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Sur la route…Topographic Patronage and the Genealogy of Location in Late Capetian France

Tracy Chapman Hamilton, Sweet Briar College

“Questions of identification and difference necessarily entail issues of power and resistance.”

When studying a modern map of western Europe and the Mediterranean as it existed in the early fourteenth-century we see a familiar litany of places contained within larger spaces encased by known borders. (fig. 1) One wonders if the identities and differences we perceive in the map would have resonated with the same issues of power as they did in the Middle Ages? How had these places come to be? Would each resident of this era have described or perceived of these spaces in a similar way? The answer is, probably, no.

Suggested at the very least by a medieval version of the same lands as

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recorded in one example, the *Map Psalter* (London, British Library, Additional MS 28681, f. 9, c. 1265),\(^3\) (fig. 2) this paper begins to grapple with the perception – and manipulation – of geography by a group of royal women in Late Capetian France. Motivating and anchoring this discussion is the work of cultural geographers who claim

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\(^3\) This map may be a miniature version of a royal commission installed on the wall of the King’s bed-chamber in the Palace of Westminster. Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II) 1250-1285, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, 4 (London, 1988), 82-85, no.114. One could also look to the many examples of *mappa mundi* created in the late medieval era, all of which are quite distinct in their style and use of geography from maps of the modern era. See *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1, for a survey of medieval maps.
that culture is spatial, that space is ideological, and that we can discover issues of power, identity, and social regulation within landscape. Their work suggests that far from being

4 “How landscape functions as both a source of meaning and as a form of social regulation.” Donald Mitchell, Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction (Oxford, 2000), xix. For a concise discussion of the definition of “space” versus “place” see, Phil Hubbard, “Space/Place,” in Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key
an objective singular map, the built world of the late Middle Ages and the lands on which it rested were understood and made to speak many different languages. One of these tongues was the understanding of gender and its relationship to landscape. (Fig 3)

Three royal women present case studies where geographical dimensionality was gained through marriage. Marie de Brabant (1260-1321) sets the model. She was

Figure 3. Genealogy of the Royal House of France by author.

5 “Thanks to the recognition that representations are situated, not universal, subjects, the world is not so easily mapped any more.” Feminist analysis such as this quote by Rosalyn Deutsche allowed me to place my discussion within a larger set of methodologies. From, “Men in Space,” in Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction, ed. Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, Ian Borden (London; New York, 2000), 134-139.

The same holds true for the study of borders and frontiers. See for instance, Ronnie Ellenblum, “Were there Borders and Borderlines in the Middles Ages? The Example of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,” in Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices, ed. David Abulafia and Nora Berend (Aldershot, 2002), 105-119, where he outlines medieval and modern conceptions of a linear border as defining transitions of power. See also, Naomi Standen’s review of this and other collections, History in Focus XI: Migration (Autumn 2006): http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Migration/reviews/standen.html#1. She calls attention to, “networks of interrelation between people that have spatial effects, in contrast to the modern conception of a set of bounded spaces within and between which relationships between people are constrained,” and believes, “the most fruitful avenues of future enquiry will be attempts to diagram (rather than map) European medieval frontiers.”

6 Interestingly, while the theorizing of gendered spaces or gendered landscapes – focused as it often is on architecture by women or spaces created to contain or communicate the idea of women – proves fruitful as precedent for the material under study, the literature of travel, the diaspora, and cognitive mapping are just as useful as models for the multi-national/ multi-spatial identity that I propose these women possessed. See for instance James Clifford, “Diasporas,” Cultural Anthropology IX/3 (1994), 302-338; Avtar Brah, Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities (London and New York, 1996); David Stea, James M. Blaut, and Jennifer Stephens, “Mapping as a Cultural Universal,” in The Construction of Cognitive Maps (Dordrecht; Boston, 1996), 345-360; Yi-Fu Tuan, Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience (Minneapolis, 2001); Architecture as Experience: Radical Change in Spatial Practice, eds. Dana Arnold and Andrew Ballantyne (London; New York, 2004); Trans-Status Subjects: Gender in the Globalization of South and Southeast Asia, ed. Sonita Sarker and Esha Niyogi De (Durham, 2002); Peter Richardson, Building Jewish in the Roman East (Waco, 2004); Tim Ingold, “Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet,” Journal of Material Culture IX (November 2004), 315-340; Steven Fine, Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World: Toward a New Jewish Archaeology (Cambridge; New York, 2005); Anne-Marie Fortier, “Diaspora,” in Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts, 182-187; A Place to Believe In: Locating Medieval Landscapes, eds. Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing (University Park, PA., 2006); Diasporic Africa: A Reader, ed. Michael A. Gomez (New York, 2006); Else/Where: Mapping New Cartographies of Networks and Territories, eds. Janet Abrams and Peter Hall (Minneapolis, 2006); Muslim Diaspora: Gender, Culture and Identity, ed. Haideh Moghissi (London; New York, 2006).
queen of France from 1274 to 1285, lived in Paris for her long widowhood, but always kept her ties to Brabant. *(figs. 4, 5)* Following this model were Marie’s cousin, Mahaut, countess of Artois and Burgundy (1268-1329), and Jeanne de Bourgogne (1292-1330),
Figure 4. Window of Queen Marie de Brabant and her parents (Aleyde de Bourgogne and Henri III de Brabant) ca. 1274/76 (destroyed 1637). Louvain, church of Notre-Dame at the Dominican monastery, ducal chapel (After Ram, Pierre François Xavier de. “Recherches sur les sépultures des ducs de Brabant à Louvain.” Nouveaux mémoires de l’Academie royale des Sciences et Belles-lettres de Bruxelles 19 (1845), 1-48).

Figure 5. Marie and members of her court performing the poems of Adenet le Roi. (c) Bibliothèque nationale de France. All Rights Reserved (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 3142, Miscellany of Marie de Brabant, fol. 1).
Mahaut’s daughter, successor as countess, and queen of France from 1316-1322. (figs.6,7)

Coming from, and having ties to their place of birth, in each case these women acquired lands and identity as part and parcel of their marriage. Other women, such as Jeanne, queen of Navarre and France from 1285-1304, or Marie’s cousin, Marguerite de Bourgogne, countess of Anjou and queen of Sicily (1248-1308) would also qualify for similar inquiry. (fig. 8)

There are several questions driving my study. By choosing and activating specific sites through patronage projects, were these royal women able to affect the nexus

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7 See fig. 3, the genealogical chart of the Royal House of France. I realize that using four women as paradigms, some of whom share the same name, can be confusing. Rather than selecting only one woman to illustrate my point, I find it more interesting that this geographical awareness seems to be a pattern that more than one royal woman pursued, and that it is not so much their relationship to each other that is the point – although that too is important – but the commonality of their actions. Please refer to the genealogy chart, where these women’s names are highlighted, throughout this essay.

