable story of Louis IX hearing court cases under an oak tree. The story does double duty, simultaneously underscoring the character of the king as an approachable and just ruler, his association with the oak, a classical symbol of royalty, and his ascetic and saintly quality.²³⁸ The Louis IX also used Vincennes as a preliminary holding site for the ultimate relic of the French monarchy, the Crown of Thorns.²³⁹ Louis's association with the place ensured that the site itself served as a vector for memory of his rule.

For all the importance of hunting, parkland, and the memory of Saint Louis to the French monarchy, Charles V spent remarkably little time there before he became king. My archival research in the Archives Nationales uncovered only a single charter from his regency signed and dated in the *Nemus Vincenni*.²⁴⁰ The infrequent visits of the first dauphin to Vincennes did not stop the rapid development of other sites around the castle. As at the Louvre, the perimeter of Vincennes accrued a ring of aristocratic and royal residences over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The central castle of Vincennes, called the "Manoir" in contemporary documents, stood at the center of a cluster of associated buildings. To its immediate north stood Saint Mandé, a

²³⁷ Jean Richard, « Les itinéraires de saint Louis en Ile-de-France » in *Vincennes aux Origines de l'Etat Moderne*, ed. Jean Chapelot et Elizabeth Lalou (Paris, Presses de L'Ecole Normale Supérieure, 1996), 164.

²³⁸ Jean de Joinville, *Chronicle of the Crusade of Saint Louis, Book II* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1933), 149.

²³⁹ Jaques le Goff, Gareth Evan Golrad trans, *Saint Louis* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996), 428.

²⁴⁰ AN JJ 89 50v.

walled residence overlooking the eponymous pond that included suites of chambers, latrines, enclosures, a chapel, and a pigeon cote.²⁴¹ Philippe le Bel had constructed these structures as a part of expansion of the park between 1274-1276. They served as the base of operations for the concierge of Vincennes and the king's chancellery and as a residence for visiting dignitaries and for the heir to the throne.²⁴²

In addition to a main body of structures around the Manoir de Vincennes, the king held residences to the northwest of the main Château on the riverside at Carrieres and Chareton.²⁴³ Courtiers built their own residences near Vincennes to gain proximity to the king, including the residences of Grange aux Merciers (which the Duke of Berry would purchase in 1398), Conflans, house of the Duke of Burgundy, St. Maur, Montreuil, and Plaisance, another Burgundian holding (IMAGE 4).²⁴⁴ In 1373 Charles V purchased the palace of Plaisance from his brother Philip the Bold and gave it to his wife Joanna of Bourbon, adding this site to the royal itinerancy network. At the center of the park also stood the additional residence of Grandmontains, where it is attested by maps as late as the seventeenth century, while another intermural complex called Caves is attested in documents dated to 1353 and 1378.²⁴⁵

Castles as they Were

If the practicalities of Charles V's customs of nomadism – the preference to move by water when possible, the desire to dwell at the edge of Paris or in its immediate vicinity – determined which houses he would inhabit, his nomadic lifestyle also guided the development of sites as

²⁴¹ Jean-Pascal Foucher, « Le Bois de Vincennes et les Residences Royales et Aristocratiques de Peripherie » in *Dossiers D'Archaeologie* 289 (Dec. 2003 & Jan 2004), 124.

²⁴² Foucher « Le Bois de Vincennes et les Résidences Royales et Aristocratiques de Périphérie, » 124.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Steane has noted a similar layout for a cluster of interrelated residences around Windsor Palace. Steane, *Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy*. 83.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

architectural and symbolic complexes. The mechanism is fairly simple. As demonstrated above, easily-accessed sites like Vincennes and the Louvre witnessed frequent habitation, which in turn led to varied uses. The constant presence of members of the royal families (as well as arms of their government) on site in turn fostered the development of elaborate and symbolically-rich built environments. Frequent visitation by kings and members of the royal family also ensured that houses gained storied legacies over time. Elite nomadism therefore fosters a positive feedback loop. It directs the flow of ideologically-important features to specific sites. The arrival of features at a specific site (such as donjons, parks, religious structures, and elaborate interior adornments), serves as a further pull, engraining and entrenching it within the network of conveniently-accessed sites. Thus a king or dynast may use a site at a specific moment to take advantage of a specific feature of the built environment, but this feature arrived at that place largely because the site was convenient to the pathways of nomadic rulers in the first place.

This positive feedback loop unfolded at both the Louvre and Vincennes. The Louvre and the Château de Vincennes at the outset of Charles V's reign featured rich, textured visions of aristocratic rule and, despite their varying histories and use, remarkable similarities in plan and adornment. The Louvre was composed of an (roughly) square upper courtyard or *haut cour*, with an off-center donjon and a pair of lower our *basse cours* (IMAGE 5 A&B). The Louvre of Philip Augustus occupies the southwest quadrant of the current Cour Carrée of the Louvre Museum. Archaeological investigations in the Cour Carrée, first under Maurice Berry in 1865 and more extensively by Michael Fleury in preparation for Francois Mitterand's *Grande Louvre* project of the 1980's, demonstrated that the medieval Louvre was a quadrangle that featured cylindrical towers on its four corners and further cylindrical towers in the center of the north and west facades.

Towered gates occupied the center of the east and south facades. Excavations in 1987 uncovered a pillar within the moat, demonstrating the presence of a drawbridge in this position.²⁴⁶

In the northwest corner of the Upper Court of the Louvre stood the donjon, the emplacement of the royal treasury and the site of oaths of fealty to the king. Its height has been estimated at around 36 meters from the base of its tapering socle to the tip of its conical roof. The donjon stood within a dry ditch of its own and could be accessed by its own drawbridge on its south-southwestern flank. The interior of this structure is poorly understood. Michel Fleury's excavations in 1987-1988 uncovered a deep well and cistern in the donjon's basement.²⁴⁷ The number of floors is unknown, but records transcribed by Henri Sauval suggests that the upper floors were served by a spiral stair built into the thickness of the wall.²⁴⁸

Michael Fleury's excavations of the *haut cour* of the Louvre also uncovered a range of structures against the east curtain wall which he interpreted as lodgings for the castle's garrison. He was not able to confidently reconstruct the interior disposition of these structures because they were razed to the basement level during Lemercier's building project for Louis XIV in the middle of the seventeenth century.²⁴⁹ He did recover a room on the south exposure, likely the *Salle Saint-Louis* encountered in medieval documents, which he believes to be a part of the original construction of Philip Augustus. The structures built by Lemercier in the middle of the seventeenth

²⁴⁶ Fleury « Le Louvre de Philippe Auguste, » 140.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Sauval "un grande vis ronde de pierre fermee en bas par une porte de fer epaisse et garnie de quantite de ferrures et de verrouils. » Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris, Tome 2* (Chez Charles Moette et Jacques Chardon : Paris, 1724),17. ; Cited in Alain Salamagne, « Lecture d'une symbolique seigneuriale : le Louvre de Charles V, » *Marquer la Ville, Signes, Traces, empreintes du Pouvoir* (XIIIe au XVI siecle), ed. Patrick Boucheron et Jean-Philippe Genet (Paris-Rome: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2013), 55.

²⁴⁹ Fleury, « Le Louvre de Philippe Auguste, » 148.

century stands upon the foundation of the castle's south wing, precluding its inclusion in Fleury's excavations, but he hypothesizes that the suite of rooms continued on this side of the structure.²⁵⁰

Like the Louvre, the architectural core of the Château de Vincennes, frequently called the “Manoir de Vincennes” in fourteenth-century documents, was composed of an (roughly) square upper courtyard or *haut cour* with an off-center donjon and a collection of outer buildings.²⁵¹ A plan of Vincennes drawn in 1654 by Louis le Vau clearly shows remnants of the thirteenth-century *haut cour* and demonstrate its striking similarity to the Louvre (IMAGE 6). Le Vau depicted the manor as a self-contained rectangle whose eastern exposure bulges slightly – hence its description as “quasi-quadratum in circumfrenia” in medieval documents.²⁵² The *haut cour* of the Manoir featured cylindrical corner towers (one of which remains in the Le Vau plan) and a robust gate to the east flanked by cylindrical towers. Like the Louvre the Manoir features a donjon, here displaced to a corner of the enclosure and square in plan. Locating the donjon in the corner allowed a monumental fountain with water piped in from the springs of Montreuil to occupy the center of the courtyard.²⁵³

As at the Louvre, the old manor featured a two-level hall called the “grant sale Monseigneur Saint Louys.”²⁵⁴ It also featured a chapel dedicated to Saint Martin, which Louis IX erected to house the crown of thorns before its removal to the Palais de la Cité. A spine from the crown remained in the chapel through the middle of the fourteenth century. Records of repair to this manor dated to 1365-1367 suggest that the manor also included suites of chambers and amenities

²⁵⁰ Fleury « Le Louvre de Philippe Auguste, » 146.

²⁵¹ Jean Chapelot, « Le Manoir : Une Residence Royale Medievale de Premier Plan, » in *Dossiers D'Archaeologie* 289 (Dec. 2003 & Jan 2004), 5-7.

²⁵² Cited in, Jean-Pascal Foucher, «*Genèse d'un espace Royal : Le Bois de Vincennes du Ixe au Debut du XVe Siecle*» Doctoral Dissertation at the Ecole Nationale des Chartes, 1995, 454.

²⁵³ The foundation of this fountain and the pipes that carried water from the heights of Montreuil were uncovered in the course of Jean Chapelot's excavations.

²⁵⁴ Chapelot « Le Manoir : Une Residence Royale Medievale de Premier Plan, » 7.

familiar from other royal residences. These included suites of chambers for the king and queen outfitted with a *chambre a parer* and *chambre*, a room called the “Chambre Saint Louis,” and a bathhouse.²⁵⁵

The adornment of the Louvre and the Manoir de Vincennes during the childhood and adolescence of Charles V also demonstrates important points of continuity. Fragments of material culture recovered at the Louvre demonstrate that this residence gathered the accoutrements of an aristocratic residence over time, especially after the middle of the thirteenth century. The *Salle Saint-Louis* of the Louvre appears to have been covered with a flat roof during its initial instantiation and received a palm vault with two columns at some point in the middle of the thirteenth century.²⁵⁶ The capitals of the columns and the corbels on the walls are elaborated with foliage and faces (IMAGE 7). The provision of this new support system for the hall likely sought to heighten the decorative effect of the room.²⁵⁷ Savaul’s transcriptions suggest that the walls of the *salle* featured paintings of verdure with figures of birds and deer.²⁵⁸ It appears that the Louvre received deluxe floors around the same time that the *Salle Saint Louis* was redecorated. Michel Fleury dated the tile floor found *in-situ* in the *Tour de la Taillerie* to second half of the thirteenth century (IMAGE 8). This floor features plain black and red tiles arranged in diaper patterns, but contemporaneous tiles found in the infill of the courtyard well feature embossed decoration (IMAGE 9). Some, such as the abstract flowers and geometrical forms like chevrons and stripes, appear to be ornamental, but others bear narrative scenes and the heraldic charges of the rulers of France. These include the castle, ensign of queen Blanche of Castile, and the omnipresent fleur de lis. Another tile features a tilting knight. It likely represents a joust, evoking a sport enthusiastically

²⁵⁵ Chapelot, « Le Manoir : Une Residence Royale Medievale de Premier Plan, » 7.

²⁵⁶ Fleury and Kruta, *The Medieval Castle of the Louvre*, 52.

²⁵⁷ Fleury, « Le Louvre de Philippe Auguste, » 148.

²⁵⁸ Sauval *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris, Tome 2*, 21.

adopted among wider aristocratic circles and known to have taken place at this site.²⁵⁹ Decorations uncovered in Jean Chapelot's excavations of 1999-2002 demonstrate that the manor's adornments offered a range of royal imagery that matches that of the Louvre tiles very closely. Encaustic tiles recovered from Vincennes depicted royal symbols like the fleur de lis and the castle of Blanche of Castille, the imperial eagle, and hunting imagery that evoked the centrality of hunting to the seigneurial lifestyle (IMAGE 10).²⁶⁰

Building Under a Nomadic Regime

As demonstrated above, Vincennes and the Louvre were already inhabited by French dynasts before Charles V. Across time, they became vested with structures of similar outlines and luxurious decorations that evoked aristocratic lifestyles and announced royal associations. While Francophone architectural history frequently present his commissions at the Louvre (for instance) as a break with previous use – the transformation of a fortress into a palace – in practice nomadic architectural patrons like Charles V avoided ruptures.²⁶¹ Nomadic patrons invest in building projects that extend while retaining essential, preexisting functions. The building projects of Charles V are therefore unified by a common set of assumptions about the appropriate scale, timeline, and cost of interventions, a set of assumptions unified by the practicalities of a nomadic lifestyle.

It is an old and specious cliché that monumental medieval buildings took long periods of time to construct. Decades sometimes elapsed between the beginning and achievement of work on

²⁵⁹ Bautier et Fonkenell, *Histoire du Louvre*, 70.

²⁶⁰ Catherine Carrierre-Desbois, Odette Chapelot, et Benedicte Rieth, « Les Carrelages du Manoir, » in *Dossiers D'Archaeologie* 289 (Dec. 2003 & Jan 2004), 18-25.

²⁶¹ See, for instance, Fleury and Kruta, *The Medieval Castle of the Louvre*, 55.; Monique Chatenet et Mary Whiteley, *Le Louvre de Charles V : dispositions et fonctions d'une résidence royale* *Revue de l'Art*, 1992, n°97. pp. 60-61. ; Anthony Emery, *Seats of Power in Europe during the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2016), 86.

great churches. Structures of superlative magnitude like as Santa Maria del Fiori in Florence or the Frauenkirche in Cologne functioned as active religious spaces for generations while parts of the structure were open to sun, snow, and infestation by plants and animals. Marvin Trachtenberg has argued that medieval builders planned and pursued their architectural commission on the assumption that they would take longer than a generation to complete. As he notes, masons working on large churches developed their plans for a structure over the course of years or even decades, a function he calls “myopic progression.” He characterizes this practice as a response to the basic reality of building on scales that stretched building across timespans in which style and technology changed.²⁶²

The tendency of church art to dominate scholarly conception of medieval society and its relation to art and architecture has ensured Trachtenberg characterized “building in time” not as an approach to specific types of commissions – ones that are relatively rare among the building projects of the thirteenth or fourteenth century – but a zeitgeist. Charles V’s approach to the interconnected sites of the Louvre and Vincennes suggest that mobile royal courts operated on a different set of assumptions and relationships to time than major ecclesiastical patrons. Above all, mobile courts preferred to rest in complete buildings that were not actively under construction and to use a building for as long as possible before they died. And if the act of construction itself is an announcement of royal presence and authority, the rising of masonry at a superlative speed is part of the grammar by which power is manifest.

Nomadic lifestyles compelled courtly builders to adopt readily-achievable building projects to ensure that a particular site did not permanently fall out of use. On the flip side, the

²⁶² Marvin Trachtenberg, *Building-in-Time: from Giotto to Alberti and Modern Oblivion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), XX-XXII.

large quantity of sites owned by a single dynast ensured that multiple building projects developed simultaneously or in succession further encouraging builders to develop programs of expansion that promised to unfold over a brief space of activity. Charles V's mobile lifestyle encouraged works at the Louvre, Vincennes, Creil, Saint Germaine en Laye, Fontainebleau, Compiègne, and Melun, to name a few of the more major sites.²⁶³ The loss of the building records of the Louvre and Vincennes in an accidental fire in 1737 has ensured that it will remain supposition, but it stands to reason that the relatively large body of construction sites ensured that Charles' *chambre de comptes* split resources between multiple places, requiring both rationing of current resources and planning practices that projected the goals of future revenue streams. The timelines of construction revealed by fragmentary transcriptions demonstrate that castles reached particular stages of construction as part of larger, intersite patterns. The additions to the Louvre was most active between 1364 and 1367 and the slow tapering of investment in the Louvre thereafter was matched in a massive new campaign of works at Vincennes.²⁶⁴

For a nomadic dynast, the disruption of a worksite could be met with a variety of strategies. Some strategies fell upon the builders, including the design of interventions that were small in scale, of a type that would not fully disrupt the use of the site, and achievable on a compressed timeline. At the Louvre, this translated into small-scale expansions of existing buildings, the construction of new wings in unoccupied space, and the reuse of as much ready-made material as possible. Various authors have proffered hypothetical plans for the flow of space of the Louvre at the beginning of Charles V's reign that formed the basis of his construction project. Mary Whiteley and Alain Salamagne have analyzed Fleury's archaeological work, the account books of Charles

²⁶³ Stephane William Gondoin, *Chateaux Forts de la Guerre de Cent Ans* (Paris : Histoire et Collections, 2007), 40-46.

²⁶⁴ Bautier et Fonkenell 2016, 79.

V's accountant Pierre Culdoe published by M. le Roux Lincy in 1852, Henri Sauval's seventeenth-century archival research into the Louvre, and sixteenth-century records of demolition to offer hypothetical reconstructions of the Louvre's plan before work began on Charles V's projects.²⁶⁵ Salamagne reconstructs this structure as occupying three levels: below-ground level of cellars, a ground floor built at street level, and a second floor of residential suites. By childhood of Charles V, the wings were built against the interior walls of the squared *haute cour*.

The ground floor of the Louvre before the time of Charles V is poorly documented, and Salamagne identifies only two rooms, the *salle par terre* in the position of the modern *Salle Saint-Louis* and the chapel as a room behind the *tour de l'artillerie*. The second floor is more richly attested in the documentary record, allowing for a more complex plan. He proposed that a royal residence in which a masculine and feminine suite of rooms occupy this floor. The plan presents the masculine suite of the west wing as the nexus of the floor. In the reconstruction, a visitor could enter the masculine rooms from a *grand degre*, a straight ceremonial stairway covered with a roof. Salamagne has reconstructed the king's chambers as flowing from the *grand degre* to a terrace and thence to a *grande chambre*, a disposition based upon records of repair to the "chambre ou le roy souloit gesir," and the doorways between this space and the terrace.²⁶⁶ Salamagne argues that the mention of three other "chambres" belonging to the king suggests that the *grande chambre* was subdivided with a *garderobe*, a latrine, and another small *chambre*. Behind this room was another small *salle*. The masculine suite of rooms had privileged access to the *chappelle haute* and the *grande salle* via a room called in the records a *terrace*. In Salamagne's reconstruction, the feminine apartments of the north wing communicated with the *haute chapelle* and the *grand salle* only

²⁶⁵ Le Roux De Lincy. "Comptes Des Dépenses Faites Par Charles V Dans Le Château Du Louvre, Des Années 1364 à 1368." *Revue Archéologique* 8, no. 2 (1851): 670-91. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41741959>.

²⁶⁶ Alain Salamagne, « Le Louvre de Charles V, » in *Palais et son Décor au Temps de Jean de Berry* ed. Alain Salamagne (Tours : Presses Universitaires Francois-Rabelais, 210), 87-99.

through the courtyard but otherwise replicate the *chambre – garderobe – salle* disposition of the masculine chambers, with the addition of a *chambre* for children. He reconstructs the *terrasse*,²⁶⁷ *garderobe du roi, chambre de la reine, chambre des enfants*, and the kitchens as communicating with the lower stories via spiral stairs built into the corners of the towers. The spiral stair of the *tour de la taillerie* projects from the thickness of the wall in keeping with the image of the *Tres Riches Heures*, which shows a *vis* in this position as an engaged cylinder.

Salamagne argues that this “second floor” was likely only slightly elevated over the ground and stood well below the level of walk of the curtain wall.²⁶⁸ The second floor was covered with a tiled, gabled roof. The volume between the ceiling of the chapel and the pitched roof represented a third floor, accessible via the *terrasse* at the entrance of the masculine chambers and the spiral stair in the *tour de l’artillerie*. This third floor above the chapel was lit by windows, and Alain Salamagne argues that it represents a third domestic arrangement. He calls attention to precedents elsewhere for this type of arrangement, including the “chambres a galatas” that Jean the Good made above the Galerie Merciere in the Palais de la Cité in 1354 to lodge the Dauphin, Charles.²⁶⁹

Interventions into the Louvre during the reign of Charles V stood either on top of thirteenth-century structures or over parts of the structure that were not actively used by the king and queen. Over the corner towers, his master mason Raymond Temple erected two stories of “hault chambres,” and the south and west wing received a third story. Other elements stood next to old structures. Only the two pavilions on the east façade of the Louvre broke the original geometry of Philip Augustus’s Louvre. The ashlar blocks of these small towers lay against the old structure

²⁶⁷ In the medieval sense, *terrasse* probably designates an upper chamber rather than an elevated platform or exterior space. Bautier et Fonkenell 2016, 84.

²⁶⁸ Salamagne, « Le Louvre de Charles V, » 85.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

rather than dovetailing with it, a solution that is less structurally sound but minimized the need to demolish parts of the enceinte. Other new structures, namely a new, three story wing, stood against the north wall, on the opposite side of the court from existing residential units. This solution – building over and next to old buildings -is encountered throughout sites associated with nomadic dynasts in fourteenth century western Europe. Charles V's brother Jean de Berry's spectacular additions to Mehun-sur-Yèvre took place within the compass of its thirteenth-century party walls, especially the upper stories of its towers, while Edward III's new Windsor Palace developed within the more capacious space of its outer bailey.²⁷⁰

The authors of the *Histoire du Louvre* have noted that Raymond Temple's new construction project at the Louvre actually shifted the location of the royal apartments from the southwest portion of the building to the brand-new elements in the northwest. While the position of the most privileged rooms changed, the old suites of chambers in place. This solution had several underlying justifications within the mindset of nomadic aristocrats. The decoration of the old structures may have held useful symbolic significance to the king, and he may have been attached to buildings where he had spent much of his adolescence and childhood. Retaining the old wings ensured that the square footage of the building expanded as much as possible given the time and resources he was willing to allocate for the project. But likely most importantly, placing the new residence next to the unaltered or little-altered old residence assured that the Louvre could still function within Charles V's itinerancy network while works were in progress. His desire to occasionally reside at the Louvre likely explains the additive quality of the masonry of the east wing's new pavilions. Shaving down part of the curtain wall to fully integrate new and old elements at a residence would make the person of the king (not to mention the treasury and records office that remained in the

²⁷⁰ Emery *Seats of Power in Europe During the Hundred Years War*, 33-41, 234-236.

donjon) insecure if he decided to visit the site, making it an unfeasible option for an nomadic architectural patron.

The mobile court's desire to swiftly complete building projects informed the reuse of ready-made building elements and led court agents to conceive the wider built environment as a body of materials for the taking. Raymond Temple sourced some of the stones for the steps of the grand staircase of *grande vis* of the Louvre from the cemetery of the Saints-Innocents across the river. It is difficult to imagine this act of vandalism as symbolically loaded, and the authors of the *Histoire du Louvre* suggest that the length for the slabs required for the steps – 6.5 feet and 7 feet – made sourcing a problem.²⁷¹ The presence of such stones in the cemetery demonstrates that quarries in the Paris region were able to produce slabs of monumental size, so the driving concern behind the reuse of the tombs was probably time, a precious resource for a dynast whose network of itinerancy fragmented as a result of invasive building projects. The amount of time required to conduct the delicate task of exhuming and transporting massive slabs of limestone from the quarry without shattering them made it an unappetizing proposition, encouraging Raymond Temple to find other sources to help him bring his project to swift completion. As it were, the Cemetery of the Saints-Innocents was less than eight hundred meters from the Louvre, meaning the materials could be swiftly gathered and easily transported once the relevant authorities allowed their removal.

The mobility of the court also ensured that construction projects at one residence effected the built environments of others. Sauval notes that the rotating book lecterns, benches, and other furniture in the Louvre's library came from the Palais de la Cité. Moving furniture across the river

²⁷¹ Bautier et Fonkenell, *Histoire du Louvre*, 79.

from the Palais de la Cité into the Louvre saved time as well as the cost of building new furniture and reflects the mobile court's desire to see a construction project swiftly completed. The decision to house the majority of the royal library at the Louvre may have also obviated the symbolic potency and day-to-day usefulness of the library in the Palais de la Cité. In either case, the completion of the Louvre coincided and indeed depended in part upon a partial disassembly or reorganization of the contents of the Palais, which came to functioned as a resource pool for the construction project at the Louvre. Taken as a whole, it could be said that the achievement of a program at the Louvre altered its relationship to the Palais de la Cité, which in turn encouraged further alterations in the built environment of the Palais.

The shape of the new Louvre demonstrates a series of practical choices for the mobile court. Putting new stories above the old buildings was acceptable because, although it made the old building uninhabitable for a time, there were other residences nearby that could take the slack. The modest scale of the interventions ensured it could be completed in the brief building seasons between 1364 and 1372, a tight schedule that ensured that Charles would be able to use the house during his lifetime. This compressed timeline ensured that builders perceived and solved complex spatial problems swiftly compared to the generations-long evolution of church plans that Trachtenberg encountered in his research. At the Louvre, the main stairwell was the main snare in the design. It was traditional to include a straight stair or *degre* to the great hall of a castle, but the Louvre's hall, likely around 30 meters long, was small compared to more impressive structures in other royal castles and stood at or slightly lifted above ground level.²⁷² The solution was to add a major ceremonial stair to the king's new suite of chambers on the third story of the new north wing. This solution bore its own problems. The wing was built against the dry moat of the donjon,

²⁷² Chatenet et Whiteley, « Le Louvre de Charles V, » 64.

meaning a straight stair or *degré* could not fit. Undaunted, Raymond Temple appears to have called for the construction of a foundation for a structure before fully conceiving his eventual solution: a monumental *vis* or spiral stair that projected from the wing rather than built into the thickness of its wall.²⁷³ Given that the sculptural program of the *grande vis* depicts the royal family before the birth of Charles VI, Raymond Temple and his team of masons must have designed the stair before the birth of Charles V's son in 1368, giving him at most four years to decide its elevation.

If all else failed and disruptive building was deemed necessary at a site, Charles V chose not to reside there while the worst of the effects were currently in progress. Charles Delaschel noted that Charles V's investment in new construction at the Louvre is not matched by a parallel emphasis in his itinerancy network, and claims that the court rarely dwelt there, leading him to believe that it was a show-place more than a functioning residence.²⁷⁴ This curious disjoint between resource investment and time in residence is likely due to a distaste for dwelling in worksites. As Bautier and Fonkenell argue and Earnest Petit's *Sojourns de Charles V* clearly demonstrates, Charles V's itinerancy network deemphasized the Louvre from 1365 to 1372.²⁷⁵ This period coincides with the most intensive interventions into the house. During this time, Charles shifted the weight of his itinerancy to the Hôtel Saint Pol.²⁷⁶ That is not to say that he was completely absent during this time. Christine de Pisan claimed that Charles V frequently visited construction sites like the Louvre and Vincennes. During these visits, the Louvre's close proximity to other residences ensured that the king could be present on the site while sleeping elsewhere, ensuring that the function of the court was not disrupted by invasive building. The Hôtel Saint Pol

²⁷³ Salamagne « Le Louvre de Charles V, » 102-103.

²⁷⁴ Charles Delaschel, *Histoire de Charles V, Tome II*, (Paris : Librairie Alphonse Picard, 1909), 273.

²⁷⁵ Bautier et Fonkenell, *Histoire du Louvre*, 75-76.

²⁷⁶ During the most intensive phase of construction (1364-1367), Charles was in residence only 15 days. From 1368 to 1372, he resided there 43 days. By contrast, he resided at the Louvre for 35 days in total in 1373 alone. Ernest Petit. *Les Séjours de Charles V*.

served as Charles V's major urban residence during the years that the Louvre was an active worksite. The Hôtel Saint Pol during this time was largely free from work. In this case, construction at the king's other Parisian residence and his attendant refusal to occupy it actively discouraged disruptive interventions into the Hôtel Saint Pol.

The development of Vincennes followed a different life history to that of the Louvre. During Charles V's reign, a program of building under Raymond Temple transformed Vincennes from a straggling cluster of buildings into a rigorously geometric tower-city focused on a gigantic donjon. This work in fact began before the ascent of Charles V to the throne. Philip of Valois began work on a major construction to the southwest of the old manor between 1335 and 1340.²⁷⁷ It encompassed a square donjon with circular turrets on the corners set within a courtyard and a moat whose sides were faced with ashlar blocks. Two sets of foundations have been identified archaeologically, suggesting that Philip IV's were not far advanced before they were suspended.²⁷⁸ Construction resumed with the return of Jean le Bon from captivity in England. This timeline has led Chapelot to speculate that the English invasion of the Ile de France and the ensuing civil crises suggested the utility of a fortification on the east side of Paris, one which could serve as a place of strength against foreign enemies and malcontent civilian populations.²⁷⁹

At the opening of Charles V's reign, the tower was complete to the second floor. As the works resumed, the master of the works Raymond Temple tinkered with the floor plan of the donjon. He broke the crystalline geometry of the turreted square by adding an extension to the north which contained a latrine and subsidiary room destined to become Charles V's study

²⁷⁷ Emery, *Seats of Power in Europe during the Hundred Years War*, 87.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹ Jean Chapelot, « Le Vincennes des Quatre Premiers Valois: Continuités et Ruptures dans un Grande Programme Architectural » in *Vincennes aux Origines de l'Etat Moderne*, ed. Jean Chapelot et Elizabeth Lalou (Paris, Presses de L'Ecole Normale Supérieure, 1996), 67.

(IMAGE 11). The tower, its surrounding enceinte, and a suite of structures built against the interior courtyard continued until 1369. In May of that year, the king was able to occupy the tower.²⁸⁰ The completion of the tower marked the beginning of the most intense period of construction. In a program that lasted until 1380, a rectangular, moated enclosure studded with nine towers, each large enough to be a self-contained donjon, rose around the old manor complex (IMAGE 12).²⁸¹ Raymond Temple incorporated the donjon into the western flank of the enclosure, though the donjon's curtain wall remained independent of the wall around the massive new *basse cour*. Charles V's final investment in Vincennes took place in 1380, when he chartered a collegiate church called the Sainte Chapelle modeled after the one in the Palais de la Cité. His death in that year ensured that construction began under the auspices of his son. Work on the elaborate Flamboyant structure continued into the sixteenth century.

The development of Vincennes forms a series of contrasts to the Louvre. Where work on the Louvre took place within the limited compass of its curtain wall, Vincennes incorporated a vast new surface behind its two new walls. Where building at the Louvre was tightly constrained into a few short years, that at Vincennes spanned several generations. Where Charles V invested in small-scale interventions at the Louvre, his program at Vincennes was gargantuan. At first glance, this set of contrasts suggests that Trachtenburg's theory of "building-in-time" extends to the projects of nomadic patrons. Closer observation suggests that the unfolding of the building campaign followed the same rule that guided building at the Louvre, namely the mandate that construction projects not disrupt the itinerancy cycles of the king. The divergence between the two

²⁸⁰ Jean Chapelot, « Le Vincennes des Quatre Premiers Valois: Continuités et Ruptures dans un Grande Programme Architectural, » 80.

²⁸¹ Ibid, 94.

programs rests in the different topography of Vincennes, which created a set of site-specific opportunities that were different than those at the Louvre.

To begin, the massive extension of Vincennes took place within the rationales of the mobile court. The construction of new edifices next to, and eventually around, old buildings at an essential node in the royal itinerancy network ensured that the site remained ready for occupation over the course of works. The difference in approach between the Louvre and Vincennes was largely a function of the layout. The Louvre stood at the edge of Paris and appears to have been encompassed on all sides with construction. Within the thirteenth-century wall of Philip Augustus stood a dense collection of buildings, including the houses of courtiers and the monastery of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois. The attempt to obtain and demolish these buildings was surely unpalatable to a king already struggling with his public relations. To the west of the city stood brickworks, hence the later appellation *Tuilleries* for this area, which later came to be encompassed in Charles V's new urban fortification. By contrast, Vincennes was in an exurban locale, a royal forest where the king was the sole proprietor since the eviction of monastic stakeholders in the previous century. This legal and spatial position provided ample space to build next to rather than upon or within preexisting structures, while precedents for building new structures next to the Manoir de Vincennes suggested the approach. In fact, the choice to build next to and around old structures actually forms a point of continuity with the Louvre, where preexisting interiors in the old wings remained in place after the building of Charles V's new extensions.

The choice to abandon the new donjon project for forty years also becomes sensible in the context of a mobile court's use of space. Because the new building did not interrupt the continuity of the old, either as a residence or as a defensive circuit of walls, it was a project of comparatively low stakes. The royal court could and did frequently dwell in the manor during the twenty years

in which the half-built structure languished. Had additions unroofed the old Manoir or disrupted the integrity of its enceinte, it is likely that the kings would have felt compelled to divert more resources to its completion.

At first glance, the immense scale of the donjon and the addition of a massive new outer courtyard also suggest an open-ended approach to planning and time similar to ecclesiastical building. This superficial similarity obscures a series of tightly-confined projects that were planned and pursued within a short space of years in line with the expectations of mobile aristocratic patrons. The original project for the donjon was likely projected to last no longer than a decade. When Jean le Bon called for the resumption of works in 1361, and the structure progressed rapidly towards completion, with the new donjon, curtain wall, and wet moat completed by the end of 1371. The workshop of Raymond Temple exerted a great degree of ingenuity to ensure its timely completion. The structure is remarkably thin-walled for its height, a feature permitted by the novel use of lead-sheathed iron rebar and the unique internal buttress system secreted under the floors of every story save the fourth.²⁸² As Jean Chapelot noted, the structure itself is remarkably homogenous, a feature that also speeded the construction project.²⁸³ Working smart rather than hard ensured that the masons had to source, specially dress, and place fewer stones, which in turn translated to faster completion times. Furthermore, as Jean Chapelot argued, Charles V's program was also not one multi-decade project but three self-contained ones. The first was the donjon with its enceinte and courtyard structures, which lasted the ten years from 1361 to 1371. The second was the massive new outer court. For all its impressive size the wall and towers were completed between 1372 and 1378, a period of less than six years. The final program, the Saint-Chapelle,

²⁸² Jean Chapelot, « Le Donjon et son Enceinte, une résidence royale, » in *Dossier d'Archeologie* 289 (2003 and 2004), 65-69.

²⁸³ *Ibid*, 63.

stalled for two centuries in the face of the disasters of Charles VI's rule and the attendant evacuation of the French ruling class from the Paris region.²⁸⁴

Surrounding the Moving Dynast

The architectural historian Mary Whiteley claimed that the evolving practice of life at the court encouraged the development of standardized suites of rooms at major royal palaces. She holds up the flow of space in the Louvre as the archetypical royal residence of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and claims that the flow of space roots the protocols of courtly behavior in the physical environment.²⁸⁵ On his part, Jean Chapelot has claimed that Charles V's new tower at Vincennes follows a normal and widely-held layout for royal palaces.²⁸⁶ In the light of the nomadic lifestyle of court societies, the theory that a standardized palace plan developed in response to codifications in court life has many theoretical merits. Implanting a standardized flow of rooms at each castle site could frame user experience, situating aristocrats, courtiers, and servants in easily-recognizable spaces where the rules were apparent to all but the very novice and where everyone knew their place within the social hierarchy.

Valois dynasts like Charles V resided in spaces of many kinds – city palaces, country seats, tents, barges, and carriages – composed of the same general building blocks. The description of Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV's visit to Paris in the *Grand Chronique* Charles IV's presents the barge of the king, “modified in the manner of a house, which had a hall and two rooms, all with a fireplace, and numerous places of retreat and other necessary rooms.”²⁸⁷ With the *chambre*

²⁸⁴ Ulrike Heinrichs-Schreiber, « La Sainte-Chapelle: Une Œuvre Capitale du temps de Charles VI, » in *Vincennes aux Origines de l'Etat Moderne*, ed. Jean Chapelot et Elizabeth Lalou (Paris, Presses de L'Ecole Normale Supérieure, 1996), 128-130.

²⁸⁵ Whiteley and Chatenet, « Le Louvre de Charles V, » 66-67.

²⁸⁶ Chapelot, “Le Donjon et son Enceinte, Une Résidence Royale, » 72.

²⁸⁷ František Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit, 1377-1378: Emperor Charles IV and King Charles V of France*, 216.

de parement, the “hall” or *salle* was the main public space occupied by fourteenth-century nobles. The adjoining “rooms,” *chambres* and “places of retreat,” *retraits* were small rooms in which a dynast could withdraw to be alone or speak privately with a few companions.²⁸⁸ With these two types of rooms, the barge of Charles V demonstrated the most important division in late medieval building environments, that between the public and the withdrawing space. A decade later, Philip the Bold also purchased his own barge with a “salle,” two “chambres,” and a pair of “retraits” for his trip to Avignon.²⁸⁹ The other two *chambres* were, like the *retrait*, places Philip could retire. Mary Whiteley demonstrates that the “chambre” of a lodging was a room also set aside for privacy or intimate gatherings. Visitors needed special permission to cross the threshold of a “chambre,” and they often stood as architecturally defined units such as towers when found in castle sites.²⁹⁰

The desire to draw division between public and private space even effected carts and carriages. The relatively small scale of a carriage made subdivision difficult, but the *chare*, *chariot*, or *chayere* “de retrait” encountered in Valois court receipts demonstrates that they retired to independent vehicles they wished to withdraw from the company of their courts.²⁹¹ The

²⁸⁸ Whiteley “Royal and Ducal Palaces in France in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries Interior, ceremony and function” in *Architecture sociale: l'organisation intérieure des grandes demeures à la fin du Moyen Âge et la Renaissance*. Edited by Jean Guillaume, 47-63. Paris: Picard, 1994, 50.

²⁸⁹ ADCO B. 1503 188r-v. A Phillebert Gaudé bourgeois et marchand de Chalon qui deuz lui estoient pour la vendue et delivre des partis suesient cest assavoir pour un grant batel po mener par eaue des chalon en avignon mon dit seign messengier de Berry et dorleans ou ilz ont este pour le fait de leglise ix fl It po icelli gaovir dev fousenre et de conuitre daiz et y faire un chambre double pour mess dis seignrs gme de deux clie mineez pour faire feu de deux retrais et de galeoiez pour aller par de hous les bathelicoes et dune sale ou len a tenu le tymel gme de tables de treteaux et de iiii chassis pour sivr aux offices C L fl pour un aut grant batel o autres des gens du conseil du roy ou estient mastre oudart de moulins et plusieurs autes en la copaignie de mes dis seignes les ducs L fil item pour un autre batel pour leschaconerie de mon dit ss et pour s cuisine L fl IT po un aut batel pour sa garderobe et po ses joyaux XXX fl IT po un autre batel pour sa chappele XXV fl Item po un aut petit batel po sa fruiterie XII fl Item pour III cauetons po amener mon di ss quant il lui paioit XL fl Item po le conduisent et gouvernement de tons les dessus diz bateaux et nourriers goveneours des bateaux et na netters qui y appendoient et soient necessaires aux dis bateaulx et vitures diceulx et des dis caitrons III C L fil pour ce par mandement de mon dit ss le duc donn le XVII jour d'avril 95 avec quitt du dit philebt et suere certifficacon de mess henry le verrouyer chle maistre dostel de mon d ss VIII C VII fl

²⁹⁰ Whiteley, “Royal and Ducal Palaces in France in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” 51.

²⁹¹ It is also possible that they carried objects destined for the *retrait* of a house, but the luxurious appointments suggest that they are rooms of themselves. See, for instance: ADCO B. 1494 88r. A Jehan gmot pour xviii alnes de

organization of baggage trains also spatially manifested divisions between privileged members of the ducal retinue and the wider court society. When Philip the Bold floated a flotilla down the Rhone, the receipt for purchasing boats claims that ducal councilors outside the closest circle had their own boat separate from the main barge, and each court office had their own boat.²⁹²

The terminology associated with tents in Valois receipts and inventories is exceedingly loose. This renders the layouts of encampments obscure, but demonstrates a crucial point about how nomadic courts used tents and imagined the flow of the spaces they inhabited. Made of poles, cloth, and ropes, tents were exceedingly flexible spaces, and nomadic courts appreciated that basic, interchangeable units could be assembled to form any combination of spaces. Indeed, the only tents in Charles V's inventory that are earmarked for specific uses are the two he used for his bed and the two he used for his bath. The two bathing tents demonstrate another point about the effect of elite nomadism on the built environment, namely that the ultimate structure of nomadism could be used simultaneously with brick and mortar structures as a cheap and effective alternative to building. While *etuves* or bathhouses became *de rigour* elements of Valois castles in the years after

toille toute achetee de lui pour double le drapt mis sur le dit chriot pour le pris laune de i gros valent xviii g it po vi alnes de toille vermeille taite en bresy pour doubler le drapt mis ou tour la chere du retrait pour ma dte dame I franc et pour deux lun de plume mis ou tour la dte chere ii gros po tout ii franz ung gros demi et appt come des et p uquitt et rend ii franz viii g. ; ADCO B. 1494 88v. A Guillot le porterot de dijon drapier pour iii alnes de yraigme de malmies pour couvrir la dte chie de retrait au ps laune de xviii gros valent iii s dej et appt come dess et p quitt gten q aut quitt auil en avoit la fte est de nule valeur IIII franz demi.

²⁹² ADCO B. 1503 188r-v, A Phillebert Gaude bourgeois et michant de Chalon qui deuz lui estoient pour la vendue et delivre des partis suesient cest assavoir pour un grant batel po mener par eaue des chalon en avignon mon dit seign messengier de Berry et dorleans ou ilz ont este pour le fait de leglise ix fl It po icelli gaovir dev fousenre et de conuitre daiz et y faire un chambre double pour mess dis seignrs gme de deux clie mineez pour faire feu de deux retrais et de galeoiez pour aller par de hous les bathelicoes et dune sale ou len a tenu le tymel gme de tebles de treteaux et de iii chassis pour sivr aux offices C L fl pour un aut grant batel o autres des gens du conseil du roy ou estient mastre oudart de moulins et plusieurs autes en la copaignie de mes dis seignes les ducs L fil item pour un autre batel pour leschaconerie de mon dit ss et pour s cuisine L fl IT po un aut batel pour sa garderobe et po ses joyaux XXX fl IT po un autre batel pour sa chapele XXV fl Item po un aut petit batel po sa fruiterie XII fl Item pour IIII cauetons po amener mon di ss quant il lui paioit XL fl Item po le conduisent et governement de tons les dessus diz bateaux et nourriers goveneours des bateaux et na netters qui y apptendroient et soient necessaires aux dis bateaulx et vitures diceulx et des dis caitrons III C L fil pour ce par mandement de mon dit ss le duc donn le XVII jour davril 95 avec quitt du dit philebt et suere certifficacon de mess henry le verrouyer chle maistre dostel de mon d ss VIII C VII fl

the death of Charles V, the Louvre did not have one during his lifetime.²⁹³ He likely used his two bathing tents while he resided in his major palaces, setting them up in a garden or courtyard space in fair weather.²⁹⁴

While modern scholars have been correct in claiming that palace plans responded to evolving court protocol, their narrow view of the constituent elements – namely their dismissal of nomadic lifestyle - has obscured how this essential custom effected the plan of structures. If nomadic nobles appreciated the spatial flexibility of tents, they also brought this sensibility to their more permanent dwellings. While nomadism fostered a common set of spaces in the boats, carriages, tents, and brick-and-mortar residences, fourteenth century castles of even the Princes of the Blood do not share a standardized plan, nor do even the castles of Charles V share a standardized plan. To nomadic nobles, such an approach to space was neither feasible nor desirable. nomadic courtiers perpetually moved through castles of varying ages and building histories, and in doing so became adept users of castle space who were comfortable with contrast, contradiction, and multiplicity in their surroundings.

Considering the plans of the Louvre and Vincennes demonstrates that standardizing the flow of space was not a goal for the court of Charles V. Faced with the opportunity to chose between a number of plans, the kings masons chose all of them. Comparing the new spaces that rose at the Louvre and Vincennes across the reign of Charles V demonstrates the weakness of previous symbolic readings of the spaces of the Louvre and demonstrate that mobile court societies were inherently flexible, expected and desired difference and contrast. Dealing with multiplicity

²⁹³ Bautier et Fonkenell, *Histoire du Louvre*, 94.

²⁹⁴ Jules Labarte, ed. *Inventaire du Mobilier de Charles V, Roi de France* (Paris : Imprimerie Nationale, 1879), 389-390.

as they passed between different houses, the members of the French court came to expect it and, in turn, reproduced it in their own architectural commissions.

Charles V's Louvre has been lost since the sixteenth-century Lescot campaigns in the Cour Caree, but historical visual sources can help obtain general outlines of the building in its late fourteenth and early fifteenth century state. The *Pietà de Saint-Germain-des-Prés* shows the structure from the quays of the South Bank, where it peaks up from behind the walls of the *basse cour* and the Tour du Coin on the riverbank (IMAGE 1). The structure is flush to the riverside. A large gatehouse with a square pavilion roof occupies the center of the south façade, its slate roof adorned with ironwork ridges, pinnacles, and a window *a la flamande* offers light to an interior. *Le Retable du Parlement de Paris* (IMAGE 13 A&B) has the decorations of the roofline gilded. A clockface and a pair of standing figures, barely perceptible between the round towers of the gatehouse, adorn the uppermost story. The lower story, conserved from the Louvre of Philip Augustus, rise to a crenelated cornice and support a two-level addition crowned in a conical, pinnacled roof. Windows *a la flamande* puncture these cones, suggesting that another story lies within. The *Très Riches Heures* (IMAGE 14) evokes the subrectangular plan of the structure but rotates it to create a more exciting perspective and adds blue-grey slate roofs in the place of the tiles in the other two images. All three visual sources show the wings between the towers as adorned with further pavilions and turrets.

All three surviving images of the Louvre of Charles V demonstrate the persistence of the *grosse tour* through the fifteenth century. In *Le Retable du Parlement de Paris* and the *Pietà de Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, it peeks out from behind the towers and wings, but in the *Très Riches Heures* it hovers above them, dominating the forest of roofs, chimney pots, pinnacles, and decorative ridge poles. The *Pietà de Saint-Germain-de-Prés* shows the western and eastern half

of the south façade and as rising to different heights. The western half rises in two stories to a heavy cornice, which is itself surmounted by a gallery and a pitched roof. The eastern half rises in two stories as well, but it is significantly lower than the western half and its gabled roof features windows *a la flamande* and numerous chimney pots. The artist of the *Tres Riches Heures* used his daring two-point perspective to obscure this asymmetry, but he reveals a similar composition. The authors of the *Histoire du Louvre* suggest that this asymmetry dates to the later construction of a *gallerie* or long roofed promenade under the roof of the southwest wing.²⁹⁵

Within the renewed Louvre of Charles V, the palace retained the general outlines of a courtyard house, but the disposition of the rooms on the interior changed. The new Louvre enclosed previously open areas of the courtyard along the north and eastern walls to form new wings, which shifted the most important parts of the structure from the southwest corner of the courtyard to the north. As in the previous instantiation of the building, the structure was arranged hierarchically, and visitors entered progressively more prestigious and heavily-policed spaces as they moved upward. In Alain Salamagne's reconstruction of the Louvre of Charles V, the partially below-ground first floor remained the most public facing. The old "Grande salle par terre" remained in use. Its alternative name in the documents, Salle des Requêtes, and the presumably adjoining "Grande Chambre" or Chambre de Requêtes, suggests that the ground floor functioned as a space where the king and his representatives would appear in a legislative guise (IMAGE 15). This floor also contained structures for the function of the court. Kitchens occupied this floor, as did a chamber dedicated to the *enchansonnerie*. A "salle de commun," also occupied this floor.

²⁹⁵ Bautier et Fonkenell, *Histoire du Louvre*, 90.

The royal apartments contained similar suites of rooms as the earlier structure, but their footprint and arrangement changed. In the old Louvre, the apartments of the king and queen were self-contained units that unfolded horizontally on the second floor (IMAGE 16). The king's suite of chambers, including his *chapelle*, *chambre*, and *garderobe* occupied the west wing and his *salle* occupied part of the south wing. The queen's *chambre*, *garderobe*, *salle*, occupied the rest of the south wing.²⁹⁶ In Raymond Temple's renewed plan, the queen occupied the whole north wing of second floor and the king the whole north wing of the third (IMAGE 17 A&B). Mary Whiteley claims that the movement of the royal chambers to the north wing likely had a symbolic function, as it allowed processions from the main gate on the south façade, but as argued above this choice likely had much to do with the practicalities of constructing for nomadic patrons.²⁹⁷ In the new Louvre, the king and queen's chambers incorporated vertical elements. The *etudes* of the king and queen connected to the two upper rooms in the Tour de la Falconnerie, which served as the royal library, by means of a spiral stair built into the thickness of the wall (IMAGE 18).²⁹⁸ The removal of the king to the upper floor opened space for elaborated apartments. In the renewed plan, the king and queen's apartments flowed from the *vis* to a *chambre a parer*. Moving to the right, a visitor could pass through the *chambre de retrait*, *chambre*, and from the *chambre* to the *etude* and *chapelle*. Moving to the right from the *chambre a parer* would lead to the *salle* and a pair of small chambers.²⁹⁹ Mary Whiteley has also claimed that the upper parts of buildings held the greatest prestige for late medieval francophone aristocrats, and that the stacking of the masculine and feminine apartments would have signified masculine dominance to medieval viewers.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁶ Chatenet et Whiteley « Le Louvre de Charles V, » 64.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Salamagne, "Le Louvre de Charles V," 93.

²⁹⁹ Chatenet et Whiteley, « Le Louvre de Charles V, » 64.

³⁰⁰ Ibid, 67.

Sauval's transcriptions of the building records of the *chambre de comptes* suggest that the royal children had their own rooms somewhere in the ensemble of the second floor, but it is not clear from the documents where these stood. In the earlier instantiation of the Louvre they stood in the attic story of the *galetas*. Salamagne suggests that a *chambre* belonging to Marie de France, daughter of Charles V and Jeanne of Bourbon, and another belonging to the Dauphin, may have stood on the second floor near the feminine apartments themselves, but that position remains hypothetical.

The interior disposition of the new Louvre forms a dramatic contrast to the new Donjon that Raymond Temple constructed simultaneously at Vincennes. Whereas the Louvre was a square courtyard house with wings facing the interior, the main residence at Vincennes was a square donjon with four projecting turrets. The six floors rise to a two-story ring of crenellations and share a plan focused on large central room with a central pillar (IMAGE 19). A monumental stair occupies the southwest turret, while the turrets on the other three corners form small octagonal rooms (IMAGE 20). Another tight service stair occupies the thickness of the south wall of each floor. The tower rises from a basement on ground level containing service rooms, kitchens, and storage. The main entrance to the *donjon* was on the south face of the first floor. Visitors entering the donjon walked up a spiral stair in the gatehouse, crossed a bridge to enter the main door (IMAGE 21). This first floor centered on the central *grande salle*. On this floor, Raymond Temple's annex on the northwest corner contained a latrine and a study for the king. A *retrait* and guard room occupy the other two turrets. Jean Chapelot claims that the second floor served as the king's chamber, an argument that rests largely on the extensive polychrome décor that survives in the central vessel, which is otherwise identical to the one above.³⁰¹ The subsidiary rooms

³⁰¹ Chapelot, « Le Donjon et son Enceinte, une Résidence Royale, » 69-70.

functioned as a chapel and a treasury for money, precious manuscripts, jewels, and artworks. Chapelot claims that the lodgings of the queen occupied the third floor. The fourth floor likely served as sleeping quarters for guards, while the fifth floor served as a munitions store. Cannon installations occupied the terraced roof, a use evinced by both documentary and visual sources such as Androuet de Cerceau's 1578 engraving (IMAGE 22).³⁰²

The donjon of Vincennes was constructed simultaneously to a suite of rooms built against the walls of the donjon's curtain walls. Of this cluster of structures only the chatelet d'entrée survives to some level of completeness. The second story of the chatelet contains the study of the king. It also preserves vestiges of an adjacent structure survive in the form of blocked doorways, broken masonry dovetailing at the corners, and pits for the insertion of wooden beams (IMAGE 23). Documentary records demonstrate that the king constructed a secondary residence in this area on two floors. Court services like the *pannerie* occupied the first floor, while the second floor contained a suite of rooms for the king. A chapel dedicated to Saint Louis with a belfry and clock also stood against the north wall of the enceinte.³⁰³ Both du Cerceau and Jean Fouquet depict this belfry, dwarfed by the massive donjon, and a nearby structure with high gables (IMAGES 23 & 24).

A royal residence composed of stacked, vertical flows of space drew from several precedents within the itinerancy circuit and residential region of the king. Most notable is the Tour du Temple on the northern edge of Paris. Representations of the structure, destroyed in 1812, include paintings, engravings, and a cardboard maquette now in the Musée de la Ville de Paris (IMAGES 25 & 26).³⁰⁴ These images demonstrate that the two structures share a square plan with

³⁰² Chapelot, « Le Vincennes des Quatre Premiers Valois, » 79-80.

³⁰³ Chapelot, « Le Donjon et son Enceinte, une Résidence Royale, » 72.

³⁰⁴ <http://parismuseescollections.paris.fr/es/node/76199#infos-principales>

cylindrical corner turrets. The symmetry of both is broken by an annex that rises into a pair of cylindrical turrets. The designer of Vincennes, likely Raymond Temple, disposed of the pitched roofs of the Tour du Temple and drew the multiple levels of the Temple's rooflines into a pair of nested circular walks. A plan of the Tour du Temple drawn up in 1795 demonstrates that the interiors of Vincennes also drew from the Templar precedent. Like Vincennes, the central vessel in the Tour du Temple centered on a pillar and the corner turrets featured a stairwell and small chambers (IMAGES 27 & 28).

The Donjon of Vincennes and its annex in the enceinte demonstrate a key feature of nomadic courts: their flexibility in dealing with houses of many plans. Regularly occupying dozens of structures of various ages and building histories, the court of Charles V could not afford to favor a single flow of space, nor did the court society intend to impose one in their new construction. Indeed, Vincennes follows two flows of space. The surviving donjon follows a vertical, tower-house plan of stacked, identical chambers, while the now-lost residence within its two stories likely followed a horizontal flow of space from most public to most private rooms like that of the Louvre. The donjon and enceinte of Vincennes powerfully demonstrates that, faced with a choice, nomadic courts chose all of them, finding strength and flexibility in multiple solutions to any problem that they faced.

Comparison to the Louvre also demonstrates the familiarity and comfortability of mobile courtiers with multiplicity and contrast. The two structures demonstrate a wide variation in the order of spaces. At Vincennes, the vertical arrangement of space from great hall to masculine quarters to feminine quarters inverts the Louvre's vertical flow from the *Grande Salle* to the feminine quarters to the masculine ones. Jean Chapelot elided the contrasting flow of spaces in the royal apartments of the Louvre when he claimed that Vincennes follows a standardized flow of

space of royal structures, and the authors of the *Histoire du Louvre* ignored the example of Vincennes when they followed Mary Whiteley in reading the elevation of the masculine quarters at the Louvre as a function of feudal social order and masculine dominance written into a supposed privilege accorded to high rooms.³⁰⁵

For nomadic courtiers used to passing between many palaces in succession, the control of the multiplicity, simultaneity, and contrast between and within castle sites was likely a function of practice. The court of Charles V resided so frequently at the Louvre and Vincennes that all save the novice were intimately familiar with the design eccentricities of both. While the donjon of Vincennes and the new residence of the Louvre look different in plan, they share general continuities that would have rendered them intuitive to habitual users. In both castles, spaces flow from public zones like *salles* and *chambres de parement* to more intimate spaces like *études* and *chambres de retrait*. To draw an analogy, middle-class tract housing of the twentieth century follows a variety of plans that are united by a single set of assumptions for the protocol of use.

The compulsion to move from site to site and the attendant desire to create multiple spatial solutions to a problem also effected the plan and development of the forest of Vincennes itself. The distance of Vincennes from the waterside of the Marne diminished (but did not eliminate) the usefulness of the main complex of buildings at Vincennes. While the main castle contained designated areas where the Charles V could remove for relaxation, namely the *retraits* in the donjon and above the gatehouse, the residence of the court at Vincennes for significant periods of time ensured that work was always at the door. In response to these two problems, Charles V

³⁰⁵ Whiteley and Chatenet, « Le Louvre de Charles V, » 67. ; Bautier et Fonkenell, *Histoire du Louvre*, 91.

purchased a small strip of land between the eastern terminus of the park and the river Marne. At this site he developed a small residence called Beauté.

A house at Beauté offered many boons for the king, but the crucial one was proximity to the water, which allowed the king convenient ingress and egress from Saint-Pol, the Louvre, and the Palais de la Cité (IMAGE 29). With the construction of Beauté, Charles now had a second point of access to the park of Vincennes and he altered his itinerancy routines accordingly. He frequently used it as a stopping-point in Paris-Vincennes journeys. To give just an example of a frequently-encountered pattern, in August of 1377, he travelled from Paris to Beauté and thence to Vincennes. In October he made the reverse trip, travelling from the main castle of Vincennes to Beauté, and thence to Paris.³⁰⁶ During these trips he likely crossed the park overland and travelled between Beauté and Paris on his barge. He also used Beauté independently of the main Château of Vincennes, especially if the trips were very brief. In May of 1378, Charles resided at Beauté for a period no longer than three days, a period bracketed by trips to Paris, while in December he travelled from the Louvre to Beauté and the next day moved down river to Saint-Germain-en-Laye.³⁰⁷ Beauté's easy river access recommended the castle for this type of usage, and the replication of the Vincennes-Beauté relationship at other sites of high aristocrats, for instance at Kenilworth, suggests the popularity of this type of intrasite motion among interrelated cross-channel aristocracies.³⁰⁸

The development of Beauté altered the king's use of the park of Vincennes and its main castle complex. The many residences in orbit around the Park of Vincennes demonstrates that

³⁰⁶ Petit, *Les Séjours de Charles V*, 65.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Elaine Jaimieson and Rebecca Lane, "Monuments, Mobility and Medieval Perceptions of Designed Landscapes: The Pleasance, Kenilworth," in *Medieval Archaeology* 59 (2015), 255-271.

Charles V had abundant choice when residing in and near the park. Before the development of Beauté, Charles V's scribes used two terms places he resided, "Vincennes," and "Bois de Vincennes." The significance of this varying terminology is obscure. It is possible that Charles occasionally resided at the monastic complex at Grandmontains, transforming the park into a miniature itinerancy region itself.³⁰⁹ Charles V's scribes note his presence in "Vincennes" on May 16th of 1367, for instance, while the next day they note he was in the "Bois de Vincennes." On the 22nd, he is again at "Vincennes."³¹⁰ This terminology endured through the 1370's. On the 18th of August 1372, Charles was at the "Bois de Vincennes," and the next day is at "Vincennes itself."³¹¹ The terminology of "Bois de Vincennes" in fact endured until May of 1376, when Beauté-sur-Marne emerges as a place name in Charles V's customs of nomadism. Thereafter Charles V's scribes abandon the term of "Bois de Vincennes" entirely. The usage of Beauté conforms to the previous pattern. At the end of February 1378, Charles travelled from Vincennes to Beauté, then back to Vincennes, and then back to Beauté, from which he travelled to Paris.³¹² June of that year saw even more park crossings, and the 31 days from the end of May to the beginning of June saw an itinerary that went Vincennes - Beauté – Vincennes- Beauté – Vincennes – Beauté – Vincennes – Paris.³¹³

Charles V itinerated from the edge to the center of the park to distance himself from the hordes of courtiers resident at the castle. Scholars noted that late medieval aristocrats in western Europe imagined and used garden and park space as a locus of intimacy, so that outdoors spaces

³⁰⁹ A notable exception is a day spent at Montrieu in June of 1375 and Saint Maur des Fosses in May of 1380. Ibid, 73.

³¹⁰ Ibid, 21.

³¹¹ The 19th of the month is a lacuna, so he may have moved to the castle on that day.

³¹² Ibid, 64.

³¹³ Petit, *Les Séjours de Charles V*, 65.

form the original “interior” in that cultural region.³¹⁴ It is likely for this reason that Emperor Charles IV resided here to recover from the illness that plagued his Parisian visit, and that Charles V went to Beauté when he faced his final sickness.³¹⁵ So imagined and used, the disposition of castle and park came to mirror the relationship between the public-facing *chambre de parement* and more intimate *retrait* within the castle itself. The use of the whole castle of Beauté as retreat from society rippled out into the cultural imagination of the site. In the reign of Charles V’s son, the little Château garnered a reputation for elegance and luxury, hence its name, and Eugene Deschamps dedicated one of his ballads to enumerating the pleasures of the residence and the parkland that surrounded it.³¹⁶ Once again the Valois demonstrate a taste for simultaneous solutions to a single spatial problem, this time how to find a moment of peace while surrounded by a noisy and demanding court society.

Charles V’s choice to travel into the park to gain intermittent distance from court had pronounced impact on the floorplan of Beauté. It is a palace reduced in complexity because, ensconced in the intimate space of the forest, its builders needed fewer spatial mechanisms to regulate the relationship between the king and his public. Alternatively, one could characterize Beauté is a freestanding castle *retrait* elaborated to take on spaces necessary for long-term habitation. The structure, destroyed on the orders of Cardinal Richelieu in 1626, overlooked the bend in the Marne from a high limestone bluff. A print by Claude Chastillon (1559-1616) made

³¹⁴ For enclosure of the garden space, see Teresa McLean, *Medieval English Gardens* (London: Collins, 1981), 135-138.; Derek Pearsall, “Gardens as Symbols and Settings,” in *Medieval Gardens* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), 241. Barbara Baert, *Late Medieval Enclosed Gardens of the Low Countries: Contributions to Gender and Artistic Expression* (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 17-26.

³¹⁵ Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit*, 228-229. Petit, *Les Séjours de Charles V*, 74.

³¹⁶ Eustache Dechamps « Le Bois de Vincennes, » in Georges Adrien Crapelet, ed. *Poesies Morales et Historiques d’Eustache Deschamps, Ecuyer, Huissier D’Armes Des Sous Charles V et Charles VI, Chatelain de Fismes et Mailli de Senlis, Publiées pour la Première Fois D’aPres le Manuscrit de la Bibliotheque du Roi, avec un Precis Historique et Litteraire sur l’Auteur* (Paris, Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1887), 13.

when the building was in an advanced state of decay demonstrate that this residence was a three-floor tower residence with a gable roof, a disposition that mirrored the towers arising simultaneously in the new outer enceinte at Vincennes (IMAGE 30). Charles V's death inventory suggests that each floor was a single space except the first, which was divided into two rooms. The larger of the two rooms on ground floor was paved with encaustic terracotta tiles included inscriptions drawn from lines of the *Dit de Salomon et de Marcou*.³¹⁷ At the time of Charles V's death, it contained a massive, immobile bed whose *ceil* was adorned with golden fleurs de lis, one iron and three wooden chairs likewise adorned with canopies, and other small furniture. The presence of a bed and trestles in the same room suggest that this entry room collapsed the functions of *chambre*, *salle*, and *chambre de parement* that occupied different spaces at sites where the king would hold court in front of large crowds. Behind this room stood a second one which functioned as a *retrait*. The second story contained the *chambre* of the Dauphin along with furniture for his use, including a bed, chair, and a small altar. The third floor also contained a bed and may have housed Louis of Valois during his visits to the site. The fourth floor, located under the pitched roof, likely functioned as a lookout point to enjoy the vistas over the meeting of the Marne and Seine.

Ornament for Mobile Societies

Comparing the plans of the Louvre and Vincennes has demonstrated that nomadism fostered a built environment marked by variety, contrast, and simultaneity. Perpetually moving between over a dozen favored residences, courtiers attached to Charles V expected to find the basic building blocks of court spaces, its halls, service buildings, and suites of apartments, recombined

³¹⁷ Siméon Luce, « La mort de Charles V », in Siméon Luce, *La France pendant la guerre de cent ans : épisodes historiques et vie privée aux xive et xve siècle*, (Paris : Editorial MAXTOR, 2013), 37-46.

in different patterns. As an architectural patron comfortable with variation upon a few broad spatial themes, Charles V did not direct his master mason Raymond Temple to impose a unified castle plan at any site. Indeed, the Louvre and Vincennes, two sites with many points of continuity and similarity at the outset of his reign, diverged in plan over the course construction. The adornment of castle spaces followed similar patterns. Builders and court *fourriers* drew from common bank of elements when decorating the ephemera of mobility and the more rigid environments of palaces, encouraging the equation of the built environment with mobile structures like tents, boats, and carriages. Simultaneously, the adornment of castles with tiles, paintings, sculpture, and precious works like plate and tapestry offered the opportunity to recombine imagery to create markedly different statements about the shape of Charles V's power at each castle site.

The continuities of use and plan between ephemeral built environments and Châteaux and the importance of time on road and river to the social performance of Valois dynasts fostered the development of a common set of decorative media. The interior decoration of carriages, tents, boats, and houses all emphasized wood veneer and luxury fabrics. As noted in Chapter 1, boats and carriages incorporated wooden armatures which could be painted and gilded to lend them a magnificent and eye-catching presence during royal processions and travel. When Margaret of Artois, the aunt of Margaret of Flanders, had a new litter made in 1381 she billed the *chatelaine* of Hesdin for the sixty *sous* she sank in having two painters gild and paint the undercarriage.³¹⁸

³¹⁸ ADN 15283 Chandelier : It pour pluss ss missions ouvrages qui ont este fait a faire une neuve litier pour madame dont les ptres ens sont contenues en i raoulle de pchemen p iii le quel les lres de mad sont annex baillet p les dtes lres qui fait donn a arras le iiie jour de feurr lan cccIII(XX)i monn de ce capple LX s Et ce p les ptes qui seuss et est assiste a Jaque le cordier de Hesin Pour couleurs de painter ix ss vi d A johan de brousselles demur a abe po iiC de fin or double iiii lb xii s vi d Au dit laurens de loulougne po pluss pts sur leur sebre au dit raoulle montans vi lb xix ss A gille le wautier pour dole vi ss A wylle choquel pour ii los dole ix ss iiii d A gille de wantenas po un livre de blanc vernis vi ss A pre milloquin pour xvi armes et demie de toille xxviii s vi d A guillaume nioniac peintre pour y ouvrier p LXXVIII jours dune pt iiii ss p jour vale xv lb xii s It ali dautre pt por ouvrier madame estant a hesdin XXI jour iii s p jour vaild IXIII s A pre du Bos peintre po ouvrier xvi jours iiii s pro vale LXVIII s A adam de le cuisine pour xx mailles dor quil avoit baillies a lorfourre pour dorer les pomaux a xv s pa le piece valt xv lb pars it po vif argent ii fns de xxxii s it pour argent a faire les esmailles debdis pour maux ii fns de xxxii ss it pour i varlet qui a

Carriages and litters were also covered with fabrics of luxurious weaves and brilliant colors. When Philip the Bold's daughter Katherine married Leopold IV, Duke of Austria, the inside of her brand-new *retrait* carriage was roofed with scarlet cloth and padded against bumpy roads with feather-stuffed cloth.³¹⁹ Tents of course were made of cloth. Valois records demonstrate the abundant use of *serge*, a lightweight twill wool, for wall hangings of brick and mortar rooms as well as the sides of pavilions, promoting continuity between brilliantly colored tents and the acres of drapery that covered palace walls.³²⁰

Painting, wood, and luxury cloths were once found in abundance in Charles V's Vincennes and elements of this décor survive to this day. The rib vaults and central column of the king's *chambre* in the donjon exhibits brilliant polychrome decoration in red, blue and gold (IMAGE 31 A&B). Jean Chapelot notes that small joints in the painted plaster of the ribs preserves the indent of flat boards, suggesting that the painted plaster once extended across the paneling of the vault webbing itself.³²¹ Rows of iron hooks on the walls and ceiling of this room once fixed wood veneers in place (IMAGE 32). Paneling of Irish oak survives in the vaulted *salle* on the first floor, the southwest corner tower of the second floor, and the oratories built into the thickness of the north walls on the first and second floor (IMAGE 33).³²² Documentary sources suggest that

porta les archons et a stelles de hesdin a arras viiii ss fort des pties en some de some de xviii lb sii s le fnc xvi ss qui font a xviii s vi i le fn

³¹⁹ ADCO B. 1494 88r. A Jehan gmot pour xviii alnes de toille touite achetee de lui pour double le drapt mis sur le dit chriot pour le pris laune de i gros valent xviii g it po vi alnes de toille vermoille taite en bresy pour dobler le drapt mis ou tour la chere du retrait pour ma dte dame I franc et pour deux lun de plume mis ou tour la dte chere ii gros po tout ii franz ung gros demi et appt come des et p uquitt et rend ii franz viii g

³²⁰ See for example : ADCO B. 1462 73r. A Jaquet dourdin Tappissier demeur a Par qui deuz lui est pour XXIII sarges de pluss coleurs pour fournir II chambres de madame par mandemt de ma dte dame et quittance donn XXII de feuv 85 Anet etiffacon de phelippe symeon varlet de chambre de madame donn lan et le jour dess diz CXII dfranz.

ADCO B. 1466 22r. A Jaquet dourdin tapissier qui deuz lui est pour son sale de ribannier viii sarges bleues pour a chambre du paveillon de mons ii franz xvi s t.

³²¹ Jean Chapelot and Didier Pousset, « Les Lambris du Donjon, » in *Dossiers D'Archaeologie* 289 (Dec. 2003 & Jan 2004), 88.

³²² Ibid, 84-89.

paneling in other areas may have been limewashed, but surviving wood paneling at Vincennes is invariably unvarnished brown.³²³

Other major showpieces of the French monarchy like the *grand salle* of the Palais de la Cité were similarly vaulted in wood, their boatlike form lending the architectural terms *nave* and *nef* a dramatic literalism (IMAGE 34 A&B). In the Donjon of Vincennes, evidence for paneling survives only in areas known to be of central importance or prestige, the *salle* and its annexes and the apartments of the king above it. Gesturing to the relatively modest cost of this material in the documents of construction, Jean Chapelot claims that the carpenters covered these spaces not because they wood was particularly valued but because it formed a better ground for more luxurious treatments. He notes the superior insulation and acoustic qualities of wood over bare stone and claims it acted as a better ground for oil painting, the preferred method for pigmenting walls. In his opinion, wood paneling also simplified the task of putting nails in the walls for the tapestries, cloth panels, and baldachins that would have habitually covered the walls and depended from the ceiling.³²⁴ So adorned with painted wood and padded cloths, the interiors of Vincennes when fully decorated shared general visual elements with the hardware of nomadic life.

Palace interiors and the hardware of nomadic life also shared motifs that helped guide people through space. In his description of the Louvre of Charles V, Henri Sauval noted that doors communicating between the *grande vis* and the king's and queen's chambers was marked with the coat of arms of the occupant and a pair of statues of mace-bearing sergeants-of-arms.³²⁵ The gatehouse of the new Donjon at Vincennes features coats of arms and ensigns of dolphins (IMAGE 35). The placement of shields over doors is a well-known practice to castle scholars. Matthew

³²³ Jean Chapelot and Didier Pousset, « Les Lambris du Donjon. »

³²⁴ Ibid, 88.

³²⁵ Sauval, *Les Antiquites de Paris*, 23-24.

