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heraldic meaning of the sumptuous Coffret of John of Montmirail, an issue that arises from the Psalter for the Count of Flanders (Royal Library of Belgium MS 10607) which uses carefully heraldic shields, riders, and animals to negotiate an urban presence in Ghent. Richard A. Leson studies how the now-fragmented tomb of Robert of Cassel in Warneton reflected the ambitions of the Franco-Flemish nobility.

The second issue investigates underlying themes and functions of a diverse range of material and visual culture. Laura E. Cochrane explores why and how a Carolingian Copy of Boethius's *De institutione arithmetica* was used for both sacred and secular purposes. Less concrete, but just as crucial, Elisa A. Foster traces the visual culture of religious processions at Le Puy-en-Velay. Dominique Hoche then examines the appropriateness of studying medieval church wall paintings through the lens of modern graphic narratives. This issue also contains in-depth book reviews of *Medieval and Later Ivories in the Courtauld Gallery: Complete Catalogue* by Katherine Eve Baker, *The Bernward Gospels: Art, Memory, and the Episcopate in Medieval Germany* by Eliza Garrison, and *Palace of the Mind: The Cloister of Silos and Spanish Sculpture of the Twelfth Century* by Mickey Abel.

This issue's Discoveries section includes accounts of re-discovered treasures (4th-century glass paten, Byzantine-era church with quatrefoil baptismal font, a Viking hoard, and a dramatic pilgrim badge), archaeological discoveries of enameled Anglo-Saxon jewelry, a 9th-century ring with an Islamic inscription from a Spanish tomb, and more.



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The Future

For future issues we are actively seeking articles on any aspect of medieval art and architecture, including: long and short scholarly articles, scholarly book reviews, review articles on issues facing the field of medieval art history, interesting notes and announcements, useful website recommendations, new archeological discoveries, and recent museum acquisitions. We are interested in publishing articles that will undergo double-blind review as well as those which are subject only to regular editing processes, including articles that are the result of preliminary research. We are also looking for images to add to our photobank, to be shared and used by anyone in the classroom and in their research. To round out the scholarly portion of the journal, we are also seeking short, amusing excerpts from medieval sources, comments on the Middle Ages in movies and popular culture, etc.

Again, welcome to *Peregrinations*. Any suggestions or comments you have concerning the journal would be most welcome. Please feel free to e-mail us at: [Sarah Blick \(editor\)](#).

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FABRICATI DIEM, PVNC

-- The motto of the Ankh-Morpork City Watch (Terry Pratchett, *Guards! Guards!*)

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Negotiating Identity in Northern France and the Lowlands in the High Middle Ages

The inspiration for this volume was a session titled

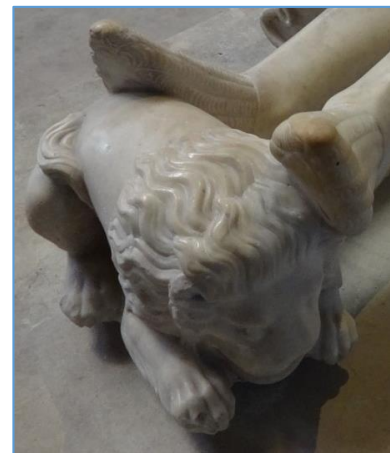
“Lions of Flanders: Material Culture and Identity in the Flemish

Low Countries” that we organized for the 48th International

Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, Michigan, in the Spring of 2013. That session stemmed from our mutual interest in material and visual expressions of identity in the Flemish Low Countries during the High Middle Ages. With the kind encouragement of *Peregrinations* general editor Sarah Blick we have expanded our scope to include relevant developments across the contiguous landscapes of northern France, western (or “royal”) Flanders, and the County of Brabant. The manuscripts, monuments, luxury objects and common materials explored in these essays bear witness to the ever-shifting allegiances and political boundaries that defined this region in the High Middle Ages. In the shadow of the French King and the German Emperor, ecclesiastics and nobles consolidated identities through material and visual means. Thus, Jeff Rider’s examination of authorship in the twelfth-century autograph manuscript of the *Genealogia Flandrensium comitum* (Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d’Agglomération, MS 746, 64r-68v), a seminal source for the historiography of the Counts of Flanders in Saint-Omer composed at the Abbey of Saint-Bertin, sheds light on the monastic author’s efforts to navigate a

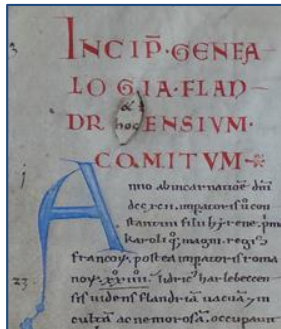
“readable” path through the complicated interdynastic history of the Flemish nobility. In the Psalter of Guy of Dampierre (Royal Library of Belgium MS 10607), Elizabeth Moore Hunt demonstrates how heraldic decorations—another means of qualifying allegiance and descent—constituted the political and dynastic network of the Count and, in tandem with the visual and material environment of the comital family, substantiated his identity. The Dampierre family shared this heraldic language with the French monarchy; accordingly, Anne Lester’s examination of the Parisian Longpont coffret—an object later repurposed in Picardy—demonstrates the rich valences of a heraldic constellation that moved across borders temporal and geographical. The diffusion of an architectural language is the subject of Bailey K. Young and Laurent Verslype’s report on recent excavations at the castle of Walhain-Saint-Paul in Walloon Brabant. While the lesser lords of Walhain held their lands in fief to the Duke of Brabant, their castle testifies to the transmission of *phillipien* fortification models and demonstrates the surprising material resources that members of the lesser nobility might bring to bear. Finally, Richard Leson shows how the fragmentary tomb of Robert of Cassel in Warneton—a monument that once boasted a Parisian alabaster effigy—embodied the local and supraregional powers of the Franco-Flemish nobility in the early fourteenth century.

During the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, the material articulation of identity, whether individual, familial, or regional, depended upon a range of media to assert claims of power, legacy, or allegiance. Through written and illuminated manuscripts, structural and architectural elements, and funerary and luxury displays,



the emphasis on materiality in this special issue promotes the idea that a cross-section of media is necessary to understand the creation and validation of identity among noble families, particularly those residing in the northern European counties between the crowns of France and Empire. The objects covered here resonate with one another and formulate sites for memory that were as potent to their original viewers as they are to us today. 🐉

-Elizabeth Moore Hunt and Richard A. Leson



Composing a Historical Compilation in the Twelfth Century: The Author's Manuscript of the *Genealogia Flandrensium comitum* (or *Flandria Generosa*) from Saint-Bertin¹

By Jeff Rider, Wesleyan University

The core historiographical tradition of Flanders began, as far as we know, with a genealogy of the counts of Flanders probably composed at the Abbey of Saint-Peter in Ghent during the reign of Count Baldwin V (1035-1067) and then continued in various versions up until 1168.² This work was published in 1851 by Ludwig Bethmann in the *Monumenta Germaniae historica* under the title *Genealogia comitum Flandriae Bertiniana* (the Bertinian [i.e., from the Abbey of Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer] *Genealogy of the Counts of Flanders*), although the work is usually entitled the *Genealogia Flandrensium comitum* (*Genealogy of the Flemish Counts*) in the manuscripts containing it and, as was noted, was probably composed at the Abbey of Saint-Peter rather than that of Saint-Bertin. This Petrenian *Genealogy* (that is,

¹ I would like to thank Rémy Cordonnier, the librarian in charge of the pôle Fonds Ancien et d'Etat at the Bibliothèque d'Agglomération of Saint-Omer, for his kindness, generosity and help with the preparation of this article and especially for taking and providing me with pictures of the manuscript discussed here. I would also like to thank the editors of this issue, Elizabeth Moore Hunt and Richard Leson, and the general editor of *Peregrinations*, Sarah Blick, for the invitation to contribute to this issue and for their help and patience.

² See Ludwig Bethmann, MGH SS 9 (Hannover, 1851), 305-08; idem, *Lettre à M. l'Abbé Carton sur les généalogies des comtes de Flandres*, Recueil de chroniques, chartes et autres documents concernant l'histoire et les antiquités de la Flandre-Occidentale, 1e série: Chroniques générales des Flandres (Bruges, 1849), 16; Jeff Rider "Vice, Tyranny, Violence, and the Usurpation of Flanders (1071) in Flemish Historiography from 1093 to 1294" in *Violence and the Writing of History in the Medieval Francophone World*, ed. Noah Guynn and Zrinka Stahuljak (Rochester, NY and Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2013), 56-57; and Georges Declercq, "Genealogia comitum Flandrensium" in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-the-medieval-chronicle/genealogia-comitum-flandrensium-EMCSIM_01073 (accessed 25 October 2014).

from the Abbey of Saint-Peter) formed the basis of a subsequent *Genealogia [sic] comitum Flandrię* composed by Lambert, a canon of the collegiate church of Saint-Omer. Lambert continued the genealogy up through the beginning of the reign of Count Charles the Good (1119-1127) and included it in his *Liber floridus*, which he completed around 1121.³

Lambert's *Genealogy* formed in turn the basis of a genealogical history, or "dynastic genealogy" as Ann Kelders has called it, of the counts of Flanders from 792 to 1164 that was composed at the Abbey of Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer, France and finished shortly after 1164.⁴ This work has been known as the *Flandria Generosa* (or the A version of the *Flandria Generosa* or the *Flandria Generosa A* to distinguish it from later versions) since 1643 when Jean Galopin, a monk at the Abbey of Saint-Ghislain, first published a version of it drawn from a manuscript at his abbey and gave it that title.⁵ However, the work is entitled the *Genealogia Flandrensium comitum* in the oldest manuscript containing it (Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération de Saint-Omer, MS 746, 64r-68v), which is probably the author's manuscript, and this is the name by which I will refer to it.⁶ **(Figure 1)** This genealogy was intended for a learned, which is to say ecclesiastical, audience, was used as a source by many later Flemish and French historians, and

³ See MGH SS 9 (Hannover, 1851), 308-12. The author's manuscript of the *Liber Floridus* is accessible online through the library of the University of Ghent, where it is preserved (<http://adore.ugent.be/OpenURL/app?id=archive.ugent.be:018970A2-B1E8-11DF-A2E0-A70579F64438&type=carousel&scrollto=0> [accessed 25 October 2014]). The title and first page of Lambert's genealogy may be found on f. 104r, where it is called *Genealogia comitum Flandrię*. See Raoul van Caenegem, "The Sources of Flemish History in the *Liber Floridus*" in idem, *Law, History, the Low Countries and Europe*, ed. Ludo Milis, Daniel Lambrecht, Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, and Monique Vleeschouwers-van Melkebeek (London, 1994), 72-75; *Liber Floridus*, http://www.liberfloridus.be/index_eng.html (accessed 25 October 2014); and Karen De Coene, Philippe De Maeyer, and Martine De Reu, eds., *Liber Floridus 1121: The World in a Book* (Tielt, 2011).

⁴ Ann Kelders, "Flandria generosa" in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy (Brill Online, 2014), http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-the-medieval-chronicle/flandria-generosa-EMCSIM_01009 (accessed 25 October 2014).

⁵ *Flandria generosa, seu Compendiosa series genealogiae comitum Flandriae, cum eorumdem gestis heroicis, ab anno Domini 792. usque ad 1212*, ed. Georges Galopin (Mons, 1643).

⁶ See Henri-Victor Michelant, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1861), 333-334 (<https://archive.org/stream/cataloguegnr03franuoft#page/332/mode/2up>, accessed 25 October 2014). See also the Catalog collectif de France: http://ccfr.bnf.fr/portailccfr/jsp/index_view_direct_anonymous.jsp?record=eadcgm:EADC:D03011511 (accessed 25 October 2014).

had a strong influence on the historiography of Flanders and France during the later Middle Ages and the early modern period. As Jean-Marie Moeglin notes, “elle est traditionnellement

considérée comme le socle de l’histoire nationale flamande des derniers siècles du Moyen Âge.”⁷

I am currently preparing a new edition of this Bertinian genealogy, which will be the subject of this article, for the Royal Historical Commission of Belgium.

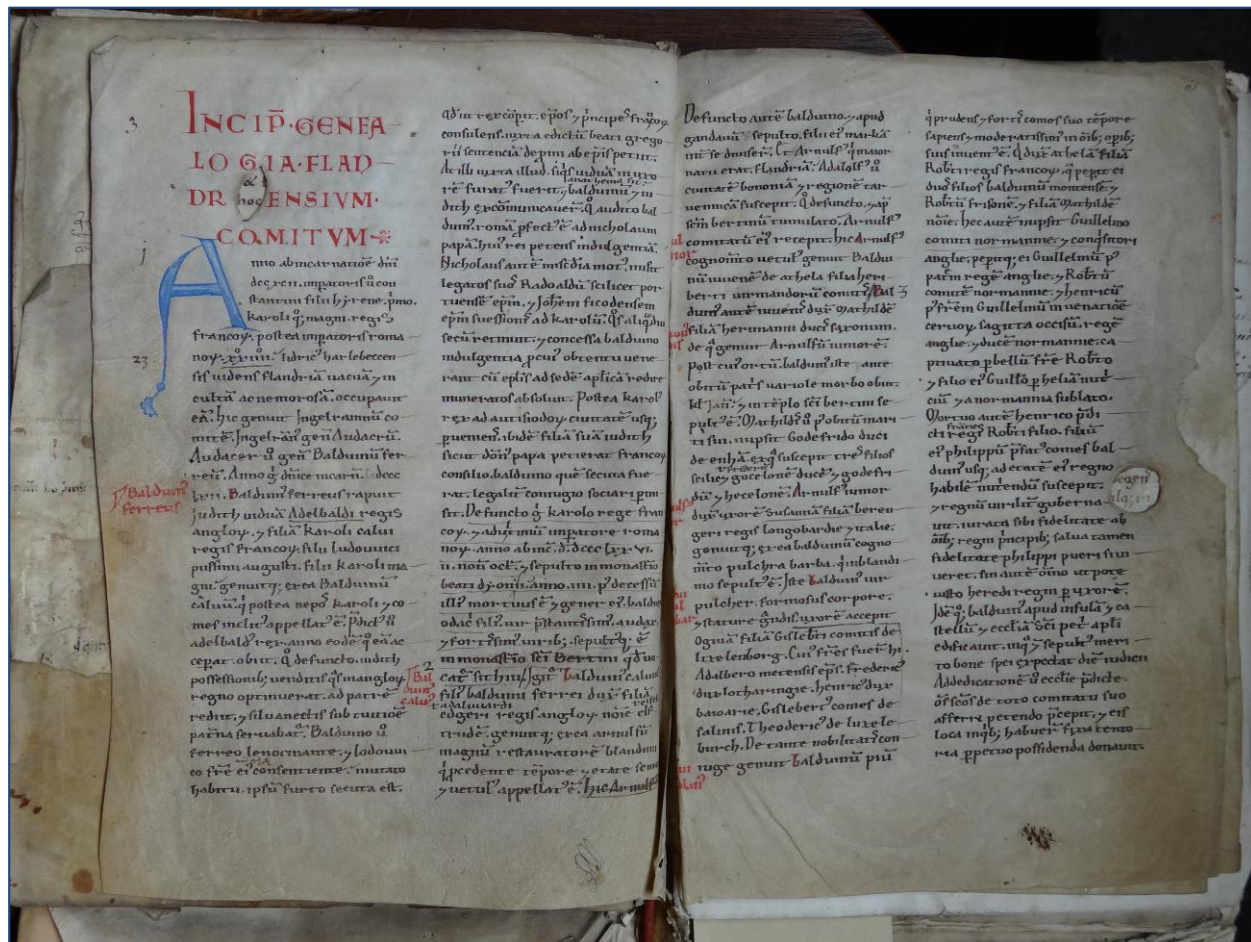


Figure 1 *Genealogia Flandrensiu comitum*, Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d’Agglomération de Saint-Omer (BASO), ms. 746-1, f. 64v-65. Photo: © BASO.

⁷ Jean-Marie Moeglin, “Une première histoire nationale flamande” in *Liber Largitorius: Etudes d’histoire médiévale offertes à Pierre Toubert*, ed. D. Barthélemy and J-M. Martin (Geneva, 2003), 456. See also *Narrative Sources from the Medieval Low Countries*, NaSo ID: F001, “Genealogia comitum Flandriae; Flandria Generosa A,” http://www.narrative-sources.be/colofon_en.php (accessed 25 October 2014).

Saint-Omer was one of the principal towns of Flanders in the twelfth century. It had developed between two poles: the count's castle and the neighboring collegial church of Saint-Omer (of which Lambert was a canon) on high ground to the southwest and the Abbey of Saint-Bertin in the valley of the Aa river to the northeast.⁸ The city had a merchant guild before 1127 and was one of the cities of Flanders in which William Clito made a triumphant entry when he became count in 1127.⁹ William granted the town a charter, which was renewed and expanded by successive counts throughout the twelfth century.¹⁰ The provost and at least some of the canons of the church of Saint-Omer played an important role in the administration of the castellany of Saint-Omer and it is noteworthy that the text of the inquest into the assassination of Count Charles the Good in 1127 “fu mis devers le prouvost Ogier de Saint-Omer pour garder” (was given to Ogier, the provost of Saint-Omer, to keep) suggesting that the church of Saint-Omer was considered a sort of official archive for the county where one could deposit important documents for safe-keeping.¹¹ The Abbey of Saint-Bertin, an important intellectual center with a large library and an active scriptorium, was also one of the two most important burial sites for the counts of Flanders – the other was the Abbey of Saint-Peter in Ghent.¹² Jealous of its role as

⁸ On the history of Saint-Omer during this period, see Arthur Giry, *Histoire de la ville de Saint-Omer et de ses institutions jusqu'au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1877); Alain Derville, *Histoire de Saint-Omer* (Lille, 1981); and Jeroen Deploige and Helena Vanommelaeghe, “Lambert's World: Saint-Omer until the Early Twelfth Century” in *Liber Floridus 1121*, 34–55. The church of Saint-Omer, the site of the count's castle and the ruins of Saint-Bertin are visible at <http://www.patrimoines-saint-omer.fr/uk/Les-monuments-historiques> (accessed 26 October 2014).

⁹ For the customs of the guild, see Georges Espinas and Henri Pirenne, “Les coutumes de la gilde marchande de Saint-Omer,” *Le Moyen Age: Revue d'histoire et de philologie* 5 (1901), 190–194. William Clito's triumphant entry is described by Galbert of Bruges, *The Murder, Betrayal, and Slaughter of the Glorious Charles, Count of Flanders* [66], trans. Jeff Rider (New Haven, 2013), 114–115, and also mentioned by Walter of Théroutanne in his *Vita Karoli comitis Flandriæ* [46], 26–30 (“*Vita Karoli comitis Flandriæ*” et “*Vita domni Ioannis Morinensis episcopi*” quibus subiunguntur poemata aliqua de morte comitis Karoli conscripta et quaestio de eadem facta, ed. Jeff Rider, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis*, 217 [Turnhout, Belgium, 2006], 71).

¹⁰ See Giry, *Histoire de la ville de Saint-Omer*, 371–402.

¹¹ “Enqueste et jugement de chiaus qui le Conte Charlon avoient ochis,” l. 154–155, ed. Jeff Rider, in Walter of Théroutanne, “*Vita Karoli comitis Flandriæ*” et “*Vita domni Ioannis Morinensis episcopi*,” 209. On the administration of the domain of the counts of Flanders and the role the clergy of the collegial churches attached to the count's castles played in it, see Jeff Rider, *God's Scribe: The Historiographical Art of Galbert of Bruges* (Washington, DC, 2001), 17–20 and 25–27.

¹² On the intellectual climate at Saint-Bertin, see Karine Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders*

the principal necropolis of the counts of Flanders, Saint-Bertin took on the role of writing and preserving their history and indeed that of the whole county, and was in this sense comparable to Saint-Denis in France. It is thus not surprising that the genealogy of the counts should be of great interest in Saint-Omer and that a version of the genealogy that had probably first been drawn up at Saint-Peter's Abbey in Ghent in the eleventh century should have made its way to Lambert at the church of Saint-Omer before 1121 and that Lambert's genealogy should then have traveled down the hill to Saint-Bertin.¹³

We are exceptionally fortunate to possess either the author's manuscript of the Bertinian *Genealogy* or at least the manuscript from which all other copies derive, which is preserved in the public library of Saint-Omer. This manuscript consists of the last five leaves of an eight-leaf parchment quire, whose first three leaves have been cut off, sewn into the first volume of a large, two volume codex belonging to the library of Saint-Bertin, to which I will hereafter refer as *S*. The two volumes contain a variety of works, mostly saints lives, but also chronicles in French and Latin, lists of the abbey's possessions, offices of Saints Omer and Bertin, etc. All but two of the thirty-two works they contain are written on paper and most were copied in the seventeenth century. The codex thus seems to be a miscellany copied by a monk of Saint-Bertin in the seventeenth century into which he inserted a couple of pre-existing manuscript works on parchment he found, presumably, in the abbey library. The *Genealogy* begins on the left-hand page of the first of the five remaining leaves of the quire (f. 64v of the codex). The right-hand page of this leaf (f. 64r) contains the end of the fourth-century Saint Gregory of Elvira's *De fide*

(York, England, 2005).

¹³ The similarity between the names of Petrenian and Bertinian genealogies is sufficient to suggest that the author of the Bertinian *Genealogy* had a copy of the Petrenian *Genealogy* at his disposal as well as a copy of Lambert's *Genealogy* but there is still more work to do before this can be determined conclusively. For this essay, I will presume that the author of the Bertinian *Genealogy* had a copy of only Lambert's work.

orthodoxa contra Arianos,¹⁴ while the end of the *Genealogy* on the left hand page of the last leaf of the quire (f. 68v) is crowded and runs to the very bottom right of the page, suggesting that these five leaves once belonged to a larger manuscript in which the *Genealogy* was written on some leaves that had been left blank after the end of the copy of the *De fide orthodoxa*.

In the preface to his edition of the work in the *Monumenta*, Ludwig Bethmann suggested that this manuscript of the *Genealogy* was the author's manuscript and my own study of the early manuscripts of the work has confirmed that it is at least the one from which all others descend.¹⁵ The originality of the manuscript can be demonstrated in traditional ways – it contains, for example, no independent omissions – but also in other more intriguing ways that allow us to follow in some detail the way in which the author of the *Genealogy* composed his work. The beginning of line 19 of f. 65r2, (**Figure 2**) for example, reads: “[predi]cti regis Roberti filio” (son of the aforementioned King Robert) with “Francie” (of France) written directly above “regis” (king). Since the hand and the ink in which *Francie* is written are the same as those of the

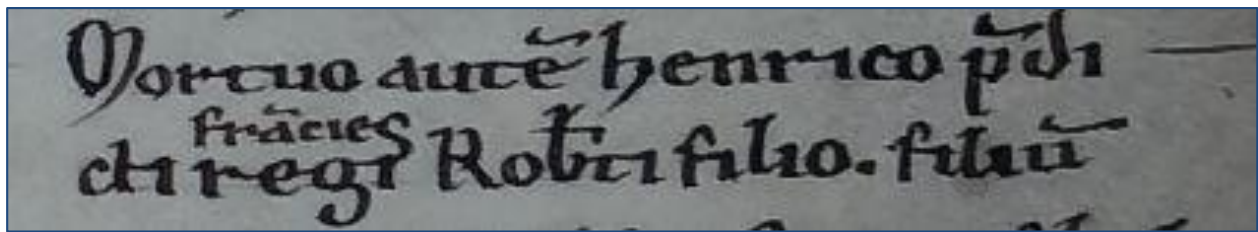


Figure 2 *Genealogia Flandrensium comitum*, Saint-Omer, BASO, ms. 746-1, f. 65r2. Photo: © BASO

¹⁴ Gregorius Iliberritanus, Gregorius Iliberritanus (Ps.), Faustinus Luciferianus, *Opera quae supersunt. Dubia et spuria. Opera*, ed. V. Bulhart, J. Fraipont, M. Simonetti, CCSL 69 (Turnhout, 1967), 245-247 (also PL 17, 566-568).

¹⁵ See Bethmann, MGH SS 9, 314 and 317, and *Lettre à M. l'Abbé Carton sur les généalogies des comtes de Flandres*, 19. It is curious that Bethmann emended the text of this manuscript in numerous places in his edition of it with readings from later copies even though he recognized that it was the author's; the text he prints is a good, but not entirely faithful copy of the author's manuscript.

rest of the text, one normally assumes on a first reading of this manuscript that the copyist either omitted the word *Francie*, which was in the text he was copying, but noticed and corrected his error by writing the missing word above the line, or that he added the word himself because he felt that the reader might not understand what king was being referred to here. Since the other early copies of the *Genealogy* all include *Francie* in their text, a natural first conclusion is that the copyist of *S* must have omitted this word and then noticed and corrected his error.

It is intriguing, however, and telling that some copies of the text (e.g., Brussels, Royal Library, MS 9823-34) have the reading “Francie regis” (of France the king) while others (e.g., Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d’Agglomération MS 769) read “regis Francie” (the king of France) and yet others (e.g., Paris, BnF, Baluze 42) “regis Francorum” (the king of the French). There seems to have been a difference of opinion between at least two early copyists, who do not seem to have been sure whether the word *Francie* should come before or after *regis*. The reading to which these copyists were reacting must have been ambiguous in some way, as is the reading of *S*. There is in fact no correct reading of *S* since one could resolve its addition of *Francie* above the line as either *Francie regis* or *regis Francie*. Faced with this ambiguity, one copyist reacted by placing *Francie* before *regis*, while another reacted by placing it after *regis*.

A third copyist, faced possibly with the reading *regis Francie* in his exemplar and, influenced perhaps by the expression “Roberti regis Francorum” (Robert, king of the French) that is used in the fourth line of the same column, seems to have chosen to change *Francie* (of France) to *Francorum* (of the French). It is possible, however, that the model of this copyist was also *S* and he felt that the word *Francie*, written above the line, was not only ambiguous but less authoritative than the rest of the text and that he resolved the ambiguity by emending *Francie* to *Francorum* and placing it after *regis*. It thus seems that at least two independent copies were

made of *S*, one of which resolved the ambiguity as *Francie regis*, a second of which resolved it as *regis Francie*, and possibly a third independent copy that emended *Francie* to *Francorum* and placed it after *regis*.

What I find most interesting, however, is the insight the addition of *Francie* above *regis* gives us into the thought of the compiler of *S*. Since King Robert II of France, the “aforementioned king” referred to in l. 19, was last mentioned in l. 4 of this same column and then merely as the father of Countess Adela of Flanders, and since the text mentions two other Roberts – Count Robert I of Flanders and Duke Robert Curthose of Normandy – and two kings of England – William Rufus and Henry – between lines 4 and 19, the compiler must have felt that members of his audience might have some trouble remembering who this “aforementioned King Robert” was and added “of France” to help them out. There is no known source for this passage, which was perhaps therefore written by the compiler, so the absence of *Francie* from the initial version of the text and its later addition above the line show us that the compiler reread his text soon after he wrote it, decided that a reader or a *fortiori*, a listener, might be confused because of the two Roberts and two kings that appear between the first and second mentions of Robert II, and added “of France” to make things clearer for readers. This is banal – which of us has not added a similar qualifier in a similar situation? – but it is remarkable precisely because it is so familiar to us. The compiler of the *Genealogy* was revising his work exactly as we do although his medium forced him to write *Francie* above the line rather than inserting it in the line the way my word processing program allows me to do. If he had had a computer, he would undoubtedly have inserted the word in the line after he reread the passage.

The *Genealogia* is a surprisingly original work. Roughly seventy percent of it has no known source, while the remaining thirty percent is a compilation that adds passages from other

works to Lambert's *Genealogy* with small changes to weave the various sources together and some longer original passages. The passage that starts seven lines from the bottom f. 64v2 and ends in the eleventh line of f. 65r1 offers us a good example of this process of compilation, which can sometimes be quite complicated. **(Figures 3-4)** In the following transcription of this passage, which I have broken into lines corresponding to those of *S*, passages taken over from Lambert's *Genealogy* are printed in blue while passages taken over from Folcuin of Saint-Bertin's *Gesta abbatum Sithiensium* (*Deeds of the Abbots of Saint-Bertin*) are printed in red.¹⁶ Words struck through are ones that the compiler dropped from the passage he took over from an existing work while a double strike through indicates words he wrote and then struck out or erased. When a word contains a mixture of colored and black type, it means that the compiler took over a word from an existing text (the letters in color) but changed its declension or case (letters in black), for example, so it would fit into his text.

. . . Igitur Balduinus ~~autem~~ caluus,
 filius Balduini Ferrei, duxit filiam
 +Adaluuardi +Elfet
 Edgeri, regis Anglorum, nomine Elf-
 trudem, genuitque ex ea Arnulfum
 magnum, restauratorem Blandiniensis ~~cenobii~~,
 qui procedente tempore et etate senior
 et uetulus appellatus est. ~~Hic Arnulfus~~
 [65r1] Defuncto autem Balduino et apud
 Gandauum ~~¶~~ sepulto, filii eius markam
 inter se diuiserunt et Arnulfus, qui maior
 natu erat, Flandriam, Adalolfus uero
 ciuitatem Bononiam et regionem Tar-
 uennicam ~~pariterque Sancti Bertini suscepit abbatiam~~. Quo defuncto et apud
 Sanctum Bertinum tumultato, Arnulfus ~~frater eius abbatiam cum reliquo~~
~~comitatum eius recepit~~. Hic Arnulfus ~~uero magnus~~
 cognomento uetulus genuit Baldui-
 num iuuenem de Athela filia Heri-
 berti Uirmandorum comitis. . . .

¹⁶ Ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS 13 (Hannover, 1881), 607-634.

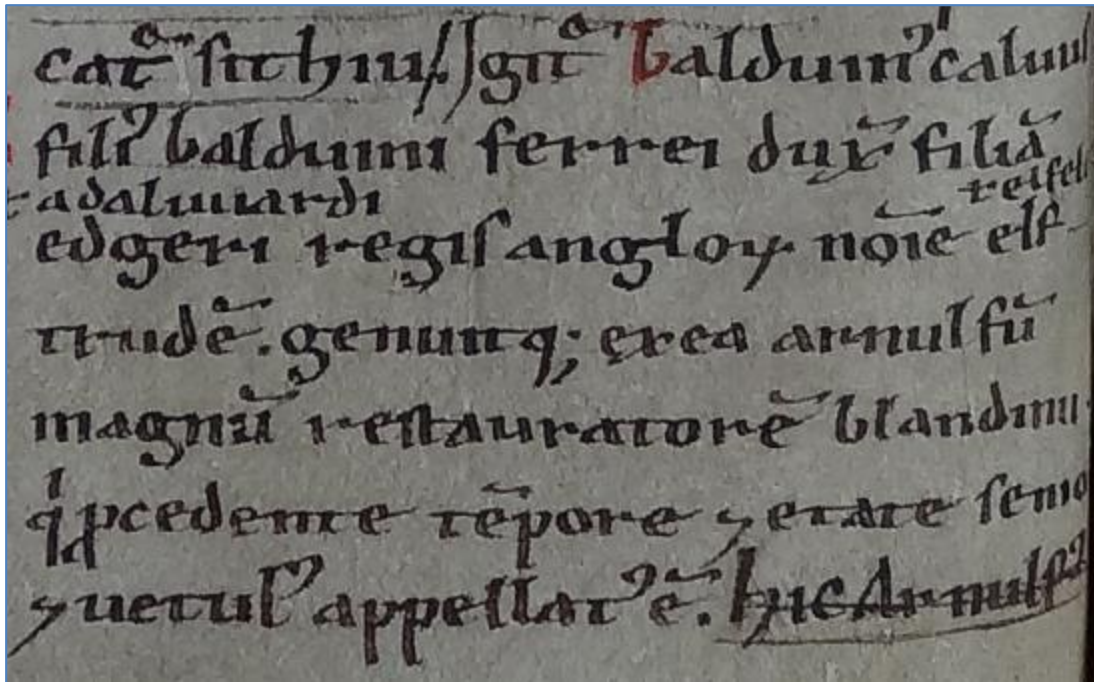


Figure 3 *Genealogia Flandrensiū comitū*, Saint-Omer, BASO, ms. 746-1, f. 64v2. Photo: © BASO.

. . . Then, ~~however~~, Baldwin the Bald,
the son of Baldwin Iron Arm, ~~married the daughter~~
+Adalward +Elfet
of Edgar, king of the English, named Elf-
trude, and with her engendered Arnulf
the Great, the restorer of ~~the Abbey of~~ Mount Blandin,
who, because he came first and because of his age,
is called Senior and “the Old.” ~~This Arnul~~
[65r1] When, however, Baldwin had died ~~h~~ and
been buried in Ghent, ~~his sons~~
divided the march [county] between them and Arnulf, who was
the first born, received Flanders, while Adalof, truly,
[received] the city of Boulogne and the region of Thér-
ouanne ~~along with the Abbey of Saint-Bertin~~. When he had died and
been entombed at Saint-Bertin, Arnulf, ~~his brother~~, recovered ~~the abbey along with the~~
~~rest of~~
~~his county~~. This Arnulf, ~~truly, the Great~~,
nicknamed “the Old,” engendered Bald-
win the Young with Athela, the daughter of Her-
bert, count of the Vermandois. . . .

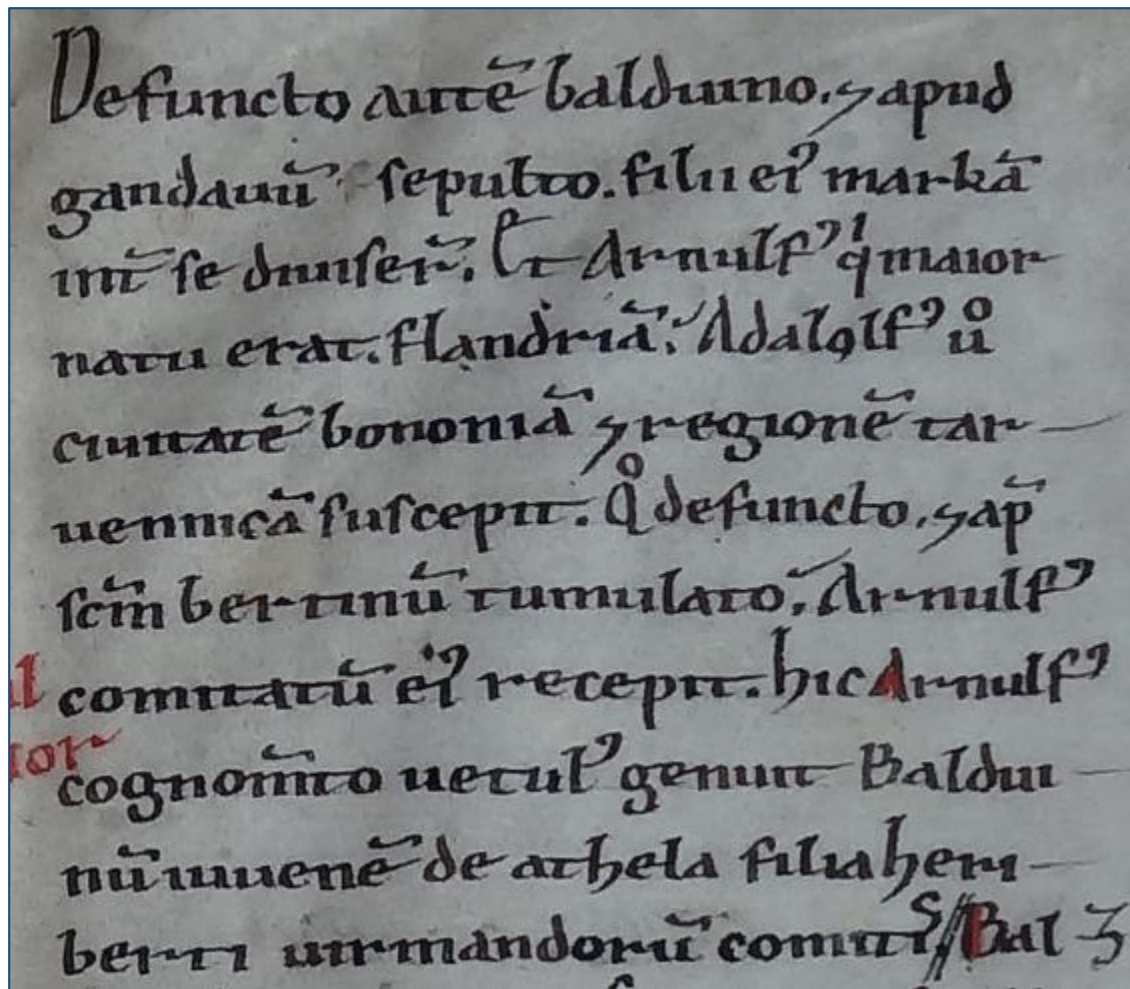


Figure 4 *Genealogia Flandrensium comitum*, Saint-Omer, BASO, ms. 746-1, f. 65r1. Photo: © BASO.

This passage shows how the compiler stitched passages from two works together with his additions in order to create a coherent and more comprehensive whole. He added several bits of information, giving us alternate names for Edgar and Elfrude, telling us why Arnold I was called Arnold Senior and Arnold the Old, and where Baldwin the Bald and Adalof were buried. He, likewise, added words and clauses to mark the progress of his narrative and the sequence of generations: “then,” “when, however, Baldwin had died and been buried in Ghent,” “when he had died and been entombed at Saint-Bertin.” And he qualified names to make sure the reader or listener does not get lost in the thickets of Baldwins and Arnolds: “the son of Baldwin Iron

Arm,” “who is called Senior and ‘the Old,’” “nicknamed ‘the Old.’” In this last instance, moreover, he substituted “nicknamed ‘the Old’” for Lambert’s “the Great” in order to refer back to the new information he had provided about Arnulf’s nicknames, weaving it more integrally into his text.

The compiler’s transformation of the first clauses of the passage he took over from Lambert also shows this concern for what one might term the passage’s narrative quality and ease of reading or listening. Lambert’s text reads: “Balduinus autem Calvus, ducta filia Edgeri regis Anglorum, nomine Efltrudem, genuit Arnulfum magnum” (However, Baldwin the Bald, having married the daughter of Edgar, king of the English, named Elftrude, engendered Arnulf the Great). This is typically compact twelfth-century Latin prose combining a participle clause (*having married*) with a main clause (*engendered*). The compiler of the *Genealogy* transformed the participle of the first clause into a conjugated verb when he took it over, transforming the complex sentence into a compound one: “Igitur Balduinus caluus, filius Balduini Ferrei, duxit filiam Edgeri, regis Anglorum, nomine Efltrudem, genuitque ex ea Arnulfum magnum” (Then Baldwin the Bald, the son of Baldwin Iron Arm, married the daughter of Edgar, king of the English, named Elftrude, and with her engendered Arnulf the Great). One may find this less elegant than the original, but it does seem to me clearer and easier to follow, especially for a listener. It perhaps also shows a slightly greater sensitivity for Elftrude, whose help Baldwin needs to engender Arnulf (“with her”), rather than simply doing so himself as he does in Lambert’s text, although this change might also be intended to assure the audience that Arnulf was legitimate (since his marrying Elftrude and engendering Arnulf are linked chronologically but not causally in Lambert’s text).

Two other alterations confirm the idea that that the *Genealogy* was written at Saint-

Bertin. First, in what appears to be a small snub to Saint-Peter's Abbey in Ghent – Saint-Bertin's rival as the necropolis of the counts of Flanders – the compiler cut “the Abbey of” from Lambert's text, referring to it simply as “Mount Blandin.” Second and more tellingly, he eliminated two references to the counts' possession of the Abbey of Saint-Bertin in the passages he took over from Folcuin: “~~his sons divided the march [county] between them and Arnulf, who was the first born, received Flanders, while Adalof, truly, [received] the city of Boulogne and the region of Thérouanne along with the Abbey of Saint-Bertin.~~” When he had died and been entombed at Saint-Bertin, ~~Arnulf, his brother, recovered the abbey along with the rest of his county.~~” These deletions from Folcuin's text seem intended to eliminate any suggestion that the abbey was under secular control, an issue that had become important between the second half of the tenth century, when Folcuin wrote, and the late twelfth century when the *Genealogy* was composed.

The compiler's overall transformation of his two sources is striking. The passage he took over from Lambert's *Genealogy* reads:

However, Baldwin the Bald, having married the daughter of Edgar, king of the English, named Elfrude, engendered Arnulf the Great, the restorer of the Abbey of Mount Blandin. Arnulf the Great, truly, engendered Baldwin the Young through Athela, the daughter of Herbert, count of the Vermandois.

While the two separate passages he took over from Folcuin's *Deeds* read:

His sons, truly, divided the march between them and Arnulf, who was the first born, received Flanders, while Adalof, truly, [received] the city of Boulogne and the region of Thérouanne along with the Abbey of Saint-Bertin.

After his grievous death, Arnulf, his brother, recovered the abbey along with the rest of his county.

The new passage in the *Genealogy* reads:

Then Baldwin the Bald, the son of Baldwin Iron Arm, married the daughter of Edgar, king of the English, named Elfrude, and with her engendered Arnulf the Great, the

restorer of Mount Blandin, who, because he came first and because of his age, is called Senior and “the Old.” When, however, Baldwin had died and been buried in Ghent, his sons divided the march between them and Arnulf, who was the first born, received Flanders, while Adalof, truly, [received] the city of Boulogne and the region of Thérouanne. When he had died and been entombed at Saint-Bertin, Arnulf recovered his county. This Arnulf, nicknamed “the Old,” engendered Baldwin the Young through Athela, the daughter of Herbert, count of the Vermandois.