Mahaut acquired the title countess of Burgundy upon her marriage to Othon IV in 1285, with the county passing into her possession after his death in 1303. Some of these lands remained under her rule only during the years of her daughter’s minority, but others had been awarded to her for life as part of her dowry. (Doubs, Archives départementales, B22. I was made aware of this document though Elizabeth Brown’s work on Mahaut.) She had already inherited the lands of Artois from her father, Robert, the second count of Artois, upon his death in 1302. While her rule was hotly contested by her nephew, Robert (d.1343), she remained countess and passed the title on to her daughter in 1329 (who was also succeeded by her daughter in 1330). Born to Mahaut and Othon in 1292, Jeanne married Philip of Poitiers, the future Philip V of France, in January 1307. Still one of the most exhaustive sources for Mahaut is Jules-Marie Richard, Une petite-nièce de Saint Louis Mahaut Comtesse d’Artois et de Bourgogne (1302-1329) (Paris, 1887). Also see, L’enfant oublié: Le gisant de Jean de Bourgogne et le mécénat de Mahaut d’Artois en Franche-Comté au XIVe siècle, ed., Francoise Baron (Besançon, 1997). For Jeanne de Bourgogne, see essays such as: Edouard Clerc, Essai sur l’Histoire de la Franche-Comté, 2 vols. (Besançon, 1846-70), II, 3-34 and G.-B. Duhem, “Jeanne de Bourgogne, Comtesse de Poitiers et Reine de France,” Mémoires de la société d’émulation du Jura V2 sér. (1928-29), 139-73. Many of the details of her patronage can still only be found in the archives of Paris and Besançon.

8 See Dorothy W. Gillerman, Enguerran de Marigny and the Church of Notre-Dame at Ecouis: Art and Patronage in the Reign of Philip the Fair (University Park, PA, 1994) and Meredith Lillich, “The Queen of Sicily and Gothic Stained Glass in Mussy and Tonnerre,” Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. New Series LXXXVIII/3 (1998), 1-131, for the patronage of Jeanne de Navarre and Marguerite de Bourgogne, respectively. Mentions of all these women can be found in L’art au temps les rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils 1285-1328 (Paris, 1998).
of power\(^9\) to make their audience more aware of their presence within a larger “place?” Going so far as to erase boundaries or, at the very least, connect disparate realms, did having their proverbial feet in more than one place facilitate a unifying mindset?\(^{10}\) And

\(^9\) While not her invention, Alison Blunt employs this phrase similarly in her essay, “Geography and the Humanities Tradition,” in Key Concepts in Geography, 73-91, esp. 78: “Much of this more recent geographical work on writing has been influenced by postcolonialism and feminism, interrogating identity in terms of gender and race and, to a lesser extent, class and sexuality. Most importantly, geographers increasingly recognize that writing — and representation more broadly — is located within a nexus of power relations.”

\(^{10}\) As to who might have been aware of these connections or were being targeted by this propaganda, the answer is a very wide group. Certainly members of the courts of Europe would have understood the realities of how married women possessed the tools to act as ambassadors between their two realms (and how unmarried women possessed the potential for the same). Marie de Brabant was called upon repeatedly to speak on the behalf of the French king during disputes with the rulers of the Low Countries, many of whom were her cousins and acquaintances. Frantz Funck-Brentano, Philippe le Bel en Flandre (Paris, 1896), 326, 358. In my forthcoming book, Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France: The Artistic Patronage of Queen Marie de Brabant (1260-1321), I have written about how she negotiated an alliance between France and England, using her daughter as the trading piece, as well as of her diplomacy in Reims acting as both French queen and daughter of Brabant. Foedera convenciones, literae, et cuiusque generis acta publica, 2 vols., ed. Rymer (London, 1816), I, part 2, 793 and O. de Gourjault and Alphonse.

Past studies have attributed this intercessory role to a queen’s relationship to the Virgin Mary, but I imagine that her liminal status was created by belonging simultaneously to two places, magnifying these views of her as able to speak and act fairly. See n. 13 below for feminist attributes of modern women to which the idea of “intercessor” could be applied.
can the claim that men’s perceived dominance through architecture and space\textsuperscript{11} be nuanced by illustrating how women may have sidestepped – or stepped over – traditional routes to geographical rule?\textsuperscript{12} Most intriguingly, can we justify the assertion made by scholars that the underlying relationship of a woman to the world is one of connection, while a man’s is one of separation?

This fundamental tenet of much feminist thought is based on object relations theory (as expounded by Nancy Chodorow in \textit{The Reproduction of Mothering}). Chodorow holds that since the daughter is of the same gender as the mother, development of the daughter’s self-identity centers on attachment to the main parenting figure and thereby to the generalized ‘other’ and the world. In contrast, development of the son’s self-identity requires differentiation and separation from the mother, leading to separation from the ‘other’ and the world.\textsuperscript{13}

To address these issues, I examine spaces in and outside of Paris, as well as the lands of Brabant,

\textsuperscript{11} Daphne Spain, \textit{Gendered Spaces} (Chapel Hill, 1992), 3.


\textsuperscript{13} Karen A. Franck, “A Feminist Approach to Architecture: Acknowledging Women’s Ways of Knowing” in \textit{Architecture: A Place for Women}, ed. Ellen Perry Berkeley (Washington, 1989), 201-216, here 202. Responding to a number of feminist theories, Franck sees an overarching series of non-dualistic approaches that united their authors views on women’s “knowing and analyzing: (1) an underlying connectedness to others, to objects of knowledge, and to the world, and a sensitivity to the connectedness of categories; (2) a desire for inclusiveness, and a desire to overcome opposing dualities; (3) a responsibility to respond to the needs of others, represented by an ‘ethic of care’; (4) an acknowledgment of the value of everyday life and experience; (5) an acceptance of subjectivity as a strategy for knowing, and of feelings as part of knowing; (6) an acceptance and desire for complexity; and (7) an acceptance of change and a desire for flexibility,” 203. Whether intentionally enacted or not, many of these points could be applied to the patronage habits of late medieval royal women.