Johnson notes that this custom produced moments of interactions with multiple discourses about identity and place.³²⁶ While this practice is omnipresent in fourteenth-century castles, scholars have rarely observed that it formed a continuity of use with the organization of ephemeral built environments. Charles V's brother Philip the Bold occasionally paid his painters for coats of arms of his family members and retainers on detachable boards that could be affixed and removed from doorways with relative ease. The two surviving receipts note that these shields marked lodgings during jousts and royal entries – periods when high-ranking guests swarmed the cities of Paris and Dijon and required some creativity to house on the part of ducal administrators.³²⁷ It is likely that these important persons had been displaced from their usual residences for the duration of festivities to make way for higher-ranking guests, and that the shields help courtiers find where their patrons were staying.

The tents of high-ranking nobles also bore shields, fostering a continuity between the way nomadic nobles navigated castles and more ephemeral dwellings. Arms could be hung over the entrances or hoisted over the roof as banners, as is abundantly attested in contemporary painted representations of tents and pavilions (IMAGE 36 A&B). Silk panels or embroideries depicting coats of arms could also be applied to the cloth themselves. Charles V's brother Philip the Bold owned tents with his coats of arms on them, and his account books demonstrate several moments

³²⁶ Matthew Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate: From Middle Ages to Renaissance*, 74-75.

³²⁷ ADCO B. 1476 35r. A Casin paintre demour a paris qui deuz li est po la vendu et deliuvr de x grans compas et iiii c escucous de peinture armoiez des armes de mon dit seign le duc des armes de mess de nevs et le cont descrenot ses filz et des armes de mess guy de la tremoille pour seignier les logis de mes dis seignres a la feste des joustes alores tenues en la ville de dijon po cause de la venue du roy mess en ycelle paie mand de mon dit ss et quitt donn le xxviii e jo de janu mxxxiii(XX) et ix avec etificacon de guille plumail fourrier de mon dit ss donn le viii jour de feur ou dit an XVIII franz ; B. 1486 30r. Casin de Paris paints escucons de peinture armories aux armes de mon dit seignr de mons le contde nevers de messire phe de bar et de monss de la tmoille seigneur de sully pour signier les hostelz de mes diz seigns a la journ du traitiet darr tenue a nevers pour xii grans compas darmoier aux dtes armes pour vi banierettes de toille armoies des armes de mon dit seign le duc paie p mandement de mon dit seignr et quitt donn xvii de feur 91 XII franz

in which they were repaired or transported for use.³²⁸ While the fusion of a sign of ownership responds to the flexibility of tent spaces and helped to ground viewers as they navigated encampments, that usage was not always straightforward. The inventory of Charles V notes that he slept in a tent embroidered with the arms of the king of Cyprus.³²⁹ It is possible that this tent was a gift, and demonstrates that the concern for clarity within space always jostled for preeminence with the other concerns and customs that nomadism and its logistical solutions mediated.

Nomadic nobles also affixed devices and coats of arms to harnesses, saddles, and vehicles, ensuring that the location and identity of a dynast was readily visible while on the road itself. Brass saddle mounts recovered from fourteenth-century sites demonstrate that medieval courtiers affixed coats of arms to their horses.³³⁰ Carts in baggage trains were likewise adorned with coats of arms in the form of banners and draperies.³³¹ The carts bearing the person of a noble dynast were marked out coats of arms rendered in more luxurious materials. When Philip the Bold's daughter Katherine married Leopold IV, Duke of Austria, the ducal painter Arnold Picarnet gilded and painted the coats of arms of the bride and groom on their carriage. Picarnet's colleague Jehan Aroulet also

³²⁸ ADCO B. 1466. 21r. A George Puetin Brodeur e bourg de Bruges qui deuz lui ... estient pour les estoffes et facon de xxxii estucons de sarge de construe aux armes de mons pour mett sur viii singes de la muraille du paveillon bleu de med seign paie a mandemt et quit donn le xviii jour doctobre 86.

ADCO B. 1500 149r. Robert roblet voictur demour a arras po avoir amene du dit lieu darras sur sa charrette la petite tente armoyee des armes de mon dit seign LXXII S. ; ADCO B. 1511 113v. A lui (Jehan Hap) pour xL aulnes de toile blanche pour ycelles tentes a ii s vi d t laulne v sr a lui pou xvii aulnes de soye vermeille de ii les a refaire les armes de mon dit ss sur les dittes tentes a vii s vi d t laulne VI fr VII s VI d t

³²⁹ Labarte, *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, roi de France*, 390.

³³⁰ John Clark, Geoff Egan, and Nick Griffiths, "Harness Fittings," *The Medieval Horse and its Equipment* ed. John Clark (London: Museum of London, 1995), 66-67.

³³¹ ADCO B. 1461 160r. B. A Symonin le chreton de mons a Dijon sur la voiture de son char et chaux en alant de Dijon alens en Artoiz ... pour pennonceaux aux armes de mons pour mett sur les chrettes qui menoient les dtes tentes et paveillons X donn VII daoust dess dit CCCIII(XX) et III.

ADCO B. 1461. 165r. A Villot de Saint aubin charretier ... pour un pennouceau es armes de mon dit seign pour met sur le dit chair x ... po pout paie par le dit mandemt et quittances des dessus diz donn xxvii du dit mois de juing 84.

added coats of colored enamel to the gilt metal pommels of the overcarriage.³³² Manuscript depictions of carriages and litters, including Fouquet's depiction of The Holy Roman Emperor's visit to Paris, depict coats of arms on the sides of carriages and litters – demonstrating the power of these signs to direct viewers towards the people of importance within crowds and on the manuscript page (IMAGE 37). Ships and barges also bore pennants and sails painted with coats of arms and cyphers like the giant daisies that Philip the Bold paid Melchior Broederlam to emblazon on sail of this flagship during the preparations for the invasion of England.³³³

While nomadic lifestyle encouraged the sharing of media and motifs between boats, carriages, tents, and castles, the decoration of each castle site built by Charles V created a call and response across space that emphasized relationships between individual structures. At Vincennes, the sculptural program produced a set of arguments about the relationship between the Christian God and the kingdom of France. The arched gate of the *chatelet d'entrée* was once surmounted by sculptural embellishment (IMAGE 38). Heavily damaged, the thrust of its argument can only be hypothesized from the fragmentary remnants and documentary evidence. In the lower register, a pair of armorial shields divides a central group of three niches from the two positioned in the angle of the turrets. The outlines of a pair of dolphins, hacked during the Revolution, are visible below the likewise defaced armorial shields. The dolphin on one of the shields also suggests a date for its completion before the death of Jean le Bon. All the niches save the one to the extreme right

³³² ADCO B. 1494 88r. Arnoul picarnet pointure demour a dijon qui dehuz li estieot de marchiez fait a lui p es dess domez damou dorer et pot le dit chariot de fin or vrony et de le avoir orvier des armes de mons le duch dosteriche et de ma dte dame sa fame et de avoire ponssonner les estales et celles des diz chonaux du dit chriot pour le pris de LV franz et appt lp les roles mandemet t assis rend que de ss et p quitt et rend q ten sicce en la ptie precedent LV franz ... A Jehin aroulet orfeure demour a dijon q lon lui dovoit po xviii pomeauz de cour esmaillez des diz armes mis ou dit chariot pour mchie fait a lui p le dit tresor sur le bureau en la chambre des comptes po le pris de VII(XX) franz et appt p les role mand et etissie rend guie dess et p quitt et rend conten sicce en la ptie pard

³³³ ADCO B. 1466 .A lui (Melchior Broederlam) qui deuz lui estient pour la facon de faire la devise de mons sur la voile de sa nef et de semer le le dit voile de grans roleaux de drap de costure de pluseurs grosses lres et et de marguerites et a liuvre ycellui Melchio draps sarges et estofes paie a lui par mandemt de mon dit seign et quitt donn le iiiie jour de novembre 86 avec etifficacon du dit pp livr a illec II C franz.

surmount a corbel depicting a half figure holding a banderole. Further corbels carved into half figures with banderoles, now heavily defaced, support the rib vaults of the tunnel beneath the gatehouse.

The original occupants of the five niches, apparently destroyed during the sack of the castle in 1793, have been the occasional objects of scholarly speculation. A document dated to 1378 demonstrates that the *chatelet d'entrée* once featured a statue of the Trinity.³³⁴ Another dated to the 16 of March, 1390, records repairs to a statue of Saint Christopher.³³⁵ A figure associated with travelers, Saint Christopher was a fitting apotropaic sculpture for the entry into the residence of a nomadic king.³³⁶ Paul Ulrike Heinrich-Schreibe has suggested that saintly figures occupied the center three niches of the lower register, and that a pair of royal portraits angled toward the center in a composition reminiscent of church portals.³³⁷ In his opinion, the statue of the Trinity attested in the record stood on the corbel above the gatehouse's central window.³³⁸ Using the façade of the Bastille Saint Antoine as an analog, Jean Chapelot suggests that the lower register contained statues of the statue of Saint Christopher surrounded by the four male children of Jean le Bon. There are analogs at Vincennes itself for an image of the Trinity in the presence of five other figures, namely a golden tabernacle in the king's *etude* in the donjon which depicted John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, the Virgin Mary, Saint Louis, and Charlemagne.³³⁹

The enmeshment of royal and Christian religious imagery carries into the non-figural adornment of the façade. The two leaping dolphins and armorial shields in the lower register stand

³³⁴ Ulrike Heinsriche-Schreibe, « La Sculpture de Vincennes dans son contexte architectural au temps de Charles V » in *Dossiers D'Archaeologie* 289 (Dec. 2003 & Jan 2004), 76.

³³⁵ F. Fossa, *Le Château Historique de Vincennes, Tome II* (Paris : Bibliotheque de l'Ecoles des Chartes, 1910). 18.

³³⁶ Catholic Encyclopedia, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03728a.htm>.

³³⁷ Heinrich-Schreibe, « La Sculpture de Vincennes dans son contexte architectural au temps de Charles V, » 76.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*

³³⁹ Labarte, *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, roi de France*, 311, #2976.

within a framework of microarchitecture, a novel and unprecedented feature for the façade of a secular structure and one that has hitherto escaped the attention of architectural historians. It appears that microarchitecture had been transmitted from Late Antiquity to the middle of the fourteenth century largely in the context of religious art. Achim Timmermann has argued that European artists developed microarchitecture as a sign that demarcated the sacred quality of objects and images that it surrounds.³⁴⁰ Sarah Guerin has argued that the assimilation of microarchitecture in secular artworks, as on ivory caskets adorned with scenes of romance imagery, appropriated the sacred significance of architectural imagery.³⁴¹ In pairing scenes from romance with the formal signifiers of spiritual authority, Guerin perceives a lighthearted or tongue-in-cheek approach to religious imagery. At the gatehouse of Vincennes, such appropriation was likely unironic, an attempt to confer upon the royal ensigns an aura of religious authority normally restricted to religious figures. If the canopies on the five empty niches stood over members of the royal family, they also distributed spiritual authority to secular figures. If indeed there were a pair of portraits on either side of the central group, the identical treatment of their canopies suggests a degree of parity between the religious figures and the secular aristocrats who participate in their adulation.

The *donjon* of Vincennes produces a second argument for the relationship between Charles V and Christ, one which visualized his rule as the image of Christ. The corbels that support the molded window frames on four facades of the donjon feature small figures. While the restoration campaigns of the 1940's replaced many of the figural corbels with plain blocks, those surviving from the middle ages display a griffin, a stonecutter with his mattock, an ape dressed as a man, a

³⁴⁰ Achim Timmermann, *Real Presence: Sacrament Houses and the Body of Christ, c. 1270-1600* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), esp. 5-10.

³⁴¹ Sarah M. Guérin, "Meaningful Spectacles: Gothic Ivories Staging the Divine," *The Art Bulletin* Vol. 95, No. 1 (March 2013), 70-72.

man holding a banderole, an Atlas, and a siren striking a tambourine. The most numerous figures, however, are angels. Depicted as frontal half figures or as full horizontal figures, they appear to swoop down from on high while making music (IMAGE 39 A-F). With their tympani, vielles, rebecs, bagpipes, and hand-organs, they appear to compose a whole orchestra.

The sculptures on the interior of the donjon accentuate the strong religious character of the exterior. In both the *grande salle* on the first floor of the donjon and the king's *chambre* above, the ribs supporting the ceiling spring from a column conceived as a miniature, centrally planned building with slender colonettes, pointed arches, gables, rose windows, and layers of foliate crochets. The corbels in the corners of both stories bear the typological symbols of the ram, winged man, bull, and the eagle. In case the symbolism was not clear, a modern graffiti artist carved the names of the associated Evangelists into their previously smooth banderoles (IMAGE 40 A-D; IMAGE 41 A&B). The corbels of the transverse ribs spring from half-length sculptures of prophets clutching scrolls of their own. Corbels adorned with music-making angels and vegetal patterns support the ribs of the subsidiary rooms of both floors.

Like gothicizing microarchitecture, figures of angels, typological figures, and prophets are unprecedented within aristocratic French domestic space and entered the site through the appropriation of religious iconography. All three iconographic forms emphasized the reality of divine presence, derived from typological twinning of Jewish and Christian religious texts, and emphasize the role of the Christian God as a ruler. Paul Binski has argued that angelic figures emerge as prominent iconographic elements in Gothic religious art in response to clerical debates over the theory and practice of Christian sacraments.³⁴² Amy Gillette has noted that church artists

³⁴² Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170–1300*. (New Haven: Yale University Press), 268.

deployed figures of angels to create parallels between participants in Christian religious services and the celestial worshippers of God.³⁴³ She claims that angelic iconography proliferated in Gothic image-making in lockstep with strands of religious thought that encouraged Christian worshippers to use senses like smell, touch, and hearing as modes of interaction with the divine. Such iconography ultimately derived from Jewish texts such as Isaiah 6.1-3 and Christian Gospels such as Revelations 5.8-9 that describe the Throne of God as surrounded by hosts of music-making angels.³⁴⁴ Likewise, sculptures of the winged Lamb, Man, Ox, and Lion are an exercise in typological thinking, deriving from the vision of the “Living Creatures” that surround the Chariot of YWH in Ezekiel 1:10 and reappear in the description of the beings before the Throne of God in Revelations 4.6-9.³⁴⁵ For their part, Christian spaces frequently deployed texts and images of Jewish prophets as antecessors to Christian doctrine and as witnesses to Christ’s royal bloodline.

Together, the images of Prophets, typological animals, and angels suggest a reading of the interior of the donjon of Vincennes the Celestial Court, forever swirling around and giving praise to the Godhead at the center. Supporting this silent city of celestial choristers – literally and metaphorically – is the column at the center of each story of the donjon. This axis is Jerusalem writ small, centrally planned like the Solomonic Temple of the medieval European imagination and gothic in detail like the Holy Church in the visual repertoire of religious art.³⁴⁶ What is missing from this group of signs of the celestial court is the ruler at the center, the Trinity of Christian theology. This elision suggests that the King of France slipped into the role of the King of Heaven

³⁴³ Amy Gillette, “Depicting the Sound of Silence: Angels’ Music and “Angelization” in Medieval Sacred Art,” 95-125.

³⁴⁴ Isaiah 6.1-3.; Revelations, 5.8-9.

³⁴⁵ Ezekiel 1:10, Revelations 4.6-9.

³⁴⁶ Carol Herselle Krinsky, “Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem before 1500,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* Vol. 33 (1970), pp. 1-19. For the significance of Gothic style micro-architecture as a representation of the Church, see Guérin, “Meaningful Spectacles: Gothic Ivories Staging the Divine,” 64.

when in court. Indeed, images of the Trinity appear only in the king's most exclusive room of the donjon, the *etude*. This tiny room is roofed with a quadripartite vault that rests on four corbels carved, like those of the Salle and the King's Chamber, with images of the animals of the evangelists (IMAGE 42). The vault rises into a boss carved not with foliage but with the Trinity (IMAGE 43). The sequestration of imagery in a space where the royal person would withdraw extended the equation between the king and God as the ruler of the heavenly court at work in the Donjon.

Charles V appears to have been satisfied with the visual arguments that the atelier of Raymond Temple made in the 1361-1371 campaign. When work on the donjon reached completion and work on the new enceinte began in 1372, they drew upon the lessons to reproduce its main arguments in more bold visual forms. The Tour du Village, the main gate of the new enceinte, preserves part of its original sculptural adornment and demonstrates that the sculptors sought to preserve and extend the thematic thrust of the original gatehouse and donjon. The rib vault of the tunnel entrance rests upon corbels representing the symbols of the evangelists, prophets with banderoles, and adds ecclesiasts with censors. The facade features two registers of carved adornment. The upper niche for two missing sculptures (now featuring a clock) stand between a pair of censuring angels (IMAGE 44). The lower register features niches for seven sculptures above a pair of horizontal musicians and a shield borne by two angels. Compared to the dramatic massing of gables on the Tour du Village, the microarchitectural forms of the donjon gatehouse appear preliminary in conception. The resemblance to a mobile polyptych in ivory or precious metals is underscored by their massing around the buttress, suggesting they had been drawn open to reveal the central statue. Their forms likewise resemble church screens and the porches of rayonnant churches of the previous century like the south transept of Notre Dame de Paris or the west façade

of Saint Nicaise of Reims, further underscoring the quasi-religious cast of the King of France's dwelling place (IMAGE 46 A&B).

The appropriation of divine authority for secular kings is certainly not new, but this repertoire of iconographic and stylistic signs is a new departure for French castles. By the rule of Charles V, the French monarchy had developed several iterations of divine rule, all of which remained current simultaneously. Capetian kings who pursued crusading held up Charlemagne as a saint and a "defender of the faith," a benevolent protector of the Christian community.³⁴⁷ Louis IX also cultivated a reputation for saintly devotion and simplicity, living a life cast after Christian hermeticism. Simultaneously, his purchase of the Crown of Thorns and the construction of the Sainte Chapelle presented an argument for French kingship based on the enshrinement of the ultimate kingly regalia and the example of Hebrew kings of the Torah.³⁴⁸

The image of Christian kingship that Charles V developed at Vincennes contrasted sharply with the representations of French royalty at his other palaces. Upon the death of his father in 1364, Charles V came into the possession of numerous residences in Paris and its vicinity which had long been associated with royal power and which bore manifestations of royal majesty and ideology. Of these, the Palais de la Cité was the most ideologically potent and important. The Palais de la Cité had been an important royal palace since the early Capetian dynasty. Louis IX brought his Crown of Thorns to rest there, and the chapel he built to house it, the Sainte Chapelle, evoked biblical and Christic prototypes for Christian rule. The *Grand Salle* built by Philip the Fair around 1300 was also a major site for the display of royal power. It was built on a titanic scale. 63

³⁴⁷ Marianne Cecelia Gaposckin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008). Autrand 1994, 541-544.

³⁴⁸ D. Sadler, "The King as Subject, the King as Author: Art and Politics of Louis IX," in *European Monarchy: Its Evolution and Practice from Roman Antiquity to Modern Times*, ed. H. Duchhardt, R. A. Jackson, and D. Sturdy (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992): 5.

meters long by 27 wide it was among the largest secular structures in Europe at that time.³⁴⁹ The decoration of the interior also emphasized the grandeur of royalty. The walls between the traceried windows and the central colonnade bearing the paneled ceiling and were adorned with colossal images of historical kings of France beginning with Pharamond, the mythological progenitor of the Merovingian dynasty (IMAGE 34 A). The bases of the columns included inscriptions with the name of the king and the years that he reigned.³⁵⁰ Surrounded by a company of predecessors, the king could hold state on his dais at the north end of the room. This dais was adorned with a massive table of black marble, part of which survives today and is preserved in the undercroft of the now-destroyed hall.

Vincennes is free of assemblies of the king of France's lineage after the cast of the *grand salle* of the Palais de la Cité. It is possible that the presence of so many pretenders to the French throne evacuated the representations of Capetial lineage of much of its rhetorical usefulness to the Valois, as half a dozen other dynasts could claim similar lineage. However, the Palais de la Cité remained in use and was a major locus for important ceremonial events through the reign of Charles V. A more likely explanation for the choice to pursue different visualizations of rule at Vincennes is that the imagery of the old palace remained powerful, evocative, and ever proximate for a mobile court.

The Louvre faced represented a third approach to visualizing the Valois dynasty's rule. Sauval's descriptions of the Old Louvre, Pierre Culdoe's transcribed accounts for the construction project, and surviving fragments of the decorative program demonstrate that the emphasis of the iconography was on portraiture of the current royal family. The program began on the main

³⁴⁹ Though smaller than William Rufus's Great Hall at Westminster.

³⁵⁰ Stephen Perkinson *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 86.

entrance on south façade, where the Louvre faced onto the wharfs on the Seine. There Jean de Saint Romain, one of the sculptors working for Charles V, inserted a sculpture of the king above the donjon's drawbridge access. Sauval claims that east portal of the Louvre also received a sculpture of the king and his first wife, Jeanne of Bourbon. The image of the *Tres Riches Heures* and the *Retable of Saint-Germain-des-Près* both show standing figures above the south gate, seeming to confirm this disposition (IMAGES 1&14).

The most complex group of statues stood on the exterior of the *grande vis*. Sauval claims that a pair of Sergeants of Arms stood on either side of the entry from the exterior, an arrangement that visualized the ceremonial quality of ascending the stair and entering the royal chambers. Above these sculptures, from low to high in order of succession, were sculptures of the heirs of Charles V's brothers: the Philippe, duke of Orleans, Louis, the Duke of Anjou, Philippe, Duke of Burgundy, and Jean, the Duke of Berry. Above these stood niches for the king and queen. Sculptures of the Virgin Mary, Saint John, and the symbols of the evangelists adorned the gable of the roof. The authors of the *Histoire du Louvre* argue that the presence of the Virgin and Saint John in the account books suggest a crucifixion scene.

The stairwell of the Louvre is the most complex iconographic program, and the part of the palace where Charles V's artists most fully took advantage of the mobile court's opportunity to scatter different political messages at different places. The placement of the sculptures of the royal family on the façade visualized the succession to the throne. It is a sense a presentation of the present and the futurity of the realm, a novel twist on sculpted representations of kings at other royal sites such as the *grande salle* of the Palais de la Cité and the necropolis of Saint Denis, itself a major royal residence, which visualized in their original conception (and increasingly with the passing years) the legacy of the past. Situated in Charles V's network of itinerancy, the sculptures

of the kingdom's present and future at Louvre did not function as self-sufficient. They function as a diptych to more iconographies encountered at other sites that emphasized ancestry and the legacy of pastness. Indeed, this program developed under the assumption that ancestry imagery at royal palaces like the Palais de la Cité and Saint Denis (which also functioned as a royal residence) remained current and accessible. If Charles V had chosen to take up permanent residence in the Louvre after its completion, he would require a structure that incorporated strong visual statements about the past and his ancestry, which appear to be absent from the building program. The persistence of major features like the Donjon and the decorative elements from the reign of Louis IX gestured to the Capetian legacy at the Louvre, but not with the force or emphasis at these other sites. This demonstrates an important qualification in this argument. At the Louvre, as at Charles V's other residences, nomadism encouraged artists to develop and highlight a single or a few elements of royal polemic, but this did not mean that other polemics are wholly expunged. They rather take on a more muted form, serving as a framework against for the development of more powerfully-presented visual arguments.

The sculptures on the east façade may be the pair of life-size limestone sculptures of Jeanne of Bourbon and Charles V now conserved in the Louvre museum and demonstrate the visual forms that the sculptors used to emphasize the rarified quality of the king (IMAGE 47). The sculpture of Joanna of Bourbon wears a crown (now partially restored) with a fashionable crespine – a headdress that divides the hair into two parts and holds it on either side of the head behind a mesh of wires or stiffened fabric. She wears a tight surcoat over a voluminous kirtle, an arrangement that evokes current trends in courtly dress. Charles is not depicted in fashionable court clothing or the trappings of knighthood. Besides his crown his dress is unadorned. His broochless cloak lays over a loose, knee-length houppelande and floor-length chemise. In her *livre des faits et bonnes*

moeurs du roi Charles V le sage, Christine de Pisan claimed that Charles V abandoned the elaborate and tight-fitting garments he wore in his youth after he ascended the throne and took to wearing the loose, floor-length garments associated with clerics. She emphasized that this choice – the rejection of current fashion trends in favor of timeless accoutrements of rule - underscored the alterity and primacy of Charles V within the court society and the majesty of his office.³⁵¹ So depicted, the sculpture of Charles V makes a parallel argument for the special status of the king among all the members of the French ruling class even while the program of the *grand vis* evoked the stability of Valois succession by placing his image among those of his brothers.

The Louvre, the Palais de la Cité, and the Château de Vincennes exhibit a variety of depictions of French kingship. The Louvre and Vincennes shared sculptural adornments of prophets and (possibly) royal portraits, but both dispense of the images of ancient French kings so dramatically displayed in the Grand Salle of the Palais de la Cité. And while the atelier of Raymond Temple appears to have developed the sculptural programs simultaneously, Sauval and Pierre Culdoe's transcribed documents do not speak of any angelic figures at the Louvre, images of the Trinity, or a Saint Chapelle at the Louvre. These points of divergence stem from their coexistence within a single network of itinerancy. The Louvre stands opposite the Palais de la Cité. Expending effort to develop a program based on the theme of the Crown of Thorns, the legacy of Saint Louis, or Valois house's claim to great antiquity would do little more than duplicate an argument for the shape of Charles V's power and persona that an active and nearby palace fulfilled. Because his nomadic lifestyle assured that the Palais de la Cité would remain accessible to him even as he developed new houses, he and his masons were free to explore new thoughts when they developed

³⁵¹ Francoise Autrand, *Charles V*, 483. ; Christine de Pisan, *Le Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, 37.

another residence. Viewed as part of a single, regional network of habitation, the three residences do not contradict one another but form a suite of complementary images of French royal power.

Conclusion

This chapter has revealed the often-invisible hand of elite nomadism as it effected decision-making processes at two of Charles V's major sites. In the court of Charles V, the logistics of nomadism governed which castles saw intensive habitation, while the desire to retain use of a house encouraged builders to design projects that minimize disruption at especially important sites. Valois nobles like Charles V spent so much time on the road that the residences and the hardware of travel – barges, litters, carriages, and tents – came to resemble one another. For courtiers who habitually moved between a dozen houses of different ages and building histories, flexibility to variability in the built environment was second nature and extensive uniformity in the built environment both unimaginable and useless. Castles and palaces of a single king therefore came to diverge in plan and adornment as they became more closely bound into the same itinerancy network. Motion and building operated in tandem to create a suite of individual, sharply-defined visualizations of Valois rule that harmonize through contrast.

Chapter 3 Unity and Variation at the Châteaux of Germolles and Hesdin

The tightly-constrained itinerancy network of Charles V and his relatively short reign – sixteen years in total - provides a narrow window for judging the impact of Valois nomadism on architecture and landscape. The longer and better-documented reigns of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders offer the opportunity to witness patterns of elite building and nomadic lifestyle that emerge over longer periods of time and through interactions with wider geographies. This chapter thus investigates two castles of Margaret of Flanders and Philip the Bold. The first is the Château de Hesdin, a castle built into the city wall of the town of the same name approximately forty-two kilometers from the North Sea port of Berck. Germolles by contrast is a rural retreat approximately fifteen kilometers west of Chalon-sur-Saône in the Saône-et-Loire Département and the former Duchy of Burgundy (IMAGES 1&2).

That the same patronal couple even constructed and inhabited two such distant sites is itself a testament to the vitality of elite nomadism at the end of the fourteenth century, and nomadism exerted an impact on all stages of their development. In this chapter, I consider the impact of nomadism on the timing of these projects and the results of the building campaigns. A close observation of the records and demonstrates that both sites received major interventions at roughly the same time, around 1384, thanks to the exigencies of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders' itinerancy networks. As in the building projects of Charles V, the results of construction are characteristic of nomadic builders. Both houses are united by a common group of design motifs and features. The teams of artists on each site used this common package of design elements to create different overarching decorative programs that told stories about the shape and meaning of Valois rule at variance to one another. Close examination of the documents and remains of the two

structures demonstrates the impact of nomadic lifestyles on the representation of gender and pastness in Valois architecture.

This dissertation has proposed that nomadism as practiced by the Valois is its own, internally-coherent and historically-contingent phenomenon. It was a variation on practices that extended into early middle ages and the contemporary world and that was in its time shared with people from Morocco to Java, Hawaii to Norway. That said, it had its own specific set of ideological parameters, logistical apparatuses, and material cultures. Considering the impact of itinerancy on the built environment across a long lifetime, the forty years from 1365 to 1405, offers an opportunity to view nomadism as a living, changing phenomenon that developed out of earlier practices and that was in the process of evolution. Valois dynasts and their courts constantly modified the particulars of their customs of nomadism, ensuring that the practice of the middle of the fourteenth century was slightly different from that of the beginning of the fifteenth century. Considering the process of change reveals the rootedness of this phenomenon in contemporary ideological discourses, economies, and political realities. Showing the power of nomadism to change in response to new challenges is essential to breaking down the dominant stereotype that nomadism in the time of Philip the Bold can be taken to represent the whole of medieval France, or even Europe. Presenting nomadism as malleable and subject to change returns to scholarly imagination the agency of dynasts, court inhabitants, and surrounding communities.

Shifting Parameters of Nomadism

Philip the Bold's customs of itinerancy changed over the course of his career, and ducal administration's approach to funding and governing worksites shifted over time his wealth grew and his itinerancy network incorporated new regions. Philip the Bold's itineraries, laboriously compiled by Ernest Petit, open in 1363 and demonstrate a bifocal itinerancy region focused on

Burgundy and the Ile de France in the years before 1380.³⁵² In 1363, Philip the Bold entered Burgundy in the beginning of April and resided there until the end of the next May. This places his trip two months before his father Jean the Good technically made him lieutenant-general of the duchy and five months before the king gifted it to him as an apanage.³⁵³ During this long period of residence within Burgundy itself, it is likely that he met with local potentates and power structures, beginning the tasks of forging working relationships with the institutions that he would rule. This act of inhabiting areas that that were obviously going to come into his hands in the near to middle-term future mirrors the *iter* of Ottonian emperors described by Bernhardt and remained would become a pattern for Philip in the future.³⁵⁴ While he tended to spend several months of every year before 1380 within the duchy itself, he also attended the court of his brother Charles V and his nephew, Charles VI. This included significant time within Paris. As Charles V delegated military maneuvers to his brothers and trusted advisors, it also included time spent in the field.³⁵⁵

If Philip the Bold's itinerary was weighted to Burgundy in the first years of his rule of Burgundy, his building projects were entirely within the immediate vicinity of Paris. This is likely because Charles V's projects offered the initial model for Philip the Bold, and it was a model imperfectly suited for the larger region through which Philip travelled. Like Charles V, Philip developed two major structures in the vicinity of Paris, and his *chambre de comptes* attempted to exert tight control over worksite spending. In 1367, Philip the Bold acquired the Hôtel de Plaisance, a suburban palace just outside the park of Vincennes.³⁵⁶ He also owned an urban

³⁵² These records take the form of household account books headed with a date and location for each day, in addition to similarly-headed legislative documents and official and personal correspondence.

³⁵³ Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, 3.

³⁵⁴ Bernhardt *Itinerant kingship and royal monasteries in early medieval Germany, 936–1075*, 56.

³⁵⁵ Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, 7-8.

³⁵⁶ ADCO B.1430 49v. « Oeuvres Ftes en lostel monss a PLAISANCE pes du bois de Vincenn le quell mons a nouvellement acquis de mais Jehan de Mares advocate en Pallent du Roy mess a Paris les quells on teste faites et paies p Masst Pierre D'Orgemot president en plement. Et premier. »

residence called the Hostel de la Rue aux Bourdonnais or the Hostel de la Rue de Fosse aux Chiens located just to the east of the Louvre. Documents for construction projects at these two sites dominate the years between 1367 and 1370. The *chambre de comptes* in these early years records explicit campaigns of work, such as pulling down rotten carpentry, reconstructing the gables of halls, and putting gutters on the roof lines, leading to long, itemized receipts (See Appendix 3). Like Charles V, Philip appears to have avoided staying in both these houses while they were under construction. Itemized receipts for materials and work on the houses demonstrates that parts of both houses had to be unroofed for part of the construction. During these periods, Philip the Bold took trips to the duchy of Burgundy. When he did stay in the immediate vicinity of Paris, he made only brief visits to his own properties, and spent much of his time in houses owned by family members such as the main château at Vincennes or the monastic complexes of Saint Ouen and Saint Denis.³⁵⁷

After Philip's marriage to Margaret in 1369, the couple's building projects expand across Burgundy and demonstrate a changing approach to managing construction sites. It appears that Margaret of Flanders, who frequently resided in the duchy from early in her reign, was the driving force behind these changes. The first castle project encountered in the duchy itself was the duchess's favorite extra-Dijonais residence, the Château de Rouvres, which began to receive repairs to faded elements in 1373.³⁵⁸ Thereafter projects began at various houses with great rapidity, frequently at her prompting. In the same year, Margaret ordered works at the Château de

³⁵⁷ Petit, *Itinéraires de Philippe Le Hardi Et de Jean Sans Peur, Ducs de Bourgogne, 1363-1419*, 50-56.

³⁵⁸ ADCO B. 1441 19r. "A Monmot Lescot chastellain de Rouvre pour contuir en plusiors ouvrages que monss li a ordonnez fair ou dit chausteaul de rouvre par mand de mon dits chastellain...pour fair plusieurs reparations de charpenterie ... »

Talant, also on the outskirts of Dijon.³⁵⁹ Margaret's rooms in the hill citadel of Montbar received its first series of works in 1374.³⁶⁰ Argilly enters the accounts in 1375, though again the work in this early stage was small scale, amounting to only 30 *francs*.³⁶¹ The next year saw an expense of 100 *frans*, demonstrating an expanding program of works.³⁶² Though many of these campaigns began as small-scale interventions like the remaking of shutters, the repair of leaky roofs, and the rebuilding of chimneys, projects at all these sites swiftly developed into extensive campaigns of expansion.

The scale and geographic dispersal of Philip and Margaret's building programs expanded again after the death of the father of Margaret of Flanders in 1384, creating permanent roots for the ducal couple in Flanders and Artois. Because the region was a part of Margaret's inheritance, it had long been integrated into their itinerancy networks without the support of permanent infrastructure at their command. Unlike the rather belated beginning of building in Burgundy, Philip the Bold wasted no time in beginning construction projects in Flanders.³⁶³ Within a few months of the death of Margaret's father, works began at Hesdin, Lille, and a completely new edifice, the Tour de Bourgogne or the Château de l'Ecluse in the harbor of Bruges.³⁶⁴ This period saw a major increase in funding to building sites. This income was derived in part from the prosperous north but most especially the embezzlement of the treasury of the young Charles VI.

³⁵⁹ ADCO B. 1441 19r. « A Gmot le maire chastellain de talent qui li ont est baill our convtr en ctains ouvraiges de fenestres de toile et autres ouvraiges que ma dame avoit ordonnez a fair es hostels de mon dit seigneurur a talent don xxviii de decembre cccLxxiiii xiiii franz. »

³⁶⁰ ADCO B. 1444 38r. « A Jehan Poncet charpent des menues enires de mons pour achat ii his noes pour conutur en etanis ouvraiges que lan fait a montbar en la chambre madame par mand de mons et quittance donn prmer jour daoust ccclxxiiii II franz. »

³⁶¹ ADCO B. 1445 13r. « A guillot Rougeot chastellan dargilly pour condutr es ouvrait du dit chastel dargilly p salre don x de mars 75 xxx franz. »

³⁶² ADCO B. 1452 18v. « Ouvrages a Argilly quittance don 30 novembre 76 C franz. »

³⁶³ It should be said that Philip the Bold had been frequently present in the duchy before this, especially in the context of his father-in-law's war with the commune of Ghent.

³⁶⁴ Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, 33.

Construction projects thus continued apace in Burgundy, especially at rural sites in the suburbs of major towns paired with urban centers like Rouvres and Argilly.³⁶⁵ Construction began at Germolles in the center of the Duchy of Burgundy in 1385. Building during this decade thus touched every corner of the combined territories of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders.

Because Philip and Margaret's widening region of nomadism in the 1370's and 1380's encouraged a spike in the quantity and geographical dispersal of building, the organizational capacity of the ducal *chambre de comptes* came under serious strain. This encouraged experiments in building administration. Faced with the task of administering massive, transregional network of construction projects, the ducal administration just stopped attempting to control money at the ground level. Instead, they delegated control over worksites to local chatelains, especially those with especial experience in construction projects, and sent money to them in monthly or yearly installments.³⁶⁶ As seen so many times in this dissertation, transregional lifestyle encouraged localization even as it drew widely-dispersed sites into relationships.

If the sheer quantity of construction sites inspired the ducal administration to retreat from the day-to-day tasks of building, it also encouraged it to develop a series of common protocols for the management of all the funding sites. In an edict dated to 1395, Philip the Bold appointed his

³⁶⁵ At Argilly, the final receipt for construction is dated to 1392. ADCO B. 1499 39v. « A Girart maistrot chastellain de Rouvre our conutir es fenesons de lan 94 sa lre fte le iie jour de juillet 94 XL fl A lui pou ouvraiges XXI septembre LIII fr Xxii jour de novembre X fr SOME CIII franz. » ; Jehan de Beaumetz was painting in the interiors of Argilly as late as 1392. ADCO B.1852 62v. « A Estienne de sens mchant de Dijon qui deuz luy estoiet pour la vende et deliuvrance de vi papiers dor lesquelz il a deliver a jehan de beaumez painter et varlet de chamber du d mons pour painter en son chattel dargilly amps de iiii frans dem chun papier pour ce paie a luy p mand du d moss donne a junigny les chanceaulx le xiiiie jour de septembre 93 ctificacon du dit jeh de beaumez avent quitt xxvii franz. »

³⁶⁶ To give an example of such funding, see ADCO B.1503 29v, « A Robert de Baughetin Comes sur les ouvrages que mon dit seigneur le duc fait faire de nouvel en son chastel de hesdin IIII fl lesquelz mon dit s p ses lettres donn a Paris le derrenier jour de janvier 94 a ordonnes a lui estre baillies et deliuvres po yceulx employer es dis ouvrages pour ce paie a lui par les dittes lettres et lettre de rete du d robert donn le ixie jour de fevrier ou dit an 94 ci rend la ditte some de IIII M fl. »

treasurer, Oudart Douay, as comptroller for the ducal works.³⁶⁷ This new office created a set of explicit protocols for earmarking money in the central treasury for construction, stating, for instance, that revenue derived from the duke's salt monopoly and impounded assets go directly to building funds.³⁶⁸ This new office brought *de jure* recognition to protocols and responsibilities that had long been in place. In a document dated to the 21st of January 1392, for instance Philip had transferred to Oudart's control 1500 *livres tournois* confiscated from one Germigny, burgess of Lille, who was expelled from the city for unspecified crimes. The document commands Oudart to set aside 800 *livres* to repair the castle of Lille and 700 to heighten the towers of Hesdin.³⁶⁹ Nomadism, and its compulsion to build across large regions, thus held the centralizing and localizing tendencies in constant tension, and experimental methods in administration of building projects followed both of these trains of thought.

Why Here?

Chapter 1 of this dissertation considered the rationales driving nomadism as a system, but it remains to be seen why nomadic rulers chose one site over another to create certain attested networks of houses. Germolles and Hesdin are well suited to consider this question, for Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders did not initially visit these castles very much and later consciously chose to place them at the center of their network of residence. Philip first visited Hesdin on the 13th of June, 1369, but he only began to visit the house regularly after 1389. Germolles likewise did not see a visit by the duchess until 1385, fifteen years after she began to regularly dwell within the Duchy of Burgundy, but she thereafter made it a site of frequent visits. This section considers the rationales that encouraged Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders to extend their routes of

³⁶⁷ Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, 158-159. ADCO B15 f 39b

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.* ADCO B15 f 44; Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Bourgogne 53, ff 26, 106.

³⁶⁹ ADN B. 1852-56 50883

travel to encompass new sites. I argue that many factors could lead to the choice to elevate a castle to a major residence. Two factors emerge as especially important: site-specific venues of a castle and proximity to weak areas in a preexisting route of travel.

Large, old, and complex castles tended to draw nomadic Valois nobles to them. As the itinerancy network of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders changed across their reigns, it absorbed numerous castle sites that had already been the sites of aristocratic power. Among these were the city palace of Dijon, Charles V's Château of Beauté-sur-Marne, and the Château de Hesdin.³⁷⁰ The landscape of Hesdin came in 1384 replete with a large and diverse set of power signifiers. Some, such as the city walls, civic hospital, and religious communities in the castle's lower court, grounded their occasional presence in the locality with enduring investments in its welfare (IMAGE 3&4). The vast game park spoke to widely-shared aristocratic values. Hesdin's *galeries* and *gloriette*, along with less-famous elements such as the *maison de dedalus* presented an inner set of courtiers a prodding set of questions about a slice of aristocratic ideology, the chivalric ideal. These thematic interiors offered their inhabitants the opportunity to inhabit and question aspects of aristocratic identity in a way not encountered elsewhere in Philip the Bold's circuits of itinerancy.

A picture of Hesdin that emerges from the combination of archaeological and archival remains demonstrates the importance of this place as a city and a seigneurial seat. Although the castle looked over a massive park, it would be inaccurate to characterize it as a rural retreat like Argilly or Vincennes. A more accurate comparison would be to other wall-straddling residences like the Louvre and the Bastille in Paris and the palace of Walle in Ghent. Before its destruction

³⁷⁰ For Philip's acquisition of Beauté, see André van Van Nieuwenhuysen, *Les Finances du duc de Bourgogne Philippe le Hardi (1384-1404) : économie et politique* (Bruxelles, Éditions de l'université de Bruxelles, 1984), 428.

by the forces of Emperor Charles V in 1553 and the relocation of the city to a new site (hence the site's current name, Vieil Hesdin), Hesdin was a mid-sized city with a profitable woolen industry, and Sebastian Landrieux has estimated that its population may have stood between eight and ten thousand.³⁷¹ The city was bounded by a wall with seven gates that opened onto three faubourgs: Saint Quentin to the northeast, Beaumont to the southwest, and La Puterie to the town's immediate east (IMAGE 5). Like the Louvre and the Bastille, the château of Hesdin straddled the wall of the city, providing a place of strength in the system of civic defenses.

By the time Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders inherited Hesdin, the city featured urban amenities to match its prosperity. Maps presented by the Amis de la Site Historique de Vieil Hesdin indicate that the river Canche divided the walled, roughly triangular city in two parts. The northern part of the town featured a prison, the Collegiate Church of Saint Martin, the convent of the Clarisses, and the Hospital of Saint Jean. South of the Canche stood the main market square and the city hall built in 1238.³⁷² The city also featured a separate animal market to the west of the main square. The convents of the *soeurs noires* (hospitaliers), a priory dedicated to Saint George, a friary of the Minor Friars a parish church dedicated to Saint Hilare and another to Notre Dame de Hesdin. This last church had a subsidiary chapel outside the walls in the faubourg of Saint Quentin. Such a large town lent the Château de Hesdin a distinctly urban cast. Architectural fragments, including moldings, engaged socles, column shafts, and foliate capitals recovered from the Collegiate Church of Saint Martin are currently in the Societe Historique de Vieil Hesdin (IMAGE 6). These decorative elements demonstrate that this urban environment was adorned with

³⁷¹ Sebastien Landrieux, Université de Lille III, op. cited.

³⁷² B. Danvin, *Histoire du Vieil-Hesdin : Vicissitudes, Heur et Malheur du Vieil-Hesdin, 1^{re} Tome* (Cressé : Éditions des Régionalismes, 2016), 74.

lavish structures, and that the sophistication of the wider community developed in lockstep with the castle itself.

The counts of Artois and Flanders had patronized the urban community of Hesdin, laying a blueprint for Philip and Margaret's interaction with the city. Mahaut of Artois (1268-1329) in particular endowed charities to help the urban poor. She founded the Hopital St. Jean in 1323, and it often bears the moniker *L'Hopital de Madame d'Artois* in contemporary records. The next year she bequeathed 50 *livres* to the poor of the city and ecclesiastic ornaments and relics of Saint Louis to the castle chapel of Hesdin.³⁷³ Mahaut later donated the rents for fifty measures of land to buy clothes for poor citizens of the city, a charity that was administered by the bailiff of Hesdin and the abbot of Auchy.³⁷⁴ These donations came in a reign troubled by contested inheritance and the widespread resentment elicited by the confiscation of land north of the city to extend the castle's park. This long-simmering struggle came to a head in 1321, when the commune of Hesdin payed a fine of 2000 *livres* for breaking down the park gates.³⁷⁵ Read against this conflict, Mahaut's charitable endowments such as the *Hopital St. Jean* emphasized the beneficence of her rule in the face of resistance to other aspects of her policies.

Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders sought to emphasize continuity with the past of the House of Dampierre through dwelling in Hesdin from time to time and continuing the tradition of civic endowment. Most notably, they paid the yearly pensions of church canons, made offerings at local churches, and endowed the Hospital d'Artois and the monastery of Auchy-lès-Hesdin with a yearly stipend.³⁷⁶ They also paid the salaries of the abbot of Auchy, the abbot of Saint Josse-sur-

³⁷³ Danvin, *Histoire du Vieil-Hesdin*, 74.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 82.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid*.

³⁷⁶ ADN. 15296 2v. A Labbaie dauchi pour aumosne fet p ma dit dame pour fair chun an le aumm de monss dart en leur dte engl pour tout lan a touss paie et p sa quittance don...A lospital q ma dte ame fist faire en hesdin pour assign

le-Mer, the canons of the church of Saint Martin, offered donations to the church of Saint George.³⁷⁷ In 1391, the Minor Friars obtained a liberty from the duke.³⁷⁸ The duke and duchess also paid for occasional work in the city, for instance repairing the fishpond of the church of Saint Martin's vivier in 1396.³⁷⁹ Philip also occasionally gave the city tax breaks.³⁸⁰ Some of their building projects also had an urban and civic aspect. Hesdin lay close to the Pale of Calais, the enclave of English dominion on the continent. This made Hesdin an obvious site for diplomatic activities but also incentivized fortification against the threat of the *chevalchee*, making the château a matter of broader public concern.

Hesdin also attracted the court by the venues it offered to the court. No venue was more important than the castle's massive game park (IMAGE). The park dates to around 1293, when Robert II of Artois gave his Apulian steward Rinaldo Cognetti the job of requisitioning land to expand the small, eleventh-century park he inherited with the castle.³⁸¹ Particularly effected was monastery of Auchy-les-Hesdin, which lost its *Manoire du Marais* or "marsh manor," its fishponds, and an area of woodlands in exchange for a yearly pension in wheat. The owners of estates between the castle of Hesdin and the valley of the Tournois also lost their lands, which fell behind the new park pale in 1294.³⁸² As a product of these land transfers, the village of Grigny

de vii L par lan fte sur la dit recepte ; aud dit hospital pour aumons fte par ma dit dame a pndre sur la dtr reciept pur tout lann a touss et par quittance rendue a court xiiiL vii s v d.

³⁷⁷ ADN 2v. A labbaie dauchi pour aumonse fet a le dte eglise...a labbaie de saint josse sur le mer pour aumosne fte pour tout lant..aux canones de saint martin en hesdin pour laumosne dun obit ql pudoient sur une preche de terre enclose ou pt de hesdin pour tout lan au tmp de chandlr....a lenglis de saint george pour les admi faccions du pain et du in des auteulz pour tout l'an.

³⁷⁸ Danvin, *Histoire du Vieil-Hesdin*, 102.

³⁷⁹ ADN. 152296 2r. « au chapple de saint martin de hesdi pour le rester du vivier de hesdin pour tout lan a le chandelier. »

³⁸⁰ ADCO B. 1511, 42r.

³⁸¹ Concerning the 11th century origins of the park, see : Francois Duceppe-Lamarre, « Le parc à gibier d'Hesdin. Mises au point et nouvelles orientations de recherches » *Revue du Nord* 343 (2001), 175.

³⁸² Anne Hagophian Van Buren, "Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin," in *Medieval Gardens* ed. Elisabeth B. McDougall (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), 126.

was destroyed and relocated to its current site beyond the western boundary of the now 900-acre park. This series of disturbances in traditional ownership and land-use had made the count and his operatives, especially Rinaldo Cogneetti, unpopular in the extreme. Indeed, Cogneetti fell from grace in 1299, and fled France under charges of extortion, falsifying documents, and the theft of charters, suggesting that the count and his agents could be ruthless when their plans met with resistance.³⁸³ In the decades following the death of Robert II, the park continued to be a flash-point in local power struggles. In 1315, Mahaut, Robert II's daughter, agreed to suppress all parklands enclosed after the death of Louis IX of Artois, a promise she did not keep. Communal anger over this unmollified injustice led eventually to the riot and breaking of the park gates six years later in 1321.³⁸⁴

The social rancor stirred by emparkment discouraged later attempts in the region, so that by the middle of the fourteenth century parks of the size of Hesdin were normally inherited rather than created. Valois princes who wanted to engage in the ideologically loaded act of hunting had to avail themselves of already-existing parks rather than build new ones. Relying on old parks also offered an already sophisticated hunting infrastructure. By the time Margaret of Flanders and Philip the Bold inherited Hesdin in 1384, the land within the wall included a host of different terrains and structures to shelter semi-wild animals of the chase. Robert II had introduced populations of red and fallow deer, rabbits, herons, and swans to the park at the beginning of the century and had developed part of its grounds as a stud-farm. These species required specialized environments and care, concerns that drove the topographical extent of the park's expansion and the construction of new park features. Herons and swans required significant areas of marshland,

³⁸³ Anne Hagophian Van Buren, "Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin," 126.

³⁸⁴ Sharon Farmer, "Aristocratic Power and the "Natural" Landscape: The Garden Park at Hesdin, ca. 1291-1302," *Speculum* 88 (2013), 647-648.

for instance, explaining Robert's push to the valley of the Tournoise, while deer needed access to drinking holes. As rabbits require well-drained soil to build their warrens, Robert II had ordered the construction of pillow mounds as warrens, possibly in a wooded area outside the park pale.³⁸⁵ Hesdin thus came fully-formed as a site for sport hunting, requiring little investment beyond maintenance.

The castle of Hesdin was also a large structure with complex endowments by the year 1384, ensuring that it could hold a large court. The castle was quite old. It had risen over the town in 1008 under the auspices of Badouin de Mons, eighth count of Flanders. The majority of the structure as known to Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders, however, took shape between 1288 and 1329.³⁸⁶ Across these four decades, Robert II, Count of Artois (1250-1302), and his daughter Mahaut oversaw the expansion and embellishment of the castle with two courtyards, a *basse cour* that faced the city and a *haut cour* that faced the park and gardens to its north and east. Records in the Archive de la Pas de Calais demonstrate that Robert's workers completed the new *grand salle* in 1293 and that they installed mechanized boar heads in this space in 1299.³⁸⁷ He also expanded the residence, adding kitchens, a chapel, several bedrooms, and wardrobes.³⁸⁸ His daughter Mahaut extended and decorated the castle, purchasing buildings abutting the castle walls and paying for artists to paint her chambers with images of crowned heads.³⁸⁹ Ely Truitt claims that this adornment was part of a larger renovation which encompassed the chapel, towers, and the interiors of the residence.³⁹⁰ Thus when Margaret of Flanders and Philip the Bold received Hesdin

³⁸⁵ Farmer, *Aristocratic Power and the "Natural" Landscape: The Garden Park at Hesdin, ca. 1291–1302.* 665.

³⁸⁶ Danvin, *Histoire du Vieil-Hesdin*, 46. Count Robert I of Artois (1216-1250) renovated this structure in the middle of the thirteenth century.; *Ibid.*, 74.

³⁸⁷ Van Buren, *Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin*, 127.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 129.

³⁸⁹ Danvin, *Histoire du Vieil-Hesdin*, 83.

³⁹⁰ Truitt, Ely, "The Garden of Earthly Delights: Mahaut of Artois and the Automata at Hesdin," *Medieval Feminist Forum: A Journal of Gender and Sexuality* 46 (2010), 78.

as a part of their inheritance, they rerouted their normal paths toward a place that was already well-suited to visualizing their lifestyle and form of rule.

In sum, Hesdin is a case where the princes went to places that were already large, complex, and important. Tailoring a route of itinerancy to hit a list of especially important houses and urban centers allowed the ducal couple to take advantage of site-specific elements and perform public relations with important urban constituencies. The choice to develop Germolles demonstrates an inversion of this thinking. At Germolles, the big house sprang up because it lay close to a preexisting route of itinerancy.

As his published itineraries demonstrate, Philip the Bold spent much of the 1380's and 1390's around Paris and in the northern part of his domains, the better to manage the complex politics surrounding the regency of the young Charles VI.³⁹¹ This left Margaret to attend the day-to-day functions Burgundy's government in his stead, ensuring that she often travelled within the duchy.³⁹² Margaret's customary paths of transit within the Duchy of Burgundy familiarized her with the countryside around Chalon-sur-Saone. As seen in Chapter 1, fragmentary rolls for Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders' 1378 sojourn in Burgundy demonstrate that Chalon-sur-Saone was an important stopping point for the duke and the duchess but that it lacked the usual urban-rural pairing of residences that Charles V and his family members cultivated.³⁹³ In a voyage that likely reflects a frequent occurrence in now-lost records, Philip and Margaret passed back and forth almost daily between Chalon-sur-Saone and Moillecon, a village fourteen kilometers east the

³⁹¹ Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, 38.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, 151-152.

³⁹³ Think of paired residential landscapes convenient for micronomadism such as Paris-Vincennes, Dijon-Rouvres, Beaune-Argilly.

city itself (CHAPTER 1, IMAGE 2).³⁹⁴ Contrary to usual household custom, the headings for the daily receipt scrolls do not explicitly name the accommodations at Moillecon during these visits, nor do they record any purchases within the village itself. Judging from the names in the receipts, the court continued to rely upon vendors and rented beds in Chalon-sur-Saône when the court was in the Moillecon. While the duke and duchess did stay in Moillecon overnight, they often chose to spend the day there and retire to Chalon-sur-Saône in the evenings.³⁹⁵ It is likely that Moillecon did not have a particularly large or useful residence, so that Margaret of Flanders was looking for a more substantial house to serve as a rural retreat near Chalon from quite early in her rule as duchess.

As fate would have it, a house would be forthcoming in the form of an acrimonious legal dispute between the chatelain of Montaigu and a knight in the village of Germolles. Germolles, fifteen kilometers to the west of Chalon-sur-Saône and thus within an afternoon's ride, had been a small seigneurial seat as early as 1253, when Guillaume de Decize sold two parcels of land that he held in fief to one Guigon of Germolles. This purchase made Guigon a vassal of two local potentates, Guillaume Desrees, and Hugonet of Montaigu.³⁹⁶ In the following years, Guigon purchased more land in the area, assembling a domain in the neighborhood of Germolles. Guigon and his descendants Geoffroy (d. 1296), Guillaume I (d. 1329), Jean (fl. 1320-1340), and Guillaume II actively sought to develop their patrimony. In addition to developing the core property at Germolles, they purchased land in the nearby villages and townships of Saint-Martin,

³⁹⁴ ADCO 320ter, August 1 to October 31, 1378.; Ernst Petit suggests "Moillecon" is a variant of Montcoy. At approximately 14 kilometers east of the center of Chalon-sur-Saône, Montcoy is the same distance from the city as Germolles and is the site of a castle. If Petit's etymology holds, Margaret's choice to hold and develop Germolles still reflects a perceived need for a rural retreat within an afternoon's journey of Chalon-sur-Saône. Petit *Itinéraires de Philippe Le Hardi Et de Jean Sans Peur, Ducs de Bourgogne, 1363-1419*, 681.

³⁹⁵ Ibid, 681.

³⁹⁶ Julien Monchanin, *Les Seigneurs de Germolles avant les ducs et leur château, les Sires de la Grange* (Chalon-sur-Saône : Université pour tous de Bourgogne, 2018), 47.

Mellecy, Dracy, Corcelles, and Chastenoy.³⁹⁷ These purchases lent the Lords of Germolles or Lords of the Grange (as they became known) a measure of local authority, as evinced by the existence of vassals who rendered him homage. They also expanded the small cluster of buildings included in the original purchase into a large, quadrangular structure with four wings around a central courtyard, a disposition that the castle retains to this day (IMAGES).³⁹⁸

As Lords of the Grange became established members of the local landholding class, they became entangled in an argument over issues of homage that led to their downfall. After 1375, Guillaume's son Guillaume II found himself in increasingly desperate financial situation, and the chatelain of Montaigu jumped on the opportunity to renew his claims to his overlordship of Germolles. Guillaume II's legal records suggest his desperate plight at this time. He owed Lombard bankers a debt 1,800 florin and a group of Jewish bankers between 700 and 800 francs. To pay his creditors, Guillaume resorted to the desperate measure of selling off parts of his heritage. In 1377, he sold 20 livres of rent in perpetuity to Jean of Montagny for 200 francs. On the 16th of March, 1378, he sold 160 *livres* of land to Philibert Paillar, a counselor of the king and the president of the Parlement of Paris, and his wife Jeanne de Dormans, while the next year he sold he sold 30 *livres* of land to Pierre Chevillard de Pouilly-en-Auxois for the sum of 300 francs and 100 *livres* to Guillaume de Tremoile, the chamberlain of Philip the Bold, for the sum of 1000 *livres tournois*.³⁹⁹

It was all this buying and selling that formed the legal basis for the legal suit of Guillaume de Colemare, the chatelaine of Montaigu. When he learned of the sales, he opened court

³⁹⁷ Julien Monchanin, *Les Seigneurs de Germolles avant les ducs et leur château, les Sires de la Grange*, 47.

³⁹⁸ Patrice Beck, *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age* (Saint-Cyr-sur-Loire : Alan Sutton, 2002), 40-43.

³⁹⁹ Monchanin, *Les Seigneurs de Germolles avant les ducs et leur château, les Sires de la Grange*, 99-103.

proceedings against Guillaume of Germolles, whom he claimed could not alienate property without his consent as overlord. During this proceeding, the courts brought forth witnesses to the local reputation of the status of Germolles. This roll survives in the departmental archives of the Cote d'Or, and demonstrates a considerable range of opinions about Montaigu's claims. Jean Paris of Saint Martin claimed that Guillaume I of Germolles had rendered supplication to Oudart of Montaigu in the 1320's in a legally correct way and that he habitually performed the normal tasks of a knightly vassal, such as carrying his overlord's letters. Other witnesses do not corroborate the story. One John Begleret and the widow Jeannette of Mellecey recounted the subjugation of Germolles by violence. According to their testimony, the Oudart of Montaigu had intimidated Guillaume I to pay homage. They claim that Guillaume I had closed the gate and refused Oudart of Montaigu passage, after which the enraged lord battered down part of the castle wall and forced Guillaume to perform supplication.⁴⁰⁰

Margaret of Flanders eventually intervened into the case Montaigu vs. Gemolles to the downfall of the latter. A document in the Archive departementales de la Cote d'Or claims that she sent Dreue Felize, an officer and councilor of Philip the Bold, to Germolles to seek documents pertaining to the status of the land. The document claims that Dreue found a large chest filled with documents and sent it to the chatelaine of Montaigu, who opened them and chose the ones that helped his case. The document in the archive departementale also avers that Dreue recovered a bag of "fausse monnaie."⁴⁰¹ Charges of counterfeiting and coin clipping thus compounded Guillaume's legal woes.

⁴⁰⁰ ADCO B. 1087 Cote 121

⁴⁰¹ Beck *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age*, 15.

The legal status of Germolles was declared in stages between the end of 1380 and the middle of 1381. On the Wednesday before Christmas, 1380, Charles VI of France signed and sealed a letter licensing Philip the Bold to confiscate Germolles, under the understanding that the property was reverting to its lord after his vassal broke his feudal contract.⁴⁰² On the 7th of June, 1381, both Guillaume de Germolles and Philibert Paillart appeared before the court of Chalons-sur-Saone and declared their forfeiture to “the lands and belongings of that place, to be committed and given over to my Lord the Duke.”⁴⁰³

After the intervention of the king and the duke began the process of reassembling the domain of Germolles, which had been scattered across numerous holders in the midst of the sales of Guillaume of Germolles. The fate of Guillaume de Germolles after losing his property is unclear. The collection of dispersed property rights under the authority of Margaret of Flanders lasted several years, and may never have been completed in full. It is clear, however, that she repaid Guillaume de Tremoille, her husband’s chancellor 300 *livres* for the down payment towards 1000 *livres* that he had made on the property. For all his efforts to ensure the downfall of Guillaume de Germolles, the chatelaine of Montaignu received rather little compensation. Drawing the ducal attention to local affairs assured that the property reverted to the authority of the Duke rather than himself, and those who had purchased rights to Germolles rejected them in favor of Margaret of Flanders.⁴⁰⁴

Thus, did Margaret of Flanders finally get a rural retreat to complement the castle and urban residence of Chalon-sur-Saône, lending the city the capacity to participate more fully in a circuit

⁴⁰² Ibid, 114-117. ADCO B. 1087 31.

⁴⁰³ « voir et entendre declarer le chateau de Germolles, terres et appartenances d’icelui, etre commis e requis a monseigneur le duc »

⁴⁰⁴ Monchanin, *Les Seigneurs de Germolles avant les ducs et leur château, les Sires de la Grange*, 104.

of micronomadism like Dijon, Paris, or Beaune. Whether the result of serendipity or opportunism, with Germolles in hand Margaret of Flanders gained a site that lacked everything that Hesdin had in its favor. It had no association with her or her family, no game park, and no suite of chambers fit for a major potentate and relative of the King of France. The only feature that lent itself to Margaret's plan was its location. But, as the saying goes, location is everything. In this way, the development of Germolles actually follows larger patterns of royal castle building in fourteenth-century western Europe. M. Hughes has noted a similar English example, Odiham Castle in Hampshire, whose development into a major royal site in the beginning of the thirteenth century he attributed to its position midway between Windsor and Winchester, making it a convenient stopover point in royal itineraries.⁴⁰⁵ Much of the resulting building campaign witnessed at Germolles can be interpreted as a way to deal with the rather unimpressive outline of the castle during its initial stage of occupation, and to bring a house that had only location in its favor into conversation with a wider group of residences that had decades if not centuries of head start as major dynastic sites.

The Outcome: The Princes of the Blood and the Past

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, Charles V sought to preserve past elements of castles he reconstructed. In part this responded to economic needs rooted in nomadism. The act of tearing down a structure would render a building uninhabitable for a period of time, rupturing the integrity of the itinerancy network, and the outcome would inevitably have a smaller footprint than one that retained as much of the old built fabric as possible. In some places it appears that Charles V and his architects chose to retain buildings because they conjured the memory of the venerated past.

⁴⁰⁵ M. Hughes, *The Small Towns of Hampshire* (Southampton: the Hampshire Archaeological Committee, 1976), 100.

The *Grosse Tour* of the Louvre stands out as an example of this case, as does the *manoir* of Vincennes. As Charles V's building projects integrated acts of preservation with building, they created a Valois architecture that was consciously historicist. In their turn, Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders evoked a venerated past in their projects at Hesdin and Germolles. At these sites, new building projects conjured pasts specific to the ancestries claimed by the ducal couple and the opportunities and defects of particular sites, creating in the process a new polemic of pastness that incorporated Charles V and his building projects as an exemplum of majestic rule.

Nomadism was an essential driver of a historicist castle architecture in the late fourteenth century. Small-h historicism ultimately relies upon the ability to compare works of various periods and to arrive at a package of easily-distinguished features that evoke a period in question. Castle archaeologists have frequently claimed that medieval builders designed new projects to incorporate old structures.⁴⁰⁶ Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood have also argued that Italians contemporary to the early Valois engaged in a variety of historicist architectural and artistic practices.⁴⁰⁷ Valois builders engaged in similar practices to their Italian and English contemporaries, and their sensitivity to the iconographic power of old buildings was rooted in their constant perambulations between houses and regions. They were certainly not unusual in this respect. As early as the first centuries C.E., Romans who travelled to Athens for grand-tour style educations drove the taste for so-called "Neo-Attic" style in Rome.⁴⁰⁸ Richard Krautheimer has also argued that long-distance travel to Jerusalem in the tenth to twelfth century encouraged a crop of round churches across Europe that gestured to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and a set of

⁴⁰⁶ Matthew Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate* (Milton Park, Abingdon: Routledge Press, 2002).; Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, 69-72.

⁴⁰⁷ Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronistic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010).

⁴⁰⁸ M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age 2nd ed.* (New York : Columbia University Press, 1961), 182-86.

building shapes that were themselves iconographic.⁴⁰⁹ In these cases, travel offered builders and audiences the visual acuity to distill “essential” elements of a period, style, or specific monument and the conditions to reproduce them elsewhere. In the case of late fourteenth-century castle architecture, elite nomadism offered abundant opportunity to travel, setting the stage for an emulative architecture that gestured to the venerable past of the Princes of the Blood.

The ducal couple Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders manage two pasts in their architectural projects: that of Philip and his family and that of Margaret of Flanders. The Dampierre dynasty of Artois and Flanders had been one of the major lineages of France. Of the two inheritances of the fledgling Valois Burgundian dynasty, that of Margaret of Flanders, with the manufacturing towns of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Arras, Lille, Douai (to name just a few of the larger), was both wealthier and more problematic than Burgundy. Situated in the pivot between the Île de France, England, and the Holy Roman Empire, it was also more strategically important. The region, however, was troubled by civil war at the beginning of Philip and Margaret’s rule. The fourteenth century saw numerous civil conflicts between urban and seigneurial elites and the industrial workers who faced depressed wages and uncertain employment in the context of monetary devaluation and the trade disturbances of the French-English wars.⁴¹⁰ In 1379, the cloth workers of Ghent led a revolt of several towns against comital authority of Louis of Mâle. Philip the Bold secured the aid of Charles VI, drawing French money, troops, and his own brothers themselves to participate in the defeat of the commune of Ghent at the Battle of Roosebeke.⁴¹¹ The

⁴⁰⁹ Richard Krautheimer, “Introduction to an ‘Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture,’” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942) 1-33.

⁴¹⁰ Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, 20.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, 27.

revolt continued after the death of Louis in 1384, when Ghent and Philip the Bold came to an agreement in the Treaty of Tournai.⁴¹²

Philip the Bold's building projects at Hesdin responded to the drawn-out inheritance of Artois and Flanders and to the current state of the house. As noted earlier, Hesdin was a highly-developed residence in 1384. It had large suites of rooms with lavish decors, a massive game park, extensive gardens, and the famous suite of mechanical games (IMAGE 10). It also served as the center of the city of Hesdin's circuit of defenses, a function that could not be ignored in the context of active military campaigns against the commune of Ghent and the King of England. And because this castle like all castles belonging to nomadic royals competed with other large projects for funding, any interventions had to be done on a relatively contained budget.

Given these circumstances, the brief at Hesdin was to "restore" the structure and preserving the legacy of the House of Dampierre as a historical seat for the fledgling House of Valois. Characterizing the work under Philip the Bold as "restoration" or "historicist" should not be taken as value judgement or a dismissal of his program's inventiveness. Restoration is a creative act. Modern experiences with historicist architectures such as the Gothic Revival of the nineteenth century demonstrate that this approach to the built environment recreates structures as they "should have been," extends and elaborates old buildings, and fosters the incorporation modern conveniences into older structures. It appears that the work on Hesdin during this period accomplished all these qualities.

The structure of Hesdin made the task of "restoration" difficult. Hesdin, like much of Artois, is chalk-and-flint country. This cretaceous bedrock becomes soft enough to yield to

⁴¹² Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, 36.

fingernails when exposed to the weather, structures built of this material leave a dusty white imprint on hands and clothes. The extensive use of soft local stone rendered the Château de Hesdin structurally unstable. Records from the construction project that began in 1384 speak of holes and fissures in the walls. Already in 1385, three of the castle's five towers presented "grans treus et grands fontures," and two great holes had erupted in the curtain wall.⁴¹³ In 1388, masons replaced old walls in the *Salle aux Escuz*, the *Chambre aux Pois*, and the *Chambre aux Fleurs de Lis*. In the same year, the painter Melchior Broederlam, who was working as master of the ducal works at Hesdin, ordered the removal and reconstruction of the walls of the *galleries des engiens*, requiring that it be un- and then reroofed.⁴¹⁴ The next year, the *chambre aux roses* also saw new masonry work.⁴¹⁵ The duchess's rooms in the *chambres de ferieuez* also presented cracked walls and hallways that required intervention.⁴¹⁶ The local chalk was fared particularly poorly in heavy-use areas like doorways and stairs. Among many doorways rebuilt were those of the *chambres de ferieuez* and the *Salle D'Inde* and the doorframes of the galleries of the *Salle des Escus*.⁴¹⁷

Philip L'Escot's entries into the account books of Hesdin suggest that most masonry, woodwork, and tiling projects in Hesdin's 1388-1400 building project replaced faded elements in existing structures. The flow of space in the old castle thus remained largely the same. The Salle

⁴¹³ ADN 15285 *Macchonerie* « ressartir iii des tours deutour le dit shastel p dehors ou il avoit grans treus et grands fontures. reffait II treus qui estoient as murs du dit castel p dehors entr deux tours. »

⁴¹⁴ ADN 15287 *Macchonerie* « Pluss ouvrages de macc ci apps. Est ass le quinnee de le salle as escuz qui estoit queue reffaire It le pignon de le dte salle devs le cappelle qui estoite queues ... It reffaire le couronne de le gruinte de le cambre as pois. It It a lui pour reffair ii pieches de couovre a le quinnte de le camb p tre qui est desouz le camb de monss IT reffair le couronne de le guinnee de le camb as fleurs de lis. IT au dit denis qui a ouvre au mur des galleries des ongiens desbatement du d castel le ql on a resarti et restoupe treux et fenestres et le fait tout onuy pour faire paintre suz p lordenaue de melcior le paintre ou ql ouvrage. »

⁴¹⁵ ADN 15288 « IT fait rentalement au mur de le cambre as roses. »

⁴¹⁶ ADN 15291 17r. « Item pour avoir fait ou dit les montees des salles et cambres de ferieues ou dit hastel qui estient toutes despez ont le venue de monss et de madame IT reffart et restompe les treux delune des dtes cambrez lau ou on avoit ovre Item refait lakkeron du porge des dtes cambres. »

⁴¹⁷ ADN 15291 17r. « Item pour avoir refait luisserie des galleries de le salle des escus et y mis dedens le mur I s de quesne pour le frimmure du dit huis. Pour avoir reffait les degrez de le montee de le salle dinde. »

d'Inde remained the Salle d'Inde, and the castle chapel remained the castle chapel. The movement of material restored rather than erased the castle and park's previous venues, preserving them as a carefully-curated heritage for his fledgling dynasty. Philip's project thus recalls Charles V's Louvre, which elaborated the castle of Philip Augustus but did not erase it, transforming the edifice into a symbol of dynastic continuity and an icon for revered figures of the past.