The compilation is less telegraphic, more informative and easier to follow, to my mind at least. It is in fact a new text and a better – more comprehensive, more readable or listenable, more fluid – historical account than its sources although its originality is of a kind that is hard for us to recognize today given the great importance we attach to original expressions rather than compilation.¹⁷

The most interesting elements of this passage, however, are the two words – “Hic Arnulfus” (This Arnulf) – that the author crossed out at the very bottom of f. 64v2 and the “f” he scratched out in the second line of f. 65r1 (see **Figures 3-4**). On a first reading, one tends to assume that the compiler must have skipped, inadvertently or deliberately, one or more lines of the text he was copying, then either realized his error or changed his mind and decided to include the text he had left out, crossed out “Hic Arnulfus,” and copied the text he had omitted. This hypothesis seems at first confirmed by the fact that we find “Hic Arnulfus” repeated in line 8 of f. 65r1. At first reading, that is, one tends to imagine that the author initially omitted everything from the top of f. 65r1 (“Defuncto ...”) to the point where “Hic Arnulfus” reappears in line 8 (“... recepit”), then either corrected his error or changed his mind about including these lines.

This does not, however, seem to be what happened. When passages are inadvertently omitted, it is usually because the copyist’s eye has skipped from one word in the text he is

¹⁷ A historian’s task was widely considered at the time to be twofold involving, first, the selection of passages from earlier works for citation, and then their combination into a new whole. See Bernard Guenée, “L’historien et la compilation au XIIIe siècle,” *Journal des savants* 1 (1985), 119-135.

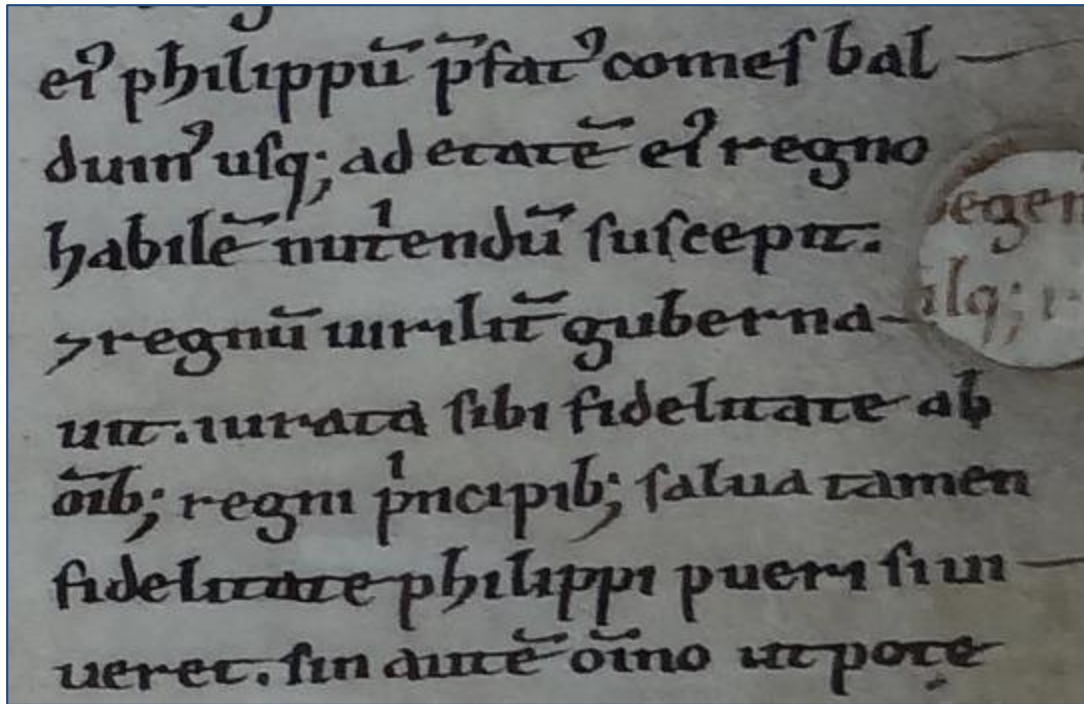


Figure 5 *Genealogia Flandrensium comitum*, Saint-Omer, BASO, ms. 746-1, f. 65r2. Photo: © BASO.

copying to a similar word later in the text. In lines 19-27 of f. 65r2, (**Figure 5**) for example, the compiler wrote that after King Henry I of France died in 1060, “filium eius Philippum prefatus comes Balduinus usque ad etatem eius regno habilem nutriendum suscepit, et regnum uiriliter gubernauit, iurata sibi fidelitate ab omnibus regni principibus, salua tamen fidelitate Philippi pueri, si uiueret” (the aforementioned Count Baldwin [V of Flanders, who had married Henry’s sister] raised his [Henry’s] son Philip [I of France] until he was old enough to rule, and he [Baldwin] governed the realm manfully, after all the leading men of the realm had sworn fidelity to him, saving, however, the fidelity they owed to the boy Philip, if he should live). While a later scribe (see, e.g., Paris, BnF, Baluze 42) was copying this passage, his eye skipped from the first “fidelitate” to the second and he omitted “ab omnibus . . . fidelitate” so that his text reads: “the aforementioned Count Baldwin raised his son Philip until he was old enough to rule, and he

governed the realm manfully, after all the leading men of the realm had sworn fidelity to the boy Philip, if he should live.” In the passage at the top of f. 65r1 of *S* (**Figure 4**), however, we find no such repetition of words that would have led the compiler’s eye to skip over an inter-suing passage.

More tellingly, moreover, the passage that begins with “Hic Arnulfus” in line 8 of f. 65r1 was taken over from Lambert’s *Genealogy*, whereas most of the passage at the top of f. 65r1 comes from Folcuin’s *Deeds*, with two brief additions by the compiler to introduce them. It thus appears that the compiler first intended simply to copy a passage from Lambert’s text, adding new information here and there, and to write:

Igitur Balduinus caluus, filius Balduini Ferrei, duxit filiam Edgeri, regis Anglorum, nomine Elftrudem, genuitque ex ea Arnulfum magnum, restauratorem Blandini, qui procedente tempore et etate senior et uetulus appellatus est. Hic Arnulfus cognomento uetulus genuit Balduinum iuuenem de Athela filia Heriberti Uirmandorum comitis.

Then, Baldwin the Bald, the son of Baldwin Iron Arm, married the daughter of Edgar, king of the English, named Elftrude, and with her engendered Arnulf the Great, the restorer of Mount Blandin, who, because he came first and because of his age, is called Senior and “the Old.” This Arnulf, nicknamed “the Old,” engendered Baldwin the Young through Athela, the daughter of Herbert, count of the Vermandois.

After he had written “Hic Arnulfus” at the bottom of f. 64v2, however, he evidently remembered something he had read in Folcuin’s *Deeds* about Arnulf and his brother Adalof that, from a chronological point of view, belonged between these two sentences devoted to Arnulf. He thus crossed out the beginning of the second sentence and inserted the two passages from Folcuin with brief introductions:

Defuncto autem Balduino et apud Gandauum sepulto, filii eius markam inter se diuiserunt et Arnulfus, qui maior natu erat, Flandriam, Adalolfus uero ciuitatem Bononiam et regionem Taruennicam suscepit. Quo defuncto et apud Sanctum Bertinum tumulto, Arnulfus comitatum eius recepit.

When, however, Baldwin had died and been buried in Ghent, his sons divided the march [county] between them and Arnulf, who was the first born, received Flanders, while Adalof, truly, [received] the city of Boulogne and the region of Théroutanne. When he had died and been entombed at Saint-Bertin, Arnulf, recovered his county.

He then returned to the passage from Lambert.

The crossing out of “Hic Arnulfus” at the bottom of f. 64v2 thus tells us something about the compiler’s methods. Most composition at the time took place on wax tablets because it was easy to make revisions to texts written on wax. It was only when the text was in its final form that it was copied onto parchment.¹⁸ The compiler of the *Genealogy* may have composed some or most of his work on wax before copying it onto parchment, but his crossing out of “Hic Arnulfus” and insertion of two passages from Folcuin’s *Deeds* show us that he also sometimes revised his text as he was copying it on parchment, as he did here.

This insertion also shows us that he had read Folcuin’s *Deeds* – indeed it would have been surprising if a historically-minded monk of Saint-Bertin’s had not done so – and remembered what he had read clearly enough to recall two brief passages pertaining to what he was copying from Lambert. It seems, moreover, that he had ready access to a copy of Folcuin’s *Deeds* and could find the passage he was looking for quickly. It is, I suppose, possible that he had memorized the *Deeds*, but this seems unlikely even though the trained medieval memory was capable of feats that seem marvelous to us. It seems more likely that he remembered the mentions of Arnulf in the *Deeds* well enough to want to insert them into his chronicle, but that he had to look them up in order to copy them accurately. This is the only time he cites Folcuin, but he does cite both the continuation of Folcuin’s work by Simon of Saint-Bertin and the

¹⁸ For a brief overview of the usual stages of composition of a work in the twelfth century, see Rider, *God’s Scribe*, 31-34.

subsequent continuation of Simon's work by another monk several times later in the *Genealogy*. It thus seems possible that he had a copy of Folcuin's *Deeds* with its continuations on or near his writing desk; a copy was at least nearby and easily available to him in the library of Saint-Bertin.

The two passages he cited from Folcuin are, moreover, fairly widely separated in the *Deeds* (by 24 lines of the *Monumenta* edition: MGH SS 13, 627, l. 11-34) and he reduced the second one from nine words to four. This suggests that he knew Folcuin's work well – he was aware that it contained these two mentions of Arnulf and Adalof even though the second was fairly distant from the first and was only nine words long – and that he was scrupulous in reproducing his sources although in a way that might seem odd to us. Given that he reduces the second citation from nine words to four, it would have been easy for him simply to paraphrase it and indeed a modern author or student might simply change the verb (from “recovered” to “took over” or “inherited”) in order to avoid plagiarism or too much citation, on which we frown. The compiler was always careful, however, to use as many and as much of his source's words as possible even when he was cutting and pasting and even when the final result contains as many of his own words as those of his source. We see this same type of fidelity in the first sentence of this passage where the compiler transformed Lambert's “ducta filia Edgeri” (having married the daughter of Edgar) into “duxit filiam Edgeri” (he married the daughter of Edgar) but kept both the verb *ducere* and the noun *filia*, even though he had to change their endings to fit into his new sentence, when he could easily have substituted a form like *uxorem acceperere* (to receive as wife), which he used elsewhere. He may have picked and chosen carefully what to cite and freely dropped words from the middle of a citation or added words to it, but he tried scrupulously to retain as much as possible of the words he did cite.

The “f” that is scratched out in line 2 of f. 65r1 (**Figure 4**) is also revealing. As we have

seen, the first eight lines of this column appear to have been added spontaneously and directly onto the parchment, without a preparatory draft on wax. The first six words of the addition, moreover – “Defuncto autem Balduino et apud Gandauum sepulto” (When, however, Baldwin had died and been buried in Ghent) – are the compiler’s and are not in his source. He was composing as he was writing here and these words are a first draft written directly onto the parchment. The “f” that is scratched out between *Gandauum* and *sepulto* appears to belong to the beginning of the word after *sepulto*, “filii” (sons), with which the citation from Folcuin begins. This suggests that the compiler started to write: “Defuncto autem Balduino et apud Gandauum filii” (When, however, Baldwin had died and in Ghent, the sons) then realized, after writing the first letter of “filii,” that he had left out “sepulto” (been buried). He thus scratched out the “f,” wrote “sepulto,” and then wrote “filii,” starting the citation from Folcuin. In order to get a better idea of what the compiler did, we might represent this in English as follows even though it is not an accurate translation of the Latin text: “When, however, Baldwin had died and been buried, ~~in~~ in Ghent, the ...” This suggests that the compiler wrote “Hic Arnulfus” at the bottom of f. 64v2, remembered suddenly the two short passages in which Folcuin mentions Arnulf and Adalof, went and looked them up in a copy of the *Deeds*, came back to his writing desk (with the copy of the *Deeds*?), composed an introductory clause to the citation – “When, however, Baldwin had died and been buried in Ghent” – in his mind, wrote it down, but failed to write the last word of the clause he had thought up (was he excited about having remembered the two passages from Folcuin? was he in a hurry because he would have to stop writing for the day soon or because he wanted to get back to his planned text before he forgot where he was going with it?), wrote the first letter of the citation from Folcuin, realized he had forgotten to write the last word of his introductory clause, scratched out the first letter of the citation, wrote the last word of the

introductory clause, and then continued with the citation. What is so remarkable about this to me, again, is that omitting to write down a word of a clause I have composed in my mind because I am in haste to get on with my work is something I have done many times. Writing spontaneously on parchment at this point, the compiler of the *Genealogy* seems to have been working in ways, and making mistakes, that are familiar to me.

F. 67r offers three further interesting examples of the compiler's concerns and methods.

(Figure 6) Nine lines from the bottom of f. 67r1, one reads (Figure 7):

... Comes ui extrahitur
et gaudentibus cunctis suis cum
honore redditur.

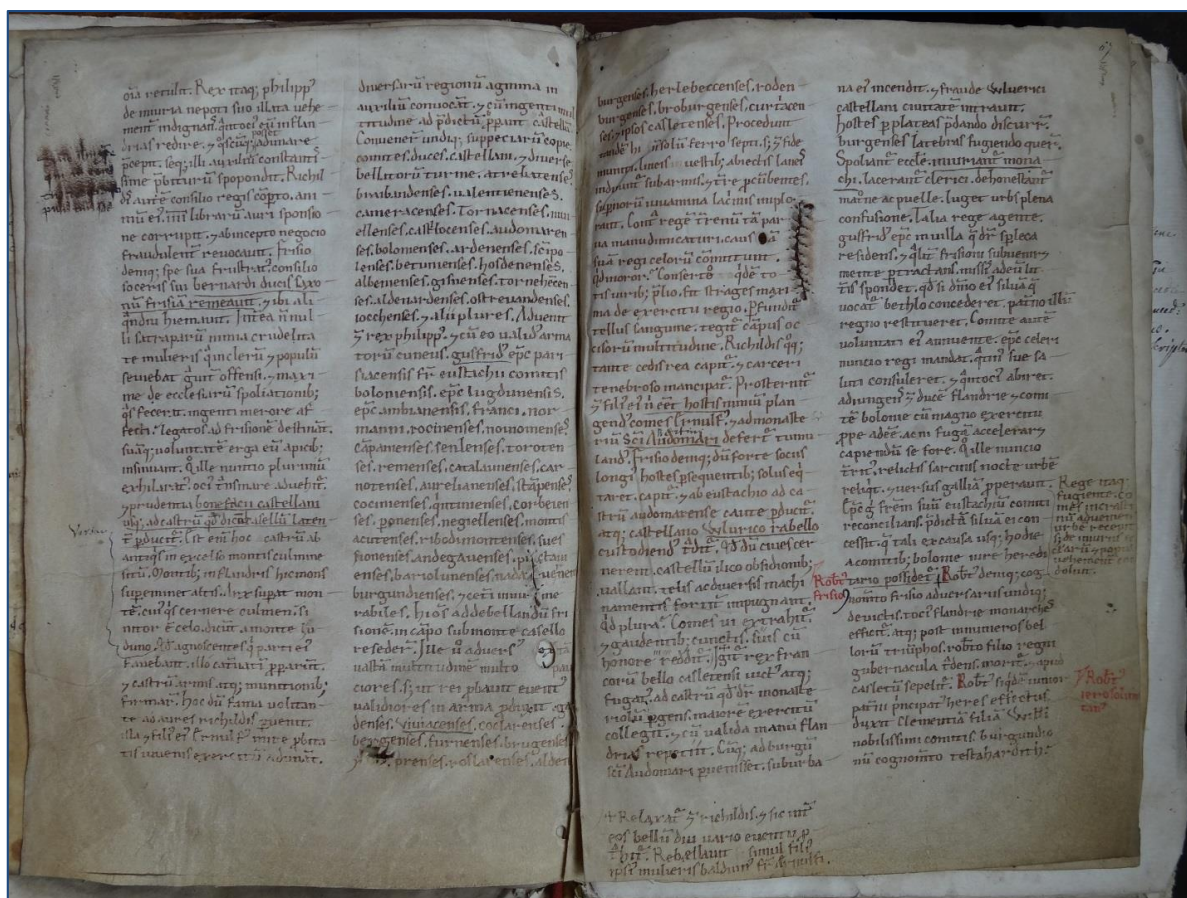


Figure 6 *Genealogia Flandrensiu comitum*, Saint-Omer, BASO, ms. 746-1, f. 66v-67. Photo: © BASO.

This sentence is part of a long passage about the usurpation of Flanders by Count Robert I in 1071, almost all of which appears to have been written by the compiler.¹⁹ Three lines are drawn above *suis* in the manuscript and likewise between *honore* and *redditur* in the next line and three other lines appear to have been scratched out above the *r* of *redditur*. Almost all of

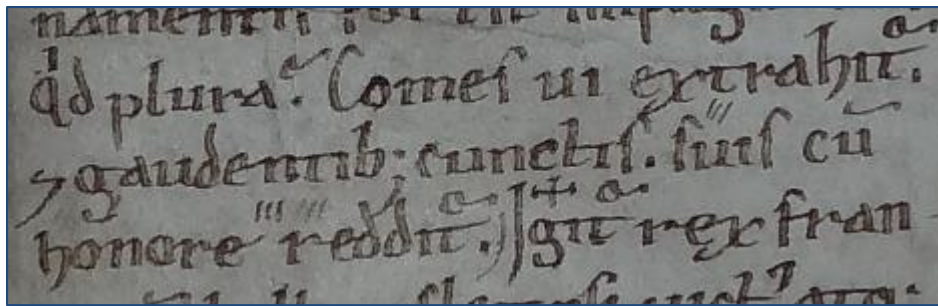


Figure 7 *Genealogia Flandrensiū comitū*, Saint-Omer, BASO, ms. 746-1, f. 67r1. Photo: © BASO.

the other early copies of the *Genealogy* read “cum honore suis redditur” rather than “suis cum honore redditur,” so most of the early copyists seem to have understood these marks to be a correction by the compiler who wished to move *suis* from before *cum* to after *honore* (and who seems at first to have written the three lines above the *r* of *redditur* then decided that this was not clear, scratched them out and rewritten them between *honore* and *redditur*). The reason for this change appears to be the ambiguity of *suis* in the sentence as it was written originally. In the original form, that is, one could understand *suis* as modifying *cunctis*, in which case the sentence would mean: “The count was rescued by force and, to the great joy of all his people, returned with honor,” or one could understand *suis* as the indirect object of *redditur*, in which case the sentence would mean: “The count was rescued by force and, to the great joy of everyone, returned with honor to his people.” The correction shows that the latter meaning is the one

¹⁹ On this long passage, see Rider “Vice, Tyranny, Violence, and the Usurpation of Flanders,” 55-70.

intended by the compiler and it also shows us that he reread his work and tried to imagine how his audience would understand it. Realizing that the placement of *suis* made its meaning ambiguous for his audience, he changed its place.

Just after this correction, we find a cross written above the first word of the next sentence (see **Figure 7**) and then again in the margin below this column, followed by the sentences (**Figure 8**):

+ Relaxatur etiam Richildis et sic inter
eos bellum diu uario euentu pro-
trahitur. Rebellaui ⁊ simul filius
ipsius mulieris Balduinus frater Ernulfi,
[quem comes deuicit atque fugauit]²⁰

Richilde was likewise freed and so the war between them dragged out for a long time with varying fortunes. This woman's son, Baldwin, the brother of Ernulf, also rebelled, [whom the count defeated and put to flight].

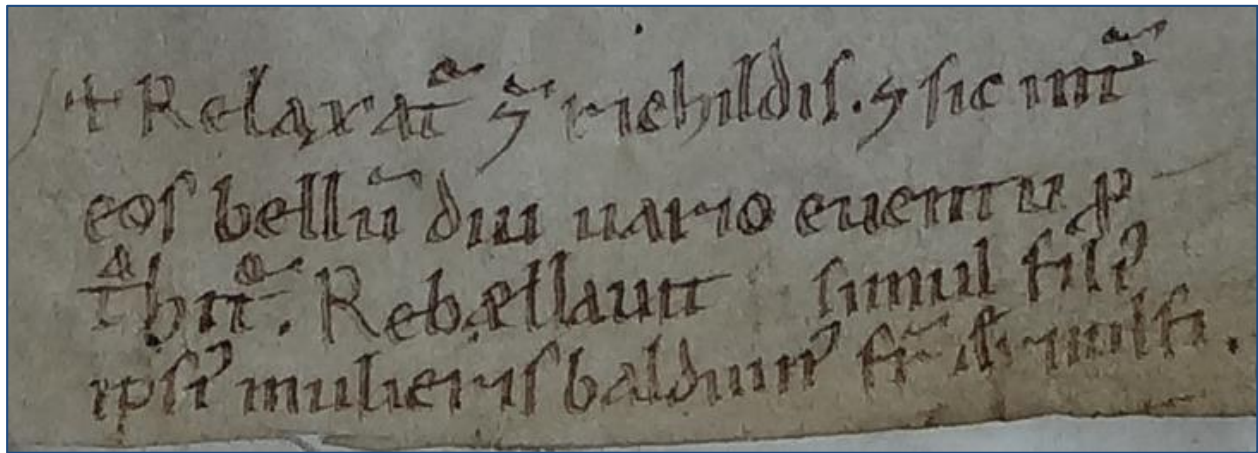


Figure 8 *Genealogia Flandrensiū comitū*, Saint-Omer, BASO, ms. 746-1, f. 67r1. Photo: © BASO.

The two crosses appear to mean that the compiler wished to insert the sentences in the bottom

²⁰ The final words of the second sentence, “quem comes deuicit atque fugauit,” appear to have been cut off when the parchment was trimmed at some point, but they are found in all the early copies and if one enlarges the image of the manuscript page and looks carefully, one can see the tops of a few of the letters at the very bottom.

margin into the text between *redditur* and *igitur*, and this is what all the early copyists understood and did.

Most of the first additional sentence, the part I have printed *in green*, is a citation from Sigebert of Gembloux's *Chronicon*.²¹ Since this is the first of four citations from the *Chronicon* or one of its continuations in the *Genealogy* and the other three are clumped together and included directly in the text of a later passage, it seems likely that the compiler remembered or discovered this sentence while he was writing the later passage in which the three other citations occur and decided he wanted to include it in his compilation. He thus wrote it in the bottom margin of the column with the earlier passage with crosses to indicate where it should be inserted and added a few words to it to make it fit in with the rest of his text. He then added another sentence of his own invention concerning Ernulf's brother Baldwin. We once again see him working spontaneously here since the "fi" scratched out between *rebellauit* and *simul* show that he started to write "rebellauit filius" (the son rebelled) then scratched out *fi* and added *simul* (also/at the same time as) before continuing with *filius*. The addition of *also* is a small point but it is again indicative, it seems to me, of the compiler's desire to make his text as clear as possible for his audience by situating events with respect to one another.

We find another addition to be inserted in the text – which all later copyists did insert at this point in the text – in the lower right hand margin of f. 67r2. **(Figure 9)** In the passage before this insertion, the compiler has explained, in his own words, how, after his defeat by Count Robert I at the battle of Cassel, the king of France withdrew to Saint-Omer, which had supported Robert, burned the suburb around the town and entered the town, where his men despoiled its churches, injured monks, tormented clergy, and disgraced both married women and girls. He

²¹ Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica*, ed. Georg Pertz, MGH SS 8 (Hannover, 1844), s. a. 1072, 362.

then goes on to tell us how, in exchange for a gift of land from Robert, the bishop of Paris got the king to flee the city by night by telling him that Robert and the count of Boulogne were nearby with a huge army and on the verge of capturing him. Originally at this point, the compiler went on to discuss other matters, but when he reread his work, he seems to have felt that he needed to round off the story of the king's destructive sojourn in Saint-Omer in some way and wrote in the margin: "Rege itaque fugiente, comes in crastinum adueniens urbem recepit, sed de iniuriis ecclesiarum et populi uehementer condoluit" (So as the king was fleeing [back to France], the count arrived the next morning and recovered the city, but grieved deeply over the injuries done to the churches and people). There is, of course, no way that the compiler could have known what Robert felt almost a century earlier. The second part of the sentence provides no

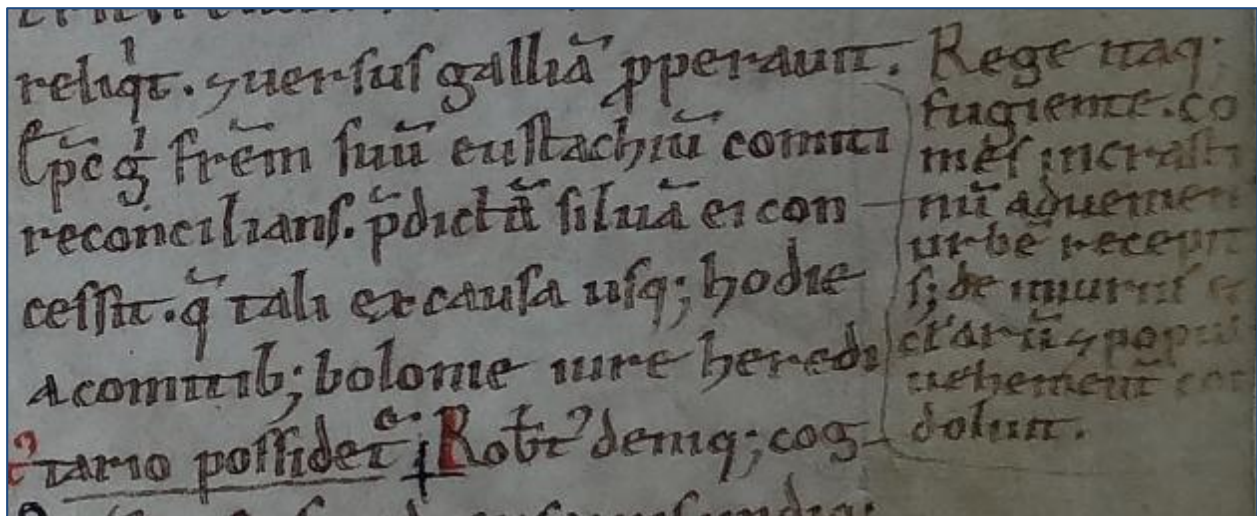


Figure 9 *Genealogia Flandrensiū comitū*, Saint-Omer, BASO, ms. 746-1, f. 67r2. Photo: © BASO.

“historical” information, but it does show that the count of Flanders was concerned for his people – in this case the people of Saint-Omer where the compiler lived – and commiserated with them.

The sentence both rounds off the long story of the battle of Cassel and its aftermath and provides

insight into what the compiler thought should be the ideal relation between a count and the inhabitants of Flanders. It provides insight, that is, into the history of ideas in the twelfth century rather than the history of events in the eleventh century. The sentence has what one might broadly call a rhetorical function rather than a historical one and again shows us the compiler's concern for the effect his compilation will have on its audiences.

Many, perhaps most, modern editions of medieval historical sources were prepared in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by scholars who were interested in them for what they could tell us about the political, economic, social, artistic, intellectual or legal life and institutions of the time, about real events outside the texts. These scholars were not, as a rule, interested in how medieval historians conceived of historical writing and practiced it since they believed that modern, scientific history – which recounts what “really happened” – had been invented in the nineteenth century. A common attitude of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century historians seemed to be that there was no real historical writing in the Middle Ages, although modern historians could, through the disciplined application of modern critical methods, mine medieval texts for facts with which to construct their true histories. The information medieval writers provided was valuable, but it had to be extracted carefully from the texts in which it was embedded and which did not correspond to modern conceptions of historical writing. This attitude is clear in the *Monumenta*'s practice, for example, of leaving out passages in later texts that were taken over from earlier ones, or printing them in small print while printing original passages in larger print. The editors of the *Monumenta* were concerned with the information these texts provided rather than their composition and the effects they were intended to have on their audiences. They were seen as literary works that contained some historical information rather than historical works, and their form and composition were thus generally considered

unimportant.

We owe an immense debt to late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century editors and historians, but it seems increasingly clear that their “scientific” history was a historical aberration. Over the last fifty years we have become more inclined and better able to appreciate the literary and rhetorical qualities of medieval historical literature and the rare authors’ manuscripts that we have from the High Middle Ages, like that of the *Genealogy*, can help us deepen our appreciation of these works. The compiler of the *Genealogy* worked with different and for the most part more limited tools than those available to me, and this required him, for example, to cross or scratch out passages rather than simply deleting them or to add words or passages above the line or in the margins rather than simply inserting them, but I find the similarities between the ways he worked and I work striking. The written sources with which he worked, moreover, are largely the same as the ones available to me. It seems to me also that the impulses underlying his work are not so different from those of modern historians and that his final product is not so different from a modern one. On the whole, that is, I am impressed by the enormous similarity between his work and mine, between him and me.

There are, of course, also important differences, which become clearer and whose value I am better able to appreciate once I have understood the underlying similarities. Perhaps the most striking difference for an educated modern reader lies in the compiler’s attitude towards citation, which is typical of his time. His text is full of unacknowledged citations and if a contemporary undergraduate were to hand in something like the *Genealogy* he or she would fail the course and risk being expelled from school; and even if he or she did acknowledge his or her sources, he or she would probably receive a poor grade for too much simple citation. Twelfth-century authors knew what citation was and did sometimes acknowledge a source they were citing. In his

biography of Count Charles the Good, for example, which was written forty years earlier than the *Genealogy* and only ten miles away from Saint-Omer, Walter of Théroutanne tells us that many of the deeds of Count Robert II of Flanders while on Crusade are related in “illa quę *De gestis Francorum Iherusalem pro Christo expugnantium* scripta est . . . historia. Ex qua ad laudem eius hoc solum hic satis est commemorari, quod ob inuincibilem animi constantiam ab ipsis quoque Arabibus ac Turcis Georgii filius scribitur appellatus” (the history that is written about *The Deeds of the French who Besieged Jerusalem for Christ*. It is enough to relate here in his praise one thing from that history: it is written that even the Arabs and Turks called him the son of Saint George on account of the invincible constancy of his spirit). The work Walter cited is still known by the name he gives it and the citation is easily identifiable.²² The compiler’s decision not to cite his sources or even to set them off in some way so that they are recognizable as citations is thus not due to an inability to understand the concept of citation.

We are not faced here with ignorance or a desire to deceive, but with a different understanding of what it means to write history. Modern historians writing a history of the counts of Flanders would probably consult the same sources as the compiler of the *Genealogy* (at least for the period up until he wrote), but we would then expect them to paraphrase these sources and recompose the information they provide in their own words and tell us what “really” happened or the “real” significance of these events, although we would also expect them to indicate their sources in notes and a bibliography. When they do cite a source, we would expect them to set it off clearly and to indicate the work from which it was taken. The underlying concern for modern historians seems to be, in the first instance, verifiability and to be borrowed from a scientific model: the work of historians is “true” if it can be reproduced, so to speak, by other historians by

²² Walter of Théroutanne, *Vita Karoli comitis Flandrię* [4], 19-24; Bartolfus de Nangeio (?), *Gesta francorum Iherusalem expugnantium*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, 3 (Paris, 1866), 543^E.

looking up their sources.

A twelfth-century historian like the compiler of the *Genealogy* was more concerned with the readability or listenability of his work than its verifiability, and an apparatus of citation, notes and bibliography would have interfered with the audience's enjoyment of the text. The compiler guaranteed, at least implicitly, the accuracy of the citations in his work and his audiences seems by and large to have been willing to take him at his word without feeling that they needed the possibility of checking up on him. One could, of course, take advantage of this trust to deceive, but this seems to have been sufficiently exceptional for this system to work. As we have seen, the compiler of the *Genealogy* reproduces the passages he cites scrupulously even though he does not acknowledge them, and does not hesitate to tailor them to the work he is writing and to weave his own words into them. The sources he does cite are monastic (Folcuin, Sigebert) or clerical (Lambert) and come for the most part from institutions he knew well (the church of Saint-Omer, the abbey of Saint-Bertin). A major part of his task was to choose trustworthy sources and to cite them scrupulously. Trustworthiness rather than verifiability seems to have been the guarantee of this historiography and this enabled a historian like the compiler of the *Genealogy* to focus on the rhetorical qualities of his work.

Manuscripts are witnesses, first and foremost, to their own elaboration. They are also witnesses to the elaboration of an original literary work, usually lost, of which they offer a copy and, in ways that are usually hard to appreciate, to the reception of that work in the place and time in which the copy was made. They are also – tertiary – witnesses to other, non-codicological, non-literary events, but in ways that are even harder to appreciate. In the case of an author's manuscript, the elaboration of the manuscript and the literary work coincide and give us rare and privileged insight into its author's methods and preoccupations. In the case of the

author's manuscript of the Bertinian *Genealogia Flandrensium comitum*, I am struck by the author's concern for the trustworthiness, comprehensiveness, and readability or listenability of his work and by the similarity between the way he worked and I work. He had a different concept of historiography, but one that I rather like.

And he wrote quite legibly, for which I am truly grateful. 🐣



“Ex nihilo fortification on the Brabant-Namur Frontier in the High Middle Ages,” Walhain Research Project¹

**By Bailey K. Young, Eastern Illinois University and
Laurent Verslype, Université Catholique de Louvain**

On the south side of the village of Walhain-Saint-Paul in Walloon Brabant a round *donjon* tower stands looking over the cultivated fields southwest toward Gembloux, once the site of a renowned Benedictine abbey that, according to a charter of 946, owned the land on which the tower would later be built (**Figure 1**).² Presumably its construction took place around 1200, the moment when the vogue for this circular form, called *tour philippienne* after the prototype that the French King Philip II had erected in Paris and elsewhere in his domains, was spreading. Perhaps it was Arnold II, Lord of Walhain, known for some time as an important vassal of the Dukes of Brabant, who commanded the work. His name appears in charters in the 1160s and in 1184 he is

¹ The authors would like to thank the many students, Belgian and American, whose efforts have made excavation possible, and to acknowledge in particular the contributions of Ms. Inès Leroy (archival research), Dr. William I. Woods (soils and stratigraphy), Ms. Dana Best-Mitzak (ceramics), and Christine Merllié-Young (proofreading) to this article.

² For the toponym *Walhain* and its variant spellings, M. Gysseling, *Toponimisch woordenboek van België, Nederland, Luxemburg, Noord-Frankrijk en West Duitsland (voor 1226)* t. II, N-Z (Bruxelles, 1960); for the earliest reference (*villae walaham*) in the charter of the Abbey of Gembloux dated 946, C.-G. Roland, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Gembloux* (Gembloux, 1921), 1-8. For a presentation of the architectural remains of the surviving monument, and basic bibliography, see the notice “Walhain–Ancien Chateau–Walhain-Saint-Paul” in *Donjons médiévaux de Wallonie. Vol 1: Province de Brabant, Arrondissement de Nivelles*, notices by C. d’Ursel, L.-F. Genicot, R. Spède, Ph. Weber (Namur: Ministère de la Région wallonne (Division du Patrimoine), 2000), 98-101 (Walhain-Saint-Paul), 92-97 (Tour d’Alvaux).

qualified *ministralis* and ducal counselor; he is still attested in a charter of 1205. Perhaps it was his nephew Arnold III, who appears in the charters in 1210, and is attested as late as 1235.³



Figure 1 *Donjon* of Walhain. Photo: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/johanbakker/>.

It is clear from the architectural evidence that originally this stone donjon stood alone. Over the next century an enclosed courtyard was added, its corners anchored by three smaller round towers (leaving the original donjon at the southwest corner) and a double-towered fortified entrance accessible via a drawbridge over the moat. (**Figure 2a-2b**) But was this the earliest articulation of fortification on the site? The excavations of Pierre Demolon in Douai have demonstrated that the stone castle which once stood

³ For Arnold II and Arnold III, see A.-J. Bijterveld and D. Guillardian, “La formation du duché (843-1106)” in *Histoire du Brabant du duché à nos jours*, R. Van Uytven, et al., eds. (Zwolle, 2004), 55. Also A. Verkooren, *Chartes et cartulaires des duchés de Brabant et de Limbourg et des pays d’Outre-Meuse*. 3. *Chartes originales et cartulaires*, 4 t. (Brussels, 1981-1988). For the reference to Arnold II on the 1205 charter, see G. Despy, *Inventaire des archives de l’abbaye de Villers* (Brussels, 1959), 47.

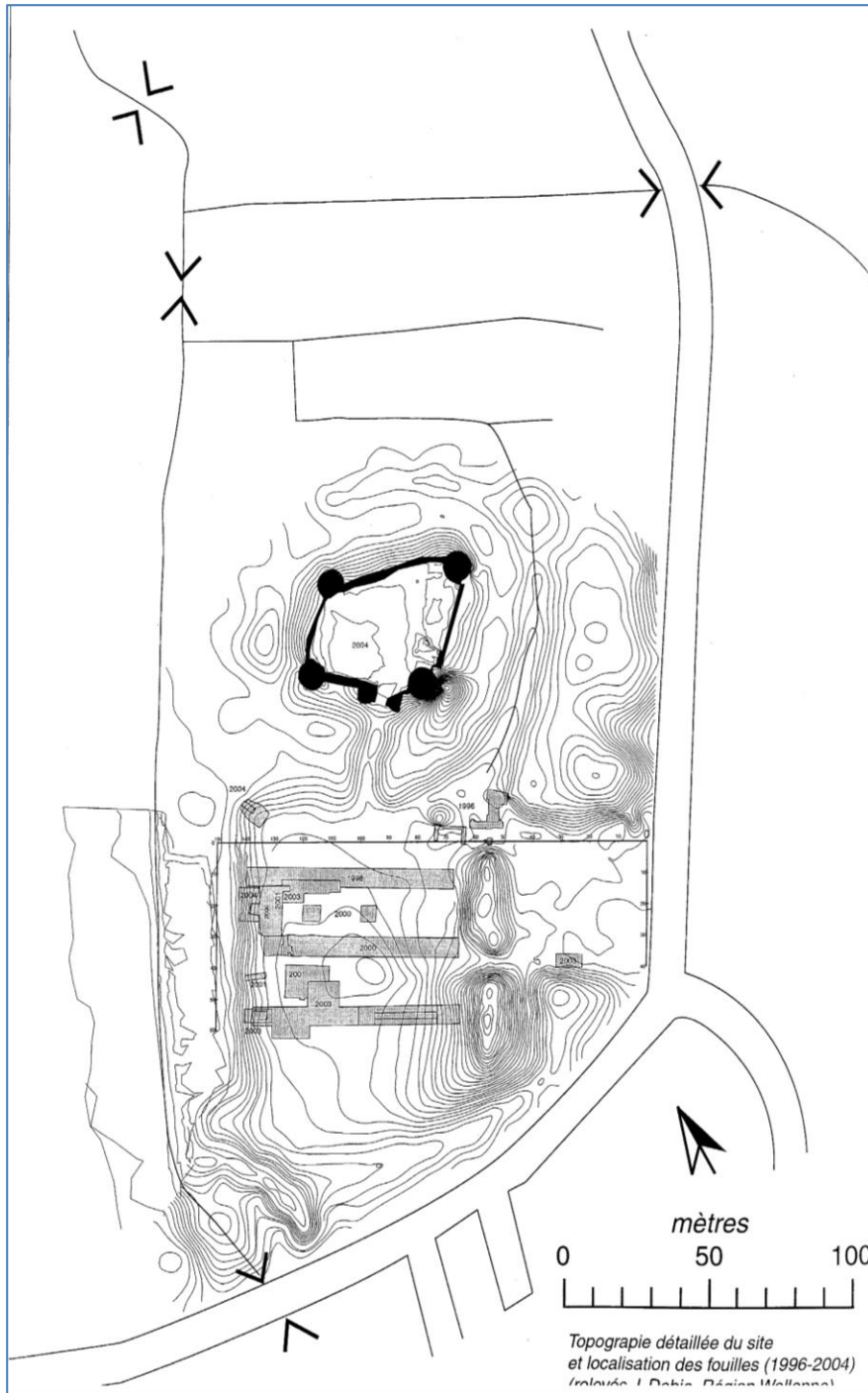


Figure 2a
Topographic plan
of the site,
including the
location of the
trenches dug into
the outer bailey
1998-2004 (100 m
scale). Photo:
CRAN
document, 2004
Report.