Artois, Burgundy, and the broader place of the pilgrimage road, in concert with an analysis of the women’s pattern of architectural patronage.

**Figure 8.** Roger de Gaignières, drawing of Jeanne de Navarre et Champagne from College de Navarre, Paris (after Gillerman, 1994).

*Procession and Foundation as Marker of Space, Place, and Identity*
One element that links these women is the use of procession to mark important events in their lives, anchored by meaningful places within and without their home in Paris. Elsewhere I have written of Marie de Brabant’s elaborate entry into Paris and marriage to Philippe III, followed by her coronation ceremony in the Sainte-Chapelle, taking place in 1274 and 1275 respectively. Because of the flexibility inherent in ritual for women, in contrast to the more rigid formations of kingship, it was deemed acceptable to hold the queen’s sacral rites in the more lushly intimate, but nevertheless holy and dynastic, setting of the Sainte-Chapelle, rather than at Reims where the kings of France had been crowned since the miraculous anointing of Clovis (465-511), first king of the Franks. The new location of Marie’s coronation also served visually to root her presence in Paris and allegiance to the Parisians from the start.

Daughter of and sister to the poet dukes Henri (1231-61) and Jean de Brabant (1252-94), Marie was in all likelihood also accompanied to Paris by a large retinue, among whom numbered Adenet le Roi, one of the most renowned trouvères of the late thirteenth-century whose poetry and song was recorded in manuscripts owned by Marie. (fig. 5) There is a striking similarity between Adenet’s “fictional” account of the entry and fête of Marie’s ancestress, Berthe au

14 By no means limited to these women, procession has, from the beginning of time been a mode of defining territory, announcing shifts or continuations of power, and communicating identity both individual or communal. See for instance, Victor W. Turner, The Ritual Process (Chicago, 1969); Turner, “Variations on a Theme of Liminality,” in Secular Ritual, ed. Sally F. Moore (Amsterdam, 1977), 36-52; Victor and Edith Turner, Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture (New York, 1978); or Jonathan Z. Smith, To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual (Chicago, 1987).

An essay relevant to this period of Capetian France that began my consideration of similar issues is Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Nancy Freeman Regalado, “La grant feste: Philip the Fair’s Celebration of the Knighting of His Sons in Paris at Pentecost of 1313,” in City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe, eds. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis and London, 1994), 56-86, as well as the entries in Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, eds. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüskens (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 2001).

15 See my forthcoming book, Pleasure and Politics at the Court of France: The Artistic Patronage of Queen Marie de Brabant (1260-1321).

16 The most complete set of his works is contained in Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 3142, a manuscript produced for Marie in 1285.
Grand Pied (720-830), wife of Pepin le Bref (715-68) and mother of Charlemagne, to Marie’s post-coronation celebration as it was recorded by his contemporary, Guillaume de Nangis (d. 1300), monk at Saint-Denis and the royal chronicler. It follows that Adenet’s description was based on the real life events of his patron Marie, to whom he dedicated the poem, *Berte aux grans pies*, in 1276, two years after Marie’s journey to France from Brabant. Reflected in the poem’s verse we learn that on the road to Paris every person and child from every town came out on foot and horse to greet their queen. By the time they arrived in the capital city, even the monks and abbots had joined the procession. Berthe’s passage clearly begins in the land of her mother and father to the north and traces a line (travelling through many of the same towns as Marie would have done) to her new home in Paris. This public movement permanently created an allegiance between the two places through the ephemeral act of procession. In this case, recorded in the text of *Berte aux grans pies*, the ritual was witnessed by all the people of the queen’s – or as I suggest, the queens’ – two lands. When “la Roïne de France est a Paris venue” king Pepin came with great joy to meet them, accompanied by over one thousand and

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18 While I paraphrase the journey of Berthe as written down by Adenet, this section of his “story” was most likely inspired by the contemporary, thirteenth-century procession that brought Marie from Brabant to Paris. This section of her journey is not recorded by Guillaume de Nangis, but, again, the similarity of the two queens’ coronations as described by the authors whose paths would have crossed either at court – where both men worked – or in the library at the abbey of Saint-Denis – where Guillaume de Nangis was a monk and where Adenet claims to have conducted his historical research – point to the likelihood that Adenet used the actual journey of Marie as fodder for his text concerning Berthe, as the events of Marie’s arrival would have been so memorable and fresh in his mind. In a reversal of this reasoning, then, we can read Adenet’s description of Berthe’s procession as a reflection of Marie’s. See Hamilton, *Pleasure and Politics* for a full analysis of this overlap.


20 Denis Cosgrove encapsulates the ties between cartography and movement in “Mapping/Cartography”: “In some respects all spatial activities might be regarded as ‘mappings,’ and all maps as metaphorical to some degree. Mapping is always a performative act, a spatial activity incorporated into the creation and communication of individual and group identity, leaving a trace or mark in the world,” *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, 32.
seven hundred of his company, just as the sun was setting. They greeted one another with grace and courtesy and proceeded down the “grant rue” lined by many lovely young girls and gay young men, singing and making merry. The clocks of the city rang loudly, the buildings were richly and beautifully decorated, and the roads neatly strewn with sweet grasses.21

In the chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis, whose focus is on the celebration in the city of Paris during Marie de Brabant’s coronation, a detailed section of his account speaks of what occurred on the roads. He opens with the prelates and barons of the realms of France, and Germany, and many other nations assembling and traveling to Paris. After a long passage describing Marie de Brabant’s coronation and the intricacies of the finery worn by the barons, knights, and ladies, he turns to how the bourgeois of Paris organized a grand and festive party, outlining the buildings of the city in rich, multi-colored tapestries made from silk and gold fabric. Moving amongst and surrounded by these hangings were singing women and girls.22 The sense of movement from country to country and within the city itself is made visible by the people and ornament that frames them, all qualities that we will see again in the example of Marie and the women who succeed her. Events surrounding Marie’s procession may not have exactly mirrored Adenet’s rendition of Berte’s journey. Nonetheless, the parallel descriptions in Guillaume de Nangis’ history testify that the poet’s verse at the very least reflects the ideal interaction of ceremony and geography for a late-thirteenth-century royal woman. How similar concerns of one’s place within space and location continued into the fourteenth century is illustrated by two of her successors, Jeanne de Navarre et Champagne and Jeanne de Bourgogne.