Melchior Broederlam's work within the Gloriette was an effort to conserve and restore a structure, a function which like nineteenth-century castle restorations likely extended decorative programs to make them grander than they were in the past. During this time, the tree of the *gloriette* was surrounded by scaffolding, perhaps to preserve it *in situ* while the room received a new roof and walls.⁴¹⁸ The rebuilding of various walls throughout the castle required the partial dismemberment of existing decorative cycles, ruining programs of old décor that Philip sought to recast as a Burgundian historical legacy.⁴¹⁹ This masonry work touched the galleries and the *gloriette*, possibly requiring the removal of its plank *engiens*.⁴²⁰ In response to the damage made to old decorative cycles, Broederlam repainted the galleries and *gloriette* with the help of his assistants.⁴²¹ In some areas, this was likely patchwork meant to cover over areas of damage caused by time or the interventions of masons and carpenters. It is possible that Broederlam also extended and elaborated old decorative programs at this time, executing for instance the murals depicting

⁴¹⁸ ADN 15292 23r. « IT fait I hourt dont on ouvra a larbre de le gloriette. »

⁴¹⁹ See a representative example of this type of accounting language, ADN. B. 15297 « Item pour avoir lamrisset en le chambre as roses de les le salle dinde in pluss lieux lau le lambrius avoit este rompu pour le machonnerie du nouvell ouvrages. »

⁴²⁰ ADN 15297 35v. « A pre buhot tamtuvier pour III livre de flouree pour peindre en tour le miroir des esbatemens et jusques a le gloriette pour ce q le place estoit vvastee et empirie pour les nouveaux ouvrages chunne livre VIII s. »

⁴²¹ ADCO B. 1486 30r. « A Melchior Broederlam peintre et varlet de chambre de mon dit ss qui deuz li est pour le salaire de pluss ouvres peintures quil mis et emploia par plusieurs journ pour paindre une gloriette ou chasel de mon dit seignr a Hesdin de pluss pp dor de bature et dauts devices et pour les estoffe acc apptn paie p mand de mon dit ss et quitt donn le darr jour daoust 91 XI franz III s t. » ; ADCO B. 1500 141-142v. « A lui qui deuz li estoient pour pluseurs parties destoffes et couleurs de peintures quil a ftes et deivres par lordonnance de mon dit ss en son dit chastel de Hesdin et es galleries yllec en pluseurs places par deffault du mur II C franz. »

Jason's quest for the Golden Fleece that William Caxton saw a half century later.⁴²² During this reconstruction, Melchior Broederlam also called for the painter Jehan le Voleur to make new glazed tiles for these spaces.⁴²³

There is more evidence for the incorporation of new venues into the old structures of Hesdin, updating a residence to new functions while preserving its aura of antiquity. Philip the Bold paid for two new venues to the castle in 1389: a bath house and a new elevated chamber in the ducal apartments. The bath house was inserted into preexisting rooms below the *Salle d'Inde*, but required the blocking of its large windows and the insertion of an enclosed courtyard, both alterations likely to preserve a sense of privacy while bathing. Retrofitting this room as a bath house required new gutters, pipes, and wood paneling.⁴²⁴ The other new venue was a "hault chambre" above the ducal *retrait*.⁴²⁵ His suite of apartments already contained viewing platforms in the form of the *Le Gloriette* and *Le Grande Gloriette*, so this may suggest that these former rooms stood on the same level as the *retrait* itself. The new chamber, like the *estuve*, was at least in part a sanitary facility. Jehan Bernard, a plumber of Arras, came to Hesdin to install a draining

⁴²² William Caxton, *The History of Jason Translated From the French of Raoul Le Fevre* (Mr. Seymour de Ricci's Census of Caxtons, Bibliographical Society, 1909).

⁴²³ ADCO B. 1514 175v-176r « A Jehan le Voleur varlet de chambre de mon dit ss et peinteur de carreaux a paier pour don a lui fait par icellui ss pour les bons et agables ss nices quil lui a faiz fait chun jour et aussi en recomp ensacon de pluss pertes quil a faites en ouvrant ou chastel de Hesdin pour icellui ss de son dit mest de painturerie de quarreaux C fr. »

⁴²⁴ ADN 15291 31r. v. « Aultres despense fte par le dit Receveur pour unes estuves que il a faite faire en un cambre desoux le sale dinde. A mich li roux carpentier p marquet fait a li en tasque a ts a rabais de faire le camb et closture de let estuve p de deus le dte cambre au I refers dedues ycelle au iii huis et ii fenestres tour tout VIII frans valent VI L VIII s A jehan de douste machon pour avoir fait et estoupe le grnte fenestre cont le dte estuve au lez deuz le prayel qui est cont le grant chapel. A Maist andrieu le feuvre pour III dendes de fair Pour soustenier le fu deus le fourniel de le dite estuve ... pour larevre du fournel de le caudiere de le dte estuve. Robt le vaasseur cuielr pour le fust de i tonn de savit jeh desquoy on a fait le tone de leschau de le dit estuv pour le gout des yaues. Brochart manouvrier pour avoir fait le tonne entre la ou on assist le dit tunnel pour le dit eschau. A Thessaige le candaille our VI de elan de XIII L ... pour faire le dit lambris fenestres et autres ouvrages. »

⁴²⁵ ADN B. 1848.32 (No.50461), « Che sont les frans et missions que Phillippe lescot Receveur de Hesdin a fait for une petite cambre hault deseure le retrait de monsi de bourg. En son chastel a Hesdin et p son commandemet / par luy fait de bouche au dit receveur ou mois d'octobre lan MCCC quatre-vingt et neuf pour tont coss anisi que plus ad plain est chi desour declaire par le mane qui fenss... Paies pour carpentie ... (etc). »

wet sink.⁴²⁶ These two venues conform to larger patterns of building by the ducal couple. Margaret of Flanders ordered the installation of an *estuve* in the courtyard of the city palace in Dijon.⁴²⁷ The provision of new permanent hygienic facilities reflected both classed concerns over personal cleanliness and the enduring function of baths as sites of pleasure and entertainment. These spaces therefore form continuities not only with bathhouses at royal sites like the Palais de la Cité but extensions of Hesdin's own pavilions, gardens, *gloriette*, and *galleries*.

Another addition to the self-consciously preservationist approach to Hesdin was the provision of mechanical clocks. In 1396, the château received a new clock in exchange for an out-of-date model that no longer functioned.⁴²⁸ Indeed, an irate Pierre du Bois, the castle mechanist, painter, and *maistre des esbatements*, had complained to the duke in 1389 that he had been shanghaied into fixing the earlier, poorly-manufactured machine without compensation and that the task that “was not his job.”⁴²⁹ The addition of an up-to-date functioning clock to Hesdin's machines drew the castle into line with the duke and duchess's other favored residences. In a court society where the tasks of the day were increasingly broken into hours, the provision of mechanical clocks structured the smooth function of a court as much as a castle's walls. Receipts in the Dijon archives frequently refer to the purchase and movement of clocks, some of which are called “oirloges de chambre.”⁴³⁰ Margaret of Flanders installed a clock at Rouvres-en-Plaine, and she

⁴²⁶ ADN 15292 5v. « A Jehan Bernard plommier demour a arras pour I C et LVIII livres de plonc en talbe dont on a fait I noss au deseur du petit retrait neuf de le camb de monss et pour le drechoir et eschau ui est en le dte cham et pour avoir couvert le dt drechoir et y fait ii pippes du dit plonc. »

⁴²⁷ Hervé Mouillebouche, *Palais ducal de Dijon : le logis de Philippe le Bon* (Chagny : Centre de Castellologie de Bourgogne, 2014). ADCO B. 1462 49v « A compaignot Vinon chastellain dargilly comis dep ma dame sur etams ouvrages destuves et auts q elle fait fe a dijon ... quitt donn IIII doctov 85 XXXIII franz. »

⁴²⁸ ADN B. 15297 36v. « A Hanequin laurlogueur demour a hesdin pour un auloge eschangie a celle qui estoit au chastel qui nestoi mis bonne ne aisient a gouveneur. »

⁴²⁹ ADN B. 1848.43. « Philippe fils de roy de France ...Nicolas de Fontenay, gouveneur de nos finances : salut et dilecon Conie Pierre du Bos, painre et maistre des engiens et des esbatemens de mon chastel de Hesdin passe a quatre ans au gouvue et gouverne me orloge du me(dit) chastel qui n'est pas le point de son office ... »

⁴³⁰ ADCO B. 1519 151r. « A Ernoulet de Vaude g de et gouveneur du orloige de la chambre ... »

placed another above the castle chapel at Germolles.⁴³¹ Philip also gave a clock to the town of Dijon which they placed on the façade of the cathedral and which is still in place today.⁴³²

Another part of the historicist approach to Hesdin was to reframe elements of its décor as “historical” by replicating them at other sites. As noted above, Broederlam’s intervention into the *gloriette* of Hesdin included the surrounding of the room’s fountain, which took the form of a gilt-lead tree inhabited by birds that spat water, with scaffolding and directing the plumber Jean Boufflon to rebuild all the pipes that made it function. Melchior Broederlam was simultaneously at work on a tapestry cycle for Germolles and inserted no fewer than four images of golden trees into the cycle.⁴³³ It would prove a momentous decision. A sculptural cycle at Germolles, to be discussed in detail later, also included an image of a golden tree that shaded life-size portraits of the duke and duchess. This choice endowed Germolles with a symbolic depth based on a past reframed an element of the old castle’s decor into an archetype for an important symbol of the ducal legacy. While the metal tree originally gestured onto monuments such as the Throne of Solomon in Constantinople and the various metal trees of the Afroeurasian marvel-consciousness, Christine de Pizan picked up the image in her *Vision Christine*, Christine de Pizan and recast it into a symbol of a noble and fateful bloodline.⁴³⁴ Philip the Bold also encouraged the development

⁴³¹ ADCO B. 1470 78v. « A ung charretier de dijon pour mener du dit dijon a germoles ung oreloige que ma dame avoit fait a mener de lille au dit dijon par damnd de ma dte dame seuz quittance donne xii de juillet 87 IIII franz. » ADCO B. 1517 60v. « A Jehamote feme de feu arbry le potier parisot le chaderemer demourant a dion et a autres pour plusiers livres de matal destain et auts chos par eulx de livres a maister colas de dijon connonier de mons pour faire une cloiche pour loreloige de germoles la quel epese. »

⁴³² ADCO B. 1461 119v « Aux bourgoiz et hitanz de la ville de Dijon, pour don a eulx fait par mon dit seign p un foiz de gre espal pour aidier a supporter les fraiz mises et despens quil on faiz font et feront a orden et a mett fns en la dte ville un oreloige q nagues mon dit seign a fait a diven en ycelle. »

⁴³³ See Chapter 1, footnote 94 for the full reference to this commission. See footnote 189 in the current chapter for references to these trees.

⁴³⁴ Christine also will pick up this motif in tapestry, a reference to Philip the Bold’s Ordre de l’Arbre d’Or and a nod to the golden fountain in the shape of a tree in the castle of Hesdin, in her 1405 work *Le Vision Christine*. Christine de Pizan, *Vision of Christine de Pizan*, trans. Glenda Mc. Leod and Charity Cannon Willard (Cambridge : D. S. Brewer, 2005), 23.

of the Golden Tree into a symbol of ducal authority in his “Order of the Golden Tree,” as would Philip the Bold, who would hold a *Pas de l’Arbre d’Or* in Lille.⁴³⁵

The tactic of historicism at Hesdin thus largely sought to preserve old elements and thus the semblance that nothing had changed with the coming of the Valois dynasty. Margaret of Flanders’ workers at Germolles took a different route, actively announcing the break with the past and the coming of a new line whose heritage lay elsewhere. As demonstrated above, the house was a new one for the duchess, one that entrenched her itineracy in an area that was already important. It did not form a part of the inheritance of a venerated past but was a site requisitioned from a humiliated minor nobleman. If Margaret of Flanders were to position herself in the context of a venerated past at this site, it would have to be manufactured. Marion Foucher’s 2011 dissertation has given architectural historians a new reconstruction of the Château de Germolles after the 1382 to 1391 intervention, one that evokes the effort to position this building in relation to a Valois legacy of prestigious architecture (IMAGE 11). The new fabric of Germolles retained the north to south procession from *basse cour* to *haut cour* and remained a quadrangle with a courtyard and a rough bilateral symmetry. On the exterior corners of the main mass, polygonal turrets rest upon corbels and engaged buttresses. The north wing featured a double-towered gate that rises two stories above the entrance at ground level. The south block focused upon a raised square tower framed on its corners by polygonal *vises*. On the west wing, the exterior façade features a pair of square pavilions and two polygonal towers, or *vis*, that house staircases. The lesser occupies the center of the west court façade and mirrors the one on the inner façade of the east wing. The greater *vis* is located in the northwest corner and dominates the gatehouse, but its position and visual

⁴³⁵ Carol M. Chattaway, *The Order of the Golden Tree. The gift-giving objectives of Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy*, (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers (Burgundica XII, publiés sous la direction de Jean-Marie Cauchiés, Secrétaire général du Centre européen d’études bourguignonnes, XIVe-XVe s., 2006).

prominence is at variance with its pair across the courtyard. A pair of raised, rectangular pavilions relieve the mass of the exterior façades of both the east and west wings, completing the soft bilateral arrangement.

Confronted with this reconstruction, its similarities to Charles V's Château de Creil is striking (IMAGE 13-15). Both are rural castles in the hinterlands of major administrative centers. Both follow a similar north-south progression of *basse cour* to a *haut court* to a garden. Germolles shares Creil's bilaterally symmetry anchored by corner towers. Germolles and Creil feature paired pavilions on their flanks. As at Creil, Germolles also features a visually-impressive *vis* immediately adjacent to its gatehouse though in this case the *vis* has been moved from the middle of the north façade to the northeast corner. As at Creil, *vis* towers relieve the monotony of the east and west courtyard facades of Germolles and frame the southern façade. Germolles also replicates the Creil's sequence of spaces from gatehouse to inner courtyard to garden. The bathhouse of Germolles was located on the ground floor of the Tour a Givry, finding a strong parallel in the loggia overlooking Creil's garden. The two houses differ in important respects. Creil is an irregular trapezoid and lacks the tall pavilion that forms the focal point of Germolles' south façade. Germolles is built on a smaller scale, so the features of the prototype are scaled down, the complex arrangement of square and round corner towers of Creil for instance becoming diminutive turrets upon corbels.

Du Cerceau's isometric view of Creil show that it once also had crenelated rooflines. In his "Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture," Charles Coulson argued that crenelated and machicolated cornices like those in the anonymous 19th century drawing evoked the authority

and prestige of a castle's owner.⁴³⁶ Robert Liddiard has argued that the presumption that crenellations – supposedly requiring royal writs or “licenses to crenellate” to construct – signified as high-status through evocation of proximity to the king, has been greatly overblown.⁴³⁷ French authors call attention to the visual appeal of these elements to explain their inclusion in high status architecture, formed as they frequently are of complex molding and adorned with complex tracery patterns.⁴³⁸ Some are content to consider them decorative, a form of “cornice” in the classical sense that offered a striking visual frame to break up the great mass of a building.⁴³⁹

Like the Château de Criel and other major residences of Charles V, it is also possible that the northern façade of the château of Germolles incorporated other high-end adornments that brought it into conversation with deluxe Parisian residences. The evidence for crenellations at Germolles is slender, being limited to the single nineteenth-century chalk drawing of the north façade (IMAGE 16). While fragments of crenellations and machicolations have not been recovered in any archaeological surveys of Germolles to date, a receipt from 1471 notes that the towers on either side of the gate were covered in slate, a prestigious roofing in the 14th century that was held to be better and more extravagant than tile.⁴⁴⁰ This record confirms that, even if the gatehouse's towers did not have a crenelated cornice, the masons who designed them sought to produce a dramatic entrance with a profile of conical, pavilion-style roofs built in a luxurious, high-end medium.

⁴³⁶ Charles Coulson, “Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture,” *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 132 (1979), 73-90.

⁴³⁷ Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, 43.

⁴³⁸ Gondoin 2007, 70-71.

⁴³⁹ See for instance, Jean Guillaume, *Les Legs du XIVe Siècle in Le Palais et son Décor au Temps de Jean de Berry* ed. Alain Salamagne (Tours : Presses Francois Rabelais de Tours, 2010), 216-217.

⁴⁴⁰ ADCO B4809 f36.

The needs and opportunities of a nomadic court drove the replication of Creil at the Château de Germolles. Philip and Margaret had visited Creil and other royal residences around Paris during the lifetime of Charles V.⁴⁴¹ For aristocrats socialized in the courts of Paris, the experience of Charles V's buildings redefined the parameters of royal splendor. They carried these expectations with them as they travelled from Paris into territories where Charles V's cycles of nomadism and their attendant palatial forms were not present. To lay claim to these prestigious forms at major nodes in their own networks of itinerancy they had to insert them.

Thanks to the excellent records produced in the court of Philip and Margaret, the modern scholar can behold some of the methods by which the Burgundian couple appropriated the building forms of Charles V. One way was to poach artists and send them on journeys through their itinerancy networks. Architectural historians associate the plan of the Château de Germolles with one Drouet de Dammartin (or Dampmartin), likely the brother of Guy de Dammartin and father of Jean de Dammartin.⁴⁴² Drouet was intimately familiar with Charles V's building projects, having labored on the *grand vis* of the Louvre under the direction of Raymond Temple.⁴⁴³ For an architect so trained, scaling down and refitting the model of Creil for the footprint, situation, and retained elements of Germolles would have been a relatively simple and straightforward task. The extension of Philip and Margaret's network of itinerancy down into Burgundy also drew sculptors out of Paris into Burgundy, most notably Jean de Marville and Claus Sluter.⁴⁴⁴ The routes of royal

⁴⁴¹ Petit, *Itinéraire de Philip the Hardi et Jean sans Peur*, November 1378, 140.; August 1383. 159.

⁴⁴² Henri Stein, « Une expertise au xive Siècle, » *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 70 (1909), 453-454. ; C. Beck et P. Beck, « L'exploitation et la gestion des ressources naturelles dans le domaine ducal bourguignon à la fin du XIVe siècle », *Médiévales* 53 (2007), 99.

⁴⁴³ Bresc-Bautier and Fonkenell, *Histoire du Louvre*, 77.

⁴⁴⁴ Heinrichs-Schreibe, « La Sainte-Chapelle: Une Œuvre Capitale du temps de Charles VI, » 81-83. ; Jacques Baudoin, *La sculpture flamboyante en Bourgogne et Franche-Comté* (Nonette, Editions créer, 1996), 107-108.

nomadism thus became the channels by which sculptural and architectural formulas created or refined in the Paris region colonized larger topographies.⁴⁴⁵

The transformation of the castle of Criel specifically into a model for Burgundian castles also stands out in the records in the Archives de la Cote d'Or. They demonstrate that the formulation of the castles of Charles V into a coherent architectural patrimony sat within a larger process of emulation and one-upsmanship. In 1383, the same year that work began in earnest at Germolles, Philip the Bold sent Compaignot Buon, the Chatelaine of Argilly to visit Creil, « pour y veoir une cheminee po en faire une semble ou chastel du dit Argilly, » to see a fireplace and to make a similar one at Argilly. To aid him he sent a painter, “quil admena de par au dit dit Creil pour pourtraire la dite cheminee,” to portray the fireplace.⁴⁴⁶ In October of 1392 Philip also sent Jacquemart, Master Carpenter of Hesdin to “veoir et avviser” to see and behold new construction at his brother Jean’s house at Mehun-sur-Yèvre.⁴⁴⁷ Jean de Beaumetz payed a visit to the same house the next year and investigated the paintings and sculptures of the workshop of Jean de Liege.⁴⁴⁸ The impact of this contemporary emulation can be felt at Germolles. During excavations of the basement and the moat, fragments of tracery and architectural moldings were recovered, relics of the lost double-level chimneypiece with a musician’s gallery that occupied the whole south wall of the *grande salle*. Patrice Beck and Matthieu Pinette have argued that this chimneypiece is a simplified and scaled-down version of the one that Margaret’s brother-in-law Jean de Berry built at Poitiers.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁵ Historicism in Flanders and Burgundy may be taken literally as a colonial practice, one whereby dominion by foreigners in previously independent territories is made either highly visible, as in Germolles, or reframed as a return to tradition, as at Hesdin.

⁴⁴⁶ ADCO B. 1461: 169r, 170v

⁴⁴⁷ ADCO B. 1495 82v.

⁴⁴⁸ ADCO B. 1500 43v.

⁴⁴⁹ Beck, *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age*, 54.

Germolles is a fragment of a larger campaign that sought to recast the architectural projects of Charles V in and around Paris as an architectural legacy of the Valois dynasty. Other houses built by the ducal couple replicated Charles V's buildings, often in a grander and more sumptuous scale. The Château de Courtrai in Lille, stands as an excellent example of a replica Louvre greatly expanded (IMAGE 17). In the decades following the death of Charles V, Philip the Bold encouraged other cultural producers to transform Charles V's life, interests, and style of rule into a coherent Valois cultural patrimony. At the center of this program lay Christine de Pisan's *Livre de Faits et Bonnes Moeurs de Charles V le Sage*. Pisan, who spent her youth in and around the court of Charles V, delivered a panegyric that could be boiled down to one word: prudence. She depicts a king who deliberated all things, planned his actions assiduously, took council from the right people at the right time, and was rewarded through the reconquest of all the English holdings in France save Calais and Bordeaux and the effective nullification of the Treaty of Brètigny.⁴⁵⁰ As noted in Chapter 1, nomadism played a part in this vision of a prudent monarch, one who was conscious of the power of magnificent display to lend dignity to the royal person. As argued in Chapter 2, Charles V's building campaigns did as well.⁴⁵¹ Pisan strikes an image of building as an act requisite to a magnificent king. In line with Aristotle's vision of magnificence, Pisan depicts building projects that adorned the city, lending Charles V's regime a grand and imposing aspect, demonstrated his discriminating taste, and concretely demonstrated his erudition. In an act of canon-building Pisan also lists what she considers the finest buildings that Charles V, calling them up as sites to be seen and to serve as models for future construction.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵⁰ Pisan, *Le livre des faits et bonnes moeurs du roi Charles V le sage*, 123-126.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 213-215.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*

Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders were not unique in their desire to lay hold on Charles V's architectural heritage. Jean de Berry attempted to systematize Charles V's building projects into a legible and coherent suite of must-see buildings. The calendar pages in the beginning of his *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* famously depicts a variety of royal structures, including the Palais de la Cité, the Château du Louvre, and the Château de Vincennes. Many of the houses represented in the first painting campaign are among Jean de Berry's favored houses. Some, such as Vincennes and the Palais de la Cité, belonged to the king, in effect blending royal properties with those of the duke, a fluidity that mirrored the lived behavior of nomadic dynasts and their courts as they passed between their own domains and those of the king such as the Louvre and Vincennes. Thus, the twinning of specific castles to months and the merger of Berry's properties with those of his nephew subtly nods his cyclical habitation of these houses throughout the year and his claim to royal status on par with his royal brothers and nephew.

The explicit evocation of Charles V as a past for the Valois siblings is in line with their conceptualization of near-recent history. Charles V encouraged the continual updating of the *Grandes Chroniques*, encouraging a vision of pastness that linked current events to narratives running back to the fall of Troy.⁴⁵³ Philip the Bold's collections of narrative tapestries also blur the near-recent past and evocations of more distant historical events, suggesting a desire to see them as equivalent and part of larger historical continuities. He had in his collection of battle scenes, for instance, representations of the battles of Alexander the Great, the Siege of Troy, and the Battle of Roosebeke that he fought with Louis de Mâle in 1383.⁴⁵⁴ This collecting pattern demonstrates the desire to re-cast recent events in the recent past in the guise of legendary events

⁴⁵³ Jules Viard, ed., *Les Grandes Chroniques de France, Tome I* (Paris : Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1920), 9-10.

⁴⁵⁴ Deshaines, *Documents et Extraits diverses Concernant l'Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre, l'Artois, e le Hainault avant le XV^e Siècle*, 884-886.

and, in turn, to imagine remote history as relevant to the present, a situation which likely leads to the imagination of ancient cities like Troy in fifteenth-century representations in the manner of the historical and historicist architecture that surrounded Valois nobles on a daily basis.

The image of the Temptation of Christ from the same manuscript also suggest the role of nomadism in the appropriation of Charles V's building legacy (IMAGE 18). As art historians have frequently noticed, the magnificent pile in the foreground of the image is Jean de Berry's Château de Mehun-sur-Yèvre. Over Jean de Berry's reconstruction of the castle, the team of builders and sculptors under the direction of André Beauneveu taken innovative elements of Charles V's building campaigns, most notably the widespread use of corbels, crenellations, and tracery, to create facades of unprecedented opulence.⁴⁵⁵ In the background, unnoticed to art historians, lay other references to the building campaigns of Jean de Berry and their reliance on his older brother's precedents (IMAGE 19). Rising from the city on the right is a tower with three spires. This likely represents the Tour de Maubergeon in his Palais de Poitiers, a copy of the towered square keep that Charles V built at Vincennes and deriving ultimately from the Tour du Temple in Paris (IMAGES 20 & 21). The chapel to its left is of the Saint Chappelle type, a nod not only to the Sainte Chapelle in which Christ's crown of thorns would eventually reside, but the copies of this structure that Jean de Berry built at Riom and Bourges (IMAGES 22 & 23).⁴⁵⁶ A river with two boats links the palace in the foreground with this cluster of princely buildings in the background, gesturing to the networked quality of medieval residences and visualizations of secular power, and of the readiness of royal courts to move along this lattice of structures as a part of its performance of elite, magnificent lifestyle.

⁴⁵⁵ Anthony Emery, *Seats of Power in Europe during the Hundred Years War*.

⁴⁵⁶ Claudine Billot, *Les Saintes-Chapelles royales et princières* (Paris, Éditions du Patrimoine, 1998), 120-124.

The imitation of Charles V emerges as a theme in the building projects of Jean de Berry. Like Philip the Bold, Jean called Parisian architects into his apanage. Guy and Jean de Dammartin, likely Drouet's brothers, found employment with Jean de Berry after the closing of Charles V's building projects.⁴⁵⁷ The palace at Bîcentre in the suburbs of Paris likewise drew upon Charles V's buildings as sources (IMAGE 24). Like the Tour de Maubergeon in Poitiers and the Château de Vincennes before it, Bîcentre's floorplan mixed the four-towered keep and a long range of rooms laid out in two stories at its base. The Sainte Chapelles of the Palais de Bourges and Riom also gestured back to the building projects of Charles V, especially the exempla in the Palais de la Cité, Vincennes, and Saint Germaine-en-Laye. In scattering references to his brother's building projects throughout his domains, he reformulated structures that had in their use by Charles V gestured into the more remote past of the defunct Capetian dynasty into symbols of Valois identity and of the potency of the Princes of the Blood.

The venerable pasts evoked in the architecture of Philip the Bold, Margaret of Flanders, and Jean de Berry ultimately derives from a model laid down by Charles V in the 1370's, but introduces changes to make it more amenable to the specific needs of a new set of patrons at various parts of their network of itinerancy. Ultimately the evocation of the Capetian dynasty through selective preservation would not work for dynasts who travelled beyond the Ile de France where the dynasty did most of its building. At Hesdin, Philip the Bold adopted the spirit of Charles V's projects and preserved a major dynastic site for a new generation. For Margaret of Flanders and Jean de Berry, however, Charles V's architectural legacy was venerable enough to distill into a series of visible signs to scatter in regions that did not have a strong tradition of intervention by

⁴⁵⁷ Thomas Rapin, « Dammartin, Guy, Dreux et Jean », *Dictionnaire d'histoire de l'art du Moyen Âge* ed. Pascale Charron and Jeean-Marie Guillouët (Paris, 1999) 295-296.

the family of the king. Historical evocations thus became a form of colonial presence, a process driven by the motion of Valois rulers between the capital and the far-flung regions that they ruled.

The Romance and the Pastoral Ideal

Chapter 2 argued that nomadism exerted several paradoxical forces on the symbolic décor of Valois castle space. On one hand, nomadic lifestyles tended to drive resemblance between individual residences united in one network. Mobile courts carried overarching assumptions about interior design throughout their domains, a function which tended to disseminate a package of preferred media, house plans, and decorative motifs throughout their domains. Simultaneously, itinerancy drove designers of a house to play off a theme and ideological category that stood in contradistinction to other houses in the same itinerancy network. Holding a collection of houses, each visualizing aristocratic identity in a different way, made movement between houses register change rather more than the same. With travel registered as a break in a symbolic surround, became an architectural strategy, so that rulers could move to a particular house when its décor was especially relevant and create narratives by moving between different symbolic surrounds in a cycle. Germolles and Hesdin powerfully demonstrate nomadism's tendency to produce both similarity and difference in symbolically-charged décor. In the following section, I will demonstrate that these two houses bound in the same network played off one another by taking opposing ideological slants. Yet much of their interior décor played off the same media and motifs. Along the way, I shall demonstrate that attendant features of nomadism, such as the development of female courts, also impacted the way the castles of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders were designed.

Hesdin and Germolles share many of their broad outlines. Like the Louvre and Vincennes, the châteaux of Germolles and Hesdin featured a *basse cour* and a *haute cour* that divided the

castle space into the manorial or civic on one side and the seigneurial residence on the other. Most maps of medieval Hesdin replicate Jules Lion's 1905 plan for the castle (IMAGE) and show the castle as a single, pentagonal enceinte, a plan that is demonstrably incorrect. The constant references to the position of castle's *basse cour* in the records of the Archive Departmentale du Nord suggest it stood to the south of the pentangular *haute cour*, and that it included important structures such as a barracks and a prison.⁴⁵⁸ A map held in the museum of the *Amis de la Site Historique de Vieil Hesdin* on contrast illustrates two courts (IMAGE 5). In its turn, the Château de Germolles is also formed of a *basse cour* or lower court with a rambling collection of service buildings and a quadrangular *haut cour* arranged around a courtyard (IMAGE 12).⁴⁵⁹

Within their rigorously-geometric upper courts, Hesdin and Germolles also share similar spaces in their apartments. The upper courts of Hesdin and Germolles both contained a great hall, a chapel, and bathhouse. At Hesdin, the duke had his own suite of apartments. There was another suite of apartments called the "chambres aux fevrieures," though their position is currently unclear. Margaret of Flanders stayed in this suite of rooms when she visited Hesdin. These two suites of chambers likely replicated the ensembles of paired masculine and feminine living quarters encountered in royal palaces like the Louvre. As in the castles of Charles V, it appears that each residential unit communicated vertically by stair and horizontally by a series of long *galleries*. Germolles, in its turn, featured similar groups of apartments. Matthieu Pinette has identified the remaining apartments at Germolles with a *chambre-garderobe*. Moving clockwise from the chapel, he has associated these apartments with Philip the Bold, Margaret of Flanders, and

⁴⁵⁸ See for instance, ADN B15289 15r. "Premieremet a Simon le courvreur pour avoir ouvre sur le carpenterie qui est entre les estables de le basse court. » ADN B. 15319 *Ouvrages Communes*, « IT ressaunde pluss fenures as ploms des estables de le bassecourt ; »ADN 15286 20r. « pour y œuvre sur lez establz de le basse court vers le ville. »

⁴⁵⁹ Patrice Beck, ed. *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne a la Fin du Moyen Age*, 109-123.

Margaret of Bavaria, while those of Jean the Fearless are likely in the section that was lost in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.⁴⁶⁰ Laid out on a single level, they gesture back to the plan of the Louvre before the interventions of Charles V.⁴⁶¹

Both Hesdin and Germolles featured extensive gardens. At Hesdin, the main garden was called the *petit paradise*. Its position to the east of the castle can be deduced by a record, published by Van Buren, of a staircase between the residence in the castle and the garden.⁴⁶² As Van Buren rightly points out, the north and west exposures of the castle look over great bluffs, making it more likely that the *petit paradise* would occupy land to the east and that the ducal chambers faced outward in this direction. This garden was bounded to the south by the channel running between the *petit* and the *grans viviers*. A receipt in the Archive du Nord dated to 1379 for repairs to a “noeue raiie” or gutter, and a “noeue baie et rellais,” the new dam lock, between these two water features.⁴⁶³ A later document describes a palisade and a blockage between the two features.⁴⁶⁴ A fulling mill occupied the dam between the two water features.⁴⁶⁵

Germolles too had extensive gardens and water features. An inventory of its features dated to 1357 claims that Germolles already had a fishpond, a “saugeraie” (possibly a garden devoted to culinary herbs), and a small garden bordered by a pair of streams before Margaret of Flanders began her interventions.⁴⁶⁶ During the time of Margaret of Flanders, these gardens were the regular

⁴⁶⁰ Beck *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age*, 119-120. ; Matthieu Pinette, *Le Château de Germolles* (Germolles : Château de Germolles, 2015), 53.

⁴⁶¹ Salamagne, « Le Louvre de Charles V, » 86.

⁴⁶² Van Buren, « Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin 1120. The document in question is Archives Civiles d'Arras A 4415. I-349.

⁴⁶³ ADN 15281 20r. « Jeh faire une noeue raiie enre le grnt vivier et le petit. » ; ADN B. 15281 22r « it xlviij livre en lx chenilles iiii bougons ii crampons ii esries doules e les laux tout saunt et mis en ouevre a le noeue baie et rellais que on a fais ent le grant vivier et le petit. »

⁴⁶⁴ ADN 15297 28v. “estaunge pour avoir vvidiet lestanque et empechement qui estoit errier les freres menieures entre le grant vivier et le petit vivier du parc.”

⁴⁶⁵ See ADN 15292 17r. « It pour avoire ouvre aux gouffres des moulins as draps au ventailes du gnt vivier et au pont du pc. »

⁴⁶⁶ ADCO 91 B11708. Beck, *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age*, 77.

sites of intervention. In 1386 and 1387, Margaret paid workers to perform seasonal cleanup on the plants and rosebushes. She brought in cherry and pear trees, along with cabbages, lavender, gooseberry and raspberry bushes, lilies, sage, and sorrel as bedding plants. She also had workers occasionally repair walls, replace trellises and arbors, and rebuild turf benches.⁴⁶⁷ While Margaret also paid to have this fishpond restocked during her time at Germolles, the location of the pool, gardens, and streams remain unclear.⁴⁶⁸ Germolles currently features a large pool to the west of the castle, but it was dug in the middle of the nineteenth century as a part of the “wilderness” style garden, likely at the same time as the tree plantation. The 1828 cadastral map of Germolles does not show a pool between the castle and the Germolles-Givry road, but it does depict the formal garden to the south of the *haut cour* in detail, including its canal and nymphaeum (IMAGE 26). As a rule of thumb, gardens tend to replicate the same footprint at medieval castle sites, suggesting that the medieval gardens lie beneath this eighteenth-century formal garden and the “jardin anglaise” that currently occupies its footprint.⁴⁶⁹

Clusters of upkeep-intensive and scenic venues like gardens, pools, orchards, galleries, and pavilions below residences and viewing platforms is familiar from other high-status castles and urban palaces in Western Europe, demonstrating the power of nomadism to replicate this relationship between features across wide topographies. Amanda Richardson has reconstructed the gardens of Claredon Royal Palace on a terrace immediately below the windows of the royal apartments.⁴⁷⁰ George Frignet’s 2005 dissertation on Rouvres-en-Plaine offers a similar relationship between garden venues at that major residence of Philip the Bold and Margaret of

⁴⁶⁷ Beck, *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age*, 108.

⁴⁶⁸ Monchanin, *Les Seigneurs de Germolles avant les ducs et leur château, les Sires de la Grange*, 52.

⁴⁶⁹ Beck, *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age*, 16.

⁴⁷⁰ Amanda Richardson, “The King’s Chief Delight”: A landscape Approach to the Royal Parks of Post-Conquest England,” in *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives*, ed. Matthew Liddiard (Windgather Press Ltd., Bollington, Macclessfield, 2007), 33.

Flanders.⁴⁷¹ As noted in the second chapter, the *jardin du roi* of Charles V's Louvre stood directly below the king's apartments, allowing easy access and scenic views from indoors. Similarly, the elaborate gardens of the Palais de la Cité stood immediately below the windows of the king's apartments and communicated with them by a minor stairway, as the Brothers Limbourg depicted in their *June* miniature in the *Tres Riches Heures* (IMAGE 27).

Hesdin also had other venues that were different to Germolles but that replicated features typical the residences of other Valois nobles. Most notable was the massive game park, allowing Philip and Margaret to perform the important act of the chase when they were in residence. Because nobles of the House of Dampierre also appreciated micro-nomadism as a way to inhabit parklands, the park featured numerous subsidiary residence from the early fourteenth century. One of these was the Manoir du Marais, which appears to have stood across the park within the valley of the River Ternoise. Another subsidiary residence that notaries called the “Tor du Bos entre Deux Yaeux,” or the “Tower of the Forest between Two Waters,” which presumably stood within the forest of the same name. The development of the Manage and the Tor du Bos entre Deux Yaeux away from the main castle likely created a multifocal park reminiscent of the Park of Vincennes after the development of the Château de Beauté, Conflans, and Plaisance. Indeed, the provision of a subsidiary residences at Vincennes in the 1370's may depend upon experiences of Hesdin, which hosted Jean le Bon and Charles V before falling into the hands of Philip the Bold.⁴⁷²

⁴⁷¹ Georges Frignet, « Rouvres : la châtelainie et le château au temps des deux premiers ducs Valois de Bourgogne (vers 1360 – vers 1420), » Paris, 2005. Thèse pour obtenir le grade de Docteur de l'Université Paris IV (Sorbonne), sous la direction de monsieur Philippe Contamine, le 5 mars 2005.

⁴⁷² Charles V's stay in Hesdin, see: For July, see AN JJ 88 14r; 15r; 18r; 19r; 22v; 33v; 34r; 38r; for August, see AN JJ 88 17r; 35r; 36r; 38v; 50v; 52r; 52v; 56r. For Jean the Good's stay in Hesdin, see Berthold Zeller: *La Guerre de Cent Ans, Jean le Bon : Crecy, Calais, Poitiers, Extraits des Grandes Chroniques de France, Froissart, etc.* (Paris : Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1885), 124.

Hesdin also participated in the wider Valois tendency to theme rooms after natural motifs, especially flowers. The documents of Hesdin make repeated references to the *Chambre aux Fleurs de Lis*, the *Chambre aux Pois*, and the *Chambre aux Roses*. These rooms likely displayed painted cycles representing the flowers of peas, roses, and fleurs-de-lis (which medieval francophone people associated not with the yellow flag, *I. pseudoacorus* but with the white lily, *L. candidum*). There was also a *Salle aux Escus* and a *Salle du Cerf*.⁴⁷³ The *Salle aux Escus* almost certainly displayed coats of arms. The walls of the *Salle du Cerf* likely depicted hunts for deer like the room of the same name in the Palais de Papes in Avignon and contained hunting trophies, including the mechanical boar heads that Van Buren mentioned in her 1986 article on the site (IMAGE 28).⁴⁷⁴ Philip's brothers also integrated similar stag-themed rooms into certain castles in their own systems of itinerancy, for instance Jean de Berry's palace in Bourges, so that the royal brothers tended to create networks of houses that resembled one another when seen on the regional scale.⁴⁷⁵

The mural cycles of Germolles demonstrated a similar emphasis on floral imagery, and thankfully some of it survived the centuries under a thick layer of eighteenth-century plaster and wallpaper until the accidental rediscovery in 1941. Further restorations between 1988 and 1991 revealed further fourteenth-century paintings in select locations.⁴⁷⁶ Castle records demonstrate that Margaret of Flanders called in a host of painters under the direction of Jean de Beaumetz to adorn these walls in 1388. The fourteenth-century painting in the *chambre de retrait* of Margaret of

⁴⁷³ ADN 15287 *Macchonerie* « Pluss ouvrages de macc ci apps. Est ass le quinnee de le salle as escuz qui estoit queue reffaire It le pignon de le dte salle devs le cappelle qui estoite queues ... It reffaire le couronne de le gruinte de le cambre as pois. B. 15281, Macconnerie, "pour mettre jus et despechier tout le malvaise machonnerie qui estoit en le querriere de le cambre que on dist as fleurs de lis. Au chastel tiem refaire les meures du grant paerel contre le maison ou li chastell demour et les aloes contre le sale au cerf IT remanet et refait le quurree de le sale dynde. » ADN. 15282, Couvreur de Tuille, « IT tout le pan de le cambre as roses et de le salle dinde vers le gmolle. »

⁴⁷⁴ Van Buren, "Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin," 127. Truitt appears to believe these were in the Pavillon. Ely Truitt, *Medieval Robots: Mechanism, Magic, Nature, and Art* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 138.

⁴⁷⁵ Emery, *Seats of Power during the Hundred Years War*, 232.

⁴⁷⁶ Beck, *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age*, 74.

Bavaria, the daughter-in-law of Margaret of Flanders, has been revealed the most fully. Like the floor tiles unearthed in the cellar and moat, these wall paintings merge emblem and representational imagery. White M's and P's, for Margaret and Philip, alternate with white sprigs of Fuller's Teasel against a rich green background (IMAGE 29).⁴⁷⁷ A similar composition is found in the next room, the *chambre* of Margaret of Bavaria. Chemical testing of the paint has revealed that the sprigs of teasel in this room once glistened with gold leaf.⁴⁷⁸ In both the *chambre de retrait* and the adjoining *chambre* or bedroom, Margaret's initial is depicted as a plain M, but the P's spring to life with leaves and tendrils (IMAGE 30). Other paintings have been revealed in the *garderobe* of Margaret of Flanders, the *chambre de retrait* and the *garderobe* thought to belong to Philip the Bold (IMAGE 31).⁴⁷⁹ The *Chambre de retrait* of Margaret of Flanders bears alternating P's and daisies against a green background. In all these rooms, the meadow flowers are picked out against a rich green background. The *garderobe* of Philip the Bold bears somewhat different imagery of white roses against a blood-red ground (IMAGE 32).

Documents in the Archives Départementales de la Côte D'or demonstrate that the surviving wall paintings are a fragment of a once larger painted program that blended personal ciphers with imagery of meadowland flowers and sheep. A receipt in the *Compte Ordinaire*, number B 4434, 1389-1390 f. 22v-r, contains an itemized receipt for the painting of the castle's walls. It demonstrates that much of the painted decoration for the castle stood not on the walls but on "limandes" – narrow slats of wood that served as crown moldings, ceiling beams, and laths for the tunnel vaults of the wooden ceilings. At 1363 individual motifs, red and white roses represent the

⁴⁷⁷ Fuller's teasel is a large, prickly, biennial forb of meadowland with a basal rosette and magnificent purple flowers. It therefore resembles the Lady Thistle in its broad outlines, though it is not a close relative. Its spikey inflorescence was once used to card freshly-woven wool, lending it double impact in interiors themed against sheep and shepherd poetry.

⁴⁷⁸ Sylvie Denailly, « Report 782, » *Monuments historiques de Champs-sur-Marne*, 30 June, 1989.

⁴⁷⁹ Pinette 2015, 45-54.

largest fraction of the adornment. The initials M and P are also prominent, at 1013 individual motifs, followed by 850 teasel sprigs, 500 daisies, and 200 mottoes, including Margaret's motto, *y me tarde* (I await). At 480 motifs, the sheep also represents a significant fraction of this adornment and likely mingled with the flowers and mottoes.⁴⁸⁰ Like the floor tiles, the walls mingled images evoking the ideology of courtly love with meadowland flowers that simultaneously served as personal emblems and representations of sheep pastures.

The two castles also share floor treatments. At Hesdin, the castle painter Jehan le Voleur painted large number of tiles to pave the galleries and gloriette during their restoration.⁴⁸¹ These tiles were used in a variety of rooms throughout the castle during the restoration of the 1380's to the 1390's.⁴⁸² At Germolles, terracotta tiles represent a major worksite expense during construction. Renaudin le Bourruet of Argilly sent 7400 glazed floor tiles. Marie, tiler of Longchamp similarly provided 1200 tiles of glazed pavement, Perrin, tile of Montot made 10,000.⁴⁸³ The tiles used at both sites are called "quarrelaux de plomb" in the records, these were not tiles of poured lead but as Beck points out ceramic tiles covered in a lead glaze.⁴⁸⁴ In English they are given a similarly confusing title of "encaustic" tiles, not because they incorporate wax but because the makers pressed stamps into raw clay squares before firing, creating channels that could be filled with slip of a contrasting color before the whole surface was covered with lead glaze.

⁴⁸⁰ Beck, *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age*, 79.; ADCO B4434-1 f. 22v-24.;

⁴⁸¹ ADCO B. 1514 175v-176r « A Jehan le Voleur varlet de chambre de mon dit ss et peinteur de carreaux a paier pour don a lui fait par icellui ss pour les bons et agables ss nices quil lui a faiz fait chun jour et aussi en recomp ensacon de pluss pertes quil a faites en ouvrant ou chastel de Hesdin pour icellui ss de son dit mest de painturerie de quarreaux C fr. » Also see the itemized *quittance* in ADN B. 1851 25 No. 50776.

⁴⁸² ADN B. 15294 « It pour avoir recouvert pour avoir desassis le vabement de le petite gloriette de mons et en ycelle rassis douvel pavement It pour avoir rassis et repave en pluss lieux salles et chambres pluss toix de pavement Pour avoir recouvert sur le salle dinde et sur les cambres de ferieuses AU did Simon pour avoir rassis le pavement de le neuve gloriette p III jours A Jehan le voleur paintre qui avoit fait le dit pavement et quil le mist a point et au ordene a drechr au dit simon qui la assoeiu ey y vacqua p IIII jours. »

⁴⁸³ Beck, *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age*, 27.; ADCO B 2162-6.

⁴⁸⁴ Beck *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age*, 124.

However they are called, the use of slip and glaze covered ceramic tiles formed a point of continuity across the two houses.

Although the courts of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders would have inhabited a series of similar spaces adorned with a common body of media and decorative motifs, their artists ensured that the two houses remained distinct on a thematic level. As Hesdin was already a highly-developed site by the time Philip and Margaret began their interventions, this meant in practice that the team of artists working on Germolles took pains to develop a thematic conceit that would stand in contradistinction to Hesdin. As such, it is worthwhile to begin an investigation into the thematic divergence of Valois residences at Hesdin.

As Anne Hagophian van Buren most fully argued, the interiors of Hesdin materialized the settings of chivalric romance.⁴⁸⁵ Romance literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries frequently dwelt upon the uncanny and marvelous creations of cultures at great temporal or geographic distances. Many of the features of Hesdin gesture to far-off places, producing the conceit that the castle is one of the marvelous buildings on the edge of the world or the work of legendary sages. One of the rooms of the castle was called the *Salle d'Inde*, “Hall of India,” suggesting that its wall paintings depicted either the strange beings reputed to live at the edge of the world or the voyages of heroes like Alexander the Great to this far-off place. Another venue that evoked literary myth was the complex of buildings and vine arbors called the “maison de Dedalus” which Mahaut of Artois built around 1311.⁴⁸⁶ This structure evoked the ancient Greek myth of Daedalus and the hero Theseus, a myth that remained a popular tale of adventure thanks

⁴⁸⁵ Van Buren, “Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin,” 132-134.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid, 122. ; Marguerite Chargeat, “De la Maison Dedalus aux labyrinths dans l’art des jardins du Moyen Age a la Renaissance, » *17th congrès d’histoire de l’art, actes* (The Hague, 1955, 346).

to retellings in the *Ovid Moralisé*.⁴⁸⁷ The location of this structure within the park's landscape is unclear. Records uncovered in this research frequently call the Daedalus complex "lez Hesdin," suggesting that this cluster of structures did not adjoin the castle itself but occupied another site near the city.⁴⁸⁸ Van Buren suggests that it stood to the west of the city and the park, overlooking but not within its walls.⁴⁸⁹

Most famous of the romance-themed elements of Hesdin is the famous suite of *engienz des esbatement*, or "play machines." These machines, moving apparently of their own accord, evoked the cunning wisdom of legendary sages of the distant or of far-off lands. Elly Truitt has drawn attention to the *Roman de Troie*, where four machines in the shape of dancing women that delivered moralizing entertainment to the injured Hector in his *chambre de beaute*, while his tomb contained other moving statues of marvelous power.⁴⁹⁰ The *Roman de Alexandre* has the legendary Greek king fight animate statues on a bridge, while the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* depicts the great hall of the palace of Constantinople as a mechanized structure capable of spinning to face the sunlight.⁴⁹¹ Self-propelled statues, animated by art or magic are a central leitmotif in the pages of thirteenth and fourteen-century chivalric romances, especially cycles dealing with the ancient world like the *Roman de Thèbes* and the *Roman de Éneas*.⁴⁹²

The *engienz* features appear to be a part of the construction project that Robert II undertook in the 1290's. These stood in two structures, the *pavilion du marais* and the *gloriette*. Anne Van

⁴⁸⁷ Tim Smith-Laing, *Variorum vitae: Theseus and the Arts of Mythography in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (diss. Merton College, Oxford, 2013), 85-86.

⁴⁸⁸ See for instance ADN B. 15286 16v. « Jehan le cambier valet de chambre de mons et garde et gouveneur de lostel du mesaige lez hesdin li qlz a pour le retenue des treillez vignes preau et esbtens du d lieu viii roiaux lan avec ce q on li lui toutez lstoffez a paier a touss et assus po ce tme le touss iiii raoiux. »

⁴⁸⁹ Van Buren, "Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin," 122.

⁴⁹⁰ Truitt, *Medieval Robots*, 55-58, 96-97.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid*, 12-13, 27-30.

⁴⁹² *Ibid*, 50-52, 54-55.

Buren claims that she saw records in the Archive de la Pas de Calais that suggest the term *pavilion* is an administrative shorthand for a whole complex of buildings used to entertain guests that included service buildings such as kitchens, stables, and storehouses for animal feed.⁴⁹³ At the center of the complex was a structure approached via a bridge adorned with six pairs of bell-playing, skin-clad mechanical apes. The structure itself housed hidden spigots that sprayed passers-by with jets of water, a pipe-organ, and a sundial.⁴⁹⁴ The location of this structure in the landscape of Hesdin is unclear. Jules Lion placed it to the north on the site of the modern Château d'Estruval and Van Buren, while preferred the vale of the Ternoise.⁴⁹⁵ Yet as noted above, all the pools in the landscape of Hesdin appear to have been clustered together and connected by a series of channels, placing them all in the immediate vicinity of the castle. Van Buren notes documents placing the pavilion next to the *grand vivier*, ensuring that this must have been to the immediate east of the castle in an area historically called *le marais*.⁴⁹⁶ To this day long after the area has been drained, the circular road tracing the outline of the lost pool called the *grand vivier* bears the name *rue du marais* (IMAGE 33). It is possible that the *pavilion du marais* stood against or over this water feature offers ready access to water for its machines.⁴⁹⁷

Records of repair demonstrate that automata also occupied a series of spaces called *galleries* and the *gloriette des engienz*. The *gloriette des engienz* appears to have functioned as an aviary and was themed like an exterior space. It was a wood-paneled room that contained a

⁴⁹³ She does not cite or quote it, so it is impossible to verify. Van Buren, "Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin," 121.

⁴⁹⁴ Truitt, *Medieval Robots*, 123-124.

⁴⁹⁵ Jules Lion, « Le Parc du Château de l'ancienne ville de Hesdin » (Amiens, 1905).

⁴⁹⁶ Van Buren, "Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin," 121.

⁴⁹⁷ This features of the *pavilion du marais* is attested in Van Buren, "Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin," 121.

fountain in the shape of a tree inhabited by birds that spit water.⁴⁹⁸ It also contained lead birdcages, mingling creatures from far-flung environments with artworks that evoked the mystery of distant lands.⁴⁹⁹ Channels secreted in the *gloriette's* ceiling panels could be activated to create false rain.⁵⁰⁰ By 1384, these spaces contained engines for spitting water similar to the ones in the *gloriette*.⁵⁰¹ A list of repairs dated to the reconstruction campaign of 1417-1419 demonstrate that the *galleries* had previously included monkey machines like the ones in the *pavilion du marais* and “tetes” that spit water.⁵⁰² It is likely that these date to the first construction in the 1290's. The 1417 inventory of repairs also demonstrates the presence of an image of a hermit and a sun that spurted water.⁵⁰³ Merriam Sherwood published a record of a 1432-1433 repair that included, “Item, in the room before the hermit, that makes it rain everywhere, like the water which falls from the sky, and also thunder and snow and lighten, too, as if one were looking at the sky.”⁵⁰⁴ Given the association of

⁴⁹⁸ ADN 15287 17v. « A Jeh Bouffel plombier li qlz a ouvre de saudure en pluss lieux au chastel est ass q il a ouve es conduis de larbre de le gloriette et refaitt les chuyaux et ensemment les chaux des engiens des galleryes pour faire jeter yaue as oysselles du d aurbre et as des engiens et iceu coppe reslarge et ressaude les conduis. »

⁴⁹⁹ The castle's birdkeeper was reimbursed for buying them food, suggesting that the space had live birds in addition to metallic ones. ADN 15286 32v. « A Jeh Tube tardien et gouvneur des oysiau de le gayolle du chastel de hesdin li qlz a garde et gouvrene III pappegaux a lui bailliez en vvarde p monss et po le gouvernaunce di ceux p les passe de v moiz ou enviro a commenchant a le m aoust ou enviro darr passe et feniss le XCe jour de janv ens. Li diz Tubez a lieu et ps po le gouvernauc di ceux p le dit temps tant en grains de saffian par ce q de moure en est comme en sutre en pain pruniez poires noiz et candeilles a les veillier. » ADN 15286 42v. adds cheese and apples to the varied diet of these parrots.

⁵⁰⁰ ADN 15278 *Ouvrages Communes* « charptentres refaire de aisselius le second faultz rain de le gloriete. » For the panelling, see ADN 15284 *Ouvrages de Charpenterrie* « mis iii loyens a le garite de le gnde auloge requeuillent le montee dicelle mis nouvelles as au lambrissich de le gloriete. »

⁵⁰¹ ADN 15287 17v. « A Jeh Bouffel plombier li qlz a ouvre de saudure en pluss lieux au chastel est ass q il a ouve es conduis de larbre de le gloriette et refaitt les chuyaux et ensemment les chaux des engiens des galleryes pour faire jeter yaue as oysselles du d aurbre et as des engiens et iceu coppe reslarge et ressaude les conduis. »

⁵⁰² ADN 15321 « A Hue de Boulogne painter pour avoir refaite et remis a point les engiens desbatement du chastel de Hesdin au comandement de mons cest assavoir le Soeil des galleries le quel a este mis jus et sus / resuand et resart pluss treux au dit seuil et remis en ses donduis et plomas et refait de toutes choses anisi q lemie e desire IT as pippes et as conduis des engiens des galleries / cest assavoir le singe et les visages ressaude de peillement et remis leurs contrepoix en estat et retaille et repaint les dis singes et visages de ce qui estoit rompu et despechiet IT au avoir de le petite gloriette / le quel a este mis jus et sus / et cellui repaint et retaille et remis en bon estat pluss chos appten a ycellui IT peillement refait et remis en estain le hermite du dit chastel et les chos appten a ycellui IT peillement refait et remis en estat le hermit du dit chastel et les choses appten a y cellui ermite. »

⁵⁰³ See footnote 51. It is possible that this machine is the “soel” attested in 1403. ADN 15311 19v. « it refait le soel des engiens des galleries du chastel. »

⁵⁰⁴ Merriam Sherwood, “Magic and Mechanics in Medieval Fiction,” *Studies in Philology* 44 (1947), 588.

the hermit with the weather, it is likely that this hitherto unknown sun is a part of the same suite of engines that evoked the numinous powers of religious figures.⁵⁰⁵

In the absence of archaeological excavations, it is difficult to characterize the automata-laden *gloriette* and *gallerie* as structures or to pinpoint them in space. The *gloriette* filled with automata, the fountain tree, and aviary is one of four structures at Hesdin bearing that name, the others being a “petite gloriette,” a “grande gloriette” attached to the ducal bedchamber in the castle overlooking the water of the *petit vivier*, and a gloriette attached to the ducal bedroom in a complex of buildings across the park called Le Manage.⁵⁰⁶ Anne Hagophian Van Buren characterized a *gloriette* as an “airy, usually tower, rooms,” within a larger structure.⁵⁰⁷ Frustratingly, Van Buren offers no quotes or call numbers to support this claim, and a record uncovered in my research suggests that another *gloriette* at Hesdin was a more substantial, multi-room edifice similar to the independent structure with the same appellation at Leeds Castle (IMAGE 34).⁵⁰⁸ A document dated to 1306 describes flowerbeds bordering the lawn around the *gloriette des engienz*. As both the *haut cour* and *petit paradise* featured lawns and gardens, *le gloriete* could stand on either exposure.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁵ ADN 15321 Compt Ginot Guilbant In finisant 1411, « A Hue de Boulogne painter pour avoir refaite et remis a point les engiens desbatement du chastel de Hesdin au comandement de mons cest assavoir le Soleil des galeries le quel a este mis jus et sus / resuand et ressart pluss treux au dit sueil et remis en ses donduis et plomas et refait de toutes choses anisi q lemie e desire IT as pippes et as conduis des engiens des galeries. »

⁵⁰⁶ For the “petite gloriette,” see ADN 15321 « IT au avoier de le petite gloriette. » ADN 15287 15r. describes tile work on a “grand gloriette” attached to the residence. ADN 15287 15r. “IT le pante de le camber lau mons gis au liz devs le petit vivier du parc en venant de le gnt gloriette a le petit chapel.” For the gloriette of the « Manage, » or “Mesauge,” the cluster of structures that included the Maison Daedalus, see ADN 15289 13r. « IT a lostel du mesuage de petite salle le cambre l’au ou on gist une tourelle quy y joint et le gloriete qui y treut qui est vers le pc et le monte qui desteut po a lr desous le dte gloriete tout ce desommur et recouvre dun coste et daut et relaut ou is ssa sesoins. »

⁵⁰⁷ Van Buren, “Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin,” 122.

⁵⁰⁸ ADN 15291 18v. “Item avois aussi trave et abatu les maiss du manuage en pluss liues est ass sur le grant salle aules vers le parc Item Item sur le chambre en le gloriette du d lieu ».

⁵⁰⁹ Thierry D’Hireçon quoted this document without listing a call number. Thierry D’Hireçon, « Agriculture Artésien, » in *Bibliothèque de L’école des Chartres, Revue d’Erudition*, (Paris, Ecole de Chartres, 1892), 444. « Pour esrachier et desplanter violiers, fraisiers, et framboisiers, et replanter entour les praiiaus desous gloriette. » ; for the lawns in the *haut cour*, see the record for the construction of the castle bathhouse, B.15291 31r. v. « Aultres despense fte par le dit Receveur pour unes estuves que il a faite faire en un cambre desoux le sale dinde ... »

Furthermore, a document drafted in 1389 describes the construction of a “une petite cambre hault deseure le retrait de monsi de bourg,” suggesting that the duke’s chambers hitherto lacked vertical flows of space that provided panoramic views.⁵¹⁰

Documents suggest that the *galleries des engiens* formed part of a suite of rooms running from the Salle des Escus to the *grans galleries* to the *galleries des engiens*.⁵¹¹ The scribes of Hesdin usually call the *gloriette* with engines “le gloriete” or the “gloriette des engiens,” suggesting it was different from the *petite*, *grande*, and Manage *gloriette*. A receipt for new nails for the tree fountain in *Le gloriete* claims that it was “of the said castle,” suggesting that it communicated with structures in the *haut cour* itself.⁵¹² A document for a restoration dated to 1432 gives a sense of the games that stood within them. These include legends and paintings of three people that spout water at people who pass by, a machine for wetting ladies as they pass through the door, and engine which strikes the faces of those who are underneath it and covers them with powder and soot, a perpetually running fountain, a machine what strikes those who pass beneath it, a hermit who summons a rainstorm from spigots secreted in the ceiling and can talk. a trapdoor where people fall into a sack filled with feathers, a window that splashes water in the face of those who try to open it, and a lectern with a book of ballads that shoots soot and water.⁵¹³

A jehan de douste machon pour avoir fait et estoupe le grnte fenestre cont le dte estuve au lez deuz le prayel qui est cont le grant chapel. »

⁵¹⁰ ADN B. 1848.32 (No.50461), « Che sont les frans et missions que Phillippe lescot Receveur de Hesdin a fait for une petite cambre hault deseure le retrait de monsi de bourg. En son chastel a Hesdin et p son commandemet / par luy fait de bouche au dit receveur ou mois d’octobre lan MCCC quatre-vingt et neuf pour tont coss anisi que plus ad plain est chi desour declare par le mane qui fenss... Paies pour carpentie ... (etc). »

⁵¹¹ ADN 15289 13v. « It les grans gallerias qui viennant de le salle as escuz as galleries des engiens met ii lattes se ellez y falltur. »

⁵¹² B. 15292 28v. III grans biaocons et iiii utughes et les clau pour soustenre lardre de le gloriette du dit chastel que jeue lyaeu pess VI XX ii LB.

⁵¹³ I have not included elements of the mechanics in the *galleries des engiez* that date to a restoration campaign of 1417-1419, namely a series of trick mirrors. The whole 1432 document is translated in Merriam Sherwood, “Magic and Mechanics in Medieval Fiction” 44 (1947), 588-589.

This group of gags and pranks is strikingly immediate to modern readers familiar with the haunted houses and water games in amusement parks. Yet several elements suggest that they played off and extended the conceit of the chivalric romance. The uncanny hermit who could summon weather was a stock character in romance literature, familiar to fourteenth-century viewers from the works of Chrétien de Troyes and other exponents of chivalric literature.⁵¹⁴ The book of ballads also suggests the literary origin of these games, and sets up a prank that comments on the disfiguring potential of reading too many trashy books. Many of the water jets are aimed specifically at women, squirting water up from the floor as they pass over thresholds, suggesting an eroticization of female bodies in keeping with a courtly love theme.⁵¹⁵

The mechanisms powering Hesdin's *engiens des esbatement* have been the subject of occasional speculation. Anne van Buren believed that machines pumped water out of a pool.⁵¹⁶ Ely Truitt suggests they operated by some "weight driven mechanical device."⁵¹⁷ How precisely such a pump would function is unclear. Most pumping mechanisms of the Middle Ages and Renaissance operated by human or water power. Agostine Ramelli's description of water pumps records no weight driven devices, and his description of fountains and an automaton of a tree with singing birds requires no mechanism more complicated than gravity and human breath.⁵¹⁸ A record from a 1417 repair and expansion campaign demonstrates that water jets (at least) were not dependent on complex machines. They received their pressurized water from a lead tub secreted

⁵¹⁴ Angus J. Kennedy, *The Hermit's Role in Medieval Romance in Romania* 337 (1974), 54-83.

⁵¹⁵ Carissa Harris, "Rape Narratives, Courtly Critique, and the Pedagogy of Sexual Negotiation in the Middle English Pastourelle," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 46:2 (May 2016), 267.

⁵¹⁶ Van Buren, "Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin," 121.

⁵¹⁷ Truitt "The Garden of Earthly Delights: Mahaut of Artois and the Automata at Hesdin." *Medieval Feminist Forum: A Journal of Gender and Sexuality* 46 (2010), 77.

⁵¹⁸ Agostine Ramelli, *The Various and Ingenious machines of Agostine Ramelli: A Classic Sixteenth-Century Illustrated Treatise on Technology* trans. by Marth Teach Gnudi and Eugene S. Ferguson (Mineola: Dover Publications, 1976), 492-506.

above a room's ceiling and used gravity to create forceful sprays of water.⁵¹⁹ No mechanisms or pumps more were needed to make these machines function, and filling the tub could be as simple as hauling buckets up the stairs. To operate the machines, a prankster likely turned a faucet to flood the pipes, lending them a great degree of control over the victim and timing of a prank. It is also likely that during periods when the water jets did not “play” this tub was drained and left empty to reduce the risk of water leakage. This low-tech solution is in line with other “automata” found in medieval contexts, where seemingly independent motion is more often aspirational than achieved.⁵²⁰ The hermit was likely a type of marionette with a tin pipe in its mouth that transferred the voice of a distant speaker into the room, a mechanism frequently seen to this day in outdoor playgrounds. Evidence for more clockwork style machines at Hesdin between 1343 and 1419 is limited to a single reference to Hungarian leather purchased for the “roelles” of unspecified engines in 1417.⁵²¹

It appears that the machines in the *pavilion du marais* no longer functioned by the time Margaret and Philip inherited Hesdin, and that the maintenance to those within the *galeries* and *gloriette* had taken a back seat to other cares for several decades. Maintenance to the Pavilion's mechanical apes fell off in the 1340's. The castle staff appears to have abandoned them to decay around 1353, when the Jehan the rope-maker outfitted the “ruinous” bell-playing monkeys for the last time.⁵²² In the years after 1353, the office of “*maistre des engiens*” itself underwent occasional

⁵¹⁹ ADN 15327 *Ouvrages Communes* « A lui pour III L de saundre mise et employe a refaire et resauder le payelle de plombe qui sert les engines de le chambre a le mitte a XVIII d le L. »

⁵²⁰ See, for instance, William of Rubruck's account of the “automata” of the court of Mangu Khan. William of Rubruck, *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253-1255, as Narrated by Himself, with Two Accounts of the Earlier Journey of John of Pian de Carpine*, trans. William Woodville Rockhill (Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1967), 208.

⁵²¹ ADN 15327 *Ouvrages Communes*. « Au dit receveur pour deux longue decuir de honguerie a faire tourner sur les roelles des d engines. »

⁵²² ADN 15271 45v. « Jehan le Cordier pour les cordes des engiens du pavillon ment pour ce que li li engien depechiet. »

lapse. Laurens of Boulogne, the castle's painter from at least 1347, received the appellation occasionally across his career, for instance in 1347, 1378.⁵²³ In 1382, a document claims that the officed had been resurrected.⁵²⁴ That said, Robert II's machines in the *gloriette* and *galleries* remained in repair.⁵²⁵

Before moving on, a word must be said about the humor on display in the prank machines of Hesdin. Commentators are often stunned by the display, and many show a great distaste for the bodily, prank-style buffoonery.⁵²⁶ The machines of the *gloriette* and the *galleries* have occasionally been characterized as misogynistic. Indeed, the notaries claim that the suites of engines that squirt water upward from the floor of the *gallerie* specifically targeted aristocratic women. When operated, they soiled their clothing, perhaps up to their crotch, drawing comparison to female sexual fluids and the supposed humoristically open, "watery" bodies of women.⁵²⁷ The implications of this joke place the *engiens* squarely within the bailiwick of rape culture. Yet humor is always contextual, the bounds of the acceptable depend on diverse contingencies like the rapport between the initiator and the victim and the audience of a prank. Like all the artworks of the Valois

⁵²³ He was called "maistre des engiens" in ADN B. 15270 17r. (1347).

⁵²⁴ Laurens de Boulogne appears as *peintre du chastel* beginning in 1351, ADN B. 15271 9v.; « Maistre des engiens » is added to his official job description in 1378, ADN 15280 4r. The office is resurrected in 1382 after a hiatus. B 15284 *Candellaire* trimester « A leurench de boulogne paintre du chastel et garde des engiens desbatement nouvellement remis ou dit office p lre monss don a Hesdin le vi jour de juin lan 1382. »

⁵²⁵ Repairs too place in 1360. see : ADN 15273 21v. « IT pour refair et saulder iiii gargouilles a le dte pmiere porte a larbre de lenien en autres pluss liens p le chastel. » ; ADN 15273 22v. « canes a porter yaeu pour les engiens qui jettent yaeu, » and I guteron de nous pour le maistr carpnterie du chastel a gluer les fenestres de le gloriette et autres œuvres. » For a campaign of repair in 1371, see ADN 15278 7v. comptes toussaintes 1371 « charptentres refaire de aisselius le second faulz rain de le gloriete. » In 1382, the *gloriette*'s tree was regilded and a clock was added. See ADN. 15284 *Ouvrages Charpenterie* « mis iiii loyens a le garite de le gnde auloge requueillent le montee dicelle mis neues as au lambrissich de le gloriete. » ADN B. 15284 *Toussaints* « It une livre de fin darcal dot il refist larbre de le gloriete. »

⁵²⁶ Merriam Sherwood referred to the sense of humor on display as, "a love of horse-play dare we say unseemly in fine knights and ladies and unsuited to cloaks of ermine and velvet or brocaded gowns." Merriam Sherwood, "Magic and Mechanics in Medieval Fiction," 587.

⁵²⁷ Gail Kern Pastor, "The Unbearable Coldness of Female Being: Women's Imperfection and the Humoral Economy," *English Literary Renaissance* 28 (1998), 416. Joan Caden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science, and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 92.

court, the prank machines of Hesdin could be used to many ends, and could flatter or humiliate depending on the goals and skills of those who wielded them.

Yet the builders and users did integrate elements meant to soften the potentially humiliating aspects of the machines. In the most general scale, nomadism was a way to control the reception of the *engiens*. Because the counts of Flanders and dukes of Burgundy were nomadic, they were only on display some of the time, and even residence at the castle did not automatically mean they were operational. As will be seen in Chapter 4, Louis of Mâle and Philip the Bold curated groups of people among the great and good of the realm to visit Hesdin, ensuring that presence at the site and access to these apparently degrading machines coded to contemporaries as something immensely desirable. Thanks to Mauchaut's poem and court gossip, everyone entering the *galleries* and *gloriette* knew what was going to happen during their first visit to Hesdin, even if they were surprised by the particulars of a prank.

The position and mechanisms of the machines also offered pranksters the opportunity to soften the blow and make it feel more like a tease or flirt than an attack. After all, they were *engiens d'esbatement*, machines of enjoyment, and for nomadic courts that returned to the same residence in a cycle, subjection to repeated public humiliation would become onerous. The *engiens d'esbatement* stood within the ducal apartments and related rooms, suggesting an attempt to control the audience and ensure that highly-ranking aristocrats could both prank and be pranked without losing authority or submitting to social sanction. This rationale may have led to the decline of the machines in the outdoor *pavilion* in the middle of the fourteenth century. Other incidentals that could tip the prank from a well-received laugh to an insult could easily be managed by the prankster who, as noted above, had great control over the precise victim and moment because of the relatively primitive techniques used to control the machines.

As argued in the previous section of this chapter, the construction program funded by Philip the Bold and overseen by Melchior Broederlam during the 1380's and 1390's largely sought to preserve this program of decoration and venues. The painted cycles that gestured to far-off lands and the cluster of prank marvels that evoked the characters and themes of courtly love and chivalric romance remained in place into the next century. Under Broederlam's hand, this cluster of themes likely expanded, setting the stage for extensive and better-documented additions to the program in 1417-1419 and 1432-1433.