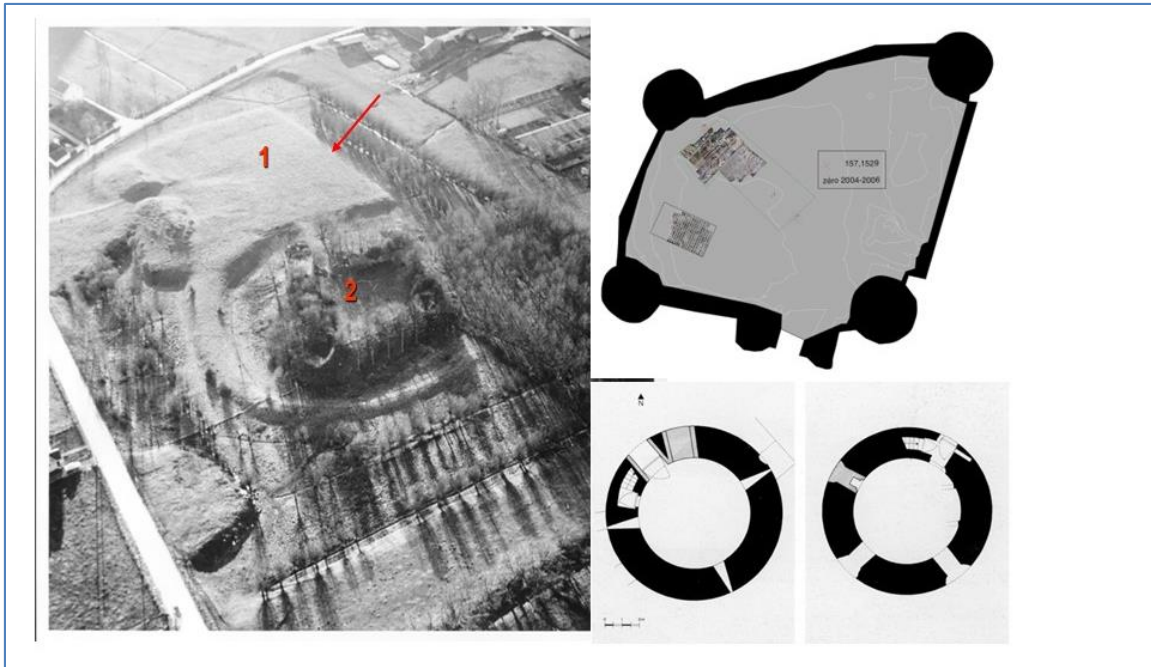


Figure 2b Aerial view of Walhain site from the northeast, by Charles Léva, before any excavation; the flat outer bailey terrace is to the south of the moated *castrum* visible in the middle of the photograph. Photo: CRAN document, 2004 Report, 9.

on the *fonderie* site, the core of the medieval town, had been preceded by earlier phases of Merovingian settlement, replaced during the later tenth century by a lordly residence featuring a wooden tower atop an earthen *motte*.⁴ Could the Walhain lordship have at its origins a local castellan lineage, which had gained control of the villa cited in the Gembloux charter?

When our excavations began, in July 1998, the moat had long been dry, its grassy slopes and bottom offering excellent grazing for horses, and the circuit walls were much

⁴ For the excavations of Pierre Demolon and Etienne Louis at the Fonderie in Douai, see P. Demolon and J. Barbieux, "Les origines médiévales de la ville de Douai. Rapport provisoire de fouille de la 'fonderie de canons,'" *Revue du Nord* 241 (1979): 301-327; P. Demolon and E. Louis, *Douai, une ville face à son passé* (Douai: Société archéologique de Douai, 1982); P. Demolon and E. Louis, "Naissance d'une cité médiévale flamande. L'exemple de Douai" in *Actes du IVe Congrès International d'Archéologie Médiévales*, Archéologie des villes dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Europe (VIIe-XIIIe siècle) (Douai: Actes des congrès de la Société d'archéologie médiévale, 1991, 1994), 47-58.

dilapidated by many decades of serving as a quarry for good building stone.⁵ **(Figure 3)** The stability of the ruins was further threatened by vegetation, particularly the great trees whose roots had penetrated deep into the foundations. The donjon was the best-preserved structure overall, its walls still rising to a height of some 16 meters, although it had lost the roof which is still visible in an 1870 photograph.⁶ **(Figure 4)** By that time one of the gatehouse towers was already a collapsed heap of stones; its twin, intact with its roof in the photograph, survives today only to the height of its vaulted ceiling. The ruins were then privately owned. In 2010, thanks in part to the attention drawn to the interest of the site by our excavations, the Institut du Patrimoine wallon (IPW) was able to acquire the property, conduct a study of measures necessary for its preservation, and reach an agreement with the Walhain town government which has assumed management responsibilities for the site.

⁵ For historical and archaeological background after the first two campaigns of the ongoing research program, see D. Verzwymelen and B.K. Young, "Recherches sur le site du chateau de Walhain," *Wavriensia, Bulletin du cercle historique et archéologique de Wavre et de la région LI-3* (2002): 66-90. Brief notices reflecting the results of annual campaigns have appeared since 1998 in the *Chronique de l'archéologie wallonne*, published annually by the *Département du Patrimoine (Service public de Wallonie)*, in Namur. In 2004 a preliminary synthesis of excavation and related research and data analysis up to that time, authored by Laurent Verslype and collaborators, was submitted as a report to the Direction de l'Archéologie of the Walloon Region. See Verslype (coord.), *Etude archéologique du chateau de Walhain-saint-Paul: La transformation du paysage et le chateau. Programme pluriannuel de recherches archéologiques. Rapport final de fouilles. Campagnes 2001 et 2003* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2004). The excavation report is archived at the *Centre de recherche d'archéologie nationale (CRAN)* (Ave. de Marathon, 2, B-1242 Louvain-la-Neuve), henceforth *2004 Report*. This report also draws upon the archival sources, edited and unpublished, upon which this paper relies. Below are particular references cited in evidence.

⁶ Several engravings bear witness to the post-medieval appearance of the castle. See J. B. Gramaye, *Antiquitates illustrissimi ducatus Brabantiae, dans quibus singularum urbium initia, incrementor, republicae...; coenobium foundationes, propagationes...: ecclesiam patronatus, monumenta...; pagorum dominia...descriptio*, (Louvain-Bruxelles, 1708), and J. Harrewijn (1695): re-edition by J. Le Roy, *Chateaux et maisons de campagne de gentilshommes du Brabant et les monastères les plus remarquables* (Brussels, 1982). See Figure 10, *infra*.

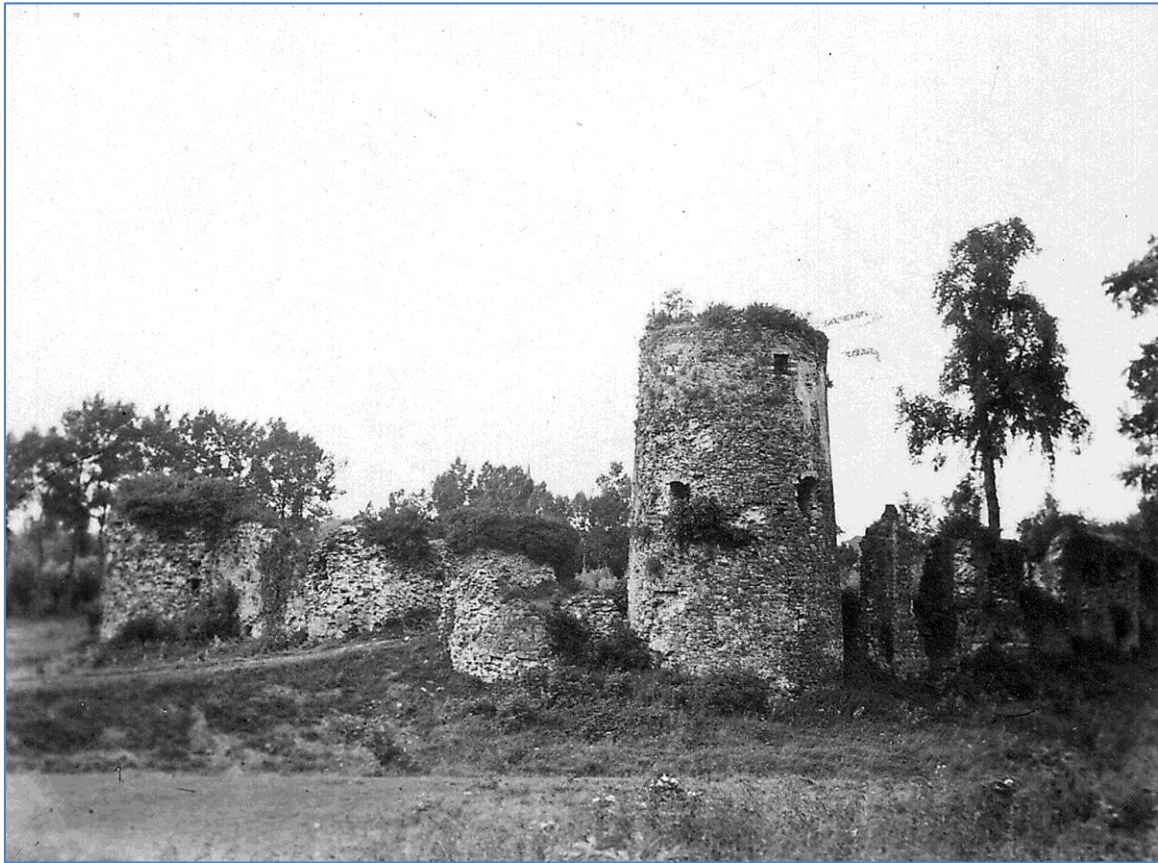


Figure 3 Ruins of Walhain site. Photo: Commissariat général à la Protection aérienne passive, 1943, courtesy Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage, Brussels, Belgium.

Figure 4 Ruins of Walhain
chateau, c. 1870. Photo: L. Hoc,
cercle *Art et Histoire de*
Gembloux; CRAN document, 2004
Report, 33.



The *Centre de Recherche d'Archéologie* (CRAN) of the *Université catholique de Louvain* (UCL) directs the research project. The CRAN was directed until 2011 by Dr. Raymond Brulet and currently by Dr. Laurent Verslype, with the excavations also serving as a field school for UCL students as well as for American students under the direction of Dr. Bailey K. Young of Eastern Illinois University. Before 1998 Walhain had never been the object of serious archaeological research. A stratigraphic diagnosis of the site was thus a primary concern: what evidence survives, and how does it date? Two particular questions guided our initial approach to the site: the origins of the medieval lordship and their relation to the standing ruins just described, and the recovery of evidence concerning its functioning as the center of an agricultural estate within the pre-industrial landscape. Both of these helped shape our initial strategy of excavation not in the fortified enclosure described above but on the terrace over the moat to the southwest where the outer bailey (*la basse-cour*) would have stood. After evaluation of the results of the 1998-2004 campaigns we shifted the principal focus to the inner bailey. The recent change in status of the castle ruins to a publically-owned and managed site, the imminence of consolidation and preservation measures to make it accessible to visitors, and the way it will be interpreted for them, all give a new urgency to research concerning the stratigraphic history of the site. Our research also raises broader questions regarding the relationship between the concept of lordship that historians derive from the study of medieval documents and its material manifestations, in structures, artifacts, and now the “ecofacts” that archaeologists are able to recover.

The outer bailey terrace was the original focus of our excavations. If the sequence from farm (possibly within an enclosure) to defended farm (possibly with a wooden

tower atop a motte) preceding a motte-with-stone tower (the sequence documented at Douai) was also true at Walhain, it was reasonable to assume that here was the location of the *basse-cour* in the days of the moat-enclosed and fortified upper courtyard (*haute-cour*). It was clear from the relative chronology of the surviving architectural features that this enclosed courtyard had to postdate the construction of the donjon, the oldest standing structure, which subsequently became the southwest tower of the *castrum*. This meant that there was a gap of more than two centuries between the earliest mention of the *villa walaham* in the documents connected with Gembloux, and the construction of that symbol of lordship, the stone donjon. But might a wooden tower have preceded this? This was a plausible hypothesis. Archaeologists have excavated a number of examples, often erected on artificial mounds (mottes), some dating as early as the tenth century. The motte of Grimbosq near Caen in Lower Normandy offers a possible model of development which might apply to Walhain.⁷ In a region where Charles the Bald had possessed a large villa in the ninth century and the Dukes of Normandy had considerable holdings in the early eleventh century a minor lineage, the Taisson, became established between 1017 and 1025. Excavation has demonstrated that by the middle of the century (the years of weakened ducal power during the minority of William the Bastard) an earthen motte was constructed with a wooden watchtower atop it; the lord's residence, too, was a timber-frame building with dry stone foundations. The same type of wooden fortifications atop mottes famously depicted in the Bayeux tapestry in western Normandy and Brittany (Dol, Rennes, Dinan are identified) and brought to England by William the

⁷ For the excavations of the Grimbosq site see, J. Decaens, "La motte d'Olivet à Grimbosq (Calvados). Résidence seigneuriale du Xe siècle," *Archéologie Médiévale* XI (1981): 167-201. The same issue of this journal includes a summary of an international colloquium held in Caen (October 2-5, 1980) on the theme, "Les fortifications de terre en Europe occidentale du Xe au XIIe siècles," 6-123.

Conqueror might have been common in Brabant and the Low Countries as well.⁸

Closer to Brabant, the meticulous 1976-81 excavations of Pierre Demolon at the *fonderie* site as first published suggested a possible model: a late Merovingian farmstead transformed during the mid-tenth century into a fortified elite residence. Excavation offered a sequence whereby the alto-medieval rural structures were replaced by a substantial timber-frame house and barns within a perimeter defined by a ditch, datable by dendrochronology to 945/946. After a further elaboration a few years later, the whole area was covered by a substantial earthen motte topped by a five-meter square *donjon de bois*, linked to a defended *basse-cour* at its base.⁹ Although further excavation and a major re-interpretation by Etienne Louis have now challenged the original notion of a gradual, seamless transition from rural to lordly site, the scenario featuring a motte-with-wooden tower erected in the later 10th century (plausibly built by Count Arnold II around 987), with the wooden tower later replaced by a larger one in stone, still holds. **(Figure 5)** The later stone tower is associated with Count Philip of Alsace and mentioned as *Nova Turris* in a document of 1187.¹⁰ This sequence of a farm fortified by a local lord in late Carolingian times with earthworks, palisade and wooden tower (sometimes with a moat)

⁸ For a well-excavated and well-illustrated motte-and-bailey castle with wooden features in England, see G. Beresford, *et al.*, *Goltho: the development of an early medieval manor c 850-1150*, English Heritage Archaeological Report no. 4 (Historic Buildings & Monuments Commission for England, 1987). For the Bayeux Tapestry see Michel Parisse, *La tapisserie de Bayeux. Un documentaire du Xe siècle* (Denoël, 1983), 116-117. Scenes 18 and 19 show wooden fortifications atop mottes in western France (Dol, Rennes, and Dinan); scene 45 shows Count Robert directing the construction of a motte at Hastings. See also David McKenzie Wilson, ed., *The Bayeux Tapestry: The Complete Tapestry in Color*, rev. ed. (Thames & Hudson, NY, 2004), and Shirley Ann Brown, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, Bayeux Médiathèque Municipale, *MS I: A Sourcebook*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

⁹ The original interpretation of the 1976-1981 excavations views the town as developing from a Merovingian rural settlement. See Demolon and Barbieux, "Les origines médiévales de la ville de Douai," 301-327.

¹⁰ Etienne Louis, "Les origines urbaines de Douai: un réexamen" in *Chateau, ville et pouvoir au Moyen Age*, A.-M. Héricher-Flambard and J. LeMaho, eds. (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2012), 215-254, especially 217-225.

preceding a stone castle of the High Middle Ages-- though now challenged for proto-urban Douai-- could still provide a plausible model for rural Walhain. We have written evidence of a farming estate (*villa walaham*) in the mid-tenth century and a lordship centered there at the end of the eleventh (Aldericus of Walhain signed a charter in 1099),



Figure 5 Maquette reconstruction of motte topped by a wooden tower with the stockaded outer bailey below, no doubt for Count Arnold II of Flanders, late 10th century. Photo: Stéphane Rogge © "Art du Petit."

a century before our round donjon went up.¹¹ If material evidence survived of a

¹¹"In comitatu darnuensi medietatem villae curtis dictae ac medietatem villae walaham dictae." See Roland, *Recueil des chartes*, 1-8. For the Afflighem charter witnessed by Aldericus, the first lord cited in association with the toponym in a charter of the Abbey of Afflighem dated 1099, see E. De Marneffe, *Cartulaire d'Afflighem* (reprint Brussels, 1997), 17-19. On the Abbey's relationship to its noble patrons, see Bijterveld and Guillardian, "La formation du duché," 55.

settlement and fortifications from those earlier centuries, a likely place to find it was under the pasture, which presumably covers the vestiges of the *basse-cour*, the center of the medieval (and post-medieval) farming estate. Excavation there would provide the basis for a first stratigraphic diagnosis of the site and also offer evidence regarding the structure of this farming estate and the environmental history of the site, our second major research goal.

The outer bailey terrace is itself, excavation has revealed, a major medieval artefact, largely created in the early part of the thirteenth century. **(Figure 6)** Two streams converge to form the *ru de Chêvequeue* tributary to the Hain and then the Dyle Rivers. Pollen analysis confirms a low-lying, marshy environment characterized by willow and alder trees, with associated undergrowth (including sedge and bur reed) near the water and oak forest (including hornbeam, hazel, and ash) beyond. Stratigraphically it is signaled by Stratum I, a black organic-rich sediment, including wood roots and decomposed aquatic plant remains but no artefacts, deposited slowly over the years upon

Figure 6 The *basse-cour*. The mounds on the left side of the picture cover the ruins of early modern farm buildings which have not been excavated. The break between them corresponds to the passage of the cobblestone roadway crossing the terrace, parts of which have been excavated. Photo: B. K. Young.



the white clay (marl–Stratum J) deriving from a Late Pleistocene lake. (**Figure 7**)

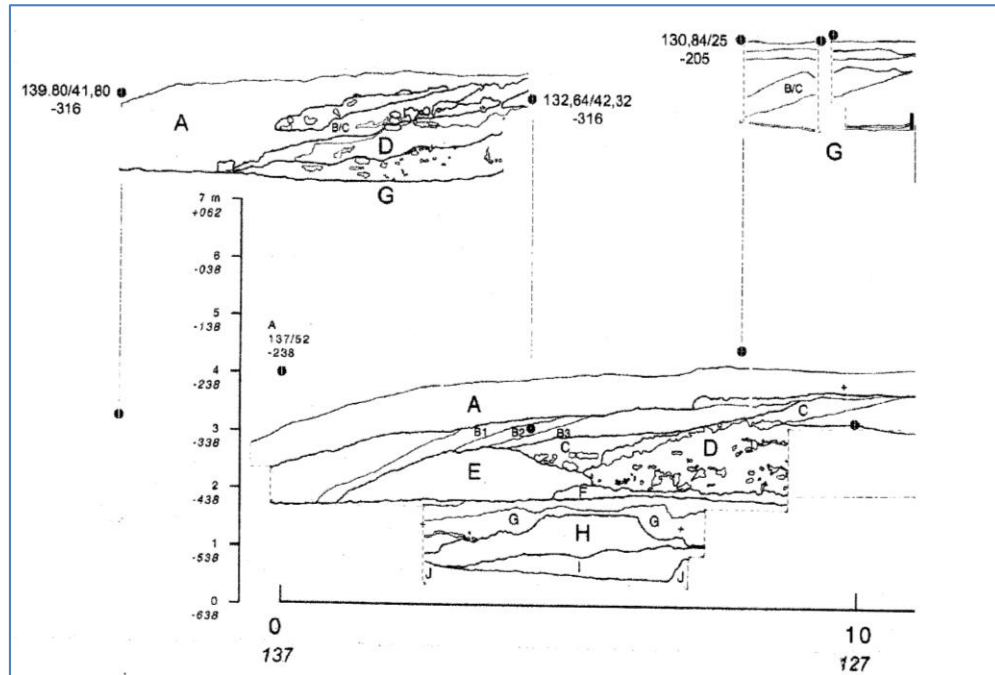


Figure 7 Stratigraphy in the outer bailey. I and J: pre-anthropogenic levels (white clay, marl, and subsequent marsh fill); H: earliest constructed levels so far attested (bank and ditch) covered by the dark earth G signifying occupation; F, E and D: construction phases of the medieval terrace into which the medieval farm buildings were founded; C and B: phases of demolition of the farm buildings, early modern period; A: humus which covers the site today. Photo: CRAN document, 2004 Report.

The earliest evidence of human settlement is provided by a ditch cut through a level of dark greyish-brown alluvial earth (stratum H) deposited atop the black clay. The ditch was filled by the earliest man-made (anthropogenic) stratigraphic level identified on the site, a very dark, silty, grey-brown clay rich in charcoal and oxidized inclusions (stratum G). The formation of this “dark earth,” a phenomenon often noted on Late Antique and medieval sites in Europe, can result from a variety of specific causes, but most often signifies residues of human activities that intensified the organic content of the soil. Chemical analysis of Walhain samples showed them to be rich in organic carbon,

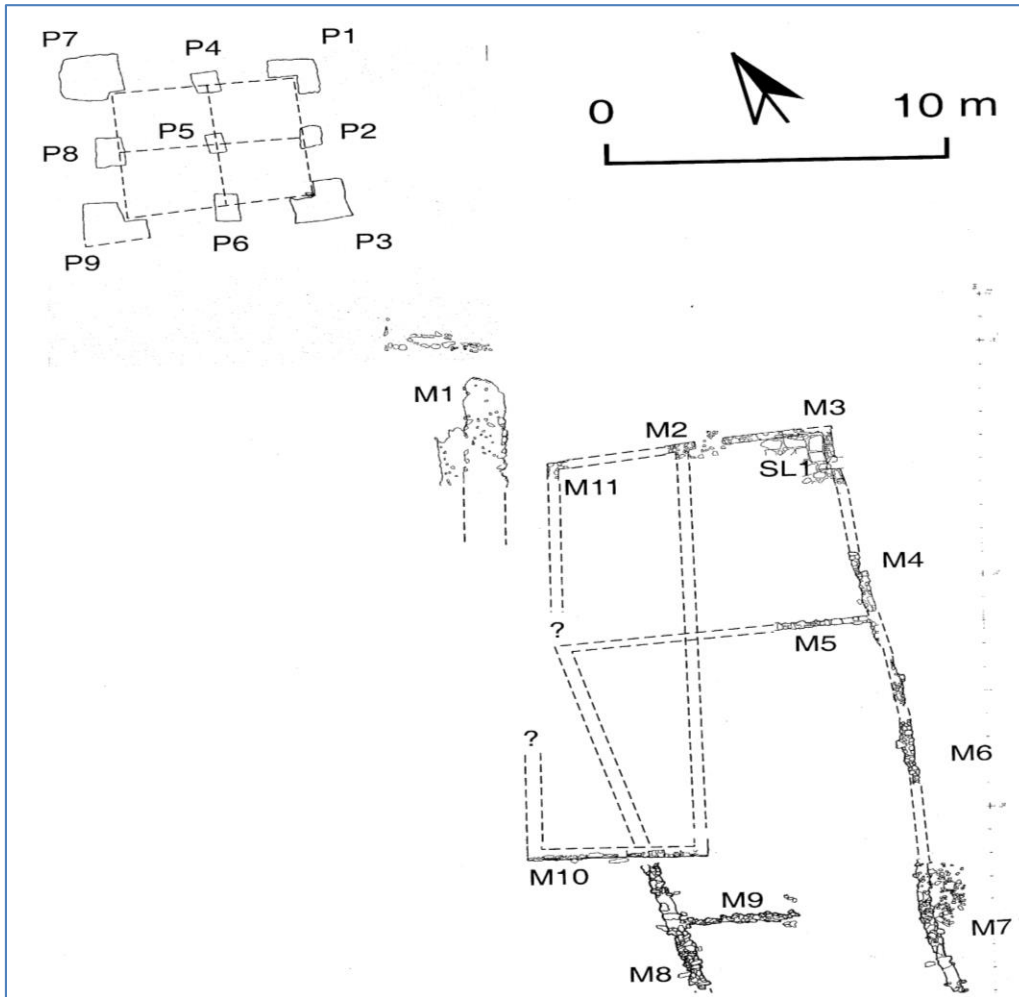


Figure 8 Plan of the medieval farm structures (10 m scale). Note the nine stone pillars (P1-P9) of the foundation for the lord's granary. Photo: CRAN document, 2004 Report.

copper, and zinc; a likely origin here would be decayed and recycled wattle and daub structures from a first settlement which must date, from the ceramics associated with these early levels, to the thirteenth century. This rather primitive



early phase of settlement may have been short-lived, for not only have no older ceramics

in stratigraphic contexts so far been found anywhere on the site, but also these first occupation levels (Strata H, G and F) were soon buried under a massive build-up of re-deposited occupation soils (Stratum E) augmented by large quantities clay and silt dug directly out of the pre-human horizon in the valley bottom and dumped to create a flat terrace extending eastwards (Stratum D). Into this terrace towards its center, two meters above the level of the early settlement, were set the stone foundations of farm buildings dating to the later Middle Ages, and to the sixteenth century, when considerable new building on the site is attested by both archaeology and written documents. **(Figure 8)**

On the west side of the terrace, where the talus slopes sharply down to the stream, we uncovered the vestiges of an impressive building resting on nine monumental stone pillars, their foundations sealed in places with the dark earth. **(Figure 9)** This is interpreted as the lord's barn, a wooden frame structure resting on the stone pillars where the grain renders owed by peasants were stored. Ceramics and stratigraphy both date its construction in the thirteenth century, either preceding or contemporary with the massive terrace construction. The presence of pollens for wheat and rye, of plants associated with intensive husbandry such as sorrel, rough hawk's beard, buttercup, and new kinds of trees with nutritional or ornamental value like maple provide corroborative evidence of the progressive anthropogenic impact on the landscape, and link it to the lord's power made manifest in the barn. The marshy environment, which had prevailed for the many centuries that the black clay of Stratum I was slowly accumulating atop the marl retreated rapidly in the face of human enterprise.

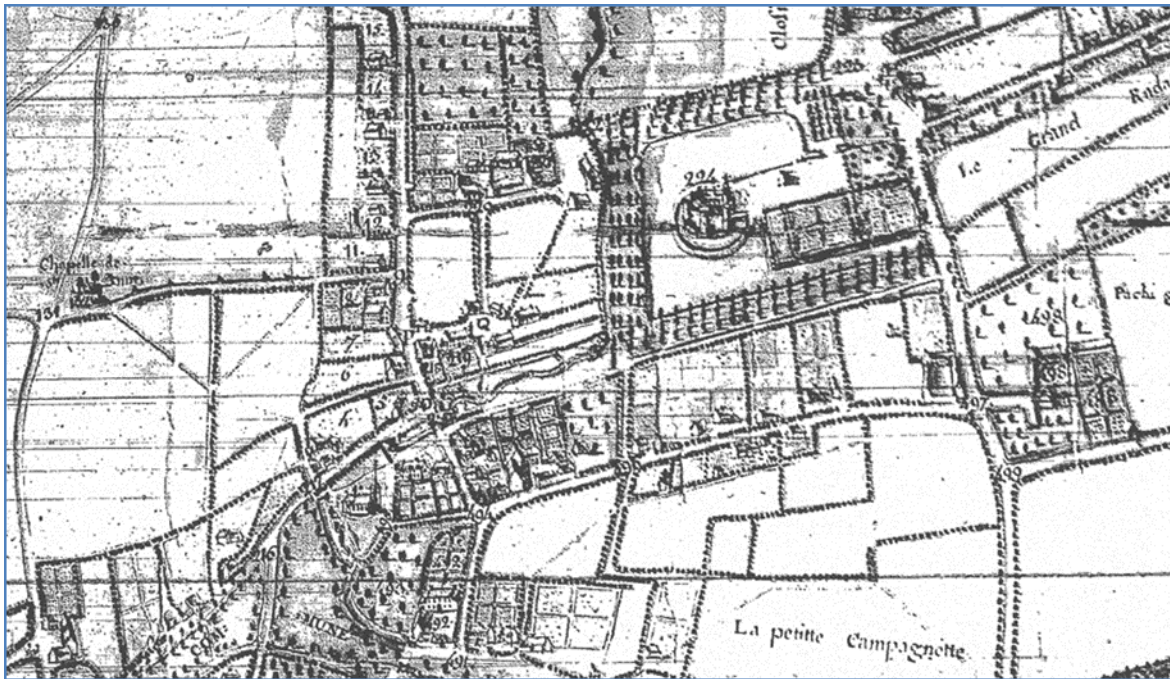


Figure 9 The early-modern farm and its landscape. Aerial plan dating to 1781 (2004 Report, 13. Photo: drawn from C. Piot, *Inventaire divers. I. Troisième supplément à l'inventaire des cartes et plans*, Bruxelles, 1879, #2399).

Ongoing excavation of the inner bailey (*haute-cour*) has so far found that continuous use of this area for a variety of purposes until 1789, when the castle itself was abandoned and left to decay in the aftermath of the French Revolution's abolition of feudalism, has left very little of the original medieval structures and stratigraphic levels in place below ground. A series of core samples, conducted under the general supervision of soils archaeologist, Dr. William Woods, and drilled down into the deepest strata across both the outer and inner bailey and the moat, however, supports the hypothesis that the entire site was cleared and landscaped before the inner and outer bailey were built up. If this can be confirmed by stratigraphic observation of the foundations of the donjon, it would rule out our earlier hypothesis that the surviving stone castle replaces an earlier wooden fortification on the same site. That original hypothesis would be consistent with a

model of lordship resembling that outlined in Georges Duby's classic study of the development of lordship in the Macon region.¹² In this model an ambitious local lineage emerges during the disintegration of Carolingian authority in the tenth century and materializes its claims to local power through fortifications updated and strengthened in an evolutionary manner, over time. How then does the current thrust of the archaeological evidence affect, in regard to this model, our understanding of lordship at Walhain?

The earliest mentions of Walhain refer to a villa belonging to the Abbey of Gembloux. Aldericus of Walhain appears, in 1099, only as a signature on one charter, as witness to a charter that donates a priory to the Abbey of Afflighem.¹³ It is true that other witnesses to this charter are distinguished figures like Henry, Count of Grez and Francon, castellan of Brussels, and more important, that it is one of the greatest of the emerging regional lords who is making the donation to what will become a monastery particularly favored by the Dukes of Brabant. Whether he is or not the direct ancestor of Arnold I of Walhain who appears on a charter in 1159, which is likely enough, it is clear that the site was of strategic importance in the sharpening struggle during the later twelfth century between the emerging regional powers of Brabant and Namur.¹⁴ This is dramatically illustrated by the sack in 1185 of Gembloux by Count Henry the Blind of Namur. At this date Arnold II is already well-attested as *ministralis* in the entourage of the Dukes of

¹² For the Duby thesis, often called *la mutation féodale*, as originally presented: Georges Duby, *La Société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953), portions translated in *The Chivalrous Society* (1978; repr. 1981). This has spawned an immense scholarly literature. A useful introduction: Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation*, trans. Caroline Higgitt (New York and London, 1991).

¹³ See note 11.

¹⁴ Bijterveld and Guillardian, "La formation du duché," 55. Arnold I is mentioned in a charter of 1159 of Gembloux Abbey now lost, cited in C. Butkens, *Les trophées tant sacrés que profanes du duché de Brabant*, t. II (The Hague, 1724-1746), 191.

Brabant, and it is quite likely that our round donjon was erected for him. In 1199 Abbess Berthe of Nivelles ceded him land a few miles to the northwest on which a square stone tower, still standing today, was later built.¹⁵ He must have died by 1210, when Arnold III, probably his nephew, appears in the charter record. Under this Arnold the family status continued to improve: he is signaled as *chevalier* in 1217 and doubtless by 1228 acknowledged as Lord of Walhain, that is, of noble status, one of seven *ministralis* families in Brabant thought to have gained this rank in the first half of the thirteenth century. Arnold III was still alive in 1235, with an adult son and heir, Jacques (attested since 1225) who holds the lordship in 1248. Thus the ambitious building campaigns documented by our excavations, involving extensive landscaping, the erection of a donjon of the *tour philippienne* type and the first phase of work to create a strongly fortified enclosure (*castrum*) anchored by it, and very probably the construction at the same time of the nine-pillar barn and the raising of an earthen terrace (or its first phase) for the *basse-cour*, coincide with the rise of a lineage closely linked to a rising regional power. The considerable material investment required to create the *castrum* and outer bailey in the course of the thirteenth century must reflect, then, not only or even primarily the resources and interests of a local lineage of castellans, but also the strategic priorities of a major regional overlord and his confidence in a family of trusted vassals.

The fortification of the *haute-cour* was carried out over two building stages. Under the lords cited above walls were extended east and north of the donjon to terminate in round corner towers, and the twin-towered gateway giving onto the moat was

¹⁵ For the rectangular stone tower known as “la tour des sarrasins” at Alvaux, see W. Ubregts, “La tour des Sarrasins à Alvaux,” *Wavriensia* XXII-2 (1973): 21. This charter is now Archives Générales du Royaume, Archives ecclésiastiques, #1417 *Liber Grossus*.

completed in the latter. Had this plan been followed as originally conceived the result would have been a square enclosure. But construction had paused by mid-century; it was resumed under Arnold V, attested as lord in 1264 and deceased by 1310, not long after the redaction of his testament, a document rediscovered by happy chance in the 1980s.¹⁶ It includes the considerable sum of nearly 5000 *lv* to purge his debts, which are likely to include expenses connected with finishing the enclosure of the *castrum*. Nevertheless this was done following a truncated plan. Although our excavations are incomplete in this area, they indicate that much more terrace construction would have been needed to complete the original plan, which further suggests that the decision to reduce the scale of the project may reflect the fact that the generous ducal support that we have hypothesized for its earlier stages was not forthcoming. Further archival research and further



Figure 10 Walhain Castle, Harrewijn (1695). Photo: after re-edition by J. Le Roy, *Chateaux et maisons de campagne de gentilhommes du Brabant et les monastères les plus remarquables* (Bruxelles, 1982).

¹⁶ For Arnold V and his testament, see P. Godding, “Pléthore d’enfants, fin de race. Le testament d’Arnould de Walhain (1304),” *Wavriensia* XXXVIII-4 (1989): 105-136. A seal of Arnold V also survives attached to a charter of the Abbey of Affligem (1298) *Bruxelles, Archives Générales du Royaume, Fonds d’Archives ecclésiastiques, Chartier de l’abbaye d’Affligem, #4611, charte 229*.

excavation should allow us to develop and test this theory. Ironically the completion of the *castrum* coincides with the extinction of the Arnold lineage and the beginning of a period of apparent disinterest in and neglect of Walhain castle. Both Arnold's brother, Otto, and his son and heir, Godfrey, had died of wounds sustained in battle--Arnold was also wounded, but survived--and the lordship passed to a granddaughter, Mathilde, who married John of Looz, lord of Agimont. For over a century it passed from family to family until its purchase in 1435 by the Glimes lineage, a family closely connected with the new Burgundian ducal power in the region, revived its importance and brought new investments, which are evident in the seventeenth-century engravings.¹⁷ **(Figure 10)**

There is, as we have seen, evidence of human activity involving a bank and ditch. Our revised hypothesis, then, is that the still-impressive-if-much-dilapidated medieval structures at Walhain are the visible remains of an ambitious, carefully conceived and well-executed *ex nihilo* construction project perhaps beginning in the last years of the twelfth century and certainly continuing during the first part of the thirteenth century. Wattle-and-daub structures in the valley bottom existed before the outer bailey terrace was built, but the associated ceramics **(Figure 11)** suggest that it does not date much before that time, and it may have been associated with an early phase of the project. Aside from this there is no evidence of the material nature of human occupation connected with the *villa walaham* signaled in tenth and eleventh century documents, or with the lords attested in documents from 1099 onward. Does such evidence survive

¹⁷ For the acquisition of the castle and lordship by Antoine de Glimes in 1435, see D. Verzwymelen and B. K. Young, "Recherches sur le site du chateau de Walhain," *Wavriensia* LI-3 (2002): 74, for the description of the domain drawn up for the new lord.



Figure 11 Upper Left: Ceramic base, 13th-14th century. Found above possible medieval wall (M3034, 2008). Upper Right: 15th-century ceramic base, displaced (2012). Lower Right: Possible hand-thrown medieval ceramic base. Found in inner bailey, under 16th century yellow mortar level (2005). Lower Left: Possible 12th-13th century, simple decoration around edge of base. Found in inner bailey under cobblestone level (2006).

elsewhere, perhaps in the area to the north of the castle where the village center is now located? Further research will allow us to answer these questions, and add new, more detailed data to the story of the relationship between lordship and landscape and the development of its agricultural resources that our excavations have so far revealed. 🍷



The Coffret of John of Montmirail: The Sacred Politics of Reuse in Thirteenth-Century Northern France¹



By Anne E. Lester, University of Colorado, Boulder

Closed in a coffer so cunningly wrought
As this same garden green and gay,
And here forever in joy to stay
Where lack nor loss can never come near;
Here were a casket fit to display
A prize for a proper jeweler.

Pearl Poet, *Pearl*, V. 2: 259-264.²

So happy be the issue, brother England,
Of this good day, and of this gracious meeting,
As we are now glad to behold your eyes –
Your eyes which hitherto have borne in them,
Against the French that met them in their bent,
The fatal balls of murdering basilisks.
The venom of such looks, we fairly hope,
Have lost their quality, and that this day
Shall change all griefs and quarrels into love.
William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, v. 2: 12-20.

¹ I thank Scott G. Bruce, M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, William Chester Jordan, and Liesbeth Van Houts for their comments on earlier drafts of this article. Their close readings have shaped my thinking and saved me from errors. I also thank Patrick Geary, Yves Airiau, Anne Harris, and especially Audrey Jacobs for sharing their thoughts, photographs and unpublished work with me. Finally, I owe a great debt to Richard Leson and Elizabeth Hunt whose expertise I have benefited from enormously as well as Sarah Blick whose guidance, especially with the images, has been invaluable. Any errors that remain are mine alone.

² *The Gawain Poet Complete Works*, verse trans. Marie Borroff (New York and London: Norton, rept 2011), 132.

Sometime in the second half of the thirteenth century an oblong coffret or casket (15 x 78.7 x 17.5 cm) came to the Cistercian abbey of Longpont (Aisne) in Picardy.

(Figure 1) The elongated box was beautifully wrought, made of a wood core covered in red and brown leather and emblazoned with fifty-three copper-gilt enameled heraldic medallions encircled by gilt-copper bosses applied to a parchment skin and edged with



Figure 1 Coffret of the Blessed John of Montmirail or the Longpont Coffret, Limoges, c. 1270 (or 1242?). Copper, engraved, stippled, and gilt champlevé enamel: sky blue, gray, green, dark red, and white, red and brown leather over wood core. 15 x 78.7 x 17.5 cm. Treasury of the Abbey of Longpont (Aisne), France. Photo: Thierry Lefébure, Ministère de la culture, Inventaire général, Département de l'Aisne, AGIR-Picardie.

strips of stamped gilt-copper.³ Alain-Charles Dionnet, who has done the most extensive study of the extant coffret, argued that the medallions include the arms of Saint Louis, his brother Alphonse of Poitiers, the arms of Castile and those of Provence, which belonged respectively to the queen mother, Blanche of Castile, and the queen Marguerite of Provence and which the crown appropriated. The royal heraldry, especially medallions with the triple fleur-de-lis, are repeated twice on the front, three times on the rear, once

³ For the most recent description of the coffret see the catalog entry by Barbara Drake Boehm, "The Coffret of the Blessed John of Montmirail" in *The Enamels of Limoges, 1100-1350*, ed. John P. O'Neill (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), no. 133, 376-378. See her article for an up-to-date bibliography on previous short studies of the coffret. See also the exhibition catalog, *Saint Louis*, ed. Pierre-Yves Le Pogam, et al. (Paris: Editions du Patrimoine Centre des monuments nationaux, 2014), 257, cat. no. 109.

on the right side panel and three times on the cover. The heraldry of the royal family thus provides a kind of visual field into which are embedded other medallions belonging to the Limousin and northern French nobility including: the lords of the north, that is, the families of Burgundy, Dreux, and Coucy; and the barons of Poitou and Aquitaine with the families of the Limousin on the reverse, namely Turenne, Lusignan-La Marche, Lusignan-Counts d'Eu, Aubusson, Rochechouart, and possibly Berry.⁴ (Figures 1a-1k)



Figure 1a Longpont Coffret, details, left front, displaying arms. Photo: Audrey Jacobs.



⁴ See Alain-Charles Dionnet, "La Cassette reliquaire du bienheureux Jean de Montmirail," *Revue française d'héraldique et de sigillographie* 65 (1995): 89-107, see the annex for the identification and description of the heraldry, 101-102; also Boehm, "The Coffret," 376, which lists the identified heraldic medallions.

Figure 1b Right end displaying arms (from left to right): La Marche-Lusignan, France, and possibly Provence. Photo: Audrey Jacobs.



Figure 1c Longpont Coffret, detail of lid, right side displaying arms. Photo: Audrey Jacobs.

A looped handle is affixed to the center of the lid and beneath it the elongated decorative hasp of a lock stretches in the form of an enameled serpent or basilisk. Lying flat along its belly the creature's tongue protrudes over the side to form the locking mechanism, which at one time was secured by a key fitted into another champlevé enamel roundel encircled by a wavy-serpentine design. **(Figures 1j-1k)** Lying in wait, the basilisk appears as a warning to any who might tamper with the lock or misuse the coffret's contents. While scholars have speculated about the coffret's origins and initial purpose, in



Figure 1d Longpont Coffret, detail, arms of Lusignan (left). Photo: Audrey Jacobs.