21 Berte aus grans piés, 250-84, 3267-78, and 3347-60, as transcribed by Albert Henry, IV, and the author from Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 3142, fols. 120-140v. Translations mine.
22 Guillaume de Nangis, 497.
Collegial Foundations: Remapping the University of Paris

In an era often seen as one in which the power of women had declined, women of the French royal court gained access to public life through the ceremony and patronage intrinsic to architectural commissions, thus making their public identity permanent in both the building’s design and the urban landscape. To illustrate this statement, I am primarily concerned with how the siting and designing of the buildings they commissioned revealed a woman’s hand in their creation and how that vision fits into the larger physical and ideological topography of the city of Paris. When considering these points, important themes emerge that associate Jeanne de Navarre and Jeanne de Bourgogne with the ideal queen as promoted by Capetian ideology – namely, service to her people – while co-opting a mode that had traditionally been reserved for the world of men – the large-scale educational complex, here in the form of the College de Navarre and the College de Bourgogne. Analyzing this patronage within its Parisian context offers historical insight into these royal women’s conceptions of their public and, therefore, political identity and reveals their desire to memorialize themselves as patrons of the Parisian university, forever altering the traditionally gendered boundaries that delineated the physical fabric of their city. In the case of Jeanne de Bourgogne, I suggest a connection between her foundation of the College de Bourgogne and her burial in the Franciscan abbey of the Cordeliers,


24 Please refer to the genealogy chart in figure 3. Jeanne de Navarre was married to Philippe IV (d. 1314) and Jeanne de Bourgogne was their daughter-in-law, who wed their second son, Philippe V (d. 1322).

25 Spain sums up many authors concerned with how space has been constructed with gender in mind: “Women and men are spatially segregated in ways that reduce women’s access to knowledge and thereby reinforce women’s lower status relative to men’s. ‘Gendered spaces’ separate women from knowledge used by men to produce and reproduce power and privilege,” Gendered Spaces, 3. Also see notes 5 and 11 above.

Of course, even such breakthroughs had their limits in redefining gender boundaries. Although these colleges were founded by women, no women were allowed to attend the University of Paris as students. Their instruction took place on a more individual basis.
located in southwestern Paris and across the rue des Cordeliers from one another.\textsuperscript{26} (figs. 9, nos. 8 and 11 respectively) This scenario mirrors the creation of college and choice of final resting place made by her mother-in-law, Jeanne de Navarre, who also chose the Cordeliers for burial.\textsuperscript{27}

The College de

\textsuperscript{26} For the Cordeliers see Laure Beaumont-Maillet, \textit{Le Grand Couvent des Cordeliers de Paris. Etude historique et archéologique du XIIIe siècle à nos jours} (Paris, 1975). Documents that discuss the foundation of the College de Bourgogne are preserved in the Archives nationales in Paris, MM369; K179 liasse 15, nos. 1, 6, 9; K180 liasse 9, nos. 1 and 2, as are the testaments and codiciles of Jeanne de Bourgogne, J404, no. 23 (from 1319); J404, no. 30 (from 1328); JJ66, no. 206; and K42, no. 6. Also the Archives départementales de Doubs in Besançon possess a number of records of her years as countess. Begin by consulting Jean Cortieu, \textit{Guide des Archives du Doubs}, part 1 (Besançon, 1967).

Navarre was located just to the east of the rue Saint-Jacques that led pilgrims in or out the southern gate of Paris. (fig. 9, no. 57) At the bottom of the hill on which rested the abbey of Sainte-Genevieve, shrine to the female patron saint of Paris, the college remained one of the more well-endowed and popular educational institutions until the French Revolution.
Both the College de Navarre and the College de Bourgogne were erected on lands situated south of the river in the university quarter. Their location in the heart of a district that was traditionally patronized by men is significant in itself. That these edifices displayed support of education by women on such a monumental scale adds to the innovative nature of the commissions. A mother’s role in the education of her children was one that these

28 South was oriented to the right side of the map, rather than at the bottom as is the norm today.
queens’ saintly and learned ancestor, Louis IX (d. 1270), frequently espoused, learned in large part from the actions of his mother, Blanche of Castile (d. 1252).\textsuperscript{29} And yet these colleges were the first two public manifestations of that duty of the queen vis-à-vis her subjects rather than her children. In this case that the reference was to the nation of France – or more specifically to the counties of Champagne and Burgundy and the kingdom of Navarre – rather than just the royal children enhances the significance of its architectural articulation that we find expressed in the city of Paris.

The founding of these two colleges was prompted in part by the contemporary Franciscan, Ramon Lull (1232-1315), whose teachings were extremely popular among the royal women of the Capetian court and who felt that acquisition of linguistic skills by Christians was the only real route to wholesale conversion of Muslims and Jews.\textsuperscript{30} He also believed, as he spelled out in his \textit{Doctrine d’enfant}, a text included in a manuscript commissioned and owned by Jeanne de Bourgogne (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, ms. St. Peter, perg. 92) that the best candidates for this rigorous job were “les enfants pauvres” who had both physical and intellectual superiority over their wealthier colleagues.\textsuperscript{31} Lull felt so


\textsuperscript{30} On Lull and his connections to the French court see, J. N. Hillgarth, \textit{Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France} (Oxford, 1971). Thomas Le Myésier, a student of Ramon Lull and doctor to Mahaut d’Artois and Jeanne de Bourgogne, helped popularize Lull’s doctrine.

