Ceremonial Entries, Municipal Liberties and the Negotiation of Power in Valois France, 1328–1589

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Ceremonial Entries, Municipal Liberties and the Negotiation of Power in Valois France, 1328–1589

By

Neil Murphy

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For Anna

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1 Currency is in *livres tournois*, unless specified otherwise. All translations from French are by the author unless otherwise stated.

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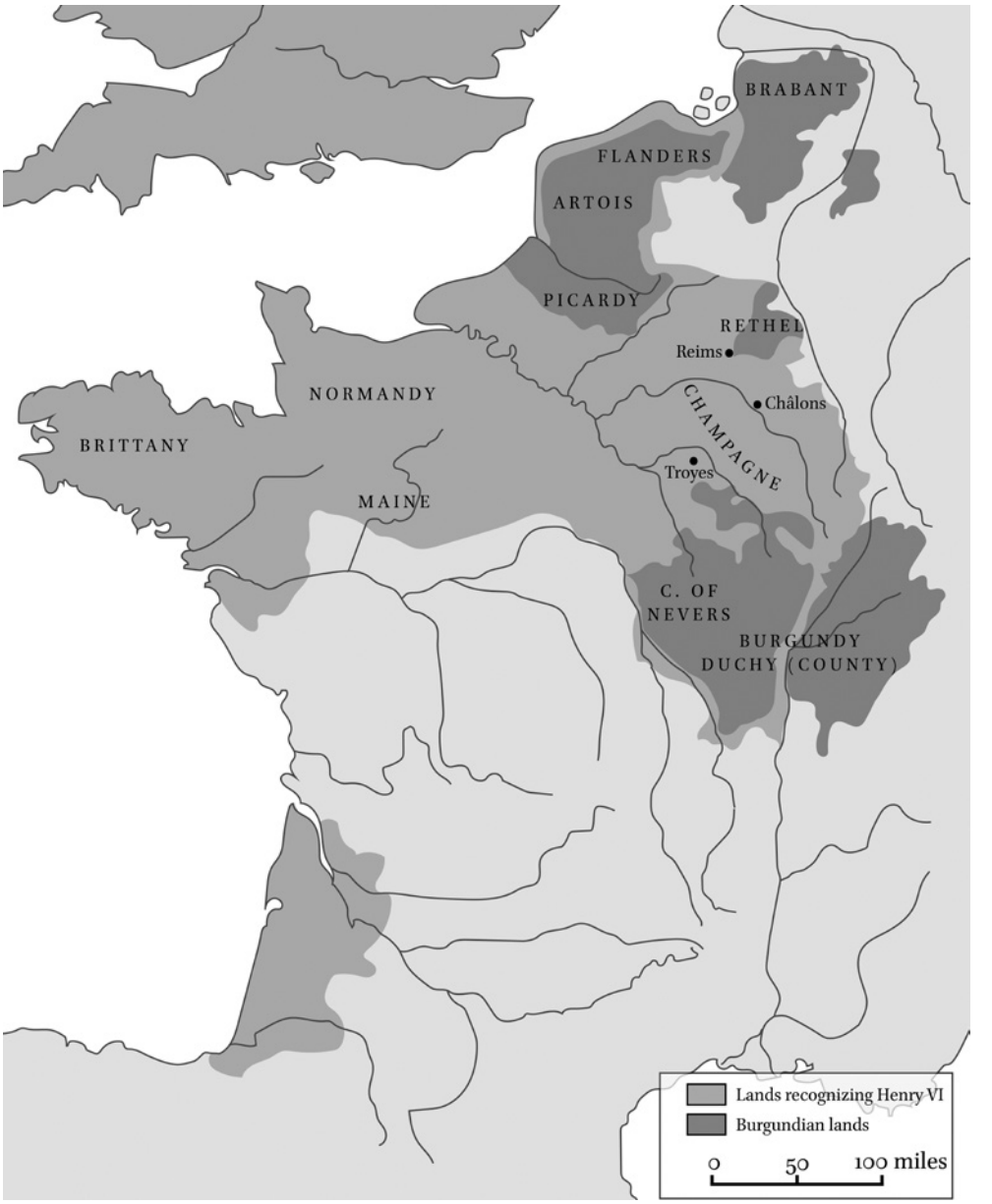
List of Abbreviations

AC	Archives communales.
AD	Archives départmentales.
AM	Archives municipales.
Auguste, *Inventaire sommaire, Agen*	J.-B. Auguste, *Ville d'Agen. Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790* (Paris, 1884).
Basin, *Histoire de Louis XI*	Thomas Basin, *Histoire de Louis XI*, ed. C. Samaran, 3 vols. (Paris, 1963–72).
Bazin, 'Rois de France à Mâcon'	J.-L. Bazin, 'Les rois de France à Mâcon', *Annales de l'Académie de Mâcon: société des arts, sciences, belles-lettres et d'agriculture* 7 (1890), 52–168.
Beaucourt, *Chronique Mathieu d'Escouchy*	G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, 3 vols (Paris, 1863–64).
Beaurepaire, 'Charles VIII à Rouen'	Charles Robillard de Beaurepaire, ed., 'Entrée et séjour du roi Charles VIII à Rouen en 1485', *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie* 20 (1853), 279–306.
BL	British Library.
Bonnardot, *Registres Paris, 1499–1536*	François Bonnardot, ed., *Registres des délibérations du Bureau de la ville de Paris. Tome premier, 1499–1536* (Paris, 1883).
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France.
Chronique scandaleuse	Bernard de Mandrot, ed., *Journal de Jean de Roye: connu sous le nom de Chronique scandaleuse, 1460–1483*, 2 vols (Paris, 1894–96).
Coll. Bucquet	Collection Bucquet-aux-Cousteaux, bibliothèque municipale, Beauvais.
Cooper, *Entry of Henry II into Lyon*	Richard Cooper, ed., *The Entry of Henry II into Lyon: September 1548* (Tempe, 1997).
CSP Spain, 1550–1552	Royall Tyler, ed., *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations Between England and Spain, Vol. X: Edward VI, 1550–1552* (London, 1914).

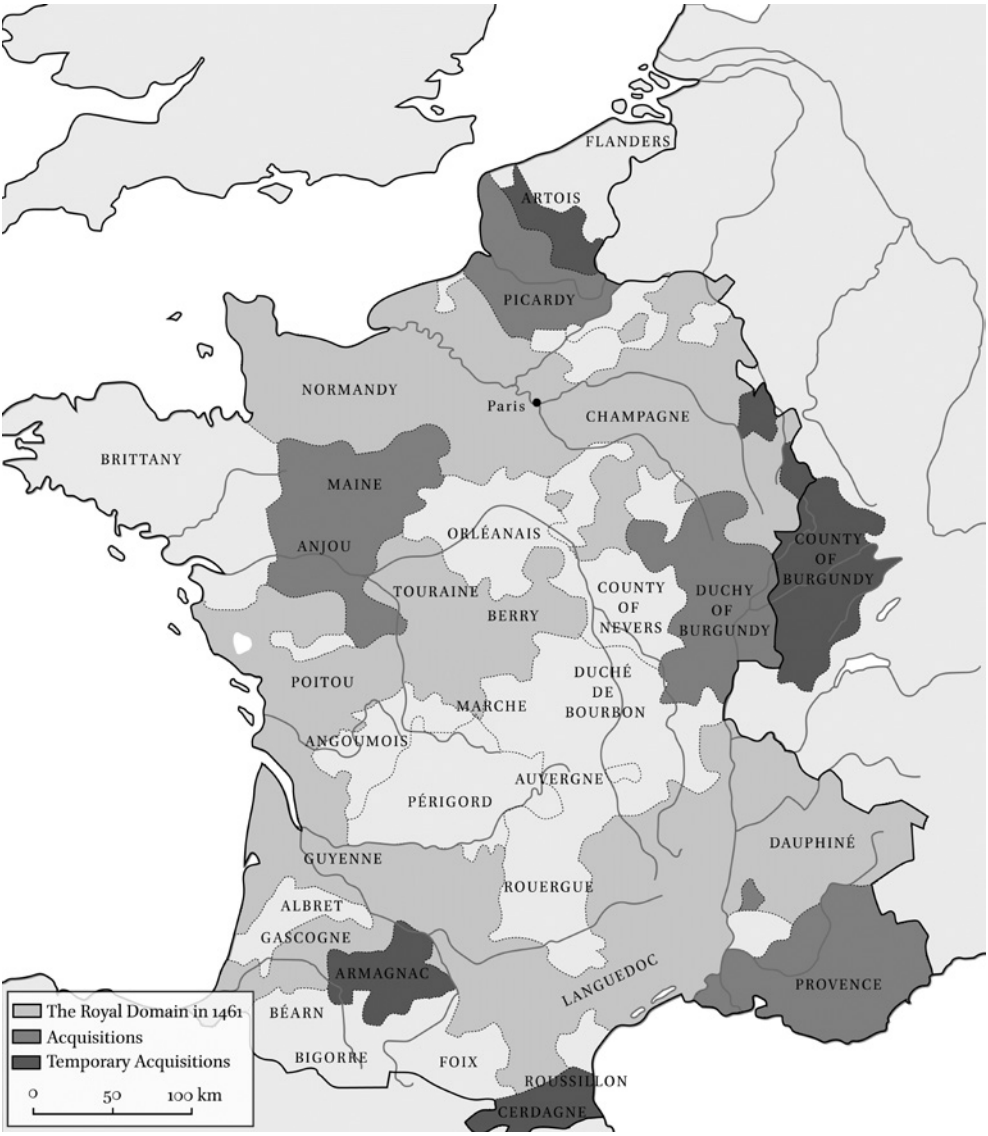
Domarion, *Entrée François Ier, Béziers*	Louis Domarion, ed., *Entrée de François Ier dans la ville de Béziers* (*Bas-Languedoc*) (Paris, 1866).
Douët-d'Arcq, *Chronique de Monstrelet*	L. Douët-d'Arcq, ed., *La chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet*, 6 vols (Paris, 1857–62).
Godefroy, *Ceremonial françois*	Théodore and Denis Godefroy, *Le Cérémonial françois*, 2 vols (Paris, 1649).
Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*	Louis de Gouvenain, *Ville de Dijon. Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790,* 5 vols (Dijon, 1867–1910).
Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*	Bernard Guenée and Françoise Lehoux, eds., Les *entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris, 1968).
Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*	Paul Guérin, ed., *Registres des délibérations du bureau de la ville de Paris. Tome troisième, 1539–1552* (Paris, 1886).
Laurière, *Ordonnances des roys de France*	Eusèbe Jacob de Laurière et al., eds., *Ordonnances des roys de France de la troisième race, recueillies par ordre chronologique*, 23 vols (Paris, 1723–1849).
La Grange, 'Entrées de souverains'	A. de La Grange, 'Les entrées des souverains à Tournai', *Memoires de la Société historique et archéologique de Tournai* 19 (1885), 7–321.
Ledieu, 'Charles VIII à Abbeville'	Alcius Ledieu, 'Entrée solennelle du roi Charles VIII à Abbeville (1493)', *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux histoirques* (1888), 55–65.
Ledieu, 'Éléonore d'Autriche à Abbeville'	Alcius Ledieu, 'Éléonore d'Autriche à Abbeville le 19 décembre 1531', *Bulletin de la Société d'émulation d'Abbeville* 5 (1900–2), 58–72.
Ruben, *Registres consulaires, Limoges*	Émile Ruben, ed., *Registres consulaires de la ville de Limoges*, 6 vols (Limoges, 1867–1884).
Rivaud, *Entrées princières*	David Rivaud, ed., *Entrées épiscopales, royales et princières dans les villes du Centre-Ouest de la France* (*XIVe–XVIe siècles*) (Geneva, 2013).
Tuetey, *Registres Paris, 1527–1539*	Alexandre Tuetey, ed., *Registres des délibérations du Bureau de la ville de Paris. Tome deuxième, 1527–1539* (Paris, 1886).

Vaesen and Charavay, *Lettres de Louis XI*	Joseph Vaesen and Étienne Charavay, *Lettres de Louis XI, roi de France*, 11 vols (Paris, 1883–1909).
Vaillancourt, *Entrées solennelles, Charles IX*	Pierre-Louis Vaillancourt, ed., *Les entrées solennelles pendant le règne de Charles IX* (New York, 2007).

Maps



MAP 1 *France in 1429*



MAP 2 *France in the late Fifteenth Century*

MAP 3 *Governorships in Sixteenth-Century France*

Introduction: Framing Royal Entries

As Louis XI prepared to make his inaugural entry into La Rochelle on 24 May 1472, a civic delegation led by the mayor, Gaubert Gadiot, came to greet him outside the city's walls. During this extramural encounter, Gadiot told Louis that French monarchs were required to swear an oath confirming municipal privileges before being admitted into the city. According to the two notaries who recorded the event, after listening to Gadiot's request, the Valois monarch immediately dismounted his horse, uncovered his head and knelt before the mayor. Louis then confirmed the city's privileges with his hands placed on the copy of the gospels Gadiot held before him.[1] To modern eyes, Louis XI's gestures – which appear to be unusually submissive – may seem remarkable. They certainly looked that way to Auguste Galland, the seventeenth-century *conseiller d'état*, who in 1626 pronounced the notarial documents recording Louis's actions to be forgeries. As a royal propagandist, Galland, who had sat on Henry IV's royal council, was not prepared to concede that any king of France would act in such a deferential manner towards his urban subjects – even Louis XI, who was known to converse freely with common townspeople.[2] The manner in which Louis XI confirmed La Rochelle's rights was of crucial importance in the mid-1620s because the rebellious citizens of La Rochelle had published an account of the Valois monarch's behaviour in 1472 during their revolt against Louis XIII (at the heart of which lay the question of local privileges). While Galland's work was written with the specific purpose of refuting the claims of La Rochelle's Huguenot rebels, his views became widely accepted in Bourbon France. For example, the eighteenth-century professor of philosophy and Rochelais historian, Louis Arcère, upheld Galland's royalist reading of the ceremonial entry. However, whereas Galland's work was deliberately prejudiced to the propagation of royal power, as a man of his time Arcère applied scientific rationality to formulate seven supposedly unbiased 'proofs' demonstrating that Louis could not have knelt before the mayor of La Rochelle.[3]

1 Rivaud, *Entrées princières*, 118.

2 Auguste Galland, *Discours sur l'état de la ville de la Rochelle et touchant ses anciens privilèges* (Paris, 1626); idem, *Discours au roy sur la naissance, ancien estat, propgrez et accroissement de la ville de La Rochelle* (Paris, 1629), cxxi–xxix; Léopold Delayant, *Histoire des Rochelais*, 2 vols (La Rochelle, 1870), ii. 46. For Galland and La Rochelle, see: David Parker, *La Rochelle and the French Monarchy: Conflict and Order in Seventeenth-Century France* (London, 1980), 154–55.

3 Louis-Étienne Arcére, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle et du pays d'Aunis*, 2 vols (La Rochelle, 1726), ii. 619–21; Rivaud, *Entrées princières*, 112.

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While the scenes at La Rochelle in 1472 may have been inconceivable for the subjects of the later Bourbon monarchy, Valois kings regularly acted in a humble manner when confirming municipal rights. Indeed, the urban dwellers of later medieval and Renaissance France were accustomed to see their kings kneel as they confirmed urban liberties during a royal entry. Some urban governments were prepared to go to great lengths to ensure that their rulers made a ceremonial entry and confirmed local rights and privileges. Seven years before Louis XI visited La Rochelle, Rouen's leaders sent an armed delegation to compel his brother, Charles, duke of Normandy, to make an entry into the city. Having learned that Charles planned to leave the duchy before making his inaugural entry into the Norman capital, on the evening of 25 November 1465 a group of Rouen's citizens bundled the duke onto his horse and led him through the city's streets. The townspeople's actions ensured that Charles completed his ceremonial entry and was formally installed as duke of Normandy in the cathedral the following day, as part of which he confirmed the privileges of both the city and the duchy.[4] As illustrated by Louis XI's entry into La Rochelle, and by that of his brother at Rouen, ceremonial entries were fundamental to the granting of urban liberties in Valois France. Because the liberties towns obtained at an entry formed the quintessence of municipal power and autonomy, the entry of a ruler – whether king or duke – was a major event for civic governments across France.

Urban liberties have long held a prominent position in scholarly debates on the emergence of the modern state. For some writers, urban liberties were inimical to the development of modern Western political structures. Writing in reference to France, Karl Marx declared municipal privileges to be part of the 'medieval rubbish' that had inhibited the formation of modern centralized states.[5] In contrast, Max Weber considered the development of medieval urban liberties to form a crucial moment in the formation of European liberal societies.[6] Likewise, many prominent nineteenth-century historians, such as François Guizot and Augustin Thierry, located the origins of modern

4 Basin, *Histoire de Louis XI*, i. 235–41; Philippe de Commynes, *Mémoires*, J. Blanchard, ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 2007), i. 80–81; Jacques Duclercq, *Mémoires*, J. A. Buchon, ed. (Paris, 1827), 85–87; *Chronique scandaleuse*, i. 141–42.

5 Jon Elster, ed., *Karl Marx: A Reader* (Cambridge, 1986), 285.

6 Max Weber, *The City* (New York, 1921). See also: Wolfgang J. Mommsen, 'Max Weber's "Grand Sociology": The Origins and Composition of *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Soziologie*', in Charles Camic, Philip S. Gorski and David M. Trubek, eds., *Max Weber's 'Economy and Society': A Critical Companion* (Stanford, 2005), 91–92; David Stasavage, 'Was Weber Right? The Role of Urban Autonomy in Europe's Rise', *American Political Science Review* 108 (2014), 337–54.

democracy in the political and economic rights held by pre-modern townspeople – a view that was echoed in the 1960s by Barrington Moore, who memorably stated: 'no bourgeoisie, no democracy'.[7] More recently, historians such as Wim Blockmans, Maarten Prak, Mark Dincecco and Stephan Epstein have debated the role that urban privileges played in the development of pre-industrial European states.[8]

Yet while historians, political scientists and sociologists have given urban liberties a prominent position in their examinations of the emergence of the modern state, French historians have paid little attention to the fundamental place that negotiations for urban rights occupied in a ceremonial entry. This is a considerable oversight, as by the early fourteenth century urban liberties were typically confirmed during a ceremonial entry. As well as staging entries in order to obtain the re-confirmation of their existing rights, urban administrations used these events to petition the king for new liberties; indeed, a ceremonial entry provided the rulers of French towns with arguably the best opportunity to win lucrative new rights from the Crown. The following chapters systematically analyse the strategies urban elites devised to obtain both the ratification of their charters and the augmentation of their liberties. In order to understand the wider importance of these grants for urban governments, this book grounds the petitions for liberties within the sweeping political, social, economic and religious changes that occurred in Valois France.