Figure 1e Longpont Coffret, detail, arms of Brittany (right). Photo: Audrey Jacobs.

the later thirteenth century it was reused to house the holy bones of the knight turned Cistercian monk, John of Montmirail (d. 1217), who had taken vows and lived out his days and was buried at the abbey of Longpont, where miracles later occurred at his



Figure 1f Longpont Coffret, detail, arms of France (left). Photo: Audrey Jacobs.

Figure 1g Longpont Coffret, detail, arms of Coucy (right). Photo: Audrey Jacobs.



Figure 1h Longpont Coffret, detail (above left), arms of Guy II Vicomte d'Aubusson. Photo: Audrey Jacobs.

Figure 1i Longpont Coffret, detail (above right), central lock frame in enamel and champlévé. Photo: Audrey Jacobs.



Figure 1j Longpont Coffret, detail, top showing basilisk body (left). Arms of France and Castile on either side. Photo: Audrey Jacobs.

Figure 1k Longpont Coffret, detail, top showing basilisk head and enameled eyes of lock (right). Photo: Audrey Jacobs.



tomb.⁵ The coffret has come to be known as the Coffret of Blessed John of Montmirail or the Coffret of Longpont.

Preserved today in the treasury of the former

Cistercian abbey of Longpont, the coffret is in remarkably good condition, having escaped the systematic destruction of religious objects, relics, and reliquaries, and the dismantling of the abbey church, cloister precinct and tombs during the 1790s. Indeed, during the French Revolution the lay sacristan of Longpont, Lebeau, who was also mayor, hid the coffret as the abbey church and its contents were quarried and dispersed.

⁵ John of Montmirail (1165-29 September 1217), the son of Andrew of Montmirail and Ferté-Gaucher and Hildiarde d'Oisy, married Helvide of Dampierre with whom he had ten children. He was a noted friend of Philip Augustus, king of France and fought alongside the king, possibly on the Third Crusade. Soon thereafter he turned to a life of charity and devotion and founded a leper hospital, where he served with his daughter Elisabeth. He then renounced the world and became a monk at Longpont, where he died in 1217. Miracles were reported at his tomb in Longpont by the 1230s at which point he was venerated locally as a saint. He was beatified in 1891, see *Acta Sanctorum*, September, vol. 8 (Antwerp, 1762), 186-235; also A.-C. Boitel, *Histoire du bienheureux Jean surnommé l'Humble, seigneur de Montmirail-en-Brie, d'Oisy, de Tersmes* (Paris: H. Vrayet de Surcy, 1859); G. Larigaldie, *Chevalier et moine, ou Jean de Montmirail, connétable de France, 1165-1217* (Paris: P. Lethiellieux, 1909); M. R. Mathieu, *Montmirail en Brie: Sa seigneurie et son canton* (Paris: Librairie A. Deruelle, 1975), 60-82; Anselme Dimier, "Le bienheureux Jean de Montmirail, moine de Longpont" in *Mémoires de la Fédération des sociétés savantes de l'Aisne* 7 (1960-61): 182-191, reprinted in *Mélange à la mémoire du Père Anselme Dimier*, ed. Benoît Chauvin, I.2: 693-98; and Nicholas Vincent, "Isabella of Angoulême: John's Jezebel" in *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. S. D. Church (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 1999), 165-219, for the political context of the Montmirail family during the early thirteenth century.

The object was restored once between 1845 and 1859, at which time it appears to have lost one or more of its medallions. At the time of World War I (1914-1919) the lid became separated from the coffret, but was subsequently reattached. Several of the border strips have also been replaced and there is wear to the gilding. Today, the central locking mechanism is missing, as are five of the heraldic medallions.⁶

The Coffret of Longpont is an example of a type of coffret or casket produced during the first decades of the thirteenth century for the preservation and possible transportation of a wide variety of materials, including documents and charters, as well as personal effects, and possibly the contents of a personal chapel, comprising liturgical ornaments as well as relics and devotional books.⁷ Dionnet proposed that the Coffret of Longpont was created in the later part of 1242, following the process of peace-making between King Louis IX and the nobles of the Limousin, who had sided with the English and briefly rebelled against Louis during the early period of the king's reign.⁸ He suggests that it was created to hold the peace agreements and charters of submission on the part of the barons drawn up in the aftermath of the battle of Taillebourg (21 July 1242).⁹ There is still debate about the dating of the coffret. Barbara Drake Boehm has suggested on stylistic grounds that the enamel medallions should be dated to the later part

⁶ The coffret was opened several times between the thirteenth and twentieth centuries and various inventories of its contents were recorded (more on this below), see Mathieu, *Montmirail en Brie*, 79-81; for the repairs, also Boehm, "The Coffret," 376.

⁷ For an example of the contents of such a chapel, see the items Philip of Flanders donated to the monks of Clairvaux before his departure on crusade in 1190, in *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Clairvaux au XIIIe siècle*, ed. Jean Waquet and Jean-Marc Roger and Laurent Veyssière (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, vol. 32) (Paris: C.T.H.S., 2004), 358-9, no. 288.

⁸ For this context, see William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979), 14-22; Jean Richard, *Saint Louis, roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre sainte* (Paris: Fayard, 1983), 171-75 and in English as *Saint Louis: Crusader King of France*, trans. Jean Birrel, ed. and abridged by Simon Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 41-61; Régine Pernoud, *Blanche of Castile*, trans. Henry Noel (London: Collins, 1975), 197-206; and Vincent, "Isabelle of Angoulême," 211-216.

⁹ Dionnet, "La cassette reliquaire," 99-100.

of the thirteenth century, possibly during the 1270s.¹⁰ The issue of the coffret's date may never be fully resolved, however, an analysis of it as an object that was created and then reused can tell us a great deal about how and why material possessions like the coffret were important during the thirteenth century, specifically regarding how they functioned in the combined arenas of politics and devotion. In what follows, I analyze the Longpont Coffret in the context of similar objects by considering three key themes: portability, commemoration, and enshrinement. The use of the Longpont Coffret in an abbey in Picardy, not far from the Franco-Flemish border, is suggestive of how such objects would have resonated and been employed – precisely because they were portable – to work in similar ways across political boundaries.

By the middle of the thirteenth century the use and display of heraldry had many purposes ranging from the personal and commemorative to the public and political.¹¹ The display of multiple heraldic medallions, moreover, served as a visual expression of an argument of unity and peace among families. In the case of the Coffret of Longpont, as I will argue, that visual display was repurposed in the later thirteenth century, perhaps even as early as 1261, to reinforce the familial bonds between the crown and upper nobility of France and to emphasize the king's connection to and control over the sacred landscape of his realm. In what follows I begin by analyzing the Coffret of Longpont in the context

¹⁰ Boehm, "The Coffret," 376. I am more persuaded by Dionnet's thesis in part because several of the heraldic medallions correspond to the heraldry of baronial family members who were deceased by the 1270s. Boehm's observations that several medallions are repeated, moreover, seems to conform stylistically with the patterns employed on the Coffret of Saint Louis, which would further align with an earlier dating scheme for the Longpont Coffret.

¹¹ See Michel Pastoureau, *Heraldry: Its Origins and Meaning*, trans. Francisca Garvie (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997); idem, *Traité d'héraldique* (Paris: Picard, 1997); and *Marqueurs d'identité dans la littérature médiévale: mettre en signe l'individu et la famille (XIIe-XVe siècles): actes du colloque tenu à Poitiers les 17 et 18 novembre 2011*, eds. Catalina Girbea, Laurent Hablot and Raluca Radulescu (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

of other portable objects, namely coffrets, alms purses, and devotional books. I then explore the meaning of heraldic display in the visual context (leaving aside here the representation of such displays often found in contemporary literature and chronicle sources) by framing the coffret in relation to glass panels from the same period, notably those at Chartres Cathedral. Finally, the essay culminates by arguing that the Coffret of Longpont was a gift from Louis IX to the monks of Longpont to be repurposed as a casket for the bones of John of Montmirail. The timing of this gift, the sum of the visual details in the heraldry, and the use of the coffret in the Cistercian context all reinforce this interpretation. The gift was used in part to reaffirm the religious association between Louis and Longpont specifically, and Louis and the Cistercians more broadly, for by the 1260s the French king had emerged as an arbiter of saintly re-appropriation. The gift also solidified Louis's political claims to the surrounding territories and over baronial ambitions in contested regions like Picardy, Brittany and the Limousin. It was then a political and personal re-appropriation of an object that was at once charged with political meaning and newly made sacred. This reading of the Coffret of Longpont demonstrates how profoundly intertwined political authority and religious devotion had become, especially in northern France and around the region of Flanders.

The Power of the Portable

It may be impossible to know what the Longpont Coffret originally held or was intended to hold. The inner lining of the coffret is now missing, but Dionnet has suggested that the long box – much larger than the size of a typical charter, even a peace charter of great significance – had been divided into compartments to hold charters and

documents pertaining to different baronial families and land-holdings. Removing these divisions for reuse would allow the coffret to be re-appropriated as a case for carrying all manner of items including the accouterments of a personal chapel (something we know Louis IX and Alphonse of Poitou carried as they traveled their domains and while on crusade from 1248-1254), and later to accommodate relics.

The portability of caskets made them objects that could both convey and display multiple meanings in different places at different times. The heraldic medallions on the Longpont Coffret could initially have served to communicate the submission and renewed loyalty of the northern and Limousin barons to Louis IX, Alphonse of Poitou and Capetian rule. Displayed in a court or in a church or chapel, the heraldic medallions that adorn the coffret functioned as an expression of the power of those who possessed the box, while also announcing the political importance of its contents. The medallions provided a visual key to the documentary details within. The basilisk who guards the lock ensured that any peace remained unbroken, the charters sealed and safe inside. It is not, I think, a whim or coincidence that the lock takes the form of a basilisk, but rather meant precisely to evoke both the deterring power of that mythical serpent, which it was believed could turn an enemy to stone with its gaze, as well as the ameliorating power to preserve hard-won peace.¹²

¹² Medieval intellectuals thought about and theorized with basilisks frequently, see for example, Roger Bacon, *De secretis operibus artis et naturae, et de nullitate magiae* in Fr. Rogeri Bacon *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, Vol. 1, ed. J. S. Brewer (London: Longman, 1859), 523-51, c. 3, p. 529; William of Auvergne, *De universo*, in Guilielmi Alverni, *Opera omnia*, 2 Vols., (Orleans-Paris, 1674; repr. Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1963), Vol. 1, II.3.16, p. 1046; and Nicole Oresme, *De configurationibus*, in *Nicole Oresme and the Medieval Geometry of Qualities and Motions: A Treatise on the Uniformity and Difformity of Intensities known as Tractatus de configurationibus qualitatum et motuum*, ed. and trans. Marshall Clagett (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 2.38, pp. 380-84; also Thomas Bradwardine, *De causa Dei*, in *De causa Dei, contra Pelagium, et De virtute Causarum, ad suos Mertonenses, libri tres*, ed. Sir Henry Savile (Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1964, facsimile reprint of 1618 edition), 1.1.32, p. 46. I thank Michelle Karnes for these references. On the broader intellectual context for such treatises, see her

The Longpont Coffret has its closest analog in the so-called Casket of Saint Louis, now in the Louvre Museum (Paris, Musée du Louvre: Départements des Objets d'art, MS 253). Smaller in size, the Casket of Saint Louis (14 x 36.5 x 19 cm or 5 1/2 x 14 1/8 x 7 1/2 in.) (**Figure 2**), is a beautifully worked coffret adorned with an array of heraldic medallions and a basilisk lock, nearly identical to that of the Longpont Coffret. The Casket of Saint Louis has been more extensively studied, although it has still not received the attention it deserves, partly because so many questions remain regarding its dating and use. Like the Longpont Coffret, the casket is made of a beech-wood core covered in tin and ornamented with four small crystal cabochons (four originally, only two remain at the corners of the cover) and Limousin enamel medallions. Unlike the Longpont Coffret, which displays only heraldic medallions, the Saint Louis Casket alternates and interworks gilt-copper medallions depicting human figures and animals in repoussé and champlevé medallions and shields bearing blazons. Forty-six escutcheons bearing twenty-three different arms remain. Here, as in the Longpont case, the blue fleur-de-lis of France and the yellow or golden castles of Castile are repeated most frequently, again creating a visual field into which the other arms are embedded. The tin covering has been painted green and, like the Longpont Coffret, the Casket is abundantly ornamented with decorative round-headed copper-studs that encircle each medallion in a near identical pattern, albeit on a smaller-scaled space. A looped handle also adorns this casket and “the elongated body of a basilisk stretches across the top of the lid; a thin

article, "Marvels in the Medieval Imagination," *Speculum* 90 (2015): 327-365.



Figure 2 Casket or Coffret of Saint Louis, Paris, Louvre Museum, Départments des Objets d’art: Moyen Age. Limoges, c. 1234-1236. Wood, medallions of champlevé enamel. Provenance of Notre-Dame-du-Lys. Acquisition, 1853. MS 253. Photo: 1995 RMN/Daniel Amaudet.

metal strip with a latch at the end issues from a hinge in the monster’s mouth and locks securely on the left side of the central medallion of the upper register.” As Barbara Drake Boehm and Michel Pastoureau describe, “the opening for the keyhole appears in the center of this medallion, between the intertwined bodies of two other basilisks.”¹³ The details of the open-work medallions range from depictions of animals including birds, lions, griffins and more basilisks, to humans playing instruments, men hunting or slaying monsters, and two flowers. These images are reminiscent of other extant Limoges caskets that often portray secular and romance themes, such as the so-called Troubadour Casket in the British Museum.¹⁴

¹³ See the description by Barbara Drake Boehm and Michel Pastoureau, “The Coffret of Saint Louis” in *Enamels of Limoges*, 360-363, no. 123. Other examples with basilisks include the Casket of Richard of Cornwall and the Casket in the Metropolitan Museum collection, see n. 13 below.

¹⁴ British Museum, Casket with troubadours, M&EM 1859, 1-10.1. From the court of Aquitaine, Limoges, France, c. 1180 (21 x 15.6 x 11 cm). Anne F. Harris has a paper on this casket entitled, “‘Farai un vers de dreit rien’: Guillaume IX, Troubadour Caskets, and the Apophysis of Courtly Love” which she presented at the International Congress of Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May, 2014. I thank her for sharing that

The Casket of Saint Louis, like that of Longpont, was also re-appropriated to serve as a reliquary. Sometime after Louis IX's death (25 August 1270), but possibly before his canonization (1297), Philip IV the Fair (r.1285-1314), the saintly king's grandson, gave the casket to the Cistercian nunnery of Le Lys, as the convent inventory states, to hold the holy relics of the king, namely "four bones of this king [and] his hairshirt given by this same king [Philip IV] with the casket."¹⁵ Blanche of Castile and Louis IX founded Le Lys together in 1244 and it remained one of several royal Cistercian abbeys that enjoyed the sustained patronage of the Capetian family.¹⁶ Upon her death in 1252, Blanche's body was laid to rest in a tomb at the Cistercian nunnery of Maubuisson. Her heart, however, was given to the nuns of Le Lys, whose abbess at the time was Blanche's cousin. William of Saint-Pathus, the Dominican confessor to Marguerite of Provence, who wrote an initial collection of Saint Louis's miracles, recorded that as early as 1278 a nun of Le Lys prayed before the king's hairshirt to receive a cure for a malady of the eye. Only later – in conformity with the developing cult – did she receive a cure at

piece with me before its publication. For other examples of extent caskets, see also the Casket of Richard of Cornwall, ca. 1258 now in the Aachen Cathedral Treasury and discussed by Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, "Beginnings and Evolution of the *Oeuvre de Limoges*" in *Enamels of Limoges*, 33-39, at 38; the Casket in the Metropolitan Museum collection ca. 1190, Limoges, France, Accession no. 17.190.511 and online at <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/464480?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=enamels%2BLimoges&deptids=17&pos=15&imgNo=6&tabName=label>; and the Coffret of Cardinal Bicchieri, before 1227, Limoges, France, which is in a private collection, but discussed in *Enamels of Limoges*, cat. no. 88. This Coffret was used, like the others discussed here, to hold the bones of Cardinal Guala Bicchieri after his death in 1227.

¹⁵ Audrey Jacobs, "The Heraldic *Casket of Saint Louis* in the Louvre" (MA Thesis: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2014), 5. I thank Audrey Jacobs and Richard Leson for sharing this unpublished work with me. Edmond Ganneron, *La cassette de Saint Louis roi de France donnée par Philippe le Bel à l'Abbaye du Lis* (Paris: J. Claye et Cie, 1855), 1-2; and Eugène Grézy, "Cassette de Saint Louis dans l'église de Dammarie (Seine-et-Marne)," *Revue archéologique* 10e. no. 2 (1853-54): 637-647. Both cite the earliest inventory of Le Lys, from 1678.

¹⁶ See Anne E. Lester, "Saint Louis and Cîteaux Revisited: Cistercian Commemoration and Devotion during the Capetian Century, 1214-1314," to appear in a collection tentatively titled *The Capetian Century*, eds. Hagar Barak, William Chester Jordan, and Jenna Philips.

the king's tomb at Saint-Denis.¹⁷ Thus, the casket was either a gift to the nuns from Louis's son, Philip III or they later acquired the casket to hold relics they already possessed. From the last decade of the thirteenth century the casket containing relics of the venerated king was with the nuns of Le Lys and there it appears to have remained until 1793, when the nunnery was pillaged and formally suppressed. In 1858, the French government purchased the casket for 25,000 francs and placed it in the Musée des Souverains until that museum was closed in 1872. The Louvre then acquired the casket later that year.¹⁸

A remarkable number of escutcheons appear in common on both coffrets, including the arms of the king of France, the castles of Castile -- the heraldry of the queen mother Blanche -- as well as the arms of Dreux-Brittany, Bar, Coucy, Burgundy, La Marche-Lusignan, and Toulouse.¹⁹ But the Saint Louis Casket also displays the arms of a host of other prominent barons not expressed on the Longpont Coffret including: the Count of Bar, Count of Champagne-Navarre, arms of Jerusalem, England, Burgundy, Dreux, Courtenay, Champagne, Flanders, Montmorency, Montfort-l'Aumary, Beaumont-en-Gâtinais (and with cadency), Roze, Harcourt, Malet, and Corneuil (cadet branch of Courtenay), all of whom were counted as vassals of the king of France. Hervé Pinoteau identified the forty-six extant heraldic arms and suggested from this identification a date

¹⁷ "[E]lle li aportast un escrinet la ou les heres et les deceplines du benoiet Saint Loys estoient secreement garder." Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, Confesseur de la Reine Marguerite, *Les miracles de Saint Louis*, ed. Percival B. Fey (Paris: H. Champion, 1931), 70-75. The quote here implies that the nuns held relics of the king's hair and what may have been his whip for personal flagellation or his hairshirt, that is, relics that were amassed possibly before his death and were thus distinct from the bones they later received. On the miracles performed at the tomb, see Sharon Farmer, "Down and Out and Female in Thirteenth-Century Paris," *The American Historical Review* 103 (1998): 345-372.

¹⁸ Jacobs, "The Heraldic Casket," 7.

¹⁹ Jacobs has produced a very useful chart of all the heraldic devices on the Saint Louis Casket, in "The Heraldic Casket," 10-12.

for the casket between 1234 and 1237, possibly, given the marriages and death of the families whose arms are depicted, a date as precise as the summer of 1236.²⁰ Recently, however, Audrey Jacobs has proposed two other earlier possibilities: 1229 and 1234, both of which relate the casket more specifically to the period of Blanche of Castile's rule as regent for the young Louis IX due to the prominence of the Castilian and Navarre-Champagne arms (associated with Blanche of Navarre (d. 1229), regent-countess of Champagne). Jacobs argues persuasively for a date of 1234, the year that Blanche and Louis consolidated an initial peace among many of the rebellious barons of France (especially those of Burgundy, Dreux-Brittany, and Coucy) and the year the king was married (27 May 1234) to Marguerite of Provence.²¹ Indeed, as Jacobs suggests, the casket may have been a wedding gift from Blanche to the king and his new bride.²² It may have also served to hold the peace agreements forced upon the rebellious Duke of Brittany, Peter of Dreux.²³ In both capacities, the coffret embedded the emblems of the upper nobility within the iconographic field of Franco-Castilian power, reiterating the dominance of the king of France over his barons as a keeper of the peace and a respected ruler. If charters of feudal loyalty (even submission in the case of Peter of Dreux) were kept inside the casket, such a peace would have been further affirmed under the watchful

²⁰ Hervé Pinoteau, "La date de la cassette de saint Louis: été 1236?" in *Cinq études d'héraldique et de symbolique étatique* (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 2006), 115-160.

²¹ For the rebellions of these nobles, especially that of Peter of Dreux, see Elie Berger, *Historie de Blanche de Castille, reine de France* (Paris, 1895), 195-99, 237; and Sidney Painter, *The Scourge of the Clergy: Peter of Dreux, Duke of Brittany* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937). The peace agreements, submissions really, that Peter was forced to adhere to as well as the investigations conducted in the duchy of Brittany in 1235 at the command of the king are printed in *Layette du trésor des chartes*, ed. Alexandre Teulet 5 vols. (Paris: Henri Plon, 1863-1909), vol. I, nos. 601, 1026 and 1027; and II, nos. 2128, 2135, 2136, 2141, 2144, 2302, 2319, 2320, 2417, 2418, 2419. See also Arthur de la Borderie, "Nouveau recueil d'actes inédits des ducs de Bretagne et de leur gouvernement," *Mémoires de la société archéologique du département d'Ille-et-Vilaine* 21 (1892): 97-134.

²² Jacobs, "The Heraldic Casket," 50-59.

²³ See above, n. 21; and Sidney Painter, "Documents on the History of Brittany in the Time of St. Louis," *Speculum* 11 (1936): 470-472.

gaze of the basilisk as well as through the display of the casket itself. Its portability made it likewise capable of conveying this message again and again in multiple locations, wherever it was carried and deployed.²⁴

Both caskets can be placed into a broader framework of portable and heraldic objects that were created to display simultaneously familial and feudal loyalties within a devotional context and to render this display on or within a deliberately moveable medium. One such group of objects quite similar to the caskets were alms purses and crusader scrips, small wallets or purses that those who took the vow to crusade assumed as a sign of their holy status as a penitent pilgrim. Although very few examples of alms purses survive given their material – most were made of fabric, often silk, and elaborately embroidered – some purses have been preserved in museum and treasury collections and a number of others were recorded in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century drawings.²⁵ The “Bourse des croisades” of Peter of Dreux (d. 1250), (**Figures 3a-b**) although no longer extant, was drawn on parchment and colored in *gauche* and is now included in

²⁴ See William Chester Jordan, “A Border Policy? Louis IX and the Spanish Connection,” paper given at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, 4 January 2015, which will appear in a planned Festschrift for Professor Téofilo F. Ruiz. I thank him for sharing this piece with me before its publication. See also Jenny Benham, *Peacemaking in the Middle Ages: Principles and Practices* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

²⁵ Peter’s bourse bears comparison with that of Thibaut IV, count of Champagne and king of Navarre, who participated on the Baron’s Crusade in 1239 and the crusade of Louis IX. Thibaut’s bourse, or reliquary purse as it is known, is preserved in the cathedral treasury of Troyes. Made of embroidered silk, with a similar closure and three hanging silk tassels, it displays a repeating pattern of the arms of Champagne and rosettes and thus does not perform the unifying iconographic work that Peter’s does for no other noble families are referred to on the purse. See Pernoud, *Blanche of Castile*, 161. Other examples of purses survive especially in Belgium and Germany and have been cataloged in Belgium and are accessible through the site: <http://balat.kikirpa.be/intro.php>. Another example survives in Nurnberg, “Germanisches Nationalmuseum” inv. Nr. T 518, c. 1301-1400.

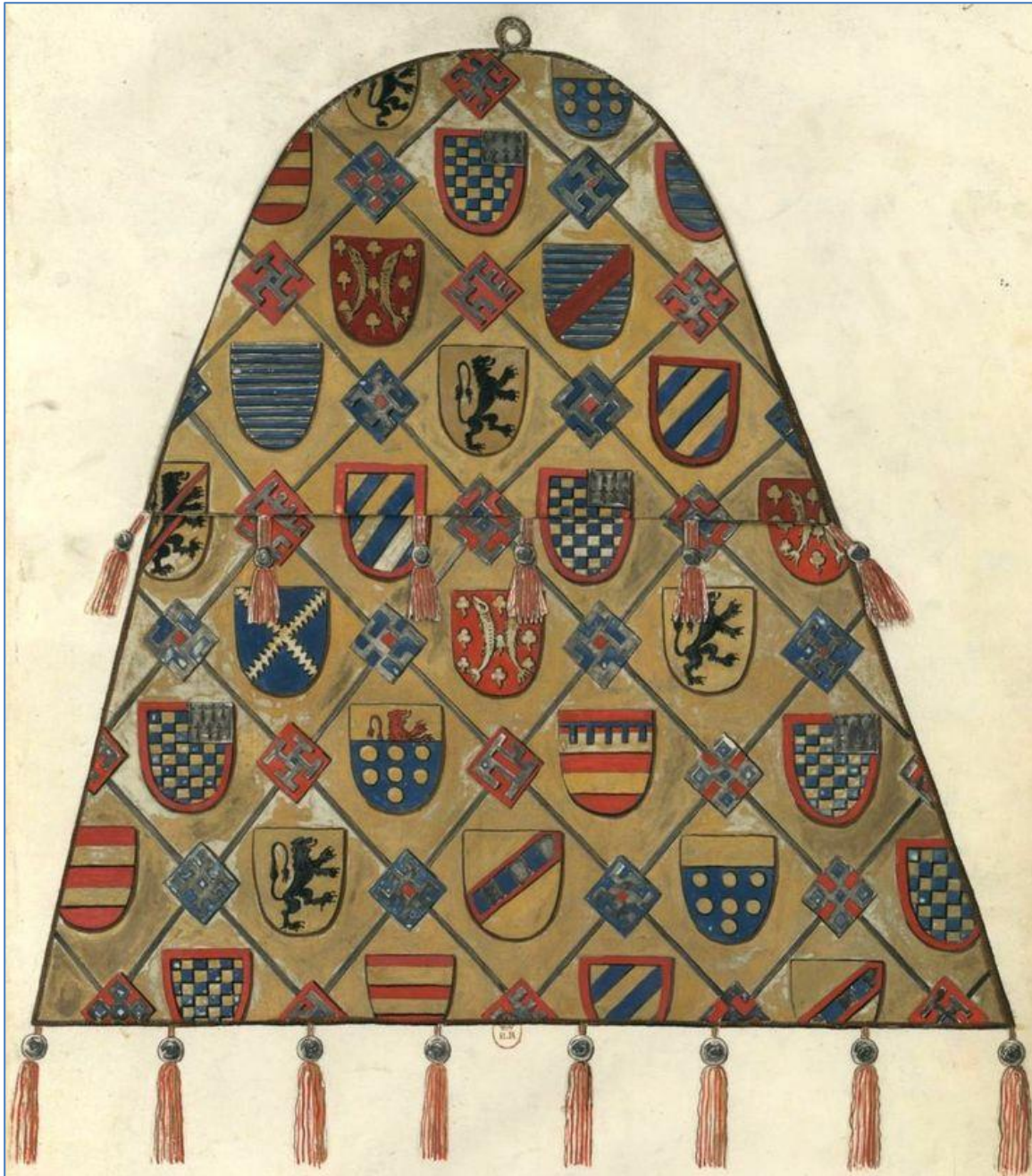


Figure 3 Bourse of Peter of Dreux. Front closed. Gouache on parchment. Collection Roger de Gaignières. Photo: BnF. Reserve Pc-18-fol.



Figure 3a-b Bourse of Peter of Dreux. Front open. Gouache on parchment. Collection Roger de Gaignières. Photo: BnF. Reserve Pc-18-fol.

collection of Roger de Gaignière in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (1747, BnF).²⁶

The purse itself was uncovered from the tomb of Peter of Dreux, who was buried in the Dreux family abbey, the Premonstratensian house of St.-Yved at Braine (diocese of Soissons). The pilgrim's purse or scrip must have become ubiquitous during the period of the crusades. Indeed, taking up the objects of crusading, including the pilgrim's purse and

²⁶ See "Bourse dite des croisade avec les armes des familles ayant alliance des Dreux-Bretagne," gauche on parchment, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Reserve Pc-18-Fol. Gaignières, 1747. Accessible online at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b69376977/f1.item.r=Gaignières%20bourse>.

staff were part of the fundamental rituals of departure that all crusaders, and certainly all noble crusaders, indulged.²⁷ The first half of the thirteenth century witnessed the launch of no fewer than five major crusade expeditions: four to the east conventionally numbered as the Fourth Crusade, 1202-1204; the Fifth Crusade 1219-1221; the Barons' Crusade of 1239-1241, and the Seventh Crusade or the first expedition of Louis IX, from 1248-51; and the campaigns in southern France between 1209-1229, referred to collectively as the Albigensian Crusade. All of these expeditions drew the northern French and Flemish nobility together through sworn agreements and vows. The crusade campaigns were in many instances, especially in 1248, deliberately conceived of as collective undertakings used to unify the nobility on peaceful terms to fight against a common enemy of the faith, whether Muslims or heretics.²⁸ In this sense a double solidarity was created that tied feudal loyalty to an act of profound and often self-sacrificing Christian devotion.

The heraldic embellishment of a devotional object like a pilgrim's purse or crusader bourse made portable an entire narrative of noble familial and feudal bonds and linked these to the devotional practices of relic veneration (should the purse return with relics collected in the east or be re-appropriated for that use) and familial commemoration, often within a familial chapel or monastic foundation, such as St.-Yved at Braine. The bourse of Peter of Dreux (also known as Peter Mauclerc) is particularly intriguing in this way, especially as Peter had been one of the French crown's most

²⁷ See William Chester Jordan, "Crusader Prologues: Preparing for War in the Gothic Age," *The Christian Culture Lecture* (Notre Dame, IN: St. Mary's College, 2009); and M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure, 1095-1300," *Speculum* 88 (2013): 44-91.

²⁸ In the case of Louis IX's crusade several nobles, including Peter of Dreux and Enguerrand of Coucy, were induced to accompany the king on crusade. See Jordan, *Louis IX*, 21; Richard, *Saint Louis*, 99-112.

prominent antagonists in the years before Louis's consolidation of power and departure on crusade in 1248. Peter's bourse was decorated with the heraldry of the major barons of the north interspersed with his own escutcheon, which depicted alternating gold and azure checks with a quarter ermine at the top right (**see Figures 3a-b**). The same device is found on the glass panels that he patronized at Chartres Cathedral (more on that below). The bourse displayed a familiar set of heraldry including the arms of the counts of Brittany, Dreux-Brittany, Flanders, Flanders-Dampierre, Bar, Lusignan, Burgundy, Clérmont-Nesle, Harcourt-Avrilly, Soissons-Coeuvres, and Melun, among others.²⁹

The origins of Peter's bourse may never be known, but the context for its use can be reconstructed. Peter harbored a contentious relationship with the royal family for most of his reign as count of Brittany. An overly ambitious second son of the count of Dreux, when he became the count of Brittany through his marriage (on 27 January 1213) to Alix of Thouars, he tirelessly pursued his ambitions to rule a greater territory and to rekindle the Breton claims to certain lands in England, which predated the severing of the Angevin domain in 1214 following the Battle of Bouvines. Indeed, through much of the early 1230s Peter plotted with other nobles, notably Enguerrand III of Coucy, to challenge the Capetian claims to the throne, especially during the period of Louis IX's minority.³⁰ Peter's role, as John of Joinville noted, was closely tied to other baronial

²⁹ See the forthcoming study by Yves Airiau, "Une aumônière armoriée du XIII^e siècle: La <<Bourse des croisades>> de Pierre de Dreux," *Centre généalogique de Loire-Atlantique: Revue* 158 (2015): 35-43; and 59 (2015), 160 (2016), still to appear. I thank Patrick Geary and the author for sharing this detailed article with me before its publication.

³⁰ Painter, *The Scourge of the Clergy*, although dated, still remains the most thorough treatment of these events directly focused on Peter of Dreux. See also, Dominique Barthélemy, *Les deux âges de la seigneurie banale: Pouvoir et société dans la terre des sire de Coucy (milieu XI^e siècle-milieu XIII^e siècle)*, (Série Histoire ancienne et médiévale 12) (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1984), 426-432; Richard, *Saint Louis*, 12-16; Pernoud, *Blanche of Castile*, 123-162. Concerning commentary, both historical and clerical on such issues, see Alexis Charansonnet, "La révolte des barons de Louis IX: reactions de l'opinion et

rebellions and challenges implicating the barons in Champagne, notably the ambitious counts of Brienne and the barons of the Aquitaine, especially the Counts of La Marche and Angoulême, and the counts of Flanders.³¹ It took decisive measures on the part of the king and his mother to quell their resistance. The proliferation of heraldry finds its roots in this context.³² Peter Mauclerc's challenges were finally put to rest in 1234, as noted above, when he was forced – in a negotiated moment of peace-making – to go on crusade, departing for the east with the Barons' Crusade in 1239. After spending nearly three years in the Levant in the company of Thibaut IV of Champagne, Peter remained on good terms with the French king and accompanied him to Egypt in 1248. One could imagine that the bourse was a gift from Louis IX to the newly cowed duke of Brittany. Perhaps, but one would assume the royal arms would be present on the scrip. More likely, Peter Mauclerc carried a purse that projected the necessary peace alliances forged among the territorial lords nearest to his duchy and with whom he was joined on crusade. As such, it was both an emblem of political unity as well as a commitment for commemoration should members of those families not return. And Peter did not. As Joinville related in gripping detail, he died in Egypt following the failed siege of Mansourah in 1251.³³ In the mid-twentieth century, Peter's sword pommel surfaced and was given as a diplomatic gift to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.³⁴ It

silence des historiens en 1246-1247" in *Une histoire pour un royaume (XIIe-XVe siècle)* (Paris: Perrin, 2010), 218-239.

³¹ Jean de Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, ed. and trans. Jacques Monfrin (Paris: Garnier, 1995), trans. into English in *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. Caroline Smith (New York: Penguin, 2008), para. 74-75, 79-82.

³² Pastoureau notes that heraldry was employed by the baronage decades before its wide-scale adoption by the crown. See Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, 20.

³³ Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, para. 237-247, 335-336, 344, 356-357, and 379.

³⁴ Stephen V. Grancsay, "A French Crusader's Sword Pommel," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 34 (1939): 211-213.

bears, we should not be surprised, Peter's arms on the obverse and a crusader's cross on the reverse, both executed exquisitely in enamel, near mirror images of the heraldic medallions that adorn the coffrets treated above. (Figure 4)



Figure 4 Sword pommel, obverse, (top) with the arms of Peter of Dreux (c. 1190-1250), Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, reverse; (bottom), c. 1240-1250. Copper, gold, enamel, iron. 6 x 6.1 cm. Gift of Louis J. Cartier, 1938. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accession no. 38.60. Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art.



The dual function of commemoration and devotion communicated by the use of heraldry on a portable medium is further reinforced when set in the context of other portable devotional objects, namely Psalters, Books of Hours, and illuminated Romance manuscripts. I only want to suggest this resonance here, as this is an enormous field of study. Framing a reading of caskets in relation to the heraldry found in such manuscripts reminds us that all of these objects were seen and used by men as well as women. In the aristocratic circles of northern France and Flanders the role of women in forming peace

alliances, which were, it should be recalled, typically solidified as marriage agreements, cannot be underestimated. As Nicholas Paul and Jochen Schenk have shown, women were also crucial for transmitting crusading ideals and ambitions from their natal families to their married families, connecting fathers and sons as well as grandfathers and uncles with their kin.³⁵ Heraldry in this context enacted a profound commemorative function. Women prayed for their crusader kin, for their husbands and sons in rebellion, for the return of peace and for their kin after death. Such ideas were amply demonstrated on the margins of Psalter-Hours, such as the Psalter-Hours of Jeanne of Flanders, wife of Enguerrand IV of Coucy and that of Yolande of Soissons, and in other devotional books that used heraldic devices as line-fillers and to frame illuminated pages.³⁶ **(Figures 5 and 6)**

As Richard Leson, Karen Gould and Elizabeth Hunt, among others, have shown, heraldry communicated multiple messages to a book's reader.³⁷ As Leson states, "heraldry [could] operate as a means to commemorate the deceased, to highlight extended social networks and political alliances, or even to structure an authentic

³⁵ See Nicholas Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012); Jochen Schenk, *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, c. 1120-1307* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

³⁶ In both of these Psalter-Hours basilisks, strikingly like those on the coffret and casket discussed above, play a prominent role as framing devices, directing the reader's gaze to the center of the page and cautioning them lest they look elsewhere.

³⁷ See Richard A. Leson, "Heraldry and Identity in the Psalter-Hours of Jeanne of Flanders (Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ms. Lat. 117)," *Studies in Iconography* 32 (2011): 155-198; Karen Gould, *The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons* (Speculum Anniversary Monographs, 4) (Cambridge, MA.: The Medieval Academy of America, 1978); and Elizabeth Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts, 1270-1310* (New York: Routledge, 2007). See also Mark Cruse, "Costuming the Past: Heraldry in Illustrations of the *Roman d'Alexandre* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264)," *Gesta* 45 (2006): 43-59; Michael Michael, "The Privilege of Proximity: Towards a Re-definition of the Function of Armorial," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997): 55-74. More generally, see Michel Pastoureau, *Traité d'héraldique* (Paris: Picard, 1997).



Figure 5 *Psalter Hours of Jeanne of Flanders*, northern France, c. 1288-1305. University of Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS lat. 117, fol. 230r. Prime of the Hours of the Holy Spirit: Peter Preaches to the People. Line fillers display the arms of Coucy and Flanders among others. Photo: Reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, The John Rylands University Library, The University of Manchester.



Figure 6 *Psalter Hours of Yolande of Soissons* (donor family in heraldic frame), Amiens, France, c. 1280-99. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 729, folio 315r. Initial D with bust of St. John the Evangelist. Marginal frames display heraldry of counts of Soissons, Grandpré, Moreuil, and Hangest. Photo: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

chivalric past in order to legitimate the courtly lifestyles of the present.”³⁸ Moreover, much devotional reading would have taken place in or with reference to familial chapels, relic caskets and containers and with the use of other similarly decorated and portable devotional objects.

Commemoration and Remembrance

The notion of embedding baronial and aristocratic relationships, even relationships of political dominance (as I have argued here was the case with the Capetian-owned casket and coffret), found expression as well on less portable although still powerfully evocative media. Indeed, one is hard-pressed not to consider the role of heraldry as it appears on these objects separate from its depiction and function on a more monumental scale. One of the most powerful examples of such display is at Chartres Cathedral, namely in the glazing program of the north and south transept windows. There is not the space here (and the existing bibliography is far too vast) to detail the glass program at Chartres, however, several important points relate to the themes raised above.³⁹ Chartres represents one of the most important and perhaps earliest examples of aristocratic heraldry portrayed in stained glass.⁴⁰ The cathedral, especially as it was

³⁸ Leson, “Heraldry and Identity,” 155.

³⁹ Yves Delaporte’s magisterial study of the glass at Chartres remains the most helpful guide to reading the heraldry in the glazing program. See Yves Delaporte, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres. Histoire et description*, 4 vols. (Chartres: É. Houvet, 1926). To view the full program see the online site compiled through The Medieval Stained Glass Photographic Archive:

<http://www.therosewindow.com/pilot/Chartres/table.htm>, which uses the same numbering system for each panel that Delaporte first devised. For bibliography on Chartres before 1981, see *Les vitraux du centre et des pays de la Loire, Corpus vitrearum France, series complémentaire, Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France*, 2 vols. (Paris: CNRS, 1981), 25-45, compiled by Claudine Lautier. More recently, for an overview of the phasing of the glazing and the mid-thirteenth-century sculptural campaign, see Anne McGee Morgenstern, *High Gothic Sculpture at Chartres Cathedral, the Tomb of the Count of Joigny, and the Master of the Warrior Saints* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 73-103.

⁴⁰ See Delaporte, *Les vitraux*, esp. 3: 458-60; also Françoise Perrot, “Le vitrail, la croisade, et la Champagne: réflexion sur les fenêtres hautes du choeur à la cathédrale de Chartres” in *Les champenois et la*

rebuilt after the 1194 fire, became a monument that commemorated its royal and baronial patrons alike. In the transept glass, glazed sometime between ca. 1217 and 1226, the Capetians (to the north) **(Figure 7)** vie for visual dominance with the Beaumont, Montfort and especially Dreux baronial arms that adorn the south transept. **(Figure 8)** Much like the visual field of the coffrets discussed above, here too the heraldry of the barons is set in relation to the royal arms, both the Capetian fleur-de-lis as well as the Castilian golden castles, which form the borders and determine the dominate color palate of the glass.⁴¹ The message, as with the portable examples described above, was one of simultaneous competition and alliance. Unified by the iconography of commemoration that honors each family in relation the veneration of the relics of the Virgin Mary and Saint Anne -- for which Chartres was famed, especially after 1204 -- the images of the barons in their full armorial dress, mounted on horseback or receiving the crusader scrip

croisade: actes des quatrièmees journées rémoises 27-28 novembre 1987, eds. Yvonne Bellenger and Danielle Quérue (Paris: Aux amateurs des livres, 1989), 109-130; James Bugslag, "Ideology and Iconography in Chartres Cathedral: Jean Clément and the Oriflamme," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 61 (1998): 491-508; and idem, "St Eustace and St George: Crusading Saints in the Sculpture and Stained Glass of Chartres Cathedral," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 66 (2003): 441-464. The glazing program at Chartres had powerful analogs in other familial chapels and smaller foundations. Traces of heraldic glass within the château de Coucy as well as on other sculptural programs suggest this. See: Meredith Parsons Lillich, "The Arms of Coucy in Thirteenth-Century Stained Glass," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 19/20 (1984/1985): 17-24; Dorothy Gillerman, "The Portal of St.-Thibault-en-Auxois: A Problem of Thirteenth-Century Burgundian Patronage and Founder Imagery," *The Art Bulletin* 68 (1986): 567-580; and Stephen Murray, "The Choir of the Church of St.-Pierre, Cathedral of Beauvais: A Study of Gothic Architectural Planning and Constructional Chronology in Its Historical Context," *The Art Bulletin* 62 (1980): 533-551.