\textsuperscript{31} Compiled and authored by Thomas Le Myésier, the \textit{Breviculum seu parvum Electorium} (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, ms. St. Peter, perg. 92) was produced in Paris around 1321 and was, as the author states on the folio following this image, “drawn up at the precept of the Queen of France and Navarre,” my translation from \textit{Raimundus Lullus – Thomas le Myésier. Electorium parvum seu breviculum. Faksimile-Ausgabe des Cod. St. Peter perg. 92 der Badischen Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe} (Wiesbaden, 1988), fols. 12,13. \textbf{Figure 7} shows Jeanne de Bourgogne receiving the vertically-stacked trilogy from a kneeling Thomas Le Myésier with Ramon Lull standing behind him. Jeanne is accompanied by other contemporary women, among them her mother, Mahaut d’Artois. The other full-page illuminations in this opening cycle record the life and teachings of Ramon Lull.
strongly about this tactic, that he travelled across Europe in the last years of the thirteenth century to speak with rulers hoping to persuade them of the necessity of founding schools dedicated to training missionaries in the oriental languages of Arabic, Chaldean, and Hebrew.\textsuperscript{32}

After his teachings reached Paris, it was the queens, rather than their husbands, who took Lull’s pleas to heart and, acting in an intercessory capacity on behalf of the people of their lands, founded institutions dedicated to the education of young, poor scholars. That the chapels of the colleges founded by these royal women were dedicated to their ancestor,\textsuperscript{33} Saint Louis (Louis IX), and the Virgin respectively, reiterates these queens’ desire to associate themselves with the two most important intercessors of the Capetian court.

In return for this beneficent act of education, the queens spelled out the necessity of prayers made on their and their families’ behalf by the resident scholars and teachers of their colleges. Jeanne de Navarre stated in her testament that she wished for them to “chanteront ou feront chanter chaque iour illeucques à l’heure de Prime pour l’âme de Nous”\textsuperscript{34} as well as to say mass on her behalf each year on the anniversary of her death. So, too, did Jeanne de Bourgogne request that her \textit{écoliers} pray for not just her soul, but for those of “her husband and all her relations.”\textsuperscript{35} The same desire for reciprocal prayers made in payment for their donations were fulfilled by the monks of the Cordeliers in whose abbey Jeanne de Navarre and Jeanne de

\textsuperscript{32} Lull first visited Paris in 1287, met with Philippe IV and Jeanne de Navarre, and continued to frequent the city until 1311, just four years before his death in 1315. Hillgarth, 150-155.

\textsuperscript{33} Saint Louis (Louis IX) was the grandfather of Jeanne de Navarre and great-grandfather of Jeanne de Bourgogne.

\textsuperscript{34} “Sing [pray] each day on the hour of Prime for our soul,” my translation. Paris, Archives nationales, M180, no. 1.

\textsuperscript{35} Paris, Archives nationales, K179 liasse 15, no. 1.
Bourgogne, accompanied by many members of their families, lay in perpetuity as part of what became an extensive royal tomb program.\textsuperscript{36}

It was this concern with family that may also have been part of Jeanne de Navarre and Jeanne de Bourgogne’s motivation for founding these colleges. The funding and siting of these monuments evoked these women’s lineage, both near and farther afield.

First, both women used proceeds from the sale of their hotels – familial and personal – in Paris to fund their projects. Jeanne de Navarre kept a separate household from her husband’s and resided primarily in the hotel of the kings of Navarre, rather than the Palais de Paris on the Île-de-la-Cité, when in Paris. The hôtel de Navarre was located on the rue Saint-André-des-Arts, near to the porte de Bucy and the porte de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, not far from the Cordeliers. (fig. 11) Her daughter-in-law and the second queen in question as a founder of a college, Jeanne de Bourgogne, inherited her hôtel, named the hôtel de Nesle after a former owner, before she was queen when she and Philip were just countess and count of Burgundy. (fig.11) It was to this residence, located on the banks of the Seine in a tower of the city wall – again, just a short walk from the Cordeliers (and the hôtel de Navarre) – that she retired after her husband’s death in 1322. In later years, both hôtels were described as two of the loveliest residences in Paris, a fact

\textsuperscript{36} This type of exchange – donations for prayer – was common practice and would have occurred at the numerous churches to which these women also donated annual funds.
that allowed these queens to fund the foundations of their colleges for the most part from the sale of these properties.\(^{37}\) Second, the college’s operating expenses came from rent on lands in Champagne, Brie, and Navarre, and Burgundy respectively.

Thus, not just in their naming and foundational funding, but also in the source of their continued existence, these colleges were indebted to lands that the women ruled independent of their leadership of France. Elizabeth Lalou illustrated that Jeanne de Navarre was responsible in large part for decision making in the kingdom of Navarre as well as in her palatine counties of Champagne and Brie.\(^{38}\) So too did her successor Jeanne de Bourgogne reside in and govern the county of Burgundy during her marriage and widowhood. After the death of her mother, Mahaut d’Artois, Jeanne de Bourgogne also took over her familial lands in Artois although, even in her testament of 1319 – a decade before Mahaut, died – Jeanne endowed a number of institutions located in Artois with gifts.\(^{39}\) It is worth noting that both women inherited their lands not from their fathers, but from their mothers, who ruled after their husband’s deaths until their daughters came of age.\(^{40}\) In any case, there is no debating that the young écoliers who traveled to Paris from these regions would have realized that they were not just citizens of France, but of the domains ruled by their female benefactresses.

Viewed from another geographic perspective, founding these colleges in Paris to sponsor and bring students from the lands they governed was another method of tracing lines of connection between the two realms, literally in the écoliers’ journey to Paris, and metaphorically in the young men’s remembrance of their former lives and presence in their new home. That the


\(^{39}\) Paris, Archives nationale, J404, no. 23. Please refer to the genealogy in figure 3.

\(^{40}\) Jeanne de Navarre’s mother was Blanche d’Artois (1248-1302).
means to this extraordinary opportunity came from a royal mother figure who herself had connections to these lands made the foundations all the more significant.