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7 François Guizot, *Histoire de la civilisation en Europe* (Paris, 1870), 189–220; Augustin Thierry, *Essai sur l'histoire de la formation et des progrès du Tiers État; suivi de deux fragments du recueil des monumens inédits de cette histoire* (Paris, 1883); Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston, 1966), 418. See also: Dietrich Gerhard, 'Guizot, Augustin Thierry und die Rolle des Tiers État in der französischen Geschichte', *Historische Zeitschrift* 190 (1960), 290–310; Neithard Bulst, 'Stadt und Bürgertum und die Anfänge des modernen Staats', in Neithard Bulst and Jean-Philippe Genet, eds., *La ville, la bourgeoisie et la genèse de l'État moderne* (*XIIe–XVIIIe siècles*) (Paris, 1988), 13.

8 Wim Blockmans, 'Voracious States and Obstructing Cities: An Aspect of State Formation in Preindustrial Europe', *Theory and Society* 5 (1989), 733–55 (see also the revised version of this article printed in Wim Blockmans and Charles Tilly, eds., *Cities and the Rise of States in Europe, AD 1000 to 1800* [Boulder, 1994], 218–50); Wim Blockmans and Marjolein 't Hart, 'Power', in Peter Clark, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History* (Oxford, 2013), 421–37; Ann Katherine Issacs and Maarten Prak, 'Cities, Bourgeoisies, and States', in Wolfgang Reinhard, ed., *Power Elites and State Building* (Oxford, 1996), 207–34; Mark Dincecco, *Political Transformations and Public Finances: Europe, 1650–1913* (Cambridge, 2011); Stephan Epstein, *Freedom and Growth: The Rise of State and Markets in Europe 1300–1750* (London, 2000); Stephan Epstein and Maarten Prak, *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy, 1400–1800* (Cambridge, 2008).

An entry provided urban governments with an opportunity to offer the ruler (or his representatives) petitions regarding their rights, liberties and customs. While this was the most important aspect of the ceremony for municipal elites, historians have not made it their principal object of study. The issue of urban rights and liberties is frequently omitted – or else touched upon only briefly – in the bulk of the works examining the development of the French entry ceremony. In part, this disregard for urban liberties is a legacy of the work of the royal historiographers of the early Bourbon monarchs, whose published collections of documents relating to the ceremonies of the French monarchy set the initial parameters for the study and interpretation of entries. For example, André Duchesne's *Antiquités et Recherches de la grandeur et Majesté des Roys des France* (1609) presents the royal entry as a ceremony that was principally about the submission of townspeople before the majesty of the monarch. He provides no sense of the king's deferential behaviour towards urban delegations, or his obligation to confirm municipal liberties. Drawing on a range of contemporary documents from the fourteenth century onwards, Duchesne omits the aspects of the ceremony that were concerned with urban rights. By redacting or altering the sources, Duchesne was able to accentuate those elements of an entry which glorified the power of the French monarchy.[9]

While the publication of Duchesne's collection marked a significant moment in the interpretation of these ceremonies, the most important of the various works on entries prepared by royal historiographers in the seventeenth century is Théodore Godefroy's *Le Cérémonial de France* (1619). This significant work was followed by an enlarged version, printed by his son, Denis (who, like his father, was a royal historiographer), in 1649 under the title *Le Cérémonial françois*.[10] In these two collections (but especially in the 1649 edition), the Godefroys created long roots for the absolutism of the seventeenth-century French monarchy by devising an overarching coherence to almost a millennia's worth of ceremonies, from the entry of the Frankish King Guntram into Orléans in 588 to Louis XIV's inaugural entry into Paris in 1643. Within the pages of *Le Cérémonial françois*, the Godefroys present the reader with a vast

9 André Duchesne, *Les antiquitez et recherches de la grandeur et majesté des roys de France* (Paris, 1609), 477–96. This book drew on Jean du Tillet's *Recueil des roys de France*, which was commissioned by Henry II in 1548 but not published until 1578 (see BNF français 2848): Michèle Fogel, *Les cérémonies de l'information dans la France du XVIe au milieu du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1989), 161, 193; Lawrence Bryant, 'Making History: Ceremonial Texts, Royal Space, and Political Theory in the Sixteenth Century', in Michael Wolfe, ed., *Changing Identities in Early Modern France* (Durham, NC, 1997), 47, 162.

10 Théodore Godefroy, *Le Cérémonial de France* (Paris, 1619); Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*.

panoply of interlinked ceremonies, all of which championed the majesty of the French monarchy.[11]

Godefroy began *Le Cérémonial françois* with a dedication to Louis XIV ('the first and most royal in Europe, and by consequence in all the world'), in which he asked young Bourbon monarch to receive the book as a gift. Godefroy went on to state that all the ceremonies contained in its pages were the 'just and reasonable obligations which the French must [make] to the Majesty of their sovereigns; who, as God orders them, are considered and beheld in this world as the principal images and likenesses of divine Majesty'.[12] Godefroy's fabrication of a long-standing absolutist character for these ceremonies was influential and it set the tone for the ways in which royal entries were presented in Bourbon France. For example, the seventeenth-century antiquarian and heraldist Claude-François Menestrier (1631–1705) avowed that entries were 'demonstrations of public joy mingled with marks of submission and respect' which reflected the unbridled power of the French monarchy.[13] In the works of Godefroy and Menestrier (like those of Arcère and Galland), there is little sense of the reciprocal obligations that lay at the heart of an entry ceremony in Valois France. For the advocates of Bourbon power, entries were unquestionably a manifestation of royal majesty.

The presence of a number of mutually reinforcing tendencies in the modern historiography of entries has sustained key aspects of the approach taken by these seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writers. In particular, historians continue to pay undue attention to the pageantry deployed during these events. In her *Les entrées solennelles et triomphales à la Renaissance* (*1484–1511*) – which can probably be considered the first modern study of the French royal entry ceremony – Josèphe Chartrou analyses the content of the decorations and pageantry staged during royal entries in early Renaissance France.[14] Although Chartrou's book marked an important moment in the evolution of the study of French royal entries, its focus on the pageantry largely upheld the royalist views of Godefroy and Menestrier. More importantly, while Chartrou's work is now almost ninety years old, its influence on the historiography of the French

11 Godefroy, *Cérémonial français*, ii. 634, 1003–4.

12 Godefroy, *Cérémonial français*, i. n.p.

13 C.-F. Menestrier, *Décorations faites dans la ville de Grenoble, capitale de la province de Dauphiné, pour la réception de monseigneur le duc de Bourgogne, et de monseigneur le duc de Berry avec des réflexions et des remarques sur la pratique & les usages des décorations* (Grenoble, 1701), 71.

14 Josèphe Chartrou, *Les entrées solennelles et triomphales à la Renaissance* (*1484–1551*) (Paris, 1928).

royal entry has been enduring, largely because she devised the paradigm of how to study the ceremony.[15] Although an entry framed a range of practices, Chartrou privileged the decorations and pageantry over all the other elements. While many subsequent studies of entries have provided more refined analyses of the symbolism, Chartrou's focus on the pageantry remains the principal way in which historians tackle these events. As a consequence, they have given limited treatment to the confirmation of urban privileges. The sole mention Chartrou makes regarding privileges is a half a sentence where she observes that French kings customarily took an oath to confirm the rights of the French Church at their inaugural entries into Paris.[16] While many subsequent studies of French royal entries recognise that the confirmation of urban rights was central to the events, they do not treat this issue in any depth.[17] Lawrence Bryant is one of the few historians to explore the wider role of rights within an entry, though his focus is not specific to the confirmation of urban liberties; rather, he looks more broadly at the confirmation of offices a French king was expected to make upon coming to throne. Moreover, by focusing on Paris (which as the administrative centre of the kingdom was unique in the range and number of offices the monarch confirmed) Bryant's gaze extends far beyond the privileges of the municipal council. Finally, as Bryant notes, the distinctive nature of the

15 In the decades following the publication of *Les entrées solennelles et triomphales*, Chartrou's approach was adopted by a number of historians, such as Antoinette Huon, V. L. Saulnier, Frances A. Yates and Georges Kernodle: George R. Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre: Form and Convention in the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1943); idem, 'Renaissance Artists in the Service of the People. Political Tableaux and Street Theater in France, Flanders and England', *Art Bulletin* 25 (1943), 59–64; Antoinette Huon, 'Le thème du prince dans les entrées parisiennes au XVIe siècle'; V. L. Saulnier, 'L'entrée de Henri II à Paris et la révolution poétique de 1550'; Frances A. Yates, 'Poètes et artistes dans les entrées de Charles IX et de sa reine à Paris en 1571', in Jean Jacquot, ed., *Les fêtes de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1956), 21–30, 31–59, 61–84.

16 Chartrou, *Entrées solennelles*, 16.

17 See: Jean Boutier, Alain Dewerpe and Daniel Nordman, *Un tour de France royal: le voyage de Charles IX (1564–1566)* (Paris, 1984), 295, 296; Annette S. Finley-Croswhite, *Henry IV and the Towns: The Pursuit of Legitimacy in French Urban Society, 1589–1610* (Cambridge, 1999), 47–62; Ralph Giesey, 'Models of Rulership in French Royal Ceremonial', in Sean Wilentz, ed., *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics Since the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1985), 52; Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theater, Liturgy and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford, 1998), 39–40; Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450–1650* (Woodbridge, 1984), 7; Michael Wintroub, *A Savage Mirror: Power, Identity, and Knowledge in Early Modern France* (Stanford, 2006), 3.

confirmation of liberties during Parisian entries was atypical of other French towns and cities.[18]

While some of the most sophisticated modern studies of French royal entries have moved beyond Chartrou's royal-centred focus by developing Bernard Guenée's idea that royal entries were 'an occasion for dialogue' between the king and his urban subjects, Guenée's point has been largely been conceptualised in terms of the messages urban governments put forward in the festivities. In *A Savage Mirror* Michael Wintroub provides a focused study of one entry (Henry II's entry into Rouen in 1550), which he grounds in the cultural world of French urban elites. He investigates the social and political messages the Rouennais conveyed in the drama and makes wider points about how royal authority was represented in sixteenth-century France. While Wintroub notes that in return for receiving a magnificent ceremonial reception 'entering kings were expected to reaffirm the customary rights and privileges of a city's citizenry and clergy', he spends the book examining the symbolism of the entry's performances and decorations.[19] In short, while the perspective of the recent historiography of royal entries may have shifted from the king to the urban elite, the focus of these studies remains firmly on the symbolism of the decorations and dramatic performances.[20]

By placing an entry's thematic programme at the centre of their work, historians have defined these ceremonies by the presence of pageantry. Yet by using drama as the benchmark with which to judge an entry, they have been overly restrictive in the scope of their work. Before the late fifteenth century, many towns did not include theatre or pageantry in their entries. Even by the sixteenth century (when the French royal entry ceremony reached its height in terms of display) not all ceremonial receptions contained theatrical representations. As such, we cannot define an entry by the presence of pageantry alone. Furthermore, historians' focus on the development of the dramatic performances favours the major cities of the kingdom, which possessed the financial and material reserves necessary to produce magnificent entries.

18 Bryant, *King and the City*, 114. For the confirmaiton of Paris's liberties see also: Lawrence Bryant, 'The Medieval Entry Ceremony at Paris', in Janos Bak, ed., *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Ritual* (Berkeley, 1990), 94, 104, 111–12.

19 Wintroub, *A Savage Mirror,* 3.

20 For recent examinations of the performances and iconography of ceremonial entries, see: J. R. Mulryne, Maria Ines Aliverti and Anna-Maria Testaverde, eds., *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power* (Farnham, 2015); Margaret Shewring, ed., *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J. R. Mulryne* (Farnham, 2013).

As a consequence of this approach, historians have paid little attention to the entries staged by smaller urban communities. Yet, a ceremonial entry served the same purpose for a small town as it did for a large city. That is to say, it provided the governments of towns of all sizes with an opportunity to petition the ruler for the ratification or expansion of their liberties. By excluding entries that were devoid of pageantry from their studies, historians have not recognized the importance these ceremonies had for smaller urban communities. Instead of using pageantry as an entry's defining characteristic, we should look for the presence of an official welcome outside the town walls.[21] Urban administrations in pre-modern France considered the extramural greeting (along with the gift presentation) to be more important than the content of the plays and decorations. Consequently, civic rulers spent the bulk of their time discussing the extramural greeting and gift giving, rather than the thematic programme. Given the significance of the greeting and gift exchange for urban governments, the first half of this book examines these key aspects of an entry in depth.

The tendency to privilege the intra-mural theatrical elements of an entry has encouraged many historians to view a royal entry fundamentally as a manifestation of royal power. In these works, royal entries are presented as a form of state propaganda which the monarchy used to impose its control over urban communities, and there is little sense of the important role these occasions played in civic life.[22] From the king's perspective, the drama and decorations – which were devised in his honour – were the most important parts of the ceremony. Yet by concentrating on the drama and spectacle of an entry, some historians have viewed the production of pageantry to glorify the king as the principal purpose of an entry. Gordon Kipling avers that an entry's 'primary function' was 'as a serious late medieval art form – in Huizinga's terms, one of the "supreme expressions" of late medieval culture, one of its most serious modes of collective enjoyment, and a deeply felt assertion of communal solidarity.'[23] As well as questioning the degree to which entries were a

21 On this point, see: Teofilo F. Ruiz, *A King Travels: Festive Traditions in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Princeton, 2012), 116.

22 Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969); R. J. Knecht, 'Court Festivals as Political Spectacle: The Example of Sixteenth-Century France', in J. R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewring, eds., *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols (Aldershot, 2004), i. 19, 21; idem, *The French Renaissance Court, 1483–1589* (London and New Haven, 2008), 99–106; Kipling, *Enter the King*; Pascal Lardellier, *Les miroirs du paon: rites et rhétoriques politiques dans la France de l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 2003); Strong, *Art and Power*.

23 Kipling, *Enter the King*, 3.

manifestation of 'communal solidarity', this book argues that municipal elites did not devise these events principally for artistic purposes. The inclusion of artistic elements within an entry was a means to an end rather than an end in itself. Urban elites deployed these cultural products to encourage the king or his representatives to ratify and extend the rights and liberties that maintained their control of local political and economic structures. This is not to downplay the many merits of Kipling's work, as these ceremonies were undoubtedly vehicles for the deployment of some of the greatest artistic manifestations of the age; however, in this book I aim to show that we should not simply see entries as artistic manifestations that were designed to glorify the power of the king. While the decorations and dramatic performances framed a town's efforts to obtain new liberties, they were not the most important part of the ceremony for urban elites.

By privileging the thematic programme, historians have only focused on one of the many methods of communication townspeople used to speak with the king during an entry. Furthermore, it is clear that the complex symbolism of the decorations and performances was not an effective way to communicate with the king, particularly during the sixteenth century when the messages and ideas conveyed in the allegorical scheme became especially elaborate. From the reign of Charles VIII, entries became replete with obscure classical allusions and Greek and Latin text. Michael Wintroub has demonstrated how a French 'civic-cultural elite' used the thematic programme of an entry to highlight their learning, command of languages and civility.[24] Yet these messages and allusions were so complex that they could only be understood be understood by a privileged few. When we take the example of Henry II's entry into Rouen in 1550 (for which there are several surviving eyewitness accounts), we can clearly see the difficulties that even the highly educated had in understanding the complex iconographical messages put forward in these ceremonies. First, the imperial ambassador, Simon Renard, who watched the event with the French king, misunderstood most of what he saw. Indeed, he informed his master, Emperor Charles V, that he found the entry's symbolism too complex.[25] Second, the Oxford-educated English ambassador, Sir John Mason (later appointed chancellor of the University of Oxford), mistakenly believed that a mock naval battle staged during the course of the entry was as a performance depicting the defeat of the English (in fact, it was meant

24 Wintroub, *A Savage Mirror*, 185–90.

25 Royall Tyler, ed., *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations Between England and Spain, Vol. X: Edward VI, 1550–1552* (London, 1914), 183.

to represent an encounter between French and Portuguese ships).[26] During politically sensitive times, difficulties in deciphering an entry's symbolism could do more than deflate an ambassador's ego. Henry II's entry into Rouen came soon after England lost Boulogne to France and Mason's misunderstanding of the drama had the potential to provoke a serious diplomatic incident. As the thematic programme of the Rouen entry threatened to spark off unwanted consequences, Henry II ordered the *échevins* to remove the offending pageant from the reception given to his wife, Catherine de Medici, when she entered the city after him.[27]

The inability of educated men such as Simon Renard and Sir John Mason to understand the messages conveyed in an entry's symbolism highlights the gulf which existed between the intentions of those who produced the drama and the reality of how it was perceived. More importantly, we can question the degree to which the monarch was able to comprehend what he saw; indeed, it is probable that many kings understood little of the thematic content. Clearly, monarchs who came to the throne as children, such as Charles VIII, lacked the scholarly capacity to interpret the difficult symbolism of their entries. Additionally, it is doubtful that many adult monarchs understood all of the theatrical representations. Some towns were aware of this problem and took steps to explain the meaning of the performances to the king (and those who travelled with him) by including written explanations of the scenes beside the stages.[28] Yet even the ability to grasp the content of these placards necessitated a high level of education and a good command of languages. For Louis XII's entry into Rouen in 1508 the placards were in both Latin and French. As the French text was not a translation of the Latin, the viewer would need to be able to read both parts to fully appreciate the scene.[29] France's intellectual elite devised these texts and the ability to understand the messages conveyed in the verses (which was frequently not a straight explanation of the

26 P. F. Tytler, ed., *England Under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, 2 vols (London, 1839), i. 325. Spectators struggled to interpret the complex symbolism at entries across Europe. The English herald, Thomas Whiting, who witnessed Margaret of York's entry into Bruges in 1468, wrote that 'the pageauntes were soo obscure that y fere me to wryte or speke of them because all was coutenaunce and noo words'. Cited in: Gordon Kipling, 'Brussels, Joanna of Castile, and the Art of Theatrical Illustration (1496)', *Leeds Studies in English* 32 (2001), 238.