By contrast to Hesdin, artists working under Margaret of Flanders at Germolles downplayed chivalric romance and warrior status as an elite ideology. Instead, they deployed similar media and motifs to focus on a different but related literary genre, the *Pastourelle*. In its classic thirteenth-century form, *pastourelle* poetry follows a standard narrative. A knight passing through an idyllic, may-time landscape happens upon a shepherdess tending her sheep, leading to a sexual encounter.⁵²⁸ This encounter is frequently rape. Literary criticism of the medieval and renaissance *pastourelle* genre asserts that two tropes are essential to the genre: the assumption that the world of the peasant shepherdess and her flock is peaceful and safe, and the destruction of that peace by the intrusion of aristocratic men. Helen Cooper has noted that the peace of the shepherdess's world is illusory, a precondition for acts of violence that evoke the destructive power of war.⁵²⁹ Christine Rose has likewise claimed that scenes of rape manifest concerns for a diverse array of social encounters, including property crimes, acts of war, and homosociality.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁸ Helen Cooper "Speaking for the Victim," in *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004), 67-69.

⁵²⁹ Cooper, "Speaking for the Victim," 218-219.

⁵³⁰ Christine M. Rose, "Reading Chaucer Reading Rape," in *Representing Rape in Medieval and Early Modern Literature* ed. Robertson and Rose (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2001), 35.

Now the shepherdess and the *Pastourelle* seems at first glance to be an unappealing source for aristocratic self-identification. The shepherdess of classic thirteenth-century poetry was a peasant and narratives frequently make her the subject of violence. Furthermore, the narratives are often based in assertions of the shepherdess's sexual insatiability and accusations of women's sexual capriciousness.⁵³¹ Yet the *pastourelle* and the persona of the shepherdess did have some redeeming qualities that made her a useful metaphor for aristocratic ideals and a locus of self-identification. Watching over her sheep, she manifested care that evoked the parable of Good Shepherd and, of special interest to aristocratic rulers, political metaphors of the ruler as a shepherd of the people.

Margaret of Flanders appears to have arrived at the shepherdess as an emblem of self through the use of sheep as personal emblems and ciphers. The counts of Flanders in particular had an association with sheep from the middle of the fourteenth century. Her father Louis de Mâle used the ram as his personal device. It gestured to the wealth of his county's wool industry but appears in his usage to have also evoked the derring-do of chivalric romance. In her turn, Margaret of Flanders adopted the ewe as her personal emblem, apparently in homage to her father.⁵³² The choice to carry on the image of the sheep as a dynastic emblem was a formative one for the new dynasty, but in the hands of men of the dynasty it would revert to its warrior significance. As noted above, the castle of Hesdin, one of his favored residences, featured a fresco cycle depicting the hunt for the legendary ram of antiquity, the Golden Fleece, paintings that the translator John Caxton claimed to see a century later.⁵³³ Louis's great-grandson Philip the Good would develop

⁵³¹ Carissa Harris, "Rape Narratives, Courtly Critique, and the Pedagogy of Sexual Negotiation in the Middle English Pastourelle," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 46:2 (May 2016), 273.

⁵³² Christina Normore, *A Feast for the Eyes: Art, Performance, and the Late Medieval Banquet* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 71.

⁵³³ William Caxton, *The History of Jason Translated From the French of Raoul Le Fevre* ed. John Munro (London: Oxford University Press, 1913).

the ram as an icon of chivalry in his Order of the Golden Fleece and developed the biblical warrior Gideon into an emblem of Burgundian identity largely because of his association with a miraculous fleece.⁵³⁴

The transformation of the shepherdess into an aristocratic woman was a novel development based on many of the political themes native to the classic *pastourelle* tradition. Carissa Harris has noted that *pastourelles* deliver a powerful critique of the courtly romance genre by pairing language that idealizes women with brutal violence meted out to those that resist a wooing aristocrat, thereby revealing the weight of privilege and the denial of women's erotic subjectivity in courtly love itself.⁵³⁵ At Germolles, Margaret of Flanders and her team of artists efface this anti-court, anti-aristocratic, anti-courtly-love discourse, assimilating the two into the same moral and class plane. They appropriated the persona of the shepherd and shepherdess to lay claim to the image of innocence and simplicity embodied in the shepherdess and her companions. In the process, the anti-court discourse dissolves as courtiers come to embody the idealized state of the shepherd and shepherdess.

The Archives Départementales de la Côte d'Or preserves a large collection of documents related to the construction of Germolles that trace the development of *pastourelle* imagery on the site. The decorative ensemble unfolded across four phases, each of which made the equation between the duchess and the shepherdess more explicit. The first phase added literal sheep and shepherds to the landscape around the castle. In 1385, workers completed a new suite of farm buildings in the *basse court*, including a new sheep pen and animal barn (IMAGE 12).⁵³⁶ Within

⁵³⁴ Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: the Apogee of Burgundy* (London: Harrow Longmans, 1970), 57.

⁵³⁵ Carissa Harris, "Rape Narratives, Courtly Critique, and the Pedagogy of Sexual Negotiation in the Middle English Pastourelle," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 46:2 (May 2016), 272.

⁵³⁶ Beck, *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age*, 24.

a year the castle was serving a flock of sixty-eight sheep.⁵³⁷ In this position, the presence of sheep on the castle grounds was immediately visible to people entering and exiting the castle by its main processional way. While the provision of new farm buildings ensured the presence of literal sheep and shepherds at Germolles, passers-by would likely be sensitive to seigniorial overtones of the productive landscape rather than interpret it as an element of a literary theme.⁵³⁸

Germolles at the beginning of Margaret of Flanders' tenure lacked features that modern scholars consider crucial to seigniorial architecture and landscapes of the fourteenth century, most crucially a deer park. Castle archaeologists have emphasized the centrality of parks to the evocation of aristocratic status. Robert Liddiard has even claimed that the deer park was the critical *sine qua non* element within a system of topographic signs of a seigniorial landscape.⁵³⁹ Given this omission, Germolles should not be a major Valois site at all, not to mention one that would go on to see intense elaboration at the hand of a major architectural patron. Germolles never received a park throughout her reign, and nomadism supported this choice in two ways. First, the suggestion that houses be themed suggested that parks belong to houses that represent a more martial aspect of aristocratic identity, one which the *Pastourelle* theme of Germolles actively sought to elide. In a more practical note, if Margaret of Flanders wanted to hunt, she could go to one of her many residences within the duchy that had a game park, especially the château at Aisey-sur-Seine or, even closer, the major castle of Argilly outside of Beaune.⁵⁴⁰

During the decoration of the interior of Germolles with floor tiles and murals, artists played with motifs, symbols, and ambiguous spatial representations to create a sense that the castle

⁵³⁷ Beck, *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age*, 109.

⁵³⁸ Robert Liddiard notes that medieval people frequently viewed productive elements symbolically, and associated well-ordered farmland with peace, beauty, and the puissance of a lord. Robert Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, 106.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁰ Patrice Beck, "The Ducal Residences: Architecture as the Theater of Power," *Art From the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, 1364-1419* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004), 138.

interior was a flowery field full of sheep. This conceit suggested that courtly viewers walked through and inhabited the castle in the guise of shepherd and shepherdess in their pastures. This process began with the laying of tiles in the castle residence. Documents preserved in the Archives Départementales de la Côte d'Or demonstrate that the interiors began to take shape in 1388, soon after the reconstruction of the wings themselves. Pavements were delivered to the castle in that year, making them the earliest elements of the décor to be set in place. The tiles show a number of motifs, including abstract designs of basketwork interlace and natural motifs like common daisies, thistles, roses, sunbursts, lions, and a sheep under a tree (IMAGE 35). In this group of decorative objects, the sheep under a tree is the most obvious gesture to pastoral imagery, and it shares the playing field with a variety of other symbols. The majority of the figural motifs on the tiles of Germolles are in fact personal emblems, a form of imagery that occupies a productive region between symbol and mimetic representation. Susan Crane notes that emblems gain part of their power from their ambiguity, their ability to encode information for those with secret knowledge while appearing to mean something different to those outside.⁵⁴¹ The Germolles pavements are a case in point. The daisy and the thistle pivot between natural imagery and symbols of the duke and duchess. The common daisy shares its French name, *marguerite*, with the duchess herself. Philip adopted the thistle as one of his ciphers. With its large purple blossom and prickly defenses, it resonated as a symbol for honor-conscious knights. The French name of the thistle, *chardon*, forms a pun of a courtly love flavor, *cher don* (precious gift), further recommending it as a symbol for an aristocratic man.⁵⁴²

⁵⁴¹ Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity During the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 140-142.

⁵⁴² Patrick de Winter, « Jean de Marville, Claus Sluter et les statues de Philippe le Hardi et Marguerite de Flandre au château de Germolles, » in *Actes du 101^e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes* (Paris : Bibliothèque Nationale, 1978), 215-32.

The tiles at Germolles assemble puns and symbols of personal devotion under an overarching conceit that the floor is a flowery field dotted with grazing sheep and that the aristocratic viewers who walked through this simulated exterior were shepherds wandering among their flocks. While it symbolically represented the person of Margaret, the daisy is also common flower in the short-cropped grass typical of sheep pastures. The thistle served as a symbol of true love freely offered, but it is unpalatable to sheep and among the few large forbs that grow to full height and flower in areas where shepherds pasture their charges. The practice of strewing the floor with plant materials such as grass further assured that the aristocratic interior took on visual, tactile, and olfactory qualities of meadows. Documents from Germolles demonstrate that the practice of strewing floors with grass absorbed enough grass to endanger hay harvesting.⁵⁴³ Receipts for purchases of roses to scatter among the grass demonstrate that real flowers also mingled with the motifs on the tiles.⁵⁴⁴

The conceit of the repeated motif as scattering of flowers in a field continued into the paintings on the walls (IMAGES 29-32). Although rarely considered by art historians, fourteenth-century artists frequently used rhythmic patterns of flowers against green backgrounds to frame ambiguous perspectives and to play with the relationship between painted surface and spatial recession. This approach to pattern may be found in the mid-fourteenth-century *De Lisle Psalter* (British Museum Arundel MS 83). Folio 127 verso presents the meeting of the three living and three dead kings as doubles (IMAGE 36). These doubles present a series of contrasts: the studiously elegant curls and fresh, pale skin against corrupted flesh, the luxuriously draped and

⁵⁴³ Archives Départementales de la Côte d'Or (hereafter ADCO) B4871 f13.

⁵⁴⁴ Margaret of Flanders frequently purchased roses when in season, both to adorn physical space and her courtiers in the form of flower crowns. Such expenses are found in her itinerary rolls dated to 1385. Purchases include: May 21, 6 crowns of red roses and an unspecified quantity of white roses to spread on the ground for Mass; 27 May, roses for the floors of her chamber & for 4 rose crowns; 2 June, 16 rose crowns and 2 baskets of flowers for her barge; June 4, 8 crowns; ADCO Série 33 F 12.

colored robes against the ragged, dirt-sullied shrouds, subtle expressions of discomfort and grief against leering grimaces. Another major contrast is the implication of position within space. While the three living stand against a blank background, their feet firmly rooted on the undulating groundline, the stance of the three dead is less strongly denoted. They appear to stand and mimic the gestures of the three living with their arms and posture. The artist, however, has not affixed their feet to a groundline. Rather, they float above the *marguerite*-strewn background. This relation between figure and ground implies a potential reading in which we see a flowery field strewn with corpses rather than a set of standing figures against a pattern. Extrapolated back onto the walls at Germolles, the green grounds scattered with flowers suggest a reading of the interior as a flowery meadow.

Documents in the Archives Départementales de la Côte D'or demonstrate that the surviving wall paintings are a fragment of a once larger painted program that blended personal ciphers with imagery of sheep and meadowland flowers. This emphasis on flower imagery on wall paintings thus forms a continuity with the themed chambers of Hesdin, but to a different thematic end. A receipt in the *Compte Ordinaire*, number B 4434, 1389-1390 f. 22v-r, contains an itemized receipt for the painting of the castle's walls. It demonstrates that much of the painted decoration for the castle stood not on the walls but on "limandes" – narrow slats of wood that served as crown moldings, ceiling beams, and laths for the tunnel vaults of the wooden ceilings. At 1363 individual motifs, red and white roses represent the largest fraction of the adornment. The initials M and P are also prominent, at 1013 individual motifs, followed by 850 teasel sprigs, 500 daisies, and 200 mottoes, including Margaret's motto, *y me tarde* (I await). At 480 motifs, sheep also represents a significant fraction of this adornment and likely mingled with the flowers and mottoes.⁵⁴⁵ Like the

⁵⁴⁵ Beck, *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age*, 79.; ADCO B4434-1 f. 22v-24.;

floor tiles, the walls mingled images evoking the ideology of courtly love with meadowland flowers that simultaneously served as personal emblems and representations of sheep pastures.

As noted in Chapter 2, a list the furniture from Germolles survives from the death inventory of Margaret of Flanders. This inventory demonstrates that domestic furniture, deluxe textiles, and tapestry participated in a larger, site-specific decorative and conceptual program of the interiors of Germolles as fictive exteriors. This participation derives ultimately from Valois approaches to nomadism that encouraged courtiers to conceive and treat most domestic material culture as fixed to place. At Germolles, the house's wooden furniture and its upholstery bore similar patterns to the paintings of Jean de Beaumetz, and furniture painting may have been a part of his project. Nine of the chairs in the Germolles inventory were covered in painted sheep, seven of which depicted sheep against a grass-green ground.⁵⁴⁶ Luxurious fabrics covered in thistle motifs decorated other chairs.⁵⁴⁷ Slip-on furniture coverings also represent a major participant in the rural imagery on display at Germolles. One independent *banquiers* or bench cover bore a full figural scene of flocks of black and white sheep, while three others bore shepherds surrounded by sheep.⁵⁴⁸

When Margaret of Flanders took on the persona of the shepherdess, encouraged a mixture of attributes. Margaret sought to embody the innocence and idyllic lifestyle to wander the bucolic meadows of the shepherdess, but the shepherdess required some alterations to make her admissible to the castle interior. Upon her arrival at Germolles in figural representation, the shepherdess

⁵⁴⁶ Deshaines, *Documents et Extraits diverses Concernant l'Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre, l'Artois, e le Hainault avant le XVe Siècle*, 903-906, « ITEM VII chayeres de bos peintes de vert semees de brebis I lb. ITEM IIII banquiers de vert a brebis, aux armes de madame, dont les II sont grans et les autres petits. Ibid, 906. « ITEM deux semblables chayers, peintes a myawes et couverts de velayau vermeil, Item, deux chayeres peintes a brebis. »

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid, « ITEM III chaieres a feulx esteaux, garnies de drap d'or a chardons. ITEM un autre chair couverte de cuir rouge sans dossier ITEM deux autres chayers, garnies de drap de soye blue a chardons. »

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid, « Item I banquier de haulteliche seme de brebis et entre les autres en y a une noire xl s. ITEM VIII banquiers, les chans vert semes de blanches brebis I banquier et une petite couverture de couche de mesme, avoec une grande sarge de kan blanche LVI lb. BEGIN 905 ITEM II banquiers de bregiers, le champ brun, et y a des brebis IIII LB ITEM I banquier vert et pers, seme de bregiers et bregieres, XL s. »

therefore takes on an aristocratic persona free from accusations of crudeness or earthiness, qualities that marks her alterity and class status in earlier *pastourelle* lyric.⁵⁴⁹ Margaret of Flanders' identification with the shepherdess encouraged the repression of unsavory violence and the attribution to her of other narratives that the duchess held dear, namely courtly love narratives. This character of the shepherdess makes her first appearance in the records of Germolles in 1390.

In that year, Margaret ordered a set of tapestries from Philippot de la Vigne, a tapestry weaver of Arras.⁵⁵⁰ They were designed by the court artist Melchior Broederlam, who as demonstrated earlier was currently the foreman for her husband's construction project at the Château de Hesdin. As noted in Chapter 1, this suite of tapestries was tied specifically to the site of Germolles and were meant to remain there indefinitely. In the receipt dated to the 12 of September 1391, the notaries noted that "patrons de tapisseries de bergiers et bergieres," cartoons of tapestries of shepherds and shepherdesses, were specifically "pour ma dame la duchess pour son hostel a Germolles," for my lady the Duchess at her residence at Germolles.⁵⁵¹ On the more practical side, tying a tapestry commission to site ensured that each tapestry could be made to measure, ensuring that each panel corresponded in height and width to a preconceived wall.

The inventory of tapestries in Margaret of Flanders' 1405 inventory suggests the scale of Broederlam's commissions and its physical and conceptual relationship to the *pastourelle* imagery

⁵⁴⁹ John Scattergood, "The Love Lyric before Chaucer," in *A Companion to the Middle English Lyric*, ed. Thomas Duncan (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), 60.; Cited in Harris 2016, 281.

⁵⁵⁰ ADCO B. 1481 27r. « A Phot de la vuigne tapissier demor a Arras sucre qui lui portoit est du p mon dit soign pour facon et estoffes destame tapisserie quil luy ordonna faire pour ma dame la duchesse pour son hostel de germolles paie par mandemt de mon dit seignur lexecut du dit mess Nicolas de font acence lie de recept du dit phot donn le viie jour de juillet 90 IIII. »

⁵⁵¹ ADCO B. 1481 36v. « A Colart Honnore marchant demour a arras qui deuz li est pour les cause et pties qui seuss cest assavoir pour II c aunes de toille grosse a laine du dit arraz xvii f lit pour ii douz ames de pchemin xxv s t item pour iiiiii libs de flouree iii fil demi et pour ii lb dor puurent ii fil tout de ce pour faire patrons de tapisseries de bergiers et bergieres pour ma dame la duchesse po son hostel de germollez certificacons lune de melchior broederlam paintre et varlet de chambre de mon dit seigneur ... »

themes encountered in the tiles, wall and ceiling paintings and furniture of Germolles. Some of the tapestries play off the plant imagery, extending the fictive environment of a bucolic field.⁵⁵² That said, the majority of the tapestries encountered in the inventory represent sheep and shepherds. Some of these tapestries were independent, including three (presumably large) tapestries for the hall.⁵⁵³ As the south wall of the *grande salle* of Germolles was occupied by a multi-tier fireplace with a musicians gallery based on the one at Poitiers, it is likely that these were meant to go on the north, east and west walls.⁵⁵⁴ The majority of the tapestries were not single panels but elements of matching sets of room fittings or *chambres* that also included slip-on upholstery for benches plus the draperies, covers, and canopies for beds.⁵⁵⁵ When the castle was occupied, these matching sets adorned the suites of apartments on the *belle etage* of Germolles. This suggests that when in use,

⁵⁵² Deshaines, *Documents et Extraits diverses Concernant l'Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre, l'Artois, e le Hainault avant le XVe Siècle*, 903, "ITEM sont V sarges verdes de quatre royes, signees a foelles d'aubespain, iiii LB XIII lb ITEM une chambre bleue ouvree de brodure a chiel et dossier et couverture de lit, ouvree de brodure a myawes et a margherites a VII eles, et I banquier de haulteliche de oeuvre pareille, LXIII lb. ITEM une chambre de roses blanches et vermeilles a champ vert, et y a V pieches et I banquier de mesmes, et n'y a point de dossier, IIII pieches et le banquier XXXVI lb. ITEM XXIII tapis rouges de fil et de laine, signies a la foelle d'aubespain, dont les III sont malvais et dechires XVIII lb. ITEM I chambre de III pieches, le champ vert a I arbre dor LXXII lb xi s.

⁵⁵³ Ibid, « Item I grant drap de haulteliche pour le sale ou il a I bregier et I bregiere et I arbre d'or ou milieu XL lb. Item I grant tapis de sale vert de haulteliche ouvre a or a I bregier et une bregiere qui font chapaix d ;estrain et y a brebis et petis pars de brebis aux armes de monseigneur et de madame LII lb ITEM a un aultre grant tapis de sale de haulte liche vert de semblable device, excepte que es lieux des pars y a grandes arbres d'or, LII lb. »

⁵⁵⁴ Beck 2002, 54-55.

⁵⁵⁵ Deshaines, *Documents et Extraits diverses Concernant l'Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre, l'Artois, e le Hainault avant le XVe Siècle*. » 903, « ITEM I esprevier vert de haulte liche, seme de brebis et V courtines de saiette vert qui y appartient et II couvertures de mesmes. Item VI coussins a brebis vers et VI bleus, qui sont de fil et de laine Item, VI coussins rouges de haulteliche, ouvres a flouettes blanches, dont l'un est de cuir ou coste Item une couverture de lit verte ou il a I gregiere et une bregire soubz une arbre IIII lb. Item I tapes de haulteliche de pluseurs personnaiges, et y a des brebis blanches et noires, vii l iiii s. ITEM une couverture de lit tenant V aunes de lonc et IIII de large le champ vert, et y a I bregier et une bregiere et plusieurs tropiaux de brebis IIII lb ITEM I drap de haulte lice ouvre a or, et y a des bregieres et des bregieres, I arbre dore et des brebis dessoubz le dit arbre ITEM IIII tapis vers de haulte liche semes a brebis, armoyes comme dessus XXI lb. ITEM une chambre vert de haulteliche a demy ciel, semee de brebis ou il a I obespin et y pent i escriptiau des armes de madame, et dessoubz trouppiaux de brebis, la couverture du lit de mesme ITEM une aultre chambre blanche de trois pieches, semee de noires berbis, et les courtines et VI coussins, I dossier et I drap de couche et I banquier de mesme, LXIII lb VIII s. Ibid, 906. BEGIN 906 – ITEM II grans tapis de haulteliche de camp vert et I grand arbre d'or a un trouppiau de brebis dessoubz et un bregier et une bregiere VI(XX) XIII lb viii s. » ITEM une chambre verte a demi ciel seme de noyelles et de breier et une bregier et chacun cornet I troupeau de brebis blanches, et la couverture du lit de mesmes et III courtines de saye verte, XXX lb. ITEM, I demi ciel vert de haulteliche a brebis et a bregiers, garni de couverture de lit, seme d'obespains et de chennes ou il y a des glans et y a bregiers et bregieres ITEM I chambre blanche a plain ciel, dossier et couverture de lit de l'ouvriage de Paris, ou il a II bosuillons qui coppent le bos, garnie de courtines verdes et blanches, XV lb. »

the painted, gilded, and tinned paintings executed by the workshop of Jean de Beaumetz peeped out from behind woven scenes of sheep and shepherds similarly picked out with shiny metal and largely existed to provide continuity between the edges of these hangings. At Germolles, nail holes for tapestry have not been recovered in the fourteenth-century mural cycle, but this is likely because they lie at the upper part of the walls and beneath later elements that were preserved during twentieth and twenty-first century restorations.

The loss of all the dozens of tapestries in the Broederlam-la Vigne commission is unfortunate, but it is likely that Melchior Broederlam called upon several sources to present a sanitized, gentrified spin on the character of the shepherdess. Broederlam's only surviving work, the *Annunciation* and *Flight into Egypt* panels in the Musée des Beaux Arts, Dijon, reveals that he experimented with deep recessions into landscape (IMAGE 37). This aspect of his work, plus the fact that he lived thirty miles from Arras and could thus monitor the weaving process, recommended him for the commission. He was also certainly familiar with miniatures of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, a scene frequently encountered in contemporary books of hours. The Hours of Jeanne de Navarre, completed between 1335 and 1340, shows a formula for depicting shepherds repeated and elaborated over the course of the century (IMAGE 38). The shepherds are identifiable by their crooks and the presence of sheep. They sit in an outdoor setting and play musical instruments until their interruption by the angel. Broederlam also likely drew upon courtly genre scenes that were becoming popular in tapestries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Louvre preserve two such tapestries, *The Falcon's Bath* (IMAGE 39) and *Lover Giving a Heart* (IMAGE 40). In both scenes, a pair of aristocrats occupy a flat, millefleur foreground covered in wildflowers and engage in calm, peaceful actions. While they are not tethered to specific literary

narratives or characters, the implicit eroticism of these generalized scenes encourages identification with the general rubric of courtly love imagery.

The aristocratic genre tapestries likely exerted an especially strong impact on Broederlam's tapestry compositions. When tapestries representing *pastourelle* narratives begin to survive around the year 1500, their characters perform tasks that obfuscate their class status as peasants to make them look more like aristocrats. Like the shepherds of the Annunciation they play musical instruments, but they also sing with sheet music, dance, play parlor and board games, spin, tablet-weave, and flirt (IMAGES 41-42). Representing people in the midst of calm pleasures rather than hard work or violent narratives, these admittedly later tapestries have assimilated the peaceful themes, millefleur spatiality, and even costumes of contemporary tapestries depicting aristocrats enjoying similar *en plein air* pursuits (IMAGE 43). Indeed, only the crooks and sheep encourage the identification of the figures in the *pastourelle* tapestries as shepherds and not aristocrats, and such slippage in class identity is obviously intentional. No longer really peasants in attitude and dress, the shepherds and shepherdesses become honorary aristocrats who participate in the more pleasurable parts of life.

Documentary records suggest that Melchior Broederlam's works for Germolles depicted shepherds of aristocratic attitude and activities that blurred the bounds between courtly love and *pastourelle* themes. Upon the death of Margaret of Flanders in 1405, her son commissioned an inventory of her goods. Her inventory gathers the artworks and furniture from Germolles under a single heading. The notary claims that most of the thirty tapestries depicting shepherds and shepherdesses depict them standing amid their flocks, often against backdrops of flowering or

forest trees or standing beneath a golden tree.⁵⁵⁶ The inventory notes that one depicted a shepherd and shepherdess making straw hats.⁵⁵⁷ Other contemporary *pastourelle* tapestries show a marked bend towards gentrified narratives. Among Philip the Bold's *bergerie* tapestries were others showing shepherds and shepherdesses dancing and, in an even stronger association with courtly love imagery, interacting with Cupid.⁵⁵⁸ The inventory of Louis, Duke of Orléans shows that he owned a group of *chambres*, matching sets of wall hangings and furniture coverings, depicting cherry groves inhabited by aristocrats and shepherds.⁵⁵⁹ One of these tapestries, representing a noblewoman and a farmer cutting cherries. The *Nobles Pastorales* woven around 1500 replicate this iconography in a scene of a farmer cutting cherries for a gentrified shepherdess, demonstrating the endurance of narratives developed around 1380 or even old cartoons themselves across a century (IMAGE 42). If hung together, Louis's *chambres* formed an extended, multi-room cycle

⁵⁵⁶ Christine also will pick up this motif in tapestry, a reference to Philip the Bold's Ordre de l'Arbre d'Or and a nod to the golden fountain in the shape of a tree in the castle of Hesdin, in her 1405 work *Le Vision Christine*. Christine de Pizan, *Vision of Christine de Pizan*, trans. Glenda Mc.Leod and Charity Cannon Willard (Cambridge : D. S. Brewer, 2005), 23.

⁵⁵⁷ For works exhibiting sheep and shepherds from Germolles, see M. le Chanoine Dehaisnes, *Documents et Extraits divers Concernant l'Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre, l'Artois, et le Hainaut avant le XVe Siecle*, 903.

Item i espievier vert de haulte liche seme de brebis et V courtines de saiette vert qui y appartient et ii couvertures de mesmes

tem i drap de hault liche ouvre a or, et y a des bregieres et bregieres, i arbre dore et des brebis dessoubz le dit arbre i LB

Item i demi siel vert de haultliche a brebis et a bregiers, gerni de couverture de lit, seme d'obespins et de chennes ou il y des glans et y a bregiers et bregieres xiiii lb

Item ii grans tappis de haulteliche de camp vert et i grand arbre d'or a un troppiau de brebis dessoubz et un bregier et une bregiere vixx xiiii lb

Item i grant tab grant tapis de sale vert de haulteliche ovre a or a i bergier et une bregiere qui font chapiaux d'estrain et y a brebis et petis pars de rebis aux armes de monseigneur et de madame lii lb. »

⁵⁵⁸ E. Deshaines *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le XVe siècle, Tome II* (Lille : Impremiere L. Danel, 1886), 844. «Item ung tappis de l'istoire du dieu d'armours dit des bergiers Item, ung tappis de la dance de bergiers. »

⁵⁵⁹ Amié Champollion-Figeac, *Louis et Charles, ducs d'Orléans : leur influence sur les arts, la littérature et l'esprit de leur siècle d'après les documents originaux et les peintures des manuscrits* (Paris : Comptoir des Imprimeurs Unis, 1844), 218. « Une chambre verte dont le ciel est a angels et le dossier à bergiers et bergières faisans contenance de mangier noiz et cerises ... Trois tappiz de cerisiers, où il y a une dame et un escuier qui cueillent cerise en un panier. Une chambre sur champ brun vert, a devise d'une dame qui tient une harpe, senz or... un tappiz à cerisiers, ou il y a une dame qui prent des cerises en un bassin et y a une fontaine. »

that merged aristocrats and shepherds into a larger program depicting people engaged in sensual activities with strong erotic connotations.⁵⁶⁰

The peaceful, gentrified sheep and shepherd imagery – aristocratic in bearing and dress, absenting the knight, and without a whiff of violence – also animated the sculptural cycle of Margaret and her husband Philip the Bold as shepherds at Germolles. The original location of this lost statue group within the castle is unclear. It appears to have overlooked the *haut cour* somewhere near the main entrance, perhaps near the stairwell to the castle chapel or great hall.⁵⁶¹ The first reference to the statues dates to the 19th of May, 1393, when Claus Sluter’s workshop was paid for cutting their plinths. In August of 1393, a carter was paid to haul sculptor’s tools to Germolles. Eventually, a sculpture of the duchess as a shepherd was completed, along with sculptures of the duke and pair of sheep known from later records of repair.⁵⁶²

Though known at the present from brief documentary records, it is possible to deduce that these statues depicted a shepherd and shepherdess with a strong aristocratic cast.⁵⁶³ The Château de Germolles was built and adorned simultaneously to Philip the Bold’s ducal necropolis at the Chartreuse de Champmol. The porch of the monastic chapel features its own portraits of the duke and duchess (IMAGE 44). Patrick de Winter has argued that Claus Sluter originally intended for Champmol the portrait sculptures that ended up at Germolles. According to de Winter, Claus Sluter redesigned the portal at Champmol to incorporate the current pair of kneeling portraits late in its design. In the process, he was left with two unused, life-size jamb figures representing the duke

⁵⁶⁰ Fourteenth-century francophone audiences associated cherries with consummated love and sexual gratification. Margaret B. Freeman, *The Unicorn Tapestries* (New York : E. P. Dutton Inc, 1983), 114.

⁵⁶¹ Beck, *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age*, 31.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*

⁵⁶³ Pieces of Sluter’s sculptural program for Germolles have been recovered from fill in the castle moat. It is hoped that future excavations will recover the dynastic portraits as well.

and duchess in a standing pose traditional for donor portraits. In his estimation, the sculptures of Germolles were these very same, carted off to Germolles since they were largely finished and there was little else that could be done with them.⁵⁶⁴

If these sculptures were indeed re-used elements of an ecclesiastical commission, they may have presented a heterogeneous composition when placed on the façade of Germolles. Unless they were recut, they retained their court costume and attitude. Once attached to the façade, they formed a bridge between sculpted dynastic portraits encountered at the castles of Margaret's in-laws and in-progress portrait tapestries representing Margaret's family members as shepherds.⁵⁶⁵ Like the tapestries of shepherds of around 1500, the sculptures of the ducal couple took on the persona of shepherds primarily through proximity to representations of sheep. The record states that Philip was depicted as a shepherd and not a knight. This decision responded with a desire to emphasize the peace of the shepherdess's world, elide the suggestion that Margaret was in danger in the presence of her husband, and recast the Burgundian court as an image of the shepherdess's ideal society rather than its antithesis. It was three years before the golden elm was added to the sculptural group, suggesting that administrators and artists continued to refine and redirect the significance of the sculpture group after the initial design was complete.⁵⁶⁶ Such a composition forms a counterpart to Margaret's strategy of identifying with the shepherdess by proximity to imagery and symbols rather than mimetically enacting the role.

⁵⁶⁴ De Winter, « Jean de Marville, Claus Sluter et les statues de Philippe le Hardi et Marguerite de Flandre au château de Germolles, » 215-32.

⁵⁶⁵ Deshaines, *Documents et Extraits diverses Concernant l'Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre, l'Artois, e le Hainault avant le XVe Siècle*, 845 « item ung grant tappis de haultelice a moutons ou soint pointraiz madame d'Artois et Monseigneur de Flandres. » ; 909 « Item ii grans vies semes de brebis et y est monseigneur de flandres qui porte i lion. »

⁵⁶⁶ De Winter , « Jean de Marville, Claus Sluter et les statues de Philippe le Hardi et Marguerite de Flandre au château de Germolles, » 215-32.

At Germolles, we thus see that Margaret of Flanders and a diverse team of artisans scattered across the Valois domains evolved a decorative program rooted in a deep familiarity with Hesdin. As we have seen, one of the major participants in the castle's decoration, Melchior Broederlam, was even resident at Hesdin and simultaneously overseeing its restoration while he decorated Germolles. The choice of media at Germolles, including encaustic tile, wall painting, sculpture, and presumably tapestry, forms a general continuity between the two sites. The repeated evocation of floral imagery at Germolles also called up other Valois castle sites, including Hesdin. Hesdin likely served as the immediate source of inspiration for the repeated image of the golden tree and for the choice to decorate around an overarching literary theme. Also like Hesdin, Germolles calls for active participation in the literary conceit of the bucolic idyll, though the participation on hand is somewhat less rambunctious than that envisioned in the *gloriettes* and *galleries* of Hesdin.

Though linked, the decorative programs take alternative routes to presenting Valois identity and rule: one at Hesdin underscoring their affinity to the heroes of old and one that assimilated them into the ideal shepherd and shepherdess. In this radical divergence we must see again the hand of nomadism at play, drawing castles apart with force equal to that which drove them together. There is no evidence that Margaret of Flanders was repelled by the misogynistic overtones of the aristocratic identity built into the joke machines or chivalric theme of Hesdin. It would have been a strange thing to arrive at the *Pastourelle* because of discomfort with the misogyny baked into chivalric romance or courtly love, especially since the reparative reading of the shepherdess required the incorporation of so many courtly love themes and so many overt gestures to Hesdin itself. As argued before, nomadism, the position of the machines within the ducal apartments, and the mechanisms in the *engiens* themselves likely softened the blow on the victims, ensuring that the jokes could register as good fun for all those involved. While the *engiens*

seem misogynistic to modern eyes, they were in part the legacy of Mahaut of Artois, who maintained and elaborated her father's castle and park at the beginning of the century.⁵⁶⁷ Margaret I of Burgundy, mother of Louis of Mâle and grandmother of Margaret of Flanders, was also a frequent resident of Hesdin during Margaret's lifetime. Margaret of Flanders frequently visited her father and grandmother at Hesdin. On one visit she even tipped Laurens of Boulogne for playing the machines of the *galleries* and *gloriette*, suggesting that she appreciated a little rumble and tumble on occasion.⁵⁶⁸

The distancing of Germolles from Hesdin must be read as a function of itinerancy, and especially by the itinerancy that Margaret of Flanders conducted independently of her husband. On a basic level, Margaret of Flanders did not build a mechanized chivalry-themed playhouse because she already had one. For a nomadic court such as hers, replicating Hesdin elsewhere would have been pointless and a wasted opportunity to make a different argument for the shape of Valois rule.

The turn away from the chivalric romance and toward the *Pastourelle* may also be gendered and respond to the expectation that the court of Margaret of Flanders and her daughters travelled independently of Philip's court. The overriding emphasis on a simulated outdoor space is encountered in other medieval decorative cycles in spaces associated with women. In her discussion of medieval Italian palatial decoration, Ann Dunlop describes a banquet at the casa Datini in Prato where the rooms were divided by gender. The men ate *al fresco* in the peristyle courtyard of the house, surrounded by fresco cycles depicting the Seven Liberal Arts, the Virtues,

⁵⁶⁷ Elly R Truitt, "The Garden of Earthly Delights: Mahaut of Artois and the Automata at Hesdin," 74-79.

⁵⁶⁸ ADCO B. 1445 92v. « A Laurens paintre du chasteau de Hesdin pour don fait a li iiii franz et a trois menests qui avoient jue et fait mestier devat monss pour don fait a eulx iiii franz decembre CCCLXXV, » ADCO B. 93v. « A maistre des engines du dit Hesdin q ma dte dame li donn ii franz. Sept CCCLXXVIII, » ADCO B. 1454 77v. ;

and the Nine Male Worthies, imagery that gestured to the outward-facing, public life expected of men. The women, by contrast, passed the banquet enclosed in interiors whose mural cycles depicting a rose garden.⁵⁶⁹ Unlike their Italian sisters, who normally dwelt in close proximity to their husbands, Margaret of Flanders and other Valois women frequently lived independently of their husbands. As Richard Vaughan noted in passing, Margaret of Flanders served as regent for her husband in Burgundy while Philip attended to Flanders and the court in Paris, so their courts often moved independent of each other.⁵⁷⁰ Because of the independent motion of Valois women, feminine space and its mode of conceptual framing and adornment could unzip from masculine ones and expand across whole residences. It could also gain ideological significance that the Casa Datini only rations out for spaces inhabited by men, especially ideologically-resonant décor that gestures onto the importance of lineage and the ideal shape of rule as a possession of a female member of the ruling class.

Conclusions

Between 1409 and 1411, Jean sans Peur, firstborn son of Margaret of Flanders and Philip the Bold, constructed a new tower in the Parisian residence of the Hôtel d'Artois (IMAGE 45). The newel of the tower's spiral stair rises into the crown of knarled tree whose upswept limbs wind into other tree branches rising from the corners. A winding lierne rises up the tree branches and puts forth its distinctive, husk-like blossoms between the clusters of oak leaves and acorns. It is the hop, the floral symbol of Jean sans Peur himself. This extraordinary ceiling immediately strikes the viewer versed in Gothic architecture as a forward-thinking composition, one that leap-frogs from the darkest hours of the Hundred Years War into the hybrid phantasmagoria of sixteenth-

⁵⁶⁹ Anne Dunlop, *Painted Palaces: The Rise of Secular Art in Early Renaissance Italy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2009), 39.

⁵⁷⁰ Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, 151-152.

century German *Astwerk*. Yet all that appears forward-thinking to the modern architectural historian gestures back across space to other sites within the itinerancy network of Jean sans Peur and his parents. Here, in the Hôtel d'Artois, we see from far-off a trace of the Golden Tree of Hesdin after its transformation into a dynastic image, a symbol that Melchior Broederlam created first as a cross-residential homage in the gilt-tapestries of Germolles. Here too we see the golden tree that Claus Sluter made for the same site. If images of Valois rule crafted in Charles V's Paris flowed into the provinces in the years after his death, amplifying the power of the archetype by dispersing its semblance across wide topographies and making it visible for the court at every stop in its nomadic existence, so too did imagery formulated in rural residence flow into the metropolis upon the very same routes of nomadism.

Indeed, the age of Jean sans Peur saw many visualizations of Valois rule formulated in Valois houses Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders crop up in Paris. As predicted, full-on replicas did not appear in the houses of the Philip the Bold himself, but of his peers. Isabeau of Bavaria, whose itinerancy network inherited no *Pastourelle*-themed houses, purchase one at Saint Denis in the suburbs of Paris. The deed of sale states that by the time of payment she had already engaged in "certain works" (*aucune oeuvres*) so that she could retire there for her "*esbastement*," play or pleasure, and that she was of the habit of feeding the barnyard animals and birds.⁵⁷¹ In her last will and testament, dated to September 31, 1431, she named the mansion the *Hôtel des Bergieres*.⁵⁷²

While it does not appear that Jean sans Peur sought to make an explicit *Pastourelle* themed house at the Hôtel D'Artois, he gathered the symbols of the other houses to reconfigure into a new

⁵⁷¹ Archives Nationales JJ 154 f. 20v.

⁵⁷² Marcel Thibault: *Isabeau de Bavière reine de France: La jeunesse, 1370-1405* (Paris: Librairie Academique Didier, 1903), 265.

form. The hop vine that winds its way across the ceiling of the stair also gestures to imagery seen at Germolles. As a young man, Jean sans Peur had lived in the castle with his wife and mother. During this time, he purchased extraordinary numbers of clothing ornaments representing hop blossoms, allowing him to participate in the larger play of flower imagery at a house whose physical fixtures were not under his control.⁵⁷³ As duke, he could at last project his own image onto the walls and ceiling. As the tiles recovered in the basement of the Tour de Jean sans Peur demonstrate, he mingled his own image with those used by his mother and father, creating a nomadic architecture that was explicitly historicizing and woven into a wide network of interlocking houses.

⁵⁷³ See for example ADCO. 1511 88v « tem pour demi marc de petis hobellons pour sime sur un colier et sur deux manches le marc au pris de xvi fr valt viii f. » B.1519 119r. « Item en fueilez de hobellons V M I O XV C et en bastonnes II M III O XVII E a XIII fr le marc valent CVII fr xv s t Item our VI grans hobelons et iiii fueilles ssvans a la dte robe Et pour IIII(XX) fueilles ensemble IIII(XX) grans hobellons pess III M VII O XIX C a xiiii f le marc valent IIII(XX) II F III S III D T. » B. 1519, 237v « Pour une chappelline (hat) de velau non ouvres dessus le tige de hobelons qui sont chevrons et lies dor faucerries parmi les tiges pour mon dit ss le conte de nevers xxviii fr. »

Chapter 4 Valois Nomadism in Daily Life and Spectacle

In his 1919 *Autumn of the Middle Ages*, Johan Huizinga pointed to the shimmer, complex symbolism, and sumptuous display of the Valois Burgundian court spectacle as signs of the decadence of medieval worldviews and social structures.⁵⁷⁴ In the wake of this seminal text, large-scale spectacles like royal entries, jousts, and feasts have occupied the center of scholarly conceptions of court life and its relationship to art and architecture. Yet Valois dynasts and their courts also occupied space in socially-conditioned and meaningful ways during their day-to-day life. This chapter considers the enmeshment of these daily patterns of life within castle space and the impulse to travel.

While modern scholarship emphasizes the place of the spectacle to the exclusion of quotidian life, it also erases itinerancy from the spectacle moment. Looking to the role of itinerancy and its governing logistical strategies in creating spectacles reveals a material culture of the spectacle hitherto unimagined in art historical discourse. Following a rise of interest in Valois Burgundian performances in the 1990's and the landmark exhibitions of Burgundian court art in the early 2000's, the spectacle and its associated paraphernalia have occupied the center of art historical discourse of late medieval art. Marina Belozerskaya has emphasized the impact of later Burgundian court spectacles upon the circulation of artifacts and artistic trends, solidifying that court in modern scholarship as an epicenter for artistic creativity in the first decades of the fifteenth century.⁵⁷⁵ Dominant conceptions of the material culture of the late medieval courts derives from

⁵⁷⁴ Johan Huizinga, Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch, trans. *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁵⁷⁵ Marina Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts Across Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

surviving objects and from descriptions of pageants penned by chroniclers and panegyrists like Jean Froissart and Olivier de Marche.⁵⁷⁶ Both of these forms of evidence entail major methodological problems. Descriptions of Valois spectacles functioned as didactic materials meant to preserve flattering and, in the case of Olivier de Marche or Georges Chastellain, quasi-official accounts of events that emphasized their order, majesty, and prescribed interpretation of ideological content. They dominate our conceptions of the court for the granular detail they provide and because their publication in modern editions makes them widely accessible and easy to use and interpret. As for the objects themselves, art historians chose their corpus of “courtly” artworks largely because they conform to the vision of opulence evoked in descriptions of Valois courts.

As demonstrated in Chapter 1, dependence on surviving luxury goods and descriptions obscure conditions on the ground of late medieval courts. Returning to ledgers, those unwieldy, untranscribed, and unphotographed sources, accessible only on-site, where a few fragmentary entries pertaining to a spectacle are scattered among thousands pages of receipts tells a different story. Contrary to scholarly perceptions that spectacle days found “palaces and tents filled with art,”⁵⁷⁷ these ledgers reveal that the single-use terracotta and glass that normally dominated the tables of nomadic rulers jostled with luxurious materials on the few days they emerged from hoard. Rather than offering a break from the normal material culture and logistical apparatus of nomadic lifeways, the spectacle caused court administrators to ramp them into high gear. Following this lead, this chapter investigates the ways that logistical competencies developed in the context of nomadism could be retooled to plan and execute court spectacles. It also reveals unexpected ways

⁵⁷⁶ For examples of such treatments, see Eva Helfenstein. “The Burgundian Court Goblet: On the Function and Status of Precious Vessels at the Court of Burgundy,” in *Staging the Court of Burgundy: Proceedings of the Conference “The Splendour of Burgundy”* eds. Wim Blockmans et. al (Brepols: Turnhout, 2013), 167-177.

⁵⁷⁷ Birgit Frank and Barbara Wetzel, “Palaces and Tents filled with Art: The Court Culture of Charles the Bold,” 53.

in which materials omitted by La Marche and Froissart visualized the social order of Valois courts and performed an alternate type of conspicuous consumption.

Discussions within political history, especially that of Valois Burgundy, have emphasized the importance of spectacle as a political act. Following the interventions of Henri Pirenne, the field concentrates on large-scale urban events, which it presents as unfolding against a backdrop of political rivalry between urban populations and aristocratic dynasts.⁵⁷⁸ Andrew Brown and Graeme Small have argued for the efficacy of spectacles as a tool of rule, for their ability to instantiate and solidify political and social relationships between constituencies and their rulers.⁵⁷⁹ Peter Arnade has emphasized the network of urban constituencies impacted by the spectacle, but the city was not the only landscape at play in the spectacle moment.⁵⁸⁰ Valois domains were equally a lattice of royal houses. As demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 3, the most elaborate castles visualized rule and elite identity through idiosyncratic decorative programs. Drawing attention to the enmeshment of spectacles within this network reveals how the enmeshment of castles within larger networks of houses guided the emplacement of spectacles planned by courts within space. Nomadism endowed rulers with a large body of residences, each offering a different ideological overtone. Thanks to their itinerant lifestyle, they could choose from among many specific residences to find one that resonated with the theme of an event. Because many residences stood at close range of each other, rulers also itinerated during pageants to signal breaks, shifts in tone, narrative climaxes, and the final resolution of events. Valois spectacles thus took part in a relationship to place and architecture more sophisticated than hitherto appreciated in scholarship.

⁵⁷⁸ Henri Pirenne, "The Formation and Constitution of the Burgundian State," *American Historical Review* 14 (1908-09), 477-502. Andrew Brown and Graeme Small, *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries, c. 1420-1530* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 22.

⁵⁷⁹ Brown and Small, *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries, c. 1420-1530*, 28-29.

⁵⁸⁰ Peter Arnade, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 7.

Furthermore, the “efficacy” or enactment of political goals was a longer process that took place not only within the spectacle itself but also across a larger temporal and continuity dominated by a network of royal houses.

Siting Daily Life and the Activation of Sameness

As demonstrated in Chapter 2 and 3, the residences of nomadic Valois nobles incorporated elements that made them stand out as individuals within a circuit of structures alongside other elements that made them cohere as a group. As argued in Chapter 2, Valois dynasts who cycled between dozens of houses were not overly attached to a specific plan for the arrangement of their palaces, but they did rely on a certain package of spaces wherever they went: a *salle*, hopefully with a *degré*, and service rooms served the court at all the sites. The apartments incorporated a standard set of rooms: the *chambre de parement*, *chambre*, *retrait*, and a *chapel* with its *oratoire*. All the castles in this dissertation looked over extensive gardens with tunnel arbors and groves of shade trees that served as extensions of the chambers. This core group of essential buildings could be adapted to the tastes of individual rulers. Charles V included an *étude* in all his major houses, while Margaret of Flanders and Philip the Bold, appreciating the pleasures of bathing, inserted *étuves* into their renovated castles. Houses also deployed a common vocabulary of decorative motifs and media, including heraldic ensigns, flowers, and tracery and moldings newly excerpted from the decorative repertoire of ecclesiastical structures. These motifs became the vocabulary with which, by careful rearrangement, administrators of Valois courts such as the *fourrieres*, *estmeries*, and the tapestry managers like Jehan Cambier could craft quite different statements about their role as rulers.

Commonalities between structures anchored nomadic lifestyles in routine and stable uses of space. Yet Valois nomadism was a constant source of chaos and disruption. From the sudden

death of horses to the recurrent scramble to prepare a house for the imminent arrival of a dynast, it invited chance to intervene and disrupt the steady beat of court life. Organization of Valois court into separate offices with coherent spheres of activity and routine responsibilities helped to bring order to this lifestyle. Valois nobles also adopted prescriptive approaches to their daily life to ensure the persistence of order wherever they went, and this prescriptivity was enmeshed in the package of generalizable spaces encountered at all Valois castle sites.

Prescriptions for the daily life of a dynast occupies Chapter XVI of the first book of Christine de Pizan's *Faits et Bonnes Moeurs de Charles V le Sage*.⁵⁸¹ She claims that Charles V arose in his *chambre* every day between six and seven in the morning, and after a private prayer dressed and got himself ready for the day. At eight in the morning he went to mass in the *chapel* before retiring to his *oratoire* to hear private prayers. After these devotions he made himself available to public petitioners. If it was a day when the council was scheduled to meet, he would then retire to discuss matters of the realm with them. On slow days, he would eat with the princes of the blood or prelates at ten, and he would frequently listen to musical performances at the end of this meal. After the morning meal, he would return to public audience and ambassadors for two hours, and Pizan claims that the hall and galleries of the Palais would be stuffed to the brim with foreign and domestic dignitaries during these meetings. At noon he would retire to his chambers and nap until one, after which he enjoyed free time. Pizan claims that he enjoyed whiling away these hours looking at his collections of artworks and jewelry. Around five in the afternoon he went to Vespers. During the summertime, he would then walk in the garden, and when at the Hôtel Saint-Pol he would enjoy the company of the queen and his children. The winter would find these hours at indoor pursuits such as public readings of stories of chivalry or theoretical tracts. Winter

⁵⁸¹ Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des Faits et Bonnes Mœurs du Roi Charles V le Sage*, 65-69.

or summer, Charles would frequently receive the visits from those offering gifts or merchants peddling luxury wares. Christine wraps up her account of the king's day by noting that he ate a light supper in the presence of barons and knights before going to bed at a reasonable hour.⁵⁸²

Pizan's account of Charles V's ideal daily routine is framed as a prescription for a well-ordered life for a king, one attentive to the responsibilities of rule and the administration of the kingdom. Pizan expected essential continuity from day to day and castle to castle with some modulations to take advantage of seasons or idiosyncratic features of particular sites. Daily routines were surely mutable in practice, and there were likely as many routines as dynasts in France. Jean Froissart describes another routine, that of Gaston Fébus.⁵⁸³ In Froissart's telling, the count was the archetypical night owl. He claims Gaston Fébus rose from bed in mid-afternoon, took his *diner*, the midday meal among ordinary folk, at Vespers, and had his *souper* or evening meal at midnight. Whereas Charles V did most of his work before his *souper* and pursued leisure activities in the afternoon, Gaston Fébus worked after his *souper* until into the night. The arms of government and the life of court therefore had to re-align to his nocturnal schedule. Froissart complained that he was frequently compelled to travel between his lodgings at the Hostel du Lune in Orthez to the count's residence in the cold and dark and claimed that petitioners and functionaries were kept waiting into the early hours of the morning to conduct official business.⁵⁸⁴

Richard Vernier has equivocated on the relationship between this account and the lived experience of Gaston Febus and his court. He suggests that it could be correct, and that this peculiar schedule is an artifact of the count's dedication to hunting. He notes that the process of the hunt

⁵⁸² Pizan, *Le Livre des Faits et Bonnes Mœurs du Roi Charles V le Sage*, 68-69.

⁵⁸³ Jean Froissart and Anthime Fourier, ed. « Dit du Flourin, » in « Dits » et « Débats ». *Introduction, édition, notes, glossaire* (Geneva : Droz, 1979), 185.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

that Gaston Fébus described in his *Livre de Chasse* began well before dawn and usually ended around noon. Froissart's description of the count arising in the mid-afternoon may correspond to a rest after a morning of rigorous exercise.⁵⁸⁵ He also postulated that Froissart simply mistook or misrepresented a schedule kept for high holidays and spectacles as a regular feature of his daily life, perhaps as a retribution for the annoyance that Fébus caused him when he was visiting the city.⁵⁸⁶ If this depiction is indeed a smear, it operates on the coded assumption that Valois rulers and their peers operated expected a daily schedule that was regular from one day to the next, and that could be pursued wherever a ruler went.

For Pizan, Charles V's routine was applicable wherever he found himself in a network of houses, but the schedule did have a geographic core and periphery. Pizan places the Palais de la Cité and the Hôtel Saint-Pol at the center of her narrative of the normative day in the king's life. This decision throws light onto the continued preeminence of this residence within Charles V's usage, a point the scholar of Charles V's castles must continually underscore in the face of the field's continued assertion that he abandoned that palace. To these urban palaces one can perhaps add the Louvre, which worked in concert with them after the completion of works, as demonstrated in Chapter 2. Pizan imagines the life of the urban palace to be the model to which life at extramural residences more-or-less conformed with some variation depending on the presence of other venues at particular castles.

Besides its wide applicability, one noteworthy pattern that emerges is the variety of spaces that Charles occupied throughout a single "average" day. It begins in the king's *chambre*, followed by moves to the intimate spaces of the *chapel* and the *oratoire*, followed by an emergence into a

⁵⁸⁵ Vernier, *Lord of the Pyrenees: Gaston Fébus, Count of Foix (1331-1391)*, ()116.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

spaces to which the public had access, namely the *chambre a parer*. The council likely met in more intimate rooms such as the *retrait*. The three daily meals could have been taken rooms of varying size and public access depending on the number and rank of the present. The king's afternoon nap likely took place in his *chambre* and his free-form playtime in *etudes* or *retraits*. These rooms featured built-in elements like window seats. His wintertime penchant for loud readings may have also happened in those spaces, while his summer walks required the provision of gardens with arbors and pavilions for shade. In wintertime, walks in covered galleries like those surmounting the walls of the chatelet of Vincennes offered the chance to take exercise away from the worst of inclement weather.

It should be no surprise that the spaces Christine de Pizan evokes in her description of Charles V's daily routine form the core of the architectural package that Charles V built into all his residences. In the second and third chapter, we encountered an ensemble of Valois castles that arranged rooms in a variety of permutations and revealed that nomadic lifestyles engendered comfort with and indeed a desire for diversity in residential plan. Prescriptivity never ruled the arrangement of space, but the prescription that the king undergo the same tasks every day, no matter where he was, ensured that the houses, for all their diversity, shared the same building blocks. At Vincennes, the Hôtel Saint-Pol, the Palais de la Cité or the Louvre, the king could avail himself of the same ensemble of structures. Even if their spatial relations varied, each suite of rooms in his residences contained a chapel, oratory, *chambre*, *chambre de parer*, *chambre de retrait*, and an *etude*, all kept at the ready. One of the major breakdowns of Charles V's inventory represents the objects kept in each of his main studies. The document suggests that the *etude* of each castle was stuffed to the brim with luxurious artworks even when the king was not present, ensuring that at his return from another site he would be able to withdraw after the completion of

his duties to tinker with his objects.⁵⁸⁷ The provision of the same set of spaces at all the king's major residences ensured that these sites could appropriately host the vital functions of court life in line with Pizan's injunction that the good king attend to the duties of rule regardless of locale.

Prescriptions for daily life can only go so far, and Pizan herself gestures to the limits of her ability to account for variation in daily schedules. For one thing, a day in the life of Charles V as she describes is difficult to apply to a day spent on the road. While it is possible to imagine policy-talk passing between a dynast and his advisors while on horseback, many functions of the chancellery and administration are ill-adapted to active motion along a road. Actual behavior also responded to cycles: cycles of seasons, of the religious calendar, of the building projects, and to longer cycles of human lives and generations. On the seasonal cycle, outdoor exercises occupied the warm months and indoor ones occupied the cold months, a distinction that finds correlation with Valois nobles' removal from Paris in the summer and autumn and their return to the city for the late autumn and winter.⁵⁸⁸ Schedules also responded to the particular venues that were available at specific castles. The large gardens, aviary, and menagerie of the Hôtel Saint-Pol made them a pleasant and intimate spot to receive dignitaries, while the provision of a large park at Vincennes ensured alterations to the schedule to allow for trips into the woods. As Pizan notes, Valois dynasts availed themselves of hunting at major parks, in an effort to keep physically fit and demonstrate martial prowess and dominance of nature on a regular basis.⁵⁸⁹ Likewise, Margaret of Flanders occupied her *pastourelle* themed interior at Germolles surrounded by her children and court on a

⁵⁸⁷ Jules Labarte, ed. *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V, roi de France*, 179-264.

⁵⁸⁸ See for instance, Ernest M. Petit ed., *Les séjours de Charles V (1364-1380)*. ; Ernest M. Petit, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur, ducs de Bourgogne (1363-1419)*.

⁵⁸⁹ Pizan, *Le Livre des Faits et Bonnes Mœurs du Roi Charles V le Sage*, 70-73.

daily basis and Charles V conducted official business ensconced in his vision of millennial kingship, and the structures lent conceptual backdrops to the activities of daily life.

By calling up these unique venues, Pizan gestures to the ways in which architecture framed daily life in an ideological atmosphere on a day to day life. In Chapter XVIII, Pizan qualifies her account of the king's daily life in regards to the multiplicity of his houses and his tendency to move between them, noting that the king incorporated different activities into a base daily schedule when he was at Vincennes during hunting season, and changing his schedule at Saint-Pol depending on the weather.⁵⁹⁰ but she underscores that modulations to the master schedule left the core elements intact. She notes, "but during his many voyages, sojourns, and movements, he continued to obey a strict discipline, because he would never neglect to fulfil his ordinary tasks as he would in Paris."⁵⁹¹ She thus sets up a duality between a persistent and changeable element to the schedule that are both meaningful and mutually sustaining. The persistence of a core of work-oriented daily tasks and a set of spaces tailored to them ensured that the king fulfilled the functions of his office no matter where he was. Charles V appended the core schedule by moving between castles with idiosyncratic elements such as hunting parks in an effort to prop those core tasks of rule.

Taken as a whole, Christine de Pizan's description of the daily routine of Charles V lends insight into the networked quality of Valois houses in daily practice. The castles were united as a group on several levels. It was the desire to preserve a core set of daily activities all across the itinerancy network that produced the common package of interior spaces encountered at Valois sites. While daily life unfolded upon these unchangeable elements, it was elastic enough to accommodate different activities when the court was in residence at a castle with idiosyncratic

⁵⁹⁰ Pizan, *Le Livre des Faits et Bonnes Mœurs du Roi Charles V le Sage*, 72.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*

elements such as gardens and game parks.⁵⁹² Indeed, Pizan suggests the desire to modify the core routine drove nomadism itself, as the king cycled between castles in his itinerancy network to take advantage of their unique features.

Siting the Spectacle and the Activation of Difference

As emphasized in the section above, the steady drumbeat of daily life encouraged Valois dynasts to conceive and use each palace as a fragment of a larger network. Itinerancy intervened decisively in the formation of large-scale spectacles and events for which Valois courts are most notably remembered in modern scholarship. On the one hand, logistical skills developed to enable mobility offered a series of tried-and-true approaches to the planners of pageants. During these moments, the flexibility of mobile rulers and their administrators in their approach to space comes into full view. On the other hand, understanding each residence as a discrete element that could be used alone or in conjunction with others to create narratives about their rule, Valois aristocrats sited pageants to tell stories.

The pageantry and display of Valois courts took place against a backdrop of the normal daily practice of dwelling within houses – their splendor and magnificence contrasting with the relatively modest decoration and arrangement of even the most prestigious castle spaces in day-to-day life. As demonstrated in the first chapter, the walls of Valois court spaces were relatively bare of fabrics on a normal day because of the expense and insecurity involved in moving tapestries. A visitor walking through an occupied Valois residence on a normal day would find many walls that were whitewashed, covered in wood paneling, or painted with patterns or narrative

⁵⁹² One may add automata, after the example of Hesdin, or hobby farms, after the example of Germolles and the Hôtel Saint-Denis, where Isabeau of Bavaria enjoyed rearing animals in her leisure hours, as demonstrated in a receipt for the exchange in property in the Archives Nationales. AN JJ 154 f. 20v.

cycles, but little textile art. Lavish materials were likewise spare on the daily table. Canat claims that Flemish brass *dinanderie* served the table of Margaret of Flanders table most of the time.⁵⁹³ As argued in Chapter 1, even this comparatively modest tableware was limited in daily use: the receipt scrolls compiled by her *enchaussonerie* demonstrate that most of the court, if not the high tables, drank out of an assortment of single or few use terracotta and glass vessels.

High-visibility moments such as feasts, royal entries, and jousts changed the volume of people in Valois residences and shifted the underlying assumption of the court from hoarding to conspicuous display. Yet, across this shift, Valois administrators deployed the logistical skills they developed to help the court move. Many tasks necessary for the enactment of a major spectacle were ones that happened whenever the court moved. Many of the responsibilities that the court faced were ordinary, the only difference being their larger scale. When Jean de Berry spent time at Hesdin in 1394, for instance, the chastellain ordered a thorough cleaning. This was a normal task associated with the opening of the house for use, but at this time it involved all the rooms in all the towers, plus the sweeping and scrubbing of the ring-walks on the castle walls.⁵⁹⁴

High-profile events often drew attention to needed repairs and expansions at castle sites, so that the choice to situate a specific event in a place had lasting impacts on a site's building history. When Margaret of Flanders stayed with the archbishop of Paris, she paid for the paneling, painting, and addition of tapestry hardware to the walls of her tower chambers and for the construction of a wooden dais.⁵⁹⁵ At Hesdin, the coming of the Richard II of England and Isabella

⁵⁹³ Marcel Canat, *Marguerite de Flandre, Duchesse de Bourgogne, sa Vie Intime et l'Etat de sa Maison* (Paris : Librairie Curieuse et Historique D'Auguste Aubry, 1860), 55.

⁵⁹⁴ ADN B. 15287 17r. « Il nettoiet a le venue du roy les tours et allez detour le fortresse du chastel IT au dict a querieur et a desquequier CIII quesues et au forestel IT oste et nettoiet le croon et ordure des alez des engiens... »

⁵⁹⁵ ADCO B. 1479 89r. A Jehan pasquotte charpentier demour a par pour enfonssier la tour ou ma dame la duchesse a este en lostel de levesque de paris pour veoir les joustes et la feste q le roy a fte ou moys de may dar passe au di tar tant de chevrons come days et couvrir de plaster et chevronner dessus pour convoir de tapisserie et aussi pour cloix et ouvrs a dte faire par mche fait... »

of Valois to Hesdin after their wedding in Saint Omer encouraged a campaign of building in the gardens. The account books of the bailiwick of Hesdin note that a worker called Robert du Manage reconstructed the built-in seating around the Great Lawn of Hesdin, repaired permanent tables and a dresser for plate, and added new benches at the bases of the trees that encircled the lawn.⁵⁹⁶ At other times, events damaged the built environment and new construction followed in their train. Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders gave frequent honorary payments to their hosts for the “desroy” done to their household by the court. In one example, Margaret paid Colin Mulet of Conflans 32 *sous* for, “the damage to his garden that occurred during the wedding of Monsieur de Montbar.”⁵⁹⁷ When Jean de Berry visited Hesdin in 1394, for instance, the valets hammered so many nails for tapestry into the paneled wall of the castle’s chapel that Philip called in a woodworker to replace the whole of the wooden paneling.⁵⁹⁸

After cleaning or otherwise preparing a space, *fourrieres* could begin the task of decorating. The scale of activity and the preciousness of the materials being handled often disrupted the functions of a residence. When the Holy Roman Emperor visited Paris in 1378, the preparations required the shuttering of the Palais de la Cité from the 21st of December until his arrival on the 4th of January.⁵⁹⁹ During this time, ordinary court tasks took place on extraordinary scales. In preparation for spectacles, the number of tapestry nails and hooks encountered in the receipt books jumps from a few dozen on a normal day to many hundreds, indexing the shift from relatively bare

⁵⁹⁶ ADN 15297 31v. « Au dit robert du manage pour avoir fait et redrechiet tous les sieges devs le grant prayel clos de murs dedens le chastel au desoux des grands arbres qui gnt temz a navoite est fait ne preaye/ et aussi fait sieges et ordonn aoutour des grans arbres pour le haudois pour y assis et trecher les tables et le drechoir fait du souspuaeil qui est eny lieu du dit prayel et tout ce fait p le cmandement et ordonnance de monss et de ma dame qui lors y attentoint venir le roy de France et le royne dengleterre. »

⁵⁹⁷ ADCO B. 33 ff 12, May 24.

⁵⁹⁸ ADN 15294 19v. « A pre maton huchier pour avoir fait ... IT refait le pain de le grt cappelle du dit chastel et les coulombes neuveus pour ce q on avoit abatu vir oratoire pour tendre tappisserie dedeus ycell cont la venue de monss de berry. »

⁵⁹⁹ Décembre. Le-lundi xxi et les jours suivans la court vaca et fu empeschée pour l'apareil de là venue de l'Empereur. » /171, Arch. Nationales registres de parlement X 1471 fol 5 r&v.

spaces of daily life to the opulent glitter of the pageant. This shift in scale took place under the watchful eyes of specialist administrators. When Charles VI visited the castle of Chasteillon in 1385, Philip the Bold called Jehan Cambier from Hesdin to oversee the hanging of the walls with tapestry. The receipt for his travel expenses claims that he supervised the hanging and that he paid for the massive sum of one thousand new nails out of pocket.⁶⁰⁰

In the course of decorating, administrators relied heavily on the strategy of renting everything needful for life generally preferred by the nomadic courts. The account of the Emperor's visit to Paris in the *Grandes Chroniques de France* is silent on these aspects of the festal hall's provision, but the economic documents of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders demonstrate that festal halls were filled with rented goods. When Charles VI visited Burgundy in 1385, a trip that included time at Germolles, Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders entertained him at Aisey-sur-Seine at the border of the duchy and Montaigne. In preparation for the event at Aisey-sur-Seine, Jehan le Cambier, Philip's *valet de la chambre* sourced furniture from the town. This included the kitchen equipment, a large bench, trestles, buffets.⁶⁰¹ He also bought large quantities of nails for hanging tapestries – an inclusion that emphasizes that castle walls were hung with abundant and heavy tapestry only on occasion and that the walls did not have currently have convenient hardware for the hanging in place.⁶⁰² Maciot Etibourt, receiver of the bailey of

⁶⁰⁰ ADCO B. 1462 143v. « A Jehan le cambier varlet de chambre de monss les quelx hug forgeot surier demeur a chasteillon lui a baill et deliureiez po tendre chamres pour le fait de la venue du roy si come il appt p etiffacion du dit maciot receveur dess nome donn XV de mars 85 I M de grans croichez. »

⁶⁰¹ ADCO B. 1462 144v. 144v du Garnison de Jehan Doion Chastellain d'AISEY « Item un autre petit droceour de iiii ais de vi piez de long deux treteaux et une piece de coutres de xii piez de long assis a montier Item ii treteaux a pendre char chastun de x piez de long Item un banc eufoncie po la chambre de mons un aut grant banc pour la sale a marche xix formes a seoir fus grans q petites et trent et un paire de treteaux qui estoient en garde devs Jehan remon des garnisons ftes p mess phe de Jaucourt et le dit mess jaques de serm po la venue du roy et ii esetraus de la garnison et jumentaux de dit jehan dargilly pour y celles choses contir au proffit du mon dit sign des quelles garnisons le dit chasteillon saisy se tient p un contes si come il appt p sa etifficacion donn xix de novembre 85. »

⁶⁰² ADCO B. 1462 144v. A Jehan le cambier varlet de chambre de monss les quelx hug forgeot surier demeur a chasteillon lui a baill et deliureiez po tendre chamres pour le fait de la venue du roy si come il appt p etiffacion du dit maciot receveur dess nome donn XV de mars 85 I M de grans croichez.

Montaigne, distributed his own kitchen equipment, a long and decorated bench, a long table, three trestles, and a buffet to the court.⁶⁰³ When Margaret of Flanders hosted the wedding of one Montabre and his bride Marie at Conflans in May of that year, her administrators rented much of the furniture from one Colin de Barre and purchased over one thousand nails for hangings and six hooks to hang a *ciel*.⁶⁰⁴ Things appeared to have gotten rowdy. The scribe noted that the party left the residence in “tres grande desroy,” and that they had to pay Colin de Barre for six of his tabletops and six of his trestles that they broke.⁶⁰⁵

The pageantry of major Valois gatherings represents a shift in approaches to mobile goods from the hoard to the display. Like the *potlatch* described in Maurice Mauss’s *Le Don*, the aesthetics of the spectacle event leaned upon conspicuous display that created antitheses to the normal visual landscape.⁶⁰⁶ This change inverted normal approaches to the built environment rather than reversing them, as the provisioning of the house with the material itself depended upon tried-and-true strategies that made that quotidian life possible. The plate and tapestry that left the hoards of the *Tour aux Cornes* of Hesdin or the *Grosse Tour* of the Louvre in preparation for major spectacles moved by rented cart, a normal practice emerging from Valois court nomadism. When

⁶⁰³ ADCO B. 1462 143v. from the garnison of Maciot Etibourt receiver of the bailly of MONTAIGNE Item vaisselle de cuisine Item oud it hostel un grant banc enfoncie devant daix a une marche de xvii piez de long un tauble de mesire moison et iiii treteulx les quelz tauble banc et treteaux estient de la garnison qui fut faite p mess phe de jaucourt e dit mess jaques de sein po la venue du roy avat les arnisons cy dessus conten Item un buffet double des garnisons des diz mess phe et mess jques Les quelz droceours banc taubles treteaux et buffet cy dessus le dit macoit ne peut met en feurte sous clef mais diceulx il puet faire de garder la meilleur diligence q il pourra pour ycelles garnisons conutir au proffit du dit monss des qlles garnisons et pties cy dessus le dit maciot se treut p un contens si come il appt p la dte etifficacon donn le dit xix jour de novembre lan dessus dit

⁶⁰⁴ ADCO B. 33 F 12, 4 May 1385. « Colin quiquet pour IIII C de croches a talon delivres a hennequin de grannoit le cent XII s vaent XLVIII s A lui pour II paier de chevillez conte cent et diz de croches XVIII s ; A lui pour VI C de croches bastars le cent IIIII s valent XXIII s ; A lui po V grans crampons p tendre le ciel VIII s ; Colin de la barre po louaige de pluss tablez fournies et treteaux XVI s ;

⁶⁰⁵ ADCO B. 33 f 12, May 4, 1385. « monss madame monss le conte de nevers mademoiselle de nevers sa feme tout le jour a conflans ou furent le roy monss de valoiz mons de vourvon le conte de la marche pluss seign chlrs escuers dames damoiss et gens estranges a disner et a soup et y ont tres grant desroy pour les noces de montabre et de marie dessoudz saint lig qui ce jour furent fait... A [Colin] po recompensacion de VI tables et VI paire de treteaux qont este brisie et rompue p le milieux XL s. »

⁶⁰⁶ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift* (New York: N. N. Norton, 1990), ix.