⁴¹ For an extremely careful and balanced argument about the patronage of the glazing program and the competition among and between the barons and the Capetian family, see Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Récits, programme, commanditaires, concepteurs, donateurs: publications récentes sur l'iconographie des vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Bulletin Monumental* 154 (1996): 55-71, in which she argues that the canons of the cathedral exercised the greatest influence over the program. As a consequence the canons used the glass to offer an argument for the role of the church -- and Christian devotion -- in the guidance of kings. This sentiment is reiterated in the glazing program at the Ste.-Chapelle. See Daniel H. Weiss, "Architectural Symbolism and the Decoration of the Ste.-Chapelle," *The Art Bulletin* 77 (1995): 308-320; idem, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); also Alyce A. Jordan, *Visualizing Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002). Kurmann-Schwarz's conclusion fits well with the argument I propose here.

and staff remain purposefully combative.⁴² They are memorialized as warriors, mirror images of the martyred saints that surround them. The program at Chartres depicts on a monumental scale the contested identities and hard-won solidarities that are communicated on the casket and coffret.

Echoes of heraldic commemoration and remembrance that were meant to unify families in devotion to God and their dead kin appear for the first time at this moment in gothic tomb sculpture as well.⁴³ Carved sculpture reliefs often bore the shields or arms of the deceased. But a new fashion for enameled and thus brightly colored tombs gave new brilliance to the multiple heraldic devices they displayed, echoing in three dimensions both the framing of a manuscript page with elaborate borders as well as other devotional objects like the alms purses and caskets that drew together the heraldry of the shared lineage of the deceased.⁴⁴ **(Figure 9)** When one begins to look for it, the animated imagery of familial heraldry proliferates within the visual commemorative landscape, reaffirming and reiterating connections forged by blood with the intention of engendering a prolonged peace.

⁴² See Claudine Lautier, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: reliques et images," *Bulletin Monumental* 161 (2003): 3-97; and Anne E. Lester, "What Remains: Women, Relics and Remembrance in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade," *The Journal of Medieval History* 40 (2014): 311-328.

⁴³ On this development, see the magisterial study of Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000). For examples of the tombs of barons discussed here, see Lillich, "The Arms of Coucy," 18-19; Madeline H. Caviness, "Saint-Yved of Braine: The Primary Sources for Dating the Gothic Church," *Speculum* 59 (1984): 524-548; Xavier Dectot, "Les tombeaux des comtes de Champagne (1151-1284). Un manifeste politique," *Bulletin Monumental* 162 (2004): 3-62; and Lester, "Saint Louis and Cîteaux Revisited," forthcoming.

⁴⁴ See the examples discussed in *Enamels of Limoges*, 397-450; and Dectot, "Les tombeaux des comtes," 25-34. Royal tombs also displayed a great deal of heraldry. See for example, Philippe Dagobert's tomb, which was a three-dimensional chest or sarcophagus and is briefly described in Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship*, 35-36. The fragments of the tomb are still extant and held in Paris at the Musée du Louvre and Musée national du Moyen Age-Thermes de Cluny. On the enamels of the tombs of John and Blanche of France, see Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot, "Tomb Effigies of John and Blanche of France" in *Enamels of Limoges*, no. 146, 402-405.

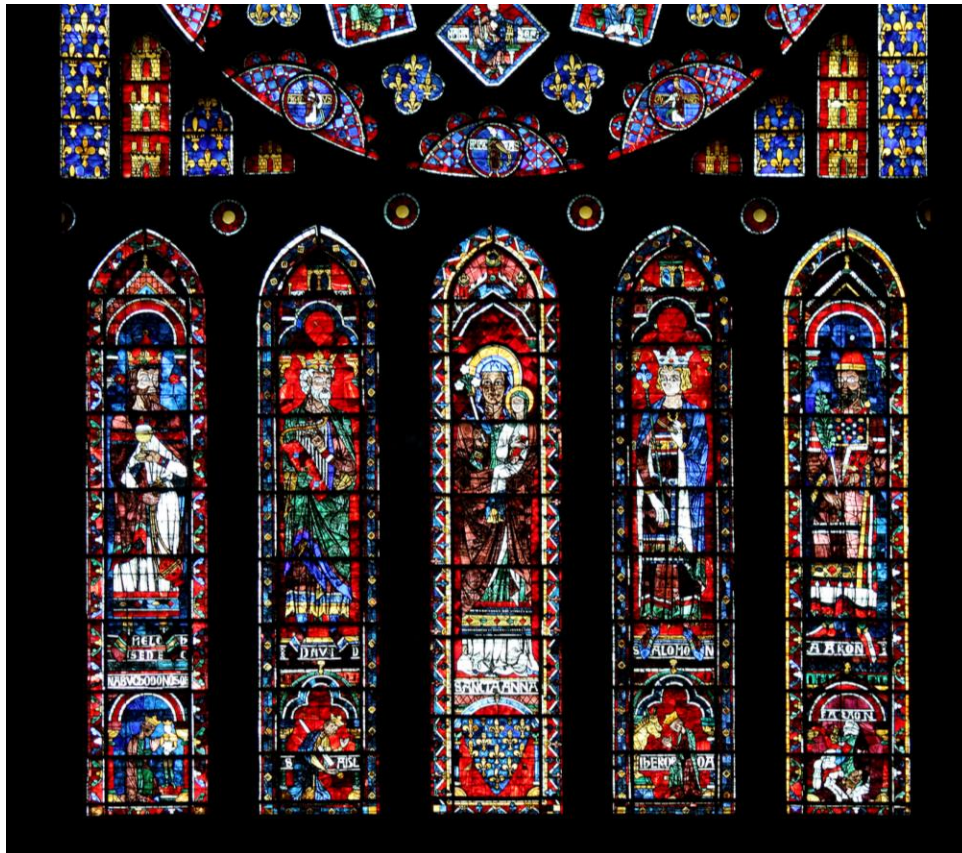


Figure 7
Chartres Cathedral,
North
Transept
Lancets
and Rose
Window
with arms
of France
above
lancets,
framing the
rose, arms
of France
and
Castile.
Photo:
Henry
Stewart
Rosenberg.



Figure 8
Chartres Cathedral,
South
Transept
Lancets with
arms of
Dreux-
Brittany.
Peter of
Dreux and
family.
Photo:
Henry
Stewart
Rosenberg.



Figure 9 Tombs of Blanche and John of France, Abbey, St. Denis, France. Photo: Henry Stewart Rosenberg.

Enshrinement

It is in the context of portability, commemoration, and the politics of peace making that we should return to the Longpont Coffret and its place in the political landscape of the mid and later thirteenth century. Although heraldic markers used on the battlefield served to distinguish otherwise indistinguishable members of the warrior elite, in other contexts, particularly in the diplomatic arena of politics and the commemorative

framework of devotion, heraldry underlay a much more powerful narrative about familial descent and peaceful, even administrative, rule. The reuse of certain decorative objects to enshrine these principles thus should not seem surprising.⁴⁵ As I want to suggest here the Longpont Coffret was reused to house relics, like the Saint Louis Casket and the casket of Richard of Cornwall, among other examples, to communicate Louis IX's political and devotional ideals, which after 1254 emphasized the king's commitment to a spiritually charged practice of administrative rule and political realignment.⁴⁶



Figure 10 Écu d'or, gold coin minted by Louis IX, c. 1266-1270. Latin inscription: + XPC.VINCIT.XPC.REGNAT.XPC.IMPERAT. 24 mm 4 g. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

⁴⁵ On the concepts of portability and reuse in the context of relics, reliquaries and veneration, see Cynthia Hahn, "What Do Reliquaries do for Relics?" *Numen* 57 (2010): 284-361; idem, "Portable Altars (and the *Rationale*): Liturgical Objects and Personal Devotion" in *Image and Altar, 800-1300: Papers from an International Conference in Copenhagen 24 October – 27 October 2007*, ed. Poul Grønder-Hansen, *Studies in Archaeology & History* vol. 23 (Copenhagen: Publications from the National Museum, 2014), 45-64; and more broadly Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400-1204* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012); also Julia M. H. Smith, "Portable Christianity: Relics in the Medieval West (c. 700-1200)," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 181 (2012): 143-167. On the concept of enshrinement, see the framing discussion in Seeta Chaganti, *The Medieval Poetics of the Reliquary: Enshrinement, Inscription, Performance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁴⁶ It was at this time, in 1266, that Louis IX introduced the long-planned gold *écu* coin that displayed the royal arms on obverse and the cross with fleur-de-lis on the reverse, with the legend *Christus Vincit, Christus Regnat, Christus Imperat*. (**Figure 10**) This is the first instance of the use of royal heraldry on coinage. On the coin and Louis's sense of Christian kingship and a broader notion of European peace and unity, see Jordan, *Louis IX*, 210-213.

As William Chester Jordan has argued, after Louis IX's captivity in 1251 and return from a failed crusade expedition in 1254, the king harbored a renewed commitment "to maintaining peace among the Catholic powers of Europe," and perhaps especially among the barons of France.⁴⁷ In pursuit of this goal he privileged a process of peace-making that was deeply informed "by the highest sense of Christian obligation." In short, to make true peace, one needed to act as a Christian king and ensure that Christian principles underlay the foundation of any treaty, pact or set of agreements. This was part of Louis's broader framework to live and rule as the most Christian king, *rex Christianissimus*.⁴⁸ His was not an agenda of fundamentalism, even if it may have felt that way to some, but rather that of a chastened and penitent king who seemed to have believed that spiritual comportment could powerfully inform the practice of good governance.⁴⁹ To maintain peace within his domains, he needed to administer them effectively; to effect political dominance anchored in personal devotion.

In 1259 Louis used the feudal misstep of his vassal, the obdurate Enguerrand IV of Coucy, to display his ideal of political devotion. The case is well-known for it provoked the fury of many of the king's barons who saw their monarch as treading on the prerogatives of traditional baronial lordship.⁵⁰ In 1258 Enguerrand IV found three young

⁴⁷ Jordan, "A Border Policy?" forthcoming; and idem, *Louis IX*, 127; and, idem, "*Etiam reges*: Even Kings," *Speculum* 90 (2015): 613-634.

⁴⁸ Jordan, *Louis IX*, 182-213; and Joseph Strayer, "France, The Holy Land, the Chosen People, and the Most Christian King" in *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History*, eds. John Benton and Thomas Bisson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 300-314.

⁴⁹ On this, see William Chester Jordan, *Men at the Center: Redemptive Governance under Louis IX* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012).

⁵⁰ See the brief discussion in Jordan, *Louis IX*, 209-210, esp. n. 156; and Richard, *Saint Louis*, 212-214. Concerning Enguerrand's case and the attitudes of the barons, see E. Faral, "Le Procès d'Enguerran IV de Coucy," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, ser. 4, 26 (1948): 213-258.

men, the sons of the Flemish nobility, one of whom was a relative of the constable of France, Giles le Brun, hunting rabbits in his baronial woods. The boys were staying in the nearby abbey of St.-Nicholas-aux-Bois. Enraged, Enguerrand had his servants seize the boys and hanged them without trial, for which Louis IX had the count arrested and imprisoned in the Louvre.⁵¹ In this case, Louis did not allow a trial by the count's peers, but rather condemned Enguerrand and imposed a penance: seizing his woods, he fined the baron 10,000 *livres*, forced him to build and endow three chapels to commemorate the three noble youths, and commended him to three years' service in the Holy Land.⁵² Louis IX's actions in this case were clearly meant as a display of royal power. It underscored the king's commitment to Christian kingship and to upholding Christian laws and comportment within his realm. It also affirmed – in the clearest possible terms – the complete power of the sovereign. By 1259 Louis would no longer tolerate upstart or overly ambitious barons, especially with the kinds of familial alliances Enguerrand of Coucy pursued.

Not only was the lord of Coucy related to previously troublesome lords like Peter of Dreux, but he also had familial connections, as Nicholas Vincent has shown, to the count of La Marche and his wife, Countess Isabelle of Angoulême.⁵³ Indeed, their common ancestor was none other than Enguerrand's grandfather, John of Montmirail. In the years previous to Enguerrand's abuse of power, his mother, Maire of Montmirail and

⁵¹ On the context for this kind of high stakes baronial justice and the royal response, see William Chester Jordan, "Count Robert's 'Pet' Wolf," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 155 (2011): 404-417; and Robert Bartlett, "The Impact of Royal Government in the French Ardennes: Evidence of the 1247 *Enquête*," *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981): 83-96.

⁵² Enguerrand did not go to the east for in 1261 he obtained a dispensation from Pope Urban IV by sending 12,000 *livres* to the crusade cause. As Richard notes, some of the funds from the initial fine were diverted to pay for mendicant foundations in Paris, see Richard, *Saint Louis*, 213, and 228-229.

⁵³ Vincent, "Isabella of Angoulême," 211-213.

his uncle Matthew had commissioned a monumental tomb to house their father's body, a corpse that was increasingly seen as holy and capable of effecting miracles. In 1253 the Cistercian General chapter gave the monks of Longpont a special dispensation to build the new tomb within their abbey church.⁵⁴ In the following years Louis IX had various interactions with Longpont and confirmed the holdings and privileges of the abbey. He may have returned to the abbey in 1261 to meet with the abbot.⁵⁵ Although there is no surviving documentation informing us of the content of that meeting, it is possible that Louis gave the Coffret to the monks and may even have taken part in the translation of John's bones at that meeting. While this hypothesis is speculative, it is grounded in corroborating events. Beginning in 1259 and reaching a crescendo in 1261-1262, Louis IX took part in a series of relic translations at Cistercian houses in his northern domains. His role in these ceremonies was intimate and personal: he orchestrated the advent and arrival of new relics and transferred the holy bones of martyrs, virgins, and confessors himself – with his own hands, as the texts often state – from their portable châsses to the new altars and coffrets that would house them.⁵⁶ It is entirely possible that Louis engaged in just such a translation in the case of John of Montmirail.

⁵⁴ Joseph-Maria Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, 8 vols. (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933-41), 2: 394 (1253: 25): "Propter multa miracula quae Dominus dignatus est facere meritis fratris Ioannis monachi Longipontis, quondam domini Montismirabilis, conceditur a Capitulo generali ut in ecclesia ipsius abbatae corpus dicti Ioannis honorifice sepeliatur." On the tombs of the Coucy-Montmirail family, among others at Longpont, see Louis Duval-Arnould, "Quelques inscriptions funéraires de l'abbaye de Longpont" in *Mélange à la mémoire du Père Anselme Dimier*, 661-691.

⁵⁵ See Anselme Dimier, *Saint Louis et Cîteaux* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1954), 187, no. 330.

⁵⁶ See Louis Carlos-Barré, "Saint Louis et la translation des corps saints," *Études d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras*, 2 vols. (Paris: Sirey, 1965), 2: 1087-1112; Jordan, *Louis IX*, 191-198. I have discussed the meaning of Louis's actions in greater depth in Anne E. Lester, "Confessor King, Martyr Saint: Praying to Saint Maurice in Senlis" in *Center and Periphery: Studies on Power in the Medieval World in Honor of William Chester Jordan*, eds. Guy Geltner, Katherine L. Jansen, and Anne E. Lester (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 195-210.

The coffret described above (see **Figure 1**) was an ideal and highly communicative receptacle for the saintly knight's bones. Indeed, Vincent and Dionnet suggest the Longpont Coffret was first created to hold the peace treaties, really charters of submission, drawn up at the end of the Angoulême-La Marche revolt that concluded in the battle of Taillebourg in 1242.⁵⁷ The submission of the Limousin barons, some of whom had been aided by the Duke of Brittany and the Count of Coucy, initiated the final process of peace-making between the French and the English over the latter's Poitevin claims that would eventually culminate in the Peace of Paris in 1259. A coffret that contained the submission of the barons related to the Coucy then served to reinscribe further Louis's dominance over the family in 1261, after Enguerrand IV's condemnation. Reusing the coffret to hold the newly translated bones of Enguerrand's saintly grandfather made it clear as well that Louis was the final arbiter of both the political and spiritual legacy of that too-often-rebellious family. Although Maire of Montmirail and her son, Enguerrand IV, would come to be buried at Longpont in lavish tombs beside their kin, it was the king who exercised dominion over the sacred topography of the abbey by placing John of Montmirail's holy Coucy bones into a coffret redolent with Capetian heraldry. By exercising his power to render the sacred portable, Louis controlled an aspect of the Coucy legacy. The king came to govern in this way through the practice of a studied and careful politics of devotion.

The Longpont Coffret has been opened several times since John of Montmirail's remains were first translated inside. In the mid-seventeenth century, however, on the

⁵⁷ Vincent, "Isabella of Angoulême," 213; for an overview of the campaign in 1241-42, see Charles Bémont, "La Campagne de Poitou 1242-1243," *Annales de Midi* 5 (1893): 289-314.

occasion of one of the initial viewings, those in attendance noted that “the bones of John were still in the casket, which itself also contained different parchments, unfortunately which had become unreadable because of humidity, but which still had appended to them the seals of bishops and other great persons who had attested to different translations.”⁵⁸ One can only wonder if among those parchments were documents relating the submission and punishment of Enguerrand of Coucy. In the complex context of Longpont and the emergent political order of later Capetian France, the Coffret of John of Montmirail served to enshrine an ideal of sacred dominion and made the power of the king over his nobles portable and visually impressive to behold. It enshrined the principles and practices of an uncontestable spiritual governance. 🏰

⁵⁸ Mathieu, *Montmirail en Brie*, 80.



‘Van den grave te makene’: The Matter of Heraldry in a Psalter for the Count of Flanders (Royal Library of Belgium MS 10607) and in the Urban Media of Ghent¹

By Elizabeth Moore Hunt, University of Wyoming

In the illuminated folios of a petite psalter in Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium MS 10607, marginal images and heraldic blazons frame and customize the psalms for its probable owner, the Count of Flanders, Guy of Dampierre (d. 1305). **(Figure 1)** The “Dampierre” Psalter’s repertoire of marginal images that depict social and animal vignettes is remarkable in that some of the humorous subjects developed in reference to the socio-cultural climate of thirteenth-century Flanders. Surviving blazons in the margins also point to members of the Count’s retinue. The marginal spaces that host heraldry in the Psalter find parallels in the material environment and objects associated with the Count that contribute to structuring a framework of reception for the arms of Flanders, in particular, and heraldry more broadly. The surviving material environment of

¹ I thank Richard A. Leson and Anne Rudloff Stanton for reading previous drafts of this article. I am also grateful to the University of Wyoming International Travel Grant and the Wyoming Institute for Humanities Research for supporting the travel to study the works of art and reproductions presented here.

the seat of the county, Ghent, which was one of the period's wealthiest cities, and archival documents concerning the court of Flanders provide a range of socio-spatial contexts for the working of heraldry. This paper explores how the relationships between heraldry, imagery, and objects unfolded in various contexts to circumscribe the Count's person and to signify comital authority in Flanders at a period when the language of heraldry was accelerating its public potency as a means to assert noble identity.

In her study of manuscripts illuminated in France, Alison Stones places the artist responsible for the Dampierre Psalter with group of illuminators in Théroutanne, whose illustration of a volume of *Lancelot du Lac*, *Queste del Graal*, and *Mort Artu* (Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscripts, MS 229) is connected, also through marginal heraldry, to Guy's second son, William of Termonde.² **(Figure 2)** The Dampierre Psalter contains fifty-three blazons, which are located in the escutcheons that frame the ten surviving full-page miniatures depicting the cycles of the Infancy and Passion of Christ, and in the marginal spaces of nine folios throughout the manuscript, held by knights, apes, and boys. In addition to four blazons of Flanders, consisting of a black rampant lion on gold ground (*or, a lion rampant sable*), six cadenced shields reference four of Guy's sons, supporting the psalter's connection to the Count of Flanders. A psalter, however, is not documented in their surviving inventories. MS 10607 was rebound in the sixteenth century, and its earliest documented home is in the library of the Jesuits in Antwerp in the seventeenth century.³ Although later hands altered and damaged many of the blazons, a few of the surviving marginal blazons reference

² Alison Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1260-1320*, Part One, Vol. 1 (Harvey Miller, 2013), 39.

³ Joseph Destrée, "Le Psautier de Guy de Dampierre, XIII^e siècle," *Messenger des Sciences Historiques ou Archives des Arts et de la Bibliographie de Belgique*, 1890: 377-90, 1891: 81-88, 129-32; Camille Gaspar and Frédéric Lyna, *Les Principaux Manuscrits à Peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* (1937),

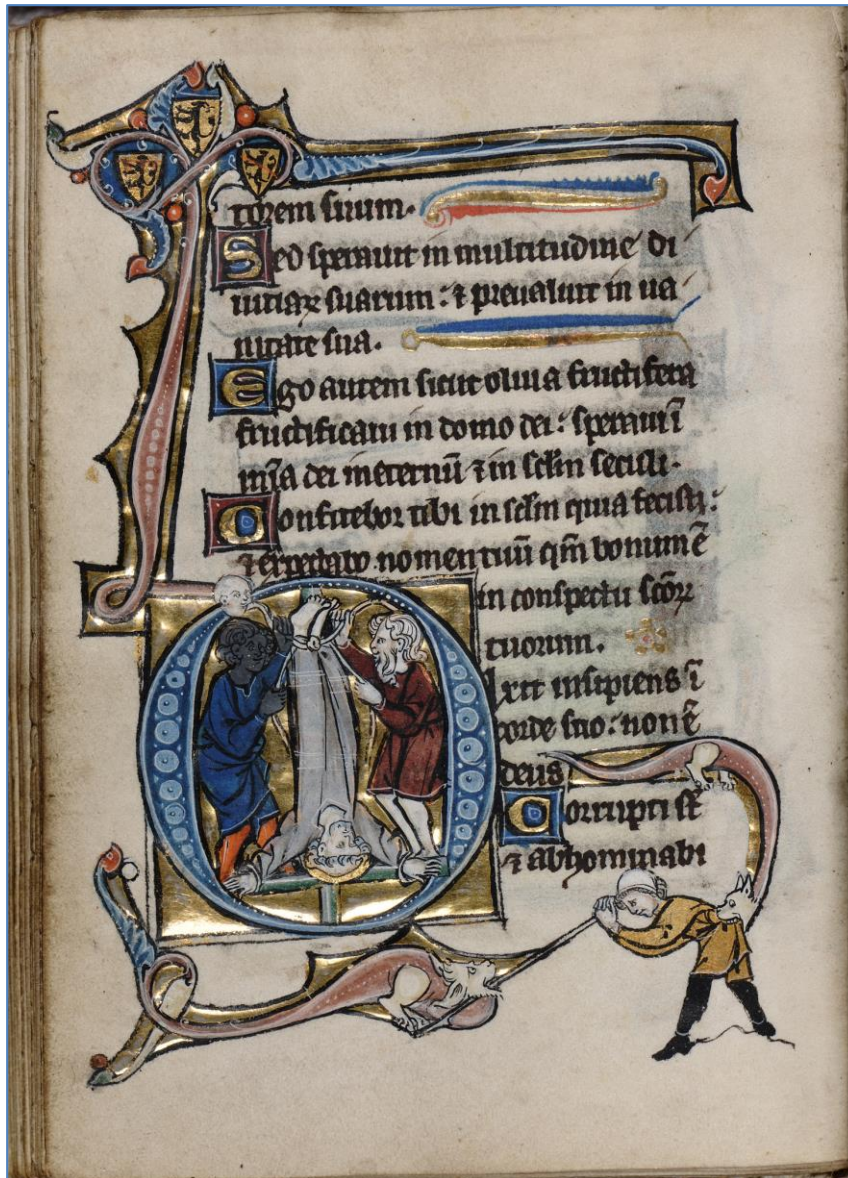


Figure 1 Psalm 52, Psalter of Guy of Dampierre. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, MS 10607, fol. 84v. Reproduced with permission of the Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels.

contemporary castellans and Ghent itself, situating the manuscript in the heart of late thirteenth-century Flanders. One triad of shields blazoned with the lion of Flanders demonstrates a particularly corporate identity of the Count with Ghent. Two of them include cadences for Guy's first son, Robert of Béthune, who, in 1305, would become

221; reprint C. Van den Bergen-Patens, *et al.* (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, 1984), 43. On the Count's book ownership, see Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 104. The inventories are published in Chrétien César Auguste Dehaisnes, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois & le Hainaut avant le XV^e siècle*, Vol. 1 (Lille, 1886), 169-175 and 238-248.

count upon Guy's death in Philip the Fair's prison in Compiègne, and his second son, William of Termonde, who is a well-documented patron of literature and illuminated manuscripts.⁴ **(Figure 1)** Vaulted over the initial "D" opening Psalm 52, the three shields nest like corbels on a buttress over the historiated initial framing the martyrdom of St. Peter. Their physical connection evokes the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Peter in Ghent, which had served as the burial ground for the Counts of Flanders in previous centuries.⁵

The use of heraldry to proclaim familial identity was particularly critical for Guy, who was the fifth-born son of a female ruler, Margaret of Constantinople, Countess of Flanders and Hainaut. Upon Margaret's death in 1280 the French king, Philip III, granted Hainaut to Jean II d'Avesnes, the Countess's first grandson from her former, annulled marriage to Bouchard d'Avesnes. In addition, struggles among the increasingly wealthy burghers of Flanders and the kings of France and England compounded the problems that Margaret and Guy faced during their nearly three decades of co-rule.⁶ Thus, claims on the lion of Flanders were already laden when Countess Margaret aimed to establish a comital necropolis at the Cistercian abbey at Flines near Douai. The tombs of Guy's family members there amplified the employment of heraldry to assert the familial

⁴ See Mary D. Stanger, "Literary Patronage at the Medieval Court of Flanders," *French Studies* 11, no. 3 (1957): 214-229.

⁵ The same shields appear as escutcheons on the prefatory Annunciation miniature along with a fourth, possibly for Baldwin, Livia Stijns, "Het Psalter van Gwijde van Dampierre," *De Vlaamse Gids* 37, no. 2 (1953): 85-94. For the context of imagery in Psalm 52's quire, see my *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts, 1270-1310* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 59, Table 4b. On the physical proximity of shields to such a sacred space as an initial, Michael Michael, "The privilege of 'proximity': towards a re-definition of the function of armorials," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997): 68. Anne Rudloff Stanton connects the shields in the margins of the Isabelle Psalter (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. gall.16) to those in the choir of Westminster Abbey, in "The psalter of Isabelle, Queen of England, 1308-1330: Isabelle as the audience," *Word & Image* 18, 1 (2002): 24.

⁶ David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London, 1992), 180-181.

Figure 2 *Lancelot du Lac*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 229, fol. 100v. Photo: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University



identity of the Dampierre lineage by arranging the blazons of their ancestors in order of hierarchical importance around the base of the gisant.⁷ Lacking a contemporary heraldic

⁷ Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (Pennsylvania State University Press), 54-58 and Fig. 27. Family members include Guy's daughter-in-law, Blanche of Sicily; his sister, Abbess Marie de Dampierre (d. 1304); and either his younger brother or nephew, Jean I or II, whose shield included a label with five points. Meanwhile, at the mendicant churches in Valenciennes, the Avesnes branch of Margaret's annulled marriage also employed heraldry on tombs; they further divided the gender of its ancestors and multiplied the complexity of the heraldic systems to promote their legitimacy.

tomb for Guy, which was not erected at Flines until the sixteenth century, we can profitably engage the heraldry surrounding his psalter and in the media of his socio-spatial environment as a way to understand the extent to which heraldry articulated the Count's presence, authority, and identity during his lifetime.

Other blazons in the Dampierre Psalter and the Yale Arthur point to a network of lesser nobles whose titles appear alongside the Count and his sons in surviving armorial rolls dating between 1250 and 1300.⁸ Based on its stylistic quality and collection of blazons, Kerstin Carlvant suggests that the Psalter was made as a gift for the Count upon his formal accession in 1278, possibly from the very nobles who constituted his *Audiëntie* and whose blazons are displayed.⁹ Beyond the Psalter, the preservation of marginal heraldry in other media provides an opportunity to inquire about the framing properties of heraldry and to make tangible the material landscape in which heraldry operated for the court of Flanders.¹⁰ The reflexive associations with the heraldry in the Count's manuscript, in the city, and in the trappings of his household attest to the deliberate negotiation of the lion of Flanders as a broadly visual currency capable of extending the terms of comital identity.

⁸ Gaspar and Lyna, *Les Principaux Manuscrits* (1937), 219-28. For the armorial rolls, I depend on Jean-Marie Van den Eeckhout, *Armorial de la Flandre Médiévale* Pt. I (Sint-Niklaas, Belgium, 2014), 168; Pt. II, 183-185. I thank Christiane Van den Bergen-Patens for this reference and conferring with me about the shields in MS 10607 during my visit at the Royal Library of Belgium in 2012. I am grateful to Ann Kelders for her feedback and for arranging my work with the manuscripts there; Bernard Boussmanne generously allowed me to examine the psalter and to reproduce the images herein.

⁹ *Manuscript Painting in Thirteenth-Century Flanders: Bruges, Ghent, and the Circle of the Counts* (Harvey Miller, 2012), 118. A summary of the dating arguments between 1266 and 1285 is discussed in Alison Stones, "The Illustrations of BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229: Prolegomena to a Comparative Analysis" in *Word and Image in Arthurian Literature*, ed. Keith Busby (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1996), 256, n. 126. For the Count's inner circle, the term is borrowed from J. Buntinx, *De Audiëntie van de graven van Vlaanderen. Studie over het central grafelijk gerecht (c. 1330-c. 1409)* (Brussels, 1949).

¹⁰ Malcolm Vale's study of household expenditures and accounts provides greater detail for these courtly contexts, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Court Culture in North-West Europe* (Oxford: University Press, 2000).

Recent studies of manuscripts made for identifiable clients consider the significance of surrounding contexts of visual culture to concretize meaning and experience for the medieval individual. Drawing from the built environment as well as the iconographic traditions in a broad range of media, such studies can position the original viewer within a simultaneous “capture” of the centers and peripheries that often elude media-specific scholarship.¹¹ A Psalter-Hours made for Guy’s granddaughter, Jeanne of Flanders, provides an exemplary case in which the heraldry embedded in the line-endings and the repeated lions posturing in the margins, as Richard Leson shows, position the reader at the threshold of the portal of her new home estate in Coucy-le-Château, whose entry tympanum features a knight battling a lion.¹² References to the castellans of Flanders and specifically the city of Ghent in the Dampierre Psalter foster speculation as to how the heraldry in the manuscript resonated for the Count, and conversely, the prosperity of the region invites a material investigation as to how the matter of displaying the lion of Flanders outwardly projected the comital family’s identity and authority within the city walls. Following an examination of the referential aspects of heraldry in the Psalter, I turn to investigate at the visual contexts of heraldry in the social environment of Ghent and the court of Flanders in order to argue for connections that formulated the identity of the Count, or in other words, to consider the matter that made the count matter.

¹¹ Brigitte Buettner, “Toward a Historiography of the Sumptuous Arts” in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Blackwell, 2006), 482.

¹² Richard A. Leson, “Heraldry and Identity in the Psalter-Hours of Jeanne of Flanders (Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ms. lat. 117),” *Studies in Iconography* 32 (2011): 155-98. See an illustration of a folio in the current issue of *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture*, in Anne Lester, “The Coffret of John of Montmirail: The Sacred Politics of Reuse in Thirteenth-Century Northern France,” Fig. 5.

The castellany around the Count's periphery

During the period's burgeoning market for illuminated manuscripts, the desire to demonstrate literacy as a trait of noble blood resulted in wide range of interpretive strategies and individual investments for the illumination of devotional manuals. Marginal imagery expanded and diversified to individualize a visual program for a text or client, and the systematic application of heraldry further customized a manuscript for a particular person.¹³ The Dampierre Psalter is one of the premiere examples of these developments during the last decades of the thirteenth century, especially in terms of localizing the interaction of text and marginal imagery for the intended reader. As other scholars have examined in various case studies of individual manuscripts, the visual diversity and complexity of marginal imagery effectively intensified the reader's cognitive engagement with the whole of the texts and images.¹⁴ Unlike a number of contemporary manuscripts with marginal imagery, however, the Dampierre Psalter lacks images of a patron or client in prayer, so the inclusion of heraldry in the margins allows the blazons to serve as nodes, or nexuses, where the Count's external environment discourses with the finely inked and gilded pages.¹⁵ The customization of the heraldry and socio-political imagery recognizes the Count's presence as the intended reader and in turn emphasizes the military, political, and administrative authority befitting his status as the noble prince of the region.

¹³ For a useful list of patrons and owners, see Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, Pt. I, v. 1, 94-132.

¹⁴ Kathryn Smith, "Margin," *Studies in Iconography*, special issue, *Medieval Art History Today--Critical Terms*, 33 (2012): 33; Jonathan J. G. Alexander, "Iconography and Ideology: Uncovering Social Meanings in Western Medieval Christian Art," *Studies in Iconography* 15 (1993): 1-44.

¹⁵ For the emergent depictions and interior visuality of women readers during the thirteenth century, see Alexa Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art* (Cambridge University Press, 2014).

During the latter third of the thirteenth century, illuminators in the centers of Thérouanne, Bruges, Ghent, and Saint-Omer enlivened several kinds of manuscripts, including devotional books, romances, and encyclopedias, with a shared repertory of motifs suitable for reading knowledge.¹⁶ The various vernacular sources of certain idiosyncratic motifs—including nesting eggs as slanders against “tailed” Englishmen, knights recoiling from snails likened to Lombard bankers, and Reynard the Fox vignettes from the Flemish *Van den Vos Reynaerde*--imply a multilingual audience that was aware of the local social and political references.¹⁷ Given such literary enhancements, the Count’s attention to the marginal imagery was heightened for thematic repetitions throughout the folios. Similarly, clusters and concentrations of imagery contribute to activating the framework of the margins in terms of value construction. As Madeline Caviness has shown in her comparative tabulation of the marginal images in several devotional books, a high percentage of youthful boys poke around the Dampierre Psalter’s text pages, which celebrated continuous blood lineage among sons, while fearful hybrids and fecund motifs like rabbits and foliage conjured terms of chastity and pregnancy for married aristocratic women.¹⁸ In the Dampierre Psalter margins, both youths and male hybrids sport the blazons of local nobility and by virtue of their lower rank underline their subordination to the Count. The social landscape in the margins of

¹⁶ I examine the repertory of marginalia in several types of manuscripts stemming from the Dampierre court illuminators in *Illuminating the Borders*, passim.

¹⁷ See Laura Kendrick’s summary, “Making Sense of Marginalized Images in Manuscripts and Religious Architecture” in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe* (Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 274-294; specifically, Lilian M. C. Randall, “A Mediaeval Slander,” *Art Bulletin* 42, no. 1 (1960): 25-38, and “The Snail in Gothic Marginal Warfare,” *Speculum* 37 (1962): 358-367; Paul Wackers, “Medieval French and Dutch Renardian Epics: Between Literature and Society” in *Reynard the Fox: Social Engagement and Cultural Metamorphoses in the Beast Epic from the Middle Ages to the Present*, eds. Elaine C. Block and Kenneth Varty (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 68.

¹⁸ Madeline Caviness, *Reframing Medieval Art: Difference, Margins, Boundaries* (Tufts University electronic book, 2001), <http://nils.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness>, ch. 3.

the Dampierre Psalter thus anticipates that which appears more descriptively in the Luttrell Psalter, made in East Anglia for Sir Geoffrey Luttrell (British Library, Add. MS 42130). As Michael Camille's study of its productive context shows, the performance of noble lineage and class difference in the margins structured the personal reflection of the intended reader as lord over his territories and as a knight, or *miles Christus*.¹⁹

Comparatively speaking, the Dampierre Psalter's princely reader was a knight who had served in the Crusade to Tunis in 1270 and the lord over a string of wealthy merchant towns. The socially-oriented motifs and shields in the Dampierre Psalter's margins stress the terms of his landed power, phrased in the Psalms as ruling lands, conquering cities, and distributing laws.

A heraldic reference to the family of castellans of Ghent demonstrates the range of local signification intimated by a single blazon. At the beginning of Psalm 106 (fol. 166r), a chainmailed knight with animalistic hindquarters terminates the lower border and holds an oxidized sword and damaged shield bearing the perceivable blazon of *sable, a chef argent* or *ermine*.²⁰ **(Figure 3)** The belted torso, mailed mittens, and banded hood echo the accouterments of knights in effigy, and in particular that of Gerard "the Devil" in the former church of Saint-John the Baptist in Ghent, which was recorded by Antoine de Succa in his c. 1601-1604 sketchbook as displaying a heater shield with the castellan's

¹⁹ Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: the Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 180 and 270. For the contexts of reception from the marginal spaces of Gothic art more generally, see Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

²⁰ Both are recorded with the Ghent castellany entries, van den Eeckhout, *Armorial* Pt. I, 165-167. "Vilain de Gand," as listed in Gaspar and Lyna, *Les Principaux Manuscrits*, 45, was one branch of the family, E. Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility before 1300*, v. 2 (Kortrijk, Belgium: 1975), 823-847.

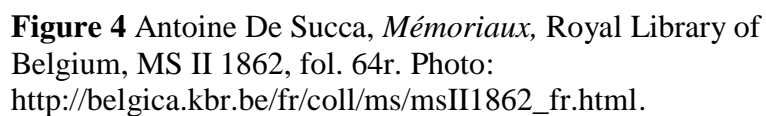
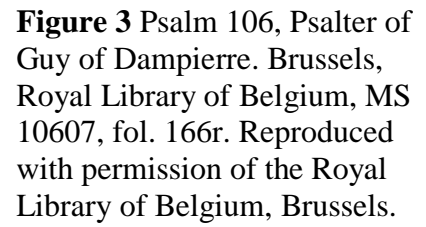




Figure 5a Duivelsteen, Ghent, c. 1245, Saint-Bavo Cathedral to the west. Photograph by Théo De Graeve, 1943, reproduced with permission of the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage.



Figure 5b Duivelsteen, Ghent, c. 1245. Photo: Wikimedia Commons, Donar Reiskoffer

blazon.²¹ (**Figure 4**) Referenced by his nickname in the same armorial rolls with the Dampierre cadets, Gerard the Devil is listed alongside the *châtelain de Gand* (his brother, Hugo III, and nephew, Hugo IV), as well as his son, Bernard “de Meere.”²² His father, Siger III, was known in literary circles as the inspiration for Reynard the Fox in the Flemish *Renaerte*.²³ Similar to the effigy’s form, the border herm associates the heraldry with the city of Ghent in light of the ensuing verses, where wandering in a “wilderness

²¹ Antoine de Succa, *Mémoriaux*, Royal Library of Belgium, MS II 1862, fol. 64r; the artist’s notes include the Villains de Gand after noting the Duivelsteen, located “dict le fratre” (near the brothers). M. Comblen-Sonkes and C. Van den Bergen-Pantens, *Les mémoriaux d'Antoine de Succa* (Brussels, 1977), 192-194.

²² Van den Eeckhout, *Armorial* Pt. I, 167-168, Pt. II, 184; Warlop, *Flemish Nobility*, 834-836.

²³ André De Vries, *Flanders: A Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 100-101.



Figure 6a Gravensteen, Ghent, 12th century. Photo: anonymous, 1914-1918, reproduced with permission of the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage.



Figure 6b Gravensteen, Ghent, 12th century. Photo: Author.

without water” is contrasted to finding a “city of habitation” (106: 4-6). During Guy’s lifetime, Gerard built a stone residence neighboring Saint-John’s, dubbed the “Duivelsteen.” Its corner turrets framing arcaded stories--albeit with updated pointed

arches--echo the twelfth-century façade of the “Gravensteen,” the Count’s castle, and its situation alongside the Scheldt echoes the count’s defensive moat spurring from the Leie.²⁴ **(Figures 5-6)** By the end of the thirteenth century, one of the castellan’s principal peacetime duties was to oversee and police commercial traffic on the waterways through town, thereby ensuring the tax revenue for the Count.²⁵ On that end of town near the southern port (the Braamport), Ghent’s castellany occupied a lucrative post over the expanding textile industry, so the castellan’s blazon accentuates the urban prosperity expressed in the psalm.²⁶

Several blazons peppered in the Dampierre Psalter’s margins appear adjacent to psalms regarding princes and city structures, bolstering their ascription to the Count’s own *Audiëntie* of the c. 1270s-80s.²⁷ One of the difficulties in identifying some of the blazons in the psalter, including that attributed to Ghent above, is that they appear to have been modified by attempts to gild silver over the original lead-based white that was used for argent and ermine devices. The metallic pigment further amalgamated with any mercury-based vermillion used for tinctures and cadences. Two blazons illustrate these effects but retain enough of their original devices to suggest certain castellans in the Count’s retinue. The blazon of *argent, a lion rampant sable* appears twice, each with different argent grounds: one is re-gilded silver in an escutcheon of a prefatory miniature (fol. 9v), and the other retains a lead-based white ground in the margin (fol. 216r).