27 *CSP Spain, 1550–1552*, 182–83.

28 For the use of placards for explication, see: AM Compiègne BB 18, fol. 118v (Eleanor of Austria, 1531); Albert Babeau, *Les rois de France à Troyes au seizième siècle* (Troyes, 1880), 16 (Louis XII, 1510); Ledieu, 'Charles VIII à Abbeville', 60.

29 P. Le Verdier, ed., *L'entrée de Roi Louis XII et de la Reine à Rouen* (*1508*) (Rouen, 1900), 10–12.

scene) necessitated a high level of education. In preparation for Charles IX's entry into Troyes in 1564, the town council hired the poet Jean Passerat, professor at the *Collège de Beauvais* at Paris, to devise verses in French and Latin that were placed beside the performance stages.[30] When we remember that Charles was only fourteen years old at the time of his entry into Troyes, we can probably question his ability to understand the messages conveyed in the placards, not to mention the complex symbolism of the decorations and pageantry. Of course, it is possible that the difficult material contained in both the performances and the written explanations was not principally intended for the king. It may be that a 'civic-cultural elite' (to borrow Michael Wintroub's term) devised these spectacles for their own appreciation, rather than formulating symbolism that the king could easily understand (which would probably have been less intellectually satisfying). Regardless of the intended audience, a consideration of the complexity of the thematic programmes has serious implications for how we study ceremonial entries. We must reconsider the supposed efficacy of pageantry as a means of communication between town and Crown. In contrast to the difficult messages conveyed in the decorations and performances, this book examines the direct communication that took place during the extramural greeting and the gift exchange between civic leaders and the king and his minsters over the issue of liberties. Given that the legal and economic existence of a town was at stake in the discussions about liberties, it was imperative that urban administrations ensured that there was no ambiguity or misunderstanding in these parts of the ceremony.

In sum, rather than provide another examination of the drama and the allegorical allusions of a ceremonial entry, this book will uncover and account for the role that entries played in winning liberties and obtaining influence at court. While municipal councils used the drama of the intramural procession to communicate their ideas about good kingship to the monarch, the extramural greeting and gift presentation were the most important elements of the ceremony for urban governments. Although entries were ephemeral events, the political and economic rights towns gained at these occasions could last for generations. This book examines the dialogue that took place between the urban elite and the Crown regarding the political, economic and judicial liberties that underpinned urban life in pre-modern France. As we shall see, negotiation between Crown and town pervaded all levels of an entry ceremony. By focusing on the granting of urban liberties, this book reveals an important way in which power worked in pre-modern France.

30 Babeau, *Troyes*, 55.

Sources and Perspectives

The widespread use of chronicles and festival books has encouraged historians to focus on the theatre of the entry.[31] While these texts provide an extended exegesis of the symbolism of the performances and the decorations, they tell us little about how urban elites used an entry ceremony to gain direct contact with the king and petition him for rights and liberties. The principal studies of medieval French entries are largely based on chroniclers' descriptions of these ceremonies. These texts focus on the elements of an entry that glorified the monarch, especially the theatrical performances, which first appeared in France during the 1380s.[32] While chroniclers played a key role in promoting a royalist reading of a ceremonial entry, the adoption of the printing press in France revolutionised the Crown's ability to use narrative accounts of entries to promote its power. Simple *livrets* detailing entries were published from the 1480s, which were followed by the production of lavishly illustrated festival books in the early sixteenth century. These literary texts revolutionised the interpretation of entries by providing highly detailed accounts of the symbolism of the pageants and the decorations. Festival books became a crucial

31 For festival books, see: William Kemp, 'Transformations in the Printing of Royal Entries during the Reign of François Ier: The Role of Geofroy Tory', in Nicholas Russell and Hélène Visentin, eds., *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century: Event, Image, Text* (Toronto, 2007), 111–32; Margaret M. McGowan, 'The French Royal Entry in the Renaissance: The Status of the Printed Text', in Russell and Visentin, *French Ceremonial Entries*, 29–54; Hélène Visentin, 'The Material Form and the Function of Printed Accounts of Henri II's Triumphal Entries (1547–51)', in Marie-Claude Canova-Green, Jean Andrews and Marie-France Wagner, eds., *Writing Royal Entries in Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout, 2013), 1–30; Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'The Early Modern Festival Book: Function and Form', in J. L. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewring, eds., *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols (Farnham, 2004), 3–18; idem, 'Festival Books in Europe from Renaissance to Rococo', *The Seventeenth Century* 3 (1988), 181–201.

32 See, especially: Kipling, *Enter the King*. Prior to this, accounts of the entries of the early Valois monarchs are frequently sparse, reflecting the basic processional structure and lack of pageantry. For Philip VI's post-coronation entry into Paris on 18 June 1328, the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (which acted as the Crown's official record for late-medieval entries into Paris) simply remarks that the king 'was honourably received'. Likewise, when Charles V entered Rouen in 1364, the *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois* records only that he 'was very joyously and very solemnly received': Jules M. E. Viard, ed., *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, 10 vols (Paris, 1920–53), ix. 79; Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 48; Siméon Luce, ed., *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois* (*1327–1393*) (Paris, 1862), 149.

counterpart to the ceremony precisely because the thematic programmes of royal entries had grown so complex by the sixteenth century that they could not easily be understood, even by those people who watched the event.

Although historians have used festival books to try and reconstruct the practices and meanings of royal entries, there are a number of problems with these sources. While festival books purport to provide a faithful description of how the entry passed off on the day, the authors of these sources regularly distorted or manipulated their material, such as Maurice Scève who prepared the festival book for Henry II's entry into Lyon in 1548. As Scevè had designed the thematic programme for the entry, he was in an ideal position to give an accurate record of the ceremony. Yet in the festival book he prepared to commemorate the event, Scève deliberately changed the text of some of the inscriptions displayed on the decorations, as well as redacting other material.[33] Festival books were typically produced with the intent of glorifying the king and authors changed or omitted information to suit this end and endear themselves to the monarch (Scève's preparation of Henry II's entry into Lyon and its festival book contributed to his ascendancy in the cultural world of sixteenth-century France[34]). Festival books were part of a genre that had its own rules and traditions – and these conventions led authors to put down in writing only the aspects of the entry that brought glory on the king and those who staged the event.[35]

While festival books are closely associated with the propagation of royal power, civic governments commissioned many of these texts. In addition to hiring writers to draw up festival books, members of town councils prepared their own works. For example, the Parisian *échevin* Simon Bouquet penned the published account of Charles IX's entry into the city.[36] As well as sitting on the town council, Bouquet was a poet and worked with Pierre de Ronsard (the leading member of the *Pléiade*) on the programme of festivities for

33 Knecht, *French Renaissance Court,* 99–100.

34 Ruth Mulhauser, *Maurice Scève* (Boston, 1977), 34–35.

35 Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'Early Modern European Festivals – Politics and Performance, Event and Record', in J. R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring, eds., *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance* (Aldershot, 2002), 22–23.

36 Frances A. Yates, ed., *La ioyeuse Entrée de Charles IX roy de France en Paris, 1572* (Amsterdam, 1976); Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, eds., *The Paris Entries of Charles IX and Elisabeth of Austria, 1571: with an analysis of Simon Bouquet's 'Bref et sommaire récueil'* (Toronto, 1974). See also: Charles Brucker, 'Pour un statut d'auteur d'emblèmes au XVIe siècle: Simon Bouquet et la tradition alciatique', in Lise Sabourin, ed., *Le Statut littéraire de l'écrivan* (Geneva, 2007), 215–46.

Charles's entry.[37] One the one hand, Bouquet's status as a poet and his involvement with the production of the entry meant that he was well placed to explain the complex symbolism to the reader. However, there are a number of reasons why the festival books produced by civic governments are problematic, especially when they are used to try and reconstruct an entry ceremony. First, urban elites used festival books as a means to assert their intellectual prowess. As Michael Wintroub remarks, 'printed accounts of entries were less about the normalization and extension of the entry rituals themselves, than about the articulation and advancement of the kinds of people who could write – or at least, understand – their arcane and technical vocabulary.'[38] As such, the civic authors of festival books presented a particular version of an entry in order to sustain their elevated social position. Second, urban governments shaped the content of festival books in order to promote the pre-eminence of their city. Specifically, urban elites highlighted their wealth and power by devising festival books that emphasised the scale (and thus the high cost) of an entry's decorations and pageantry. The focus on the performances also drew attention to the city council's loyalty to the ruler, for whom they had prepared a magnificent entry.[39] In addition, urban elites devised festival books to promote their towns on both the national and the international stages.[40] Finally, whether festival books were produced by royal or urban sources, these texts were designed to set down the official interpretation of the entry.[41] Hence, authors of festival books were highly selective about what practices they included in their accounts. As Helen Wantanabe-O'Kelly has observed, 'early modern courtly

37 Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1975), 141–44, 146.

38 Wintroub, *A Savage Mirror*, 188.

39 On this point, see also: Werner Waterschoot, 'Antwerp: books, publishing and cultural production before 1585', in Patrick O'Brien, Derek Keene, Marjolein 't Hart and Herman Van Der Wee, eds., *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London* (Cambridge, 2001), 247.

40 Wim Blockmans & Esther Donckers, 'Self-Representation of Court and City in Flanders and Brabant in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries', in Wim Blockmans & Antheun Janse, eds., *Showing Status: Representation of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 1999), 108; Gordon Kipling, 'The King's Advent Transformed: The Consecration of the City in the Sixteenth-Century Civic Triumph', in Nicholas Howe, ed., *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe* (Notre Dame, 2007), 122–23. See also John Landwehr, *Splendid Ceremonies: State Entries and Royal Funerals in the Low Countries, 1515–1791* (Niueuwkoop, 1971), 73–75.

41 Peter Arnade, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca, 1996), 194.

historiography . . . is meant to be biased, and so are festival books.'[42] While entries were transitory events, festival books were intended to fix the lasting interpretation of the event. Quite simply, royal entries were too politically important for the published accounts of these ceremonies not to be altered to support the aims of the political authorities that commissioned them.

Historians have a long tradition of adopting methodologies from other fields of study (especially the social sciences) to assist them with the interpretation of human behaviour. Keith Thomas, Lynn Hunt and Natalie Zemon Davis have all encouraged historians to borrow analytical models from other disciplines and apply them to their particular object of study, whether that be Anglo-Saxon kingship rights, medieval sainted dogs or political discourse in Revolutionary France.[43] These interpretative models promise to unlock the meaning of ceremonial practices. At its best, the adoption of social scientific methodologies has reminded historians of the need to situate a ceremony firmly within the wider political, social, religious and cultural contexts of the society that produced it. However, the use of anthropological and sociological methodologies can produce a distorted understanding of the practices embedded within an entry when it is applied uncritically to a limited or highly biased body of source material, such as festival books. At the crux of Philippe Buc's assault on historians' use of social scientific methodologies is his assertion that we can only perceive rituals through inherently biased narrative accounts of the events. Festival books are like Buc's problematic early medieval sources in that they 'purport to reveal the truth' and 'claimed a monopoly of legitimate interpretation'.[44] However, unlike the early Middle Ages, the range and volume of primary materials available to historians of late medieval and early modern Europe means that we have access to an abundance of non-literary texts (such as financial accounts) that can yield significant insights into the operation of an entry ceremony. Pre-modern France is not one of Buc's 'data-poor eras' where we can only use limited primary materials to provide 'a circumscribed realm of appropriate questions and possible results' about ritual and ceremonial practices. The abundant materials which exist in municipal archives across France make it possible to reconstruct many of the practices

42 Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'The Early Modern Festival Book', 8.

43 Keith Thomas, 'History and Anthropology', *Past & Present* 24 (1963), 3–34; Natalie Z. Davis, 'The Possibilities of the Past', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 12 (1981), 267–75; Lynn Hunt, 'Introduction: History, Culture and Text', in Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, 1989), 1–22.

44 Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, 2001), 2.

embedded within royal entries from the perspective of those people who actually planned the ceremonies. Accordingly, we do not need to follow Buc's call to banish social scientific models from the study of rituals. The careful use of well-chosen social-scientific theories has the potential to be of great value to historians of ritual and ceremonial behaviour, so long as they are sensitively used and applied to the sources of a particular historical period. The works of anthropologists such as Marcel Mauss and Marshall Sahlins on gift exchange are valuable precisely because their central assertions are borne out by the sources.

This book seeks to use extensive primary research to provide a sociopolitical context to the performance of these ceremonial practices. Records such as financial accounts and registers of municipal deliberations allow us to build-up a picture of the petitioning processes; they reveal the nature of the negotiations that took place between municipal governments and the Crown during an entry.[45] These records explain what urban elites hoped to achieve by including elements such as the key presentation within an entry. Whereas festival books present the pageantry as the most important element of the event because it glorified the king, my examination of municipal records (especially the minutes of town council meetings) has revealed that urban governments spent the bulk of their time discussing the parts of the entry which related to the confirmation of existing liberties and the negotiation of new rights. Municipal records expose the formal and informal encounters that took place between the Crown and the urban elite during an entry, from the extramural confirmation of liberties to the purchasing of favours. Civic records were produced to provide an accurate record of what happened on the day of the entry and show how municipal councils had reached their decisions. It was important that municipal deliberations provided a rationale for the council's decisions about what practices to include in an entry because these records were used to prepare future entries.[46]

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45 For the records of urban government, see: Caroline Fargeix, *Les élites lyonnaises du XVe siècle au miroir de leur langue. Pratiques et représentations culturelles des conseillers de Lyon, d'après les registres de délibérations consulaires* (Paris, 2007), 69–118; Jordi Morelló and Pere Verdés, 'Les dépenses municipales: essai de typologie', in Denis Menjot and Manuel Sáchez Martínez, eds., *La fiscalité des villes au Moyen Âge* (*Occident méditerranéen*) (Toulouse, 1996), 5–40; Graeme Small, 'Municipal Registers of Deliberations in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: Cross-Channel Observations', in Jean-Philippe Genet and François-Joseph Ruggiu, eds., *Les idées passent-elles la Manche? Savoir, Représentations, Pratiques* (*France-Angleterre, X^e–XXe siècle*) (Paris, 2007), 37–66.

46 Typically, the first step town councils took when designing an entry was to look through their past deliberations to see how past dignitaries had been welcomed. See, for example:

Unlike festival books, urban administrative records were not published. These documents were designed to act as the municipal council's exclusive record of the event and they were not intended for public consumption. Whereas festival books do not record the disagreements, jockeying for position and competition for places that lay behind the production of the ceremonies, these moments of disorder are laid bare in municipal deliberations.[47] For example, the decades-long dispute about the *procureur*'s position in the extramural procession in Parisian royal entries (which is extensively detailed in the municipal deliberations) is not mentioned in the festival book accounts of these entries, which were produced to emphasise the creation of social cohesion at an entry. Rather than providing an idealised account of how the event transpired, municipal records frequently provide examples of how entries went wrong or failed to achieve their intended outcome. From these documents, it is clear than many ceremonial entries did not encourage social cohesion. A comparison of urban administrative records with literary sources reveals that many of the practices town councils devised for their entries were not recorded in either chronicles or festival books. As deliberations were made with the expectation that only members of the municipal council would read them, they provide reliable accounts of the practices embedded within an entry. These records were not seen by anyone outside the inner council and they lay bare intentions, disputes and discussions surrounding the production of entries. For Philippe Buc, problems and inconsistencies with chronicles led him to state that 'one should give up the attempt to reconstruct the events [rituals]', in favour of looking at authorial intent in recording them.[48] Yet the information contained in the plurality of documents held in municipal archives – especially non-narrative sources – allows us to reconstruct many of the practices that occurred during a ceremonial entry.[49] By being careful to place the primary sources in their social and political context, we can move beyond the view that entries functioned as a means for the monarchy

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Bonnardot, *Registres Paris, 1499–1536*, 211; Tuetey, *Registres Paris, 1527–1539*, 78; Le Verdier, *Entrée de Louis XII à Rouen*, xxii; Philippe Deschamps, 'Les entrées royales à Rouen', *Connaître Rouen* 3 (1976), 6. For ease of consultation Châlons-en-Champagne's town council placed their record of the 1445 entry of Charles VII and the dauphin at the beginning of a municipal register (which began fourteen years earlier) because it was designed to be the template for future entries: P. Pélicier, *Ville de Châlons-sur-Marne. Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790* (Chalons-sur-Marne, 1903), 36.

47 Tuetey, *Registres Paris, 1527–1539*, 87–88, 112, 113–14; Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*, 166.

48 Buc, *Dangers of Ritual*, 4.

49 Buc, *Dangers of Ritual*, 256.

to achieve the ordering of society around the ruler and instead gain a more nuanced appreciation of these ceremonies.