Still more striking is the location of these colleges in close proximity to the primary tombs of their patron queens, both south of the river, and particularly in light of the fact that neither queen chose to be buried next to her husband in the royal necropolis at Saint-Denis. Does the location of the colleges in Paris address this geographical and familial debt and allegiance? The answer in Jeanne de Bourgogne seems an affirmative one. The college is located in close proximity to the Hôtel de Nesle (or Bourgogne), on the edge of the university district. Across from the Couvent de Cordeliers, three of whose members were executors of Jeanne de Bourgognes’s testament, the college’s entrance opened directly onto the building where Jeanne’s body lay in its tomb. (fig. 9, nos. 8, 11) This Franciscan monastery, established by Louis IX and in the Late Capetian era, had become an increasingly popular site not just for royal donations, but also for the burial of royal women. Jeanne de Navarre, founder of the college de Navarre, was the first of the women of the fourteenth century to choose burial here rather than at Saint-Denis. Other than love of the Franciscans, this act may have been motivated by Louis IX’s statement that kings and only kings should be buried at Saint-Denis. In fact, his

41 The Capetian tradition of burial with one’s husband at Saint-Denis was long-established for the royal family, with only a few, interesting exceptions. Take the example discussed by Kathleen Nolan in “The Queen’s Body and Institutional Memory: The Tomb of Adelaide of Maurienne,” in Memory and the Medieval Tomb, ed. Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo and Carol Stamatis Pendergast (Aldershot, England, 2000), 249-267. Philippe IV, husband of Jeanne de Navarre, fought her burial in the Cordeliers, but in the end followed her wishes. Less of an issue for Jeanne de Bourgogne as her spouse, Philippe V, had died in 1322, she still made the choice to have herself buried across the road from the site of the College de Bourgogne, in the company of many members of her family, rather than that of Philippe’s, as would have been the case at Saint-Denis.

own mother, Blanche of Castile, decided to have her body divided between two of her personal foundations: Maubuisson received her corpse while her heart was interred at Lys. So, while being one of the more royal bodies of the thirteenth century, she placed herself outside of the confine at Saint-Denis. These precedents, as well as the popularity of both the Franciscan order and the cult of Saint Louis, made the Cordeliers an ideal burial site. In the years between Jeanne de Navarre’s death in 1304 and Jeanne de Bourgogne’s in 1330, no fewer than three other royal women had their remains placed in tombs that ringed the choir of the church. Unfortunately, all of these gisants were destroyed in a sixteenth-century fire.

If the location of Jeanne de Bourgogne’s college was ideal, what can be said of her predecessor’s College de Navarre? Archives reveal that the initial setting that Jeanne de Navarre hoped for had to be abandoned after her death. One wonders if Jeanne, too, wished for her college to be placed farther to the west near her former hôtel de Navarre – symbol of her queenship beyond the borders of France – and the convent of the Cordeliers where her body lay at rest. Instead it was placed on the Montagne Sainte-Geneviève, on land owned by one of her executors slightly further to the east. Although different from her original wishes, this location certainly placed the college within the “quartier des écoles” and in close proximity to other important monuments. The most symbolically pleasing of these would have been the venerable church of Sainte-Genevieve, home to the bones of the city’s patron saint and founded by France’s first Christian king, Clovis who was also buried within its walls. And just to the south, at the Porte Saint-Jacques, was the Jacobins, the Dominican monastery that also housed the

43 Brown, “Authority, the Family, and the Dead,” 809.

44 Blanche de France (d. 1320), Marie de Brabant (d. 1321), and Mahaut d’Artois (d. 1329).
bodies of many members of the royal family.\textsuperscript{45} As figure 12 and the archives reveal, the route that passed directly across the front of the college, up to Sainte-Genevieve, and across to the Jacobins was the site of most major processions south of the Seine in Paris. This route may have been affected by the creation of a site of royal female patronage, displaying queen, king, and patron saint on its façade, but it was also already a major route and therefore perfect for the siting of Jeanne’s College de Navarre. Finally, the lands on which the College de Navarre was built had been the original location offered to the Cordeliers by Louis IX and so had – at least in its memory – associations with her sainted ancestor and the Franciscans who would care for her soul in death.

In the end, then, the two queens achieved their goals of financing the education of the people in their realms, locating their graves in close proximity – to one another, to their families, and to the prayers of the écoliers and processionals in Paris – thus linking the lands of the living and dead. In so doing, they transformed the landscape of Paris, connecting it to the space of their lands outside the capital, bringing together the living

\textsuperscript{45} Two sons of Louis IX, Pierre d’Alençon (d. 1283) and Robert de Clermont (d. 1318) had their heart and body buried here, respectively, and Marie de Brabant’s stepson, Charles de Valois (d. 1325) was later placed next to the body of his second wife, Catherine de Cortenay (d. 1308). Marie’s second son and daughter-in-law, Louis d’Evreux and Marguerite d’Artois, were laid here in 1319 and 1311 respectively. The hearts of Philippe d’Evreux (d. 1343), Louis and Marguerite’s son, and his wife Jeanne de Navarre (d. 1349), daughter of Louis X, were placed in the choir directly next to the hearts of their grandmother, Marie de Brabant, and great-father, Philippe III, by the couple’s daughter, queen Blanche de Navarre (d. 1398). Also buried in the choir were the parents of Marguerite d’Artois, Philippe d’Artois (d. 1298) and Blanche de Bretange (d. 1322), as well as the dowager queen Clémence d’Hongroie (d. 1328).
and the dead. From here we turn north to look at another example of the erection of a site in the city of Paris and how it can evoke and point towards a number of places far from this center, joining rather than separating.
The Hôpital Saint-Jacques-aux-Pélèrins: Both Place and Space

All of these acts of patronage are tied together through ideology and city topography. Their relationship is heightened by the donation of land by Mahaut d’Artois, to allow her and her daughter, Jeanne de Bourgogne – the queen of France, wife of Philippe V, and founder of the College de Bourgogne – to join other members of the court and merchant class in founding the Hôpital Saint-Jacques-aux-Pélèrins.\(^{46}\) Built on land taken from the site of the hôtel d’Artois along the northern wall of Paris, the hospital was strategically situated at the city gate to welcome pilgrims on their way to or from Santiago de Compostela. The rue Saint-Denis was easily the busiest street in Paris, serving the merchants of the main city market at Les Halles and their patrons, members of the episcopal and secular courts, as well as the many pilgrims making their way north or south through town. And as the direct artery between the Île-de-la-Cité and the Basilica of Saint-Denis it was also the Royal Route, witness to innumerable ceremonial entrances and exits.\(^{47}\) (figs. 12,13, 14) It was along this road that Jeanne de Bourgogne’s funerary cortege would travel as it came from the town of Roye, to the north on the


border of Artois where she died, on its way to the Cordeliers on the southern side of the Seine.