Philip the Bold attended the coming of the emperor to Paris in 1378, he took part in the festivities. He called upon the Dijonnais bourgeois Philippe Arnaut, to carry his wardrobe and jewelry to Paris.⁶⁰⁷ Similarly, in March of 1396 Margaret of Flanders ordered Richard le Petit to carry choice gleanings from her wardrobe in Dijon to Hesdin in advance of a visit by Richard II of England.⁶⁰⁸ Conversely, events held in the south often called for large displays of tapestry and plate, the specialty of the northern stockpiles of Hesdin and Arras. When Charles VI came to Dijon in 1390, Philip emptied the stockpiles of his Flemish domains. Jehan Cosset, one of his *valets de chambre*, accompanied the dispatch from Arras to Dijon and back again.⁶⁰⁹ Simultaneously, Enngueran Culot and Druet Davaudoin guided a team of eight horses and four carts stuffed with tapestry and precious plate from Hesdin to Dijon.⁶¹⁰

The result of the movements can be encountered in the description that the *Grandes Chroniques* provides for the welcome luncheon that Charles V gave the Holy Roman Emperor on his arrival in Paris. In preparation for the Emperor's visit, the *fourrieres* and *enchansons* on the payroll of Nicolas Martin filled several residences with décor that normally did not see the light of day. In the *Grande Salle* of the Palais de la Cité, the marble table at the north end was covered in *ciels* or canopies for each guest of honor. Tables for other guests lined the walls and the center of the room. The windows themselves were lined with cloth of gold and the walls between the statues of the ancient kings of France completely covered with tapestries. There were also three

⁶⁰⁷ ADCO B. 1452 89r. « A Phe arnaut de dijon pour la voiture de son chariot a iiii chevaux en alant en alant et retourment de dijon a paris men la garde robe et pluss des joiaux de mons a la venue de son oncle lempur... »

⁶⁰⁸ ADCO B. 1507 69r. A Richart le petit voitur pour avoir mene de dijon a Hesdin devs ma dame sur un char a sept chevaulx pluss des robes de ma dte dame joyaulx et auts besoing po la venue du roy dengleterre. »

⁶⁰⁹ ADCO B. 1479 144r. A Jehan cosset varlet de chambre et tapicier de mons pour don a lui fait par le dit mons en recompensacon des fraiz et despenz quil a euz en conduisant la tapicerie et vaisselle du dit mons darras a dijon demour au dit dijon et retournant au dit arraz pour la venue du roy mess en bourgoigne. »

⁶¹⁰ ADCO B. 1487 98v. « A Enguerran Culot et Druet D'Aveudoain pour laenage de la vaiselle dor dargent q mon dit ss a fait a point sur huit chaulx en peniers et iiii vouturiers pour les conduire de hesin a dijon a sa venue en bourgne ou il a accendu monss de thouranne p marchie fait... »

buffets covered in deluxe metalware. The largest was devoted to gold and bejeweled vessels and silver bottles. The next was dedicated to cups and flasks of silver gilt, and a third was dedicated to white silver “which served the entire hall.”⁶¹¹ When the King and the Emperor decided to go to the Louvre, they took the king’s house-barge, which the *Chronique* describes as “magnificently adorned and decorated” in its own right. Upon arriving at the Louvre, the author of the *Chronique* ensure readers that the king and his quests found a place where,

“everything was decorated and arranged so that nothing would be lacking, without even having used any decorative objects of the palace. And so that it would not be necessary to repeat it and in order to speak more briefly, all the royal residences in which the emperor stayed, Saint-Pol, the Bois de Vincennes, and Beauté, were furnished in the same way.”⁶¹²

The report of the *Grandes Chroniques* seems at first glance to prove a point made in the first chapter, that itinerant Valois rulers tended to depend on local stockpiles for decorating each of their residences and moving with relatively little baggage. This major meeting likely qualified this normal usage. The inventory of Charles V suggests that the king’s studies at Vincennes and Saint-Pol held large quantities of precious objects even when he was not in residence, but it is likely that the *Grosse Tour* of the Louvre served as the central warehouse for residences within walking distance.⁶¹³ Given the high profile of the event, the hoarded precious cloth and plate in the *Grosse Tour* likely drained into several residences during the days running up to the event – lending the impression that each house had its own discreet and particular decorative ensemble.

If the spectacle moment was one in which the normally hidden was revealed, normal forms of courtly material culture were not only present but increased in quantity. For all the many gold,

⁶¹¹ *Grandes Chroniques de France*, translated in František Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit, 1377-1378: Emperor Charles IV and King Charles V of France* (Prague, Charles University and Karlinum Press, 2014), 213.

⁶¹² *Ibid*, 216.

⁶¹³ Mary Whiteley and Monique Chatenet, « Le Louvre de Charles V, » 68.

silver, and hardstone vessels that Valois nobles assiduously acquired and conspicuously displayed, most of the guests at their events still drank out of single-use terracotta and glassware. When Margaret of Flanders hosted the wedding of her courtier Montbar at Conflans, her *eschansonnerie* purchased no fewer than one hundred twenty terracotta cups on the day of the wedding feast, a little over double the average quantity of tableware purchased on a normal day, along with six maple wood flagons.⁶¹⁴ When the Duke of Austria visited the court of Philip the Bold in 1378, Philip purchased no fewer than one hundred fifty wooden cups and two hundred glasses in a single order.⁶¹⁵ When Charles VI visited Burgundy, Philip again purchased seven hundred fifty terracotta cups.⁶¹⁶ This forms a continuity with a form of conspicuous consumption encountered in Chapter 1, namely that vast quantities of low-prestige materials can be a corollary to a prestigious activity without bearing value itself, the way that a Starbucks cup may index privileged consumption without itself being the primary bearer of value. During daily life, single-use wares manifested class privilege by accessing the power to move between residences. At the feast, the vast quantities of single-use tableware, larger than ever seen during normal life, index the scale of the prestigious act of hospitality without themselves being the objects of admiration. The *Grande Chroniques* underscores the importance of the scale of hospitality by listing both major guests and giving a rough estimate of the number of attendees to Charles V's ceremonial luncheon. It notes the *argent blanc* serving vessels that ministered the crowds of regular attendees rather than the materials that

⁶¹⁴ ADCO B. 33 f 12, May 4, 1385.

⁶¹⁵ ADCO B. 1454 115v. « Pour despens de bouch de xxxiii personnes des gens de lostel de mons qui par son ordinance et comandemt estient alez devant mombelant pour fair les garnisons provsions et ordenances p la venu du duc dosteriche p xix jours entiers feniss xxii de janu 78 inclux ... V C cuetes de sapin pour boir II C de verres et pluss cuvetes et cuiuvers pour les offices de mon dit seigneur VI (XX) VIII I VI S II D T. »

⁶¹⁶ ADCO B. 1464 145-146v. « Item de poz de terre VII cent demi. »

touched their lips, sidestepping the materials that a lower-ranking courtier saw when they looked at the table in front of them.⁶¹⁷

That the presence of low-quality materials in festal halls should have been missed for so long is curious. The author of the *Grande Chronique* explicitly states that the sideboards covered with precious plates were provided with hurdles and guards against theft, suggesting that the *hoi polloi* at the regular tables were not trusted to eat off the nice tableware.⁶¹⁸ To judge from an entry into Philip the Bold's *comptes* recording the replacement of vessels "lost" during a visit of the King of Navarre and the Byzantine ambassador, this mistrust was likely merited.⁶¹⁹ In focusing solely on high-end silverware to the exclusion of low-quality settings, art historians have missed a fundamental vocabulary through which Valois dynasts told stories about hospitality, hierarchy, prestige, and inclusion into social cliques through artworks and participation in feasts. Together with hierarchical seating arrangements, place settings of single-use materials manifested the privilege of individual participants in relation to others, those down the table receiving cruder materials and those at the up the table more elevated ones. A parallel may be made to modern feasting in the United States, where the setting of tables with utensils, flatware, and cups of lower quality mirrors the spatial segregation of low-status participants like children at the "kids table."

If the itinerant court fostered the development of a single-use material culture that could be repurposed for a feast, it also occasionally called for temporary and single-use architecture that could prove its worth in a pinch. In March of 1390, Charles VI travelled to Dijon. The *salle* of the Palais des Ducs, whose footprint spanned from Tour de Bar to the surviving wing of the palace, is

⁶¹⁷ Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit*, 213.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid*, 213.

⁶¹⁹ ADCO B. 1514 211v. « Pour le vente des parties de vaisselle et joyeaulx qui seus... cest assavoir pour deulx estuelles dar dores lesquelles icelluiss fist vend a mon dit ss dorlans pour ce quelles furent perdues a Beauté lors q le roy de navarre et les embasseur de Grece y digneurent pess IIII M aups de x fr le marc XL fr. »

relatively small.⁶²⁰ In preparation for his arrival, Philip the Bold had a larger, temporary hall set up in the courts of the palace, probably that now occupied by the Place de la République. The record names Hugh Bourlee “and other carpenters,” as the workmen who disassembled it after the festivities. It says that the workmen dressed the wood and cloth, suggesting it took the form of a wood skeleton covered with a canopy roof and walls. It was likely larger and more substantial than a pavilion, and unlike pavilions, which could be folded and stored for later uses, it appears to have been used only once.⁶²¹ Tents and pavilions themselves often served as the answer to overflow associated with festive occasions. In 1396, Philip the Bold hosted the wedding of Richard II of England and Isabelle of Valois in Saint Omer. The decision to host the feast in Saint Omer likely responded to its convenience to the Burgundian, French, and Plantagenet courts, and the influx of many lords and their retinues appears to have strained the ducal residence and the town. The duke therefore deployed his collection of tents and pavilions to house them, and many were damaged by inclement weather.⁶²² As he did six years earlier, Philip also called for the construction of an ephemeral structure to support the festivities, in this case a kitchen.⁶²³

Taken together, the skills and logistical solutions developed to foster itinerancy provided the groundwork for most aspects of Valois event planning. The delegation of tasks to skilled

⁶²⁰ Hervé Mouillebouche, *Palais ducal de Dijon. Le logis de Philippe le Bon* (Chagny : Centre de Castellologie de Bourgogne, 2014), page ?.

⁶²¹ ADCO B. 1487 98v. « A Hug Bourlee et auts charpenties ses compaignons de dijon pour abatre la sale qui fut fait au dit dijon en lostel de mon dit ss a la venue du roy mess en bourgne pour oster la toile dont elle estoit connte et mettre a point le merrien dicelle sale p marchie fait au d huguemn p hennequin de bruxelles fourrier de monss p mand donne le viie jour davril. »

⁶²² ADCO B. 1511 113v. « A Jehan hap mertier demourant a Saint Omer qui deuz lui estoient pour mon dit ss le duc pour xxxii aulnes de toile perse don't on a rappareille pluss des tentes de mon dit ss qui furent destroyees darr queles on este tendues par force de vent pour lassemble du roy et du roy dangletterre a V s. »

⁶²³ ADCO B. 1511 154v. « Pour deniers paies par le dit tresorier pour pluseurs ouvrages fais ou moys doctobre 96 tant ou chastel de saint omer come en la maison de la dame de norquernies au d lieu de st omer ou mon dit ss le duc devoit estie logie pour la venue du roy et de la royne danglettere et noz auts seigneurs de France qui allerent au dit st omer cest assavoir pour afoir fait un maison a faire cuisine somes planches en grantes tentes pavez cuises et autres ovages pour les offices et logies de mon dit ss le duc dont les pt diceulx ouvrages sont pluss a plain declar et contenues en un roolle de pchemin. »

household managers, the renting of transportation, furniture, and kitchen equipment, the investment in single-use goods and structures formed the backbone of spectacle planning. Investigating the brass tacks of event planning has also revealed the ad-hoc quality of their pageants. Far from being encapsulated in a glittering world of gold and silk, where all things were masterpieces of Gothic art, a participant in a Valois feast would likely sit on a rented bench, eat off a folding board of dubious stability, drink out of unglazed terracotta or simple glass, eat off a bread trencher, and stumble from dinner to a rented room or a tent that threatened to blow over during night. For all the glitz and glamour at the upper end of the table, it was just another day in the life of the itinerant court for most.

Choosing Castles

For much of their lives, the rich ideological implications of Valois residences remained latent in the built environment. Precious artworks squirrelled away in storage rooms had little chance to act upon viewers. Even large monuments spent most of their lives as passive elements of larger landscapes after their initial achievement. The flurry of activity at Charles V's building projects brought them under scrutiny of large viewing publics, underscoring the present Valois order and its continued vitality after the trials of the Jacquerie and the Treaty of Brètigny.

Royal itinerancy activated the latent meanings attached to Valois residences active at no times more sharply than during major royal events. The large networks of houses maintained by the itinerant Valois courts allowed event planners to choose between a variety of sites and their attending ideologically-laden décors to create appropriate backgrounds for specific meetings with specific desired outcomes. In more elaborate events such as royal progresses or visits, dynasts choreographed motion between sites to create narratives with buildups, climaxes, and resolutions. Close attention the placement of spectacles within networks of residences reveals that they

frequently took place over regional topographies, and that Valois dynasts used motion between residences itself to create discrete episodes within larger spectacles.

Three Visits to Hesdin

Kings of France visited Hesdin three times across the lifetime of Charles V and his son, Charles VI. The first two visits both took place in 1360, when the castle was held by Margaret of Flanders' father, Louis de Mâle, and bookended the ceremonial events around the return of Jean le Bon from captivity in England. The dated headings of Charles V's correspondence during this period demonstrate that Charles V travelled to Flanders during the summer of 1360.⁶²⁴ He stayed in Hesdin at some point in July and August of 1360 before travelling to Boulogne-sur-Mer.⁶²⁵ After release from captivity in Calais, Jean le Bon travelled to Saint Omer, where Charles V welcomed him back into his realm. The entry was a major spectacle climaxing in "very lovely jousts," in honor of the return of the king.⁶²⁶ Two days after the joust, Jean le Bon and his court travelled to Hesdin.⁶²⁷ The *Grandes chroniques de France* claim that Jean le Bon also stayed at Hesdin for "aucuns temps" (some time) in the beginning of November of 1360, and took the time to reorganize the administration of his household and *chambre de comptes*.⁶²⁸ It is possible that Charles was present at Hesdin for this second visit as well, but his archival trail becomes more sporadic with termination of his regency.

⁶²⁴ BnF series JJ 87 and JJ 88.

⁶²⁵ Charles V's stay in Hesdin, see: For July, see AN JJ 88 14r; 15r; 18r; 19r; 22v; 33v; 34r; 38r; for August, see AN JJ 88 17r; 35r; 36r; 38v; 50v; 52r; 52v; 56r.

⁶²⁶ Original text. Transcribed in Berthold Zeller: *La Guerre de Cent Ans, Jean le Bon : Crecy, Calais, Poitiers, Extraits des Grandes Chroniques de France, Froissart, etc.* (Paris : Libraire Hachette et Cie, 1885), 124.

⁶²⁷ Ibid, 123-124.

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

This series of events reveals that the large-scale ceremonies that punctuate chronicle accounts of court life are fragments of larger choreographies that took place between several sites. The joust is the public-facing climax of larger sequences of events that took place at a group of sites and that marked the return of Jean le Bon to the rule of France. Before a spectacle, fourteenth-century aristocrats often visited residences whose décor resonates with the tone of the upcoming spectacle. The displacement to a major urban center marks the shift from a small-scale gathering to a large-scale, publicly facing one. After a spectacle, a select group of high-ranking guests often retired to a residence with a large hunting preserve. This shift in location to a park landscape with an inward-facing audience encouraged relaxation after strenuous events and the consummation or enaction of political goals stated during larger, public facing events in big urban centers.

In 1360, Hesdin served as a both the buildup and the resolution to the pomp and ceremony surrounding the return of the King of France to his realm. The visits came in a period of vulnerability and low morale for the royal family and the wider French aristocracy. A shocking number of French aristocrats had died on the disastrous field of Poitiers, and the evil effects rippled outward and rent the social fabric of the realm. Tales of the aristocracy's desertion of the king on the battlefield fueled anger at the destructive *chevauchées* and the onerous hearth-taxes that attended the efforts to rally funds for the king's release, sowing widespread discontent against the aristocracy that boiled into violence.⁶²⁹ Thanks to his astute judgement and a great deal of luck, the dauphin Charles had managed to ride this storm, isolate the pretender Charles of Navarre, and destroy Etienne Marcel; with the return of his father, however, he was now faced with his exclusion from executive authority.

⁶²⁹ Autrand, *Charles V*, 327-329.

The decision to hold a major event in Arras and an afterparty in Hesdin resonates with the design of the castle. The edifice was poorly suited to accommodate large crowds but perfectly suited for secret political summits involving a few highly-placed political heavyweights. As revealed by Anne Hagophian van Buren and my own archival findings in Chapter 3, the romance-inspired *engiens des esbatements* in the *Gloriette des Engiens* and the two *galleries des engiens* were in place and operational in 1360. While damaged in the 1351 *chevauchée*, the park still raised animals of the chase, allowing for hunting parties to divert themselves hunting deer, water birds, and rabbits. The gardens and the *maison de Daedalus* were in place and well-maintained. Entrance to the deer park was restricted to comital servants and high-ranking users. The *gloriette*, the *galleries*, attached as they were to the exclusive zone of the comital residence, were geared for small groups of users and therefore better suited for intimate gatherings than public spectacles. It should therefore be of no surprise that the king of France elected to enjoy the venues of Hesdin after a public spectacle.

In the days after Jean le Bon's return, Hesdin's entertainment venues offered opportunities for courtiers to come to terms with new political realities. Dwelling in the presence of chivalric-themed décor reaffirmed the validity of an ideology shaken by foreign humiliation and civil disorder. The *engiens*, sequestered in the comital residence and away from the prying eyes of broad publics of the major spectacles, offered the opportunity to investigate the parameters and caveats of chivalric codes in a controlled, exclusive environment. The diversions of the hunt, *engiens*, and hedge mazes had the power to cut tension between dynasts and courtiers at the transition of power. Amid the park landscape of Hesdin and its various games and diversions, the dauphin Charles surrendered his executive authority and thereafter disappears from the legislative record. In this play atmosphere too, Jean le Bon undertook his first official acts as reinstated sovereign, namely

the reorganization of his internal administration. The transition in power announced in Arras went into practice amid the distractions of Hesdin. A modern parallel can be seen in the usual patterns of American presidential diplomacy: the large, public-facing ceremonies of the Cross Hall in the White House manifest desire for a political outcome or mark the conclusion of policies forged in intimate zones such as the West Wing or Camp David (a bucolic setting that echoes the pleasures of Hesdin) much as the city of Arras publicized the return of the king before a large audience and before he functionally returned to the wheels of government.

Hesdin's role as the venue for intimate, small-scale gatherings of aristocrats continued throughout the Valois period. In 1386, Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders owned the castle, and the guest was Charles VI of France, whose rule Philip and his brothers still dominated through their period of regency. The evidence for Charles VI's presence at Hesdin in 1386 consists of two successive entries in ADCO B. 1465, Philip the Bold's yearly receipt book for 1386-1387. The first records a payment to Philip's seneschal of forests and horses in the bailiwick of Hesdin for several *muids* of wine that the court drank during the visit, while the second is a payment to the king's household staff for unspecified "peins et travaux" that they incurred at the castle. In total, the receipts come to the modest sum of 120 *frans d'or*.⁶³⁰

What can be deduced from these entries? The tendency for Valois accountants to wait some time before sorting bills makes the precise date and duration of the event unclear, but it appears to have taken place in the early autumn. Ernest Petit's *Sejours de Charles VI* does not record the visit. Petit relied on legislative documents while compiling his itineraries, so the extended regency of

⁶³⁰ ADCO B. 1465 32r. « Item agibaut dit lenlois sent a cheval des forests et garemes de mon dit seigneur en la chastellerie de hesdin pour don a lui fait pour son vin d'avoit pris le roy et mons de valois chassans en la dite forest de hesdin xx franz Item aux offices du roy que mon dit seigneur leur donna quant il se parti devrument du dit chastel de Hesdin ou il se estoit alez esbtre en recompensacon des peins et travaux quilz avoient eu a servir ou dit chastel tant que le roy y fu ii C franz. »

Charles V's youth is patchy. In October of 1386, Petit was able to localize the king on only eight days. On the 28th of September he was in Arras. On the 3rd of October he was in Lens, while the 12th, 13th, 15th, and 16th find him in Lille. On the 19th he appeared in Ypres, the 28th in Bruges, and the 29th he resided in Philip's new castle of Lescluse at the mouth of the harbor of Bruges.⁶³¹ Given the larger northward trajectory of the visit, it is possible to infer that the king was present in Hesdin for a few days at the end of September and the beginning of October.

As with Jean le Bon's stay at Hesdin, Charles VI's visit was not a major crescendo in ceremonies or events but an adjunct to public-facing events that took place in an urban center. Philip the Bold's officers did move large quantities of decorative materials in advance of the king's arrival in Flanders, but none travelled to Hesdin. The record book notes the movement of tents in two stages. In the first stage they travelled from Lecluse to Arras under the guidance of Laurence Noppe, the duke's *maistre des tentes*.⁶³² In the second stage they joined a larger dispatch of tapestry and luxury plate under the guidance of Jehan le Cambier, Philip the Bold's *maistre de tapisserie*.⁶³³ Jehan Cambier arrived in Arras with a shipment of tapestry and precious plate from Hesdin. From Arras he brought it to Bruges before returning it to Hesdin after Charles VI returned to the Ile de France.⁶³⁴ The central record books make no reference to any special activity at Hesdin. Ducal officers likely trimmed halls and chambers of Hesdin with materials from the storage rooms in the

⁶³¹ Ernest Petit, *Séjours de Charles VI (1380-1400)*. (Paris, 1894), 31.

⁶³² ADCO B. 1465 31v. « A Laurens noppe maister des tentes mons de bougnne sur les fraiz missions et despens quil lui a convienu faire a mener et conduire de lescluse a arras... »

⁶³³ ADCO B. 1465 31v. Item a arras aux valle(t)s qui appeillierent les tentes de mon dit seigneur quil il leur donna pour leur vin quant il les a la veoir vi frans et semblément aux valles de tappiserie pour leur vin vi frans et au gambier vallet de chambre de mon dit seign pour ses frais davoit fait venir par le comandemt du dit mons tames tappisseries et vaisselle dor et dargent daras alens pour la venue du roy. »

⁶³⁴ ADCO B. 1465 118r. A Jehan le gambier vallet de chambre de mons de bourogne pour pluss despens et missions par lui ftes par le comandemt de mon dit seigneur de puis le mois de septembre 86 juswues au mois de novembre ens tant en menant la tappiserie de mons en sa vaisselle dor et dargent des hedin a arras et dillec a bruges come en retoun du dit lieu de bruges a tout les dtes tappisserie et vaisselle au dit lieu darras les menues pties conten en un roolle de pchemin en la fin du quel le mandemt de mon dit seign est contenu donn pmier de decembre 86 pour ce par les diz roolle et manemt seuz quitt LIIII XIII s p ob p. »

Tour aux Cornes in its *haut cour*, leaving little incentive to record any movements of goods or preparations in account books.

Larger patterns of using Hesdin as an element of a regional castle network governed the timing of Charles VI's visit to Philip the Bold's territories, the relative scale of preparations, and the types of events that likely occurred there. Like the sojourns of Jean le Bon and Charles V at Hesdin, Charles VI's own visit was not the public-facing climax of his trip to Flanders. There was a high-profile meeting in Arras near the border of the county of Flanders, one that required the adornment of castle spaces with luxurious materials drawn from two ducal stockpiles. In a motion that mirrors on a regional scale Christine de Pizan's description of Charles V's retirement to his *retrait* after his daily public hearings, the king and his host Philip the Bold retired to the more intimate and exclusive spaces of Hesdin after the public-facing gathering in Arras. The motion between public and intimate settings is one strategy or pattern of behavior enacted on different scales, the intra-site and the regional residential network. This pattern underscores the degree to which Valois nobles like Philip the Bold conceived of their individual sites as fragments or elements of a larger regional unity. As castles may be made of rooms with a variety of functions, so too did castles with a variety of functions combine into a unified residential network.

Another pattern emerges from this itinerary, namely that Valois nobles and their peers timed their progresses and visits to especially prominent castles take advantage of their "on season," the times of year where their venues could be enjoyed most thoroughly. Philip the Bold invited Charles V to stay at Hesdin during the autumn, reflecting a broader pattern in the seasonal occupation of the castle. Philip the Bold's sojourns at Hesdin favored the summer and autumn.⁶³⁵

⁶³⁵ See for instance the summer visits in Petit, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur, ducs de Bourgogne*. September 1369, pg. 59. ; September 1383, pg. 160 ; July-September 1384, pg. 169 ; September-October 1389, pg. 214 ; June & September 1390, pg. 222. ; August 1391, pg. 225; June-July 1392, pg. 228-229.

A stay at Hesdin during the early autumn found its outdoor entertainments at their best. Visitors could take best advantage of the peak hunting season. The warmer months also favored the use of the *engiens des esbatements*, many of which would drench victims with water. The leafy times of year, which could continue into October, also allowed the arbor maze of the *maison daedelus* to be enjoyed at its best, especially if it was designed to disorient users in the fashion of garden mazes of later centuries.

A fourth dynastic meeting took place at Germolles, one that reveals how customs surrounding intergender relationships affected Valois approaches to architecture. Margaret of Flanders received Charles VI at Germolles on the 12 of February, 1390.⁶³⁶ Charles VI's visit was a part of a larger trip throughout the south of the kingdom. He departed the Île de France in September of the previous year, passing through Burgundy and the Lyonnais on his way to Avignon. After visiting the papal court, he toured Provencal cities like Carcassone, Narbonne, and Toulouse before returning to Burgundy via Lyon. The modern scholarship of Germolles and the branding of the castle as a tourist site makes much of this visit, but it was in fact quite brief, only part of a day. Earnest Petit records Charles VI at Chalon-sur-Saône, Germolles, and Beaune on the 12th of February.⁶³⁷ This three-part itinerary conforms to the *lever - diner - giste* breakdown of the day found in daily scrolls. This was a lunchtime side-visit to an important and elaborate castle owned by a relative. The real focus of ducal pageantry was at his imminent destination, Dijon. Philip celebrated his arrival in Dijon with festivities and jousting that cost the duke nearly 3000 *francs*.⁶³⁸ It appears to have swamped the city with guests, for it was in the context of this event that Philip

⁶³⁶ And not February 12, 1389, as has been frequently asserted. (Beck et al., 2002). The *chambres de comptes* recorded their financial years as ending on Easter, so February fell within the financial year of 1389 and the calendar year of 1390.

⁶³⁷ Petit, *Séjours de Charles VI*, 44.

⁶³⁸ Beck, *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age*, 104.

paid his court painter Cassin to make shields to hang over the doors of residences for his displaced servants.⁶³⁹

Charles VI's lunchtime visit to Germolles reveals ways in which Margaret of Flanders cannily used her network of houses to craft a narrative about her ideals and style of rule, and about the ways that gender and family relations affected the Valois architectural strategy. At present, Margaret of Flanders' itinerary is highly incomplete. A single *quittance* preserved in the Archive Departmentale du Nord demonstrates that she was in the neighborhood of Germolles in the winter of 1390, so she was likely at Germolles when the king arrived.⁶⁴⁰ Indeed, there would be little reason for the king to visit the castle if Margaret were not home. Charles VI's voyage in February is northeast from Toulouse to Dijon takes a straight, direct path between the two cities. Travelling from Chalon-sur-Saône to Germolles required the only demonstrated backtracking in his whole trip from Provence to Paris. In some ways this brief visit replicates Philip and Margaret's documented usage of the rural areas around Chalon-sur-Saône. As noted in Chapter 3, they had visited the area near Germolles for day trips before they developed a castle where they could spend the night.

Burgundy was Margaret's home base during the regency of Charles VI, and she had many houses from which to choose to host the king. Chalon-sur-Saône itself may have presented itself as a candidate. Margaret lavished much money and attention on the large and elaborate castle of Rouvres-en-Plaine and it lay directly on Charles V's path towards Dijon. It is possible that engineering a side-trip to an out-of-the-way site was a subtle act of pulling of rank over a king

⁶³⁹ ADCO B. 1476 35r. « A Casin peintre demour a paris qui deuz li est po la vendu et deliuvr de x grans compas et iiii c escucous de peinture armoiez des armes de mon dit seign le duc des armes de mess de nevs et le cont descrenot ses filz et des armes de mess guy de la tremoille pour seignier les logis de mes dis seignres a la feste des joustes alores tenues en la ville de dijon po cause de la venue du roy. »

⁶⁴⁰ ADN B. 1848 1 No. 50418.

ruled by a council of uncles. The choice of Germolles also reflects a desire to host the king at a site that appeared intimate. The castle is quite small and may have functioned alongside the short duration of the meeting to suggest an amicable, informal meeting of family members. The adornment of Germolles also slyly reflected Margaret's ideological agenda, baking moral overtones into a meeting that on the surface appeared to be a simple visit to an aunt. At the time of the visit, the structure was largely complete and the outlines of the evolving visualization of *pastourelle* imagery already clear. The upper quadrangle was fully achieved, the tiles laid, and the cycle of paintings finished.⁶⁴¹ Thus, at Charles VI's arrival, Germolles was a habitable, decorated house, yet like most houses past and present it was still an open-ended project that was subject to change and long-term schemes.

Because the meeting between Margaret and Charles VI was so short, the opportunity for Germolles to intervene in the life of the royal court was concentrated in a few brief moments. But in this short space of time, Margaret's choice to concentrate ideological themes from literary narratives at individual sites made her house into a political statement of startling clarity and precision. Coming from Chalon-sur-Saône, Charles VI and his court approached the castle from its intended northeast approach. The king and his retinue thus rounded the hillside of Germolles to see the structure laid out in the valley among meadows of sheep and hillsides adorned with vines. Margaret likely received the king in her *chambre* adorned with sheep paintings. After the initial meeting, they likely lunched in the *grande salle*, where the king and the assembled guests would see the roses, thistles, and sheep that Arnoul Picornet had recently painted on the wooden ceiling. While all the elements of the castle's decoration were familiar to the royal court, their assembly

⁶⁴¹ Some elements were still in the works, namely the *pastourelle*-themed tapestries that Philip had commanded Melchior Broederlam to design the previous December. The sculptures of the duke and duchess as shepherds were also not in place yet, and it is likely at this time that they had not yet been conceived.

into a *pastourelle* theme was novel and likely quite striking, fostering comparison with the sheep that the visitors had seen as they descended into the valley and passed through the *basse cour*. The king may have been surprised to find his own coats of arms and the sunburst, his father's personal cipher, blending with the natural and literary imagery, inviting him to participate in a fictive environment that Margaret ruled.

While the content of the meeting, besides the inevitable midday meal, will remain a mystery, it is likely that Margaret's presentation of herself against the backdrop of the shepherdess was legible as an act of intimacy, an invitation to the inner sanctum of her self-identity. This welcome likely took the frame as an apolitical event, but the backdrop of the shepherdess imbued it with strong ideological undertones. The shepherdess, the icon of peaceful relations with nature ruptured by acts of war, could imply the delicacy of dynastic politics during the political pressure-cooker of Charles VI's minority. Framed as the shepherdess while welcoming the king, Margaret could use Germolles as an element in her itinerancy circuit and as a stop on a guest's voyage to subtly gesture to the importance of amicable familial ties between the Princes of the Blood. As Charles VI moved onto Dijon for festive receptions in the court of Philip the Bold, he could bear this message in mind.

The royal visits to Germolles and Hesdin demonstrate that late fourteenth-century aristocrats sited spectacles and dynastic meetings within larger patterns of itinerancy to use them to their best and to tell stories about themselves and the meaning of an event. Ever conscious of the logistics of travel, they sited large-scale events like jousts, royal entries, and feasts in large urban centers whose infrastructures are able to hold large numbers of people. These events are outward facing climaxes of dynastic meetings that took place that began before and continued for some time after, and involved other castles within the normal ambit of a host's itinerancy network.

When preparing an itinerary for a royal visit, the Valois penchant for castles that isolated ideological themes at specific sites was particularly useful. This custom allowed Valois dynasts the opportunity to craft visits against backdrops that sent nuanced messages about their ideals. By bringing a guest to several idiosyncratic houses on a single visit, a host could send a series of messages in succession, creating a narrative for a visit that unfolded over time and across a wide topography.

The 1378 Visit of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Narratives of Royal Itinerancy

The evidence for these complex methods of using castles together at Hesdin and Germolles is slight but evocative, mostly in the nature of checkbooks, the headings of legislative documents, and brief entries into chronicles. By contrast, the journey of the Holy Roman Emperor to France in 1377 and 1378 is described in granular detail in the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, offering an opportunity to encounter a series of pageants that unfolded across the core of Charles V's itinerancy network in rich detail. The narrative of Charles V's reception of his uncle confirms the patterns deduced from brief documents pertaining to Hesdin and Germolles, while the granular detail afforded by the *Chronique* also evokes concerns that escaped notice in more laconic economic documents.

Emperor Charles IV's visit to Paris and its environs sprang from his close familial and political relationship to the French aristocracy. A member of the Luxembourg dynasty, his father John the Blind of Bohemia died on the field of Crecy fighting for the King of France.⁶⁴² Charles IV himself had spent seven years as a child and adolescent in the court of the last Capetian and first Valois monarchs.⁶⁴³ He was Charles V's maternal uncle, and he and the younger Charles

⁶⁴² Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit*, 50.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

enjoyed a particularly close relationship. In 1355, the younger Charles was involved in a murky incident involving Charles the Bad of Navarre. On November 22nd or 23rd of that year, the younger Charles called two knights to accompany him from Amiens to his uncle in his own territories. The rationale behind this projected visit is unclear, but it may have come in the aftermath of a fight with his father. The trip was called off right before it began and the same day that Jean le Bon granted his son the duchy of Normandy. Autrand suggests that the seventeen-year-old Charles had contemplated flight to the Bohemian court to escape the dominance of his father, and that Jean gave him a title so that his son could operate with some degree of distance.⁶⁴⁴

Charles V and Charles IV actually met for the first time for the Emperor's Christmas Diet in 1356, when the younger Charles was Dauphin, Duke of Normandy and (after the disastrous field of Poitiers) regent of France. That meeting resulted in the finalization of a treaty of friendship between France and the Empire that Jean le Bon had drawn up the previous May, recognition of Charles V as the ruler of the County of Vienne, a loan of 50,000 gold pieces to float the expenses of the government in the wake of his father's capture by the English, and advice, especially concerning his slippery cousin Charles of Navarre, whom he currently held as a prisoner.⁶⁴⁵

Like contemporary royal visits to Hesdin, the Emperor planned his sojourn in Paris within dominant trends of interregional itinerancy. He arrived in Paris on the 4th of January, but that was after a series of delays in the Low Countries. He had meant to arrive in Paris earlier, seven days before Christmas.⁶⁴⁶ A December visit to Paris conforms to the normal seasonal migration of Valois dynasts from their dispersed territories into the capital. While Philip the Bold, Jean de Berry, Charles V, and other high-ranking aristocrats spent the summer and autumn months in their

⁶⁴⁴Autrand, *Charles V*, 150-151.

⁶⁴⁵Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit*, 83.

⁶⁴⁶Ibid, 180-181.

own territories or at rural sites within the vicinity of Paris, they preferred to spend the high holidays near the end of the year in the city itself. Paris received an influx courts of varying sizes and ranks in the winter, which then left the city in the late spring. The many princes living cheek-by-jowl at this time of the year favored the development of gift-giving holidays.⁶⁴⁷ It also made the season a productive one for diplomacy and a time when tensions inevitably came to a head. It is little surprise that Louis of Orleans was assassinated in a Parisian street in late November.⁶⁴⁸ Charles VI and his uncles also scheduled France's last judicial duel for the 29th of December 1386, a day they knew they would all be present in Paris and able to watch.⁶⁴⁹ While timing a visit in the winter exposed the Emperor and his retinue to the cold, it reveals that he planned his trip with normal patterns of Valois nomadism in mind.

The *Grande Chronique* makes it clear that Charles V and his courtiers used houses to resonate with individual events and motion between houses to create a narrative throughline between events. The granular description of Charles V's entrance to Paris reveals that Valois rulers treated spaces like a series of nesting dolls, essentially replicating the same goal scaled up to the choice of many palaces in a region or down to the choice of room within a single site. Upon the Emperor's arrival to the city, he travelled immediately to the Palais de la Cité.⁶⁵⁰ The Palais de la Cité had much to offer as a reception hall. It welcomed the Emperor to the core of royal government, and since he travelled in France in part to see the region's sacred sites, a visit to the Saint Chappelle would form an obvious climax for his trip. The Palais de la Cité also offered logistical merits. Its *Grand Salle* was the largest interior space in Charles V's entire itinerancy

⁶⁴⁷ The spatial dimension of gift-giving was not considered in the definitive treatment of the subject. Brigitte Buettner, "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400," *The Art Bulletin* 84, 2001.

⁶⁴⁸ Laurent Theis, *Histoire du Moyen Âge Français*. (Paris : Perrin, 1992), 326-327.

⁶⁴⁹ Eric Jager. *The Last Duel: A True Story of Crime, Scandal, and Trial by Combat in Medieval France* (New York: Broadway Books, 2004), 139.

⁶⁵⁰ *Grandes Chroniques*, trans. in Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit*, 204.

network, so bringing the Emperor there immediately after his arrival in Paris ensured that the public-facing pomp of the royal entry continued without interruption and before as large an assembled crowd as possible. The mass of nobles could find lodgings at a convenient distance from the Palais thanks to the numerous nearby aristocratic *hôtels*, monastic houses, and inns in the city, lessening the pressure on the Palais to take on the overflow of guests.

The Emperor's reception in the Palais de la Cité also instantiated a narrative about the Emperor's relationship to Paris and his kinship with Charles V. As noted above, the Emperor spent seven years in Paris during his childhood and adolescence. The palais de la Cité, a structure that only received light alterations and additions since Philippe le Belle, was therefore have been a place of intimate familiarity, a sort of homecoming. Hosting the Emperor there initiated a narrative of intimacy and familiarity that would be carried throughout his stay and that would be carried across sites. At the Palais, this rhetoric of familiarity was inflected with both personal memories of place and the ideology of pastness built into the structure itself. The *Chronique* claims that the major ceremony of the first day was a luncheon in the Grande Salle. The major *entremet* and entertainment of this meal was a play depicting the capture of Jerusalem during the First Crusade.⁶⁵¹ This festal meal took place in the presence of the sculptures of the ancient kings of France, many of whom the Emperor could claim as his own ancestors. Some, like Charlemagne, were central to the ideological apparatus of his own state. Like the statues and the inscriptions of the hall, the pageant of the capture of Jerusalem emphasized the deeds of the past as exempla for the present.

⁶⁵¹ *Grandes Chroniques*, trans. in Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit*, 211-215.

On January 5th, the day after the Emperor's ceremonial entrance to Paris, he and Charles V travelled by boat to the Louvre.⁶⁵² This shift in location punctuated a shift in the tone of the visit and opportunity to underscore the king of France's own agendas. While the emperor's visit came of his own volition and apparently surprised the king and his administrators, Charles V took advantage of serendipity to pursue his enduring fight with the King of England and used his buildings to his advantage to craft a series of arguments for the justice of his cause. In 1378, this agenda had a degree of urgency. In the previous years his armies had successfully withstood the *chevalchee* of Edward, the Black Prince which harassed the Ile de France. His new castle at the Bastille proved its worth when a *chevalchee* under Robert Knowles burned his way through the capital's suburbs in 1370.⁶⁵³ Throughout the 1360's and 1370's the English had sought continental allies to help them press their claim. Many of these calls were aimed at states within the Holy Roman Empire. To 1378, they had largely fallen on deaf ears, but the threat that the duchies and principalities to the East would fall on the side of the English remained. The arrival of the Emperor in Paris offered an opportunity to nip in the bud any cross-channel friendships and to counter anti-French discourses circulating among the aristocracy of the Holy Roman Empire.⁶⁵⁴

The Louvre was a complex monument. Its *grosse tour* was associated with feudal obligation, its *Grande Vis* visualized the stability of the Valois dynasty, and the large library encapsulated Charles V's persona as a ruler in the guise of the philosopher-king of Aristotelian theory. Charles V engineered an event that cannily resonated with the structure around it. The Emperor's visit to the Louvre unfolded in several stages. When the king and emperor arrived by royal barge, the king brought the gout-riddled emperor on a show-and-tell, showing him the

⁶⁵² *Grandes Chroniques*, trans. in Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit*, 215-216.

⁶⁵³ Autrand, *Charles V*, 575.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 802-803.

structure “both on the inside and the outside,” and the chronicler assures readers that the emperor took “great pleasure” in the tour even though he was crippled by the pain of his malady. Biographers of Charles V and historians of architecture have highlighted Charles V’s tour of the Louvre as a demonstration of Charles V’s pleasure in building projects. While that is likely the case, it was a choreographed event that presented a set of arguments about the lifestyle, ideology, and political agendas of the king. Immediately offering a tour of the structure worked together to solidify the shift in polemic between the pageants and their resonant structures in the Palais de la Cité and the Louvre. At the Louvre, the argumentative structure shifted from lineage and the exempla of the past to the vitality of the present and the rule of the French monarch in the guise of the Aristotelian philosopher-king. While showing the Emperor around, the king could point out the new elements of the structure that the Emperor would not remember from his childhood in the city and underscore how they enabled him to live magnificently after the advice of Aristotle himself, especially the imperative to live magnificently and ornament a city with magnificent buildings.⁶⁵⁵ In the process, he was able to underscore that a building constructed to house his court was a sort of gift to the common weal and a representation of the potency of France itself.

The tour of the Louvre also emphasized the importance of jurisprudence, legal theory, and wide learning to Charles V’s rule. While in the courtyard, Charles likely showed the Emperor the Grosse Tour. The Emperor was surely familiar with this structure from his childhood, and Charles likely recalled to his guest its significance to feudal jurisprudence. The author of the *Chronique* ensures the reader that the king also showed him around the whole interior of the castle. Charles likely intended to show the Emperor the royal library, the repository of his works on legal theory

⁶⁵⁵ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book IV, Chapter II., trans. W. D. Ross. Retrieved from the MIT Classics Library, <http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/nicomachaen.html>.

and a manifestation of his image as a scholar-king. The Emperor's gout was so painful that on the previous day two men had to carry him up the staircase to the shrine of the Crown of Thorns in the Sainte-Chapelle. It is therefore likely that a visit to the library – accessible only by three flights of spiral stairs – was difficult if not impossible. The king may have gotten around this in a couple of ways, perhaps taking the emperor up to the first story of the library, or recounting to him the quality of its furnishing and collection while standing in the *etude* at its base, or displaying choice specimens from its collection in his apartments. In any event, Charles V's decision to house the Emperor in his personal chambers ensured that his guest could continue to bask in the splendor of the rooms and contemplate the significance of the library after the tour was over.

At the Louvre, the Emperor witnessed a series of three speeches that pushed to the foreground Charles V's personal style as a philosopher-king dedicated to learning, justice, and rule through theory. Both played off the polemics built into the Louvre's physical structure to counter the threat of an English-Imperial alliance and demonstrated that the king's conflict against the king of England was a just war against a rebellious vassal. After the tour and a luncheon, the king called together his council in his *chambre* and welcomed representatives of the University of Paris visited the Emperor. Twelve came from each faculty save the Liberal Arts, which due to its size and reputation was allowed to send twenty-four. Like the library a few short meters from the meeting, the event called attention to Charles V's style of rule and the importance he ascribed to learning. The author of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* gives little information about the content of the speech, but he claims that Jean de la Chaleur, Chancellor of the University of Paris, spoke of the honor and dignity of the both the emperor and the king and kingdom of France.⁶⁵⁶ The meeting of

⁶⁵⁶ *Grandes Chroniques*, trans. in Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit*, 216-217.

the university prelates and the Emperor at the palace of the Louvre emphasized the king's role in fostering the community of scholars that made Paris a regional intellectual center.

After the introduction of the university staff to the Emperor, Charles V took the stage. The chronicler claims that he declared his desire to gain the Emperor's advice in his conflict against the king of England to the assembly of the Council, select knights, his brothers, and the emperor and his party. The next day, Friday the 8th of January, Charles V used the *salle* of his chambers to deliver an argument for his conflict against the King of England that emphasized his justification in the face of rampant aggression and failure to honor treaties and fulfill obligations. He claimed that he had two reasons for his speech and the gathering of nobles he addressed: to demonstrate his royal right against English counterarguments, and to gain the advice of the emperor. The chronicler claims that he lectured the assembled delegates for two hours, and that the logically organized and fluid speech, "so wisely and so orderly that everyone marveled at his good memory and excellent elocution."⁶⁵⁷

In the speech, he argued that the territories in debate, namely Gascony, had been conquered and converted to Christianity by Charlemagne and thereafter subjected to the authority of the King of France without any conflict from local power structures. He claimed that no King of England had resisted the overlordship of the King of France until Edward III. He claimed that Edward III's failure to submit to his authority was even further outrageous because he had previously given homage to Philip of Valois in Amiens. At that point, Charles V brought out sealed documents recounting the oath of homage that Edward III had paid Philip of Valois, along with other documents from previous kings of England establishing their acquiescence to feudal obligation and

⁶⁵⁷ *Grandes Chroniques*, trans. in Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit*, 218-221.

the documents through which the king of England had renounced his rights to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitiers. After demonstrating an argument for the French claim to contested lands and obligations, Charles turned to the current geostrategic situation, calling attention to English occupation of territory within territories claimed by France, the aid that they gave to Navarre, and the destruction caused by the *chavauchees* launched by the Prince of Wales. The discourse then moved to the legal justification for this war against England. He claimed that war had erupted at the request of several high nobles, and that he pursued it only after long debate and the advice of the legal minds at the universities of Bologna, Montpellier, Toulous, Orleans, and the Court of Rome. Throughout that period, he had sent emissaries to the king of England to make legal arguments for the invalidity of his war, for he “wished for these things to be remedied in an amicable way and not by war.”⁶⁵⁸

This long, discursive speech took place in his third-floor *salle* at the center of his apartments, a position which situated the event in conversation with meaningful elements of the Louvre’s built environment. The *salle* was likely chosen in part because of its size. Given the sheer number of prelates and knights in the Louvre, the event required the largest room on the castle. The gathering of prelates into this castle was essential to Charles V’s choreography of the visit, for its siting told an important story about the meaning of lecture. Passing into the *haut cour* of the Louvre through either of its two main entrances, visitors passed and walked around the Grosse Tour. Like the Emperor, most of the assembled prelates recalled the significance of this structure to the legal and social integrity of the kingdom, and some may have given oaths of fealty at its base. Passing up the *grande vis*, they confronted sculpted statements that announced the persistence and stability of the Valois royal family and the rules of precedence and hierarchy that

⁶⁵⁸ *Grandes Chroniques*, trans. in Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit*, 218-221.

governed their court and the realm, as well as the force that enforced them. Arriving on the floor, they would have walked through the *gallerie* that communicated between the *chambre de parer* and the *grosse tour*, underscoring the donjon's presence as they entered the chambers. As Charles conducted business from his rooms, the assembled lords knew the space well. Charles V dressed like a university professor in his day-to-day life, opened his library to study, and his translation campaigns were directed at lay aristocrats like those in assembly. They therefore knew the library beyond the western door of the *salle* and its heavy emphasis on classical political theory and Roman and modern jurisprudence.

To those that knew the Louvre, the decoration of the space contrasted their expectations for normal usage and marked the momentousness of this day by contrasts. If the chronicler report is to be believed, visitors found the normally spare and muted spaces overflowing with shimmering surfaces and brilliant colors of tapestries and luxury plate. A parallel may be made with festive décor in modern houses, the brilliant colors, play of darkness and light, the satin sheen and metallic surfaces of Christmas decorations contrasting with the matt and subdued color palettes that dominate modern house interiors during most seasons. The impact of these types of decoration indeed lies in their contrast to daily material environments, to the world of terracotta, cheap glass, and straw at the heart of courtly material culture.

Charles V's speech called upon the themes built into the Louvre. The festive decoration of the Louvre demarcated his speech as a momentous occasion and called upon mainstream interpretations of the Aristotelian concept of "magnificence."⁶⁵⁹ The nearby library called up Aristotelian conceptions of good governance, theoretical groundings for rule in Roman

⁶⁵⁹ István Pieter Bejczy, István Bejczy, *The Cardinal Virtues in the Middle Ages: A Study in Moral Thought from the Fourth to the Fourteenth Century* (London: Brill, 2011), 262.

jurisprudence, and more recent traditions of feudal obligation. The king's long, complex speech called upon the emphasis on public speaking skills found in legal treatises such as Gilles de Rome and ultimately Aristotle. The Grosse Tour loomed outside the south windows of the room and the library beyond a short series of doors as Charles crafted an argument for his legal right to overlordship over the King of England. His emphasis on the antiquity of his rights to feudal obligation gave his arguments theoretical heft, while his claim to pursue his war on behalf of wronged implied that he pursued it for the sake of the *res publica*. Backing up his claim to overlordship with sealed legal documents also nodded to his style as a *roi de la robe* rather than a *roi de l'épi*.

The chronicler states that the Emperor responded positively to the king's carefully choreographed performance. Upon hearing the king's arguments, he gave a digest version to those present who only spoke German. He averred the truth of the king's claims to overlordship, and claimed that he had been present at Edward III's oath of homage to Philip of Valois in Amiens. He claimed that he would counter any pro-English sentiments in the Empire and characterized them as devious. The next day, Saturday the 9th of January, the Emperor gave another speech before the same assembled crowd. During this speech, he expressed regret that he had not given the king more aid in the past. He promised his own service and that of his vassals to the French cause in the future, and presented a scroll with the names of those he considered bound to help the king against the English.⁶⁶⁰

On January 10th, the day after the renewal of oaths of mutual obligation before an assembled crowd, the emperor had a meeting with the queen, Joanna of Bourbon. The meeting has

⁶⁶⁰ *Grandes Chroniques*, trans. in Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit*, 221.

much in common with the meeting between Charles VI and Margaret of Flanders a decade later. The Chronicler claims that the visit was the Emperor's idea and that he was motivated by a desire to speak with family members that he had not seen for several decades.⁶⁶¹ The timing was imminent. The queen was less than a month from the birth of her last child, Catherine, and she would die two days after giving birth.⁶⁶²

The Chronicler claims that the Emperor took a boat from the Louvre to Saint-Pol, where the queen received him in a room next to the, "hall where the story of Theseus is depicted." The tone of the Emperor's meeting with the queen was quite different from the flurry of diplomacy that occupied the previous days. The Emperor met Charles the Dauphin and Louis of Valois in the courtyard and ascended the openwork *grand vis* together before passing through the hall and into the queen's chambers, where she awaited his arrival with her ladies. During the initial greeting, the Emperor embraced and kissed the queen and all the ladies who were related to the him. He afterward asked to see the queen's mother, Isabeau of Valois. Isabeau was the sister-in-law of the Emperor through his first wife, while she and the Emperor's late sister had been raised together. The meeting was bittersweet and touched with the agony of loss, and the chronicler claims that both the Emperor and Isabeau wept openly before the assembly of nobles and knights. Eventually they were able to have a long, private talk, but not before lunch and a nap for the ailing Emperor. No visit to Saint-Pol was complete without a trip to see the lions in the menagerie, and after that the queen and Charles V's children went to the emperor and they exchanged gifts before the Charles V, the King of the Romans, and the Emperor moved onto Vincennes for the night.⁶⁶³

⁶⁶¹ *Grandes Chroniques*, trans. in Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit* 223.

⁶⁶² Autrand, *Charles V*, 808-809.

⁶⁶³ *Grandes Chroniques*, trans. in Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit*, 223-225.

The rich description of the *Grand Chronique* lends a window into how meetings between genders inflected the way that Valois dynasts used residences as a part of a circuit of meaningful spaces. It lends a model for the way in which other Valois women, including Margaret of Flanders during Charles VI's 1390 visit, used a network of houses to frame messages about the meaning of a dynastic meeting. Like the meeting of Charles VI and Margaret of Flanders, the meeting of the Emperor and Joanna of Bourbon took place over the course of a single afternoon and was a detour in a larger voyage. The Emperor awoke in the morning at the Louvre, and he slept that night at Vincennes, creating a Louvre – Saint-Pol – Vincennes itinerary for the day that parallels Charles VI's Chalon-sur-Saône - Germolles – Beaune itinerary on the 12th of February, 1390. In contrast to the speeches and vows that the chronicler emphasizes for the Emperor's stay at the Louvre, the text makes no reference to any political activities during the afternoon at Saint-Pol. At Saint-Pol, outward calls to aid Charles V against England recede into the background in favor of events emphasizing human connections. The connection between the Emperor and the Isabeau of Valois emerge from the page as the most touching and poignant, but the moment of their meeting conforms to a larger pattern in the day's events that emphasized and strengthened the emotional ties between the two royal families.

Relocation to a new palatial site was an essential element in this shift in emphasis from feudal obligation to apolitical emotional ties. As Murielle Gaude-Ferragu argues, female royals of fourteenth-century France exercised borrowed authority. The series of succession crises at the end of the Capetian dynasty witnessed the exclusion of women from succession and the narrowing of their ability to exercise authority of themselves.⁶⁶⁴ A priori, they had no role in government, but

⁶⁶⁴ Murielle Gaude-Ferragu & Angela Krieger, trans., *Queenship in Medieval France, 1300-1500* (New York: Palgrave, 2016), 84-86.

could exert influence on others through their personal relationships with men.⁶⁶⁵ This relocation instantiated a break from outwardly-facing and public events to ones of a more intimate nature. Part of the choice to move was simply logistical. As the queen was in the last month of her pregnancy, she was likely “lying in” and unwilling to travel even a small distance. That said, the move to this particular palace set a tone for the meeting and resonates with Margaret of Flanders’ choice to receive Charles VI at Germolles a decade later. Mary Whiteley has characterized the Hôtel Saint-Pol as a more “intimate” residence, one where the king and his family dwelt frequently even though it bore few of the royal legacies of the Palais de la Cité, the Louvre, or even Vincennes.⁶⁶⁶ Like Margaret of Flanders a decade later, Joanna received her dignitary and family member in a house that was recently redecorated. Framing a family reunion against this backdrop encouraged the Emperor and his son to understand the vows and oaths to aid against the English not only as the ties that bind allies but aid to friends and family. Within this house, the main events took place in smaller, more intimate rooms in front of select audiences. The Chronicler claims that the Emperor and his entourage passed by crowds of nobles in the more accessible parts of the palace, but Joanna received him in her *chambre* with her ladies-in-waiting. It thereafter broke into small, intimate groups. The Emperor conversed with his sister-in-law in the privacy of a *retrait*, the King of the Romans visited the Dauphin Louis in his room before touring the palace menagerie together. The fleeting quality of the visit to Hôtel Saint-Pol, the choice of house from among many, and the choice of rooms within that house function together as a single approach achieved on several scales to frame the event as an apolitical venture into family space.

⁶⁶⁵ Murielle Gaude-Ferragu & Angela Krieger, trans., *Queenship in Medieval France, 1300-1500*, 88.

⁶⁶⁶ Mary Whiteley, « Royal and Ducal Palaces in France in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: Interior, Ceremony and Functions, » in *Architecture et vie sociale : l'organisation intérieure des grandes demeures à la fin du Moyen Age et à la Renaissance : actes du colloque tenu à Tours du 6 au 10 juin 1988* ed. Jean Guillaume (Paris : Picard, 1994), page ?.

On leaving Saint-Pol, the Emperor and his companions reembarked on their barge toward Vincennes. The Emperor, the King of the Romans, and Charles V resided at Vincennes and its surrounding parkland from the 10th and the 15th of January, 1378.⁶⁶⁷ As with royal retreats to Hesdin, the withdrawal to the parkland of Vincennes gave a chance for everyone to relax after several days spent before large crowds. Playing off the shift in audience and tone instantiated at Saint-Pol, the agenda focused on small, internally-facing events that instantiated political resolutions previously expressed in public. While the audiences changed from public-facing to more intimate, dynasts and their courts were still sensitive to the ways they could use architecture and interior decorating to create a series of mutually-informing statements about the tone of an event and crafted their itineraries and ephemeral decorations in accordance.

The Holy Roman Emperor and his entourage moved to Vincennes as the final stage in their visit to Paris. Like Hesdin, it served as a place to rest and relax and to enact resolutions made before large publics in the previous days. The use of Vincennes for this task was perhaps obvious to Charles and his court. As noted above, Christine de Pizan named Vincennes as the main place where Charles V would go to relax and take refreshment from the strain of his duties, even if they followed him there.⁶⁶⁸ His guests, especially the gout-tortured Emperor, were exhausted from the spectacles and meetings of the previous days and needed some time to recuperate. The emperor spent much of his time napping, eating, and looking out the windows to enjoy views into the park. He also performed private devotion with the aid of two books of hours that Charles V gave him out of his on-site store of liturgical manuscripts. Charles V meanwhile invited the King of the Romans and his brothers to hunt the fallow deer and rabbits in his game park. He also offered his

⁶⁶⁷ *Grandes Chroniques*, trans. in Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit*, 225.

⁶⁶⁸ Pizan, *Le Livre des Faits et Bonnes Mœurs Du Roi Charles V le Sage*, 72.

guests views of possessions that were normally restricted. The King of the Romans received a tour from the bottom to the top of his new *donjon*, while Charles V had his goldsmith Gilles Malet bring the Emperor his new and famously stupendous crown for a special viewing, a privilege that the chronicler claims delighted the Emperor exceedingly.⁶⁶⁹

The intimate, recreational atmosphere of Vincennes formed a backdrop for work on the Imperial-French relationship. On the eleventh of January, the Emperor called upon his son to swear an oath into the hand of Charles V that he would, “love him and serve him as long as he lived before all the princes of the world, and the king’s children as well.”⁶⁷⁰ The *Grandes Chroniques* mentions long, friendly chats between the dynasts in the afternoons, the time of day when Charles V diverted himself from administrative responsibilities on normal workdays. It was at Plaisance on the edge of the park where Charles V and the Emperor said their goodbyes and exchanged rings, the ultimate symbol of mutual obligation.⁶⁷¹ While at Vincennes, Charles V used rooms within park residences as a set of nested spaces to create secrecy. That is to say, when he wanted the content of a conversation to remain secret, he invited the Emperor into his most exclusive room in the most exclusive residence in an exclusive park landscape. This took place on the twelfth of January, when Charles V locked himself and the Emperor alone in the *retrait* of Beauté, to talk in confidence, “about their needs,” an act which recurred the next Friday.⁶⁷² The vagueness of the *Chronique* about this meeting suggests the anonymous chronicler did not know what passed between them during that time and, by extension, that the strategy worked.⁶⁷³

⁶⁶⁹ *Grandes Chroniques*, trans. in Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit, 1377-1378*, 229.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 227.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid*, 231.

⁶⁷² *Ibid*, 229; 231.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid*, 229.

The secret conversation at Beauté reveals that Charles V's spatial strategy over the course of the royal visit incorporated intra-park micro-itinerancy, affirming the phenomenon encountered described in Chapter 2. The *Chronique* claims that the Emperor wished to visit the shrine of Saint Maur in the monastery of Saint-Maur-des-Fosses nestled in the bend of the Marne just to the south of the park, and resided on that evening at Beauté. Charles V orchestrated the trip, ensuring that the ceremonial and gift-oriented atmosphere of the previous day continued without interruption. He ordered the monks to receive the Emperor in a ceremony that acknowledged his privileged position and his status as a pilgrim. He also caused the refectory of the monastery to be specially decorated with tapestry for the event, ensuring that the gifting atmosphere that pervaded the royal residences continued without interruption. After the trip to Saint Maur, the Emperor returned to Beauté-sur-Marne, and from that site to Plaisance, where he and the king said their farewells.⁶⁷⁴

The choreography of Charles IV's visit to Paris and its surrounding regions demonstrates the cleverness through which the king of France and his courtiers used the large collection of royal houses to tell a variety of different stories about the meaning of French kingship. By moving the royal guest among a variety of houses, Charles V was able to evoke the sacral character of French kingship, its role within sacred history, the role of political theory in his ruling style, and his close connection as a family member to his imperial guest. Charles V's series of events must be seen as a particularly elaborate example of what was a wider phenomenon, one that built of precedents in the reign of his father and in use more generally among francophone aristocrats. In building his itineraries, Charles V could call upon numerous examples of successful pairings of houses and events, including his visit to Hesdin in 1360. In turn, Philip the Bold grounded his use of Hesdin in previous uses of the site and his own experiences at Vincennes, including his participation in

⁶⁷⁴ *Grandes Chroniques*, trans. in Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit*, 231.

the Emperor's visit to Paris in 1378. The movements charted at both these sites resonate with a wider pattern, demonstrated in the spectacles of Saint Omer and Arras, whereby Valois dynasts sited pageants and public events to create audiences of a desired size. In treating castles individually and ignoring the networks of mobility that bound each site into a larger unit, previous scholars have failed to recognize that the strategy that they encountered in the body of a single palace linked sites into a larger whole, creating differentiation in use as well as décor between castles as they came to occupy different niches within the wider circuit of mobility. From among their many houses and residences, Valois dynasts chose to site important diplomatic events and pageants in large urban palaces in large rooms that housed administrative functions and visualized dominant and widely-accessible royal ideologies rather than those of an experimental nature or method of visualization.

Conclusions

This chapter has revealed the multiple ways that Valois nomadism conditioned dynasts and their courts to use space. From a core set of daily activities tailored to the package of shared spaces to the narrative unfolding of court pageants between the numerous royal residences of Paris, itinerancy is inextricable from Valois approaches to architecture, a foundational practice which ran the whole system and whose impact is encountered wherever the historian looks. In day-to-day life, castles supported a lifestyle in tension between prescriptivity and changeability, a feature well-suited to networks of houses that incorporated both common and unique elements. Valois nomadism also pervaded spectacle events. The practice provided a group of unique castles from which courtiers could choose the most appropriate space for an event, a package of logistical tools and materials that they could deploy to new purposes, and a way to signal breaks and produce a

narrative within a spectacle itself. Taken as a whole Valois nomadism provided the dominant order and inalterable groundwork from which court life and its relation to architecture sprang.

Conclusion

In August of 1412, Charles VI of France paid a bourgeois of Paris, for his country house near the royal residence, necropolis, and suburban village of Saint Denis. The king's wife, Isabeau de Baviere, had already take up residence there before payment for the house, or indeed before the final deed of sale. What's more, she had also already ordered "aucun ouvrages," "certain works," and had earmarked the house for a site-specific theme and use. The deed claims that when she dwelt there, « pour son esbastement et plaisance, elle fit faire aucun laourage, et nourrir de la volaille et du bestial, » that is, as a pastime and hobby, she would do some work, and feed the birds and animals.⁶⁷⁵ In her last will and testament, Isabeau would call her retreat at Saint Denis the Hostel des Bergiers – the House of the Shepherds.⁶⁷⁶ If Isabeau de Baviere was not the first woman in French royalty to itinerate to a secluded suburban residence to play the part of the shepherdess, she was not the last. Four centuries later, Marie Antoinette would itinerate between chateaux at Versailles, Saint Cloud, Louveciennes, and the hunting-themed palace of Marly, and the Petit Trianon. When she established her *hameau* at the Petit Trianon, she established a sheep-themed landscape and relation to a larger park landscape that Margaret of Flanders, Charles V, and Philip the Bold would have recognized and understood intuitively.

This dissertation has revealed that royal nomadism played a decisive role in shaping the visualization of French monarchy through art and architecture. It was a living, creative social custom in fourteenth-century France and Burgundy, one that intervened decisively in social life, forging the relationship between Valois elites, their larger built environment, and wider communities. While taxing on the budgets and care of their household staff, nomadism offered

⁶⁷⁵ Archives Nationales JJ 154 f. 20v

⁶⁷⁶ Marcel Thibault: Isabeau de Bavière reine de France: La jeunesse, 1370-1405 (Paris: Librairie Academique Didier, 1903), 265.

Valois nobles the opportunity to perform direct rule over core constituencies. Moving along roads allowed them to publicly display their social distinction from those they ruled through their magnificent accoutrements and the very act of travel itself. This opportunity was particularly welcome after the social disruption of the 1350's, when reversals in the war against the English sparked anti-aristocratic violence and inspired vigorous reassertion of aristocratic dominance within the social order.

A wave of construction or reconstruction of major castles also reasserted the vitality and dominance of the royal family, and nomadism left its impact on these projects as well. Nomadic royals sought to minimize the disruption of construction projects on important sites, a goal that left its impact on the scale, shape, and timing of interventions at major castles. It discouraged demolition and strongly encouraged partial reconstructions or additions to existing houses, the development of individual projects that could be achieved within a decade, and the staggering of each intervention within the network. Nomadic royals regularly occupying houses with a whole variety of internal disposition and brought their comfort with multiplicity and simultaneity to their building projects. Their master masons were therefore free to arrange a common package of essential spaces in a whole variety of dispositions, stacking them into towers or arranging them horizontally along ranges in numerous iterations.

The ability to move among numerous sites also effected the way that Valois nobles filled their newly-built houses with ideologically-rich décor. Cycling between multiple houses suggested the decoration of each upon unique themes. Houses united in a network of itinerancy therefore hold similarity and site specificity in tension. They share some media and motifs, such as heraldic shields, personal emblems, mural paintings, and sculpted portraits, but use them to evoke different arguments for the shape of Valois rule. Rulers cycled through these houses to position themselves

against specific ideologies when they were especially convenient. The goods that filled these spaces also felt the impact of a life on the road. While courtly material culture has long been synonymous with refinement, gaps in survival of certain media and Valois documents themselves reveal the hitherto-unacknowledged dominance of course home goods in Valois castles. The tableware that served the court was cheap and envisioned for single use, adapted to the mobile court by virtue of its disposability. Nomadism discouraged the elaboration of domestic furniture, as it would add to the already exorbitant expense of furnishing even a few large houses. Mobile lifestyles also weakened the court's ability to access the vast quantities of luxury materials that dynasts hoarded at their major castle sites, ensuring that the canonical "mobile" artworks of the period such as tapestry and gold plate were not especially mobile in custom and went on display *en masse* only at the most important court festivities.

Across this dissertation, a focus upon movement as the organizing core of daily life has opened new ways to investigate the courts of late medieval Europe and their relation to architecture and the wider built environment. It has revealed that late medieval aristocrats were able not only to intervene into and conceive of the landscape around a castle as an ideologically-rich space, but to think, plan, and execute building projects on regional scales. Court mobility has emerged as a method that drove the spread of style from the center to the peripheries of the French kingdom. Indeed, nomadism disturbs the very notion of periphery and center, revealing instead an architecture of rule that developed across a multi-pole space and a lattice of inhabited sites.

The findings of this dissertation may be expanded by incorporating sites associated with the French Princes of the Blood. Such studies can recuperate a broader context for royal nomadism and seek evidence for similar (or divergent) responses to its challenges and opportunities. As noted in Chapter 3, Jean de Berry and Louis of Anjou were also active architectural patrons, constructing

lavish houses while pursuing nomadic lifestyles between their duchies and the Ile de France. Several of these houses follow patterns encountered in this dissertation. Jean de Berry, for example, replicated the spaces and ideological themes of many Parisian residences in his palaces at Bourges and Poitiers, building his own *Sainte Chapelle* at Bourges and a turreted donjon at Poitiers based on the model of Vincennes and the Vieil Temple. Jean de Berry's spectacular but now largely destroyed residence at Melun-sur-Yevre has been subject of excavations that have recovered large quantities of decorative material, including tiles and fragments of sculpture.⁶⁷⁷ Louis of Anjou's own residences at Pierrefonds and La Ferté-Milon present rich sculptural fragments that develop religious themes encountered at Vincennes and homages to chivalry akin to the themes (if not the manifestations) encountered in the *galleries* and *gloriette* of Hesdin.

English castles and architectural patrons also present a space to test the wider applicability of the phenomena described in this dissertation. English kings and high nobility were like their French counterparts and relatives highly mobile and patronized a shifting suite of major residences. What plans and decorative themes, for instance, united or drew distinction between the royal palace at Westminster and palaces such as Windsor Castle, Pontefract, and other royal palaces central to his itinerary and building habits? Similarities between the two milieu and their approach to building, decorating, and dwelling in structures emerge from even a superficial glance at surviving structures. Certainly the taste for simultaneity characteristic of Valois buildings is encountered in the mélange of donjon, minor towers, and long suites of rooms of Edward III's Windsor castle. The royal forest of Woodstock, with its attendant residences at Oxford Castle and Woodstock Royal Palace, forms striking continuities with the royal and ducal parks at Vincennes and Hesdin

⁶⁷⁷ Philippe Bon, Thierre Lebas, *Mehun-sur-Yèvre : Ville et château* (Mehun-sur-Yèvre : Groupe historique et archéologique de la Région de Mehun-sur Yèvre : 1994).

and their attendant across-park complexes of Beauté and the *Maison Daedalus*. A sustained study of English documents to may reveal movements between these two complexes that mirrors the micro-itinerancy conducted at the continental parks.

The Valois tendency to scatter different visualizations of royal authority at different points upon the itinerancy network too seems to be at play in English royal castles and residences. A sustained study may also consider the subtle call-and-response between the famous suite of castles that Edward I built simultaneously across Wales. Edward I's Winchester Round Table presents claims to royal authority rooted in myth and popular literature similar to those of extra-metropolitan sites like Hesdin and Germolles. Nineteenth-century records and surviving fragments of the Painted Chamber of Westminster suggest a divergent visual argument for the shape and origin of royal power, one rooted in images of allegorical figures of Virtues and Vices, scenes from the Torah, the exemplum of England's own saint-king Edward the Confessor, and seraphim evoking the celestial court of Revelation. Like the Palais de la Cité, these symbols of divine authority stood next to a great hall that emphasized continuity with the past through fifteen sculptures of his ancestors.⁶⁷⁸ The blending of motif, cypher, and landscape at Germolles likewise finds English parallels in the form of the *chambre* painted with vines of bottle gourds under the auspices of John of Bedford's wife Jocquetta of Luxembourg. This last example, executed at the castle of Rouen on behalf of a Flemish princess married to an English prince, draws attention to points of contact between Valois and Plantagenet courts and their role in producing such marked continuities in approaches to residential space.

⁶⁷⁸ Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 315.

The enmeshment wider classes of nobility in nomadic lifestyles and their built environments is another potentially fruitful area of research. Many of the noble functionaries in the courts of Charles V, Philip the Bold, Margaret of Flanders, and their royal siblings directed architectural programs in their own right while participating in the nomadic cycles of their more highly-placed patrons. Their residences formed rings around the Louvre, Vincennes, and Hesdin, ones that stood at crossroads between their own itinerancy networks and those of their patrons. The surviving tower of the Hotel d'Artois plays upon the floral and vegetable motifs encountered at Germolles, mediating between the itinerancy cycle of Jean sans Peur and those of the kings at the geographic points of convergence. Noble attaches to the courts of Burgundy participated in some of the phenomena characteristic of the Princes of the Blood such as the replication of Parisian architectural models in the hinterland. The Chateau de Fressin, erected by the Burgundian courtier Jean V de Créquy, uses the Bastille as its plan. Guy de la Trémoille, a court functionary and *valet de chambre* of Philip le Hardi, rebuilt the famous château of Sully-sur-Loire in a grand style.