Geography and Chronology

This book discusses entries into almost sixty towns and cities across the kingdom, from Calais in the northeast to Narbonne in far south, and from Bordeaux in the west to Lyon in the east. It also examines the production of ceremonial entries in the territories which were incorporated – or reincorporated – into of the kingdom of France by the Valois monarchs (such as Burgundy, Gascony and Provence), as well the role entries played in the expansion of French rule into Italy and the Holy Roman Empire from the later fifteenth century. In contrast to this wide geographical approach, most studies of French ceremonial entries are restricted to a single city, such as Michael Wintroub's work on Rouen or Pascal Lardellier's focus on Lyon. Foremost amongst the studies of a single city is Lawrence Bryant's examination of the Parisian royal entry. Indeed, the form of the Parisian entry is often seen as the model for other French towns and cities. For example, Richard Jackson writes that the entries staged at Reims were directly informed by knowledge of what was happening at Paris, though he fails to provide any examples of this transference of ideas.[50] While post-coronation entries into the capital had a broader political significance, I have found little evidence of provincial urban administrations deliberately adopting the Parisian model as a template for their entries. Rather, municipal councils were more concerned to find out how their neighbours had welcomed the king and his representatives. As civic administrations were in direct competition for liberties with other towns in their region they hoped to trump their rivals by putting on a better show for the king – and thus be granted new rights at the expense of their neighbours.

It is necessary to take a wide geographical approach because the bulk of our knowledge about French ceremonial entries is based on the experiences of the major cities of the kingdom. As well as looking at the leading cities of the realm such as Lyon, Paris and Rouen, it is also important to examine the entries staged by less-powerful urban communities. By 1550, Paris (then the largest European city west of Istanbul) had a population of 250,000, while Lyon, Rouen and Toulouse had populations of between 50,000 to 75,000. Yet entries were not just a product of the great cities. At the other end of the urban spectrum, towns such as Pont-Audemer (pop. 2–3,000) and Uzès (pop. 2,500)

50 Jackson, *French Coronation Ceremony*, 175.

also staged entry ceremonies.[51] Small towns lacked the financial resources to put on an entry that rivalled the magnificence of those produced at Lyon and Rouen; nonetheless, these events filled the same basic function as the entries staged in the kingdom's leading cities. Although the frequency of entries varied from town to town, and depended on a range of circumstances (including geography, political conditions, the size and importance of an urban settlement, as well as seasonal factors, the personal wishes of the monarch, and numerous other reasons), most urban settlements could expect to receive a visit by the king at least once during his reign – and frequently more often. Furthermore, they could also expect visits from the monarch's representatives, including his immediate relatives and the provincial governors.

A ceremonial entry was a major event for a small town, especially those situated in remote parts of the kingdom, such as Auvergne or Languedoc. While large cities such as Paris or Lyon (as well as medium-ranking cities located close to centres of royal power such as Tours) could expect numerous visits from kings, smaller towns in more distant parts of the kingdom could not. This book follows the peregrinations of the Valois monarchy. Unlike the English court which was becoming settled around the south-east of England by the early sixteenth century, the Valois monarchs maintained their itinerancy right through to the reign of Henry III. As the court rarely covered more than twenty miles per day (and often less than ten), it halted both in large cities and small towns, thus providing the governments of all sizes of urban communities with an opportunity to gain contact with the king. While this book highlights some local variations in how kings were welcomed in different parts of France, it also shows that there were core similarities across the kingdom, particularly with regard to the ways in which urban elites sought the confirmation of their existing liberties and negotiated with the Crown for new ones. In short, entries had a similar function across France because regardless of a town's size and geographical location its rights had to be legitimised by the ruler.

On the rare occasions when studies of French entries look more broadly across the kingdom, they tend to have a restricted chronological focus.[52] One of the main disadvantages with this approach is that we get little sense of how the entry ceremony evolved over time. Consequently, some historians have overstated the novelty or importance of developments in their own

51 Philip Benedict, 'Cities and Social Change', in Philip Benedict, ed., *Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France* (New York, 1992), 9; Bernard Michelin, 'Pont-Audemer, une petite ville de Normandie à la Renaissance (1477–1551)', 3 vols (Ph.D thesis, Université de Paris IV, 2005), i. 2.

52 See, for example: Boutier, Dewerpe and Nordman, *Tour de France royal*.

period of study. In her examination of Henry IV's entries in the 1590s, Annette Finley-Croswhite remarks that 'Henry's entries served to reunite the monarchy with estranged towns and heralded a reconciliation between the king and his urban subjects' and thus 'form[ed] an interesting chapter in the evolution of Renaissance rituals because they contained a unique aspect not present in the entries of other kings.'[53] Yet such reconciliations were already apparent from the mid-fourteenth century and they also formed a key part of the re-establishment of Charles VII's rule in the 1430s and 1440s. The adoption of a broad chronological approach allows us to track the development of ceremonial practices over time rather than viewing a particular monarch's entries in isolation.

While the availability of festival books has led historians to overwhelmingly focus on Renaissance entries, this book considers the entire period of Valois rule. It was under the Valois monarchs that the French royal entry grew from being an unostentatious ceremony during the reigns of Philip VI and John II to reach its apogee under Henry II and Charles IX, when entries into the kingdom's principal cities lasted for several hours and provided a lavish audio-visual feast for the senses. However, while there was a change in the aesthetics and splendour of the welcome, the essential function of the entry remained the same for urban elites during the two-and-a-half centuries of Valois rule. Namely, these ceremonies provided municipal governments with a moment of face-to-face contact with the king and his representatives. It is also fitting that this book should end with the last Valois monarch, Henry III. After reaching its height under Henry II and Charles IX, the royal entry ceremony went into a sharp decline under Henry III, who fixed the Valois court around the Île-de-France and preferred closed court entertainments (such as ballets) to public entries; indeed, Nicholas Le Roux has found that 'under Henri III, urban entries virtually disappeared'.[54] By the reign of Henry III, the Crown permitted

53 Finley-Croswhite, *Henry IV and the Towns*, 48.

54 Nicholas Le Roux, 'The Politics of Festivals at the Court of the Last Valois', in Mulryne and Goldring, *Court Festivals*, 103. See also: Mark Greengrass, 'Henri III, Festival Culture and the Rhetoric of Royalty', in Mulryne, Watanabe-O'Kelly and Shewring, *Europa Triumphans*, i. 109–10; Nicholas Le Roux, 'Henri III and the Rites of Monarchy', in Mulryne, Watanabe-O'Kelly and Shewring, *Europa Triumphans*, i. 116–21. Henry III avoided making ceremonial entries even before he ascended to the French throne. When he came to Nantes in July 1573, for example, Albert de Gondy, count of Retz, was sent to inform the town council that Henry did not wish to make an entry and would instead lodge in a house in the suburbs: AM Nantes AA 34. While entries declined under Henry III, they reappeared under the first Bourbon monarch. Once neglected, the entries of the Bourbon monarchs, especially those of Henry IV, have formed the focus for recent works on French royal entries.

the cities of the kingdom to spare the expense of preparing a magnificent entry by offering a payment in lieu of the ceremony. According to the journal of Pierre de l'Estoile, Rouen paid 20,000 *livres* to the Crown instead of staging a welcome for Henry III in June 1578. L'Estoile remarks that 'the king took [the money] to give to his mignons. This was found very strange.'[55] Offering the king a payment instead of preparing an entry may have saved the town money but it denied them the opportunity to win new liberties and was thus to the overall disadvantage of the town (and its economy). Henry III's dislike of public entries contributed to the creation of a gulf between the last Valois king and his urban subjects, and it is perhaps no surprise these conditions led to widespread urban participation in leagues against the French monarchy.[56]

Overview

The key questions that drive this book are those that consider how urban elites used ceremonial entries to negotiate with the Crown for liberties. Chapter one analyses the strategies municipal councils took to ensure that the king confirmed their rights during the extramural greeting. This chapter begins with an examination of the greeting speech, which urban governments used to ask the king to confirm their existing liberties. As this was a pivotal moment in the entry ceremony, it was the object of extensive preparations by urban administrations. The manner in which kings responded to municipal greetings, particularly through the display of gesture and emotion, was crucial to the granting of liberties. Furthermore, urban leaders used holy objects (such as relics) both

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See, for example: Michael P. Breen, 'Addressing La Ville des Dieux: Entry Ceremonies and Urban Audiences', *Journal of Social History* 38 (2004), 341–64; Finley-Croswhite, *Henry IV and the Towns*, 47–62; Yann Lignereux, *Lyon de le roi: de la "bonne ville" à l'absolutisme municipale* (*1594–1654*) (Seyssel, 2003), 57–65; Ann W. Ramsey, 'The Ritual Meaning of Henry IV's 1594 Parisian Entry', Russell and Visentin, *French Ceremonial Entries*, 189–206; Marie-France Wagner and Daniel Vaillancourt, eds., *Le Roi dans la ville. Anthologie des entrées royales dans les villes françaises de province* (*1615–1660*) (Paris, 2001); Marie-France Wagner, ed., *Les entrées royales et solonnelles du règne d'Henri IV dans les villes françaises*, 2 vols (Paris, 2010); Marie-France Wagner, 'Le spectacle de l'ordre exemplaire ou la cérémonies de l'entrée dans la ville', in Marie-France Wagner and Claire Le Brun-Gouanvic, eds., *Les arts du spectacle dans la ville* (*1404–1721*) (Paris, 2001), 113–35.

55 Pierre de l'Estoile, *Mémoires-journaux, 1574–1611*, 12 vols (Paris, 1875–96), i. 257.

56 Elie Barnavi, *Le Parti de Dieu. Étude sociale et politique des chefs de la Ligue parisienne, 1585–1594* (Brussels-Louvain, 1980); Robert Descimon, *Qui étaient les seize? Mythes et réalités de la Ligue parisienne, 1585–1595* (Paris, 1983).

to encourage the king to act in a deferential manner during the confirmation of municipal rights and to raise the status of this act to that of a sacred oath. The chapter then moves on to assesses the significance of objects such as keys and banners for the winning of urban liberties, demonstrating that these items were more than simple tokens of a town's submission to its lord. This chapter also suggests that an evolution in the form of the extramural greeting changed the nature of the confirmation of urban liberties during the mid-sixteenth century. In particular, the growth of a physical distance between the king and civic delegations at the extramural greeting lent a greater significance to the direct contact which urban leaders gained with the king at the post-entry greeting.

Where chapter one analyses the ratification of old liberties, chapter two examines how urban administrations used an entry to win new rights. It begins by reassessing debates about the perceived openness of the Valois court. Whereas the customary view is that the French court was easily accessible before the later sixteenth century, this chapter shows that such claims have been overstated. While Valois monarchs claimed to be open to receive petitions from all their subjects, urban governments found it difficult to gain access to the king under normal circumstances. In contrast, a royal entry provided municipal elites with guaranteed access to the monarch and his ministers. This access became especially important during the sixteenth century, when the French king became more remote in the extramural greeting. After illustrating how urban administrations gained contact with the king, this chapter moves on to explore the role that gift-giving played in the winning of new rights and liberties. It uncovers the strategies that towns deployed at this stage of the ceremony and considers how effective they were in the winning of new liberties, before going on to provide a typology of the requests towns brought to the monarch at a royal entry. This chapter also reveals the ways in which urban petitions related to both national and local pressures and shows how the nature of these requests changed over time.

Chapter three focuses on the crucial role that the French king's household played in the granting of liberties. It shows how entries allowed urban governments to develop networks of clientage with influential brokers at court. Whereas studies of clientage in pre-modern France typically focus on the nobility, this chapter contributes to wider debates on the operation of clientage in France by putting the spotlight on urban elites. It shows how royal favourites and key brokers helped ensure that the king and his ministers received urban petitions favourably. Entries were a particularly important means for smaller towns (which could not afford to keep delegations at court) to gain access to those in power. Finally, it examines the entries of royal women, whose intimate relationship with the king made them powerful brokers. This chapter

demonstrates that towns devised entries specifically to obtain favours from these women, which they could draw on in the future to win new liberties.

Building on the discussion of royal women, the final chapter focuses on the entries of the provincial governors, who, like the queen, represented the monarch. While governors were amongst the most powerful royal officials in France, their entries are rarely studied. Yet, as a consequence of their increasing powers, governors' entries were an important means for towns to obtain liberties and recruit powerful brokers at court. As governors represented the person of the king in the provinces, there were heated discussions across France about how they should be received. By the middle of the sixteenth-century, governors' entries had become so magnificent that they were almost indistinguishable from those of the king. This chapter demonstrates that honours traditionally reserved for the king were accorded to governors specifically to reward their services for urban governments. Governors' entries were also crucial events for townspeople because they had the power to confirm urban liberties and issue grants in the monarch's name. As well as examining governors' entries, this chapter also considers how urban governments staged ceremonial entries to win the favour of deputy governors, *baillis* and *sénéchaux*, whose receptions have been omitted from previous studies of French entries. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the receptions civic leaders gave to governors' wives to recruit their services as brokers.

All of the following chapters are concerned with the ways in which urban elites interacted with the king and his representatives. My principal focus is on how municipal governments used entries to try and win influence with the decision-making core which lay at the heart of the French government. Accordingly, this book is based upon extensive research in the records of urban governments. Furthermore, in contrast to the numerous studies that examine the pageantry of these events, this book approaches ceremonial entries from a social-political perspective. It focuses on the urban elites who devised this ceremony in order to interact with the king and his representatives and win concessions from them. Despite appearances of immutability, the entry was not a static ceremony; it evolved over time and in response to a number of stimuli, such as the needs of urban elites, the transformation in town-Crown relations from the mid-fifteenth century, changing political conditions in France and the concomitant development of the character of the Valois monarchy. It is the thesis of this book that ceremonial entries were important events for municipal elites because they allowed them to win the advantageous rights and liberties that secured their dominant position at the pinnacle of urban society. All the endeavours detailed in the following chapters were driven towards this end.

CHAPTER 1

Confirming Municipal Liberties

If we wish to understand the important role that ceremonial entries played in the confirmation of urban liberties, we must begin our analysis with an examination of the extramural greeting, as this was the first point of direct contact between the monarch and the urban elite on the day of the entry. While historians typically approach the formal welcome from the king's perspective, this chapter examines its value for civic elites. From the very beginning of an entry, municipal administrations across France used the extramural encounter to assert the extent of their power both to those people who travelled with the king and to the wider urban population. By standing across the road and bringing a halt to the king's cortège at the limit of their jurisdiction, urban rulers placed themselves at the forefront of the extramural greeting. Civic councils used this meeting to highlight their privileged relationship with the monarch, from whom their power derived.[1] The members of the urban delegation were dressed in identical uniforms, which alerted the king to their status and allowed him to pick out the municipal elite from the mass of townspeople who gathered to watch the event. For example, during his extramural greeting at Tournai in 1355 John II invited those people dressed in the municipal livery (i.e. the town council) to dine with him at his lodgings that evening.[2] This chapter will show how municipal councils devised a range of strategies to ensure that they remained visible and at the forefront of the extramural greeting. In sum, urban governments created a ceremonial space in front of the city gate, where they could speak to the monarch directly and petition him to confirm their rights.

1 Joël Blanchard, 'Les entrées royales: pouvoir et présentation du pouvoir à la fin du Moyen Age', *Littérature* 50 (1983), 7.

2 La Grange, 'Entrées des souverains', 28. For municipal uniforms see: S. Mouysset, 'Rouge et noire, la robe fait le consul: l'exemple de Rodez aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles', in Denise Turrel, ed., *Regards sur les sociétés modernes, XVIe–XVIIIe siècle. Mélanges offerts à Claude Petitfrère* (Tours, 1997), 123–32; Denise Turrel, 'La "livrée de distinction": les costumes des magistrats municipaux dans les entrées royales des XVIe et XVIIe siècles', in Jean-François Eck and Michel Lescure, eds., *Construction, reproduction et représentation des patriciats urbains de l'antiquité au XXe siècle* (1999), 469–86.

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FIGURE 1 *Charles VI greeted on horseback by the municipal council at his inaugural entry into Paris in 1380. Bibliothèque Nationale de France 138, FOL. 260V.*

The *Harangue*

While the verbal expression of welcome (the *harangue*) was one of the most important elements in the extramural meeting, historians frequently pass over the content of the speech and the manner in which it was delivered in favour of examining the pageantry staged at the gate of entry. Yet, as the *harangue* was a pivotal moment in the town's initial encounter with the king, urban elites invested a considerable amount of time and effort into its preparation. Civic administrations hoped that a pleasing greeting would open a channel of dialogue with the monarch, which they could use to petition him for rights. From the outset of the ceremony, municipal elites sought to persuade the king that they were maintaining order on his behalf, in return for which they expected to receive his confirmation of the privileges that upheld their authority over urban political structures. Municipal administrations papered over the manifold fractures and divisions in urban society and greeted the king on behalf of the wider community. This was not the moment in the ceremony for urban elites to present the king with grievances regarding their disputes with other social groups (that would come later, when urban administrations submitted their petitions to receive new rights and powers); rather, the extramural greeting provided an opportunity for civic leaders to convince the king that they were maintaining control over urban populations on his behalf. As the person who principally embodied municipal authority, the mayor regularly delivered the greeting speech which he used to persuade the king that he spoke on behalf of the entire community. For instance, when Charles V entered Paris alongside his uncle, Emperor Charles IV, in 1378, the *prévôt-des-marchands*, Jean Fleury, welcomed the two monarchs on behalf of 'the bourgeois of the good town'.[3] Alternatively, senior members of the municipal administration who were in possession of excellent verbal skills could be asked to make the speech. When Charles VII entered Saint-Flour in 1437, the consul Pierre Gillette delivered the *harangue*. Gillette was known to be an expert speaker and he acted as Saint-Flour's ambassador during key moments of contact with the Crown.[4] The consuls expected that Gillette's expertise in dealing with the king and his officials would benefit the town during negotiations for privileges.

Urban councils regularly asked lawyers to deliver the greeting. To give one example, when Charles VIII entered Abbeville on 17 June 1493 the lawyer

3 R. Delachenal, ed., *Chronique des règnes de Jean II et Charles V*, 4 vols (Paris, 1910–20), ii. 210; BNF Collection français 4316, fol. 6v.