(fig. 15) Acutely aware of the visibility of such projects and of their place within the larger space of the city, the paths that linked these women’s foundations ultimately projected far beyond the capital city walls, to trace not just a system of roads to their
countries, but to call to mind a system of relationships that they represented, as rulers, and wife, and daughter.

Records of the foundation ceremony of the hôpital give queen Jeanne credit for laying the first stone in place, surrounded by her mother, daughters, and members of the confrérie who
would be the hospital’s caretakers. Both Jeanne and Mahaut, as well as Jeanne’s three daughters, were memorialized on the tympanum of the portal that faced onto the rue de Saint Denis, the main thoroughfare through Paris. Each woman, therefore, could act in her expected role as intercessor for all who passed by. The portal image of Mahaut, Jeanne, and her daughters was also significant in its conveying of genealogical relationships. So too, it communicated the geographical breadth of its members; the lands this matriarchy ruled stretched from Flanders and Artois to the north, the county and duchy of Burgundy and county of Vienne to the east, and Poitou to the south. (fig. 15) The portal image thus signaled both an image of succession by women, but also of the future growth and stability of the French kingdom as provided through this female line. This image represented not just a specific place within Paris, but the larger space – or spaces – of France and its neighbors joined together by these women. Moreover, if we expand our topographical scope to include the entire pilgrimage route on which the Hôpital was but one, albeit well-endowed, stop we can find further connections to the imagery of the portal program and to the women who populated it. As the pilgrim travelled from the north to the south, possibly travelling east to Cluny or Dijon she would

48 Bordier, I, 190.

49 While a few of the statues that decorated the chapel of the hôpital can be found in the Musée Cluny, most of the architecture and sculpture has been destroyed or lost. We do have very complete descriptions of the site and its decoration, as well as a few images that display the façade in a cursory manner. See, in particular, Baron, “Le décor sculpté,” for description and images as well as pl. 96 in Yvan Christ, Églises parisiennes actuelles et disparues (Paris, 1947), “Façade de l’église [Saint-Jacques-de-l’Hôpital] vue de la rue aux Ours en 1661. Gravure de Le Paultre.” (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Estampes). Thank you to Michael Davis for alerting me to this image.

50 Her four daughters were countess Jeanne de Bourgogne et Artois (1308-1349), married to Eudes IV, duke of Burgundy; Marguerite de Bourgogne et Artois (1310-1382), married to Louis I, count of Flanders; Isabelle (1312-1348), married to Guigues VIII, Dauphin du Viennois; and Blanche de France (1313-1358), a nun at Longchamp. All but Blanche were married by 1323. The county of Poitou was an anapage of Philippe V and Jeanne de Bourgogne. While not necessarily foremost in people’s minds, this breadth of lands was significant with any knowledge of the family.
Figure 15. Map of France in 1328. After The Historical Atlas by William R. Shepherd, 1911. Modified by author.
temporally and topographically experience these very lands ruled by or associated with Queen Jeanne and the female members of her family: Flanders, Artois, Burgundy, Vienne, and Poitou. In Jeanne’s case, this mapped world also included the entire kingdom of France.

It is also only by travelling to the far end of the pilgrimage route that the viewer would find the counterpart, and potential model for the Parisian sculptural composition. For, at the place where the scholar seen earlier in Jeanne de Bourgogne’s manuscript, Ramon Lull, began his journey to Paris, another version of the genealogy of Saint Jacques is found on the western porch facade of Santiago de Compostela. *(figs. 16, 17)* Prominently perched on top of the trumeau, Saint Jacques springs from a Tree of Jesse. The patron saint’s mother, Mary Salome, is seated underneath him while two other women flank his sides. In all likelihood viewers could interpret the genealogy along multiple lines with the larger message intact. As was the case with the portal of the Parisian Hôpital-Saint-Jacques, Christ was also included in the Spanish program, as were the rest of the apostles. Whether inspired by a contemporary pilgrim or a written description, it is possible that the Gothic French portal program was meant to speak to its Romanesque Spanish counterpart. And by adopting and updating the older, more sacred iconography, the Parisian designers of the Hôpital could establish the site as a key point along the route, while simultaneously expressing the more specific agenda of their patron Jeanne de Bourgogne.
Culture is Spatial

Innovation, in combination with historical, ancestral, and familial awareness, ties these women’s commissions together. Another unifying device among their patronage projects was its spatial and topographical awareness. Referring back to the description of Marie de Brabant’s journey to Paris as fictionalized by Adenet le Roi, we can hypothesize that her procession probably originated in Louvain or Brussels – the two major familial homes of the

Figure 16. Ramon Lull’s conversion, and pilgrimages to Rocamadour and Santiago de Compostela (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, ms. St. Peter, perg. 92, fol. 1v). After Breviculum, seu Electorium parvum Thomae Migerii (Le Myésier), Charles H. Lohr, Theodor Pindl-Büchel, et al. (Brepols, 1990), p. 45.
dukes of Brabant – from which she traveled south to Nivelles, burial site of her family’s patron, Saint Gertrude, to Mons and Cambrai, both of which were also associated with familial beneficence, across Picardy to Saint-Quentin and Noyon, down to Saint-Denis, and into Paris via Montmartre. Cheered by crowds from town to town, she set foot in a series of places that figure in her own patronage, or that of her family.

That Marie is recorded as having founded hospitals at Noyon, St. Quentin, and Nivelles is especially significant to this idea of physically and ideologically linked spaces that simultaneously promote pilgrimage, protect travelers, and speak of the queen’s multi-faceted identity. (fig. 18, 19) Located at strategic

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51 In addition to being a direct route, this took her through the lands of many relatives. See Hamilton, Poetry, Politics, and Patronage, in progress, for a detailed explanation of these locations and how her elaborate patronage projects mapped a connectivity similar to the commissions of her successors discussed in this essay. Explanations for much of the following material about Marie exist in my forthcoming book.

52 All three buildings are destroyed, but were important pilgrimage sites for this region. (fig. 19) The bodies of St. Eloi and St. Quentin were venerated at Noyon and Saint-Quentin, respectively, and in Nivelles were the relics of St. Gertrude, ancestress and patron saint of the house of Brabant. See Hamilton, Poetry, Politics, and Patronage for further discussion.
distances

**Figure 17.** Trumeau of Portico de la Gloria, Santiago de Compostela.  
[http://static.panoramio.com/photos/original/2822170.jpg](http://static.panoramio.com/photos/original/2822170.jpg)

**Figure 18.** Map of France in 1328. After *The Historical Atlas* by William R. Shepherd, 1911. Modified by author.

from one another along the road from Paris to Brabant, Marie memorialized herself in the minds of merchants and pilgrims for whom her foundations provided shelter and access to prayer.  