Images
Introduction



Image 1. David Wilkie, *Tioram Castle*, Wikimedia Commons Accessed 3/31/2020
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tioram_Castle1_\(Dave_Wilkie\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tioram_Castle1_(Dave_Wilkie).jpg).

Chapter 1
Images

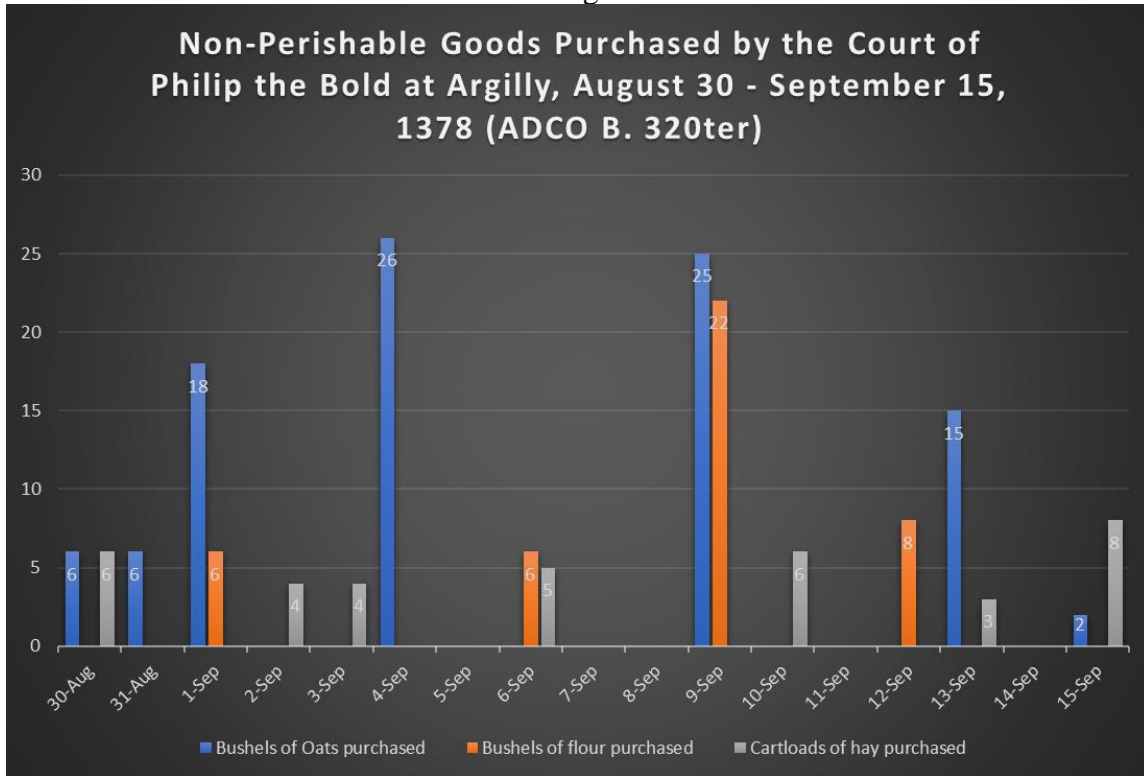


Image 1.) Non-Perishable Goods Purchased by the Court of Philip the Bold at Argilly

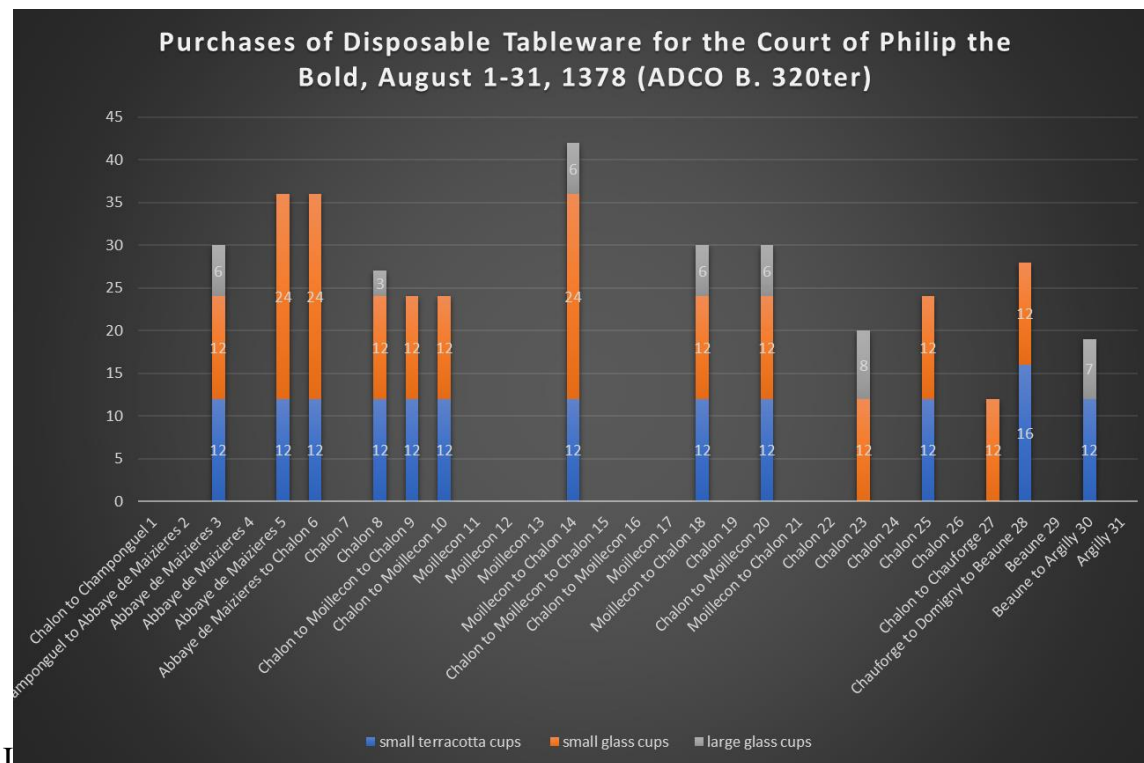


Image 2.) Purchases of Disposable Tableware for the Court of Philip the Bold

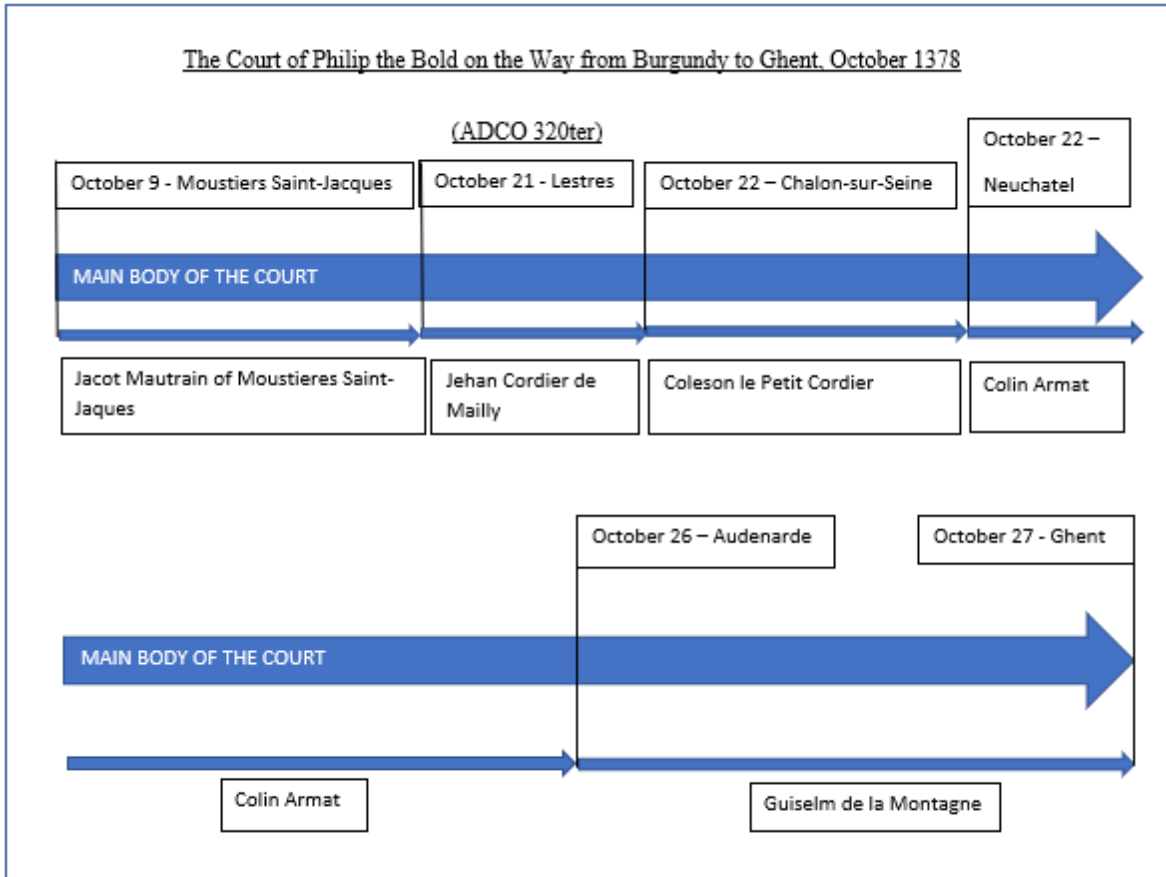


Image 3.) Flow Chart of the Cart Renting or Relay System for the Ducal Baggage Train

Image 3.) Flow Chart of the Cart Renting or Relay System for the Ducal Baggage Train

Bread Expenses in 1378			
Days at Argilly	Paneterie Cost	Days on the Burgundy to Ghent Road	Paneterie Cost
30-Aug	7s 1d	19-Oct	40s 9d
31-Aug	2 s 11d	20-Oct	50s 7d
1-Sep	6L 4s 7d	21-Oct	27s 7d
2-Sep	LACUNA	22-Oct	26s 8d
3-Sep	8s 9d	23-Oct	41s 3d
4-Sep	10s 11d	24-Oct	64s 3d
5-Sep	2s 11d	25-Oct	23s 9d
6-Sep	8L 14s 11d	26-Oct	47s 9d
7-Sep	8s 4d	27-Oct	64s 9d
8-Sep	5s 5d	28-Oct	76s
9-Sep	22L 16s 3d	29-Oct	None
10-Sep	6s 7d		
11-Sep	5s 5d		
12-Sep	8L 16s 3d		
13-Sep	2s 6d		
14-Sep	6s 3d		
15-Sep	6s 4d		
AVERAGE	3L 2s 9d		42s 7d = 2L 2s 7d

Image 4.) Comparison of Expenses on Bread when Travelling and in a Residence

(ADCO 320ter.)



Image 5.) Niccola Zabaglia, *Raising a pharaonic obelisk in the courtyard of Saint Peter's Basilica*, 1586, Wikimedia Commons, accessed on February 1, 2020

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_obelisks_in_Rome#/media/File:1586_Rome_obelisk_erecton.jpg



Image 6.) *Marble Column from the Temple of Artemis at Sardis, Hellenistic period ca. 300 B.C.*
 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accessed January 20, 2020,
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/252453>

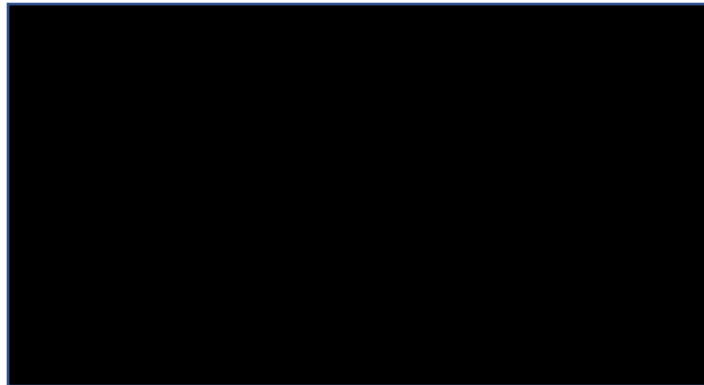


Image 7.) *Fifteenth-Century Chest of Lady Margaret Beaufort*, in Maria Hayward, “William Green, Coffer-Maker To Henry VIII, Edward VI And Mary I,” *Furniture History* 36 (2000), 5,
 Figure 1.

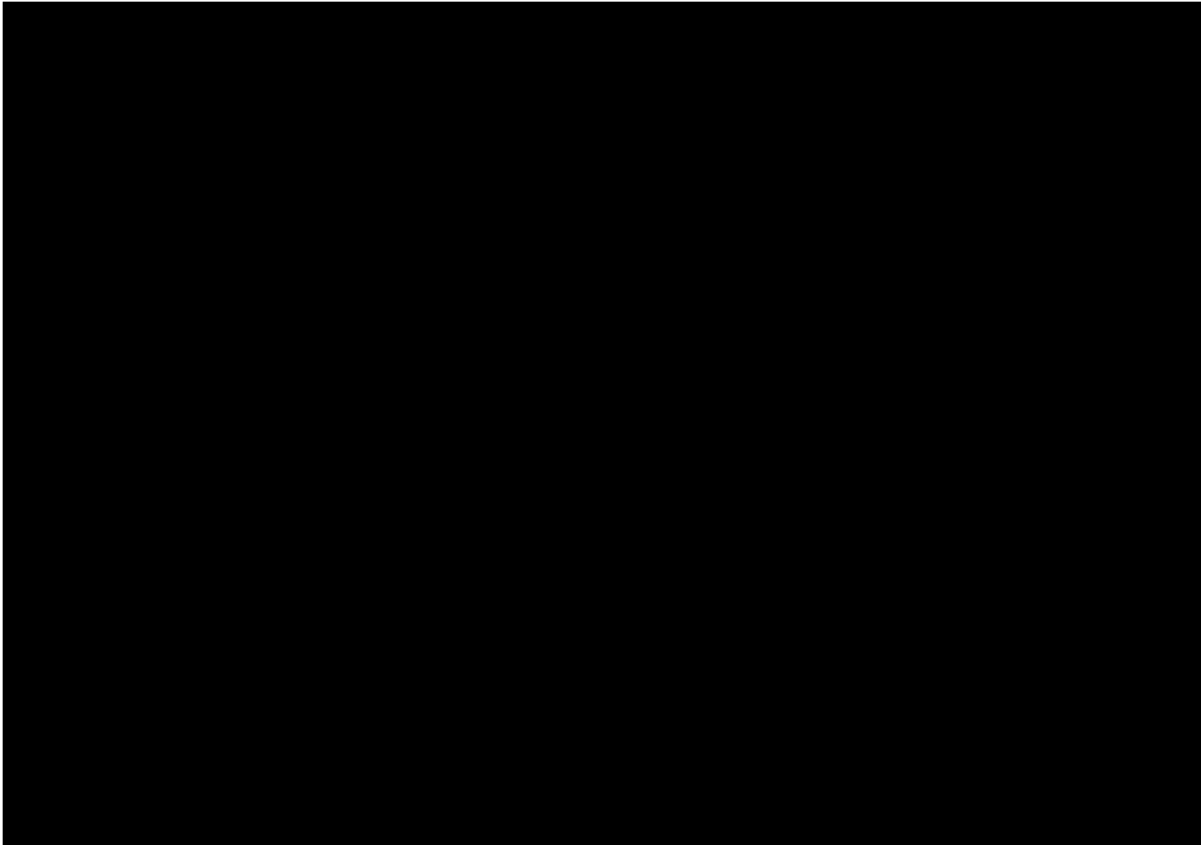


Image 8.) *The “Luck of Edenhall,”* Victoria and Albert Museum, London, accessed February 1, 2020, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O3311/the-luck-of-edenhall-beaker-and-case-unknown/>

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Image 9.) Detail, *A Mon Seul Désir* from *La Dame à la Licorne*, Early 16th century, Musée national du Moyen Âge, Paris, accessed February 2, 2020 <https://www.musee-moyenage.fr/collection/oeuvre/la-dame-a-la-licorne.html>. Image Courtesy of the Musée national du Moyen Âge, Paris



Image 10.) *Chest*, Alsace-Lorraine, ca. 1300-1400, Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, accessed January 2, 2020. <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/109531/chest>

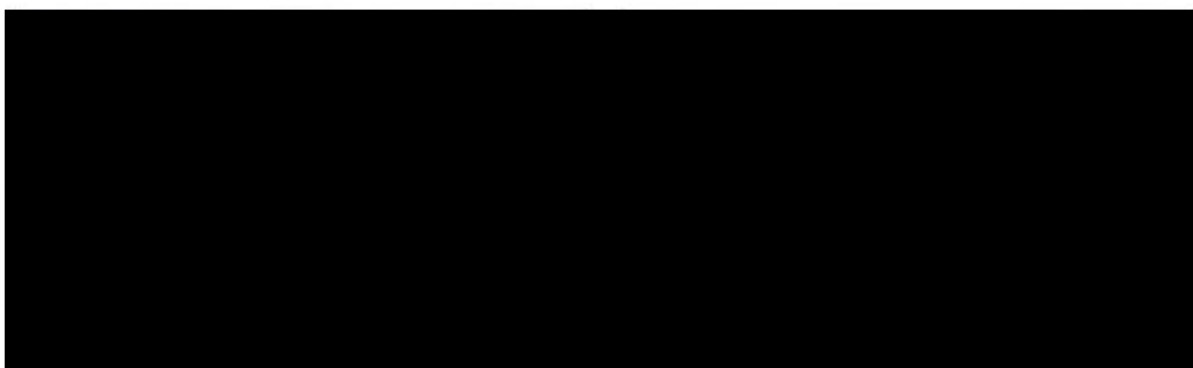


Image 11.) R. Gilles, *Terracotta Cups Recovered from Poilvache, Seigburg Type*. Published in, Sophie Challe, « Les Objets : Céramique, métal, pierre, » in *Quoi de Neuf à Poilvache ? Quoi a Neuf a Poilvache ? Une Forteresse Médiévale en Vallée Mosane, Catalogue d'Exposition* (Dinant : Maison du patrimoine médiéval mosan, 2018), 160. © SPW-AWaP

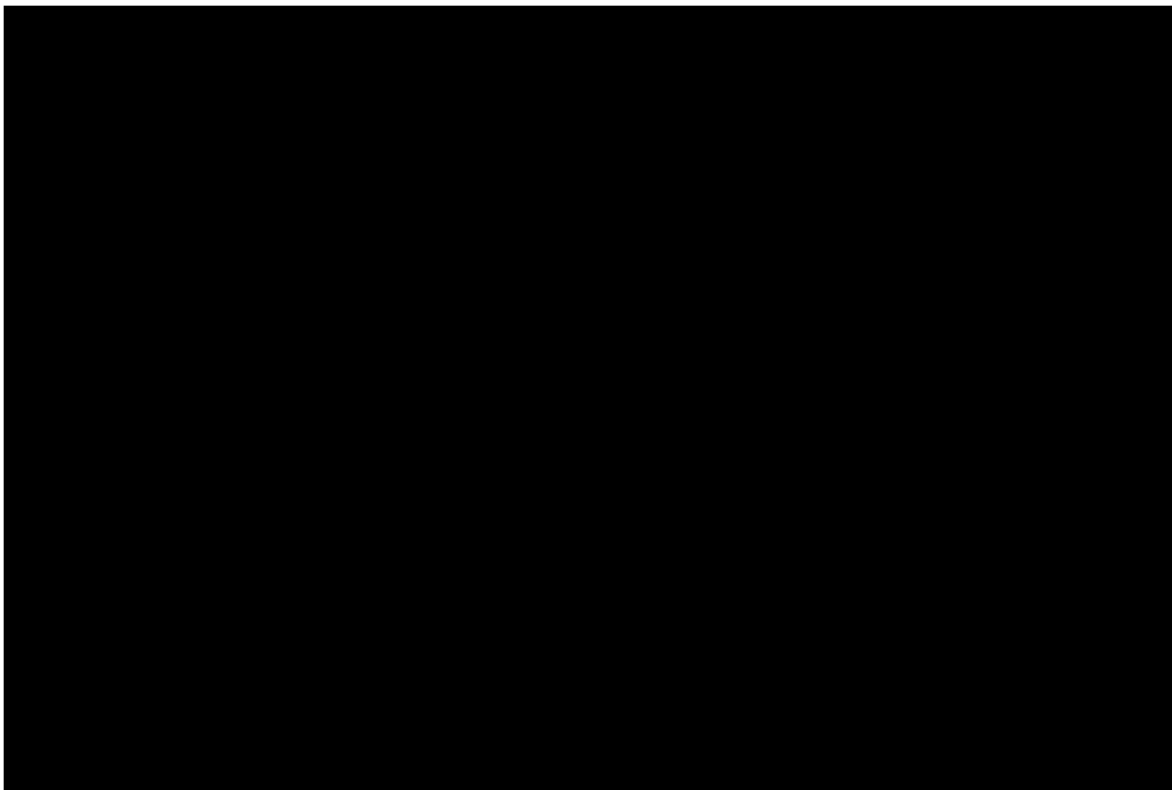


Image 12.) *Ensemble of 14th century Glass discovered at the Château de La Madeleine à Chevreuse*. Service Archéologique Départemental des Yvelines, accessed February 3, 2020. <http://archeologie.yvelines.fr/spip.php?article173>.



Image 13.) *Hanap dit "Verre de Charlemagne", Provenant du trésor de l'église de Châteaudun, 13th-14th century*, musée des Beaux-Arts de Chartres, Inv. 5144 © musée des Beaux-Arts de Chartres. <https://www.dailyartmagazine.com/musee-cluny-glass-exhibition/>



Image 14) *Glass Goblet with Incised Designs*, 8th–9th century, probably Iraq or Syria, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accessed February 3, 2020, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/451807>



15.) *Starbucks Cup*

(formerly author's collection; accessioned 3/15/2020; deaccessioned 3/15/2020)



Image 16.) *Christine de Pizan presents her manuscript to the Queen of France, The Queen's Manuscript*, c. 1410–1414, British Library Harley MS 4431 folio 3r, accessed May 5, 2020, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_4431_f001rey © British Library.

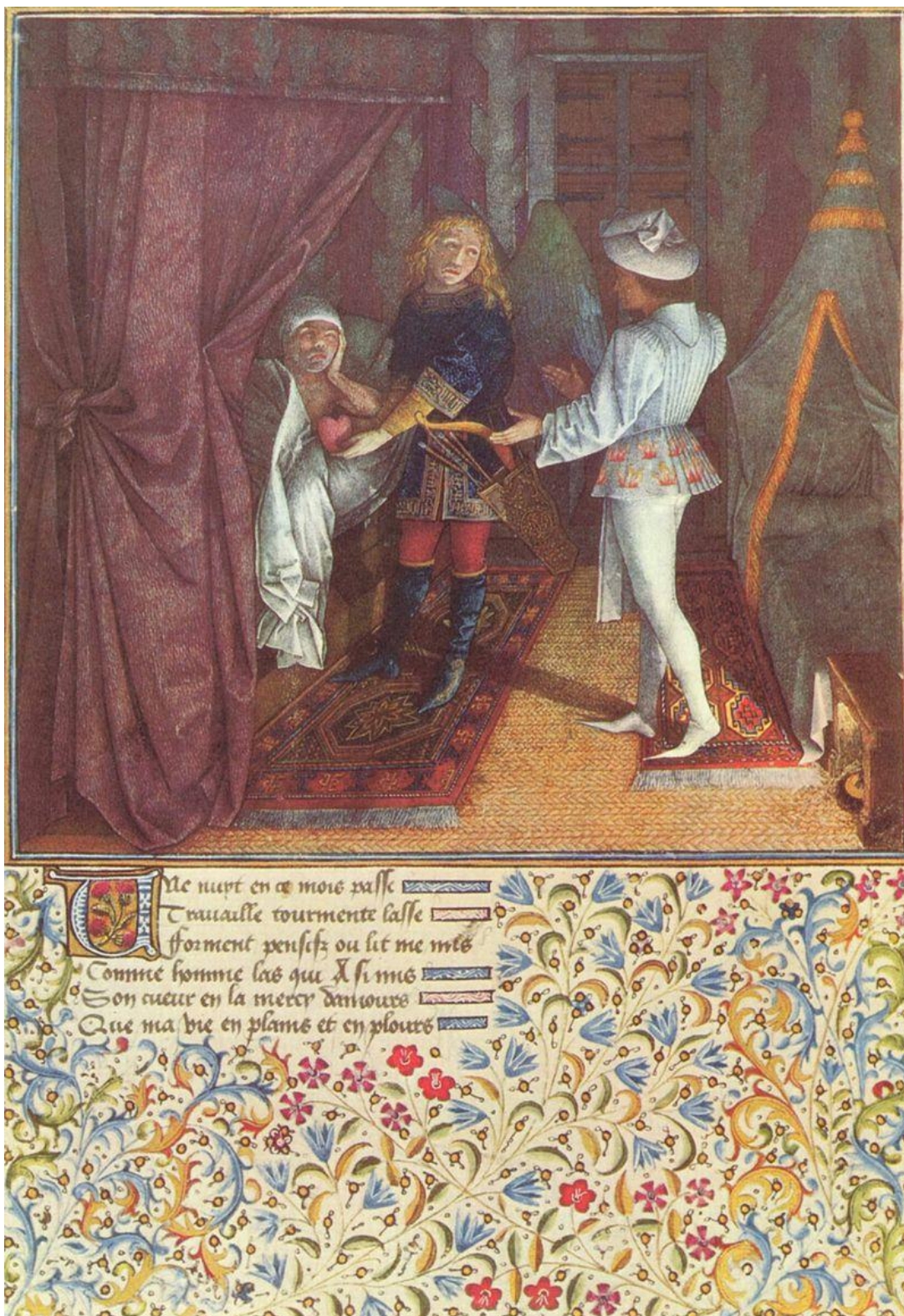


Image 17.) *Livre du cuer d'amour esprit* Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 2597 f. 2r,
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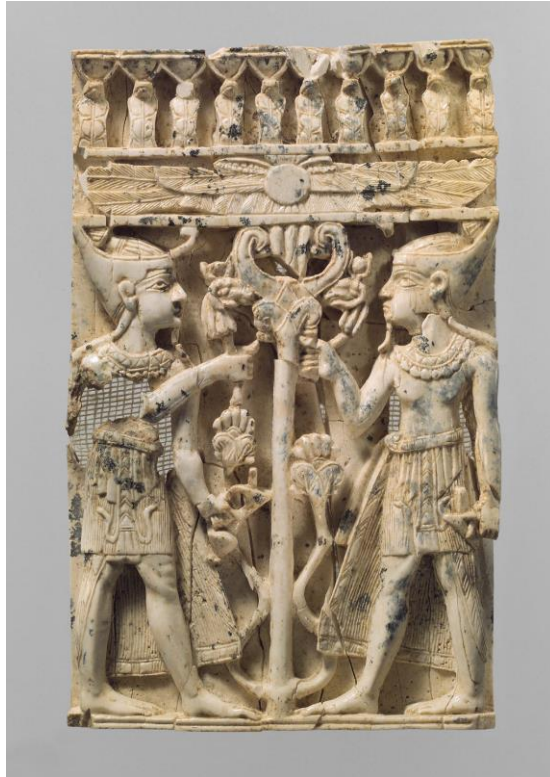


Image 18.) *Ivory Furniture plaque carved in high relief with two Egyptianizing figures flanking a volute tree*, Neo-Assyrian, ca. 9th–8th century B.C.E. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accessed March 10, 2020, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/325564>



Image 19.) *Furniture Attachments Depicting Busts of Silenoi*, Ancient Roman, 50 BC–50 CE., Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, accessed March 10, 2020 <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/147877/attachments-depicting-busts-of-silenoi>



Image 20) *Couch and footstool with bone carvings and glass inlays*, 1st–2nd century A.D,
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accessed March 10, 2020
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/249232>.



Image 21.) *Couch and footstool with bone carvings and glass inlays*, 1st–2nd century A.D,
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accessed March 10, 2020
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/249232>.



Image 22.) *Precious Furniture Mounts*, Capitoline Museum, Romapedia Blog, accessed March 15, 2020, <https://romapedia.blogspot.com/2014/05/capitoline-museums-gallery-of-gardens.html?fbclid=IwAR1teHuFbp-JhmtTOSKHek5XTHdocNSCaaTsUcLME1ITSAfrU7JZdEGarCE>. Photo Courtesy of David Macchi.



Image 23. *Two hip-point folding chairs (sillón de cadera or jamuga)*, Hispano-Moresque, possibly Granada. late 15th century. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accessed March 15, 2020, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/199649>, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/461331>.



Image 24.) *Faltstuhl der Äbtissin des Klosters Nonnberg*, Museum für Angewandte Kunst, ivory elements, end of the 12th century, frame and leather seat ca. 1430. Austria-Forum accessed March 15, 2020 https://austria-forum.org/af/Bilder_und_Videos/Historische_Bilder_IMAGNO/Nonnberg/00476892,
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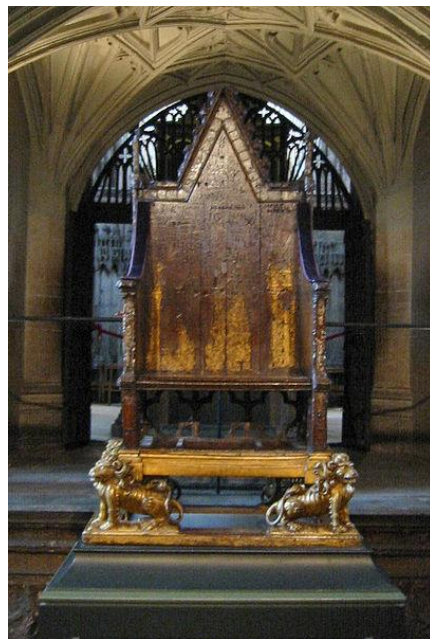


Image 25.) *The Coronation Chair, Westminster Abbey*. Courtesy of Kjetil Bjørnsrud, Wikimedia Commons accessed March 15, 2020, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:SanktEdwardsstol_westminster.jpg.



Image 26.) *Bench*. South Netherlandish, 15th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accessed March 15, 2020 <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/471240>



Image 27.) *Cupboard*, French ca. 1460. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accessed March 15, 2020 <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/465967>



Image 28.) *Sideboard or Credence*, France, 15th-16th Century. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/463033?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&when=A.D.+1400-1600&ft=07.40&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1>.

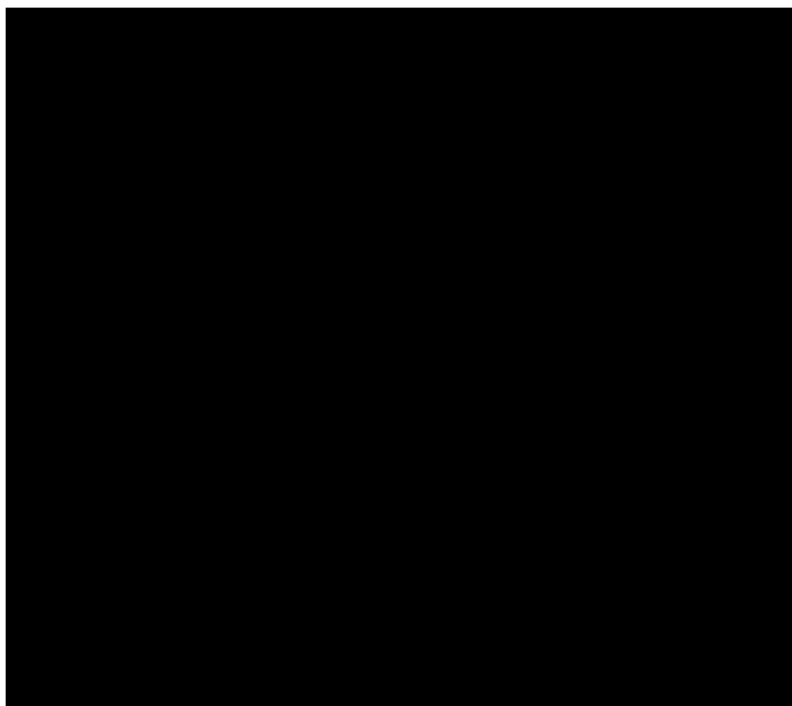


Image 29.) Hand G, *Birth of John the Baptist and the Baptism of Christ*, *Les Très Belles Heures de Notre Dame de Jean de Berry* Hand G, Turin Civic Museum Inv 47. Folio 93v. Wikimedia Commons Accessed March 15, 2020 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:14th-century_painters_-_Les_Tr%C3%AAs_Belles_Heures_de_Notre_Dame_de_Jean_de_Berry_-_WGA16014.jpg

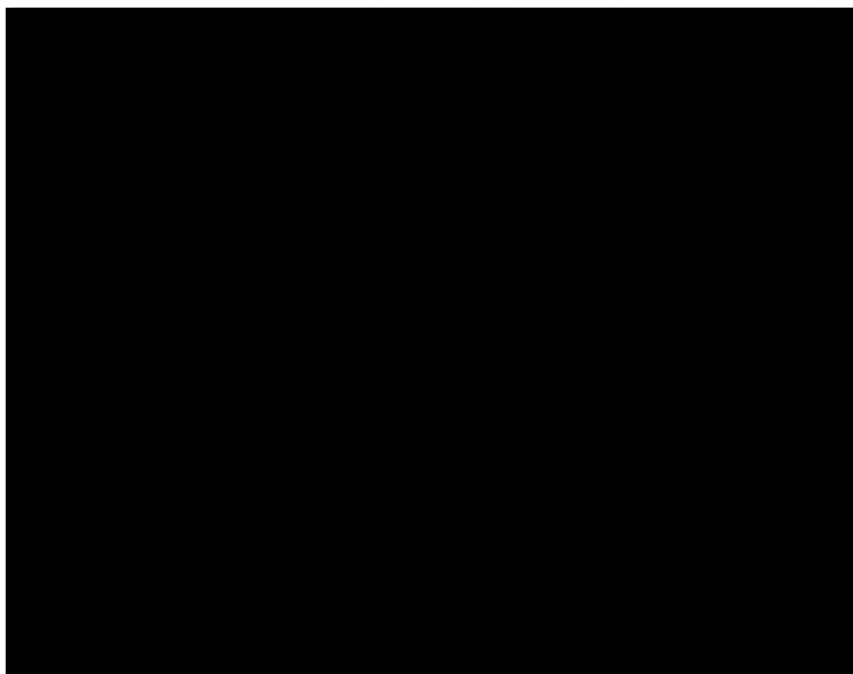
Images
Chapter 2



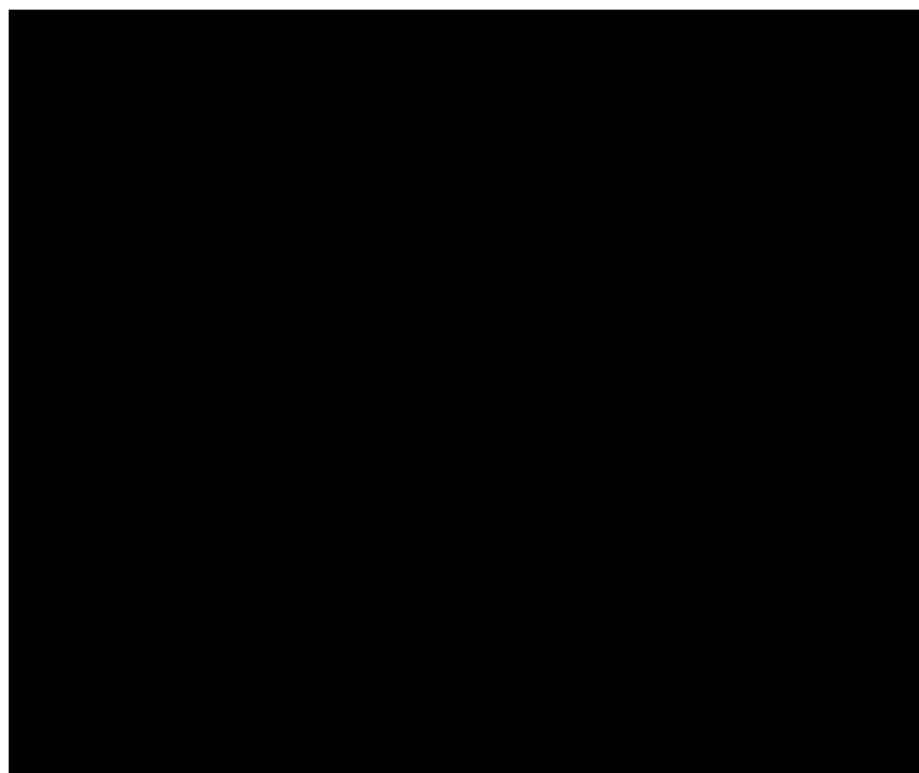
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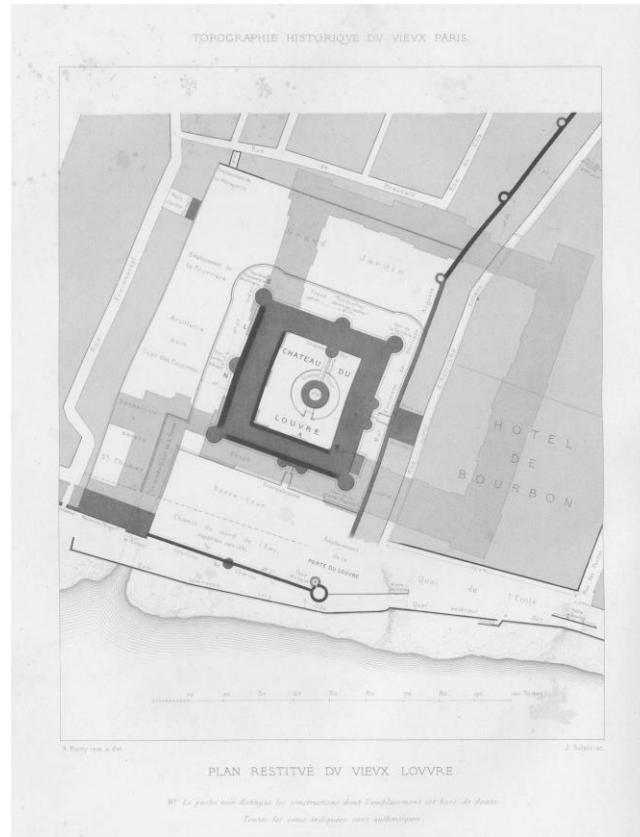
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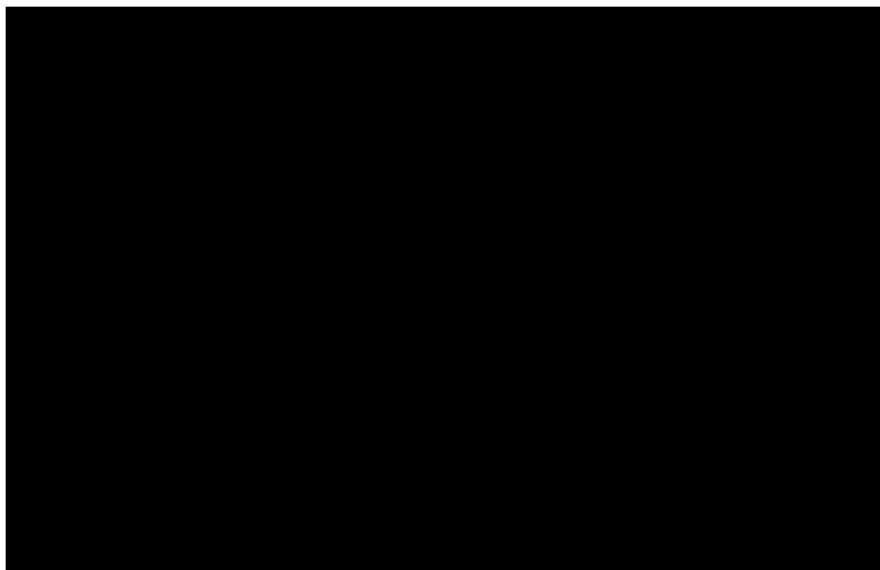
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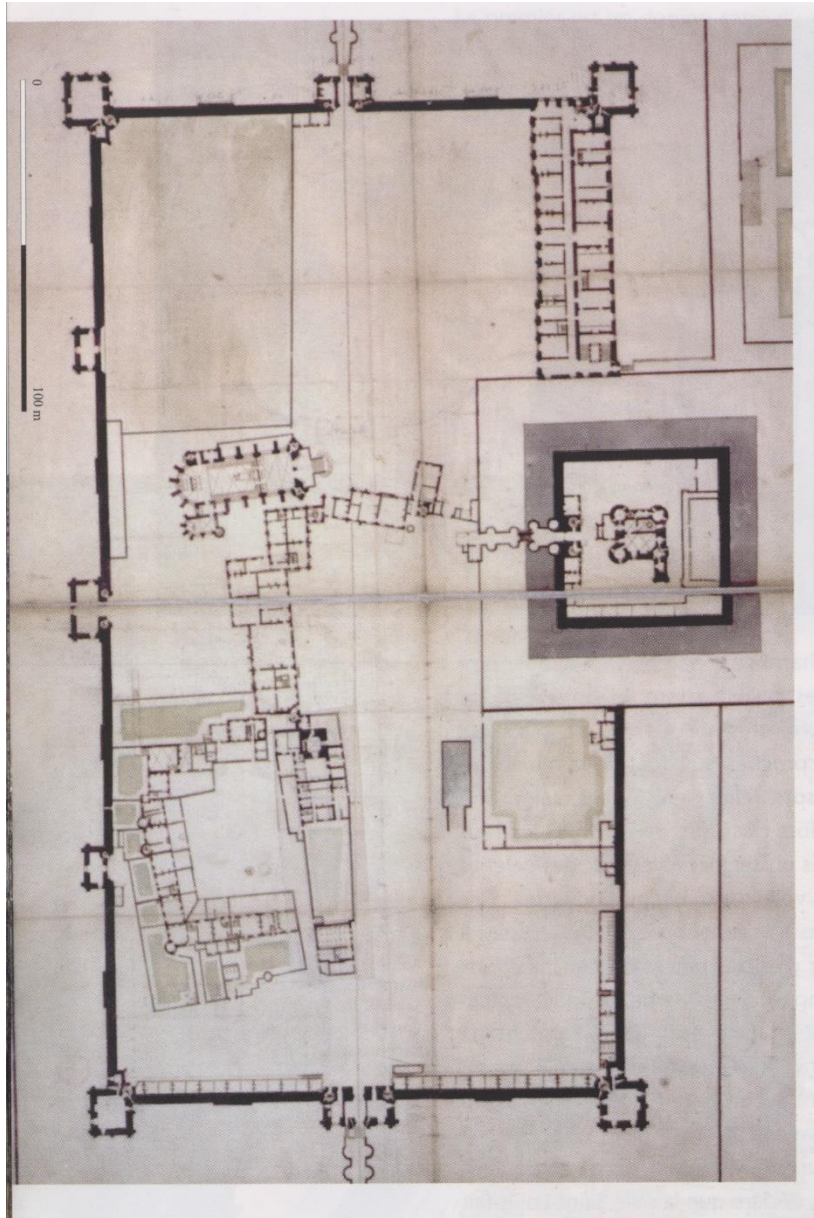
- 4.) Jacques Bertrand-Benedicte Rieth, *Vincennes and nearby aristocratic residences*, in Jean-Pascal Foucher, *Le Bois de Vincennes et les Résidences Royales et Aristocratiques de Périphérie*, » in *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 289 (2004), 125.



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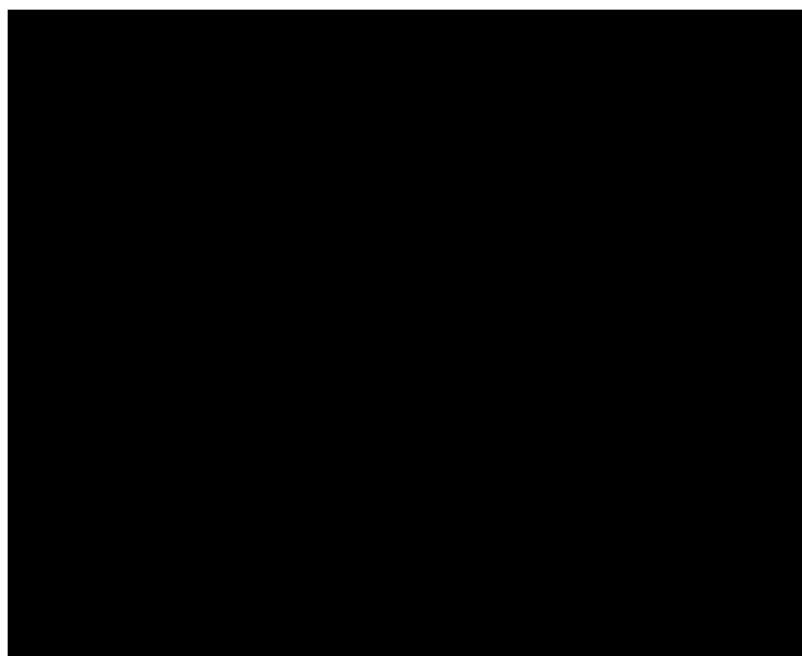
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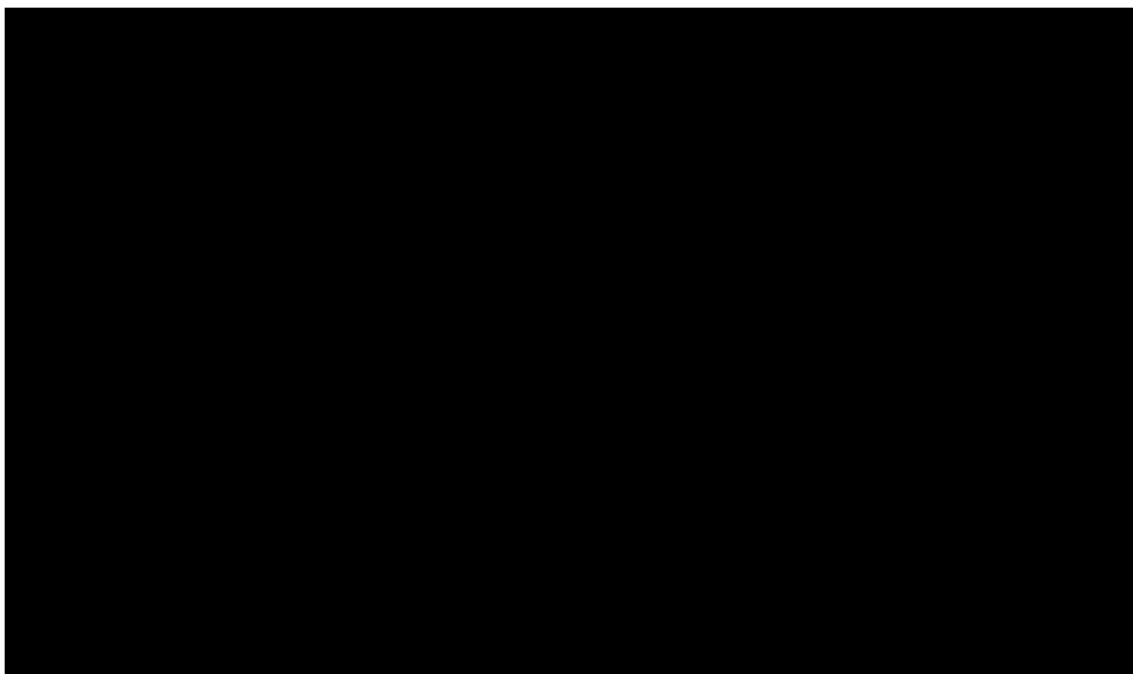
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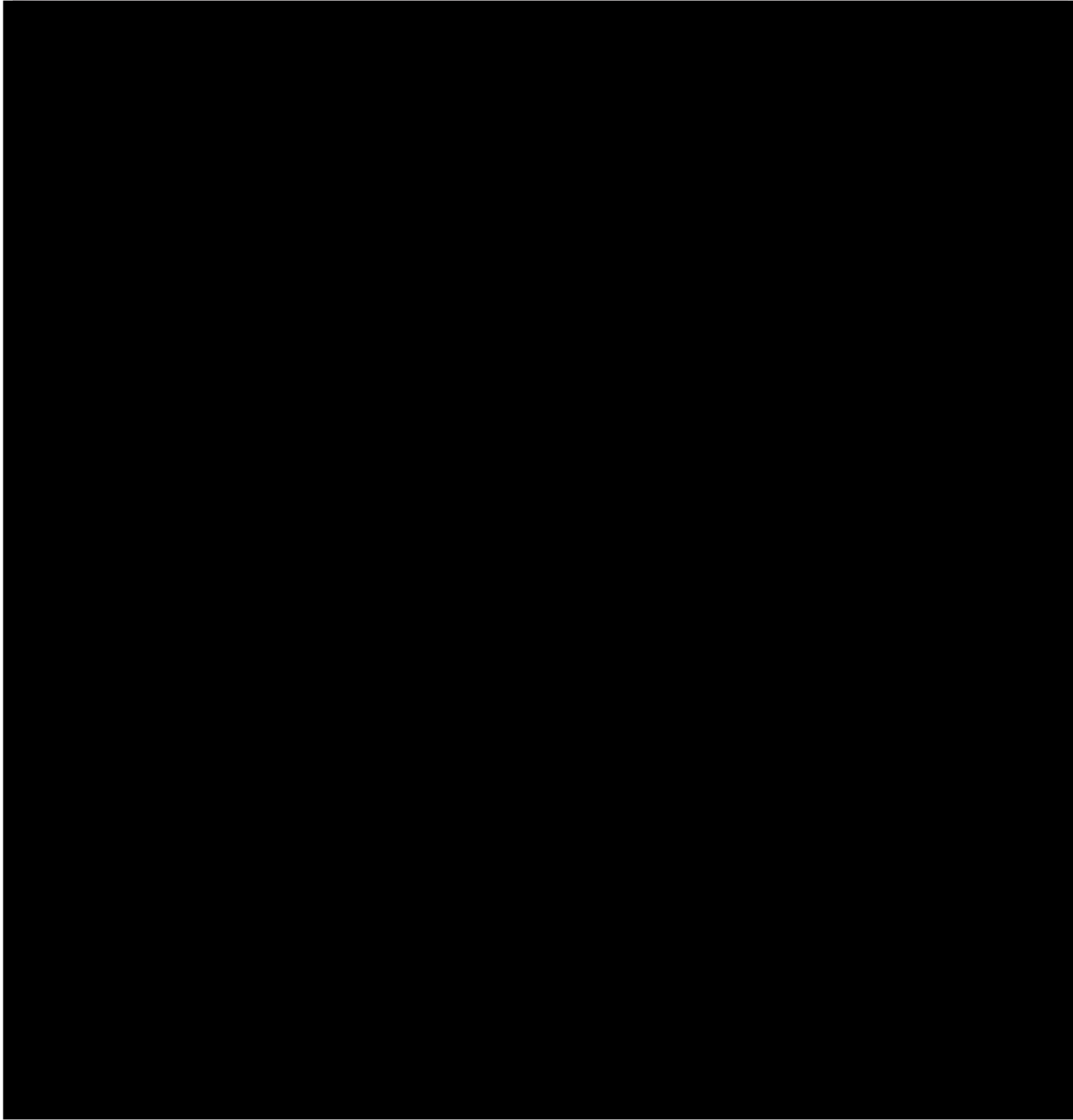
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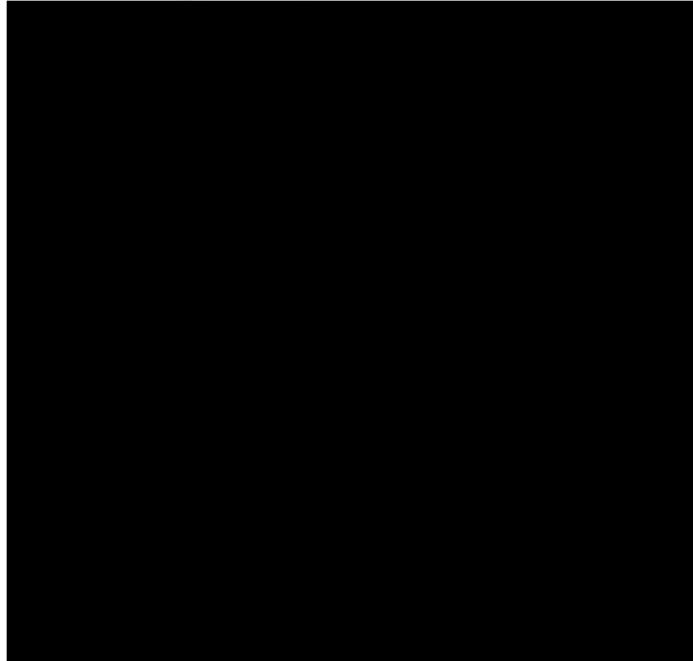


9.) *In Situ* tile floor recovered from the *Tour de la Taille*, the Louvre, in Michel Fleury and Venceslaus Kruta, *The Medieval Castle of the Louvre* (Paris: Group Guild Editions Atlas s.a., 1989), 50.



- 10.) *Tiles recovered from the fill in the courtyard of the Louvre*, published in Michel Fleury and Venceslaus Kruta, *The Medieval Castle of the Louvre* (Paris: Group Guild Editions Atlas s.a., 1989), 51.

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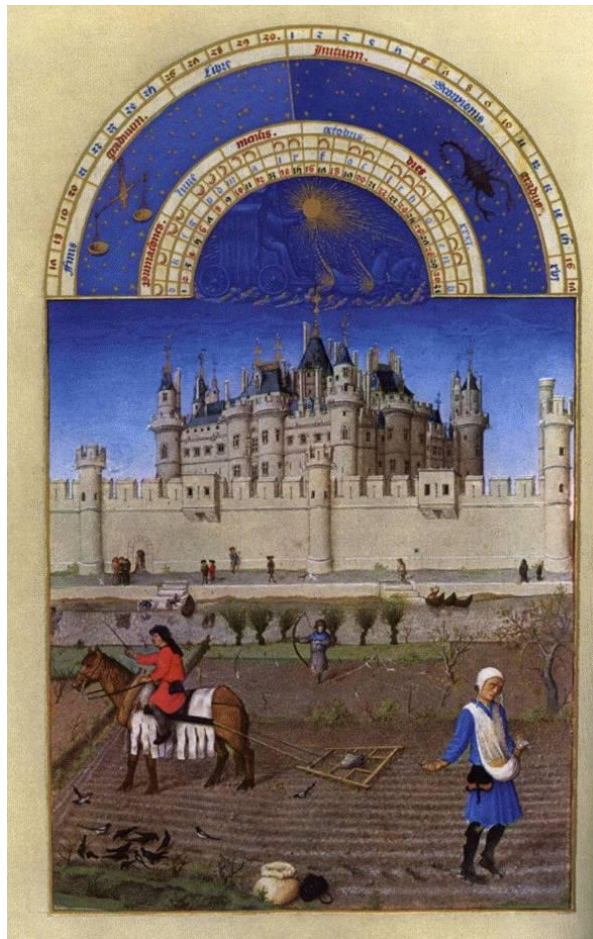
- 12.) *Plan of the Second Story of the Donjon of Vincennes*, Offices de Tourisme Vincennes accessed September 20, 2019, <http://www.vincennes-tourisme.fr/Decouvrir/Château-de-Vincennes/Patrimoine/L-architecture-du-Donjon>.



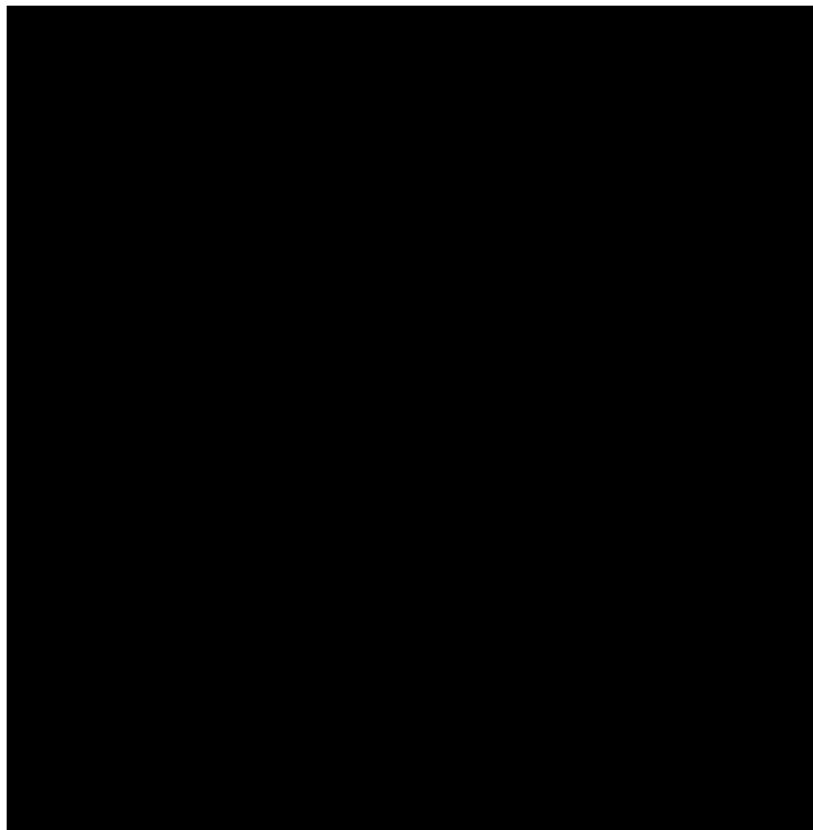
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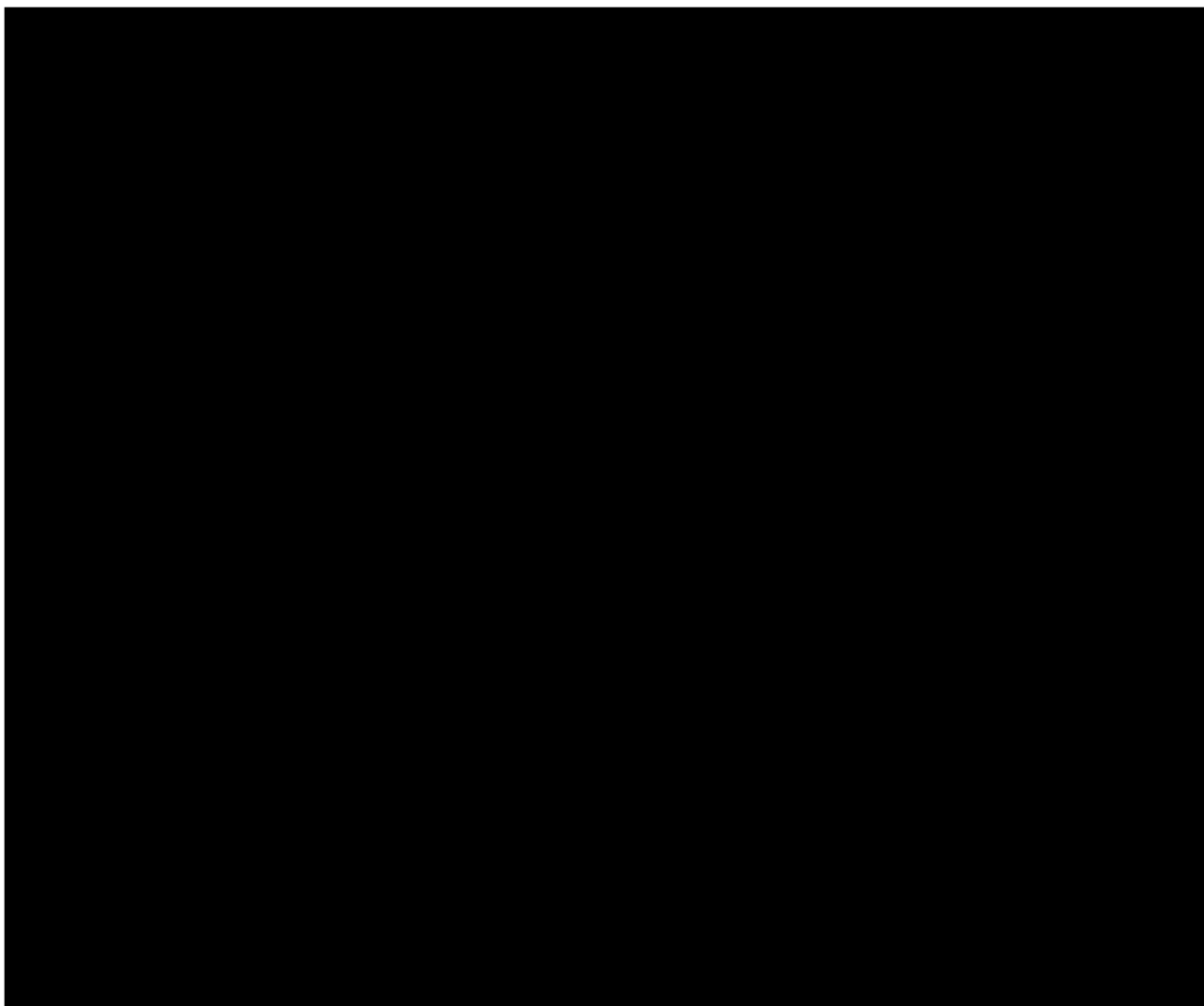
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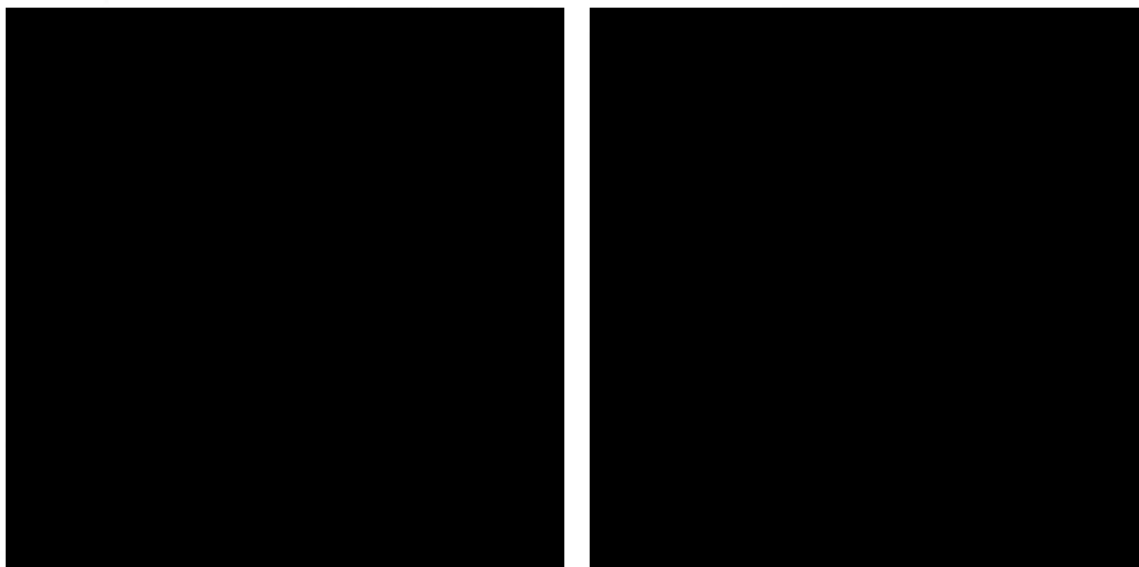
15.) *October*, from the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, Musée Condé, MS. 65 f. 10v. Wikimedia Commons accessed March 20, 2020. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Les_Tr%C3%AAs_Riches_Heures_du_duc_de_Berry_octobre.jpg.



- 16.) *The New Louvre Ground Floor*, Alain Salamagne, « Le Louvre de Charles V, » in *Le Palais et son Décor au temps de Jean de Berry*, ed. Alain Salamagne (Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, 2010), 89, fig 10.



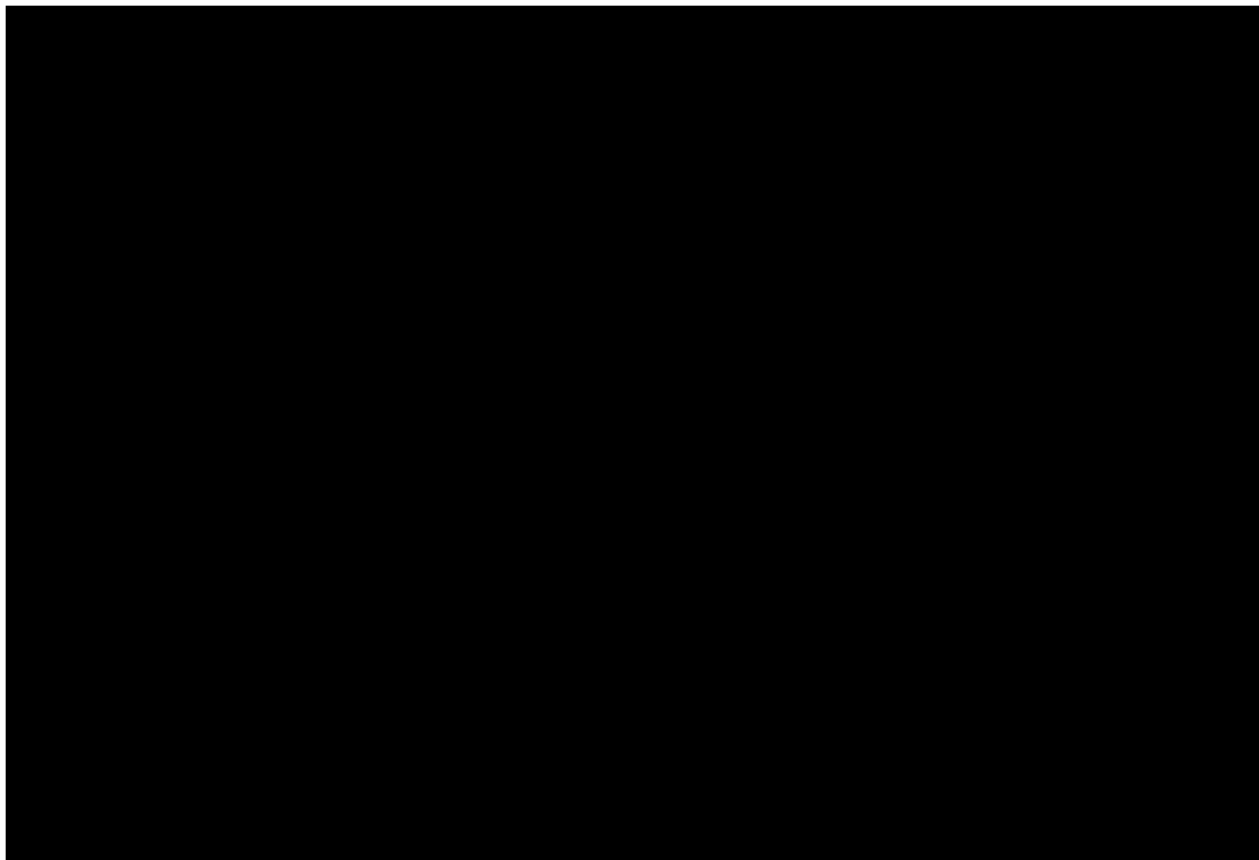
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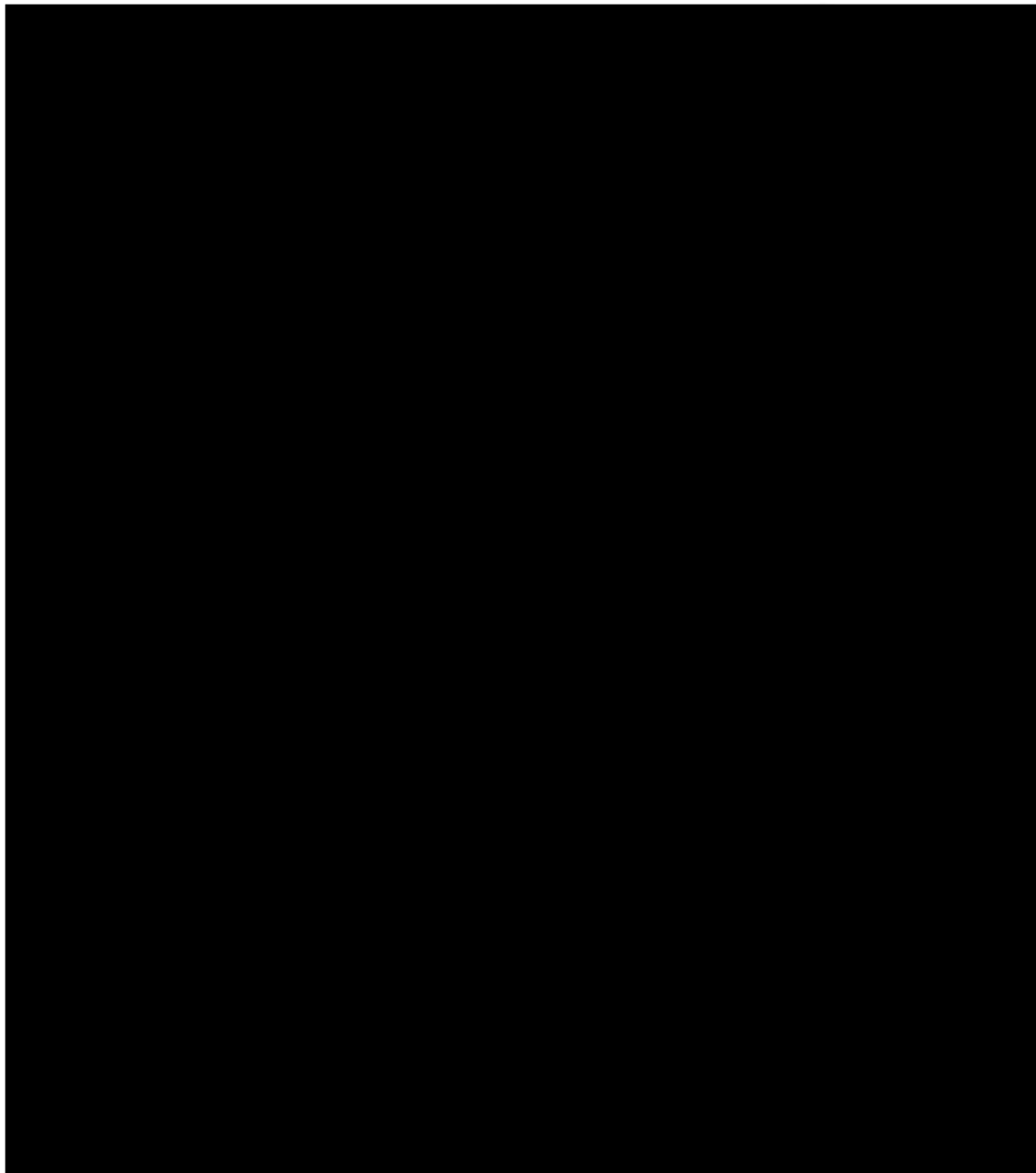
- 18.) *The New Louvre*, Left: *Second Floor* Right : *Third Floor*, in Alain Salamagne, « Le Louvre de Charles V, » in *Le Palais et son Décor au temps de Jean de Berry*, ed. Alain Salamagne (Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, 2010), 89, fig. 11; 90, fig. 12.