4 Marcellin Boudet, 'Charles VII à Saint-Flour et la prélude de la praguerie', *Annales du Midi* 6 (1894), 308.

and *échevin* Jehan Caudel welcomed the king on behalf of the municipal council.[5] By virtue of their profession, lawyers such as Caudel were expected to be proficient in delivering persuasive speeches. It was important that speakers delivered first-rate greetings because urban governments needed to convince the king that he should confirm their rights at this point in the ceremony. In addition, as the *gens de loi* were coming to replace merchants in municipal governments across France during the later fifteenth century, the placing of lawyers such as Caudel at the forefront of ceremonial entries provided these legal experts with a means to advance their social position.[6] As this example highlights, rather than providing a moment for the reinforcing of a static social order, the extramural greeting was a dynamic element in the entry and it reflected the wider changes taking place in urban communities as new socio-economic groups rose to power.

Lawyers' participation in the extramural greeting was also part of a wider trend, whereby the administrations of the kingdom's principal cities began to employ professional speakers to deliver the *harangue* on their behalf from the late fifteenth century. Indeed, we find a growing reluctance amongst members of civic governments to give the welcoming speech to the king. For example, none of Vienne's consuls wanted to deliver the greeting to Francis I in 1536.[7] As there was an expectation that members of urban governments would set aside personal concerns to act in the good of their town, such moments of discord threatened to undermine the credibility of a civic administration's right to rule. Some municipal governments punished people who refused to give the greeting speech because their disobedience threatened to shatter the image of civic unity they were constructing for the ruler (as well as damaging the overall quality of the *harangue*). Two of Dijon's civic councillors (Nicolas and Pierre Berbis) were stripped of their offices when they refused to make the greeting speech to Philip the Good in 1436.[8] As Nicolas and Pierre were not prepared to act for the wider benefit of Dijon's ruling elite, they were denied the privileges gained from holding a senior post in the city's administration. Although the position of speaker was an honourable one, the expectations

5 Ledieu, 'Charles VIII à Abbeville', 56.

6 For the expansion of lawyers in municipal governments, see: Roger Doucet, *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris, 1948), i. 363; Frederick M. Irvine, 'From renaissance city to ancien régime capital: Montpellier, c.1500–1600', in Benedict, *Cities and Social Change*, 125; Richard Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVIe siècle: Lyon et ses marchands (environs de 1520-environs de 1580)*, 2 vols (Paris, 1971), 412.

7 Thomas Mermet, *Ancienne chronique de Vienne* (Vienne, 1845), 182.

8 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, i. 33.

placed on the individual to make an appropriate greeting meant that it was not always popular. When six members of Amiens' town council declined the invitation to greet Henry II in August 1558, the mayor was forced to look beyond the ranks of the civic administration to find a suitable candidate.[9] Although the *échevin* Nicole de Nybat had formally welcomed the bishop of Amiens, Nicholas de Pellevé, at his inaugural entry in 1555, he declined the mayor's request to deliver the greeting to Henry II.[10] Nybat's rejection of the commission is understandable, as a royal *harange* was of greater political and economic importance than a speech to a bishop.

The formal extramural welcome was tightly choreographed and the speaker had to make a sequence of appropriate gestures when delivering the *harangue*.[11] Gestures were a crucial means of communication in pre-modern societies and deliberate bodily actions (such as kneeling) lent weight to sentiments communicated in the speeches.[12] Yet the pressure put on speakers to make accomplished greetings could give rise to mistakes. When Francis I returned from Italy to France in 1516 after achieving victory against the Swiss at the battle of Marignano, Marseille was the first town he entered. To celebrate Francis's success on the battlefield, the municipal council prepared a spectacular entry designed to highlight the king's military prowess. In keeping with this theme, two civic representatives dressed as the Roman gods Mars and Vulcan delivered the greeting speech. Unfortunately, the strain of the situation led the deputies to forget the words of the greeting.[13] As well as embarrassing civic councils, mistakes could have important political and economic consequences because an entry's success determined the scale of the grants towns obtained from the king.

As a failed greeting speech could diminish a town's standing with the king, municipal councils began to move away from punishing recalcitrant speakers

9 They employed the royal *prévot* to deliver the greeting: AM Amiens BB 31, fol. 123v.

10 AM Amiens BB 27, fol. 85v.

11 See, for example: La Grange, 'Entrées des souverains', 44–45; AM Amiens BB 9, fol. 115v; Ledieu, 'Charles VIII à Abbeville', 56.

12 For the use of gesture see: Peter Burke, 'The Language of Gesture in Early Modern Italy', in Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1997), 71–83; Lucie Desjardins, *Le corps parlant. Savoirs et représentation des passions au XVIIe siècle* (Saint-Foy and Paris, 2000), 129–39; Marcel Mauss, 'The Techniques of the Body', *Economy and Society* 2 (1973), 70–88; Robert Muchembled, 'The order of gestures: a social history of sensibilities under the Ancien Régime in France', in Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg, eds., *A Cultural History of Gesture: From Antiquity to the Present Day* (Cambridge, 1991), 129–51.

13 Pierre Jourda, *Marguerite d'Angoulême, duchesse d'Alençon, reine de Navarre (1492–1549): Étude biographique et littéraire* (Paris, 1930), 49.

to appoint expert orators (often drawn from beyond their ranks) to deliver the *harangue* on their behalf. Urban administrations attached so great an importance to the *harangue*'s power to persuade the king both to confirm their existing charters and to grant them new rights that they were prepared to appoint speakers from rival urban authorities. Despite the fact that urban religious institutions were often in conflict with municipal administrations over issues of authority and jurisdiction, urban governments regularly hired members of the local clergy (who were often experts in the professional art of oratory) to deliver the *harangue* on their behalf.[14] In 1461, Tours' *échevins* asked the town's bishop, Jean Bernars, to greet Louis XI in their name, while Rouen's rulers stated that it was necessary to have a member of the clergy speak on their behalf when Louis, duke of Orléans, and the queen, Anne of Brittany, entered the city 1492.[15] Yet members of the clergy were not willing to deliver speeches that threatened their rights. Rouen's *échevins* asked the cathedral chanter, Michel Pétit, to greet Charles VIII in 1485 with a speech asking him to grant the city council the right to levy a subsidy to repair the fortifications. This was a crucial issue for Rouen in 1485 because soldiers were threatening a city as a result of the princely rebellion against the Crown known as the *Guerre Folle*. Nonetheless, the levying of a war subsidy alarmed Rouen's clergy who feared it would cause them to lose their exemption from lay taxation. Petit informed the municipal council that he would only greet the king if they abandoned their request for the subsidy. Not only did the *échevins* agree to Petit's demand, they also offered to support the requests the cathedral chapter planned to bring to the king following the entry.[16] The fact that Rouen's municipal council was prepared to relinquish this lucrative subsidy (which the king would likely have awarded) highlights the importance it attached to the formal greeting. As Pétit was an eloquent speaker, Rouen's *échevins* were prepared to make concessions to secure his services and have the king confirm their rights, thus entrenching the municipal administration's power. Once municipal councils had acquired the assistance of expert speakers, they attempted to retain their services. Rouen hired Pierre Daré, the *lieutenant-général* of the *bailliage*, to deliver the *harangues* at royal entries for a quarter of a century. Not only was Daré a leading figure in Rouen's political and social hierarchy, he was also instrumental to

14 On the role of clerics in delivering speeches to the king on behalf of urban governments, see: Julien Brand, 'Foi, politique et information en Champagne au XVe siècle', *Revue Historique* 653 (2010), 72.

15 AM Tours BB 10, fol. 344r; AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 9, fol. 42r.

16 Beaurepaire, 'Charles VIII à Rouen', 282–83.

the city's cultural life.[17] As Daré was well versed in urban culture and practiced at making eloquent speeches, he was the perfect figure to deliver the *harangue*. Given his skills, Rouen's town council employed Daré at royal entries from 1492 to 1517, during which time he greeted Anne of Brittany, Louis XII (three times) and Francis I.[18] By enlisting Daré's services at successive entries, Rouen's *échevins* were able to draw on the proven talents of an expect speaker in order to obtain the confirmation of their rights.

As well as appointing expert speakers to be their mouthpiece, municipal councils hired professional writers to compose the text of the *harangue*. Although Daré greeted Louis XII in 1498, Rouen's *échevins* commissioned Bérenger Le Marchant (a canon in the city's cathedral chapter) to compose the text for the speech.[19] Urban elites provided an overview of the items they wanted to include in the greeting, paying the writers to fashion these elements into a flattering and eloquent speech. At Châlons-en-Champagne, for example, the municipal council met the speechwriter to inform him of the matters he was to cover in the speech.[20] Once the writer had completed the text, it was submitted to the municipal council for inspection. Speechwriters hired their services to various towns and an industry grew up around the staging of entries in sixteenth-century France, with poets and artists profiting from the fundamental role these ceremonies played in sustaining municipal power.[21] In 1533, Troyes' *échevins* employed Pierre Gringore to compose the greeting speech for Eleanor of Austria's entry. By this point, Gringore had almost two decades' worth of experience designing the entries of French queens. In particular, he devised the entire programmes for the Parisian entries of Mary Tudor (1514) and Claude of France (1517) on behalf of the capital's *échevins*.[22] Town councils instructed experts such as Gringore to compose a concise *harangue*, as

17 Chas B. Newcomer, 'The *Puy* at Rouen', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 31 (1916), 216–17. For the Rouen *puy* see Denis Hüe, *La poésie palinodique à Rouen (1486–1550)* (Paris, 2002).

18 Anne of Brittany and Louis, duke of Orléans (later Louis XII), in 1492; Louis XII, 1498; Louis XII, 1508; Francis I, 1517.

19 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 9, fol. 54r.

20 Sylvette Guilbert, ed., *Registre de délibérations du Conseil de ville de Châlons-en-Champagne (1417–1421)* (Châlons-en-Champagne, 2001), 190.

21 For these experts, see: Christian de Mérindol, 'Entrées royales et princières à la fin de l'époque médiévale: jeux de taxonomie, d'emblématique et de symbolique', in Christian Desplat and Paul Mironneau, eds., *Les entrées: gloire et déclin d'un cérémonial* (Biarritz, 1997), 43–44.

22 Babeau, *Rois de France à Troyes*, 38. For Gringore's Paris entries see: Cynthia J. Brown, ed., *Les entrées royales à Paris de Marie d'Angleterre, 1514, et Claude de France, 1517* (Geneva,

succinct greetings were invariably admired and thus more likely to persuade the recipient to act on the town's behalf. When Emperor Charles V entered Paris in 1540, the *prévot des marchands*, Augustin de Thou, delivered a speech that was lauded as 'elegant and succinct', while the greeting given to Charles, duke of Nemours and king of Navarre, at Montpellier in 1408 was praised on account of it being 'good, brief and honourable'.[23] Municipal councils hoped to avoid fatuous speeches because royal entries could be tests of endurance, which sometimes lasted as long as seven or eight hours. In 1463, Tournai's *échevins* ruled that Louis XI's greeting was to be brief, while Péronne's municipal council criticised the royal lieutenant for delivering an excessively long speech at Charles IX's entry in 1564.[24] Urban governments frowned on lengthy speeches as they sapped the king's patience and good will, thus making him less disposed to receive urban petitions.

Town councils gave multiple speeches at joint entries. Although short greetings were favoured, the longest speech was typically reserved for the individual with the highest social status, who was normally the monarch. Yet a succession of royal minorities in Renaissance France meant that the king was not necessarily the most powerful person at the greeting. In these circumstances, municipal councils could adapt the greetings to give the longest speech to the person they deemed to be the most influential (and thus in the best position to advance their cause). When Charles IX and Catherine de Medici entered Sens in 1564, the queen mother received the longest greeting speech.[25] While Charles had proclaimed his majority after making his inaugural entry into Rouen in 1563, his mother remained the effective ruler of the kingdom throughout the 1560s.[26] By giving Catherine the longer greeting, the rulers of Sens acknowledged her power to confirm and extend the town's liberties. Indeed, it was the queen mother, rather than Charles IX, who had confirmed the privileges of Limoges in the previous year.[27] As municipal administrations

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2005); Michael Sherman, 'Pomp and Circumstances: Pageantry, Politics, and Propaganda during the Reign of Louis XII', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 9 (1978), 24–32.

23 G. Guiffrey, ed., *Cronique du roy Françoys premier* (Paris, 1860), 291; E. Alicot et al., eds., *Thalamus parvus: le petit Thalamus de Montpellier publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits originaux* (Montpellier, 1840), 446.

24 La Grange, 'Entrées des souverains', 48; BNF Collection de Picardie 54, fol. 248r.

25 Vaillancourt, *Entrées solennelles, Charles IX*, 62.

26 Hanley, *Lit de Justice*, 157–59. See also: Linda Briggs, '"*Concernant le service de leurs dictes Majestez et auctorité de leur justice*": Perceptions of Royal Power in the Entries of Charles IX and Catheine de Medicis (1564–1566)', in Mulryne, Aliverti and Testaverde, *Iconography of Power*, 47–50.

27 Ruben, *Registres consulaires, Limoges*, ii. 256–57.

used extramural speeches to obtain the favour of those people who stood to benefit them the most, an individual's perceived value to urban governments could override customs regarding social status.

The pressure on urban administrations to make a speech that would win the favour of the most important people in the kingdom was exacerbated by a proliferation in the number of greetings delivered during the course of a royal entry. As the ceremony evolved over time, urban governments found that they had to compete with rival groups for the king's attention at the extramural greeting. Before the early fifteenth century, it was typically only the municipal council that offered a *harangue* during the extramural greeting. Yet other urban authorities began to deliver speeches during the fifteenth century in a bid to gain access to the ruler. The resurgence of the Hundred Years' War in 1415 led to an expansion of Lancastrian power in northern France. As towns in this region regularly changed hands during the early fifteenth century, other urban groups imitated civic leaders and used entries to develop links with the new ruler. During Henry VI's entry into Paris on 2 December 1431, the *Parlement* of Paris mimicked the municipal council by going beyond the city walls to formally welcome the Lancastrian monarch. The *parlementaires* rode out of the city as a corporate group and greeted the king at the mid-way point between La-Chappelle-St. Denis (where the municipal council traditionally met the monarch) and the gate of entry. In the run up to Henry's visit, the *Parlement* had unsuccessfully attempted to influence the actions of the royal council and obtain the security of their offices and salaries. The *parlementaires'* decision to greet Henry was a bid to gain direct contact with the monarch, who had largely spent his time in France in Calais and Rouen.[28] We can detect a similar motivation behind the University of Paris's decision to join the extramural delegation at Charles VII's entry into the city in 1437.[29] The city had returned to Valois rule in 1436 and the entry presented the University of Paris (which had backed the Lancastrian monarchy's claim to the French throne and supported Charles's disinheritance in 1420) with an opportunity to repair its relations with the

28 Alexandre Tuetey, ed., *Journal de Clément de Fauquembergue, greffier du Parlement de Paris, 1417–1435*, 3 vols (Paris, 1903–15), iii. 59, 61–62. See also: Lawrence Bryant, 'Configurations of the Community in Late Medieval Spectacles: Paris and London During the Dual Monarchy', in Barbara Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson, eds., *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis, 1994), 12–18; Neil Murphy, 'Ceremony and Conflict in Fifteenth-Century France: Lancastrian Ceremonial Entries into French Towns, 1415–1431', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 39 (2014), 119–23. For the role of the *Parlement* of Paris in royal entries, see: Lawrence Bryant, '*Parlementaire* Political Theory in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 7 (1976), 15–25.

29 Bryant, *King and the City*, 88.

Valois king.[30] The opportunity to speak to the king in person at the extramural greeting allowed various urban groups to achieve a reconciliation with the Valois monarchy in the aftermath of the collapse of Lancastrian France. Yet these changes harmed civic administrations because they threatened to shift the focus of the event away from them.

By the early sixteenth century, French kings were accustomed to hear a range of speeches at their entries. The number of *harangues* varied from place to place and depended on the relationship between civic, royal and religious authorities. Unsurprisingly, the larger cities of the kingdom (which were often the location for political institutions) tended to have the greatest number of speeches. When Francis I entered Paris in 1526, he heard *harangues* from the city council, the royal officials of the *Châtelet* and the *Cour des Aides*, in addition to receiving greetings from the clergy.[31] As Francis was entering Paris for the first time since his release from captivity in Madrid, the speeches allowed the capital's municipal, royal and religious authorities to renew their contact with the king. The proliferation in the number of *harangues* prompted Paris's civic council to try and maintain its position at the forefront of the extramural greeting. While the preparations for the Parisian entry of Charles VIII in 1484 led to protests about the order of the speeches from the *prévot* of Paris (who wanted to increase his prestige by delivering the first *harangue*), the municipal council retained its right to make the initial greeting.[32] Although the Parisians kept their position at the forefront of the extramural reception, other municipal councils lost the right to greet the king first. At Rouen, the inclusion of greeting speeches from royal officers caused the city council to lose its precedence in some extramural greetings during the early sixteenth century. When Louis XII entered the city in 1508, the municipal council's *harangue* came after the greeting delivered by Louis de Brézé, the *grand sénéchal*, who was accompanied by a large body of Norman nobles.[33] This meant that the initial character of Louis XII's reception at Rouen was noble rather than bourgeois. Given this loss in precedence, Rouen's *échevins* hired experts (such as Pierre Daré) to develop memorable and eloquent speeches that would keep the focus of the extramural greeting on the civic administration.

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30 Jean Favier, *Paris au XVe siècle, 1380–1500* (Paris, 1974), 229–30. The University of Paris had developed close links with the Lancastrian administration between 1419 and 1436: Guy Thompson, *Paris and its People: The Anglo-Burgundian Regime 1420–1436* (Oxford, 1991), 7.

31 G. Fagniez, ed., *Livre de raison de M. Nicholas, avocat au Parlement de Paris 1519–1530* (Paris, 1885), 102.

32 Godefroy, *Ceremonial François*, i. 225.

33 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 10, fol. 46r.