(Figure 7) Held by a youthful centaur emerging from the line-ending, the hybrid body

²⁴ Marie-Christine Laleman, “Gand” in *Enciclopedia dell’arte medievale*, v. 6 (1995), 463-465; Beatrix Baillieu, *Een stad in opbouw: Gent voor 1540* (Tielt, 1989), 126.

²⁵ W. Blommaert, *Les Châtelains de Flandres* (Ghent, 1915), 59-61.

²⁶ David Nicholas, *The Metamorphosis of a Medieval City: Ghent in the Age of the Artevelde, 1302-1390* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 80-82.

²⁷ Some are noted by Niffle Anciaux de Faveaux, “En Marge d’un Psautier dit de Guy de Dampierre,” *Le Parchemin: Bulletin bimestriel* (Office généalogique et héraldique de Belgique, 1937): 401.

connects to the text of Psalm 145, which implores the faithful to “put not your trust in princes.” Among the families suggested for this blazon in the Royal Library’s catalogue, it likely indicates the Fiennes, listed repeatedly in the armorial rolls alongside the Dampierre clan.²⁸ William II of Fiennes, the castellan of Bourbourg on the French border, was one of Guy’s prison companions; his son later inherited the castellany and married Guy’s daughter, Isabella, in 1307.

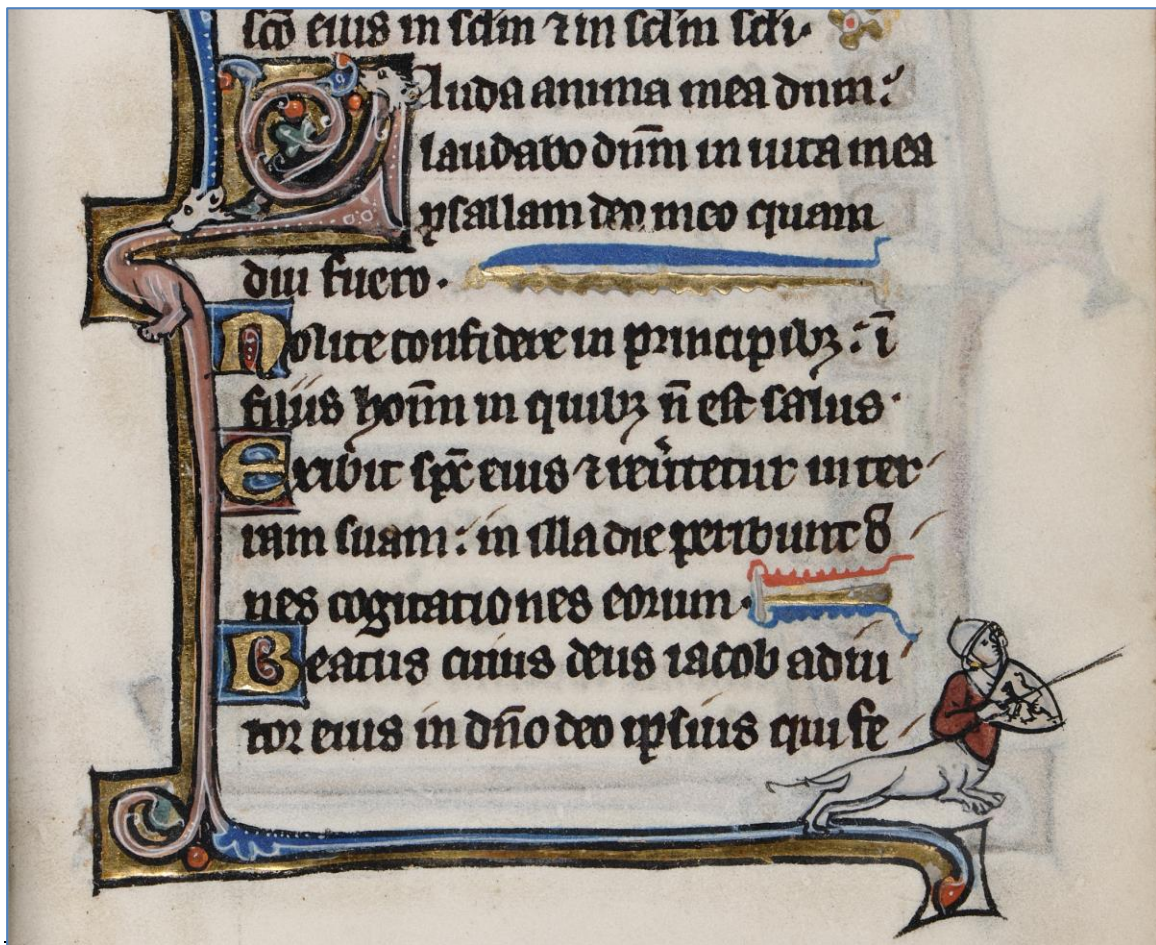


Figure 7 Psalm 145, *Psalter of Guy of Dampierre*. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, MS 10607, fol. 216r. Reproduced with permission of the Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels.

²⁸ Van den Bergen-Patens, *Les Principaux Manuscrits*, 45; Van den Eeckhout, *Armorial*, Pt. 1, 143.



Figure 8 Psalm 118: 33, *Psalter of Guy of Dampierre*. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, MS 10607, fol. 184v and Photoshop-enhanced details of shields on fols. 8v and 184v. Reproduced with permission of the Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels.

Another connection to Guy's inner circle is the damaged blazon of the lords of Ghistelles, *gules, a chevron ermine*, appearing on a marginal shield at Psalm 118: 33-34,

(**Figure 8**) and also among the four escutcheons on fol. 8v.²⁹ Nested in the upper stem of the letter L, beginning *Legem*, or law, a youthful bachelor crouches behind the shield, on which a chevron is barely visible beneath amalgamated silver and red, and defends the text, so to speak, with an epee drawn against a winged serpent. The physical proximity of the image and text here may reinforce the verses that emphasize the purpose and custody of God's laws, "Set before me for a law the way of thy justifications, O Lord, and I will always seek after it" (Psalm 118: 33). Often listed in the armorial rolls of 1260-1290, the Ghistelles family held the hereditary title of chamberlain to the Count of Flanders and also frequently held the castellany of Bruges.³⁰ Household accounts noting the chamberlain indicate the ceremonial requirements of the office, including attendance at feast days and attention to aspects of wardrobe, like removing his mantle when in service to the count.³¹ The illuminated tie between the chamberlain's blazon and the letter of the law (*Legem*) on fol. 184v reaffirms the custody of the Count's legal authority that was expected of the comital office, especially as a crowned serpentine prince coiled within the letter seems to undermine the lesser noble's protection.

The second type of modification on some of the Dampierre Psalter's heraldry occurs on the fields retouched with brushed gold. Two brief examples point to contemporary castellans, and although poorly preserved in the psalter, their blazons appear together on the same folio in the Yale *Lancelot* (fol. 100v) and are repeated in the

²⁹ The miniature's escutcheons include the oxidized blazon of Ghent, one attributed to the Gruthuse of Bruges, and one of Flanders cadenced with a crown, possibly that of Jean of Namur, Guy's first son with Isabella of Luxembourg, Stijns, "Het Psalter," 87; Van den Bergen-Patens, *Les Principaux Manuscrits*, 45. Another candidate for the Flanders shield here would be Guy's fifth son stationed in the court of Charles of Anjou in Naples, Philip of Chieti and Teano.

³⁰ Van den Eeckhout, *Armorial*, Pt. I, 175-178; Pt. II, 183.

³¹ Vale, *The Princely Court*, 44.

armorial rolls (See **Figure 2**).³² At Psalm 60 in the Dampierre Psalter, a knight wearing a gilded tunic raises his falchion against a lion that bites and claws his shield with its tail between its legs. The partly damaged shield bears the blazon, *or, a cross gules*, that of the Lords of Mortagne who served as the castellans of Courtrai and as bailiffs in Tournai (fol. 94r).³³ The use of a knight to refer to a titled castellan may echo the fortress metaphor evoked in the Psalm, “a tower of strength against the face of the enemy,” the latter embodied by the lion, perhaps serving as a symbol of royalty rather than a totemic identification for Flanders. A similar architectural reference may have occasioned the use of the blazon of *or, a lion rampant gules* appearing on a pennon held by a partially mailed ape in the margin of Psalm 23. Its verses implore the princes to lift their gates, mentioned four times, and praise “the Lord mighty in battle” (v. 8). The blazon may belong to Bergues Saint-Winnoc, a castellany that was opened to wool trade in 1276 with Guy’s authority.³⁴ The Dampierre Court artists were attentive to the text of the Psalms, so the tower of strength, the lifted gates of princes, the custody of law, and a city for habitation support appropriate placement for the array of castellans obsequious to the Count at the time of his accession.

The inclusion of the Count’s expanding affinal ties among the array may account for other blazons in the escutcheons, while the reception of some inclusions may have changed enough from one decade to the next to occasion their alteration. For example,

³² Stones “Illustrations of BN,” 232, suggests other possibilities; van den Eeckhout, *Armorial*, Pt. II, 183-185. For additional context, see Elizabeth Willingham, ed., *Essays on the Lancelot of Yale 229*, ed. (Brepols, 2007). The manuscript is digitized online at <http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/>, s.v. “MS 229.”

³³ Warlop, *Flemish Nobility*, 924-926. Documented on the same page as Guy’s sixteenth-century effigy, the effigy of Roger de Mortagne (d. 1275/6) at Flines dates to his death, (De Succa, *Mémoriaux*, fol. 14). The gisant wears a knee-length tunic with his shield placed over his sheath, the belt for which is enhanced with care in the drawing.

³⁴ Warlop, *Flemish Nobility*, 656-657; Van den Eeckhout, *Armorial*, Pt. I, 40; Pt. 2, 184. Gérard de Viaene is another possibility for *or, a lion rampant gules*, Pt. I, 440-441; Pt. II, 183-185.

another candidate for the blazon, *or, a lion rampant gules*, is Floris V, Count of Holland, who was married to Guy's daughter, Beatrice (d. 1291). In 1296, Floris allied with France and restricted the access to the River Scheldt, halting the trade in wool, so Guy and Edward I of England arranged for his assassination; if the Count of Holland was later recalled by the ape's pennon, then too was the historical memory of the closed gates verbalized by the text. The same verses considered above also warn of enemies, so heraldry may have proved in post-production to be a rather unstable signifier for indicating political allies as well as foes, and the attempted alterations attest to a later audience's shifting concerns. Rather than explicitly warn against disloyalties, however, the shields as a collection more likely complement the count's retinue with feudal relationships associated with their comital offices at the time of the manuscript's production. The lower status of the figures bearing blazons acknowledges their subordination to the Count's position, gazing over his manuscript and perhaps sharing its images with confidants. At this time, the Count's awards of charters and privileges to towns may have compromised the administrative roles entrusted to the castellans, so the employment of their shields and weapons alongside the text could work to highlight the necessity of their military and jurisdictional duties while remaining visible, and risible, to the Count's favor.³⁵

The quires that house the blazons (at Psalms 23, 60, 106, 118 and 145) contain clusters of marginal motifs idiosyncratic to the Dampierre court painters and others that reflect the Count's princely spatial environs. For instance, a shield of Flanders held by a bearded herm appears on the same bifolium as the Mortagne shield and in a quire that

³⁵ Blommaert, *Châtelains*, 180-181.

contains two motifs from the Flemish *Reynaerte*. Scenes of hunting also seem to complement the heraldic nodes in some quires. The *monde renversé* of a hare with the hunter slung over its shoulder (Psalm 22, fol. 40v, next to the verse, “protect me from my enemies”) and the Bestiary depiction of a beaver biting its testicles (Psalm 24, fol. 39) appear as *exempla* near the ape’s pennon of *or, a lion gules* in the fifth quire which also houses two sirens, further supporting the blazon’s association with the coastal castellany of Bergues. Above the Ghent castellan blazon, a youth wearing a gilded tunic and holding a falcon with his glove echoes the captives given mercy in Psalm 105:46. **(Figure 3)** In the seventeenth quire containing the Ghistelles shield, the capture of a bear on a lead appears on the same folio (fol. 184v), while on the recto a gilded knight recoils cowardly from a rabbit under the text, *concurri* (fol. 184), and charges against a boar and a fox occur together on another folio (fol. 187). **(Figure 8)** A similar cluster of marginal hunting motifs appears in the quire of Yale 229 that contains the marginal jousts with blazoned shields, while each of the illustrations features castle facades as knights arrive and depart, evoking the itinerancy of princely courts (fols. 98r, 99r, 99v, and 104v). **(see Figure 2)** While perusing the marginal imagery of hunts and jousts, heraldic references to the castellans echo the Count’s retinue that accompanied him for tournaments, hunting gatherings, and feast days at favorite estates like Wijnendale, Lille, Courtrai, Male, and Petegem.³⁶

Through the marginal heraldry in the Dampierre Psalter, the reader considers the place of his castellany in his own political, military, and social spheres. Such proximity of heraldry to the textual and visual contents of the manuscript effectively frames the

³⁶ Vale, *The Princely Court*, 148-149.

identity of the Count, whose reading knowledge of Latin Psalms, or with a Dominican confessor or one of his own court clerks, may have contributed to understanding their significance in staking out the extent of his domain and his political position. It is worth considering parallels for the display of heraldry in the built environment of the city and the material surroundings of the court as aspects that structured the identity of the Count and that of his descendants. Ample contextual information for heraldry in various media provides a way to explore a contemporary framework of reception for the Count and an articulation of his identity that affected the claims that could be made by the lion of Flanders in subsequent generations.³⁷

The heraldry around the Count's center

An instance of Ghent's civic blazon in the margin plays upon the expectations of heraldry performing in association with the body and identity of the Count. Along the foreedge of Psalm 71, the figure of a young man wearing a gilded tunic and an arming cap with a faded red strap bears the blazon of the city of Ghent, consisting of a white lion rampant on a black ground (*sable, a lion rampant argent*).³⁸ **(Figure 9)** The Ghent city shield shares a bifolium, fol. 98v at Psalm 65, on which a full-length siren occupies the initial 'I,' a motif that distinguishes the Dampierre court painters' repertoire in the context of the port and canal towns dominated by shipping.³⁹ His spear points to the word

³⁷ Ibid., 281-282. Vale further argues that the archival evidence for the structures of court patronage and the artistic workmanship in the late thirteenth century shows that the cultural patronage dependent on "flourishing urban resources" was easily "taken up and absorbed by the Burgundian court," rather than a product of it.

³⁸ Van den Eeckhout, *Armorial*, Pt. I, 168.

³⁹ I consider such clusters as these in greater detail in *Illuminating the Borders*, 29-32, 63-65, and 93-95.

“filio” of the psalm verse that asks God to “Give to the king thy judgment, and to the king’s son thy justice: To judge thy people with justice, and thy poor with judgment.”

The marginal image offers a reflexive comment on the text it embraces: the youth rides not on the *destrier*, or warhorse, of a prince, the word to which his spear points, but on a palfrey, a horse more common to “thy people.” Psalm 71’s text on the juridical power of

the prince over the people perhaps provided an appropriate place for the city’s representation as an equestrian parody. The cultural memory regarding Ghent, however, was certainly more complex, and included his mother’s policies damaging the English imports of wool in the 1270s followed by Guy’s restoration of the city’s thirty-nine aldermen in 1280.⁴⁰ This civic heraldic reference to Ghent guides the Count’s reception toward the administration of



Figure 9 Psalm 71, *Psalter of Guy of Dampierre*. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, MS 10607, fol. 110v. Reproduced with permission of the Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels.

⁴⁰ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 180-181.



Figure 10 Wax seal impression, Lord Guy, Count of Flanders and Marquis of Namur, 1280-1305. Photo: RMN-Grand Palais / Hervé Lewandowski Technic, Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts, S23.

his subjects, over which his own blazon was used to project and reify his authority.

The use of a youth on a palfrey displays a lower status in order to debase a more common type of princely representation, the equestrian portrait, which appeared on the seals belonging to Guy of Dampierre and his contemporaries.⁴¹ **(Figure 10)** With sword raised and helmet affixed, the noble authority and masculinity of the Count is sutured with heraldic devices emblazoned on his shield and embroidered on his tunic and destrier cover. By contrast, Countesses Margaret's seals convey aristocratic birth with one of two standard compositions used for women: one on horseback with a falcon held aloft, and the other a swaying stance, with a lily in one hand and her fingers clasping her cloak strap with the other.⁴² Rather than blazoned on her garments, Margaret's heraldry flanks her

⁴¹ Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept," *American Historical Review* 105 (2000): 1489-1533. See Warlop, *Flemish Nobility*, passim. Olivier De Wree, Lambertus Vossius, *Les sceaux des comtes de Flandre et inscriptions des chartes* 1641, pls. 17-21.

⁴² Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Women, Seals and Power in Medieval France, 1150-1350" in *Women and Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 61-82, at 75-76, on the larger shift from the fleur-de-lis to the hawking scene around 1250. During the late thirteenth century, women's uses of seals were limited to matters of their own properties.

body as addorsed lions floating in mid-space. The blazon of Flanders that swathes Guy and his horse's bodies promotes his identity as *milites* and *nobilis*, warrior knight and corporeal inheritor.⁴³ The textiles merging his heraldry with his body are reflected in descriptions of cloths and mantles in Guy's inventory of 1305 and Robert's of 1322, several of which were colored red and green and specified as having "des armes monsieur de Flandres."⁴⁴ A description of the Count's tunic--made of yellow velvet lined with green silk taffeta and embroidered with the arms of Flanders--attests to the actuality of his branded costume so that the living referent corroborates with his ubiquitous image.⁴⁵

The practice of using seals created a form of representation that, by virtue of its repetition and immediate recognition, gave heraldry its potency to constitute historical identity, as Brigitte Bedos-Rezak observes in the development of sealing practices among lay nobility in the northern French counties.⁴⁶ As a public and replicable verification for a wide range of territorial, juridical, and legal acts, the equestrian signage replicates the presence and authority of the Count on the charters and privileges of towns, abbeys, and guilds established throughout Flanders.⁴⁷ The equestrian seal translates from its wax impression to its gilding on parchment in a historiated initial beginning the Privilege of the City of Ghent dated 8 April, 1297, and copied in the *Rodenboek* in

⁴³ Guy's earlier seal contemporary with that of Margaret's bears the rare instance of an inscription stating that he was the "son of X, his mother," Bedos-Rezak, "Women, Seals and Power," 72.

⁴⁴ Dehaisnes, *Documents*, 171-172.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 246-47.

⁴⁶ Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity," 1509.

⁴⁷ Bedos-Rezak, "Women, Seals and Power," 66-67.



Figure 11 Lord Guy, Count of Flanders and Marquis of Namur, 1280-1305. Ghent City Archives, Series 93, nr. 3 (Rodenboek), fol. 18r. On loan to STAM Ghent City Museum. Photograph by Michel Burez, reproduced with permission of the Ghent City Archives.

Ghent.⁴⁸ (Figure 11) In this charter, Guy replaced the Ghent Thirty-Nine with his own pro-Flemish aldermen and issued a new code for the administration of the city.⁴⁹ Armed in action with helm and crest and clothed in the blazon of Flanders--repeated on the

⁴⁸ So named for its red binding, but also called the “Gheluwen bouck” (Yellow book), City of Ghent, City Archives, Series 93, nr. 3, fol. 18r. This resemblance is noted in the entry for *Gent Duizend Jaar Kunst en Cultuur: Boekdrukkunst, Boekbanden, Borduurkunst, Edelsmeedkunst, Miniatuurkunst* (Gent: Bijloekemuseum, 21 Juni-31 Augustus, 1975) cat. no. 580, 354. I am grateful to Guy Dupont at the Ghent City Archives for supplying me with information on this manuscript, containing 237 documents dating from 1175 to 1539. According to Dupont, the Rodenboek contains around fifty cartularies and registers of archival records (including statutes, liberties, privileges, etc.) transcribed by the Ghent city clerks, the earliest dating to 1405 by the same hand that transcribed the 1297 privilege.

⁴⁹ Leen Charles and Marie Christine Laleman, *Het Gent Boek* (Stad Gent: De Zwarte Doos, Waanders, Uitgevers), 88.

destrier twice, his breastplate, and shield--Guy is further identified by the text next to the initial, "Guy, Lord of Flanders and Marquis of Namur." From his location in the initial, the Count's sutured body materializes his written authority, merging with the written word as the new laws are issued in Flemish, the language of the city's inhabitants. This part of the text actually introduces the Count in French and explains that the laws are written hereafter in the "langage flamenge," so that the people know "leur coustumes, leur ysages, et leur drois en autres choses" (customs, fees, and rights and other things). To borrow observations made by Bedos-Rezak on the scope of verifying land transactions via the seal, the Count's legal authority emanated from his individual character, which was constituted by both his diplomatic enunciation in a bilingual agreement and his replicon to assure his presence.⁵⁰ In the use of the Count's heraldic seal for the "Great Charter" in at least two fifteenth-century copies, Guy's place as both author and authority reifies the governance of the city under comital jurisprudence and communicates his identity within the social and moral order of Flemish urban society.⁵¹

The relationship of the equestrian seal with the city persists in the built environment in the form of ceramic decoration, which would be emulated by other nobles and officers in towns by the early decades of the fourteenth century. Rather than reading texts about their governance with the multilingualism of the Count,⁵² the urban populace viewed the equestrian seal from the street, displayed on building façades and over

⁵⁰ "Medieval Identity," 1509.

⁵¹ Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity," 1532. In addition to the frontispiece of the Rodenboek, a second copy in the Rijksarchief, "Cartulary for the city of Ghent," fol. 6, dates to 1400-1410. The shields held by a wildman and wildwoman (and held by two wildwomen in the second copy) above the initial contain the blazons of Flanders and Burgundy. To the left of the initial is the blazon for Ghent; the two remaining in the left margin are: *gules, chef argent, patriarchal cross vair and gules* (Ypres?) and *barruly argent and gules, lion rampant azur* (Audenaarde?).

⁵² On the multilingualism of the Dutch court, for example, see Vale, *The Princely Court*, 290.

gateways. Ceramic statuettes representing knights mounted on destriers and glazed with heraldry survive in a fragmentary state in several locations throughout Flanders, including Bruges, Ypres, and Courtrai.⁵³ Later entries in the Ghent's city accounts suggest that such figures adorned building façades or gables. An entry dated to 1323-1324 notes a sum paid to a potter “van den grave te makene” (to make the count). An earlier payment to a potter for “six beasts ‘for mounting’ on the gate” suggests that they were made to place on the six city gates, which were maintained by the Count.⁵⁴ One statuette features a yellow-glazed destrier with rampant lions applied in low relief and darker green glaze, echoing the embroidery of his velvet and taffeta tunic.⁵⁵ **(Figure 12)**



Excavated on the Bennesteeg, the find spot is situated in the mercantile trade center of the

Figure 12 Ruiterstatuette, STAM – Ghent City Museum, inv. 911. Photograph by Michel Burez, reproduced with permission of the STAM – Ghent City Museum.

⁵³ An example with a vair pattern dating before the destruction of the Templehof (Dobbel Slot) in 1312 resides in Melle at the Gemeentelijk, *Een Stad In Opbouw*, 163. Described here as a “nokbekroning” (ridge crown), a mount at the apex of a gable accounts for figures in the round; however, a sixteenth-century drawing by Jan Stassins illustrates an equestrian knight framed in relief over one of Ghent's gates, 146.

⁵⁴ “Vj beesten die up de porte staen,” *Gent, Duizend Jaar Kunst en Cultuur: Stadsontwikkeling en Architectuur, Keramiek, Koper en Brons, Ijzerwerk, Tin, Meubelkunst, Tapijtkunst* (Gent: Centrum voor Kunst en Cultuur, 11 Juli-14 September, 1975), 205-207, Cat. nos. 420-422. Previously published in Joseph Casier and Paul Bergmans, *L'art ancien dans les Flandres (région de l'Escaut): mémorial de l'exposition rétrospective organisée à Gand en 1913* 1 (Brussels, 1914), 49, pl. XI, figs. 26-27. For a map of the six ports, *Een Stad in Opbouw*, 126.

⁵⁵ See note 45. Bijloke Museum, inv. 911; *Duizend Jaar Kunst*, 206.

Graslei harbor, the Church of Saint-Nicholas (begun 1280), and the town's Belfry (begun 1314). Another statuette with the arms of Flanders was found to the east of the Gravensteen near Saint-Jacob's and Boudelo Abbey in "Oude Vest te Gent," where much of the textile exports took place,⁵⁶ and two others were found in nineteenth-century excavations of the Friday Market close to the castle.⁵⁷ According to the socioeconomic map of fourteenth-century Ghent, the various find spots reflect streets that housed higher percentages of traders, bankers, and patricians – thus placing the seal of the Count in view of those subject to his administrative and juridical authority.⁵⁸ Although the Count's household may have spent relatively less time in Ghent in a given year, preferring estates in Lille, Courtrai, and Wijnendale, the statuettes marked the urban stone façades with the authoritative seal of the Count's body, as if a seal on parchment, and made the Count's jurisdiction visible at street level.⁵⁹

In chivalric culture, the sartorial coding for *militas-nobilis* reinforced the authority of the equestrian seal, "in which representation matches real presence," so that the identity of the knight's person was seamlessly articulated by his blazon.⁶⁰ As Susan Crane suggests in *Animal Encounters*, the knight's technological superiority, including warhorse, weaponry, and equipage, amounted to prosthetic extensions of the knight's chivalric performance of self-identity.⁶¹ The merger of the Count's body with his heraldry and warhorse culminates in the performative display of funerary processions,

⁵⁶ Bijloekemuseum, inv. 460; Ibid., 205.

⁵⁷ Bijloekemuseum, inv. 7833; Ibid., 207.

⁵⁸ Nicholas, *Metamorphosis*, Table 4.1 and map, 68-69.

⁵⁹ Vale, *The Princely Court*, 148.

⁶⁰ Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity," 1490.

⁶¹ Susan Crane, *Animal Encounters: Contacts and Concepts in Medieval Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 144, 167.

which was described in detail for Robert of Béthune, for example.⁶² The semiotic grafting of identity, sign, and referent in death operated similarly to the living practice of sealing, replicating, and disseminating the identity of the referent. By the turn of the fourteenth century, the sign system of heraldry merged with its bearer's identity and enmeshed that identity with the objects bound to the ceremony surrounding the Count's princely station.⁶³ In *The Performance of Self*, Crane argues for the totemic identification of selfhood beyond the individual body, "a titled knight's identity is impressively magnified in tournaments and other performances submitted to public judgment," thus implicating a colluding audience in the formation of identity.⁶⁴ Incorporated in the outward "gestures of self-presentation," heraldry concretized identity and verified presence, which Crane argues "amount to the very constitution of the self" before a participating audience.⁶⁵ It is through outward signs broadcast in multiple media that the noble aristocracy could use heraldry as a way to make claims about aspects of identity, whether familial, horizontal, feudal, or individual. As Bedos-Rezak reconsiders in the outcomes of sealing praxis, "The aristocracy... came to recognize itself in terms of its sign-objects, and it was in terms of these objects that the morality and the standards of the group--eschatological concerns, warfare, penitential needs, spiritual intentions, accountability, kindred--came to be expressed."⁶⁶ Those standards are revealed and reified through the interaction of heraldry with the socio-spatial contexts that occasion its modular repetition. The lion of

⁶² Vale, *The Princely Court*, 242. See in this issue, Leson, "Reconstructing the Tomb of Robert of Cassel in Warneton," *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture*, 128-151.

⁶³ "Seals were signs that encoded the concept of medieval identity as replicable resemblance," Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity," 1533.

⁶⁴ Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity during the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 8.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁶⁶ Bedos-Rezak, "Medieval Identity," 1532.

Flanders at the turn of the century provides one such highly visible case for examining the impact of comital identity on the urban landscape as well as its courtly contexts.

By the late thirteenth century, heraldry decorated a wide range of media that thrived on aristocratic patronage and that used the language to delimit its environments by surrounding windows, floors, and textiles and accentuating portable luxuries, like enamelwork and illuminated codices. As a reverberating sign, heraldry had the capacity to articulate architectural and material surroundings in ways that reflect the “social environment.”⁶⁷ For instance, as Malcolm Vale observes, extensive payments were recorded for liveries ordered by several courts, including Flanders, Hainaut, and Holland, for particular feasts, hunts, and tournaments, for which heraldic display played its most lively role. Fine cloths of various colors and heraldic devices also filled entire rooms to celebrate the birth of a grandson or to outfit a bridal trousseau.⁶⁸ In the inventories and account books listing such textiles, the clerk often notes the placement of the blazons, whether in an all-over arrangement (“semé tramlines,” “dyasprés,” “diaspré par places,” “wambisiés”) or straight-edged along hemlines (“a plates,” “de plates,” “bordé,” “bordure”).⁶⁹ Rather than a merely decorative element, the use of heraldry can be seen, much like manuscript marginalia, in linguistic terms of framing status within a spatial context and asserting the loyalties owed to the noble family, in this case the Count of Flanders. In framing and articulating interior spaces, the textile descriptions echo patterns that were emergent in the “Saracen” textiles documented in several of Guy’s

⁶⁷ Wim DeClercq, Jan Dumoulyn, and J. Haemers, “‘Vivre Noblement’: Material Culture and Elite Identity in Late Medieval Flanders,” *Journal for Interdisciplinary History* 38 (2007): 1, drawing upon Richard Grassby, “Material Culture and Cultural History,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35 (2005): 594, 595; Peter Arnade, Martha Howell, and Walter Simons, “Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32 (2002), 515–548.

⁶⁸ Dehaisnes, *Documents* v. 3, 377–80.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, v. 1, 171–172.

contemporaries' belongings, and they provide a glimpse of the *salles aux écus* of the princely châteaux and hotels frequented on the court's itinerant routes.⁷⁰

As Wim DeClerq and Guy Dupont emphasize in their study of the châteaux associated with the Flemish nobility of the later Middle Ages, the tenacity of armorial identification within the built environment structured the experience and reflexive positioning of a spatial identity.⁷¹ Few remains survive from the late thirteenth century, but some excavations have yielded ceramic tiles with heraldic devices that echo the lustre of court culture in Flanders. Such simple devices as lions, splayed eagles, fleurs-de-lis, or ermine patterns fill the square tiles which were used to outline larger shapes; for example, stretches of tiles repeating rampant lions and galloping equestrians form borders around geometric formations in the octagonal tower of Notre-Dame de Saint-Omer.⁷² Square tiles found at the Abbey of Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer display a few shields with basic devices, but the two-toned glazing was not useful to specify an individual family. Dating to the end of the thirteenth century and first quarter of the fourteenth century, a contemporaneous group of these motifs--including fleurs-de-lis, busts, stags, hounds and fish--covered floors in the château of Hermelinghen, the Abbey of Saint-Bertin, and various locations in the town of Théroouanne; the latter two locations were possible centers where the illuminators of the Dampierre Psalter and Yale Arthur were based.⁷³

⁷⁰ Vale, *The Princely Court*, 84, 152.

⁷¹ For the use of ceramic floor tiles, stove tiles, and bosses with heraldry, initials, and emblems to circumscribe the identity of aspiring lower noble owners of fifteenth-century châteaux, see DeClercq, *et al.*, "Vivre Noblement," 22-29.

⁷² Martine Carette and Didier Derœux, *Carreaux de Pavement Médiévaux de Flandre et d'Artois (XIIIe-XIVe siècles)* (Arras: Musée se Saint-Omer, 1985), 133-134, Pls. XVI-XVII, Figs. 16-17; for the Abbey of Saint-Bertin, Pls. XXXVIII-XLI.

⁷³ Carette and Derœux, *Carreaux de Pavement*, 73, and cat. nos. 7 (115-117), 11(120-123), 15 (125-136), 17 (137-139).



Figure 13a-13b Tilework at the former Saint-Bavo's Abbey, Ghent, c. 1251-1300. Reproduced with permission of the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage.

Surviving tiles from Saint-Bavo's in Ghent echo the same motifs and patterns.⁷⁴ **(Figure 13a-b)** The overall design and the repetition of the motifs in the tilework parallel the increased production of tapestry and other trappings of the court where the use of heraldry could permeate the socio-spatial contexts of the nobility.

Heraldry's framing function in tilework and textiles finds comparable luster in surviving glass dating to about the same period. Closer to the center of Ghent, the Dominican Abbey's church building contained stained glass windows with heraldic motifs and patterns dating to the building's c. 1280 construction.⁷⁵ The curved edges and consistent widths of the heraldic panels indicate that they bordered the intrados of the lancets, framing the windows like tracery. **(Figure 14)** The piecemeal survival of these fragments cannot provide a full picture of their original order, of course. The panels with

⁷⁴ *Een Stad In Opbouw*, 104-105.

⁷⁵ Antoine de Schryver, Yvette vanden Bemden, Guido J. Bral, *Drôleries à Gand: La découverte de fragments de vitraux médiévaux au couvent des dominicains* (Kortrijk: N.V. Bekaert, 1991), 71-75, 88.

heraldic motifs likely alternated in a pattern with other colors, as evidenced in one strip with blue and red squares still attached on either side of a corner piece, **(Figure 15)** and perhaps with other blazons, as those on a belt described in Robert of Béthune's possession as having alternating squares with lions of Flanders and Brabant (*sable, a lion rampant or*).⁷⁶ The ribbons of heraldry hemming the lancets circumscribed the space and heightened the currency of the local nobility's benefaction of the new Dominican church. The use of heraldry in stained glass served to promote a family's public identity and continued memory, and the local nobility adopted the practice as well to display publically heraldic arms across aisles and generations. The array of heraldry in the church's windows echoes that in the Dampierre Psalter's margins, and some blazons indeed match quite closely. **(Figure 14b)** The largest percentage display the black lion of Flanders on yellow ground, several of the silver lion of Ghent on black ground, and other fragments are suggestive of local nobility. Panels bearing *argent, a lion rampant sable* may indicate the Fiennes family, which had been featured twice in the Psalter.⁷⁷ In combination with the lions of Flanders, several panels with a castle façade motif were tentatively attributed to the memory of the abbey's founders, Countess Joan of Constantinople (1205-1244) and Ferdinand of Portugal (1212-1233).⁷⁸ **(Figure 14c)** Although it would not be unusual to see heraldry commemorate retroactively in this way,

⁷⁶ De Schryver, *Drôleries à Gand*, e.g. Fig. 15; 73, fig. q. The belt is listed as "une cainture coponnée des armes de Flandres et de Brabant, ferrée d'argent doré" in Dehaisnes, *Documents*, 241. Guy's daughter Margaret married the Duke of Brabant in 1273.

⁷⁷ De Schryver, *Drôleries à Gand*, 72, Figs. b, j, d.

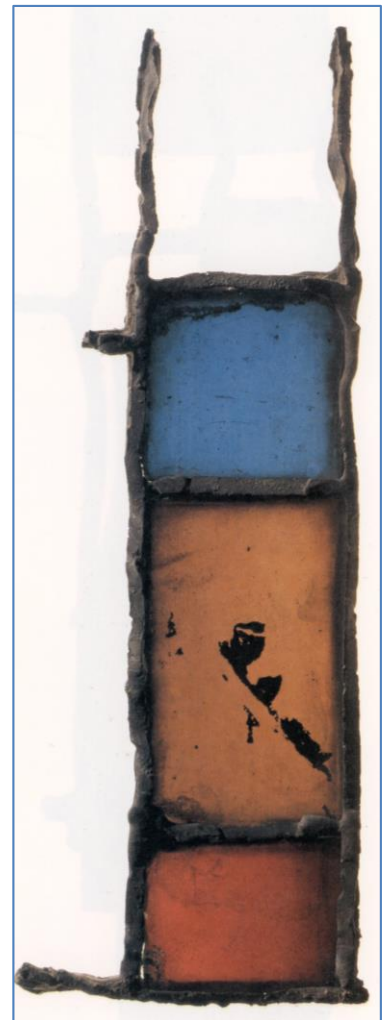
⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 75, Figs. f, k, w, describes as "des châteaux de Castille," 88.



Figure 14a-c Stained glass fragments with lions rampant, including a) *bend cadence*, b) Ghent and Fiennes (?), and c) Oudburg (?), from the former Dominican Abbey (Het Pand, University of Ghent, Ghent, Belgium). Reproduced with permission of the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage



Figure 15 Stained glass fragment with lion rampant, from the former Dominican Abbey (Het Pand, University of Ghent, Ghent, Belgium). Reproduced from de Schryver, *Drôleries à Gand*, 73.



the castles are painted in white on black grounds, rather than red on gold for Castille, and Portugal's heraldry contained an ermine-lozenged cross. Rather, association with the Oudburg castellany north of Ghent can be forwarded.⁷⁹ In the windows' encasement with local blazons, including Flanders with the city of Ghent, the Fiennes family, and nearby Oudburg, a circle of lateral ties borne of feudal allegiance to the Count echoes the practices seen in the surviving heraldic references at Notre Dame at Chartres.⁸⁰ Likewise, the array of heraldry in the margins of the psalter proximally maps the local circle of the Count and contributed to the ideal of the Count's authority as reflected in his environs.

On several panels, a diagonal *bend* splices a rampant lion, indicating the cadence of William of Termonde. **(Figures 14a-15)** The grisaille artists likely shared the same models for drolleries found in the margins of the romance attributed to William's patronage, Yale MS 229, and like the Dampierre Psalter enjoyed the connection between fox fables and heraldry.⁸¹ One close copy occurs with a fable from the *Van den Vos Reynaerde* of the fox and the stork, which drinks from the fox's shallow dish with difficulty, then it drinks from its own high-neck vessel that leaves the fox thirsty.⁸² **(Figure 16)** The sequence of the Renardian motifs framed with the heraldry of Flanders invites the abbey church's audience to draw from their literary knowledge and to consider their physical proximity to the Gravensteen, the count's castle, only 500 meters further down the River Leie and visible from the bridge adjacent to the abbey. **(Figure 17)**

⁷⁹ For *sable au château d'argent*, Van den Eeckhout, *Armorial*, Pt. I, 167; the blazon appears in an armorial with the Dampierre cadets and on the seal of a Ghent alderman in 1244.

⁸⁰ See Lester, "Casket of John of Montmirail," pp. 50-86.

⁸¹ De Schryver, *Drôleries à Gand*, 72, fig. k, 73, figs. l and q.

⁸² De Schryver, *Drôleries à Gand*, 91-92. Some of the surviving pieces align stylistically with the marginal grotesques found in later manuscript illumination centered in Ghent; a 1332-1333 entry in the city accounts makes note of a gift paid to the Dominicans for glass for the church, 85. William of Moerbeke had translated the Aristotle's *History of Animals* here, among other works.

Figure 16 Reynard and stork, grisaille glass from the former Dominican Abbey (Het Pand, University of Ghent, Ghent, Belgium). Reproduced with permission of the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage.



The structural array of heraldry framing the windows incorporates the signs of the local lower nobility as a means to assert connections with the comital family. Such arrays also appear across more personalized items made with enamel, the escutcheons of which blazoned with the heraldry of neighboring northern French nobles, including the lion of Flanders, and containing legal documents within.⁸³ Among Robert of Béthune's belongings at his death in Courtaî in 1322, a small green coffret that held ivory and crystal reliquaries included the arms of his second wife, Yolande II, Countess of Nevers,

⁸³ See Lester, "Coffret of John of Montmirail," Fig. 1. *Enamels of Limoges*, cat. no. 123, 360-363.

Figure 17 View from bridge over River Leie, from the Dominican Abbey's cloister toward Gravensteen, Ghent, Belgium. Reproduced with permission of the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage.



decorating its surface.⁸⁴ The arms of Flanders and Nevers decorate a small buckler, a set of knives with metal rings, and a pair of slipper buckles, as well as a belt buckle bearing the arms of Nevers and Rethel, the latter belonging to his daughter-in-law.⁸⁵ Later in the same paragraph of bedazzled objects, a more extensive description of a silk purse includes a head sculpted from red stone, a silver boss for a seal, and the arms of Flanders and Luxembourg, which belonged to Guy's second wife, Isabelle of Luxembourg.⁸⁶ The documentation of the arms in the accounts attests to the distinguishing significance that heraldry communicated in the contexts of various materials and the systematic networking of heraldry to reiterate alliances forged by marital ties.

⁸⁴ Dehaisnes, *Documents*, 241.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 241, 246.

⁸⁶ See Lester, "Coffret of John of Montmirail," Fig. 3, for the Bourse of Peter of Dreux.

Figure 18 Mazer and lid with arms of Flanders, wood with enamel decoration, early 14th century. British Museum, M&ME AF.3116. © Trustees of the British Museum.