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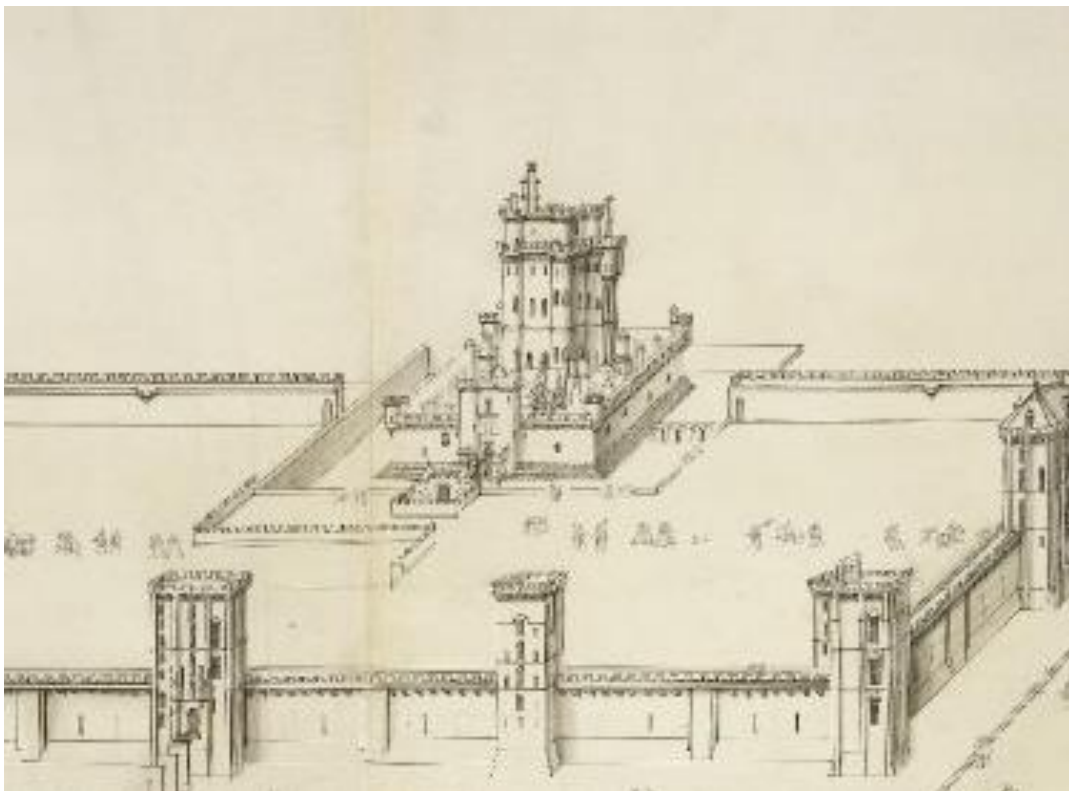
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- 22.) *Entry to the Donjon of Vincennes.* Wikimedia Commons accessed September 20, 2019, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Donjon_du_Ch%C3%A2teau_de_Vincennes?uselang=fr#/media/File:Donjon_du_ch%C3%A2teau_de_Vincennes,_vu_de_sous_le_pont_du_ch%C3%A2teau_de_Vincennes.jpg.

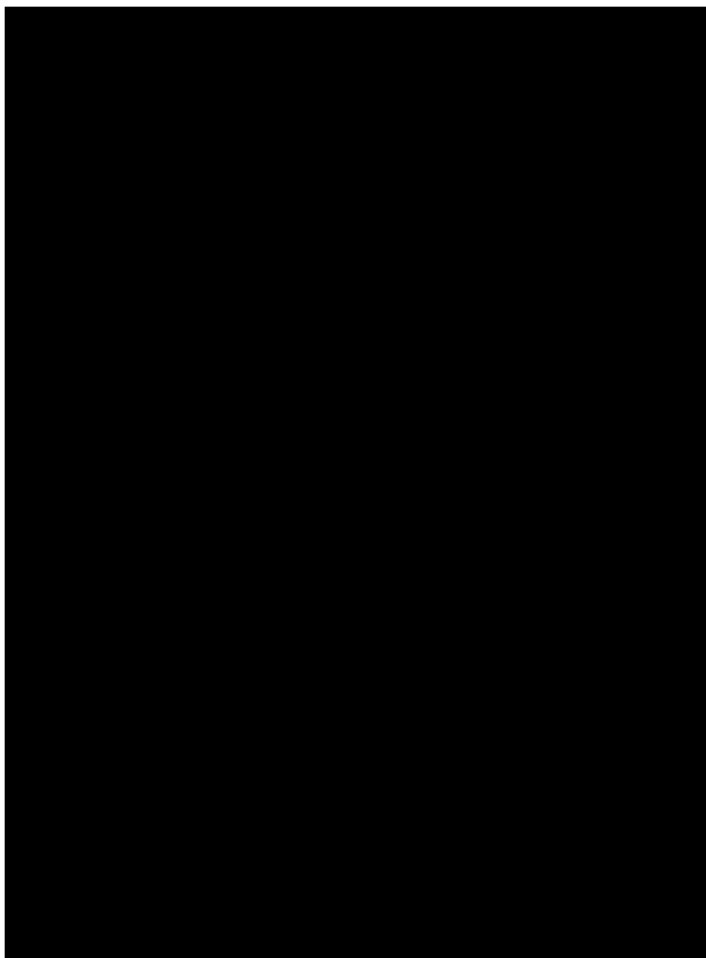


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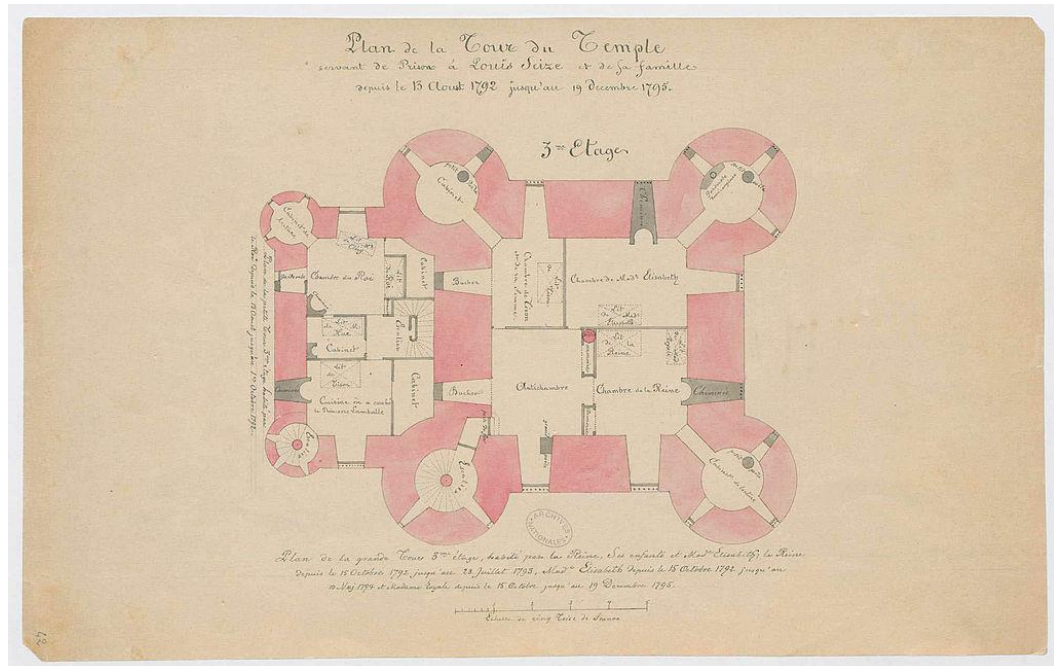
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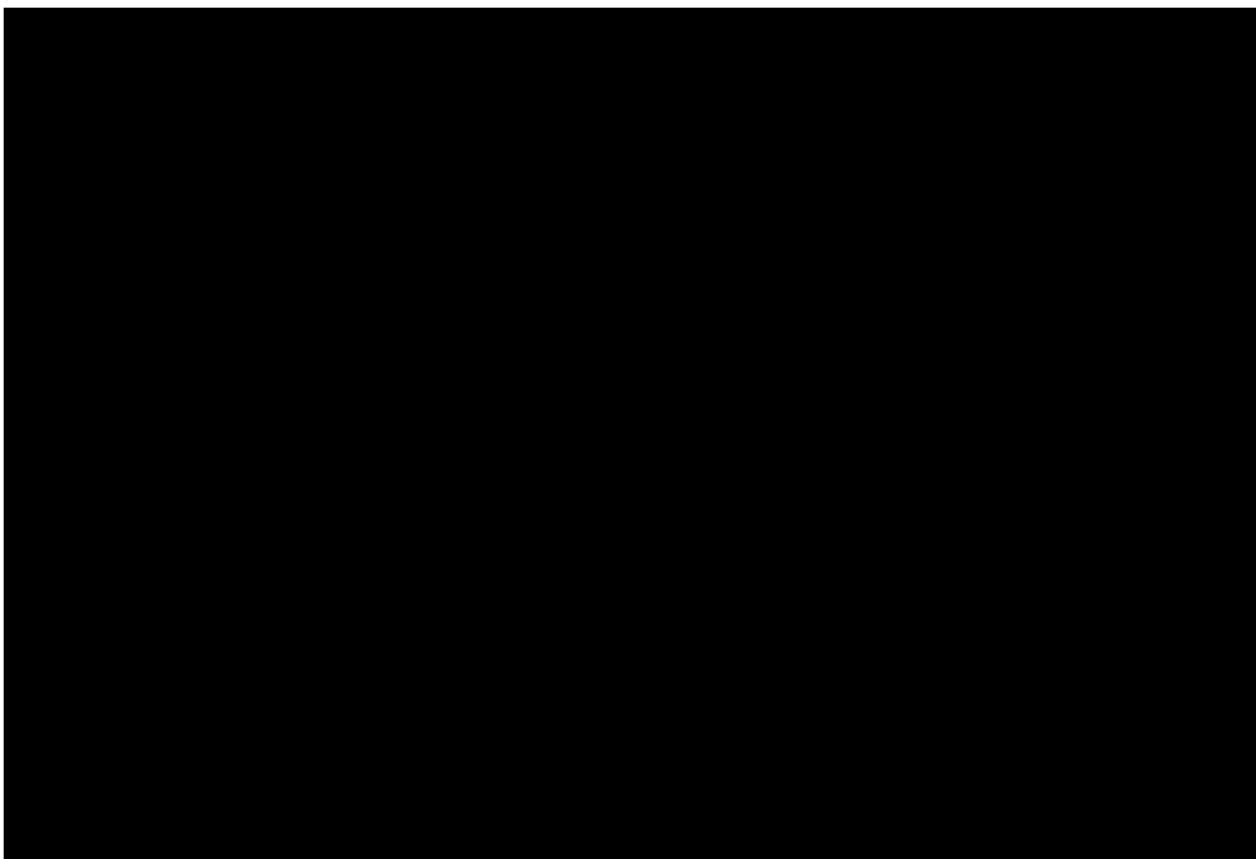
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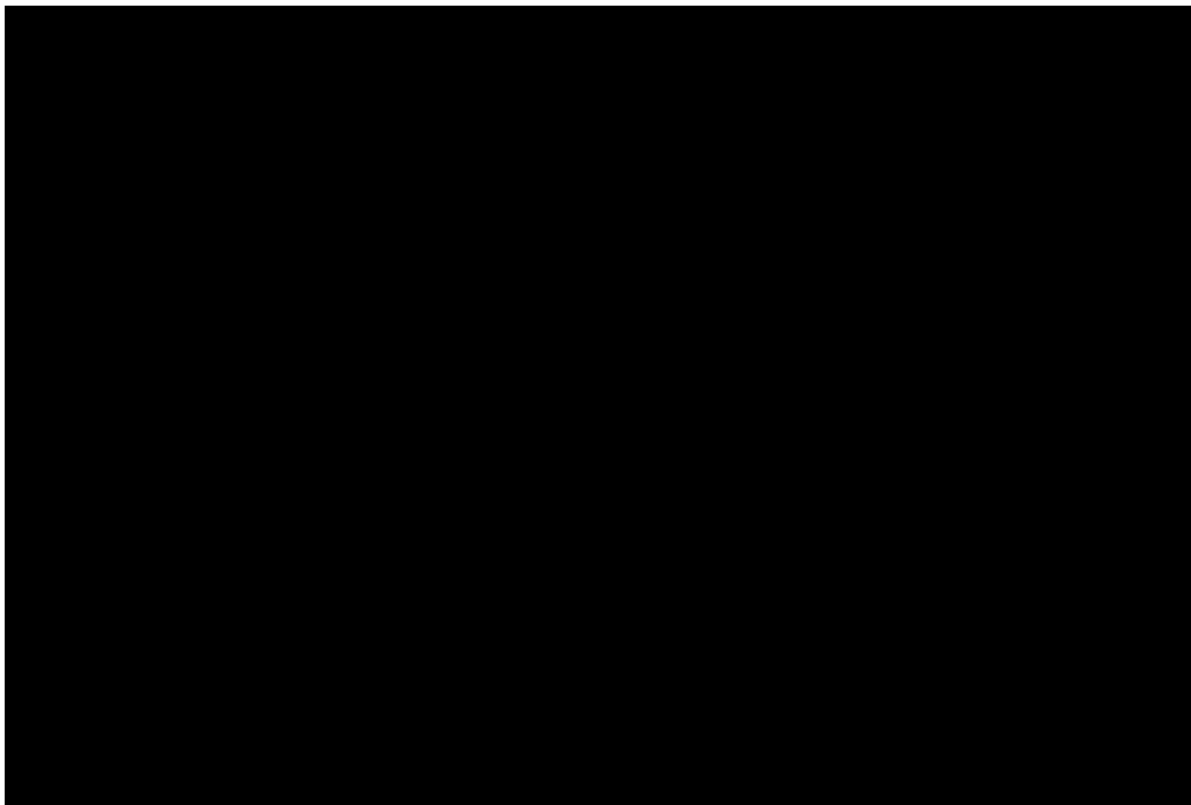
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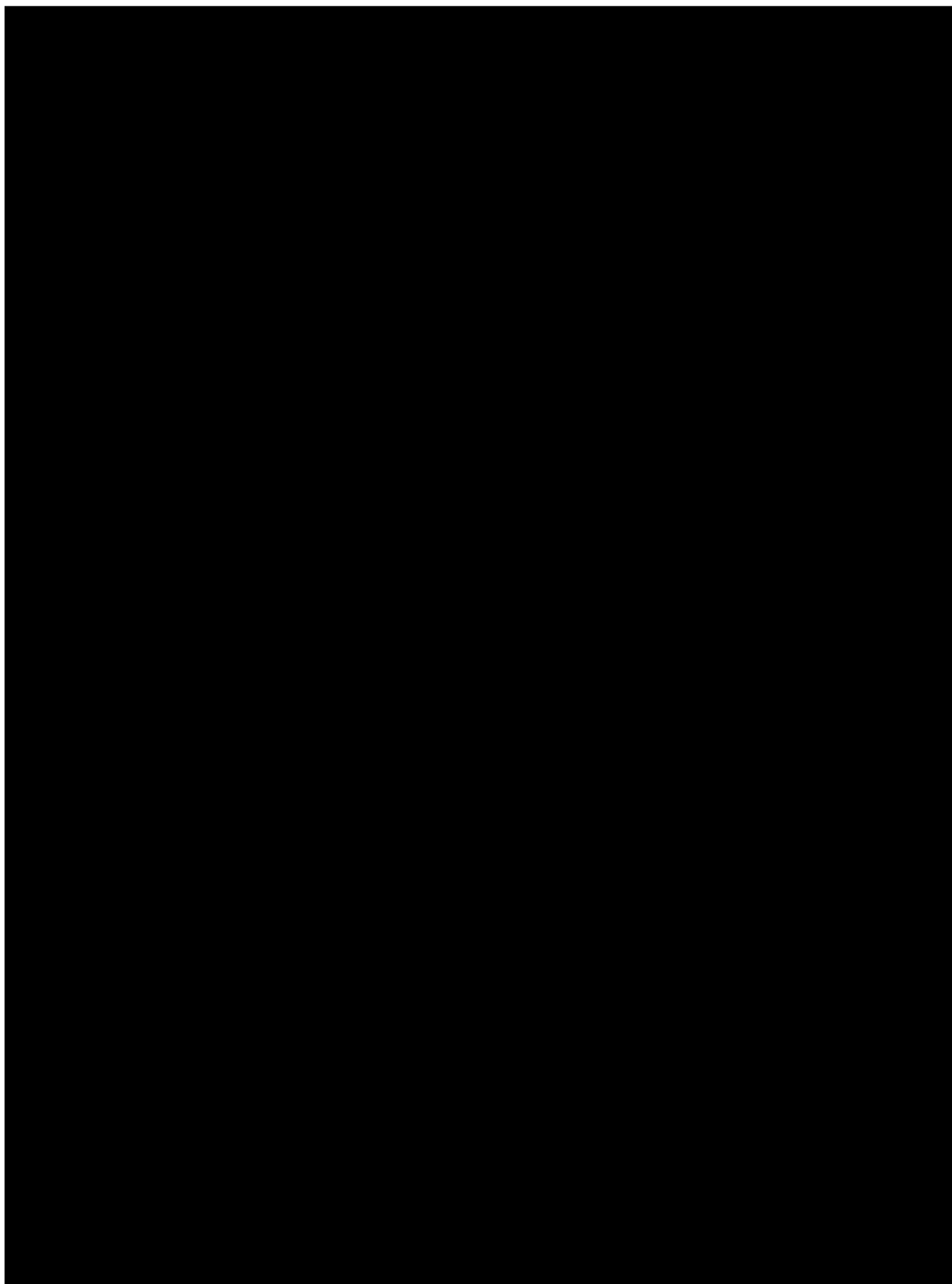
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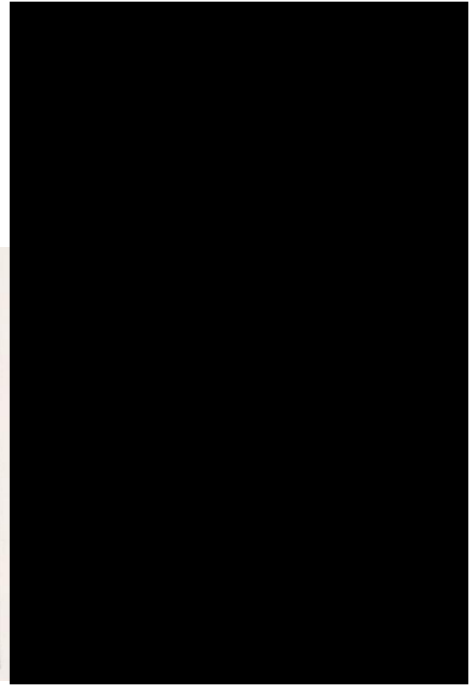
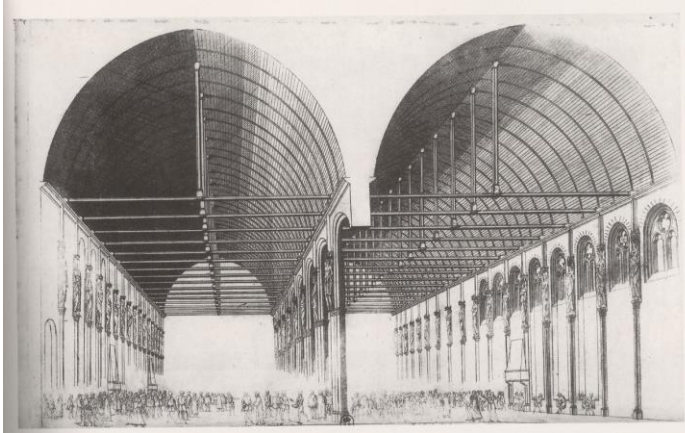
- 32.) *Polychromy in the Donjon of Vincennes*, Image credit: Mathilde, Voyager en Photos accessed on September 20, 2019, <https://voyagerenphotos.com/2014/10/visite-du-Chateau-de-vincennes/>.



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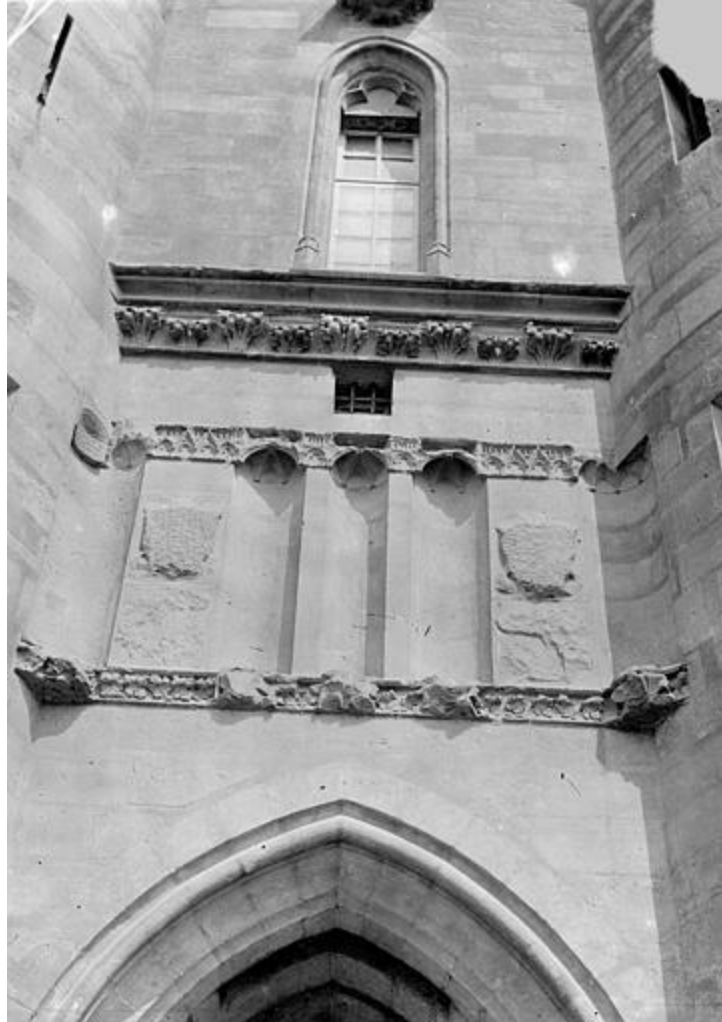


- 34.) *Wooden ceiling in the central salle of the first story, Vincennes*, published in Jean Chapelot and Didier Pousset, "Les Lambris du Donjon," in *Dossiers d'Archeologie* 289 (2004), 86.



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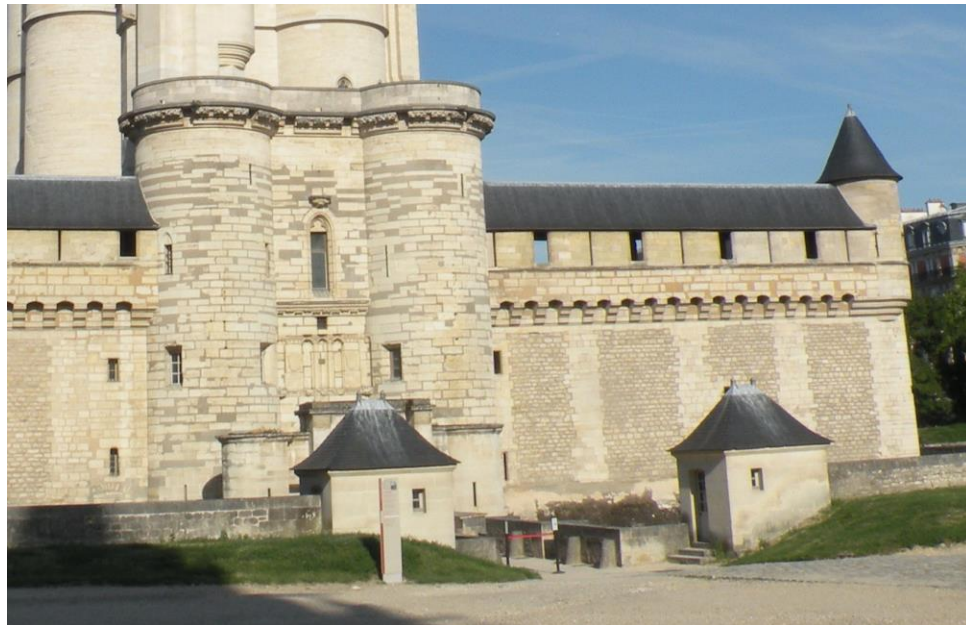
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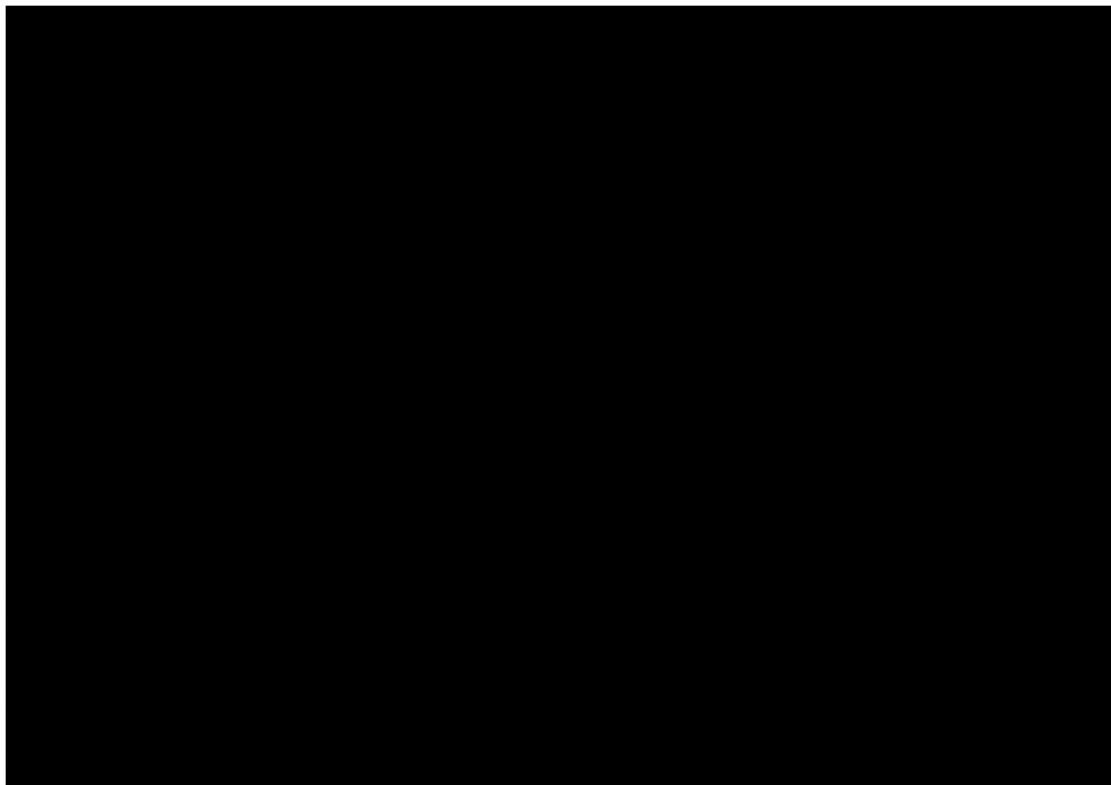
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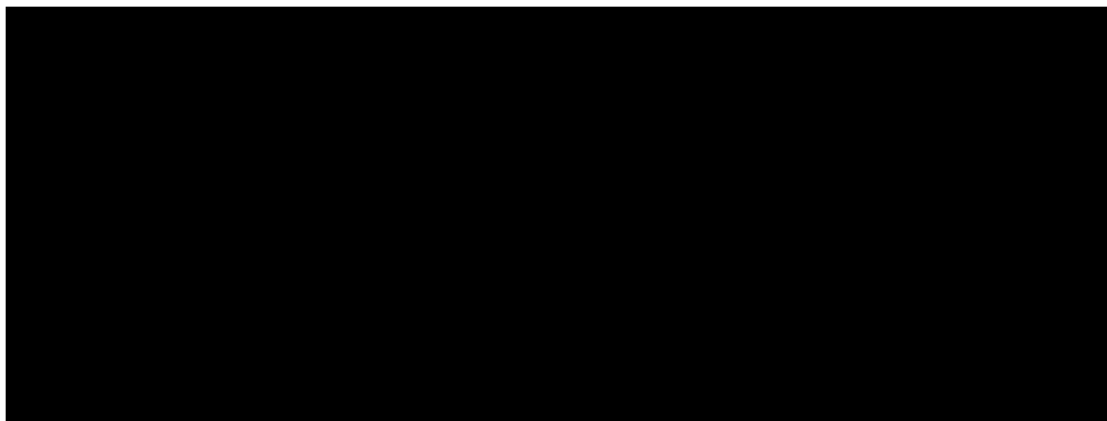
- 38.) Jean Fouquet, *Charles IV Enters Saint Denis*, from *Le Grandes Chroniques de France*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Français 6465, fol. 442. Wikimedia Commons accessed September 20, 2019, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Entr%C3%A9e_de_l'empereur_Charles_IV_%C3%A0_Saint-Denis.jpg.



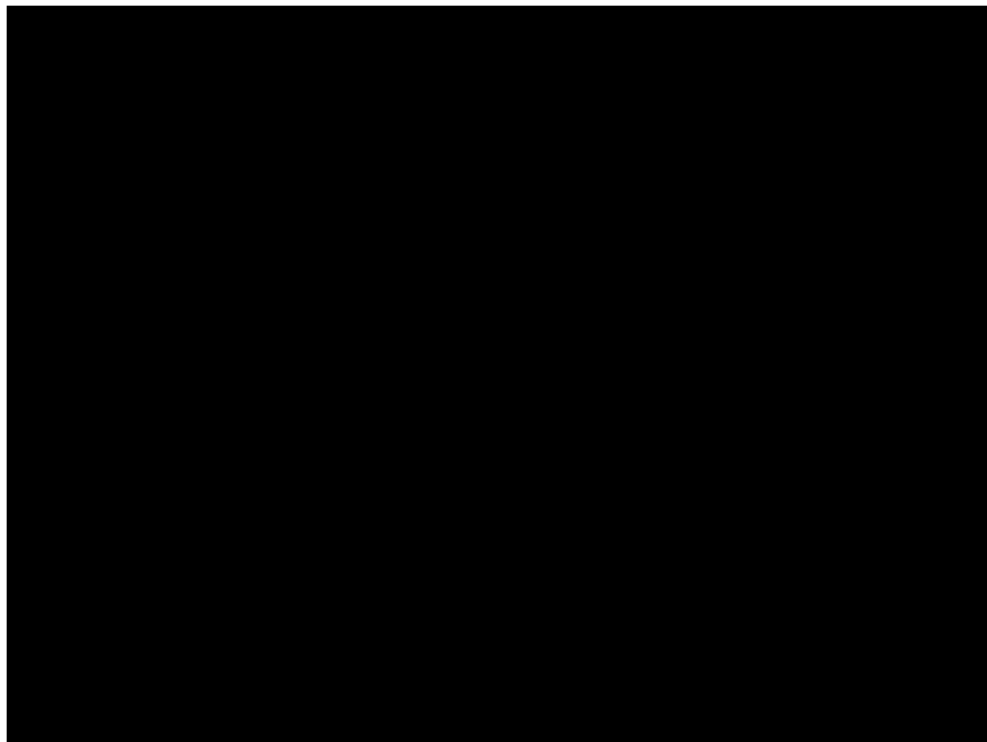
- 39.) *The Facade of the Chatelet of the Donjon of Vincennes*, Wikimedia Commons accessed September 20, 2019, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Donjon_du_Ch%C3%A2teau_de_Vincennes?uselang=fr#/media/File:Ch%C3%A2teau_de_Vincennes_-_panoramio.jpg.



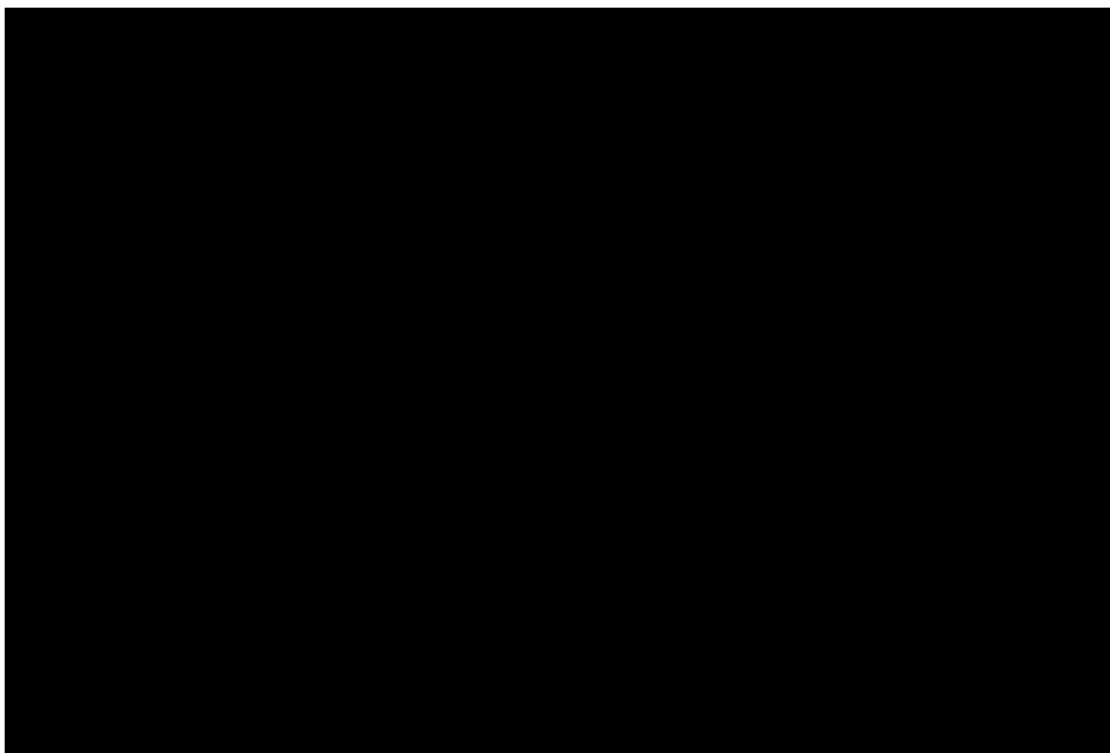
- 40.) *Angels from the facades of the Donjon of Vincennes*, Photo Credit: Jacques Bousiquier, accessed on September 20, 2019, <http://www.imagesdubeaudumonde.com/article-un-ange-passe-musicien-a-vincennes-116552682.html>.



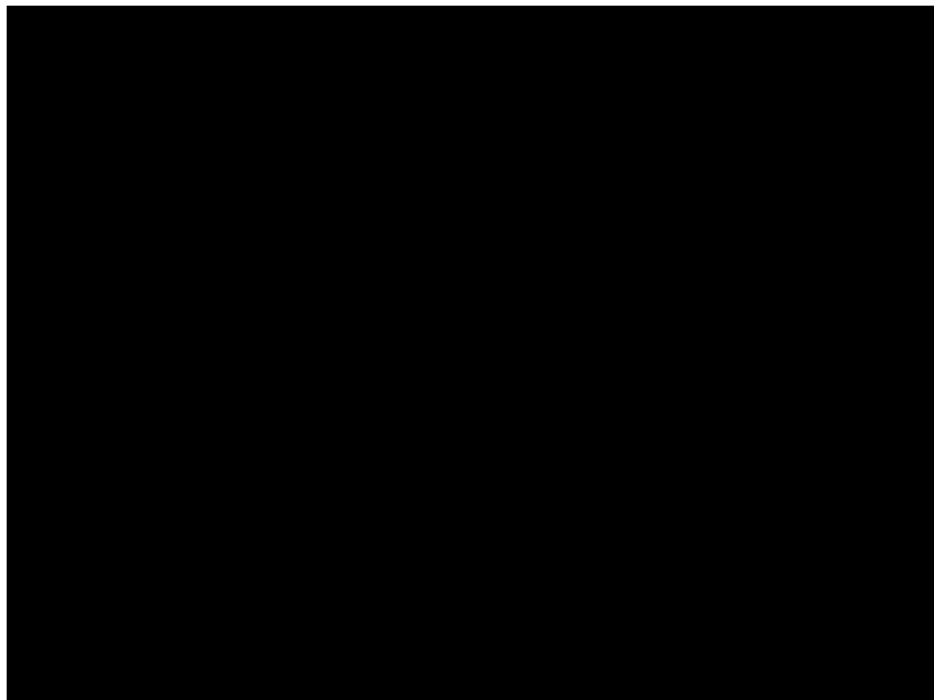
- 41.) *Evangelist Figures, Grand Salle of Vincennes*, Photo Credit: Jacques Bousiquier, accessed on September 20, 2019, <http://www.imagesdubeaudumonde.com/article-un-ange-passe-musicien-a-vincennes-116552682.html>.



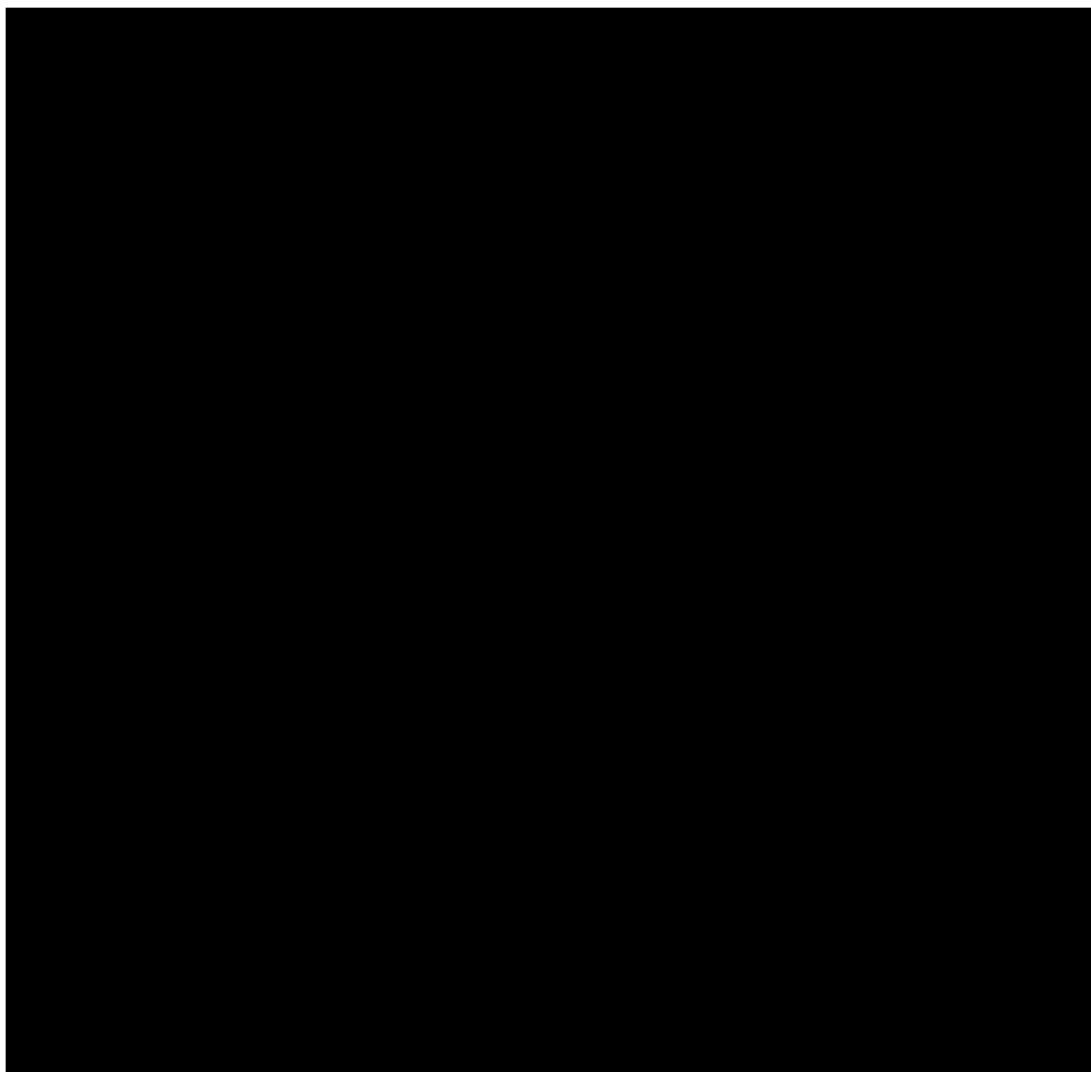
- 42.) *Figures with a Banderole, Grand Salle of Vincennes*, Photo Credit: Jacques Bousiquier, accessed on September 20, 2019, <http://www.imagesdubeaudumonde.com/article-un-ange-passe-musicien-a-vincennes-116552682.html>.



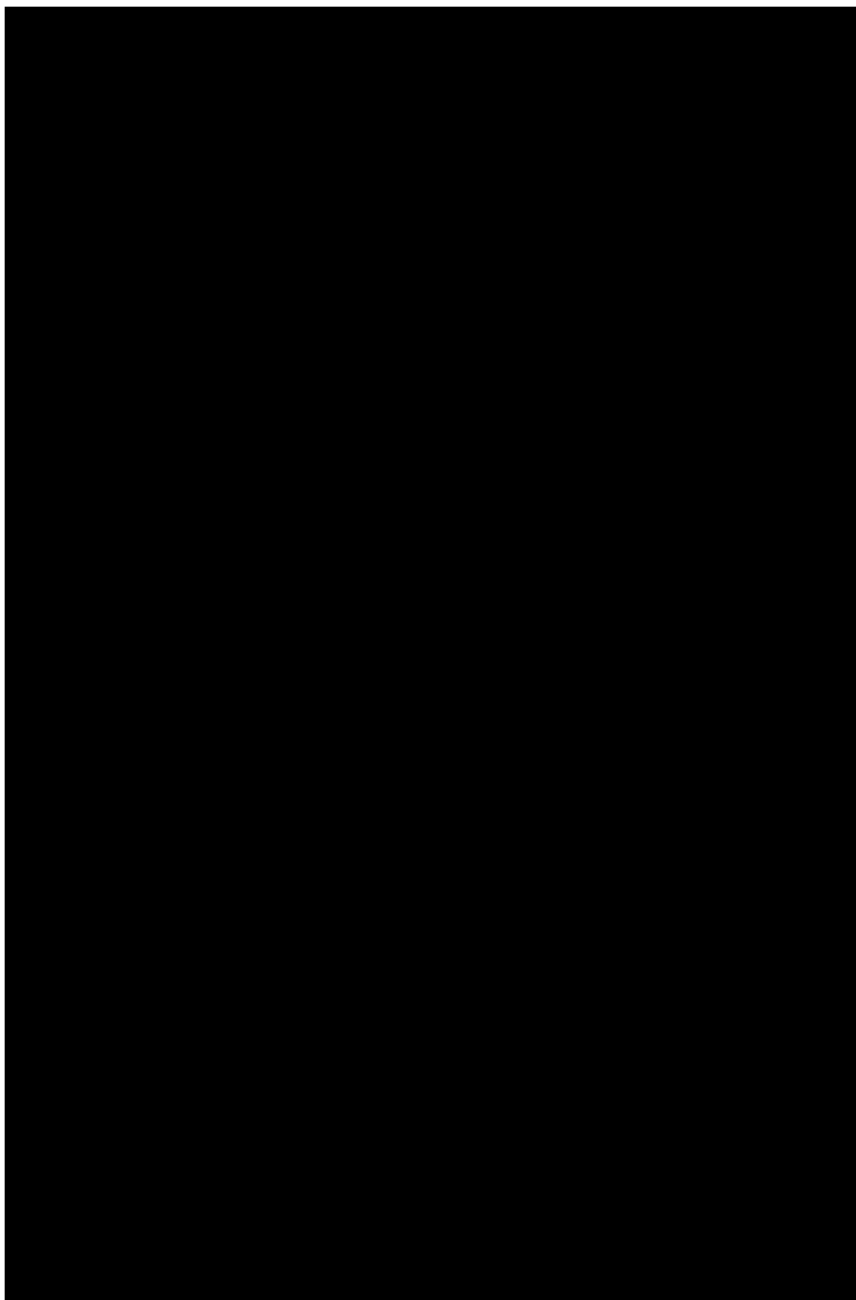
- 43.) *The etude of Charles V*, Photo Credit: , Flickr accessed September 20, 2019, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/alaind20sn/3585001617>.



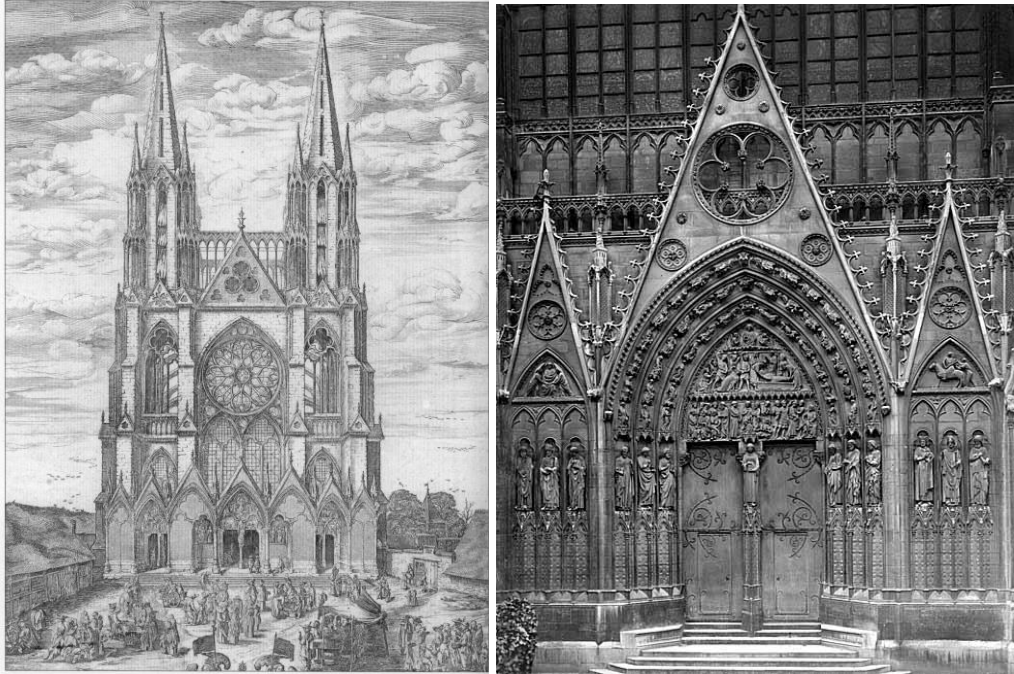
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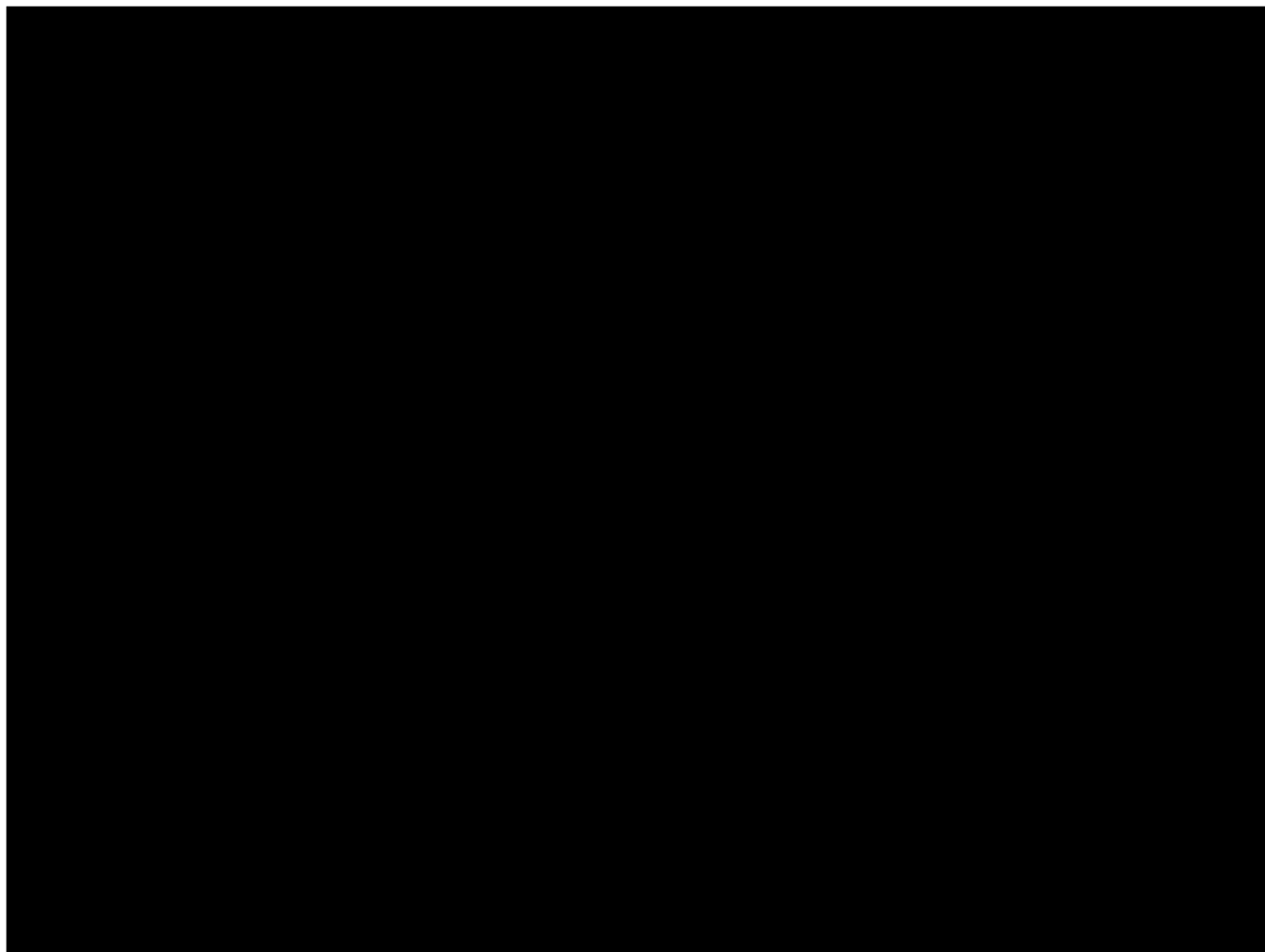
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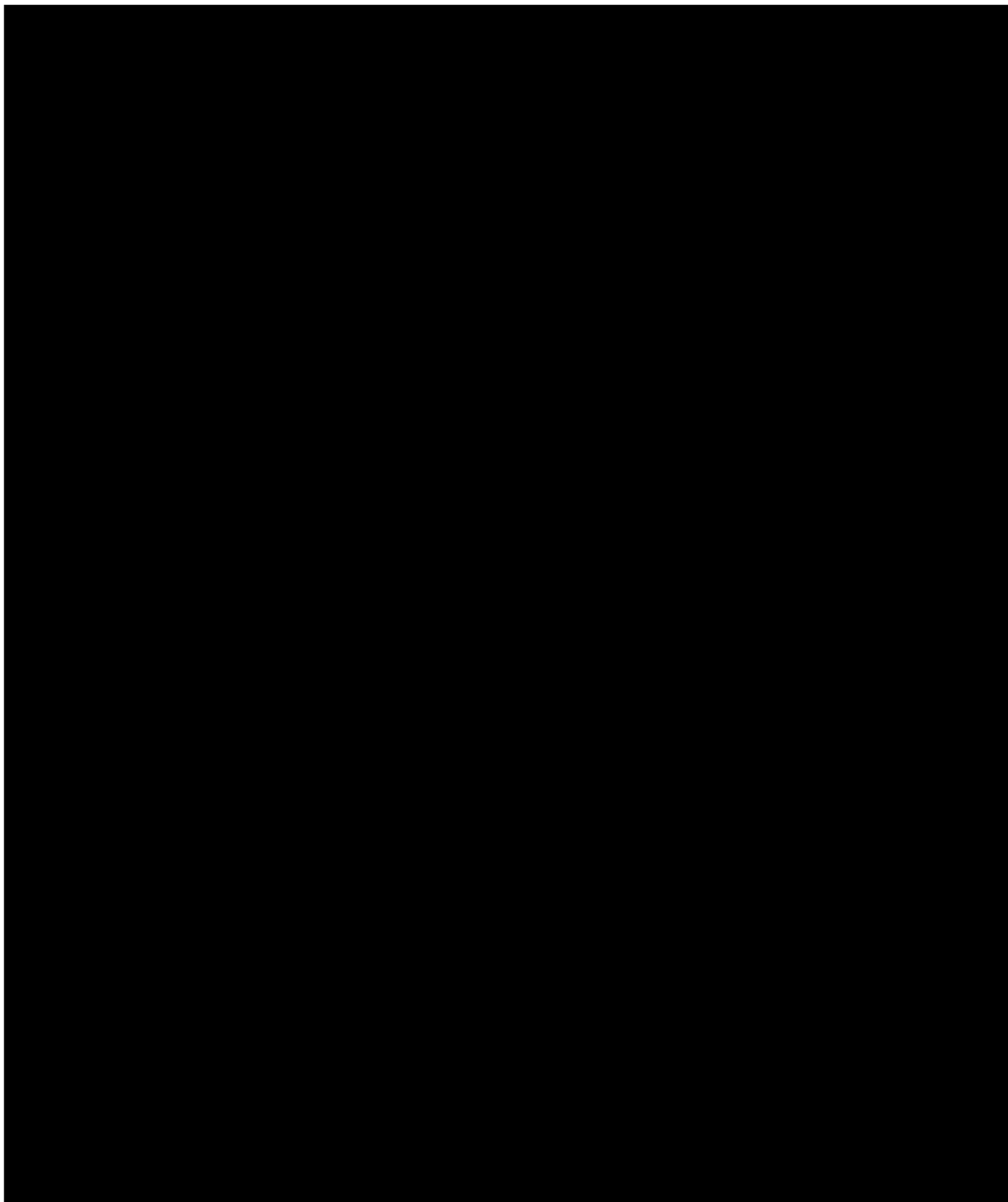


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Images
Chapter 3



- 1.) *Map Of Major Towns Of Artois*, in Francois Duceppe Lamarre, “The Ducal Residences at Hesdin and its Place in Courtly Art under Philip the Bold and his Son (1384-1419),” in *Art From the Burgundian Court* ed. Stephen N. Fliegel et al. (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004), 161, fig. 1.



2.) *Map Of Major Residences Within The Duchy Of Burgundy*, in Patrice Beck, “The Ducal Residences at Hesdin and its Place in Courtly Art under Philip the Bold and his Son (1384-1419),” in *Art From the Burgundian Court* ed. Stephen N. Fliegel et al. (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004), 137, fig. 1.



3.) Sébastien Landrieux standing in the moat of the city of Hesdin, with the 12th century city wall behind (photograph: Scott Miller).



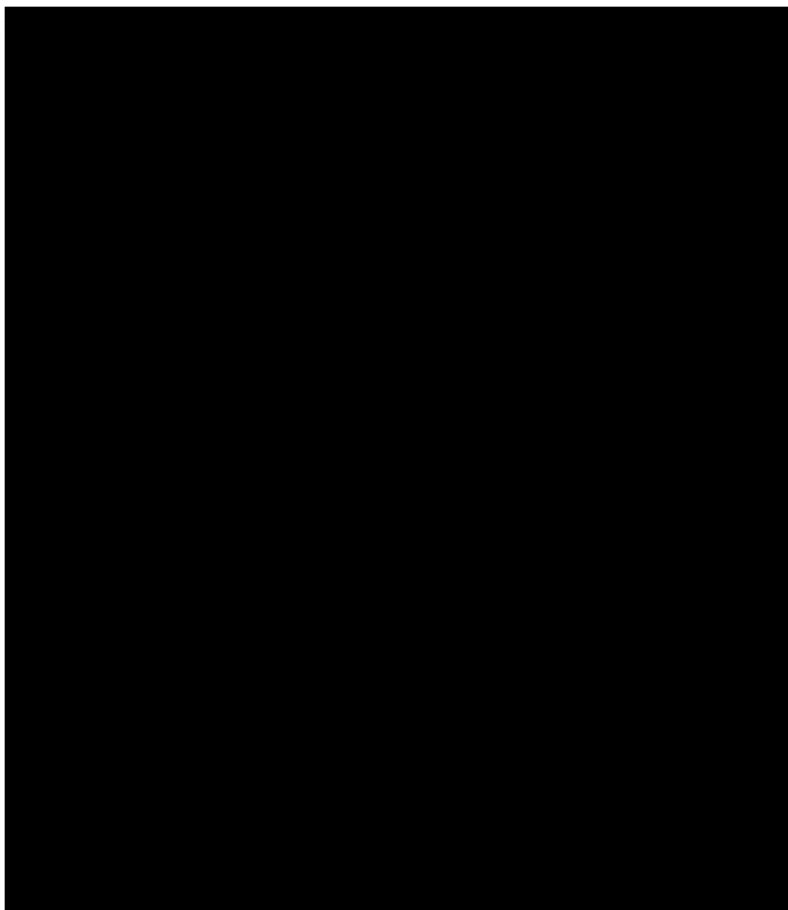
4.) Bastion in the City Wall of Hesdin (Photograph: Scott Miller)



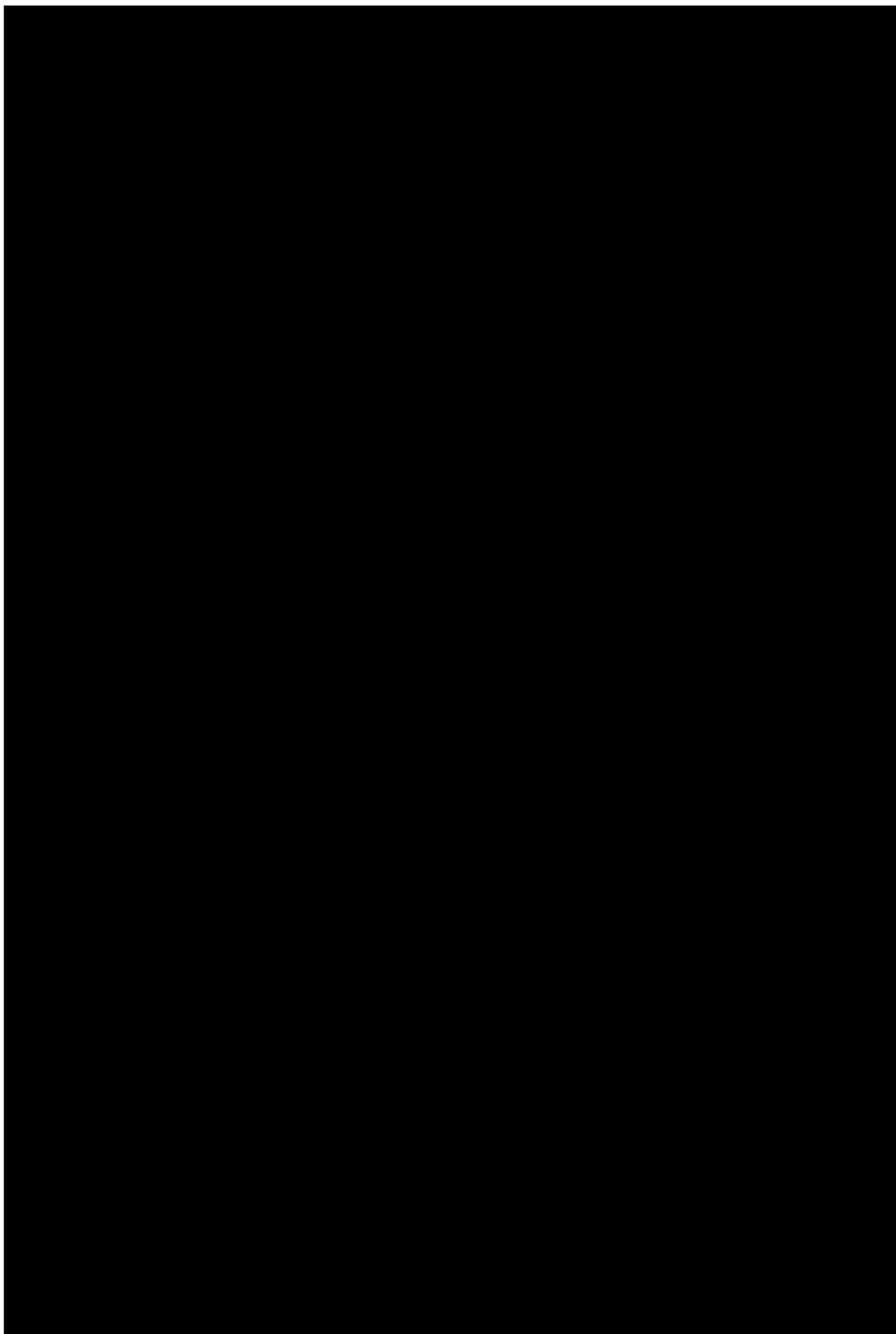
5.) Catherine Tourbeaux-Delescluse, *Map of the City of Hesdin*, Association des Amis de Site de Vieil Hesdin, Vieil Hesdin (photograph: Scott Miller)



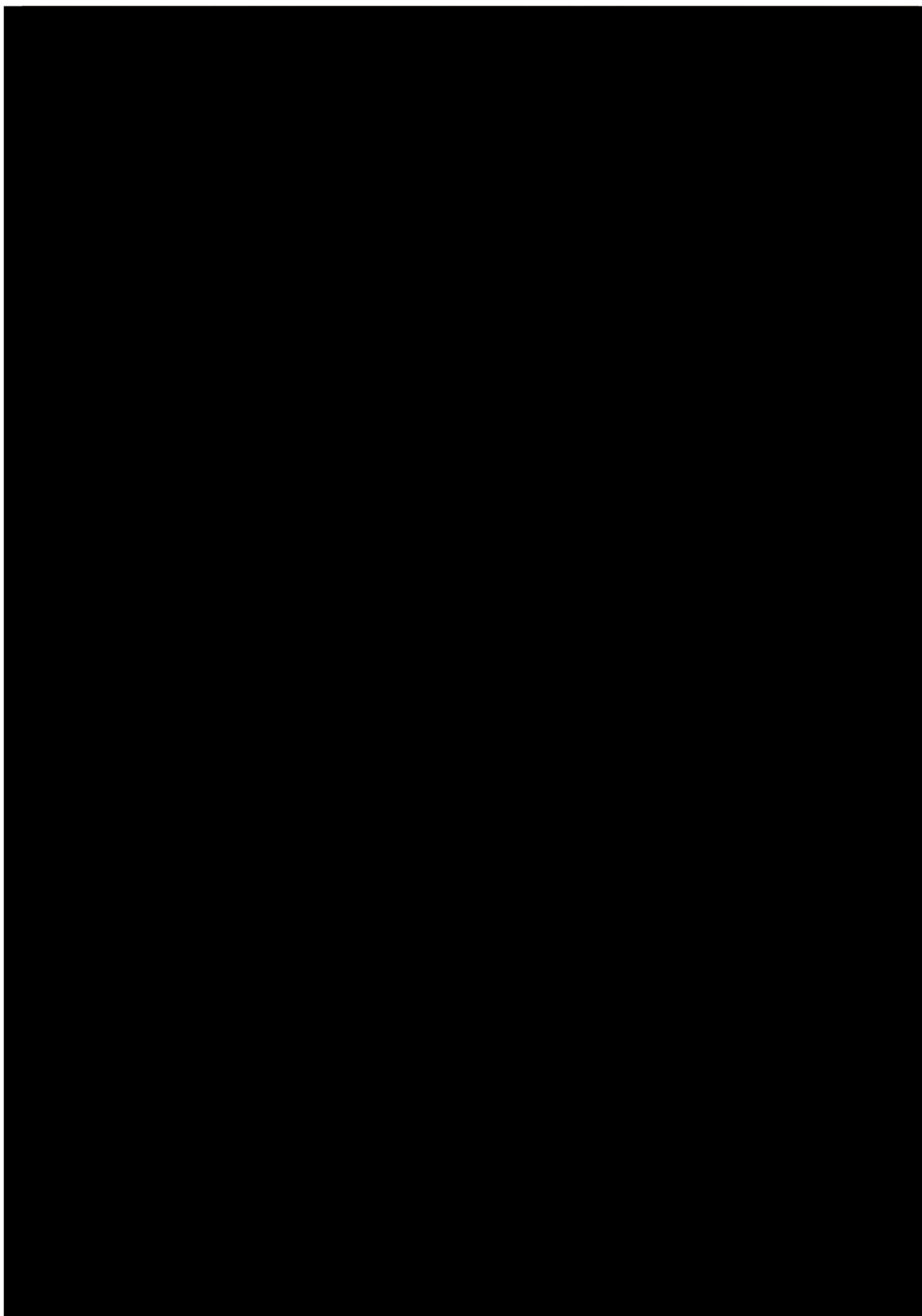
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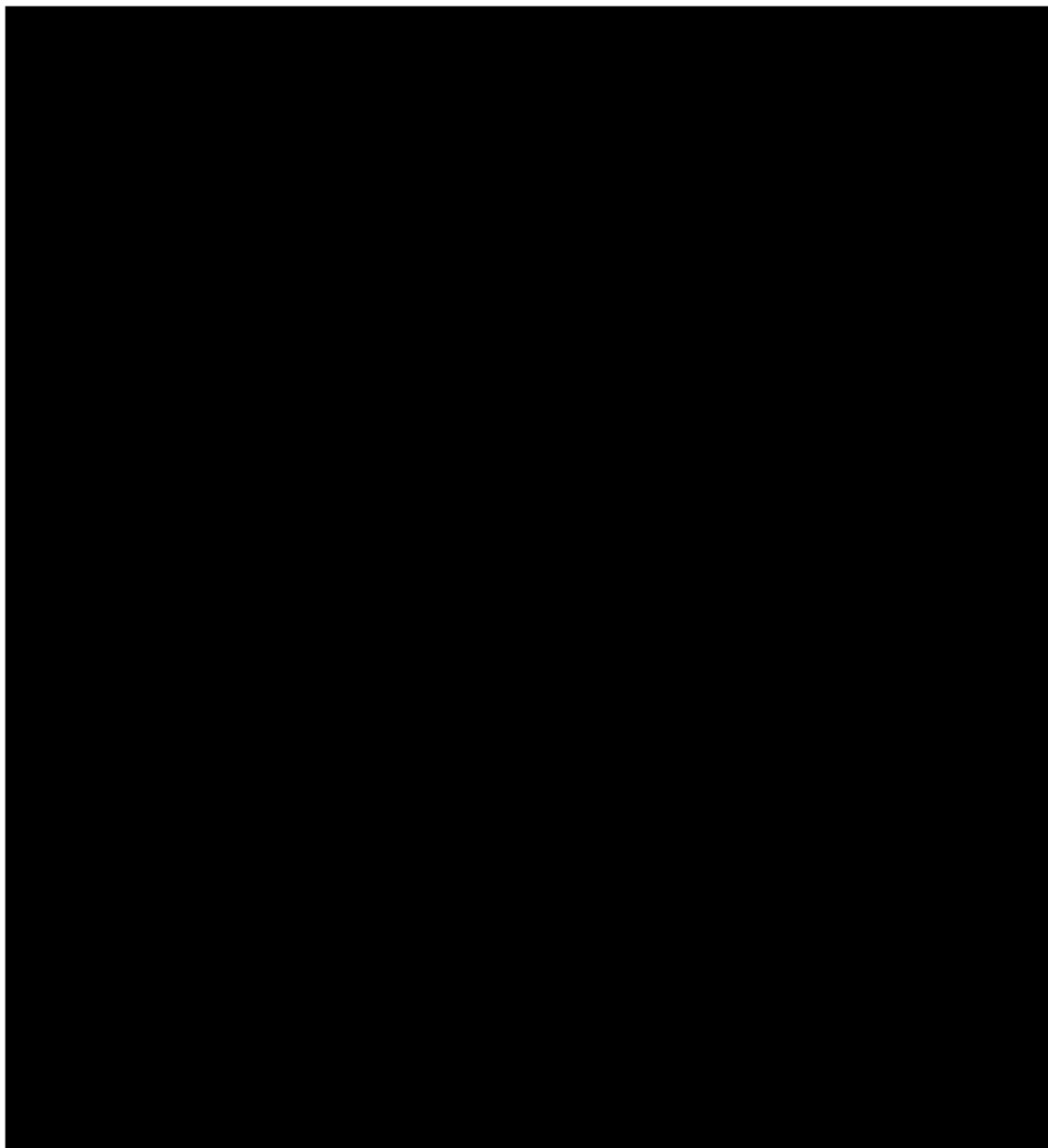
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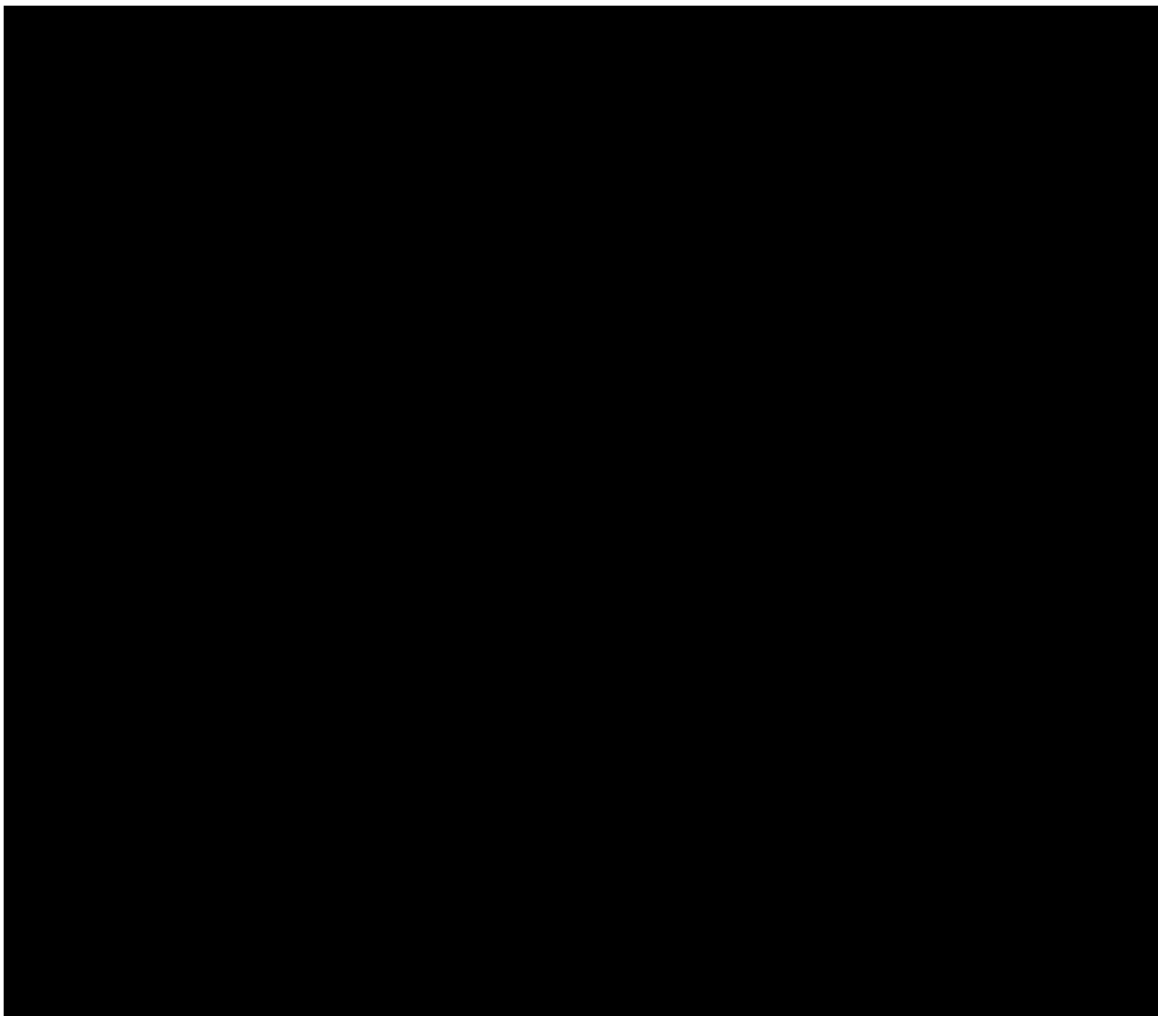
8.) Marion Foucher, *Hypothetical Plan of Germolles in the Late Fourteenth Century*, in *Château de Germolles Mellecey, 71): Rapport de la Campagne des Prospections Géophysiques, Mars-Juin 2011* (Dijon: Université de Bourgogne UMR 6298 ARTeHIS, 2011), 5, fig. 2.