Although greeting speeches have been dismissed as 'programmed, repetitive and sycophantic', they played an essential role in the confirmation of municipal liberties, which was the most important element of the extramural greeting for townspeople.[34] When Francis I entered Toulouse in 1533, the *capitoul* who delivered the speech asked the king to confirm the city's privileges. Francis responded to this request by saying: 'you have always been loyal and obedient to my predecessors and me. I know this well and thank you for your good wishes, and with regards to your privileges and liberties I will keep you in them'.[35] The intimate nature of the urban elite's interaction with the monarch was crucial to the success of the extramural greeting. Rudolf Schlögl developed the idea of 'participation societies' (*Anwesenheitsgesellschaften*); namely, that pre-modern urban elites preferred to engage in politics by means of face-to-face meetings rather than through written documents.[36] Urban liberties were confirmed by the words and gestures the king delivered during his face-to-face encounter with the municipal delegation.[37] Although municipal councils hired notaries to draw up a record of the king's confirmation of their liberties, this was principally for archival purposes.[38] The textual account of the event provided civic councils with a record of the king's oath which they could produce if their rights were challenged in the future. When municipal

34 Vaillancourt, 'Introduction', in *Entrées solennelles, Charles IX*, 16.

35 AM Toulouse AA 5/97. See also: AA 83, fols. 1–12v.

36 Rudolf Schlögl, 'Vergesellschaftung unter Anwesenden. Zur kommunikativen Form des Politischen in der vormodernen Stadt', in Rudolf Schlögl, ed., *Interaktion und Herrschaft: Die Politik der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt* (Constance, 2004), 9–60. On this point, see also: Gadi Algazi, 'Doing Things with Gifts', in Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner and Bernhardt Jussen, eds., *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange* (Göttigen, 2003), 23; Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (London, 1979), chapters eight and nine; Beat Kümin, *The Communal Age in Western Europe, c.1100–1800* (Basingstoke, 2013), 73. For the importance of spoken communication for urban governments, see: Thierry Dutour, 'L'élaboration, la publication et la diffusion de l'information à la fin du Moyen Âge (Bourgogne ducale et France royale)', in Didier Lett and Nicholas Offenstadt, eds., *Haro! Noël! Oyé! Pratiques du cri au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2003), 152–54.

37 This is in contrast to the petitions for additional liberties, which were dependent on the receipt of written confirmation (see chapter two).

38 For notaries recording the confirmation of municipal liberties at entries, see: E. Lecesne, *Histoire d'Arras depuis les temps plus recules jusqu'en 1789*, 2 vols (Arras, 1880), i. 399; Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 85–86, 176–77; Rivaud, *Entrées princières*, 113–21; Olivier Rouchon, 'Rituels publics, souveraineté et identité citadine: les cérémonies d'entrée en Avignon (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)', *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 77 (2008), 55. On this point, see also: Timothy Watson, 'Friends at Court: The Correspondence of the Lyon City Council, c. 1525–1575', *French History* 13 (1999), 283.

councils sent delegations to court at the beginning of a new monarch's reign to swear loyalty to the incumbent king, their words and gestures were the essential parts of the ritual. A delegation from Lyon that travelled north to swear loyalty to Henry II in June 1547 asked Paris's *échevins* if they had received a charter confirming their homage to the new king. In response, the Parisians told Lyon's delegation that 'they were not accustomed to make a letter or charter of this homage, as they only made the reverence and loyalty [while] kneeling.'[39] In other words, swearing an oath was a physical act rather than a written one. It brought the monarch into close physical proximity to municipal leaders, who used this interaction as proof of their privileged relationship with the monarch.

The intimate nature of the extramural greeting provided civic councils with a rare moment of direct interaction with the king during the public entry, while the reciprocal exchange of greetings encouraged the creation of a friendly relationship between the monarch and the urban elite. Charles VIII responded to the greeting speech at his entry into Abbeville in 1493 by saying he 'held the said inhabitants for his good, true and loyal subjects and that they had been and always would be in [his] recommendation'.[40] Similarly, after Francis I heard the welcoming speech at Béziers in 1533 'he thanked them heartily'.[41] The public exchange of verbal greetings with the king reinforced the municipal council's legitimacy to rule. As the trend to have liberties ratified at court at the beginning of a monarch's reign meant that the confirmation of urban rights was gradually eroded from the extramural encounter (see below), the exchange of greetings became focused on underpinning the town council's authority. The verbal exchange emphasised the urban elite's relationship with the king, from whom their power derived. For example, Charles IX replied to the greeting from Narbonne's consuls in 1565 by saying: 'I order you [the consuls] to administer justice to my subjects', following which he confirmed their privileges.[42] Charles's speech underscored the municipal council's authority to administer justice on his behalf by emphasising the strong links that existed between the king and the municipal elite. With the outbreak of the Wars of Religion, the monarch used his speech to buttress the authority of Catholic urban elites in regions such as Languedoc where royal authority was contested.

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39 AM Lyon BB 66, fol. 50v.

40 Ledieu, 'Charles VIII à Abbeville', 56.

41 Domarion, *Entrée François Ier, Béziers*, 43.

42 Vaillancourt, *Entrées solennelles, Charles IX*, 178–79. For Charles IX's confirmation of Narbonne's privileges, see also: AM Narbonne AA 66.

In return for granting powers to municipal administrations, the king expected civic leaders to secure their towns for the Crown.

As well as seeking the ratification of their existing liberties, municipal councils also used the *harangue* to set the scene for their petitions for new rights.[43] When Louis XI entered Brive-la-Gaillarde on 27 June 1463, the speaker asked the king to support the town 'in pity and take our poverty and small size gladly'.[44] The speech prepared the ground for the economic liberties the municipal council requested from Louis after the entry, which were designed to restore Brive's prosperity. Furthermore, extramural greeting speeches were linked to the gift exchange that followed the public entry. When Charles V entered Poitiers on 9 December 1539, the consuls asked him to remember the town in the future ('en souvenance pour l'advenir').[45] As soon as the municipal council offered its gifts to the emperor in his private chambers following the entry, Charles replied that he would remember the town ('il en auroit souvenance'), thus referencing the request he received in the extramural greeting and linking the two acts.[46]

Some kings exhibited heightened emotions when responding to urban speeches. For Johan Huizinga the 'extreme excitability of the medieval soul' and 'vehement passion possessing princes and peoples alike' was representative of a child-like sensibility.[47] The Dutch historian characterised the Middle Ages as an era of uncontrolled emotions, when crowds burst into apparently spontaneous tears during ceremonial occasions. Huizinga stated that 'this general facility of emotions, of tears and spiritual upheavals, must be borne in mind in order to conceive fully how violent and high-strung was life at the period'.[48] Following Huizinga's lead, Norbert Elias believed that the unrestrained emotional behaviour that typified the Middle Ages was brought to heel in the mid-sixteenth century when members of modern 'civilized' societies began to regulate their emotional behaviour.[49] Historians such as Jeroen Duindam and Barbara Rosenwein have overturned the long-lasting influence

43 See, for example: Beaurepaire, 'Charles VIII à Rouen', 282.

44 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 179.

45 Rivaud, *Entrées princières*, 205–6.

46 Rivaud, *Entrées princières*, 205–6, 221.

47 Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, trans. F. Hopman (Toronto York, 1924), 11.

48 Huizinga, *Waning of the Middle Ages*, 9.

49 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, revised edition, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford, 2000), 168–72. On Elias and emotions, see: Robert van Krieken, 'Norbert Elias and Emotions in History', in David Lemmings and Ann Brooks, eds., *Emotions and Social Change: Historical and Sociological Perspectives* (New York, 2014), 19–42.

of Huizinga and Elias, while others have shown how the populations of medieval and early modern Europe controlled and displayed their emotions.[50] As early as 1941, Lucien Febvre highlighted the connections between rituals and the presentation of emotions.[51] More recently, Gerd Althoff has demonstrated how the symbolic representation of emotion formed a key element of ritualised actions.[52] Demonstrative behaviour and the externalisation of emotions were crucial tools of communication for pre-modern monarchs. In particular, the degree to which a king laughed in a formal context was an important medium of communication. As Sara Beam, Quentin Skinner, Keith Thomas and others have shown, there were a number of meanings associated with joy and laughter in early modern Europe.[53] However, Denis Crouzet has recently asserted that under Francis I 'laughter and power . . . were no longer intrinsically associated in the intellectual osmosis that was one of the arts of government of Louis XII'.[54] Yet Crouzet overstates the decline in the use of laughter for political purposes by the monarchs of sixteenth-century France. Although Francis I clamped down on satire and farce at the beginning of his reign, he used laughter for communicative purposes during ceremonial

50 Jeroen Duindam, *Myths of Power: Norbert Elias and the Early Modern Court* (Amsterdam, 1994); Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 2007). For other influential studies of the role of emotions in history, see: Elina Gertsman, ed., *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History* (Abingdon, 2012); Barbara H. Rosenwein, ed., *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 1998); idem, 'Worring about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review* 107 (2002), 821–45.

51 Lucien Febvre, 'Sensibility and history: how to reconstitute the emotional life of the past', in Peter Burke, ed., *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre*, trans. K. Folca (London, 1973), 15.

52 Gerd Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Medieval Europe*, trans. Christopher Carroll (Cambridge, 2004); idem, *Otto III*, trans. Phyllis G. Justice (University Park, 2003).

53 Sara Beam, *Laughing Matters: Farce and the Making of Absolutism in France* (Ithaca, 2007); Laurent Joubert, *Treatise on Laughter*, trans. Gregory David de Rocher (Alabama, 1980); Quentin Skinner, 'Hobbes and the Classical Theory of Laughter' in Tom Sorell and Luc Foisneau, eds., *Leviathan After 350 Years* (Oxford, 2004), 142–49; Matthew Steggle, *Laughing and Weeping in Early Modern Theatres* (Aldershot, 2007), 11–23; Keith Thomas, 'The Place of Laughter in Tudor and Stuart England', *Times Literary Supplement* (21 Jan., 1977), 77–81.

54 D. Crouzet, 'From Christ-like king to antichristian tyrant: a first crisis of the monarchical image at the time of Francis I', in Graeme Murdock, Penny Roberts and Andrew Spicer, eds., *Ritual and Violence: Natalie Zemon Davis and Early Modern France* (Past and Present Supplement, 2012), 229.

events. When Francis entered Dijon in 1530, the mayor, Pierre Morin, delivered an especially honourable greeting, in response to which the king 'laughed very heartedly'.[55] Indeed, Francis displayed an especially heightened sense of joy in response to the extent of the townspeople's acclamations at his entry. The capability to articulate joy in public at appropriate times was an important skill for members of pre-modern royal and princely courts. Philippe de Commynes tells us how the members of Louis XI's entourage made a show of great delight for the king's benefit when the news of Charles the Bold's death reached the Valois court.[56] Likewise, exhibiting joy during a ceremonial entry in sixteenth-century Europe allowed rulers to make a forceful political statement, particularly because a resurgence of interest in antique triumphs had encouraged Renaissance monarchs to imitate Roman emperors by appearing emotionless at their entries.[57] Writing of Louis XII's entry into Cremona in 1509, Jean Marot noted that 'the king was like Caesar in the gestures he displayed'.[58] By this sixteenth century, appearing as Caesar meant acting emotionless. A vivid example of this is seen when we examine the entry of the future Philip II into the former French city of Tournai in 1549. According to a contemporary account, the *échevins* included a dramatic performance based on the

55 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, i. 57.

56 Philippe de Commynes, *Mémoires*, ed. Philippe Contamine (Paris, 1994), 324. Lawrence Bryant, '"What face to put on": extravagance and royal authority in Louis XI's ceremonies', in John J. Contreni and Santa Casciani, eds., *Word, Image, Number: Communications in the Middle Ages* (Galluzzo, 2002), 319–20.

57 Ammianus Marcellinus writes that when entering Rome in 357 Emperor Constantius II was 'calm and imperturbable' and 'as if his neck were in a vice, he kept the gaze of his eyes straight ahead, and turned his face neither to right nor to left, but . . . neither did he nod when the wheel jolted nor was he even seen to spit, or wipe of rub his face or nose, or move his hands about': Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, trans. J. C. Rolfe, 3 vols (London, 1935–40), i. 247. For this entry, see: Marianne Sághy, 'The *adventus* of Constantius II to Rome 357 AD', in Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők, eds., . . . *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways . . . Festschrift in Honor of János Bak* (New York, 1999), 148–60.

58 Jean Marot, *Sur les deux heureux voyages de Gennes et de Venise, victorieusement mys a fin par le Tres Crestien Roy Loys douzième de ce nom. Alors poète de la Reyne Anne, duchesse de bretaigne, et depuis valet de Chambre du Tres Chrestien Roy Françoys premier de ce nom* (Lyon, 1537), 105, cited in: Josèphe Jacquiot, 'De l'entrée de César à Rome à l'entrée des rois de France dans leurs bonnes villes', in J. R. Mulryne and M. Shewring, eds., *Italian Renaissance Festivals and their European Influence* (Lewiston, 1992), 257. For this entry, see: Carlo Alfeni, 'Narratione dell entrata in Cremona di Lodovico XII re de Francia in una visita di Luigi alla città di Cremona, 24–26 giuno 1509', *Archivo Storico Lombardo*, 4th series, 8 (1907), 152–66; Nichole Hochner, *Louis XII: les dérèglements de l'image royale, 1498–1515* (Seyssel, 2006), 118.

biblical story of Judith and Holofernes in the entry. In order to give a degree of realism to the event, they had a criminal under sentence of death play the role of the Persian general and have his head severed from his body as Philip rode past. Despite being sprayed with the blood spurting out from the victim's neck, this source claims that the prince remained emotionless and impassive.[59] While scholars have debated the authenticity of this account of Philip's entry, it nonetheless highlights the fact that sixteenth-century princes were expected to appear emotionless at their entries.[60] Philip's ability to appear imperturbable even when sprayed by the blood of a common criminal served as a means to manifest his imperial character and endorse the Habsburg family's claim to be the legitimate successors of the Roman emperors.

The articulation of emotion at an entry in sixteenth-century Europe was a powerful means of communication for rulers precisely because it went against contemporary expectations of royal behaviour. Hence, a king's exhibition of heightened emotion was a conscious gesture he deployed to achieve a particular goal. Certainly, Francis I's deliberate display of laughter and joy at Dijon can be explained by the political circumstances of the entry. In order to secure his release from captivity, by the terms of the treaty of Madrid (1526) Francis agreed to cede the duchy of Burgundy to Charles V. Despite leaving his sons in Spain as hostages, Francis reneged on this promise as soon as he returned to France. The king justified his actions by emphasising the extent of his popularity with the inhabitants of Burgundy, who, he asserted, overwhelmingly wanted to remain under French rule. This claim was supported by the Estates of Burgundy, which voted to remain part of France when they met at Dijon on 4 June 1526.[61] As the 1530 entry was Francis's first visit to Dijon since his release from captivity, his display of joy at the extramural greeting allowed him to highlight his attachment to the duchy and thank its ruling elites for their support.

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59 Fédéric Faber, *Histoire du théâtre français en Belgique depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours d'après des documents inédits reposant aux archives générales du royaume*, 2 vols (Paris and Brussels, 1880), ii. 14–15. Paul Rolland, *Histoire de Tournai* (Tournai, 1956), 194.

60 For the debate on this topic, see: Jody Enders, 'Medieval Snuff Drama', *Exemplaria* 10 (1998), 171–206; idem, *The Medieval Theater of Cruelty: Rhetoric, Memory, Violence* (Ithaca, 2010), 205–10; Margaret E. Owens, *Stages of Dismemberment: The Fragmented Body in Late Medieval and Early Modern Drama* (Newark, 2005), 24–26, 121.

61 R. J. Knecht, *The Rise and Fall of Renaissance France, 1483–1610*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 2001), 127. See also: H. Hauser, 'Le traité de Madrid et la cession de la Bourgogne à Charles Quint. Étude sur le sentiment national en 1525–26', *Revue bourguignonne* 22 (1912), 1–182; Mack P. Holt, 'Burgundians into Frenchmen: Catholic Identity in Sixteenth-Century Burgundy', in Michael Wolfe, ed., *Changing Identities in Early Modern France* (London, 1997), 351.

French kings made a range of other honourable gestures to urban elites when they wanted to indicate their regard for them. For example, Louis XI underscored his favour for civic councillors by taking off his hat and gloves when responding to municipal speeches.[62] The removing of a hat was an important gesture of respect in pre-modern Europe, particularly when made by a monarch. In her life of Charles V, Christine de Pisan stated that the French king honoured those who came to greet him by removing his headwear.[63] By the sixteenth century, manuals of civility stressed the importance of taking off one's hat in the presence of a social superior, particularly when entering their house. It was a mark of great esteem for the king to make this gesture to his social inferiors when greeting urban administrations at the entrance to their jurisdiction.[64] Urban governments also used sacred objects (such as crosses and relics) to encourage the king to behave deferentially.[65] Although relics were present in French entries from the fourteenth century, they became particularly prominent during the reign of Louis XI, probably because he had a strong reverence for sacred objects.[66] Towns generated wealth through the possession of relics because the presence of holy objects drew pilgrims (and their money) to urban centres. This stream of revenue was especially important for smaller towns, which often lacked a significant commercial or industrial sphere. The monarch was the wealthiest and most powerful of these pilgrims and the gifts he provided were of considerable economic benefit for urban communities. Indeed, the possession of especially significant sacred objects encouraged French monarchs to give generously to urban communities. When Louis XI visited Le Puy in 1476, he granted the population a general remission of taxes for ten years as part of his offerings to the cathedral's renowned shrine to the Virgin Mary.[67] Aware of the power of relics to persuade king to grant liberties, the rulers of towns which lacked first-rate sacred objects (such as

62 AM Toulouse AA 3/277; Jean-Paul Lartigue, *Louis XI en Bas-Limousin, 1463* (Brive, 1963), 11.

63 Christine de Pisan, *Le Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, ed. S. Solente, 2 vols (Paris, 1936), ii. 198; BNF français 1182, fol. 21r; Bryant, 'Medieval Entry Ceremony', 100.