Marie was not alone in this type of beneficence; while Mahaut d’Artois and Jeanne de Bourgogne’s Hôpital-Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins was founded specifically for pilgrims traveling

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53 Hospitals of this type usually contained at least a dormitory and chapel.
to Santiago de Compostela, it operated just as well for local travelers

Modified by author.
as for those who had taken the cross.

The record of another of Mahaut d’Artois’s foundations is especially interesting in this discussion of topography. In her testament, while describing funding for a crusade to the Holy Land, the countess designated a sum of money for the erection of no fewer than five hospitals, “sur la route d’Artois.” The major foundations were made in Laon, Bapaume, St. Omer, Calais, and Hesdin. Again, when we study the map we see that these new buildings were placed strategically not only within Artois, but on the roads that linked Mahaut’s ancestral palace at Hesdin to her very elaborate hôtel in Paris. That Mahaut’s foundations so often recalled her relationship to her father and grandfather – heroes of battle in the Holy Land and Europe – but also her grandfather’s brother, Saint Louis, and her mother illustrate her dedication to family while showcasing her noticeable independence as countess of Artois and Burgundy. The location of her commissions reiterated that set of relationships and, because of her marriage to Othon, the count of Burgundy, the scope of her spatial associations took her far beyond the inheritance she received from her father. In a reversal of how we expect power to play out in a patriarchal society like the one in Late Capetian France, it was Mahaut’s ability as a woman to acquire manifold lands, and how she could broadcast her status in terms of the roads that linked them together that stand out, in contrast to the limits set upon her “more powerful” male counterparts.

That Mahaut’s daughter, Jeanne de Bourgogne, would organize and word her testament

54 Archives départementales Pas-de-Calais, A 53 (1307) and A 63 (1318); A. Le Mire, Opera diplomatica (Brussels: 1723) IV: 267 (1329); and J. P. Redoutey, “Les trois testaments de Mahaut d’Artois,” Mémoires de la Société pour l’histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens Pays-Bas bourguignons, comtois et romans,” XXXIX (1982), 161-178, here 167.
in a similar fashion, I find significant. It seems that these women were entirely cognizant of the function roads – and the buildings or objects situated along them – possessed in terms of spatial linkage. They consciously manipulated these conduits to increase the efficacy of their patronage.

Even – or especially – in death this spatial awareness remains essential to their ideologies. To make perfectly clear this unique quality Mahaut had her body taken to lie “at the feet of her husband Othon” in Burgundy while her heart was laid to rest in Paris at the church of the Cordeliers, just along the ambulatory from that of the bodies of Jeanne de Navarre and Marie de Brabant, adjacent to Mahaut’s son, Robert, who had died at the age of seventeen. She was joined by her daughter, Jeanne de Bourgogne, just one year later, in 1330. Marie de Brabant, Jeanne de Navarre, and Jeanne de Bourgogne also all divided their bodies to take best advantage in death of a display that announced their presence across the lands that were theirs while alive.55

Such commissions lead me to conclude that these royal female patrons could manipulate their physical and psychological surroundings in a way that royal male patrons could not. The utilization of these spaces outside France was something unique to a female patron. In each example discussed here, her ties to both her motherland – of Brabant, of Artois, of Burgundy – and her adoptive land of France, allowed her to enjoy the benefits of a multi-national space that was denied to the king of France. Using modern cultural geographers whether feminist, such as Karen A. Franck, or other as models for framing this material allows us to step back and see how these examples of a space made for women may be extraordinary, but are not unique.

Map with Views

55 Brown, “Authority, the Family, and the Dead,” addresses the concept of dividing one’s body for burial in the Late Capetian era. This usage was by no means limited to women; men also chose to have their bodies divided, although to a different effect, as I propose here. See also, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse,” Viator 12 (1981), 221-70.
When viewing these acts from a more distant perspective, the movement and thoughts brought about by these foundations encourage a crossing or interlacing of spaces that scholars have categorized as “separate” – determined in part by linguistic and political boundaries – but also in terms of local “styles” (mostly “non-Parisian”). What becomes clear in studying these women, in combination with the still very itinerant lifestyles of many of the courts they represent\(^{56}\) is that, while separations certainly existed, the connections between these regions have the potential to speak just as strongly. If we can adopt their use of places *united* by space as a model for the study of culture in general – attempting in part to abandon the museum room schema, or that of center versus periphery (or metropolis versus province to use the words of Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann) – we may discover overlaps and continuities that had been invisible when studied in another light.\(^{57}\)

In other words, are geography and national identity constructions of men? Is it by studying the linkages forged through women (admittedly produced by a culture of exchange created for and by men) and the records they have left of their “whole” selves that we can see the false – or at least adaptable – nature of those divisions? From this point of view, a region does not need to be seen as fixed; we can have different definitions of what constitutes France and its surrounding countries/regions depending on the maker of the definition. Would gender have affected the reading and, in the terms of a pilgrim, would a unifying view have been more commonplace than one that, while of course noting material and linguistic differences from one

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\(^{56}\) One imagines that some of the movement of these courts was facilitated, or even encouraged, by women’s marriages into other realms.

\(^{57}\) “Even the definition of the cultural geography of the region will vary according to the defining variables of language, politics, or stylistic centers and their diffusion areas.” Larry Silver, “Review of Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art,*” *The Art Bulletin,* CXXXVI/4 (December, 2004), 783-787, here 786. “Cultures, like individuals, have more than one form of identity.” Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago, 2004), 151.
region to the next – although those two factors might often not coincide – would also, through
the act of pilgrimage, have become one single “space”?

In the end I will not claim that using landmarks to negotiate space is a gendered habit, but
it does seem that such a phenomenon is more successful for women than men in their ability to
promote their dual natures. Because of the ongoing liminality of the married woman who
retained strong ties with her natal lands and family, she in some ways resembles the pilgrim who
is discovering new places and space, adding layers of experience daily, while remaining loyal to
her source.