“Des armes monsieur de Flandres” is used to describe numerous items in the inventories of Guy and Robert upon their deaths. Guy’s list includes several goblets and chalices described with some degree of detail for their material make-up and the inclusion of heraldry. For example, listed among a dozen or so chalices, a silver hanap with a filigree cover and enameled with the arms of Flanders occasions the clerk’s

extended description.⁸⁷ In Bruges in 1306, Robert purchased a flared cup enameled with the arms of Flanders, complete with a leather case and a filigree lid with an acorn-shaped ornament.⁸⁸ Such goblets and other luxury items must be echoed in a footed mazer and its custom leather case now in the British Museum, probably made in Mechelen. **(Figure 18)** Iridescent-winged kingfishers collared with gold shields of Flanders fill the basse-taille lozenges of the base, and a soaring kingfisher with a Flanders shield dangling from its collar alights the lid ornament. The use of a kingfisher could invoke a symbol of married love from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and would place the imagery for such a mazer appropriately in the context of a wedding gift. The leather case that contained the mazer survives and displays an embossed pair of shields with the blazons of Flanders and Ghistelles, pointing to a mid-fourteenth century manufacture for the union of Louis de Flandres, the illegitimate son of Louis de Mâle, Count of Flanders (1346-1384), and Mary of Ghistelles.⁸⁹ Such goblets were also described among the gifts sent to Guy from Edward in September, 1297; one was enameled "above and below" with France, Navarre, Flanders, Brabant, and Ponteau, with a sapphire atop, another had the escutcheons of England, and yet another with the exterior set with France and Navarre.⁹⁰ Although their alliance would dissolve, the exchange of gifts among the princely parties pinpoints how heraldry manifested the ideals of noble lineage, weaving gilded emblems into the fabric of surroundings and parading alliances through shiny opulence. In the sense that the exchange of gifts was articulated in part by the pedigree of the heraldry, so too heraldry

⁸⁷ Dehaisnes, *Documents*, 169.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁸⁹ J. Robinson, *Masterpieces: Medieval Art* (London, British Museum Press, 2008), 246-247.

⁹⁰ Dehaisnes, *Documents*, 93.

would articulate the pedigree of those who were counted among the Count's *Audiëntie* in the margins of his Psalter at the very moment of his political ascendancy.

The objects described in expense accounts, inventories, and receipts far outweigh the surviving evidence of material culture in Flanders dating to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. What material remains do provide, in tandem with accounts of their greater number and some sense of their original contexts, is an understanding of how heraldry operated to convey the identity of a person or family to a viewing audience that was sensitive to physical placement and aware of the metaphorical properties of heraldic representation. Where sealing practice conveyed the “aura of their physical presence,” heraldic framing also performed a role in defining the nobility's identity and presence within the urban and court environments.⁹¹ The Count's reflection of his princely identity in the Psalter likewise depends on the referential networks that his castellany's heraldry stakes out in reference to his physical environs. The appropriations of the lion of Flanders by Dampierre descendants during their continued struggles against the French crown and pro-French factions attest to the powerful relationship that heraldry provided as a means to assert individual position, status, and identity.

In its growth alongside and in opposition to the fleur-de-lis of France, the lion of Flanders gained visual currency with the territorial claims and laws enforced by the Count. When investigating the era of Guy of Dampierre, the romanticist and nationalist fervor of Hendrik Conscience's *The Lion of Flanders* (1838) and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's “The Belfry of Bruges” (1846) has varnished the portrait of the Count as elderly, hapless and ineffective in prison. It was during Guy's tenure, however, that the

⁹¹ Bedos-Rezak, “Medieval Identity,” 1490.

character behind the lion of Flanders gained regional currency, or its pro-Flemish bite. Used since the rule of Philip of Alsace in 1163, the lion of Flanders increased its visibility at a time when the media of the princely courts incorporated more emblems into their designs, and that of Flanders endured to represent one of the wealthiest centers of Europe through the Renaissance. One legend that has endured is that a shibboleth during the Bruges Matins of 1302 was “schild en vriend” (shield and friend), which was difficult to pronounce by French speakers.⁹² It sums up the emblematic impact that the lion of Flanders blazon had on the urban environment from the time of Guy of Dampierre and his pro-Flemish laws and privileges. The language of heraldry in the contexts of the city, and in the Psalter, formulates a framework for the Count’s individual reception of his socio-material landscape. When Michael Camille suggests that the Luttrell Psalter “embodies a newly nascent nationalism” of “English-ness,” he supports the notion through a more medieval lens than a modern one. The notion of “Flemish-ness” also underlines the marginal applications of heraldry in the Dampierre Psalter and the domains of the Count, including references to living castellans and relatives rather than dead ancestors, to assert the reader’s position, status, and identity. The framework for heraldry--that of Flanders in the framing elements of the material environment as well as that of the castellans in the periphery of the text’s margins--assists to identify the Count in the center and to make the Count matter. 🐉

⁹² James M. Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism, 1280-1390* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 6.



Reconstructing the Tomb of Robert of Cassel in Warneton¹

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The term “Franco-Flemish” derives from the history of music, where it refers to the novel, polyphonic compositions developed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by composers from northern France, Flanders, and the Netherlands. It was long ago appropriated by Art History in order to characterize the visual arts of the same regions during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. Thus, when we describe a work of art as Franco-Flemish, we imply that, like the motet, it is the product of multiple voices. Since their political and economic reach encompassed portions of France and western, “Crown” Flanders, the patronage of the Dampierre clan, the embattled, French-speaking overlords of the County of Flanders during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, offers an opportunity to further nuance Franco-Flemish art. The House of Dampierre was a regular presence in Paris, where the Count entertained guests in his sizable mansion, the Hôtel de Flandre.² Consequently, the Dampierre family enjoyed access to both the finest artisans of the capital and the manuscript and sculptural ateliers of the

¹ My thanks to Sarah Blick and Elizabeth Moore Hunt for careful readings of this essay. Any mistakes are entirely my own. I wish to thank Alexis Donetzkoff and Hervé Passot for facilitating my research in the Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille, in the Fall of 2014. Francis de Simpel, President of the Société d'Histoire de Warneton-Comines, kindly shared documentation from his personal archive. I am especially grateful to Zan Kocher, whose meticulous translation work and generous sharing of ideas have been nothing short of humbling.

² Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Court Culture in North-West Europe* (Oxford: University Press, 2000), 84, 152.

great cities of Flanders.³ With such factors in mind, this essay focuses upon a tomb crafted for Robert of Cassel, a scion of the House of Dampierre. The tomb of the Lord of Cassel was the product of multiple, geographically-circumscribable artistic traditions, but it also channeled the interests, motivations, and movements of multiple “voices,” aristocratic and functionary, local and supra-regional, French and Flemish.

A Rediscovered Witness to a Flemish Tradition

In January of 1924 the town of Warneton (medieval “Warneston” or “Waesten,” now in the Walloon municipality of Warneton-Comines, on the Belgian side of the River Lys) was still rebuilding after the near obliteration suffered during World War I. The war saw the destruction of the town’s seventeenth-century church, a structure built on the foundations of a medieval three-aisled basilica that once belonged to the Augustinian canons of Warneton.⁴ In the course of digging foundation trenches for the southern walls of the new church, workers under the supervision of Jan van Hoenacker, architect and director of excavations, unearthed three medieval sarcophagi constructed of brick masonry.⁵ **(Figure 1)** The area in which the tombs were discovered—immediately to the south of the nave of the present church—corresponded to

³ See, for example, Elizabeth Moore Hunt’s essay on the famous Psalter of Guy of Dampierre, a manuscript made in Flanders, in this issue.

⁴ See Fernand Beaucamp, “La découverte archaéologique de Warneton (Belgique),” *Bulletin de la Commission historique du département du Nord* 32 (1925): 243, n3. The medieval building was burnt down in 1644 and was almost entirely reconstructed in 1645. In 1664 the church suffered another fire and further reconstruction was necessary. From that point forward, the church remained undisturbed until 1914.

⁵ Van Hoenacker’s unpublished report on the discovery of one of the tombs, addressed to the local bureau of architecture and dated July 28, 1924, is now in the archive of Francis de Simpel, President of the Société d’Histoire de Warneton-Comines. This is accompanied by Van Hoenacker’s blueprint for the tomb, dated to July 19, 1924. Van Hoenacker’s blueprint for the tomb of Robert of Cassel, if it existed, is now lost. Were it to turn up, it would likely also be labeled “Relevé d’une tombe moyenâgeuse découverte lors des fouilles des fondations de la nouvelle église” and feature an exploded view of the tomb’s decorated interior walls. It is my great pleasure to acknowledge Mr. Simpel’s generous hospitality in Warneton in September of 2014. The Warneton tomb paintings have since been conserved, but I have not been able to consult Isabelle Hennebert’s unpublished thesis, “Les peintures murales funéraires de Warneton. Identification et traitement,” (unpublished M.A. thesis, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1982).

the nave and choir of the medieval church. Of particular interest was the fact that the interior walls of two of the sarcophagi were painted with fresco decorations that included



Figure 1 Photograph of newly rediscovered tomb of Robert of Cassel being prepared for transportation in 1924. Photo: from *Le Grand hebdomadaire illustré de la région du Nord*. Collection of Mr. Francis de Simpel.

armorial shields. One of the first to learn of these discoveries was A. van Zuylen van Nyevelt, state archivist at Bruges, who undertook immediately to identify the occupants of the sarcophagi through a study of the heraldry.⁶ As to the identity of the person buried in the larger tomb,

⁶ His account, titled “Tombe découvertes à Warneton,” appeared in the *Annales de la société d’émulation de Bruges*, LXVII, nos. 2-3 (Avril-Juillet 1924): 135-138. In October, these findings appeared in several newspapers, along with photographs of the excavation.

unearthed in the area of the old choir—a privileged space—Van Zuylen van Nyevelt was certain.

On the lateral sides of the interior were the arms *Or, a lion rampant sable within a border*



Figure 2 Photograph of the tomb of Robert of Cassel shortly after its excavation. Photo: from *Le Patriote illustré*, 19 October, 1924, p. 668.

engrailed Gules. These belonged to Robert of Cassel (c. 1272-1331).⁷ (**Figures 2, 3, 6**) Born

sometime after 1272, this Robert was the son of Count Robert III of Flanders (r. 1305-1322) and

Yolande of Nevers. He was thus a grandson of Guy of Dampierre.⁸ His bones were

⁷ Van der Zuylen van Nyevelt, “Tombes,” 135. The other painted tomb may have belonged to Ingelram Van de Waele, abbot of Warneton between 1334 and 1343 (or his brother and successor, Anselme, 1343-1346). The identity of the occupant of the third tomb is unknown. See Fernand Beaucamp, “La polychromie dans les monuments funéraires, en Flandre et en Hainaut, au moyen âge” in *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1928-1929): 551-567, here at 554-555.

⁸ Two major studies of Robert of Cassel appeared over the final decades of the nineteenth century: P.-J.-E. de Smyttère, *Robert de Cassel et Jeanne de Bretagne sa femme (XIV^e siècle)* (Hazebrouck: A. David, 1884), and J.-J. Carlier, “Robert de Cassel. Seigneur de Dunkerque, Cassel, Nieppe, Warneton, Gravelines, Bourbourg” *Annales du Comité flamand de France*, X (1870): 17-248. To these we may now add important contributions by Filip Hooghe: “Robrecht van Kassel: Deel 1: Vlaams Edelman tussen feodale trouw en rebellie in de eerste helft van de 14^{de}



Figure 3 Impression of the counterseal of Robert of Cassel appended to a document of February 8, 1327. Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille, B 413, no. 5.790. Photo: author.

discovered in the remains of a lead coffin which, judging from several iron rings and hinges, was once enveloped by a larger vessel of oak. The rings enabled staves to be passed through for transportation. No other material goods of

significant value were found with the exception of a single iron spur, confirmation that Robert was buried in armor, as befitted his noble status.⁹ For nearly a century it has been possible to view the Lord of Cassel's tomb and his bones in the dimly lit undercroft beneath the southwestern bell tower, where it was moved during the course of the new construction. **(Figure 4)** In Flanders, production and use of brick in masonry construction seems to have begun around 1200.¹⁰ Judging from the available evidence, the earliest brick masonry tombs of the sort constructed for Robert of Cassel date to this time.¹¹ The tradition of decorating such tombs with fresco dates to the late thirteenth century. Possibly the practice originated in Bruges, as tombs of this sort have been uncovered there in some sixteen different churches.¹² Their interior fresco

eeuw," 1-34. See

http://www.academia.edu/3846918/Robrecht_van_Kassel_Deel_1_Vlaams_edelman_tussen_feodale_trouw_en_rebellie_in_de_eerste_helft_van_de_14de_eeuw (accessed March 27, 2015), and idem., "Robrecht van Kassel: Deel 2: Historische banden tussen het Westland en het Land van Bornem in de eerste helfte van de 14^{de} eeuw," 1-36. See http://www.academia.edu/3846980/Robrecht_van_Kassel_Deel_2_Historische_banden_tussen_het_Westland_en_het_Land_van_Bornem_in_de_eerste_helft_van_de_14de_eeuw (accessed March 27, 2015). These essays originally published in *Westhoek. Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis en familiekunde in de Vlaamse en Franse Westhoek*, XXIV, no. 3-4 (2008): 123-176; and XXV, no. 1-2 (2009): 3-48.

⁹ See Fernand Beaucamp, "La polychromie," 557.

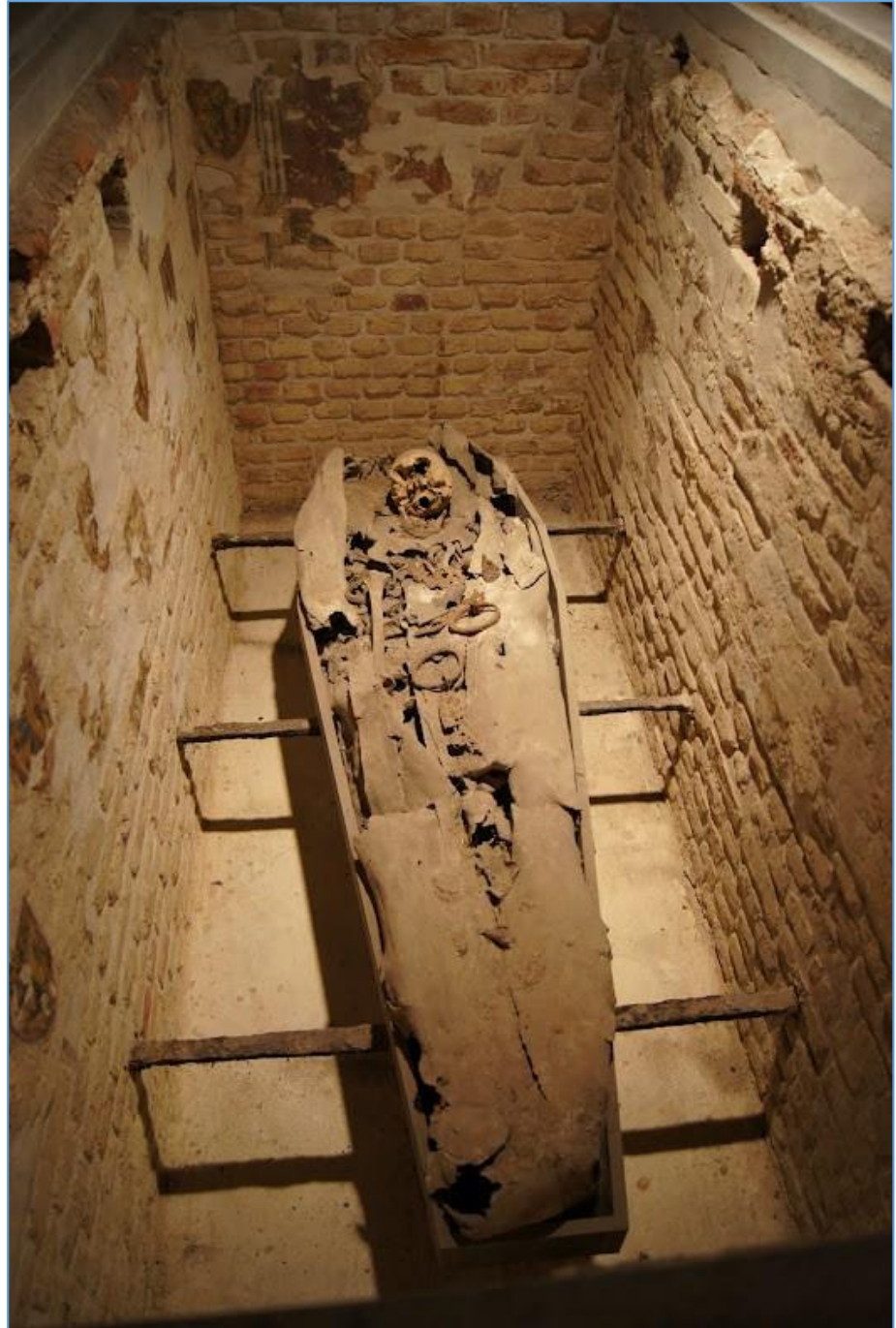
¹⁰ Thomas Coomans and Harry van Royen, eds., "Medieval Brick architecture in Flanders and Northern Europe: The Question of the Cistercian Origin," *Novi Monasterii*, Vol. 7 (Ghent: Academia Press, 2008), 1.

¹¹ See, for example, Luc Devlieghe, "Middeleeuwse beschilderde graven," in *Middeleeuwse muurschilderingen in Vlaanderen* (Brussels, 1994): 66-73, here at 71.

¹² *Ibid.*, 66, 73.

Figure 4 The Tomb of Robert of Cassel in the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul in Warneton. 1331. Photo: author.

decorations evince a limited iconographic repertoire.¹³ On one side of the sarcophagus, usually above the head of the deceased, was an image of the Crucifixion, the suffering Christ flanked by the Virgin and St. John. Opposite was a Virgin and Child enthroned. Often, on the lateral walls of the



tomb, angels appear censuring the Virgin and Child. **(Figure 5)** Other motifs include popular saints or varying decorative cross patterns. In a general sense, these subjects speak to themes of

¹³ On the iconography of the Flemish painted tombs, see, for example, R. van Belle, “Ikonografie en symboliek van de beschilderde grafkelders en memorietaferelen,” *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Kortrijk*, n.s. 48 (1981): 9-97, esp. 19-53; W. Dezutter, “Beschilderde middeleeuwse grafkelders te Brugge” in *Brugge onderzocht. Tien jaar stadsarcheologisch onderzoek 1977-1987* (Bruges, n.d.), 192-208; and Devliegher, op. cit.



Figure 5 Fourteenth-century painted tombs discovered in St Salvator Cathedral, Bruges, in 1993. Photo: Magenta Brugge. Reproduced from *Middeleeuwse murrschilderingen in Vlaanderen* (Brussels, 1994), 71.

penitence, intercession, resurrection and salvation; it has been suggested that their repetitive employment reflects the growing powers of the mendicant orders, who were of course

instrumental in the elucidation and dissemination of the doctrine of purgatory.¹⁴ If purgatory was the antechamber to heaven, the sturdy architecture of the sarcophagi gave substance to theology, while the tomb paintings, on account of their intercessory function, protected and nourished the soul during its period of purification.

The tomb of Robert of Cassel certainly belongs to this iconographic tradition, but its construction and decoration exhibit a greater degree of customization than many of the other examples. Its rectangular shape differentiates it from the more customary trapezoid of the other brick tombs, as typified by the other examples discovered at Warneton.¹⁵ This suggests that the original, now-lost cover of the tomb was also rectangular; as we will see, this was likely the case.¹⁶ The usual Crucifixion, in this case badly damaged, appears on the eastern side of the tomb, opposite an enthroned Virgin and Child on the west. The lateral sides of the tomb, however, were not painted with censuring angels or saints but some thirty examples of Robert's arms, arranged at regular intervals, in four horizontal registers. **(Figure 6)** One such shield was painted next to the image of the enthroned Virgin, suggesting what Michael Michael has called the "privilege of proximity," but the general absence of censuring angels, intercessional saints, or cross motifs like those found in many of the other painted tombs is a striking departure from iconographic norms.¹⁷ According to witnesses, in addition to this discrete pictorial customization, the floor of the tomb was paved with terracotta and majolica tiles in hues of

¹⁴ Dezutter, "Beschilderde," esp. 194-196. As Dezutter observed, mendicants were likely behind other Flemish pictorial innovations of the thirteenth century, most notably the important group of Psalters studied by Kerstin Carlvant. See her *Manuscript Painting in Thirteenth-Century Flanders. Bruges, Ghent, and the Circle of the Counts*, (London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2012), 51-74.

¹⁵ See Fernand Beaucamp, "La polychromie," 556.

¹⁶ A series of four rectangular cavities high on the interior lateral walls of the sarcophagus were no doubt once fitted with wooden beams in order to provide further support for the tomb's heavy lid (discussed below) It is clear that the cavities postdate the tomb's fresco decorations; at least one of the many painted armorials was damaged when the cavities were excavated.

¹⁷ See Michael Michael, "The Privilege of Proximity: Towards a Re-definition of the Function of Armorials," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997): 55-74.



Figure 6 Painted arms of Robert of Cassel in his tomb at Warneton. 1331. Photo: author.

yellow, green, red and brown, the whole arranged in a geometric pattern.¹⁸ Robert's tomb, therefore, had as much in common with the luxuriously decorated *salles aux écus* of contemporary Flemish and French castles as it did with other instances of such burials.¹⁹ The tacit dialogue between the multiple Cassel arms and the more customary iconographic repertoire of the painted tombs adumbrated the spiritual benefits that noble status afforded, even in death. If the recurring intercessional saints and censuring angels that decorated analogous zones in other

¹⁸ These tiles are now lost, but they were visible shortly after the tomb's discovery. See Beaucamp, "La polychromie," 557.

¹⁹ For examples of the *salles aux écus* see Carina Fryklund, *Flemish Wall Painting* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 10, 23-24 (and figs. 10-11). Good examples include the hall in the former Castle of Hesdin (c. 1299), a property of Mahaut of Artois, and the still extant heraldic decoration in the great hall of the Castle of Ravel (Puy de Dôme) near Clermont-Ferrand (c. 1299-1302).

examples of the Flemish painted tombs served as aids to the soul in the purgatorial struggle, such decorations were perhaps less compulsory for one who could afford, among other luxuries, multiple anniversary masses for the profit of his soul.²⁰ To put the matter another way, in death, Robert was “shielded” from malevolent forces, his sufferings in purgatory diminished on account of his noble identity. If the Flemish tombs and their iconographic repertoire are evidence of a local cultural and artistic tradition, we can understand the heraldic customization of the tomb Robert of Cassel as a noble intervention into this practice, a not-so-subtle expression of privilege and prerogative. This situation finds parallels in Robert’s often fraught involvement in the lives of his own subjects.

Robert of Cassel and the Flemish Rebellions

A survey of Robert of Cassel’s political career reveals that his objectives aligned perfectly neither with those of his Capetian masters nor his Flemish subjects, a situation exacerbated by a prolonged quarrel with his elder brother, Louis of Nevers, and Louis’ son of the same name. The consequences of this feud were as detrimental to political stability in Flanders as the designs of the French monarchy. From 1314 until 1320, as the aged Count Robert III

²⁰ Robert’s testament, originally drawn up in 1328 after the Battle of Cassel, is witnessed by Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille, B 451, 5.789. This document was executed at his estate in Montingy en Perche in France around the time of his death, sometime between mid-May and mid-June 1331. The testament specified his wish to be buried in Warneton and provided funds to endow requiem masses for Robert’s soul: “Item, je eslis et ai esleu le lieu de ma sépulture en l’abbaye de Warneton, et lesse à la dicte abbaye le CC livres contenues en mon dit testament pour donner ou lieu où je serais ensevelis pour la cause contenue en mon dit testament,” that is to say, “pour acater rente pour faire men anniversaire solennement cascun an une fois et aussi pour dire perpetuelment cascune semaine, par trois jours, cascun jour une messe de requiem pour l’ame de mi...” I rely here on the transcription of the testament by A. Desplanque supplied in Carlier, “Robert de Cassel,” 220-238, here at 232 and 222. For a discussion of the confusion surrounding the precise date of Robert’s death, see Van der Zuylen van Nyevelt, “Tombes,” 135-36, n1, who cites the same passages. Funerary masses for Robert of Cassel were acknowledged by the Abbot Pierre d’Assende in 1333. See the *Chronicon abbatiae Warnestoniensis, ordinis canonicorum regularium s. Augustini, ex actis quibusdam monasterii et ex auctoribus collectum cura et studio duorum dioec. Brug. Sacerdotum* (Bruges, 1852), 34-36.

continued his fraught negotiations with the French kings, the latter pursued a strategy of divide and conquer with respect to the Count's sons. Louis X, for example, hatched a plan with Louis of Nevers in 1315 with the intent of completely disinheriting Robert in turn for French control over the cities of Lille, Douai, and Bethune (the cities of the so-called "Transport of Flanders").²¹ Yet with his father's support, Robert ultimately secured an extensive apanage within "Crown" Flanders, an arrangement witnessed by an important succession agreement of 1320. In addition to baronies he already held in France, Robert would now enjoy lordship over contiguous Flemish territories in Dunkirk, Cassel, Bourre, Waten, Nieppe, Warneton, the Pont d'Estaires, Gravelines, Bourgourgh, Bergues, Nieuwpoort, and Deinze. The whole of these lands he would hold in fief to the king and, in the event of his father's death, his brother.²² Two years later, however, Count Robert and Louis of Nevers died in quick succession, and Robert was forced to pay homage to his brother's dilettantish son, now Count Louis of Nevers, who had recently been married to a daughter of Philip V as part of the 1320 peace negotiations. Robert soon mounted a campaign to disinherit the young Count.²³ It was at this moment, too, that he married Jeanne of Bretagne, daughter of Arthur II of Dreux-Bretagne and Yolande of Montfort, a move likely intended to bolster his suitability as a candidate for the throne of Flanders in the eyes of the king.²⁴ This effort failed, and Robert had no choice but to join his nephew in the imposition of heavier taxes that his father had so long sought to avoid. The result was the 1323-1328 uprisings of the Flemish burghers and peasantry, the brutal suppression of the rebels by the Count and his uncle,

²¹ Hooghe: "Robrecht van Kassel: Deel 1," 6.

²² On the creation of the apanage, see Hooghe: "Robrecht van Kassel: Deel 1," 9-10; Michelle Bubenicek, *Quand les femmes gouvernent. Droit et politique au XIV^e siècle: Yolande de Flandre* (Paris: École des Chartes, 2002), 55-56; de Smyttère, *Robert de Cassel*, esp. 18-22; Carlier, "Robert de Cassel," 66-100.

²³ Hooghe: "Robrecht van Kassel: Deel 1," 13-14; William H. TeBrake, *A Plague of Insurrection: Popular Politics and Peasant Revolt in Flanders, 1323-1328* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 48-49.

²⁴ On the marriage of Robert of Cassel see Bubenicek, *Quand les femmes gouvernent*, 56-58; de Smyttère, *Robert de Cassel*, 36-39; Carlier, "Robert de Cassel," 138-142.

and the destruction of many of Robert's Flemish holdings, including his castles at Cassel and Dunkirk.²⁵

In order to remain in the good graces of the Count and to avoid the further destruction of his property, Robert served as chief advisor to his nephew and arbitrator in peace talks with the rebels, a position that quickly proved untenable. A conciliatory approach to the rebels quickly gained Robert the enmity of his uncle, John of Namur, who successfully supplanted Robert as counsel to the young Louis. On June 9, 1325, Louis perfunctorily dismissed Robert from his service; two days later, on his way to peace talks at the Abbey of the Dunes, Robert narrowly escaped capture by John of Namur's men. Shortly thereafter, however, the Count was himself taken prisoner in rebel Bruges. Having gained the advantage, Robert claimed the title of regent for the imprisoned Count Louis and, extraordinarily, became the *de facto* leader of the Flemish rebels in their fight against loyalist forces and John of Namur.²⁶

Charles IV, in response to Robert's actions, seized all of his French possessions, proclaimed John of Namur regent in Flanders, and encouraged the Flemish clergy to excommunicate the rebels. Royal sanctions and a series of defeats soon saw Robert pleading his case before the Parliament of Paris. In March of 1326, seeking a conclusion to the rebellion, the king granted clemency to the Lord of Cassel and lifted all censures against him. One month later the Peace of Arques was signed, the Flemish excommunications repealed, and Robert's lands in France and Flanders restored. Within a year, however, rebellion resumed. Robert and his nephew arrived at another truce and together marched on Flanders with the army of Philip VI. The Battle

²⁵ Hooghe: "Robrecht van Kassel: Deel 1," 13-14, 16; TeBrake, *Plague*, 48-49, 78.

²⁶ For accounts of these events, see Hooghe, "Robrecht van Kassel: Deel 1," 13-18; TeBrake, *Plague*, 81-91. To this moment dates the famous brass tomb plaque effigy of the loyalist Ghent knight William Wenemaer, now in the Ghent city museum; an inscription on the plaque reports Wenemaer slain by Robert of Cassel at the battle of Recklyn on July 5, 1325.

of Cassel, fought on August 23, 1328, marked the destruction and total suppression of the Flemish rebellion. Robert dealt harshly with those rebel forces who had occupied and damaged property in his apanage.²⁷

Robert of Cassel spent the final years of his life reconsolidating his lands. Philip VI awarded him damages on his properties destroyed by the Flemish rebels. Robert also sought the aid of his nephew in gaining reparations for destruction of his properties wrought by the Ghent loyalists during his service as arbitrator and his time as leader of the rebellion. The Lord of Cassel died at his castle in Warneton sometime between mid-May and mid-June in 1331. Warneton was among Robert's most affluent and favored possessions. Located along the Lys, it was easily accessible to the merchants of Ypres. The town seems to have played an increasingly important role in the Flemish cloth and textile trade during Robert's lifetime. As Filip Hooghe observed, Robert may have tried to monopolize the trade earlier in his life.²⁸ In addition to naming the abbey of Warneton as his preferred place of burial, Robert's testament stipulated that two horses and harnesses used to conduct his body to its burial place be disposed of by his executors as they deemed appropriate.²⁹ It is likely, therefore, that Robert's funeral procession resembled that of his father. As Malcolm Vale has shown, the Count Robert stipulated in his testament that his procession be led by fully armored horses, fitted with valuable tournament saddles, and ridden by knights carrying the arms of Flanders. While the horses were to be disposed of as the Count's executors saw fit, all other decoration, including "cloth of gold, torches, or other items," were to remain at the place of interment.³⁰ Those present for the

²⁷ Hooghe, "Robrecht van Kassel: Deel 1," 18-20, Te Brake, *Plague*, 95-99.

²⁸ Hooghe, "Robrecht van Kassel: Deel 1," 10-11, 20-21.

²⁹ "Item, je voel et ordenne que l'offrande des chevaus et dou harnas qui sera faite pour mi le jour que mes corps sera mis en terre puist estre racatée par mes exécuteurs sil leur plaist pour cent livres de tournois." Carlier, "Robert de Cassel," 222. Judging from the short distance between the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul and the earthen redoubt that still marks the site of the castle of Warneton to the east, this procession was a short one.

³⁰ See Vale, *Princely Court*, 242-243.

solemnities observed during the funeral of Robert of Cassel, therefore, would have witnessed similar pageantry. Throughout these events, Robert's arms were omnipresent, even on the walls of his freshly painted sarcophagus.

Jeanne of Bretagne and the Tomb of Robert of Cassel

As one of the executors of her husband's will, Jeanne of Bretagne ensured that her husband's tomb testified to his dignity. It is reasonable to assume that she financed the interior fresco work, even if we cannot be certain that she dictated the pictorial contents. If, as has been suggested, such decoration was the province of the mendicant orders, it was easy enough for Jeanne to enlist their aid.³¹ The interior decoration was probably completed quickly as it was common practice to bury the dead as soon as possible.³² The tomb's exterior embellishment required more time. No trace of this decoration was evident in 1924, but documentary evidence confirms that it was financed by Jeanne. The contents of a sole receipt, dated one year after Robert's death, bear witness to Jeanne's efforts in this respect: **(Figure 7)**

I, Jeanne de Bretagne [Jehanne de Bretagne], dame of Cassel, let it be known to everyone that I have obtained and received 153 pounds [and] 12 sols from Jehan Palstre, my financial officer in Flanders, hand-delivered by Mr. Denys Helyot, Adam de Haubervillier, and Estienne Boyleau. This money was delivered to Paris for the tomb of my late lord [and husband] (may God keep his soul), as well as for the expenses incurred for it [the tomb]. Also I have received 100 pounds from my aforementioned financial officer, hand-delivered by the municipal councilmen of my city of Nieuwpoort [Neufport]. Also on Thursday, May 14, in Warneton [Warneston], I have received 200 pounds in *gros tournois* [currency] worth 12 deniers [per pound], from my aforementioned financial officer. I acknowledge having received the above-mentioned amounts of money in full, and I promise my aforesaid financial officer to deduct them in his first account, and [I declare] his obligation concerning them is fulfilled toward

³¹ Among Jeanne's co-executors named by her late husband was the Dominican "Jehan de la Ferrière, de l'ordene des Frères-Prêcheurs." This Jehan belonged to the convent at Le Mans, closer to Robert's holdings in France, but his presence suggests the ease with which Jeanne might call upon the assistance of the mendicant orders in general. See Carlier, "Robert de Cassel," 230; de Smyttère, *Robert de Cassel*, 148.

³² As noted by Devlieghe, "Middeleeuwse," 69. The execution of many of the frescoes in the Flemish tombs suggests that, in general, they were painted in haste.

everyone. By the witness of this document sealed with my seal. Enacted at Warneton [Warneston], Thursday, May 14, in the year of grace 1332.³³

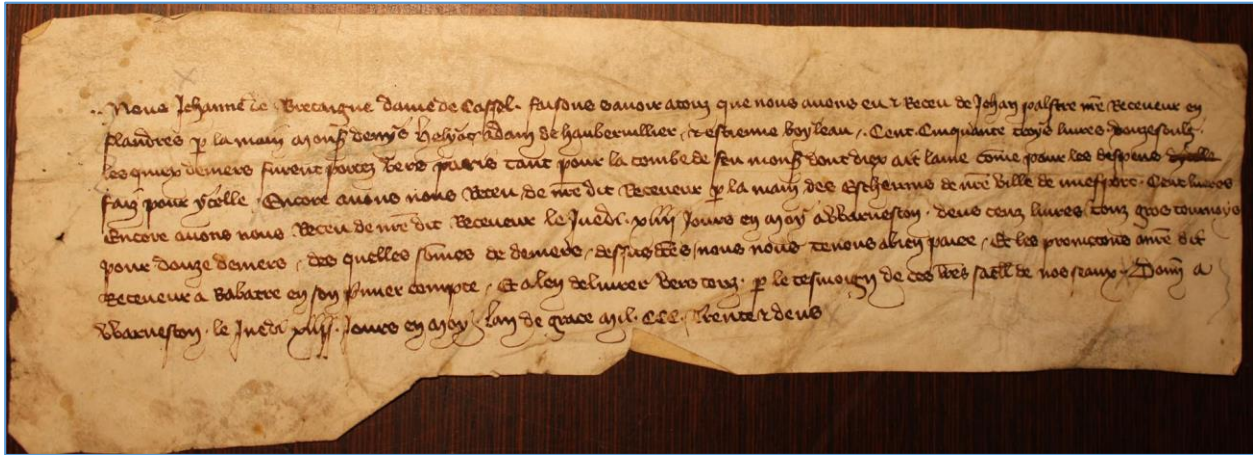


Figure 7 “Quittance” issued by Jeanne of Bretagne on May 14, 1332. Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille, B 3245, no. 112097. Photo: author.

What might we conclude from this receipt? To begin with, the other parties named in the transaction were members of Jeanne’s household. Jehan Palstre, who provided the funds, was Robert’s longtime chamberlain and co-executor of his testament.³⁴ The funds were collected by Denys Helyot and Estienne Boyleau, two of Jeanne’s chaplains, who delivered them to her along with Adam de Haubervillier.³⁵ The latter served Jeanne as a financial officer in some capacity

³³“Nous Jehanne de Bretagne dame de Cassel, faisons savoir a touz que nous avons eu et receu de Jehan Palstre n[ost]re receveur en Flandres p[ar] la main mons. Denys Helyot, Adam de Haubervillier, et Estienne Boyleau, Cent Cinquante troys livres, douze soulz, les quex deniers furent portez vers Paris tant pour la tombe de feu mons[eigneur] dont diex ait lame com[m]e pour les despens ~~de ycelle~~ faiz pour ycelle. Encore avons nous receu de n[ost]re dit receveur p[ar] la main des eschevins de n[ost]re ville de Nuefport, Cent livres[.] Encore avons nous receu de n[ost]re dit receveur le Juedi .xiiii jours en may a Warneston, deus cenz livres, touz gros tournoys pour douze deniers, des quelles som[m]es de deniers, dessus d[i]tes, nous nous tenons a bien paiee. Et les prometons a n[ost]re dit receveur a rabatre en son p[re]mier compte, Et a l'en delivrer vers touz. p[ar] le tesmoign de ces l[ett]res saell[ees] de nos seaux •• Donn[e] a Warneston, le juedi xiiii jours en may, lan de grace mil .CCC. trente et deus.”

I am extremely grateful to Zan Kocher for undertaking a new transcription and translation of this receipt and for his great patience and kindness in discussing its implications with me. The receipt is now Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille, B 3245, no. 112097. My thanks to Alexis Donetzkoff and Hervé Passot for their help in locating it at Lille in September of 2014. It was partially transcribed and dated May 14, 1322 [sic] by 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 siècle* (Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1886), 290. See also de Smyttère, Robert de Cassel, 74.

³⁴ See Carlier, “Robert de Cassel,” 230-231.

³⁵ Ibid., 231. Denys Helyot (as “Denis Aliot”) appears in Robert’s will immediately after Jehan Palstre. For a full list of Jeanne’s chaplains, see Jules Finot, *Les comptes et pièces comptables concernant l’administration de l’hôtel des*

since he is documented conducting business at her Parisian hôtel shortly after the creation of the May 14 receipt.³⁶ It may be that the chaplains and Adam de Haubervillier not only delivered the sums to Jeanne, but took them to Paris as well.

Of the three sums mentioned, only the first, the “153 pounds and 12 sols,” was clearly specified for the tomb. Since the amount specified is not a round sum, it may indicate that some work had already been accomplished by May of 1332. It would follow that the contract for the tomb had been agreed upon earlier, perhaps shortly after Robert’s death.³⁷ Whether the payment was for raw materials or completed labor is unclear, but a post-medieval description of the completed monument, written prior to its destruction on August 14, 1566 by the Huguenot iconoclasts, strongly indicates that the funds delivered to Paris were intended for the carving of an effigy and the preparation of stone revetments.³⁸ Around the middle of the sixteenth century, the heraldist Corneille Gaillard (1520-1563) witnessed the tomb. He observed that:

At Warneton in the middle of the choir is a tomb of colored marble, upon which lies a man clad in a hauberk, the whole of alabaster; he carries around his neck the great shield of Flanders, the border engrailed.

An epitaph inscribed on the tomb gave:

Here lies Sir Robert of Flanders, Lord of Cassel, son of the Count of Flanders, who passed in the year of grace 1331, the day of the Trinity, and for whom this sepulcher was

comtes de Flandre, des sires et des dames de Cassel et de Bar, des comtes et des comtesses de Hainaut, des ducs et des duchesses de Bourgogne, conservés aux archives du Nord (Lille, Impr. L. Danel, 1892), xxxvii, citing documents in Archives du Nord cartons B 3245 and B 3246.

³⁶ Jules Finot, ed., *Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790, Nord: Archives civiles, Série B: Chambre des Comptes de Lille*, vol. 7 (Lille: Imprimerie de L. Danel, 1892), 25. Adam de Haubervillier may have been from the Aubervilliers near St. Denis. In his testament, Robert of Cassel left small sums to an Ysabel de Haubervillers, her sister Jehane, and a Jehannette de Haubervillers. These were among the “femmes de la chambre ma chière compaignie et de mes enfants.” See Carlier, “Robert de Cassel,” 232. Jeanne de Bretagne, therefore, seems to have had a strong connection to this family which may have been based in and around Paris.

³⁷ Alternatively Jeanne may have seen to this matter in February of 1332, at which time she was in Paris advocating for her children’s inheritance rights. See P.-J.-E. de Smyttère, “Mémoire sur l’apanage de Robert de Cassel (1320),” *Annales du Comité flamand de France*, VII (1863-64): 55.