64 Herman Roodenburg, 'The "hand of friendship": shaking hands and other gestures in the Dutch Republic', in Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg, eds., A *Cultural History of Gesture from Antiquity to the Present Day* (Cambridge, 1993), 164.

65 For the visibility of relics and the importance of their location in ceremonies, see: Edward Muir, 'The Eye of the Procession: Ritual Ways of Seeing in the Renaissance', in Nicholas Howe, *Ceremonial Culture*, 129–50; Richard C. Trexler, *Public Like in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaca and London, 1980), 57–61.

66 Pierre Champion, *Louis XI*, 2 vols (Paris, 1927), 203–13; Paul Murray Kendall, *Louis XI* (London, 1971), 365–67; Jean Favier, *Louis XI* (Paris, 2001), 63–71.

67 Potter, *Nation State*, 158–59.

Le Puy's statute of the Virgin Mary) instead brought all their relics together to harness their collective spiritual power. When Louis entered Brive-la-Gaillarde, for example, the municipal council displayed the town's collection of relics outside the walls for the extramural confirmation of liberties. The items were placed in front of the Franciscan monastery (which lay a short distance outside the gate of entry) and Louis knelt before them during the greeting.[68]

Although Bernard Chevalier found that French civic administrations avoided identifying themselves with a patron saint, nonetheless for a royal entry they harnessed the power of those relics that embodied local identity.[69] Amongst the relics exhibited for Louis XI at Brive was the head of Saint Martin (the town's patron saint); when Francis I entered Marseille in 1516, the cloak of Saint Lazarus (believed to be the first bishop of the city) was shown to the king during the extramural greeting. This relic had resided in the city's abbey of Saint Victor since the fifth century and it was an emblem of civic pride.[70] At Charles VIII's entry into Abbeville in June 1493, the head of Saint Wulfran (after whom the town's principal church was named) was brought out and displayed in the extramural procession for the king, while Limoges used the head of Saint Martial in their entries (the city's cathedral was named in his honour).[71] Devotional objects were at their most powerful when they were attached to confirmation of urban liberties. At Toulouse, Louis XI kissed the cross the townspeople offered him and then confirmed the city's liberties.[72] Moreover, municipal governments used relics to encourage the king to kneel before them. For example, Charles VII knelt before the relics brought out of

68 Henri Delsol, *Le Consulat de Brive-La-Gaillarde: essai sur l'histoire politique et administrative de la ville avant 1789* (Brive, 1936), 112.

69 According to Chevalier, saintly relics 'remained the exclusive property of ecclesiastical institutions', yet as we see they were also used on the behalf of municiapal governments during entries: Bernard Chevalier, 'La religion civique dans les bonnes villes: sa portée et ses limites. Le cas de Tours', in Andre Vauchez, ed., *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne: chrétiénté et islam: actes du colloque* (Rome, 1995), 341.

70 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 181; Louis Barthélemy, 'Entrée du roi François Ier à Marseille en 1516 raconter par un notaire', *Mémoires de l'Académie de Marseille* (1884–85), 220; Nöel Coulet, 'Dévotions communales: Marseille et saint Victor, saint Lazare et saint Louis (XIIIe–XVe siècle)', in A. Vauchez, ed., *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne* (*Chrétienté et Islam*) (Rome, 1995), 119–33.

71 Ledieu, 'Charles VIII a Abbeville', 55; Ruben, *Registres consulaires, Limoges*, ii. 111–14. Compiègne used part of the True Cross during the extramural greeting: AM Compiègne BB 18, fols. 99r–100r.

72 AM Toulouse AA 3/277.

Limoges for his entry in 1439.[73] As we saw at the beginning of the book, the rulers of La Rochelle were particularly adept at using devotional objects to compel the king to kneel. To recap, when Louis XI prepared to enter the city on 24 May 1472, the consuls informed him that it was customary for French kings to confirm the city's liberties during the extramural greeting. Louis then got down from his horse, knelt in front of the mayor (who remained standing) and swore to maintain the city's rights with his hands on the gospels.[74] La Rochelle's government used sacred items to create a temporary sacred space at the gate of entry for the swearing of oaths, while the king's deferential gestures reinforced the mayor's authority in front of the townspeople who gathered to watch the entry. The French king's urban subjects were accustomed to see him kneeling during a royal entry. An Italian witness of Henry II's entry into Reims in 1547 recounts how the king got down on his knees and 'with his cap in hand, before entering [the cathedral], swore on the hand of the archbishop a certain promise that because of the great noise I could not hear, but they said it was customary for all kings [to take the oath] in this situation'.[75]

The rulers of cities that came under French rule during the Italian wars were also able to use a ceremonial entry to encourage French monarchs to confirm their privileges. Under normal circumstances, the presence of a foreign king at the head of an army alarmed urban governments and threatened their privileges. Yet the French monarchy was initially seen as the defender of local rights and privileges in Italy.[76] When Charles arrived at Florence in

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73 Maurice Ardant, 'Réations des passages de Charles VII à Limoges en 1438 et 1442', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 5 (1854), 56; Alfred Leroux, 'Passages de Charles VII et du dauphin Louis à Limoges en 1439, des mèmes et de la reine de France en 1442', *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes* 56 (1885), 305.

74 The oath taking took place beside the church of Marie de Compuis, which reinforced the sacred character of the event: Rivaud, *Entrées princières*, 117–21. Spanish monarchs also kneeled when confirming local rights as part of a royal entry: Ruiz, *A King Travels*, 132. As Miguel Raufast Chico has shown, entries in Aragon also provided a moment for negotiation between the king and the city: Miguel Raufast Chico, '¿Negociar la entrada del rey? La entrada real de Juan II en Barcelona (1458)', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 36 (2006), 295–333; idem, 'La entrada real de Martín el Joven, rey de Sicilia en Barcelona (1405): Solemnidad, economía y conflicto', *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia* 27–28 (2006), 89–119. For the gesture of kneeling, see: Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1990), 295–302.

75 Hughes Kraft, *L'entrée du Roi Très Chrétien Henri II dans la ville de Reims et son couronnement. Traduction de l'italien* (Reims, 1913), 281.

76 Knecht, *Renaissance France*, 39–40. At Charles VIII's entry into Pisa, the citizens used the greeting speech to ask the king to defend the city's liberties against Florence: André de la Vigne, *Le Voyage de Naples*, ed. Anna Slerca (Milan, 1981), 200.

November 1494, the townspeople placed the inscription 'Keeper and liberator of our freedom' (*Conservateur et liberateur de nostre liberté*) on the gate of entry because his actions had brought an end to Medici rule in the city.[77] By confirming the liberties of Italian cities, French monarchs were able to pose as the defenders of local privileges rather than foreign conquerors. For example, Louis XII took an oath 'to maintain and keep the rights, franchises and liberties of his town of Genoa' in the Cathedral of Saint Lorenzo in 1502.[78] As oaths were taken in front of the great altar, the king was expected to kneel when swearing to maintain local privileges. Moreover, merchants made commercial contracts at altars in the presence of relics in order to create the trust necessary for successful business relationships.[79] Urban elites hoped to profit from the contract they entered into with the king, who confirmed the rights that underpinned the financial prosperity of civic leaders and sustained their position at the pinnacle of urban society.

At Dijon, the use of an altar and the presence of an abbot and the gospels transformed the confirmation of provincial rights into a spiritual oath. In 1548, the abbot of Saint-Bénigne, Claude de Longwy, took the ducal ring and placed it on Henry II's finger during the ceremony, symbolising the union between the monarch and the province.[80] In return for the confirmation of the liberties of both the city and Burgundy, Dijon's mayor swore an oath of loyalty to the king on behalf of the wider population. While the oath taking at Dijon endorsed the Valois monarchy's right to rule a region that was also claimed by

77 Mitchell, *Majesty of State*, 64.

78 Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, i. 683, 708. When Louis XII re-entered Genoa in 1507 after he had suppressed its rebellion, he publicly tore up and then burned the book detailing these privileges, following which he appointed a French governor (Raoul de Lannoy) to rule the city: Mitchell, *Majesty of State*, 93.

79 Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, 2.

80 Catherine Chédeau, 'Les préparatifs des joyeuses entrées d'Henri II (1548) et de Charles IX (1564) à Dijon: l'art, les fêtes et la ville', *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Dijon* 137 (1999–2000), 192–93; L. Chomton, *Histoire de l'église de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon* (Dijon, 1900), 457. This ring was used at the entries of the dukes of Burgundy in the fifteenth century: Pierre Quarré, 'La "joyeuse entrée" de Charles le Téméraire à Dijon en 1474', *Bulletin de la classe des beaux-arts. Académie royale de Belgique* 51 (1969), 336. Likewise, a ring was placed on the finger of Charles of France, duke of Normandy, when he took an oath to safeguard the rights and liberties of the duchy following his inaugural entry into Rouen in 1465. After Louis XI re-imposed his rule over the duchy, he sent the constable of Saint-Pol to Rouen to publicly break the ring: *Lettres sur la ville de Rouen ou précis de son histoire topographique, civile, ecclésiastique et politique depuis son origine jusqu'en 1826* (Rouen, 1826), 523.

the Habsburgs, it also reinforced the authority of Dijon's mayor, who took the oath on behalf of all the duchy's inhabitants. As proximity to the king was a mark of power, the reciprocal oath taking raised the profile of the mayor, who knelt next to the king throughout the event. Participation in the oath-taking ceremony was restricted to the most influential people in the kingdom. When Philibert de Beaujeu, mayor of Dijon, swore an oath of loyalty to Henry II (who had just confirmed the town's privileges) in front of the great altar at Saint Bénigne in 1548, he did so in the presence of the chancellor, François Olivier, the cardinals of Guise, Châtillon, du Bellay and Saint-André, the constable, Anne de Montmorency, the *grand écuyer de France*, Claude Gouffier, the governor of Burgundy, Claude of Lorraine, as well as Claude Bourgeois, one of the leading members of Henry II's royal council.[81] These men occupied the highest political offices in the kingdom and held great influence with the king. The reciprocal oath taking at Dijon united the monarch, his principal household officials, the provincial governor and the town council around the altar, consolidating the bonds between them. In addition to the spiritual benefits of using a religious building for the oath taking, the enclosed setting of an abbey or church allowed municipal councils to restrict the number of people present at the event. Francis I reconfirmed Marseille's liberties on 24 January 1516 (two days after his entry) in the church of Notre-Dame-des-Accoules. The setting of the event was significant, as the church was located next to the town hall and expressed municipal power. Francis swore to respect the privileges of Marseille in the presence of the princes who accompanied him, as well as the chancellor and the civic council.[82] As the consuls had already sent a delegation to court in 1515 to have the city's liberties ratified, they did not ask Francis to confirm their rights during the extramural greeting. Accordingly, the pre-entry ratification of municipal liberties allowed Marseille's consuls to devise an intimate post-entry reconfirmation ceremony that strengthened their relationship with the king and the most powerful people in the kingdom by excluding all other members of urban society, especially those groups and individuals who posed a threat to their authority.

The opportunity to develop a lasting covenant with the king was particularly important for urban administrations during times of conflict. Amiens' position on the strategically important Somme river placed its inhabitants at the centre of the Franco-Burgundian conflicts of the 1460s and 1470s. On 4 January 1471, Antoine de Chabannes arrived outside Amiens at the head of an army and

81 Chédeau, 'Préparatifs', 192–93.

82 E. Baux, V.-L. Bourilly and P. Mabilly, 'Le voyage des reines et de François Ier en Provence et dans la vallée du Rhone (déc. 1515–févr. 1516)', *Annales du Midi* 16 (1904), 52.

ordered the city to surrender to Louis XI or face destruction.[83] At a hastily convened meeting of the town council, the *échevins* decided to open their gates to the count rather than risk a sack. Chabannes entered Amiens the following day and the townspeople took an oath of loyalty to the king during a service held in the cathedral, in return for which the *échevins* received royal letters confirming their rights and liberties.[84] On 27 May 1471 Amiens' civic council received a further letter from Louis XI promising that he would never separate Amiens from the French Crown.[85] While the king's assurances were designed to maintain the loyalty of frontier cities, which could feel remote from the Crown, nonetheless seven months after guaranteeing the people of Amiens that they would never be separated from the Crown, the municipal council heard rumours that the city was to be returned to Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy.[86] This was disastrous news for the townspeople, as they had opened their gates to a French army and taken an oath of loyalty to the duke's enemy, Louis XI. The potential consequences of this action terrified the councillors, who were afraid that the return of Burgundian rule would lead to their 'total destruction'.[87] Urban communities feared Charles the Bold because of his proclivity for destroying cities such as Dinant (1466) and Liège (1468). When Dinant fell in August 1466, Charles drowned eight hundred townspeople. The city was then burned and its fortifications demolished, while Liège was systematically destroyed.[88]

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83 AM Amiens BB 11, fols. 4r–4v. For the destruction of towns see: Peter Arnade, 'Spanish Furies: The Siege and Sack of Cities in the Dutch Revolt', in Peter Arnade and Michael Rocke, eds., *Power, Gender and Ritual in Europe and the Americas. Essays in Memory of Richard C. Trexler* (Toronto, 2008), 169–88; Marc Boone, 'Destroying and Reconstructing the City: The Inculcation and Arrogation of Princely Power in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands (14th–16th centuries)', in M. Gosman, A. Vanderjagt and J. Veenstra, eds., *The Propagation of Power in the Medieval West: Selected Proceedings of the International Conference, Groningen 20–23 November 1996* (Groningen, 1997), 1–33; Marc Boone and Heleni Porfyriou, 'Markets, squares, streets: urban space, a tool for cultural exchange', in Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen, eds., *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe. Volume II: Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge, 2007), 229–35.

84 AM Amiens BB 11, fol. 4v; *Chronique scandaleuse,* i. 254–55; Édouard Maugis, *Essai sur le régime financier de la ville d'Amiens du XIVe à la fin du XVIe siecle* (*1356–1588*) (Paris, 1899), 406, 412.

85 AM Amiens BB 11, fols. 5r and 16v (quote on fol. 16v).

86 AM Amiens BB 11, fol. 51r.

87 AM Amiens BB 11, fols. 1r–1v, 26r (quote on fol. 26r).

88 Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London and New York, 2003), 34–35; Robert Douglas Smith and Kelly DeVries, *The Artillery of the Dukes of Burgundy 1363–1477* (Woodbridge, 2005), 155–56.

The distribution of songs and poems across the Burgundian dominions spread news of the fate of Liège and Dinant.[89] Indeed, Amiens' councillors feared that their town would be destroyed 'as they had done to the town of Dinant, which they [the Burgundians] had burnt with fire and flame'. The matter was so serious that the mayor of Amiens, Philippe de Morvilliers, journeyed to Tours to plead the town's case before the king. Philippe was granted an audience with Louis, who assured him that he would never separate Amiens from the Crown 'because he knew well that all the bourgeois and habitants of this town were good and loyal to him and the Crown of France'.[90]

As royal guarantees were crucial for the well being of urban populations (especially during periods of political instability), municipal elites required the king to swear an oath during a royal entry affirming that he would never alienate them from the Crown. Urban administrations asked the monarch to take this oath because they wanted to have a public confirmation that they were under the direct rule of the Crown and that no other prince had authority over them.[91] Frontier towns were particularly concerned to have the king's assurances that he would not give them away to another ruler. For example, Montagnac obtained letters from Philip VI in 1345 guaranteeing that the town would never be separated from the French Crown.[92] This was a time of uncertainty and territorial change in Languedoc, as the French king was in competition with the kings of Majorca and Aragon for control of the region (indeed, the neighbouring city of Montpellier was sold to France by James III of Majorca). The transference of power from one ruler to another threatened the stability of urban liberties. At the very least, town leaders would have to seek the confirmation of their liberties from their new lord; at worst, these liberties could be abolished. Royal entries presented towns with a good opportunity to obtain a guarantee from the king that he would not give them away, which was especially important during periods of danger. When Charles VIII entered Mâcon in June 1494, he swore 'to never alienate the county of Mâcon' and assured the civil council that the town 'was a jewel in his Crown'.[93] Charles VIII's entry into Mâcon took place as he marched to invade Italy, an

89 These poems can be found in Antoine Le Roux de Lincy, ed., *Chants historiques et populaires du temps de Charles VII et de Louis XI* (Paris, 1857), 116–45. See also: Claude Thiry, 'Les poèmes de langue Française relatifs aux sacs de Dinant et de Liège', in *Liège et Bourgogne. Actes du colloque tenu à Liège les, 28, 29 et 30 octobre 1968* (Liège, 1972), 101–27.

90 AM Amiens BB 11, fol. 63r.

91 Chevalier, 'King's Council', 113.

92 AD Hérault, AC Montagnac 162 EDT 1.

93 Bazin, 'Rois de France à Mâcon', 63.

action that had reopened hostilities between France and the Holy Roman Empire. Lying on the river Saône, which marked the traditional border between France and the Empire – and in a region that Emperor Maximilian claimed was rightfully his – Mâcon could expect to receive the brunt of any imperial invasion of France. Hence, Mâcon's *échevins* introduced this clause into the oath at Charles VIII's entry into order to safeguard their status as subjects of the king of France. Likewise, in 1472 La Rochelle's ruling council had Louis XI swear at his entry not to alienate the city from the Crown of France 'by exchange, *appanage*, marriage, or otherwise'.[94] As Louis's visit to La Rochelle marked its return to royal rule (Louis gave the city to his brother, Charles of France, in 1469), the consuls introduced this oath into the entry ceremony as a means to guarantee their status as a royal town. According to the text of oath, should Louis or any of his successors break the entry vow, the consuls could 'take or recognise as [their] lord such other lord as seemed good to them, without you [the consuls] or your said successors being designated, charged, or accused for the crime of *lèse majesté*, nor any other offence towards us or our successors to the Crown of France'.[95] This was a remarkable right for a king to grant; yet French monarchs were largely content to swear the oaths handed to them during a royal entry, which urban authorities devised (with no input from royal officials) to ensure the stability and maintenance of their rights.