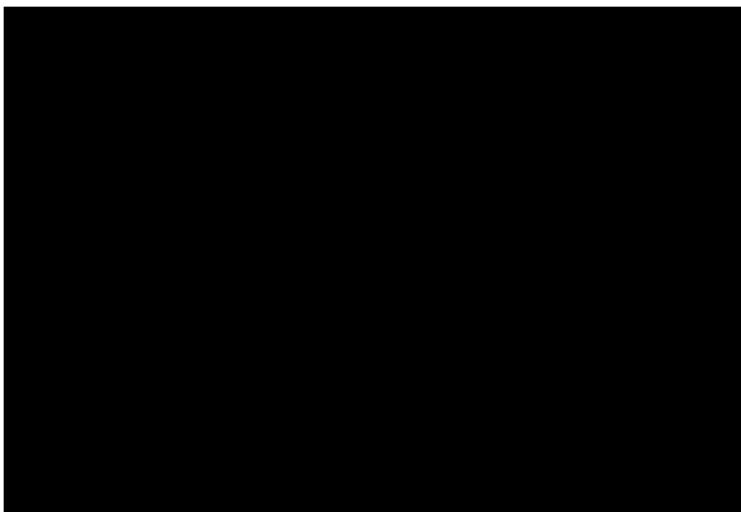
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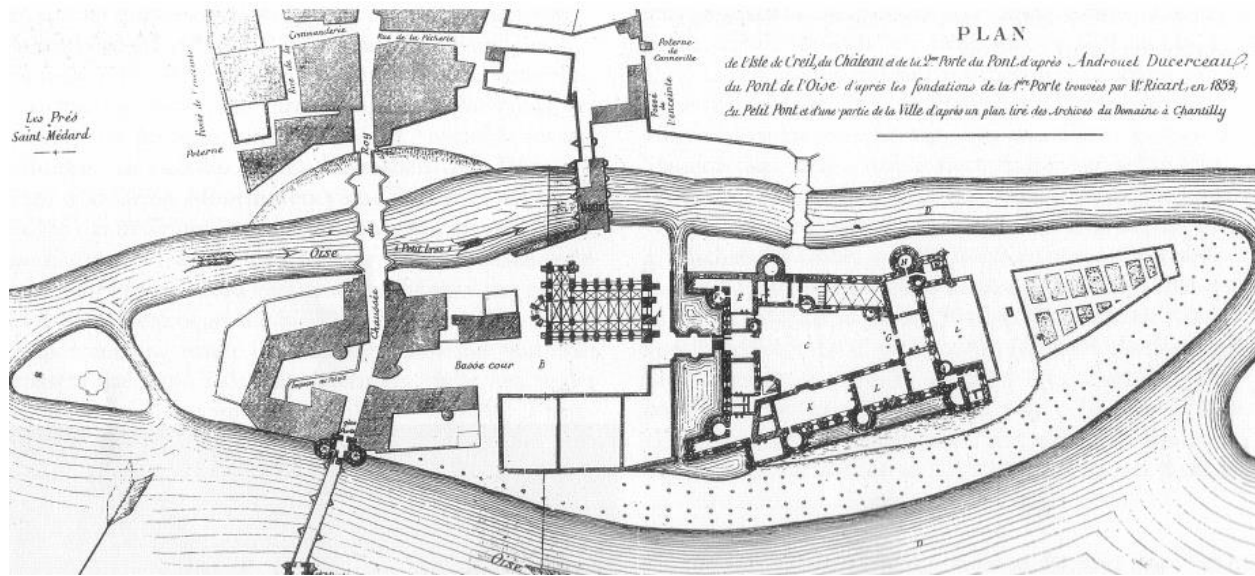
10.) Catherine Tourbeaux-Delescluse, Detail, *Map of the City of Hesdin*, Association des Amis de Site de Vieil Hesdin, Vieil Hesdin (photograph: Scott Miller)



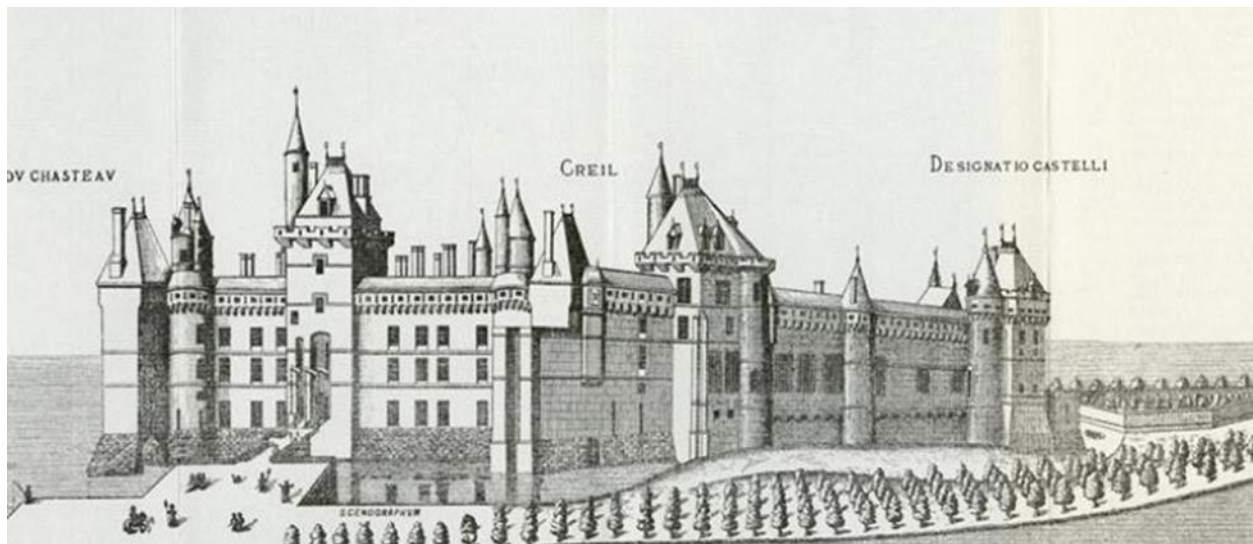
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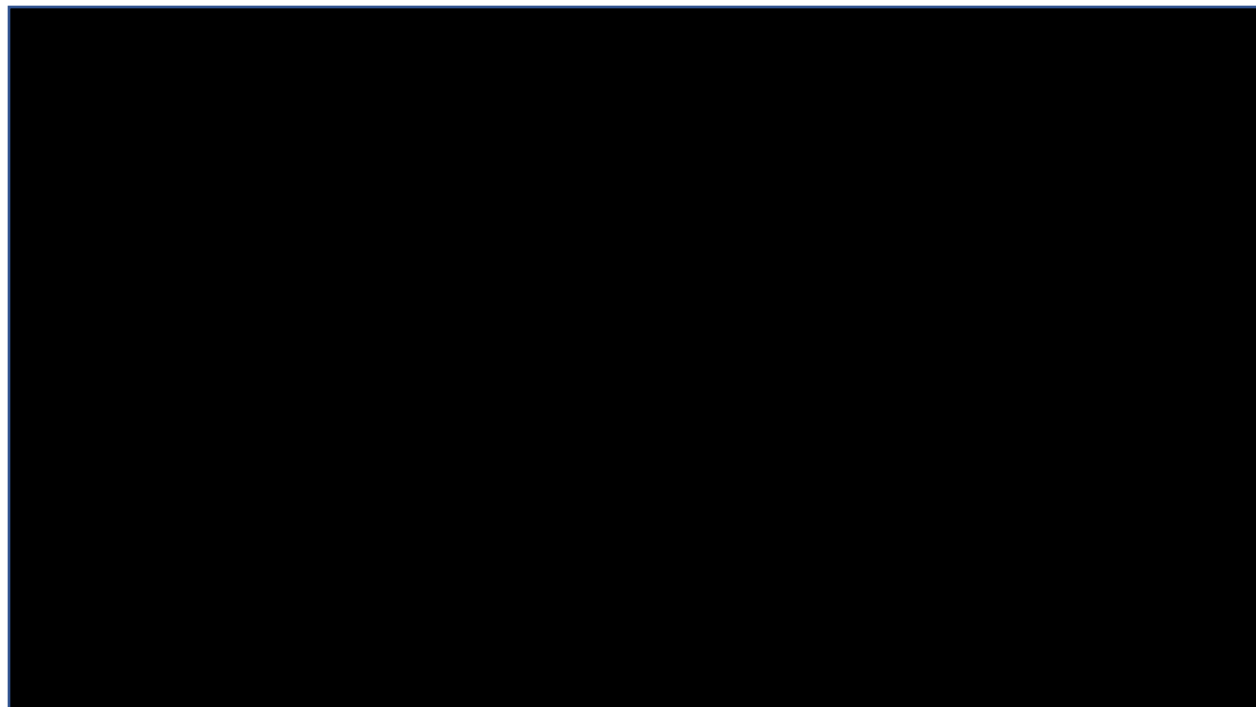
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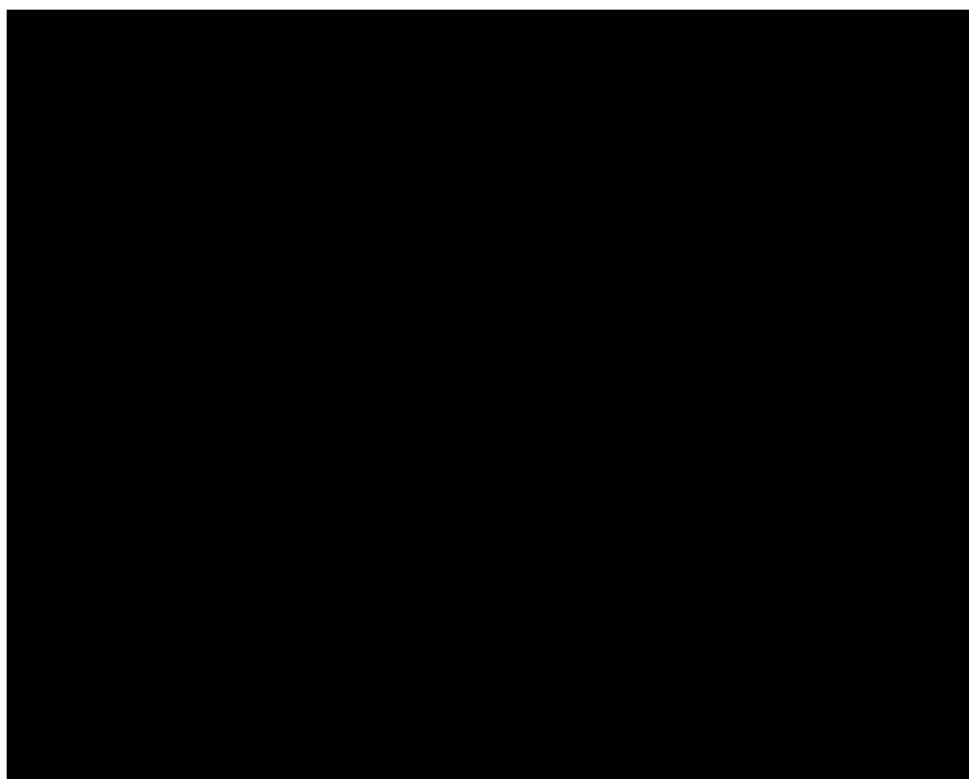
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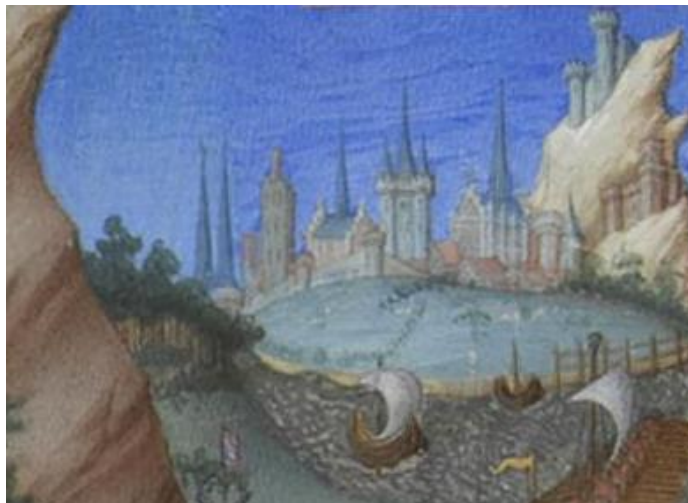
16.) Unknown, *Chalk Drawing of the Gatehouse of Germolles ca 1850*, Collection of Matthieu Pinette, in Patrice Beck, *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne a la Fin du Moyen Age* (Saint-Cyr-sur-Loire: Alan Sutton, 2002), 42.



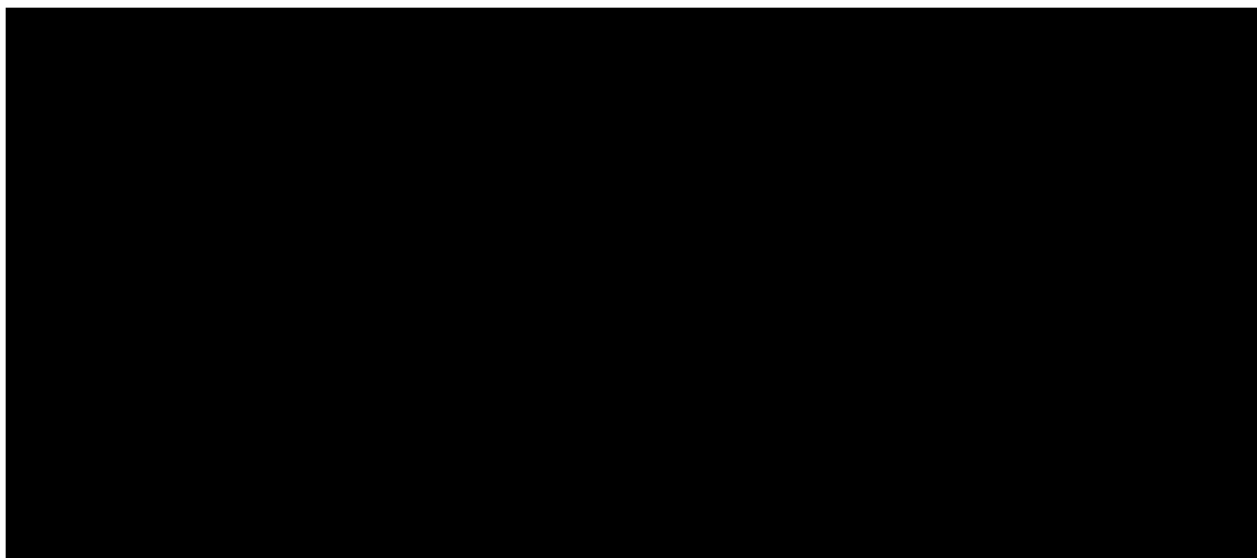
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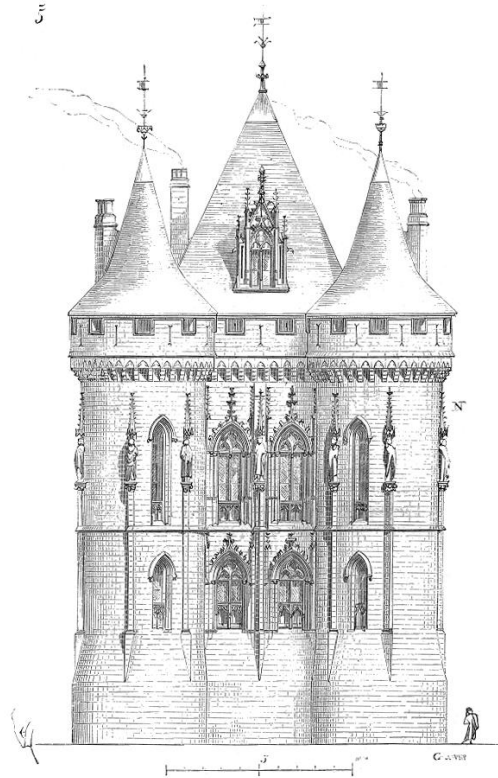
18.) Brothers Limbourg, *The Temptation of Christ* from the *Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry*
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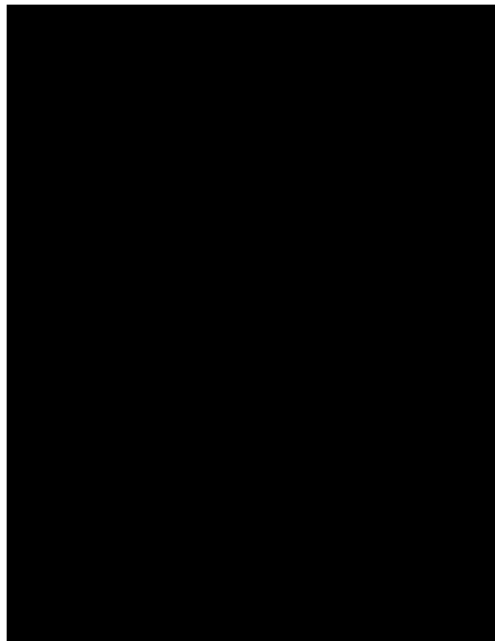
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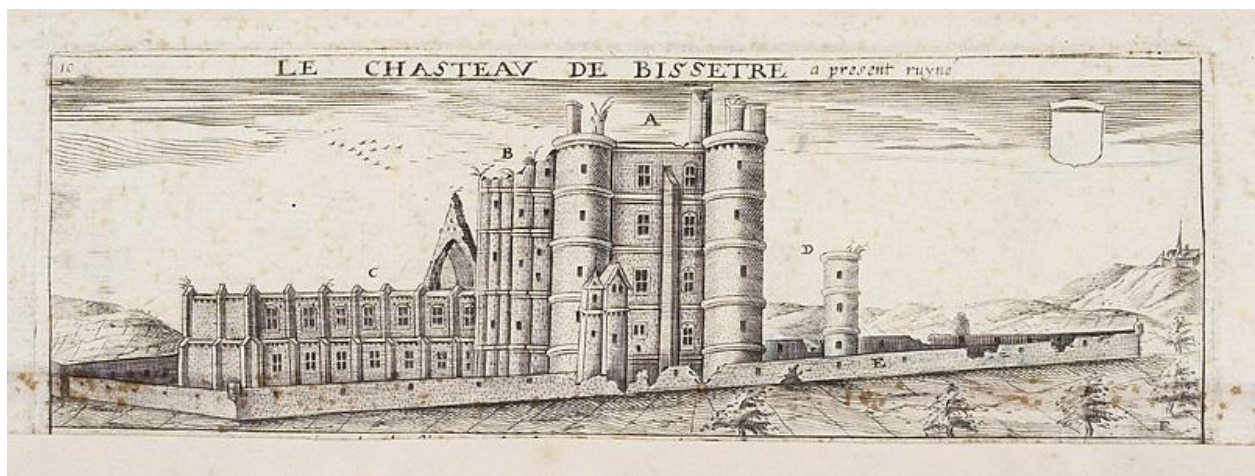
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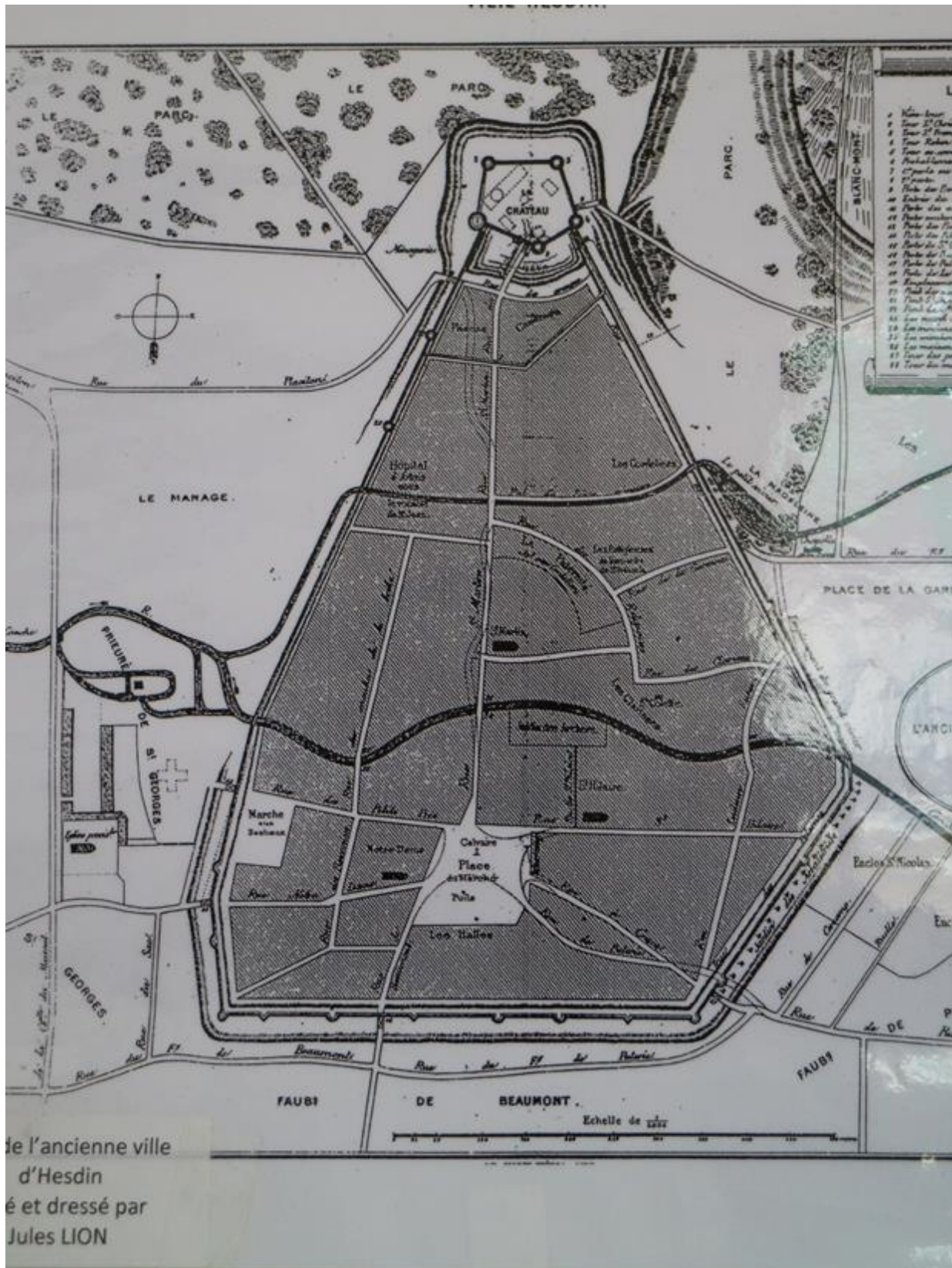
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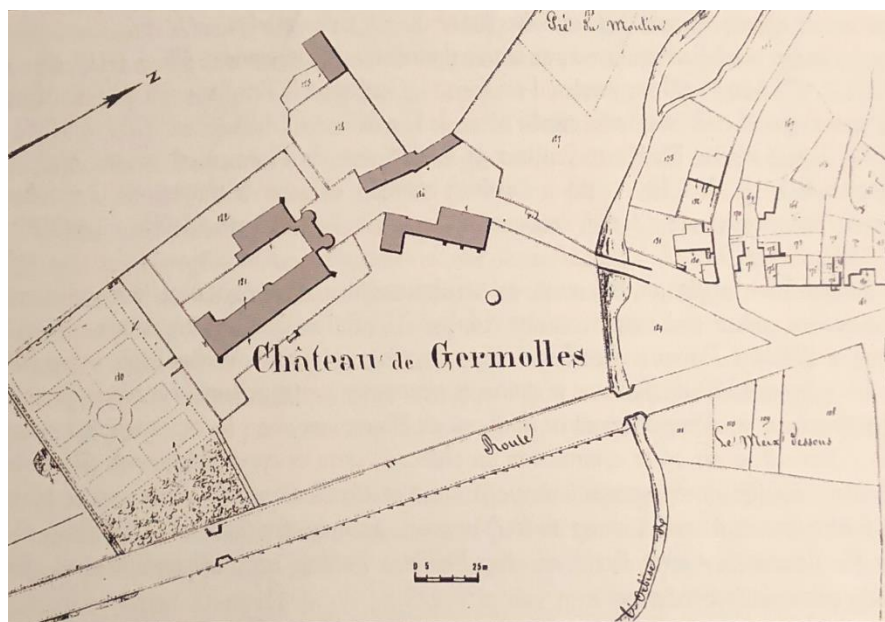
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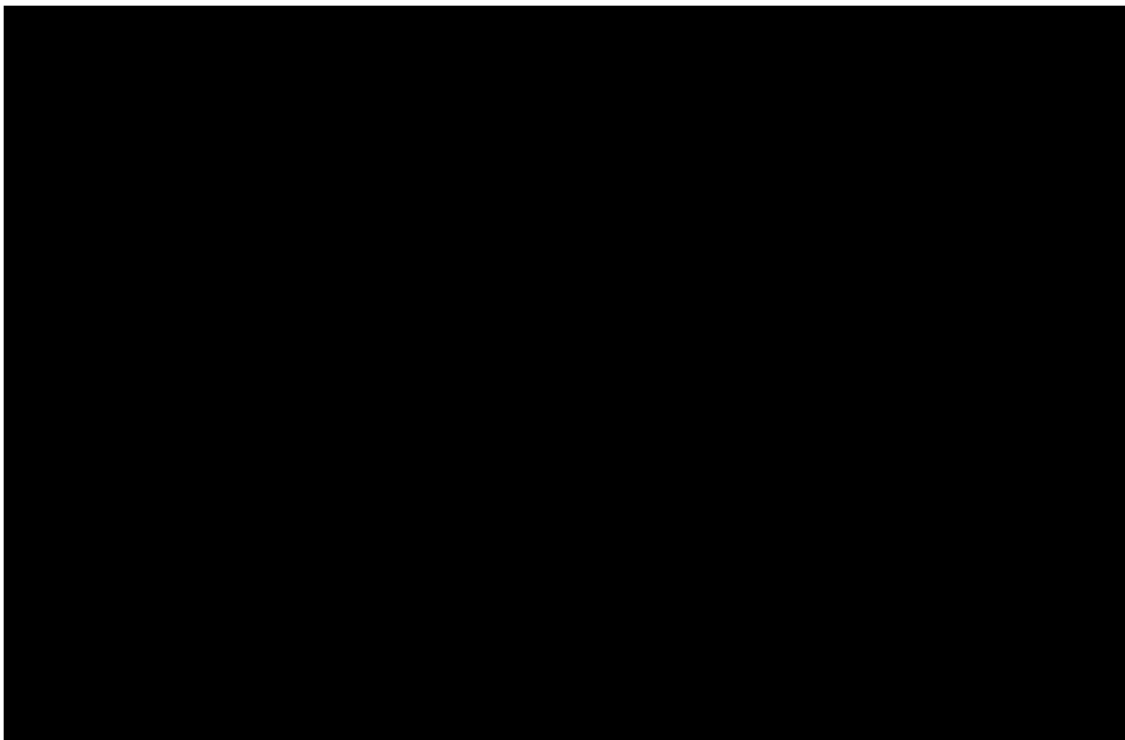
25.) Jules Lion, *Plan of Hesdin*, 1905, Collection of the Association des Amis de Site de Vieil Hesdin, Vieil Hesdin (photograph: Scott Miller)



26.) Germolles, Cadastral Map of 1828, Town of Mellec, section G, Archives Départementales de Saône-et-Loire, in Patrice Beck, *Vie de Cour en Bourgogne à la Fin du Moyen Age* (Saint-Cyr-sur-Loire: Alan Sutton, 2002), 42.



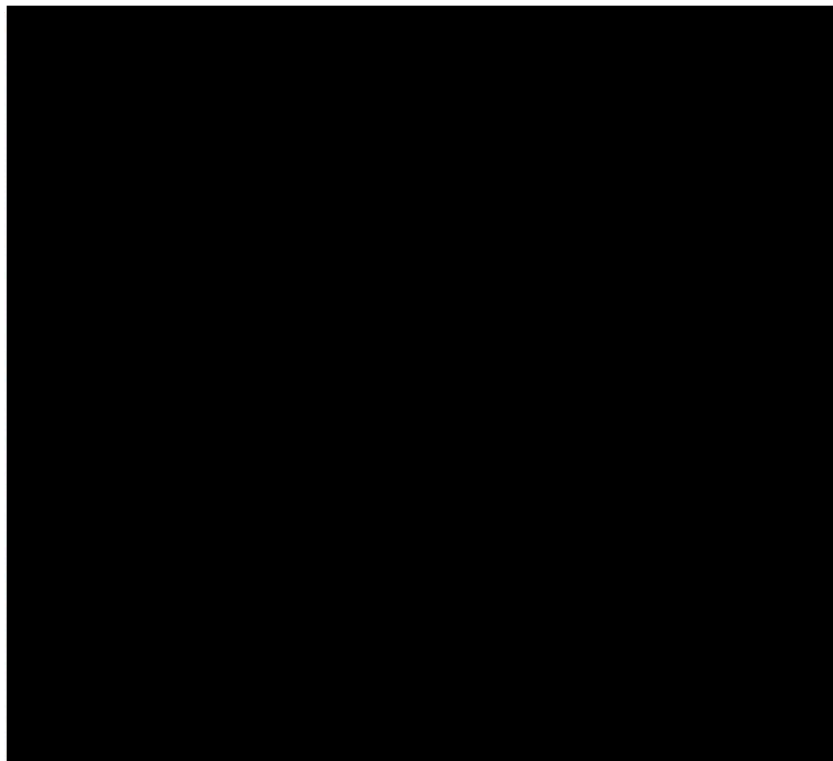
27.) Brothers Limbourg, *June* from the *Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry* Musée Condé, Chantilly MS 65 6v. Wikimedia Commons accessed March 20, 2020, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Folio_161v_-_The_Temptation_of_Christ.jpg.



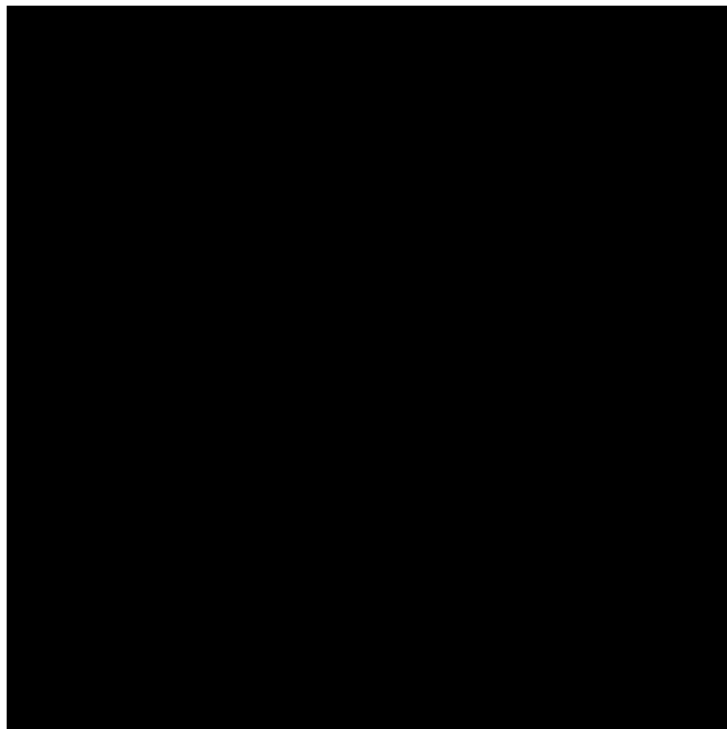
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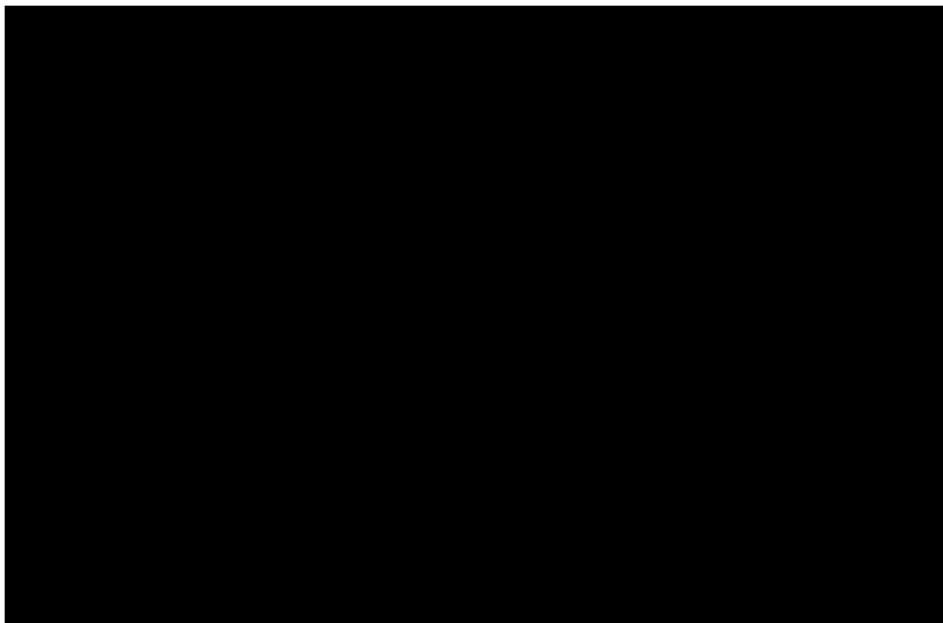
29.) Workshop of Jean de Beumetz, *The Chambre de Retrait of Margaret of Bavaria*, ca. 1390.
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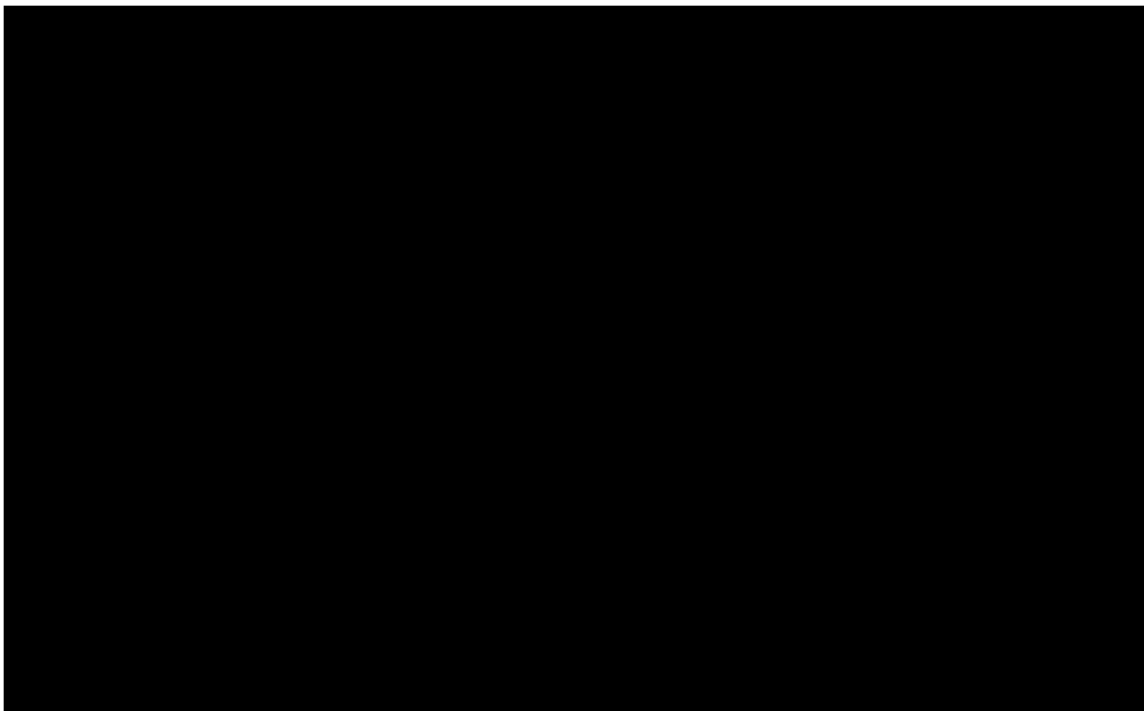
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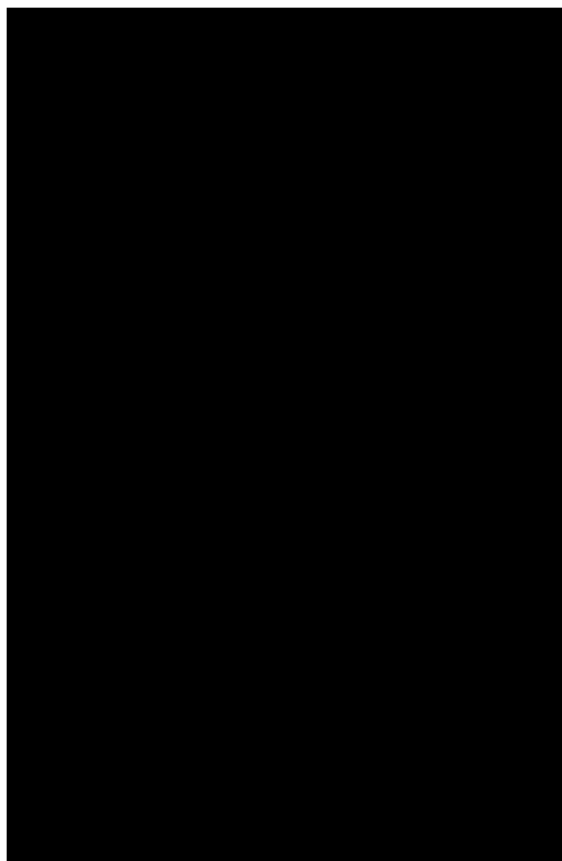
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35.) *Tiles recovered from Germolles, ca. 1388*, in Matthieu Pinette, *Le Chateau de Germolles* (Germolles: Chateau de Germolles, 2015), 35.



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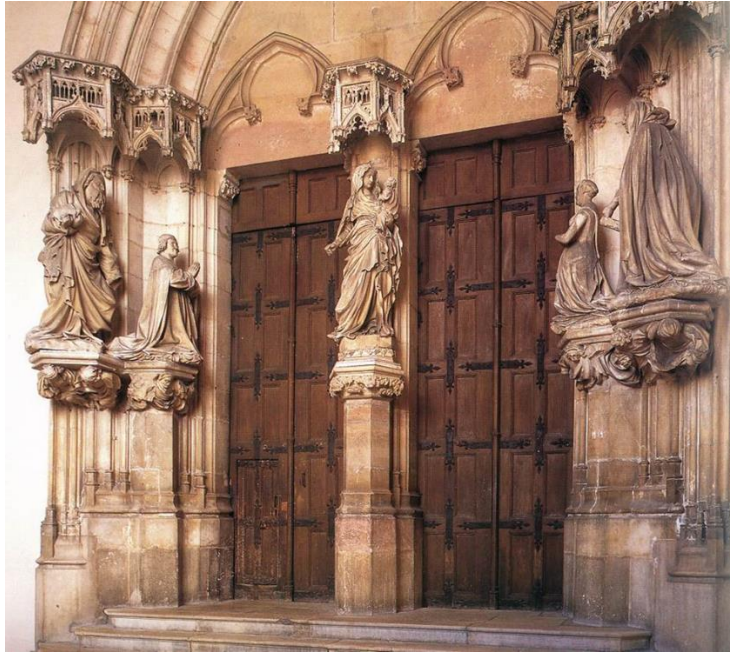
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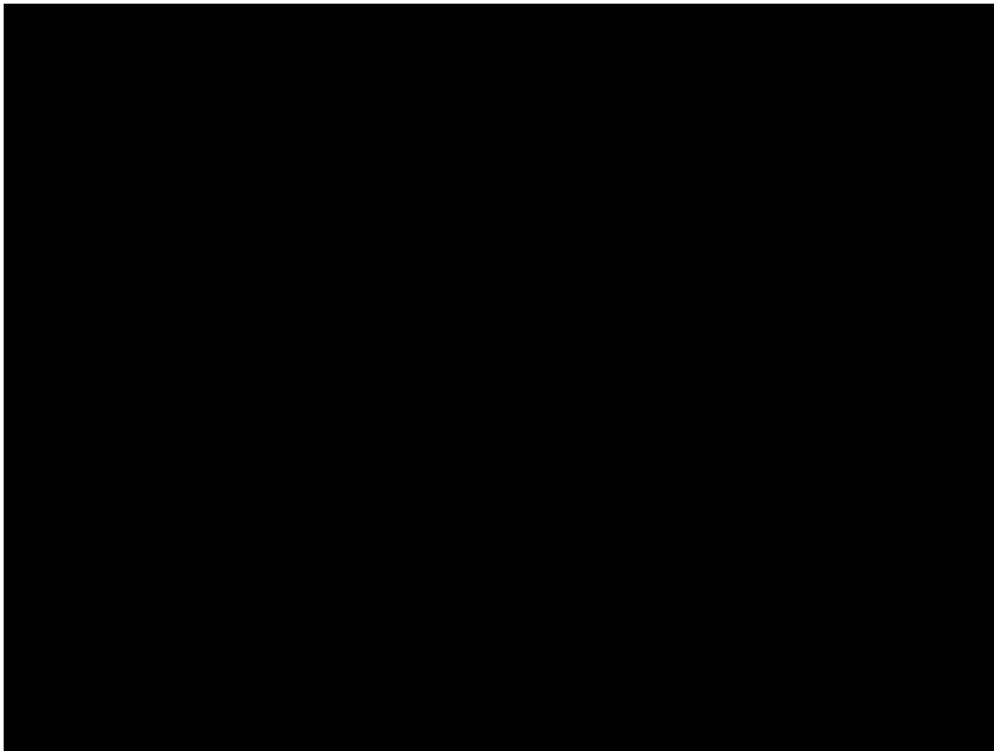
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Appendix I

Receipt for the Making of a luxury Carriage (ADCO B. 1494 88v-89r.)

DENIERS PAIEZ POUR LA FACON DU CHARIOT OU CURRE DE MA DAME
DOSTERICHE OU QUEL ELLE A ESTE MENNE OU PAIS DOSTERICHE

- Premeriement
- A Jehin baudet ouvries de menues fers demour a rouvre qui dehuz li estiont de marchie fait a lui par ma dte dame damou fait et chpente le dit chariot tout p st pour f riez po le pts de xix franz et appt du dit marchie estpt en un grole en pchemin p mandemet de mon dit ss gten en la fin du dit role donn le xxiiiie jour de septembre 93 par etiffic dem dame de beamos quitt ce rend XIX franz
- A Henri de langres dit feromillet demour a dijon frurier qui dehuz li estient de marchie fait a lui p mess de la chambie des comptes a dijon pt josset de halle tresor de mon dit ss et jehan beaulmez paintre et vallet de chambre de mon dit ss davoit fiez et estoiffer le dit chriot de son mestier et appt p les role mandemet et etaffic doss diz et p quitt et rend cotten q tout auts quitt faiss de ce mencon preced ceste en date domet estre de nule valeur xxvi franz
- Arnoul picarnet pointure demour a dijon qui dehuz li estieot de marchiez fait a lui p es dess domez damou dorer et pot le dit chariot de fin or vrony et de le avoir ormier des armes de mons le duch dosteriche et de ma dte dame sa fame et de avoire ponssonner les estales et celles des diz chonaux du dit chriot pour le pris de LV franz et appt lp les roles mandemet t assis rend que de ss et p quitt et rend q ten sicce en la ptie precedent LV franz
- A Jehin aroulet orfeure demour a dijon q lon lui devoit po xviii pomeauz de cour esmailliez des diz armes mis ou dit chariot pour mchie fait a lui p le dit tresor sur le bureau en la chambre des comptes po le pris de VII(XX) franz et appt p les role mand et etissie rend guie dess et p quitt et rend conten sicce en la ptie pard VII(XX) franz
- A estiennoit le mostardrez qui dehuz lui est pour xix alnes et dis de toille craie achetees de lui pour mettre sur le draps de la couverture du dit chariot po le pts laune de iiis ix d t valent iii franz vii gros xvii d t et appt p les role mand et etiffie rend que dess et quitte i rond III franz vii grs xvii d
- A Jehan gmot pour xviii alnes de toille touite achete de lui pour double le drapt mis sur le dit chriot pour le pris laune de i gros valent xviii g it po vi alnes de toille vermoille taite en bresy pour dobler le drapt mis ou tour la chere du retrait pour ma dte dame I franc et pour deux lun de plume mis ou tour la dte chere ii gros po tout ii franz ung gros demi et appt come des et p uquitt et rend ii franz viii g
- A marguerite fille artaul constarte pour xxviii alnes de toille blanche p se de elle po doubler le scarlate et le drapt dor mis ou dit chariod et p pluss jor de son mestier quelles a fte a adoir acoudie les diz drapt dor escarlerz toille po le ps de ii franz demi et appt come dess et p quitt et redus ii franz demi
- A marguerite la merciere pour II m de clous dorez quelle a deliuvrez en oltre estayne qtite q ma dame la duchesse a baille pour cloux le dit chriot grappt que dess II franz

- A andree filz p vuis selier demour a dijon pour ses soynes et selarie davoit clouz cordoz et mis a point de son mestier le dit chiot de deux cirers quil y a mis du suceen pour ocuvrir le dit chriot et pour cordes et auts poties pour mchie fait a lue p les dess nomez et appt p les role mand teffic rend que dess et q quit et rend VIII franz demi
- A gmot poissoniez et a pienote fanie feu saint poul cest assavoir au dit gmot pour vermoillon cloux doret et argent quil a delivrez pour poudit et clouwer les cherss et estables de v coulez po les chevaux du dit cuerre ii franz ii gros et a la dte prenote po xxix almes de toille pour faire usions a sceu fus ou dit curie lavoie ou pris de I gros valont xxix g po tout iiii franz vii gros et appt come dess et p quittance or rend iiii franz vii gros
- A Guillot le porterot de dijon drapier pour iii alnes de yraigmie de malmies pour couvrir la dte chie de retrait au ps laune de xviii gros valent iiii s dej et appt come dess et p quitt ghen q aut quitt auil en avoit la fte est de nule valeur IIII franz demi
- A estiene marriot a sencenet de biecey et apienote fame thenemin do de narde cestassavoir aux diz estie et sencenet pour soye pour eulx delivures pour faire ribas pour les diz curie et chere ix franz ix gros et a la dte pienote pour la facon des diz ruvaux ii franz p tout xi ranz ix gros et appt come dess et p X franz IX gros
- XOME II LXXIX franz I gros III qurs II d ob t

Appendix II

An *Expense Extraordinaire* from the Court of Margaret of Flanders, (ADCO 33 F 13)

Expenses extrordinaires madame et madmoiselle marguerite tout le jou a arras

- Guyot pinot pour le salaire de son chrot a VI chaux en semble leur despens quil ont amene une give des gnisns de madame de corbl a arras p marchie fait a lui p henry de muxi comtes enz leur retour XVI L p
- Le Petit Richart de pontailie po semble XVI
- Belin de la marche pour Semble XVI
- Jeh le masat pour son salaire de fair les dtes III gibes p marchie fait a lui p le dess dit Henry XLVIII s
- Robin Verant dorleins pour le salair de ses II chrs a XII chaux qui ont amene les gnss de la garderobe de ma dame et de ma damoisell de pis a aras le mis despens fais compz enz leur retoor p marchie fait a lui p e dess dit henry de muxi XVI L
- Jeh journee de ponn pour le salaire de II charioz a VIII chaux qui ont amene les gniss de cuiss de somme a arras p III jours compz euz son roconn XL s
- Pre le watelr po le salaire de II chaux qui ont ssvi au chriot de leschausson de neelle a aras et po leur retour xii s IIII d
- Beaupe le confess de ma dame pour les despens de lui IIII et III chaux en venant de courbl a arras hors de la ronte de ma dame et p son comand pour ce quil fat mieux logiez a son aise pour tout si come il appu cau comptes devant les maistres de ostel XVII s IIII d a lui
- A deux varles des chaux de ma dame pour faire leurs despens p xv jours pour garder a corbl III chaux qui y sont demour malades et pour fe leurs despens en semble des diz chaux et ven du dit corbl a aras devs ma dame vi L viii s
- Martin le pelletier pour les despens de lui son chal un varlt de somier p I jour et demi q mad lenvoya a corbl a pis lui escanz au dit corbl peur porter grat nombre de draps retondre et les atendre et reporter devs ma dte dame au dit corbl XVI s
- Jeh henry po vi peaux dep chemin a espre la despens de lostel de mad VI s
- Gilln de la litie pour faire ses despens et ii varls et iiiii chaux de la hte en ven de compeign a arras et de lordonn de madame L S
- Mathu denies pour le salaire de lui et iiiii chaux qui ont amene les folz de madame de corbueil a aras et pour retour au dit corbl p a cord fait a lui p les maistres de lostel CI s IIII d P
- Coppin le chten po ses despens ql fu en voies de corbl aps p II jours p jour II s VIII d valen V s IIII d
- Thierry le brodeur po les despens de lui son varlet e I chal en venant de dijon a arras avec les gibes p III jours en out XIII jours qui lay sont comptes p jour VIII s valent XXIII s
- Jehan Dippre po sable venu avec les dtes gibes p le dit temps XXIIIIs
- Jehan le peletier de la garde robe de ma dame po gartez feu et chandell po le chrooy de ma dame en venant de dijon a corbl et po plus autres menues fraiz p lui faiz en conduisant

le dit chroy les pties venues et visetees aux comptes p les maists dostel po tout xxxix s iiii d ob

- A lui po ses despens et dun chal q mad lenvoye de corbl aps po querre une damoisselle p I jour V s IIII d
- A lui po plus sauts menues frais p lui faiz fant po faire chgier les gites de mad a corbl que po gaites feu chandell et plus sautes menues chos en conduis les dtes gives du dit corbl a arras les pties venes et visetees aux comptes p les maistres doste pour tout LXV s
- Phot varlet de chambre pour les despens de son varlet quil est demour avec lui a corbl po ix jours oubliez a compt o jour II s VIII d varlent IX s XXIII s
- Jehan fouet po ses despens p vii disnees ql est venus devant en venant de corbl a arras po amener la chamb de ma d po le tend en ses hostelz ix s iiii d
- A lui po une disnee de lui et dun somier ql fu enloies de corbl aps ii s viii d
- Hennequin Lille aide de chambre po ses despen p vii disnees ql est venues devant ou chemin de corbl en venant a arras po tend la chambre de mad ix s iiii d
- Menun po sable venue devant po amener ptie de la dte chambre p le dtes vii disnees ix s iiii d
- Begarin esmier de mad de gascceran po pluss emnues frais p lui fais po son chal de monbar jusque a corbl les ptie venues et visetees aux comptes p les maists dostel po tent vii s iiii d

Appendix III
A Receipt for the Reconstruction of the Hôtel de Plaisance, Paris, ca. 1369-1370
 ADCO B.1430 49v-51r

- Oeuvres Ftes en hostel monss a PLAISANCE pes du bois de Vincenn le quell mons a nouvellement acquis de mais Jehan de Mares advocate en Pallent du Roy mess a Paris les quells on teste faites et paies p Masst Pierre D'Orgemot president en plement. Et premier
 - A Jehan le Porchz Charroin demour en la grant rue st anthony qui deuz h est pour la vendu de deaux charrios a port plastre achet de lui p faire les besoingn du dit hostel de plaisance par sa quit xiiE jour de janvier ccclxvi VII franz
 - A Nicolas Thoronde serrom et bourgeois de Paris qui deuz li estoient pou la vend de ii freur achetes de lui pour ferre les deux chareres dess dces par sa quittance don iiie jour de Janvier xxxlxvi XIII franz
 - A Symon yon Tuillez demour aux tuiller les Par qui deuz li estoient pour XXM de tuille un cent dachtes et demi cent de noes liuvre par lui pour le dit hostel de plaisance par sa quittance donn xxiiie jour de janvier dess dit CIII franz
 - A Martin le gris fenon qui deuz li estoier pour une some de clo achet et deliuvre par lui pour les besoinges du dit hostel p sa quittance donn le xxxe jour du dit mois de janvier iiii franz dej
 - A Guille mignot et symon de clichy macons dur etam ouvrage de maconner et demise quil douvent faire ou dit hostel de plaisance par leur quittance donn vi de fevr ccclcvii C Franz
 - A Jehan Bailleguerre de Fontenay les le bois de vincennes qui deus li estoient pour l'arruage de iiii qitom de pre de plastre de fontenay ou dit hostel pour les reparacions du dit hostel par sa quittance donn xiiiie Jour de fevr ccclxvi XII frans
 - A Jehan le clerc strui qui deus h estoient po viii frur tant de fer come de fust par lui livre et mises ou dit hostel pour iiii cheviles de fer pour les charroz du dit hostel p sa quittance don le xvie jour du dit mois de feuv France piece xvi f T XXX s g de xvi s p le franc
 - A guille mareschal demour en la rant rue saint antoine qui devs h estoiet cest assavoire pour embarre et contrespectue iiii des recs des charettes du dit hostel de plaisance xx s T pour viii happes iiii huitotz iiii heusses iiii soiez et iiii Ocampons pour les dts charettes xvi s T p ce xxxvi s t pa sa quittance don le xvie jour du dit mois de feur francs come dessus XXXVIII f T de XVI s p le s
 - A Regn le guaignier marre de plaisance qui deus li estoient cest assavoir pour Liiii ouvres mis p lui ou dit hostel de plesaince semaine de la chandelieure ccclxvi darr passe T estap paie des Jardins du dit hostel CVIII s t lt sable pour LXX ouvrs mis p lui ou dit hostel la seman aps ens pour attraper les diz jardins vii l p et sambl la semana aps ens pour arrachz les racin et les noiers des diz jardins a cuire le plastre CXII s T pour ce p sa quittance donn XXIIe Jour du dit mois ens XVIII L P de XVI S T le Franc
 - Guillame mignot et symon de chchy macons pour le demourant de la some de (BEGINNING 50 RECTO) IIC L franz q il devoit avoir par march fait pour etam besoinges de maccier q il ont fts et sone encores ou dit hostel dont C franz sont sons cy devant . par leur tittance donn le Dymenche XIIIle Jour de mars XXXLXVI C L FRANS

- A Theiry le forestier marchant de merrien qui deus li estoient pour xx pieces de marrien achet de lui pour les ouverages du dit hostel de paisance par sa quittance donn le xviiiie jour de mars xxxlxvi X frans
- Symon de Gerquerel dui deus li estoient pour la vendue de iii errans du pie sole au menubout et de VII toises de lonc achetees de lui pour les ouvraes du dit hostel par sa quittance donn XVII e Jour du dit mois de marz XX F
- A Henry houssery marchant de merrien qui devs li estoiet pour la vendue de xxvii couples de soluies de ii toises et demie de lonc dun espan de fourniture en un pt et demi en latre et pour xxv couples de chevrons aline de iiiii toises de lonc achet de lui pour les ouvrages du dit hostel par sa quittance don le xviiiie Jour du dit mois de mars franz piece xvi s P XXXIII L XVIII S P de XVI s T le franc
- A Jehan Cheurre Charpant qui devs li estoient pour faire cy ez xxxiiii solives de ii toises et demi de lonc et pour sa père de char xx solives de ii toises et ii tirans de V toises pour les besoinges du dit hostel par sa quittance don xixe jour du dit mois de marz franz come dessus XL s p
- A Jehan le Clerc server qui devs li estoient pour etam ii arrangnesd de fer chascune de VII piez de lonc et de V piez de le par lui livre ou dit hostel par sa quittance donn le xxiie jour du dit mois de mais XVIII franz
- A Guille folie de fontenay les le bois de vincennes en prest sur etam quicity de chret de plastre q il a livre et liuvera pour les macconages du dit hostel de plaisance p mchic fait a lui de xvi d p quil doit avoir pour chascune chrt prise en la carre p sa quittance donn le samedi iiiie jour davril ccclxvi XX franz
- A lui pour samble par sa quittance donn xxviiiie jour de juing xxxlxvii XXiiii franz
- A lui pour samble par sa quitt donn xxviiiie jour de Juing ccclxvii x franz
- A Pre Poisson marchant de bois qui deus li estoient pour viii C de costerez pris es bois q maise Jeh de Mills a Sur Marne pour les ouvrages du dit hostel et par sa quittance donn le iiiie Jour davril ccclxvi XLVIII s par
- A Jehan Cheucel charpant qui devs li estoiet pour faire la charpantie dune sale dunne chambre t duns degres et plusies autres repacons de charpantie q il astes ou dit hostel par sa quittance donn le Ve Jour davril ccclxvi
- A Guille Eude voitur et seg a chal du Chastellet de par pour mener de paris ou dit hostel de plaisance iii chariotees de merrien et ii granz vramgn de fer pour les (HERE BEGINS 50 V) ouvrages dudit hostel par sa quittance donn a par le viie Jour davril ccclxvi ii Franz
- A Jehan Bailleguerre de Fontenay les le bois de Vincienn qui devs li estoient. Cest ass pour un quon de plastre viii franz et pour larrauge de viiiC de cousteirs des bois de milly I franc par sa quittance donn le xe jour davril ccclcvi V franz
- Jehan le poichr chariom et Guille de Trapes mareschal qui devs le estoient/ cest assavoir au dit Jehan le porchr pour essuel et vire fretive viii s p pour vire a longe vi s pour ii fretes a appareillr le moaiu ii s g pour un esseul iiiii f t pour vire parr de res neuves xxviii s p pour un fortune iiiii s p sont Lii s p ce au dit guille pour xii happes x t pour refaire la deste dune cheville de fer de lun dez chanoz xvi d t pour ii bandes pour relier un moieul ii s p pour une aisse x d pour un fournissemt xxiiii f t et pour vire band eslonigier et embatre un pair de roes x s t sont xviii f p les uelles choses il on bailles et deliuvres

- pour les chinós du dit hostel de plaisos. Pour ce p leur quittance donn le xiiie jour davril ccclxvi C f P
- Regnant Gueguiez maire de plaiſſance qui devs li estoient cest assavoir pour xxxii fesseaux de perches xxii f vi d p pour ii gerbes dosies pour appareillr les trailles du dit hostel v s iiiii d p et pour un ouvr qui a ftes et appareillees les dtes trailles xvi s p pour so p quittance du dit marre donn le xv jour davril ccclxvi franz come dess xliii s x d p
 - Jehan Bailleguerre qui devs li estoient pour larrinage dun qiton de pierre de plast de fontenay ou dit hostel par sa quittance donn le xxviiiie jour davril ccclxvii apres pasques iiiii Franz
 - A Prete de la Court marchande qui devs li estoient pour la vendue de viii de late et xxxv toises de gouticie liuvre et charges en lostel de la dte prete et menes ou dit hostel de plaiſſance par sa quitt donn le xxixe jour davril ccclxvii apres pasques franz piece xvi s p XXVII l XVII s p de xvi s p le franc
 - Martin le ris ferron qui devs li estoient cest assavoir pour iiiii somes de clou a late demi millz de clo a plonc et pour un cent de chevilles de fer par lui liuvres ou dit hostel de plaiſſance pour ce par sa quittance donn a par le iiiie jour de may CCCLXVII xviii frz viii s P
 - Regnaut le Guegmer marre de plaiſſance qui devs li estoient pour oster de gravois des chambres du dit hostel de plaiſſance et pour la mettre en la court du dit hoste p sa quittance don le viiiie jour de may ccclxvii iii franz
 - A symon yon Tuillr qui devs li estoient cest assavoir pour xliii MIL et demi de tuille le millier V franz val lxvii franz et demi pour un cent de frestier v franz pour ii C et demi darreciers VI franz et pour un cent de noes ii franz et demi les quelles choses il a baillees et deliuvres ou dit hostel pour ce par sa quittance (HERE BEGINS 51 RECTO) donn le viiiie jour de may ccclxvii iiiii(XX) franz
 - Richard Goulot recouveur qui devs li estient cest assavoir pour sa prre de recouvrir le dit hoste le plaiſſance lxv franz et pour plusieurs Journees q il a stes de par ou dit hostel en conduisant la dts tuille v franz pour ce par sa quittance don le viiiie jour de may Mccclxvii LXX franz
 - Jehan le porchr charron et guille de trappes feure demour a par qui devs leur estoient cest assavoir au dit charroin pour iiiii essis une freture et un tumbel pour les charioz dem dit seigneur xliis p et au dit feure pour xii happes une bande renouee pour les xiz charioz et pour un bolon ii saies ii huitoins ii esses et ii crampons a lymon pour le dit tumberel xxi s viii d p pour ce par leur quitt donn viii jour de may ccclxvii franz prec pou xvi s p lxiii s viii d p
 - A Jehan clinit espicier qui devs li estoient pour cvi L de plonc neuf par lui livre ou dit hostel par sa quittance donn le iiiie jour de may ccclxvii L i s p
 - A Henry Houssroy marchand de merrien qui devs li estoient / cest assavoir pour xviii solines de ii toises et demi de lonc dun espan de fourniture en un le et demi pie en lautre piece vii s p val VI L VI S P pour iii pieces de merrien chastune de iii toises de lonc un grant espan de fourniture xii s p piece val xxxvi s p pont vi solines chasune de ii toises de lonc un espain de fourniture en un le et demi pie en lautre v s p piece val xxx s p pour iiiii solines de deux toises et demi de lonc et de plux dun grant espain de fourniture pour mes aisemes du dit hostel x s p piece val xL s p pour viii comples de cheurons chastune

de IIII toises de lonc drois aligne xii s p Comple val iiiii L xvi S P pour xxii comples de chevions chascun de ii toises et demi de lonc la conple x s p val cx s p pour demi cent de planches xx s p pour une piece de bois de xii pies de lonc un grant pie(rre) de fourniture pour fair un mantel a cheminee xvi p et pour cyer la dte piece a lonc ii s p toutes les quelles choses il a bailles et deliuvres pour les ouvrages du dit hostel Paur ce par sa quittance donn a Par le XIIe jour de may ccclxvii franz comme dessus Xxiii Livres xvi s P

- A Jehan le Fou maistre de la basse ouvre qui devs li estoient pour sa perre de vuider les aisemens du dit hostel par sa quittance donn a Paris le xxiie jour de may ccclxvii VI franz
- A Nicolas Tiugis Vallet plastriez qui devs li estoient pour son salarie de batre et conice xv mins et demi de plastre pour les ouvrages du dit hostel pour chastun mu V s iiiii d p val val iiiii l iii s p dont les recouvers du dit hostel en ont xv muis et le maist de la bass evine pour les aisonis du dit hostel par sa quittance donn a paris le xxiie jour de may cccxvii IIII livres iii s p
- A Pierre de Anthone macon sur etam ouvrage de la clostur des murs du dit hostel (HERE BEGINS 51 VERSO) que il doit faire par sa quittance donn le xxiie jour de mai ccclxvii C franz
- Jehan le poichr charcom et guille de trappes ferrom que deuz leur estoient cest assavoir au dit poichr pour un parre de roes xxviii s p pour vire srecture iiiii s par pour esseul iiiii s par et pour sold et ouveure v s p et au dit guille pour un fournss pour le chariot xxiii s p pour embat vire paite de res viii s p pour viii happes vi s viii d p pour renouez virs bande xii d p pour un hen xii d p et pour ferrez vire selece vi s p ptoutes les qlles choses il ont deliur pour les charos du dit hostel pour ce p leur quitt donn le xxiie jour de may xxxlviii iiiii l xi s viii d p le xvi s le franz
- A Jehan bailleguerre que devs li estoient pour larrage p amenege dun quiton de pre de plastre de fontenay ou dit hostel p sa quitt donn xxvie jour de may xxxlviii iiiii franz
- Symon yon tuillr qui devs li estoient cest assavoir pour xviC de tuille liuvre li ou dit hostel viii franze et pour un quiton de frestier liuvre ou dit hostel l franc pou ce p sa quitt don le XV jour de Juing ccclxvii LX franz
- Colin le Tourneur qui deus li estoient cest assavoir pour etam repacons de lambris q il a ste en la grant chambre sur le four ou il aeu XLL C et LXII lambris en la chambre dessus la port et dessus les degres a montre la grant sale et ou porche a landre de la dite sale en la tour en haut en la gallene et es a lee ou il aeu en cous les diz lieux xvC xix lambes XI franz II s VI d p en louvreature de la grant chambre et assavoir un tour et demi de lalec ou il a iii C et demi de Lambris neuf v franz iiiii swrs pour iii sieges entrien en une piece et un pies de log et de ii pies de le et de mre des despes xviii s p Et pour ii liceaux et chenvonnier sur les degres qui montent en la tour iiiii s p pour ce par sa quittance donn a Par le IIII e jour de may ccclxvii xviii franz iiiii s vi d p
- A Jehan le Clerc serrur qui deus li estoient pour une gnt yramgre et ii grn souspaes de fer pour vire cheminee et pour plusieurs serrer a huis et autres choses de son mest q il a liuvre ou dit hostel par sa quitt don nixe jour de jauing ccclxvii XX frans
- A prete de la court marchande de mrien qui deus li est pour vi tois et demi de goutier chast tois iiiii s vi d p et pour iii c de lare chastu c vi p liuvres ou dit hostel p la dte preire p

les reparacions dicelui p ce p sa quittance donn a par le Xie jour de Juing ccclxvii xliiii s iii d p

- A Jeh cheurel charpant qui deus li estoient pour facon de ii manteaux acheminees cest assavoir un manteau pour la cheminee de la sale et un autre pour la chemnee de la chambre les la porte et pour appeillir le memen du planchz liz a tour soliuvez et cheveller laisemt neuf p de p sa quitt donn xiiii jour de juing ccclxvii xl s p
- A Emille mignot macon qui deus li estoient pour planchis p lui faiz en la gnt sale et en la gnt chambre jouignant a la tout du dit hostel et p pluseurs autres reparation de son mest q il a ftes en ycellui y sa quitt donn xiiii de Juing xxxlcvii x franz
- (BEGIN 52 RECTO) A Henry Houffroy marchand de marrien qui eus estoient pour iii pieces de marrien chastune de iiC toises et deme de lonc dun pie sole de fourniture piece X s p val xxx s p pour v autres pieces de ii tois et deme de lonc chastun dun espan de fourniture en un le et demi pie et lautre piece vii s p val xxxv s p pour ii autres pieces chastcune de ii toises de lonc dun espan de fourniture en un le et demi pie en lautre piece V s p val x s p pour un chevron de iii tois et demi de lonc droit a ligne vi s t les quelles chos il a liuvre p le dit hostel p ce p sa quitt donn le xiiiiie jour de juing ccclxvii iiiii livres xii d p
- A pre de hantone macon demour a par pour le demour de plux gnt some qui li estoie deue pour la macconer de la closture des miurs de lostel de plaisance dont il a eu en vue paie cy dev c franz p sa quitt donn le vendredi second jour de juillet ccclxvii franz piece xvi s p xviii l p
- A Regnaut le guarignitz marre de plaisance pour farichz et ferrez les pres de plaisance p sa quittance donn le cercredi vii jour de juillet xxxlcvii iiiii fr
- A Jehan bailleguerre de fontenay pour son salaire de arautz des pres de mons de bri et de nogent sur maint ou dit hostel de plaisance p ad de mons senza ut quittance ou deschaige donn le xxvie jour de juillet xxxlcvii ii franz
- A Pram le Tourne charpantier demour a par pour facon donne porte de plusieres huis et de plusieurs fenestres du dit hostel p sa quittance donn xxiie jour oust ccclxvii xliiii frans
- A Jehan le clerc serrur qui deus li estoient pour ferrez les liuvres et fenestres du dit ostel par sa quittance donne le xxie jour doctobre xxxlcvii xxx franz
- A Regn le guaigner moire de plaisance sur ce qui li pourra estre deue pour fair taillr les vignes du dit hostel et p le command de maist pre douze mol aseillr du roy et mons xii franz
- Et pour schalaz pour les dts vignes xxiiii s p
- AUTRES mises ftes par le dit maist re doigemot pour les repacons du dit hostel dont il na pns aucun qct oest ass p chx moles de buche achet p cuire le plast q a este emploie es repacons du dit hostel de plaisance et pour iiiii fnz q mons donn aux ouvriers du dit hosted el po happes mides et pluss autres men(ere ?) choses les part est pt attcos du compte fait sur ce qu dit maist p re le second de fevri xxxlcvi rend a court avec les livres de ce pnt cmpt xxxviii l xvii s iiiii d de xvi s p le f
- Pour xxvii journees de macons et de leurs aid qui on pend les huis et les fenestres du dit hostel a chastun pour sa journ vii s p val ix l xvi s p de xvi s p le franc