³⁸ See de Smyttère, *Robert de Cassel*, 75; Beaucamp, “La polychromie,” 555-556. In the 1924 excavation photographs the remains of a brick-vault roof are visible on the western side of the tomb. This vault was probably put in place after the vandalism of 1566. Evidently it was removed in 1924. Beaucamp suggested that the tomb was completely buried during the reconstruction of the church following the fires of 1645 and 1664.

made by my lady Jeanne, eldest daughter of Duke Arthur of Bretagne, his wife. Pray for his soul.³⁹

When, therefore, in 1884, the biographer P.-J.-E. de Smyttère concluded that the 1332 receipt was related to the effigy and marble tomb witnessed by Gaillard, he was completely in the right.⁴⁰

Certainly the makers of fine tomb carvings did business in the capital. Jeanne of Bretagne's patronage of such artisans was in keeping with practices fashionable among the most powerful women of the extended Capetian court. Well known is the 1312 contract, witnessed by the *prévôt* of Paris between the Countess Mahaut of Artois and the Flemish tomb maker Jean Pépin of Huy, for the tomb of her late husband, Otto IV of Burgundy, Count of Artois, who had died on account of wounds suffered at the Battle of Kortrijk.⁴¹ The contract stipulated that the tomb should include:

the image of an armed knight, with shield, sword and armor, a lion under the feet of the statue and two small angels at his shoulders supporting a pillow under the head of the reclining figure. There will be an inscription surrounding the tomb and, as was said before, the tomb will be of alabaster, the whole for the price of 140 pounds *parisis*...⁴²

An unusually rich collection of documents provides further insight into this transaction and attests to the ornamental components of the Count's completed tomb. The entire process seems

³⁹ "A Wastene, au mitant du choeur, est une tombe de marbre poly, dessus ung homme couché, armé de haubergeirie, le tout d'allegatre; il porte sur luy ung grand escu de Flandres, la bordure endentée: Chy gist Mons. Robert de Flandres, sire de Cassel, fil du comte de Flandres, qui trespassa l'an de grace 1331, le jour de la Trinité, et lui fit faire ceste sepulture Madame Jehenne, aînée fille du Duc Arthus de Bretagne, sa femme. Priés pour l'ame de li." The description and epitaph were attributed to Gaillard by the Bruges historian Olivier de Wree (1596-1652), called "Vredius," in his *Genealogia comitum Flandriae*, vol. 2 (Bruges: Apud Ioannem Baptistam & Lucam Kerchovios: 1642-1643), 226. See also de Smyttère, *Robert de Cassel*, 75; Van Zuylen, "Tombe," 135.

⁴⁰ See de Smyttère, *Robert de Cassel*, 72-76.

⁴¹ For a transcription of the original document (Archives Départementales du Pas-de-Calais, A. 302 9) see Dehaisnes, *Documents*, I, 202-3. Here I rely on the translation in Teresa G. Frisch, ed., *Gothic Art 1140- c. 1450 Sources and Documents*, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching, 20 (University of Toronto Press, 1987), 112-114. For a good overview of the career of Pépin of Huy, see Gerhard Schmidt, "Jean Pépin de Huy: Stand der Forschung und offene Fragen," in *Gotische Bildwerke und ihre Meister* (Wien: Böhlau, 1992), 46-58.

⁴² Frisch, *Gothic Art*, 113-114.

to have taken some four years from start to finish.⁴³ Pépin oversaw the tomb's transportation from Paris to the Abbey of Chileux in Burgundy as well as the installation of the tomb upon arrival. Mahaut of Artois later decided to order additional embellishments (for example arcades and the sculpting of the arms on the shield) not included in the original contract with Pépin, since several other artisans subsequently received payment for the gilding and painting of the tomb. In other words, the initial cost of 140 pounds *parisis* did not represent Mahaut's total expenditure for the tomb.⁴⁴

The documents pertaining to the tomb of Otto IV of Burgundy allow further speculation as to the nature of the commission and final appearance of the tomb of Robert of Cassel. Most notable are the similar costs of the projects. To what type of coin the "153 pounds [and] 12 sols" named in the May 14, 1332 receipt refers—whether pounds *parisis* or pounds *tournois*—is not immediately clear, but it is reasonable to conclude that this was the Parisian coin, like that specified in the contract for Otto IV's tomb. That Jeanne (or her secretary) felt obliged to specify that one of the later sums mentioned in the receipt was issued in *gros tournois*, and to note the exchange value for that currency of "12 deniers [per pound]," is probably an indication that the intended readers were more accustomed to dealing in Parisian coin, since around this moment one *gros tournois* purchased twelve deniers *parisis*.⁴⁵ The price of "153 pounds [and] 12 sols" in *parisis* would be only slightly more than that agreed to by Mahaut of Artois and Jean Pépin of Huy (140

⁴³ Ibid. Mahaut's transactions with Pépin began on May 18, 1311 with an advance payment made to the sculptor in the amount of 80 pounds *parisis*, delivered by a representative of the Countess. The 1312 contract confirms that the 140 pounds *parisis* included 70 pounds already paid to the sculptor. This suggests that the 1311 advance payment was renegotiated. See Frisch, *Gothic Art*, 113, n7; Dehaisnes, *Documents*, I, 198.

⁴⁴ See Dehaisnes, *Documents*, I, 198-215.

⁴⁵ A 1329 quittance delivered by Donat, receveur-général of Flanders, to the treasurer of Bruges, specifies that "le gros tournoys compté pour douze deniers parisis." It would seem, therefore, that the exchange rate of "gros tournoys pour douze deniers" mentioned in the May 14, 1332 quittance issued by Jeanne refers to the common exchange rate of one pound *tournois* to twelve deniers *parisis*. This would suggest that it was necessary to specify when coins were *tournois* but not when they were *parisis*. See G. Bigwood, "Sceaux de Marchands Lombard," *Revue belge de numismatique et de sigillographie*, 64 (1908): 221. I am grateful to Zan Kocher for this reference.

pounds *parisis*) twenty years earlier, and may simply reflect inflation. Certainly the materials mentioned in Gaillard's description—alabaster and marble—were similar. The same descriptions of Robert's tomb do not attest to ornamentation like sculpted arcades, but additional charges may have been incurred later for the carving of the effigy's shield, gilding of the tomb's inscription, and any required painting, as was the case for the tomb of Otto IV.

In addition to the similar cost and Parisian provenance, the essential iconographic details of the tombs of Otto IV and Robert of Cassel agree. While Otto's tomb, like Robert's, is now lost, a surviving effigy of a son of Mahaut of Artois, also commissioned by the Countess from Pépin and executed between 1317 and 1320, provides a general idea of the appearance of the effigies of Otto, Robert, and countless other early fourteenth-century noblemen. **(Figure 8)** The epitaph on Robert's tomb, moreover, probably "surrounded" the effigy; this is to say that it was inscribed around the perimeter of the marble tomb slab upon which the effigy laid. The formula employed for the inscription is standard, with the exception that it bears witness to Jeanne de Bretagne's role as commissioner of the tomb. In this respect it recalls an inscription on yet another tomb financed by a noble widow, the dowager Queen Clementia of Hungary, for the heart of her great grandfather, Charles I of Anjou, in 1326.⁴⁶ **(Figure 9)** As Robert's effigy reputedly lay on a "*tombe de marbre poly*," the tomb slab and the revetments applied to the brick sarcophagus were perhaps fashioned from a rectangular piece of polished black "Tournai marble," like the stone upon which the effigy of Charles I still lies.⁴⁷ We can imagine that the

⁴⁶ For this effigy see Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *et.al.*, *Gisants et tombeaux de la basilique de Saint-Denis*, Bulletin - Archives départementales de la Seine-Saint-Denis, no. 3 (Saint-Denis: Archives départementales de la Seine-Saint-Denis, 1975), 21.

⁴⁷ See Ludovic Nys, *La pierre de Tournai: son exploitation et son usage aux XIIIème, XIVème, XVème siècles* (Tournai: Fabrique de l'Eglise cathédrale de Tournai, 1993).



Figure 8 Jean Pépin of Huy, sculptor. Tomb effigy of Robert of Artois, St. Denis. Between 1317 and 1320. St. Denis. Photo: Audrey Jacobs.

shield of Robert's effigy, painted with "*Or, a lion rampant sable within a border engrailed Gules*" was pleasingly accented by the dark stone. That Jeanne of Bretagne would undertake such a commission is by no means surprising; funerary matters, to include the creation of tombs and arrangements for liturgical commemorations, were often the province of noblewomen.⁴⁸ A tomb, and in particular one decorated with heraldry, was also an important means for the

⁴⁸ The bibliography on this subject continues to grow. See recently Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Gender and Medieval Art" in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. C. Rudolph (Malden, Mass., 2006), 125-158, here at 133-137.



Figure 9 Tomb effigy of Charles I of Anjou, St. Denis. 1328. St. Denis. Photo: Audrey Jacobs.

expression of familial power and legitimacy.⁴⁹ In the case of the tomb of Robert of Cassel, the addition of a finely carved effigy not only aggrandized the memory of the deceased, but also bolstered Jeanne's tenuous hold on the regency of her children. The Count Louis had been at odds with his uncle over territorial rights since the Battle of Cassel. With Robert's death, Louis immediately sought to disenfranchise Jeanne. Robert had provided generously for his widow, but all of the property left to her was in his French domains. Jeanne therefore found herself in a precarious position as protector of her young son Jean's rights to the apanage; Louis also claimed

⁴⁹ A definitive study in this respect is Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

custody of Jean and his sister, Yolande. Multiple interventions by Philip VI on Jeanne's behalf did not deter the Count: a protracted battle between Jeanne and Louis played out over the course of several years. Jeanne's son died prematurely, but she was ultimately able to thwart Louis by negotiating Yolande's betrothal to Henry IV, Count of Bar, in 1338.⁵⁰ Embellishment of her husband's tomb monument was thus one strategy by which Jeanne could protect her husband's legacy, her rights, and her children's inheritance. This was a plan she likely arrived at in consultation with her financial and spiritual counsellors. Indeed Denys Helyot and Estienne Boyleau, her chaplains, may have been instrumental in deciding upon the material and iconographic content of the tomb. Once again the accounts of Mahaut d'Artois provide a good precedent for Jeanne; Mahaut's claims to the County of Artois were similarly challenged, both by her late husband's brother and his nephew, during the course of the creation and decoration of Otto's tomb. Also like Jeanne, Mahaut would turn to the king of France for justice and ultimately see her capable daughter succeed her and achieve great power.

The Tomb of Robert of Cassel as “Franco-Flemish” Art

In 1925, a report on the Warneton excavations was published by Fernand Beaucamp, secretary of the Commission historique du département du Nord. Aware that the tomb's lost effigy was made in Paris, Beaucamp mused: “It would have been curious to see what influences, whether French or Franco-Flemish, could have been practiced or mixed in this work.”⁵¹ Precisely what Beaucamp meant by “Franco-Flemish” is unclear, but it is reasonable to assume that his use of the term stemmed from the fact that the tomb's interior and exterior components represented

⁵⁰ For the circumstances of this marriage see Bubenicek, *Quand les femmes gouvernent*, 53-62.

⁵¹ Beaucamp, “La polychromie,” 556: “Il eût été curieux de voir quelles influences, ou françaises ou franco-flamandes, pouvaient s'être exercées ou mêlées en cet ouvrage.”

geographically-circumscribable phenomena, artistic practices that were “French” (Parisian effigies) and “Flemish” (tomb paintings) in origin.⁵² Here, we might revisit the term’s older, musical associations in order to arrive at a more nuanced account of the conception, financing, construction, and reception of the monument. The concept of polyphony accommodates the voice of the tomb’s primary referent (Robert), the geographic origins of the tomb’s components, and the rich network of people, actions, and peregrinations embodied in the final, summative monument. As the tomb’s patron, the voice of Jeanne of Bretagne is clear. It is reasonable to assume that she was counseled in this project by Jehan Palstre, co-executor of Robert’s testament and her financial agent in Flanders, a man with considerable experience in Flemish political affairs who would understand the symbolic importance of the endeavor. Jeanne’s agents Denys Helyot, Adam de Haubervillier, and Estienne Boyleau, served as financial conduits and, possibly, communicated the wishes of their mistress. To the voices of Jeanne, her counsel, and

⁵² In the wake of the Great War—and amid the literal reconstruction of Warenton—such a taxonomy was arguably as much if not more resonant with contemporary political circumstances than it was with the realities of fourteenth-century France and Crown Flanders. It is particularly urgent to keep this in mind where the Dampierre family is concerned, since Count Robert III had become something of a Flemish culture hero over the course of the 1800s, a phenomenon that also resulted in the revival of historical interest in the Count’s son, Robert of Cassel. From the same discourse arose Hendrik Conscience’s famous 1838 novel *The Lion of Flanders*, in which Count Robert III appears at the July 11, 1302 Battle of Kortrijk as champion of the peasant militia which miraculously fought back an army of French noble invaders. As is commonly observed, the Count (the titular “Lion”) did not participate in this battle, the sole victory of Flemish forces over a French army. As Robert Govers and Frank Go have shown, Conscience’s revision was successful in kindling a Flemish nationalist sentiment, despite “the fact that present-day Flanders was not a political entity seven centuries ago, and that the arms [at Kortrijk] were taken up by many armed forces from different ethnicities.” In 1893, July 11 was declared “a celebration day of the Flemish community” and, as recently as 1985, the patriotic hymn “The Lion of Flanders” (winner of an 1847 poetry contest) was adopted as the Flemish anthem. See Govers and Go, *Place Branding: Global, Virtual, and Physical Identities, Constructed, Imagined, and Experienced* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 121. Conscience’s work certainly deserves the credit for kindling historical interest in the Dampierre clan. The main beneficiary of these developments was, of course, the Count Robert, but the closing decades of the century saw interest in Robert of Cassel, as discussed above. The statue of Robert of Cassel on the town hall of Dunkirk (1897-1901), a testament to his sponsorship of the city’s militias, likewise belongs to this moment. These men were not, of course, champions of the rights of the Flemish people. As Robert of Cassel’s career demonstrates, the political and economic objectives of the House of Dampierre did not align neatly with those of the burghers or the Flemish peasantry, among whom he had as many enemies as allies. As we have seen, if Robert took part in the Flemish insurrections of the early fourteenth century, he did so with his own objectives in mind. His interests may have occasionally agreed with those of the local, mercantile elite, but were first and foremost those of an early-fourteenth century nobleman eager to consolidate his territorial rights.

her agents we must add that of a sculptor, undoubtedly one of the leading artisans at work in the capital, and assistants. Around 1331, Jean Pépin of Huy remains a reasonable candidate for this work, but so do the unnamed sculptors from the royal workshops commissioned to repair the tomb effigies of the kings and queens at St. Denis between 1327 and 1329.⁵³ A quick glimpse of those artisans called *ymagier* or *tailleur de pierre* in the 1313 Paris tax rolls shows that sculptors and stone workers came from many regions to work in the capital.⁵⁴ The effigy thus typified the work of cosmopolitan artistic community centered in Paris; its transportation and installation in Flemish Warneton, accomplished perhaps by its maker, demonstrated the supra-regional scope of Jeanne's power. The voices of other contributors, among them that of the painter responsible for the interior frescoes — a Flemish mendicant? — were muffled. Finally there are the voices of the taxpayers, residents of Jeanne's estates in France and Flanders, whose labor contributed to this commemoration of Robert of Cassel. The tomb of Robert of Cassel is thus a reminder that embedded in many of the luxury objects or monuments described today as "Franco-Flemish" are untold layers of historical and social complexity as yet unexcavated. 🐼

⁵³ See *Les journaux du Trésor de Philippe VI de Valois: suivis de l'Ordinarium thesauri de 1338-1339*, ed. Jules Viard (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1899), 10 (no. 51), 32 (no. 145).

⁵⁴ Geoffroy de Paris, *Chronique métrique ... suivie de la taille de Paris, en 1313, publiées pour la première fois, d'après les manuscrits de la bibliothèque du roi*, vol. 9, ed. J.A. Buchon (Paris: Verdrière, 1827).



DISCOVERIES summarized by Amy Young, Kenyon College '16

Jesus' House? First-century structure may be his childhood home

Archaeologists working in Nazareth have identified a house dating to the first century that was regarded as the place where Jesus was raised. It was first uncovered in the 1880s by nuns at the Sisters of Nazareth Convent, but it wasn't until 2006 that archaeologists, led by Ken Dark, a professor at the University of Reading in the United Kingdom, dated the



house to the first century, and identified it as the place where people who lived centuries after Jesus' time believed he was brought up.

The archaeologists found that the Byzantine Empire (which controlled Nazareth up until the seventh century) decorated the house with mosaics and constructed a church known as the "Church of Nutrition" over the house to protect it. Crusaders who ventured into the Holy Land in the 12th century fixed up the church after it had fallen into disrepair. This suggests that both the Byzantines and the Crusaders believed that this was the childhood home of Christ. In addition to the archaeological evidence, a text written in 670 by Abbot Adomnán of the Scottish island monastery at Iona -- alleged to be based on Frankish Bishop Arculf's pilgrimage to Nazareth -- mentions a church "where once there was the house in which the Lord was nourished in his infancy." (Translated by James Rose Macpherson).

Re-written from <http://www.livescience.com/49997-jesus-house-possibly-found-nazareth.html>

4th-Century Beardless Image of Christ found in Spain

Archaeologists in Spain claim to have found one of the world's earliest known images of Jesus engraved on a 22 cm glass plate, dating to the 4th century. The plate is believed to have been used to hold Eucharistic host as it was consecrated in early Christian rituals. Fragments of the plate were unearthed outside the southern Spanish city of Linares and pieced together. The Christ figure looks quite different from later depictions: he has no beard, his hair is not too long and he wears a philosopher's toga. The find made scientists "review the chronology of early Christianity in Spain."



Re-written from <http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-news-from-elsewhere-29480874>

Archaeology: Fifth-century Christian Basilica found in Bulgarias' Bourgas

Archaeologists working in the Kraimorie area of Bourgas on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast have found a Christian basilica said to date from the fifth century. The church building measures 19.5 meters x 15 meters. The find was announced at a news conference where Todor Batkov, the businessman who has a 200-million leva (about 100 million euro) project to build a residential and holiday complex at the site, said that the Bourgas



municipality would apply for European Union funding for the preservation of antiquities. The archeological studies at the site have been financed by one of Batkov's companies, Foros Development AD, and carried out with logistical support from Bourgas municipality.

Re-written from

<http://sofiaglobe.com/2014/08/08/archaeology-fifth-century-christian-basilica-found-in-bulgarias-bourgas/>

Bulgarian Archaeologists find lead pilgrim ampulla filled with ashes from John the Apostle's Grave during Excavation of Ancient Fortress Burgos (Poros)

Ashes from the grave of John the Apostle have been discovered in a pilgrim ampulla or vial (referred to in the article as a "lead tube reliquary") by Bulgarian archaeologists during excavations of the ancient and medieval port of Burgos in today's Black Sea city of Burgas. The ampulla, measuring only 2.2 cm long (less than an inch) by 1.7 cm wide, is dated to the 6th century. On one side is an image of a Greek cross inside a medallion, and on the reverse are two overlapping Greek crosses. Its neck is also decorated with crosses.

A total of only 43 pilgrim ampullae from this time period are known to survive, but this example differs because its imagery matches that found on clay ampullae produced in ancient Ephesus. According to some historical sources, Christian pilgrims would gather at John the Apostle's grave in Ephesus, sprinkle rose petals on the rock above the basilica, and the next day wonder-working powder would appear on the rock. This powder, believed to cure all kinds of diseases, was collected and taken home by the pilgrims in as evidence of their pilgrimage or as an amulet to guard against evil.

Re-written from <http://archaeologyinbulgaria.com/2015/03/25/bulgarian-archaeologists-find-lead-reliquary-with-ashes-from-john-the-apostles-grave-during-excavations-of-ancient-fortress-burgos-poros/>



Byzantine-era Church uncovered in Jerusalem Highway expansion

Road workers expanding the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway found the ruins of a Byzantine-era way station and church, thought to be 1500 years old, near the entrance of Abu Ghosh in June of 2015. Found along a Roman-era road, the 16-meter-long (52 feet) church building has a side chapel 6.5 meters long and 3.5 meters wide, with a floor tiled in white mosaic. A baptismal font shaped like a four-leaf clover, symbolizing the cross, is located in the northeastern corner. Shards of plaster that had been painted red were found in the piles of dirt that covered the remnants of the building, an apparent indication that the walls had been decorated with frescoes. Oil lamps, rings, glass vessels, and shards of marble and mother-of-pearl shells were among the artifacts found during excavation.



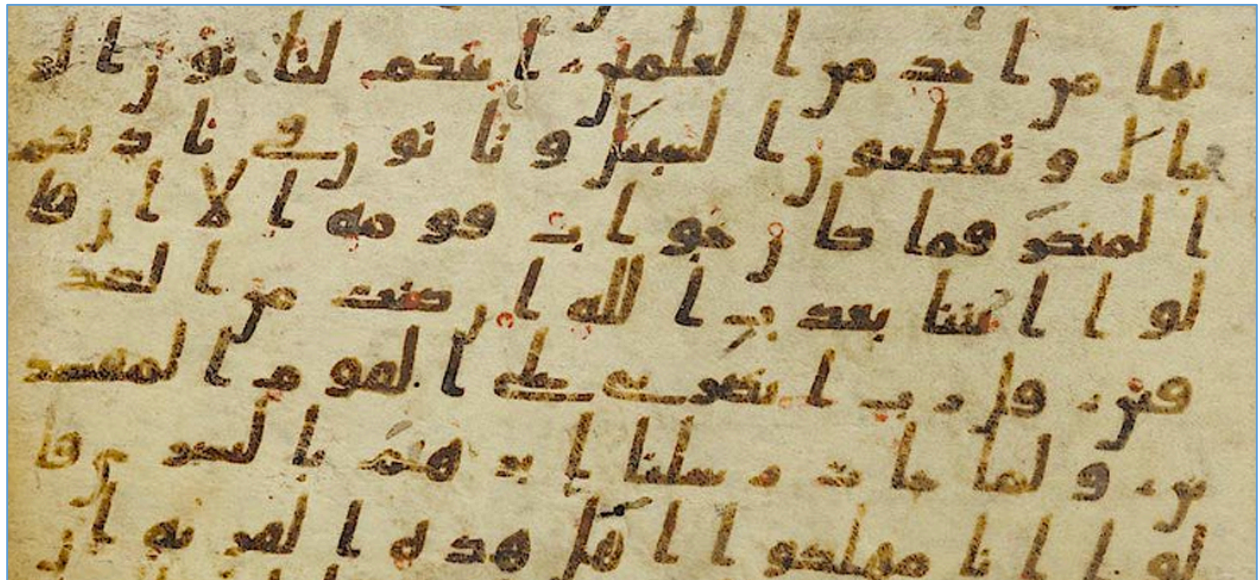
Re-written from <http://www.timesofisrael.com/byzantine-era-church-uncovered-in-jerusalem-highway-expansion/>

Sensational Fragment of Very Early Qur'an Identified

Experts have recently studying three samples of a fragment of a Qur'an, which has been in the University Library in Tübingen since the end of the 19th century, have concluded that the parchment, with a 95.4% statistical probability, can be dated to the period between 649-675, 20-

40 years after the death of the Islamic prophet Muhammad. The date was established through modern C14-radiocarbon analysis at a lab in Zurich.

The Tübingen manuscript belongs to a collection of more than 20 Qur'an fragments in the holdings of the University Library. The parchments are quite small in comparison to what is common in other early manuscripts, so their very early date surprised the experts. Another early manuscript is the so-called Sana'n fragment, found in the Great Mosque in Sana'n, Yemen, is believed to date earlier than 671.



Re-written from <http://www.medievalhistories.com/sensational-fragment-early-quran-identified/>



Anglo-Saxon pendant discovered in southern Norfolk

Tom Lucking, a metal-detectorist, discovered a pendant in southern Norfolk that was once part of an Anglo-Saxon burial. The 7-cm long pendant is adorned with garnet inlays backed by gold foil, creating animal interlace patterns. The jewelry found indicates that the grave belonged to noblewoman, who was buried with chatelaine keys, two gold pendants from between 639-656, a beaten bronze bowl, a wheel-thrown pot, and a knife.

Re-written from

<http://www.medievalhistories.com/anglo-saxon-pendant-discovered-in-south-norfolk/>

Fragments of an Irish-type reliquary discovered in Norway

Two fragments of an Irish house-shaped reliquary, dating to the 7th-9th centuries, have been found in Hokksund, Norway. A bronze panel, ornamented with enamel with millefiori pieces and a bronze hinge, also decorated with enamel, were probably loot taken during Viking raids on Ireland or Scotland. These pieces are a significant addition to a small, but important corpus of Irish-type reliquaries from Scandinavia, which also include examples from Melbus and Setnes in Norway as well as the Copenhagen Shrine.



Re-written from <http://irisharchaeology.ie/2015/01/fragments-of-an-irish-type-reliquary-discovered-in-denmark/>

Artifacts of Christian Nubia Revealed

Thanks to the efforts of Polish archaeologists and a massive UNESCO-led international campaign, a unique assemblage of Nubian art and cultural artifacts from the Christian period (c. mid-6th to 14th centuries) has been uncovered. Working under the direction of Prof. Kazimierz Michałowski in the ancient city of Faras near the present-day Sudanese-Egyptian border, the team discovered well-preserved ruins of an 8th-century cathedral church, hailed as the “miracle of Faras.” Over 120 paintings were preserved, 67 of which are today in the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw. Together they form what is the largest and most valuable collection of archaeological artifacts from overseas excavations ever acquired by a Polish Museum.

Now, following an extensive redevelopment, the national Museum in Warsaw’s new Professor Kazimierz Michałowski Faras Gallery showcases the finds. A room designed to evoke a temple interior will present the wall paintings in an arrangement similar to their original one at the Faras Cathedral, with the sound of authentic Coptic liturgical chants heightening the experience for visitors.



Re-written from <http://popular-archaeology.com/issue/fall-09012014/article/artifacts-of-christian-nubia-revealed>

When the Arabs Met the Vikings: 9th -century Viking woman buried with ring inscribed with “for Allah”

The discovery of a silver ring with an Arabic inscription in a Viking grave gave credence to the ancient accounts of Arab travelers and their encounters with Norsemen and points to a fascinating trade and cultural exchange. Arab traveler Ahmad Ibn Fadlan first recorded his meeting with the “Rusiyyab” more than 1,000 years ago as they were sailing their longships down the Volga looking for trade. A rare ring with an inscription in Arabic “for/to Allah” was uncovered at the burial site of a 9th-century woman just outside the Viking center of Birka, Sweden. While it is not the first evidence



of its kind regarding links between Vikings and the Muslim world, it is arguably the strongest evidence towards direct contact, as the ring most likely traveled directly from the Caliphate to Sweden.

Re-written from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/03/18/why-was-a-9th-century-viking-woman-buried-with-a-ring-that-says-for-allah-on-it/>

Treasure Hunter Finds Viking Hoard

Derek McLennan, a metal-detector enthusiast, has discovered one of the most significant Viking hoards of the past century in Southwest Scotland, his third outstanding find in less than a year. Working in a pasture owned by the Church of Scotland, he pulled out an arm ring with distinctive Viking patterns. In the hours and days that followed, Mr. McLennan and the county archaeologist unearthed more than 100 objects, including a silver Christian cross inlaid with gold, probably from Dublin, and a large Carolingian pot complete with its lid, one of only three of its kind known in Britain.

The hoard dates from the 9th or 10th century and includes stamp-decorated bracelets and glass beads similar to some found in Scandinavia. Other exceptional items include a golden bird pin, likely to be Anglo Saxon, and a large collection of silver and gold jewelry and ingots. The total estimated value is about £1 million.

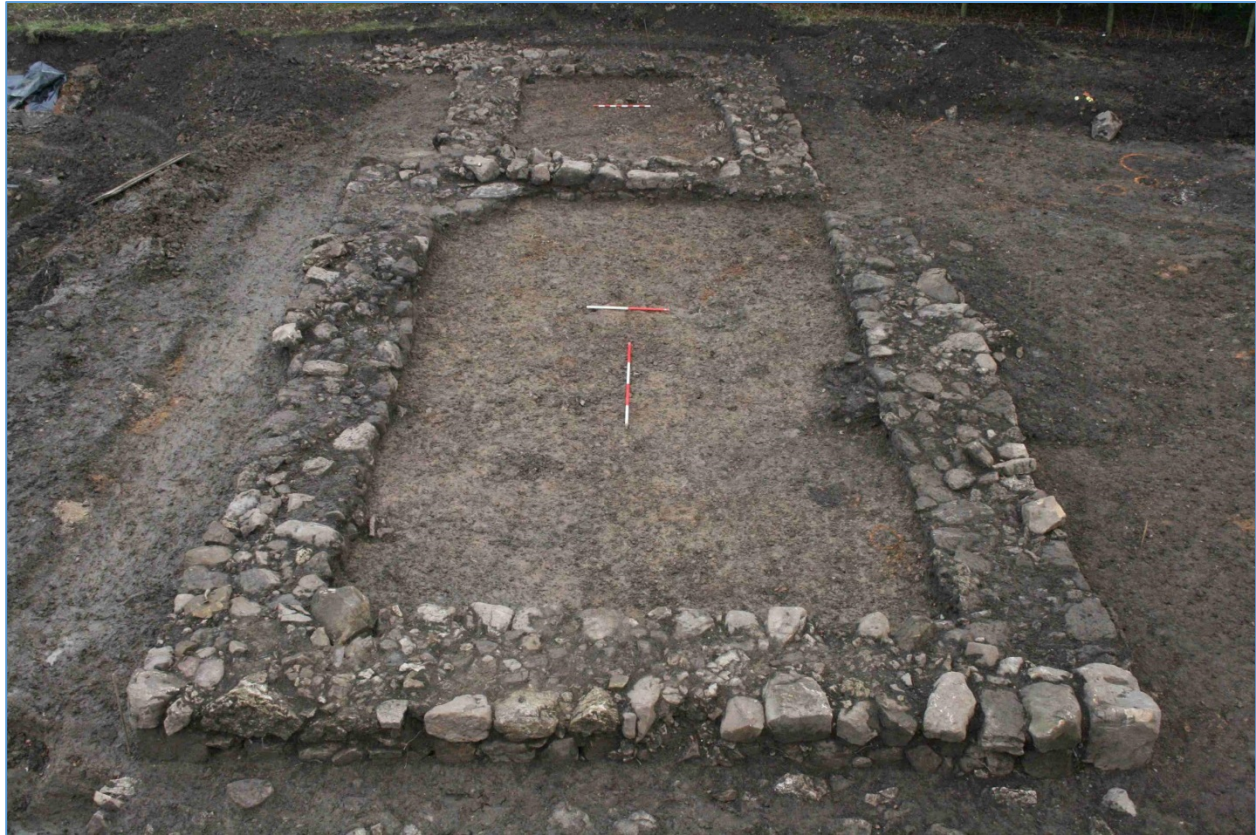


Re-written from <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/article4234585.ece?shareToken=6f664230e2c29f905f3ccd3d2249decb>

Outline of medieval church revealed on pre-Norman Conquest building site

The foundations of a medieval church has been discovered by workmen building a new home for the elderly in Leyburn, North Yorkshire. Archaeologists were brought in and their work has led to the clear outline of a Christian church dating back to before the Norman Conquest in 1066. Two bodies were also found at the site, both in a crouching position. It is thought that the remains of a young man and an older woman are early Christian burials due to the bodies' East-West alignment.

Projects officer Graham Bruce said: “The site is probably a family chapel, possibly dating back to Saxon or early Norman times, as it is a clean area with relatively little waste. There is probably a rubbish dump nearby. Interestingly, the Domesday Book mentions two manors in Leyburn and this may relate to the abandoned settlement.” The scientists’ work also unearthed two small structures that pre-date the church, possibly Bronze and Iron Age dwellings. Evidence of medieval farming was also discovered above the church foundation.



Re-written from <http://www.thenorthernecho.co.uk/news/11781620.display/>

Northampton’s medieval chess workshop “first to be found”

A workshop that produced early medieval chess pieces has been uncovered during an archaeological dig, ahead of redevelopment work in Northampton. Similar chess pieces have been found at digs near manor houses, but this find is evidence of their manufacture. The game had become popular the educated and wealthy by the mid- to late-12th century. Other finds at the Angel Street Dig include fragments of rare medieval linen and serpentine



marble. Archaeologists from the Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA) were responsible for the excavations. The workshop was discovered at a site in Angel Street, the location of Northamptonshire County Council's new headquarters.



Re-written from <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-northamptonshire-30214707>

Archaeologists believe they have found lost cloister in South Iceland



It is believed the remains of the much-searched-for Þykkvabær cloister have been found at Álftaver in South Iceland, discovered by Icelandic and British archaeologists using ultrasound techniques. The discovery came as a complete surprise, as it was assumed the remains stood near the church of present-day Þykkvabæjarkirk

ja. The 1,500 square meter building served as a monastery for Augustine monks and was in use from 1168 until 1550. It is still possible the remains are of a cow shed – but in that case it would be the cloister's own cow shed and therefore still relevant.

Re-written from <http://icelandreview.com/news/2015/05/07/archaeologists-believe-they-have-found-lost-cloister>

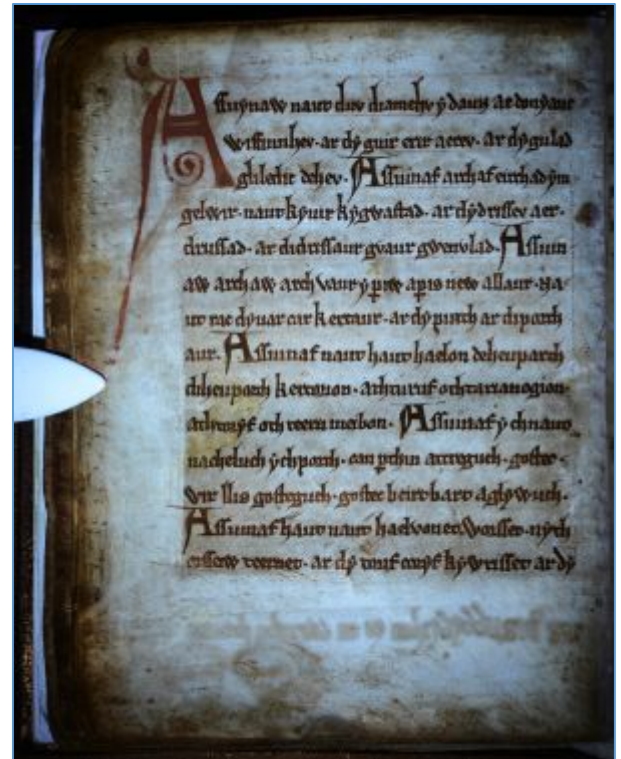
Ghosts from the Past Brought Back to Life

Dating from 1250, The Black Book of Carmarthen, is the earliest surviving medieval manuscript written solely in Welsh, and contains some of the earliest references to Arthur and Merlin. According to legend Merlin was born outside Carmarthen, thought to have been the Black Book's original home. Edmund Tudor died and was buried in the town, and his son Henry VII called on Arthurian legend to support his family's claim to the throne.

The book is a collection of 9th – 12th -century poetry along both religious and secular lines, drawing on the traditions of the Welsh folk-heroes and legends of the early Middle Ages.

Myriah Williams and Professor Paul Russell from Cambridge's Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic (ASNC), believed that a 16th -century owner of the book, probably a man named Jasper Gryffyth, summarily erased centuries' worth of additional verse, doodles, and marginalia which had been added to the manuscript as it changed hands throughout the years.

Using a combination of ultraviolet light and photo editing software, snatches of poetry were revealed -- previously were unrecorded in the cannon of Welsh verse. Currently the texts are fragmentary and in need of much more analysis, although they seem to be the continuation of a poem on the preceding page with a new poem added at the foot of that page. Ghostly faces also appeared. Professor Russell spoke of the discovery of the sketches last summer. "We were



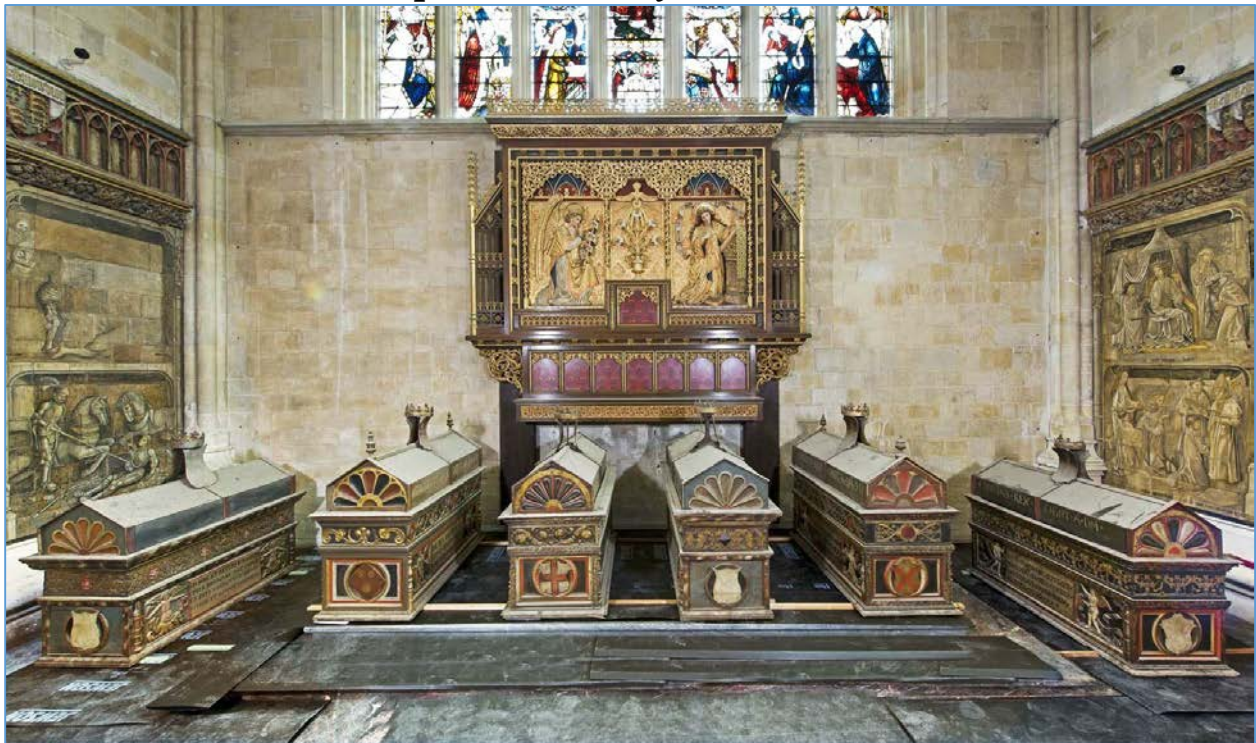
looking at the text with the ultraviolet lamp and this pair of faces emerged in the bottom margin. It was actually quite creepy with them peering back. We thought: ‘Who are you?’” The scholars do not know who the faces represent but dated them to the 14th or 15th century. Alongside them is an inscription that suggests the donation of the book to a family member.

Re-written from

<http://www.cam.ac.uk/research/news/ghosts-from-the-past-brought-back-to-life>

and <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/the-black-book-of-carmarthen-scholars-left-shaken-after-ultraviolet-light-reveals-ghostly-faces-staring-at-them-from-medieval-manuscripts-10147622.html>

Winchester Cathedral opens Mortuary Chests



The great Gothic cathedral of Winchester in Hampshire, England is considered the final resting place of the earliest Kings of Wessex and England. The remains of kings and bishops from as early as the 7th century are said to be contained in mortuary chests in the church's Lady Chapel. The chests, made hundreds of years after the original burials, were used when cathedral authorities replaced the remains were moved by Parliamentarians in 1642. By then, there was no way of separating and identifying individuals.

As part of a new development program to promote and preserve the Cathedral, the Dean and chaplain of Winchester have commissioned experts to study and document the contents of six chests. The results from the University of Oxford's Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit found that the tested bones date to the late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman periods, confirming that Winchester Cathedral could be the first national mausoleum akin to the cathedral of St. Denis in France. It is possible that there will be enough evidence to loosely match the bones to the individual royalty and clergy Cathedral records claim are interred there.

Re-written from <http://www.thehistoryblog.com/archives/34702>

Saint-Chapelle Windows Restored

Consecrated in 1248, Sainte-Chapelle celebrated the Passion relics therein with beautiful painted windows that were engineered to look as though they made up the very walls of the church. The notion of ideal kingship was supported by select scenes from the Old and New Testament and the illustration of King Louis receiving the relics of Paris. The windows have suffered some neglect, deliberate vandalism, and more, meaning that now only two-thirds of the surviving glass is medieval. Funded by the Danish company Velux and the Centre des Monuments Nationaux, careful cleaning and re-leading of the windows is now complete.



Re-written from <http://www.architecturaldigest.com/blogs/daily/2015/05/restored-windows-sainte-chapelle-paris>

Politics, piety, and propaganda: Archaeologists discover pilgrim souvenir of Thomas, Early of Lancaster

A rare devotional panel/pilgrim souvenir depicting the capture, trial, and execution of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, was found in remarkable condition while excavating the River Thames. Cast in pewter, the piece serves as a cautionary tale for ambitious politicians, while also elevating Lancaster to an almost saintly status. After trying to curb the king's power, Thomas was beheaded in 1322. Within six weeks of his death, miracles were recorded in connection with his tomb. This find reveals the maker's intended message in slightly garbled French. The panel

reads clockwise from the top left: “here I am taken Prisoner”; “I am judged”; “I am under threat”; and “la mort” (death). The Virgin Mary and Christ look down from heaven, ready to receive Lancaster’s soul.

Re-written
from <http://www.mola.org.uk/blog/politics-piety-and-propaganda-archaeologists-discover-fine-devotional-panel>