Confrontations regarding the scope of urban liberties were rare because municipal councils tried to resolve any difficulties before the day of the entry. Civic delegations met the king in advance of an entry to obtain his assurance that he would confirm their privileges at the ceremony. In the days leading up to Louis XI's entry into Tournai in 1463, the municipal council sent its representatives to the king (then at Arras) 'to recommend the said town and the maintenance of the privileges'. The city council's deliberations record that Louis 'received and heard them well, saying that he would keep their privileges.'[96] Likewise, when Francis I entered Dijon in 1521, the *échevins* sent a delegation to the king (then at Villeneuve-sur-Yonne) to explain the oath-taking process.[97] The pre-entry meeting allowed urban officials to work out any concerns the king had with the oath, thus avoiding a public confrontation on the day of the

94 Rivaud, *Entrées princières*, 115.

95 Rivad, *Entrées princières*, 115. In 1641, Louis XIII made the same promise to the Catalans in 1641, who recognised the French king's sovereignty during their revolt against Philip IV: Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change & Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven and London, 2013), 274–75.

96 La Grange, 'Entrées des souverains', 52.

97 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, ii. 7.

entry. While Louis XI waited at Saint-Denis for the Parisians to finish preparing the city for his post-coronation entry in 1461, an urban delegation came to explain the procedure for the oath taking ceremony at Notre-Dame. Although Louis had some concerns about the scope of the oath, these issues were resolved in advance of the entry and the event passed off without incident.[98] It was in the municipal council's interest to speak to the king in advance of his entry, as any problems that were played out in public on the day would only undermine the municipal council's authority in front of the townspeople who gathered to watch the extramural greeting (including rival urban authorities, such as the cathedral canons or the royal officials of the *bailliage*).

Although the methods town councils employed to ensure that kings confirmed their liberties at the extramural greeting were largely successful, a rare instance of a public dispute about the nature of the oath occurred during Charles VII's inaugural entry into Paris in 1437. The king processed through the city's streets until he reached Notre-Dame, where the doors of the cathedral were closed on him. The bishop of Paris, Jacques du Chastelier, accompanied by the cathedral canons, met Charles outside Notre-Dame and explained that it was customary for French kings to take an oath to defend the Church at this point in the ceremony. The bishop then handed Charles the text of the oath monarchs were required to swear before they were admitted in to the cathedral. While the oath taking at Notre-Dame was a normal part of the Parisian post-coronation entry, Charles asked the bishop if it was customary, in response to which Chastelier assured him that it was. Despite receiving affirmations of the oath's validity from the bishop, the king called for the dauphin, his leading nobles and *maître-dès-requetes* (as well as other influential members of his entourage) to consult with him. Once his advisors told Charles that his ancestors had taken the oath, he declared 'as my predecessors have sworn it, I swear it'.[99]

98 Thomas Basin, *Histoire des règnes de Charles VII et Louis XI*, ed. J. Quicherat, 4 vols (Paris, 1855–59), ii. 15–18; Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 93–95; Camille Couderc, 'L'entrée solennelle de Louis XI à Paris (31 août 1461)', *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France* 23 (1896), 139.

99 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 84–85. At the coronation entries of the duke of Brittany in Rennes, the gates of the town were closed until the duke had sworn an oath (which was similar to the oath French kings gave during their inaugural entries into Paris) before the bishop of Rennes: Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, i. 627; Michael Jones, 'The Rituals and Significance of Ducal Civic Entries in Late Medieval Brittany', *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003), 289–92.

FIGURE 2 *Charles VII's entry into Paris in 1437. Bibliothèque Nationale de France 5054, FOL. 93V.*

Three principal reasons may account for the king's unusual actions, which threatened to jeopardise his recently renewed relationship with the rulers of Paris. First, Charles may have been genuinely unaware of the expectation to take the oath. As Charles had been exiled from Paris since 1419, he would have been unable to check the accounts of previous royal entries contained in the archives of Saint-Denis, as his ancestors had been accustomed to do.[100] Furthermore, there is no evidence that Paris's secular or religious authorities sent a delegation to Charles in advance of his entry to explain the oath-taking ceremony (this was a serious oversight, which jeopardised the ceremony). The second explanation for Charles's behaviour may be that he had not participated in an inaugural entry into Paris. His father's post-coronation entry was in 1380, over two decades before his birth. In addition, he was unable to make the customary entry into the capital after his coronation at Reims in 1429 because Paris was then under Lancastrian control. The third possibility (and perhaps the most likely) is that Charles was aware of the customary oath taking but

100 For example, in 1389, Blanche, the dowager queen of France, went to Saint-Denis to consult the abbey's records for accounts of royal entries into Paris in preparation for the forthcoming entry of Isabella of Bavaria (Charles VII's mother) into the capital as queen of France: M. L. Bellaguet, ed., *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, 6 vols (Paris, 1839–52), i. 611.

deliberately provoked a confrontation with the city's religious authorities in order to show his displeasure towards them. Not only had the bishop of Paris and the cathedral chapter given their support to the Lancastrian monarchy, Notre-Dame was the venue for the French coronation of Henry VI in December 1431 – a ceremony that was designed to damage the legitimacy of Charles VII's 1429 coronation in Reims. As the oath taken outside Notre-Dame concerned clerical rights, by questioning its legitimacy Charles warned the cathedral authorities not to take their privileges for granted, as these rights were dependent on his good will.[101] Nonetheless, Charles's decision to confront the Parisian clergy over the scope of the oath was exceptional and it did not reflect the standard practice of oath taking during entry ceremonies in later medieval and Renaissance France.

Keys and Banners

The confirmation of urban liberties was bound up with the presentation of city keys, which were customarily offered to the monarch during the *harangue*. Although Pierre Vaillancourt writes that the offering of keys 'was purely protocol and did not have any consequence', in fact the act was a fundamental part of the dialogue between Crown and town because it symbolised the town's submission to his rule.[102] According to Abbeville's municipal deliberations, the

101 In an effort to avoid any further confrontations at the doors of Notre-Dame, the bishop of Paris took the novel step of joining the extramural municipal delegation for Louis XI's inaugural entry in 1461 so that he could explain the oath taking procedure to the king: Couderc, 'Entrée de Louis XI à Paris', 129.

102 Vaillancourt, *Entrées solennelles, Charles IX*, 16. France was a large and diverse kingdom and there was a regional character to this act of submission. Whereas northern towns only handed over their keys to the king, many southern towns also offered a flag. For example, the leaders of both Toulouse and Montpellier presented Louis XI with banners at his entries: AM Toulouse AA 3/277; Marcelle Bonnafous, 'Toulouse et Louis XI', *Annales du Midi* 39–40 (1927–28), 16; J. Calmette, 'L'iconographie toulousaine de Louis XI', *Annales du Midi* 65 (1954), 280; Oudot de Dainville, *Archives de la ville de Montpellier: Inventaires et documents. VII: inventaire de Joffre, archives du greffe et de la maison consulaire* (Montpellier, 1939), 65. Likewise, Rodez's municipal council sent a delegation to Albi in 1443 to take an oath of loyalty to the dauphin Louis and offer him their keys. In response, the dauphin instructed Rodez's consuls to place his banner on the town gates as a marker of his legitimacy to rule and completed the ceremonies of integration on 18 February 1445 when he made his inaugural entry into Rodez: Henri Affre, *Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790. Ville de Rodez* (Rodez, 1878), 51; AD Tarn 4 EDT AA 4, fol. 143r. In 1438, the dauphin, Louis, entered Albi with his

échevins handed over their keys to Charles VIII in 1493 as a 'sign of obedience and recognition that he was their sovereign king and natural lord'.[103] Yet the offering of keys and flags was more than a simple recognition of royal power. In 1495, the citizens of Lucca offered their keys to Charles VIII 'signifying the total submission of the town to his obedience . . . and that it would please him to be their protector'.[104] By accepting their keys, the king was bound to act as the city's guardian and uphold their privileges.

The French monarch confirmed urban privileges in return for this public acknowledgement of his sovereignty. As soon as Louis XI took possession of the flag and keys offered to him at Toulouse, he approached the gate of entry to confirm the city's liberties. A missal was opened for the king at the *Te igitur* (a passage strongly associated with the offering of gifts and kingship). The *capitoul* Nicholas d'Auterive explained to Louis that his predecessors had always confirmed the rights of the town at this point in the ceremony.[105] Urban administrations regularly appealed to past precedent. When Louis XI entered Tournai, its *échevins* also advised the king that his ancestors had maintained the city's liberties during their entries.[106] The invocation of past precedent by municipal councils formed a part of their strategy to ensure that urban liberties were confirmed undiminished. It was a shrewd way to influence royal behaviour, as a king who failed to respect local customs could be accused of tyranny.

Urban administrations used the key presentation to emphasise the extent of their devotion to the Crown, in return for which they expected the king to act in their favour. When the *échevins* Charles Décrivieux and Guillaume Delaporte presented Mâcon's keys to Louis XII in 1512, they informed the king that they were at his complete disposal ('cors et biens').[107] Likewise, when Charles IX entered Sens in 1564, the *échevins* offered 'in all humility, obedience and subjection, not only these keys to your old town of Sens, but those to our goods which are all yours'.[108] The use of courteous phrases by town councils underscored their readiness to serve the king, which was symbolised by the

standard carried before him, and had the keys presented to him: AD Tarn 4 EDT CC 188, fols. 45r–45v.

103 Ledieu, 'Charles VIII à Abbeville', 6.

104 Vigne, *Voyage de Naples*, 197.

105 AM Toulouse AA 3/277.

106 La Grange, 'Entrées des souverains', 48.

107 Bazin, 'Rois de France à Mâcon', 69. The offering of 'cors et biens' symbolised the town's value for the monarchy and this phrase (or variants of it) was used regularly during entries. See, for example: Thomas Mermet, *Ancienne chronique de Vienne* (Vienne, 1845), 168.

108 Vaillancourt, *Entrées solennelles, Charles IX*, 77.

offering of keys. By offering their goods to the king, the urban elite expected the king to respond in kind and accord grants that increased their prosperity (which also benefitted the king because it enabled the townspeople to offer high-quality gifts to the monarch). Municipal administrations drew attention to the extent to which they relied on the monarch's patronage by handing over the actual keys to their gates rather than ceremonial copies.[109] When Louis XI entered Lyon on 23 March 1476, the *échevins* gave him the keys to all of the city gates to keep for the duration of his visit.[110] By giving their keys to the monarch, town councils entrusted him with their security. Hence, the offering of city keys was both a mark of loyalty to the Crown and an acknowledgement of the king's power to protect his subjects.

As keys were a symbol of sovereignty, they were only offered to the ruler or his representatives. However, municipal governments could seek royal permission to offer their keys to particularly important visitors because it allowed them to seek their favour. After marrying Charlotte of Savoy in 1451, the dauphin, Louis, prepared to enter Bourg-en-Bresse, which was then under Savoyard rule. In preparation for this entry, Bourg's consuls wrote to the duke of Savoy asking if they should present their keys to the dauphin. The opportunity to grant Louis the honour of a key presentation stood to benefit the town council because it could use the gesture to ingratiate itself with the future ruler of France (and possibly Savoy). The duke permitted Bourg's leaders to offer their keys to the dauphin, as Louis had instructed the towns of Dauphiné to present the duke with their keys when he toured the region earlier that year.[111] While Bourg-en-Bresse lay outside the kingdom of France, this francophone town was dependent on commerce with France for its prosperity. As such, the opportunity to win the dauphin's favour stood to potentially benefit Bourg for years to come. While kings instructed towns to offer their keys to visiting dignitaries in order

109 Other urban authorities could hand over their keys to the king at an entry ceremony. When Louis XII entered Compiègne in 1498, he received the keys held by the captain during the extramural greeting: AM Compiègne BB 13, fols. 150r–151r. Louis XI received those of the lieutenant, captain and town council of Beauvais at his entry in 1474: BM Beauvais, Coll. Bucquet, vol 57, p. 3.

110 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 218–19. When Eleanor of Austria entered Troyes in 1533, the *échevins* took the city's iron keys and had them bleached in order to make them look more appealing for the presentation: Babeau, *Rois de France à Troyes*, 40.

111 J. Brossard, 'Éntree à Bourg du duc Louis en 1451', *Annales de la Société d'Émulation, agriculture, lettres et arts de l'Ain* 14 (1881), 217, 221. As king, Louis XI also granted his father-in-law the honour of the key presentation during the entries the duke of Savoy made into French towns: AM Amiens BB 9, fols. 124v–125r, 154r; Alcuis Ledieu, *Budget communal d'Abbeville en 1464 et 1465* (Paris, 1904), 20–21.

to support their diplomatic efforts, urban leaders also used this gesture to further their commercial efforts. Louis XI instructed the Norman towns to offer their keys to Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, when he toured the duchy in 1467. Louis was trying to devise an alliance with the earl (who was then the most powerful man in England) and these gestures of distinction formed a part of his strategy to honour the earl.[112] The staging of these entries also worked to Rouen's advantage because with the end of the Hundred Years' War the city was in a good geographical position to profit from trade with England. From the perspective of Rouen's *échevins*, gaining the support of the earl of Warwick would be a good way to promote the city's position with a pro-French ruling faction in England and to encourage a privileged position for its merchants in cross-Channel trade. As Rouen's leaders also feared an English invasion throughout the later fifteenth century, obtaining the good favour of the earl of Warwick had the potential to reduce the threat to the city's security from the seaward frontier.[113]

Whereas Richard Neville received Rouen's keys as a token of honour, fifty years earlier, during the English conquest of Normandy in 1417–19, Norman towns, including Rouen, had offered their keys to Henry V in acknowledgment of his rulership. As keys were normally bound up with concerns of sovereignty, municipal administrations sent them to the ruler in advance of an entry as an acknowledgement of his right to rule. In return for supporting the ruler's legitimacy to rule, French towns and cities were able to obtain an extension of their privileges from the new leading power in their region. The pre-entry submission of keys was especially common when the control of a region passed from one lord to another. On the day that Louis XI repurchased the Somme towns from Philip the Good in 1463, he sent royal officers to Abbeville to receive its keys. This gesture symbolised the establishment of Louis's rule over the town, which was formalised at his inaugural entry later that year.[114] Beyond the symbolic value of this gesture, municipal councils used the submission of keys as the pretext for negotiating new privileges in advance of a ceremonial entry.

112 Charles de Beaurepaire, 'Notes sur six voyages de Louis XI à Rouen', *Académie imperiale des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Rouen* (1856–57), 310; Basin, *Histoire de Louis XI*, ii. 178; Vaesen and Charavay, *Lettres de Louis XI*, iv. 37–38.

113 See: Neil Murphy and Graeme Small, 'Town and Crown in Late-Fifteenth Century France: Rouen after the *Rédution*, c.1449–c.1492', in Anne Curry and Véronique Gazeau, eds., *La guerre en Normandie* (*XIe–XVe siècle*) (Rennes, forthcoming).

114 A. Ledieu, *Ville d'Abbeville. Inventaire sommaire des archives municipales antérieures à 1790* (Abbeville, 1902), 107; Robert Richard, 'Louis XI et l'échevinage d'Abbeville', *Mémoires de la Société d'émulation historique et littéraire d'Abbeville* 27 (1960), 15–16.

When Charles VII and Joan of Arc fought their way across Anglo-Burgundian Champagne in 1429 to have the Valois monarch crowned at Reims, numerous towns offered their keys to the king as a sign of submission.[115] In return for this recognition of his rule, Charles granted these urban administrations extensive new liberties. Reims used the rendering of its keys as a pretext to offer its petitions to the king, who was only permitted to enter the city after he had granted the townspeople's requests. As the principal objective of Charles's 1429 progress was to be crowned at Reims, the municipal leaders capitalised on the city's wider importance to Valois king's cause in order to obtain lucrative new rights and liberties.[116] Likewise, the rulers of Troyes were able to obtain a number of important new rights (including garrison exemption) from Charles VII in 1429 before they permitted him to enter the city.[117] As the English held Brie and the Burgundians dominated the Seine upstream, Troyes was of great strategic value to Charles VII, who was prepared to concede a range of significant economic and political rights to secure its loyalty.[118] Before Charles entered Compiègne with Joan of Arc on 18 August 1429, he pardoned the inhabitants and accorded the town council the right to levy a wine tax.[119] In return for these grants, Compiègne's *échevins* expelled the Burgundian garrison and gave their support to the Valois monarch. In sum, the new rights Charles VII granted to the towns of Champagne during the key presentations helped to secure his rule in the region; indeed, Troyes and Compiègne were instrumental in defending Champagne against Anglo-Burgundian attacks during the 1430s.[120]

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115 BNF Collection Français 11672, fols. 237v–238r; Douët-d'Arcq, C*hronique de* Monstrelet, iv. 335–40, 352–53; Georges Clause and Jean-Pierre Ravaux, *Histoire de Châlons-sur-Marne* (Roanne-le Coteau, 1983),106; Édouard de Barthélemy, *Histoire de Chalons-sur-Marne et de ses institutions* (Chalons, 1854), 182–83; Henri Martin and Paul Jacob, *Histoire de Soissons*, 2 vols (Soissons, 1837), i. 385.

116 Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, i. 166.

117 Alphonse Roserot, ed., 'Le plus ancien registre des délibérations du conseil de ville de Troyes (1429–1433), in *Collection de documents inédits du conseil de la ville de Troyes*, 3 vols (Troyes, 1886), iii. 178–79; Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *The French Communes in the Middle Ages*, trans. Joan Vickers (Oxford, 1978), 141. Laurière, *Ordonnances rois de France*, xiii. 142.

118 Léonard Dauphant, *Le royaume des quatre rivières: l'espace politique français, 1380–1515* (Seyssel, 2012), 90–91.

119 AM Compiègne CC 13, fols. 245r, 249v; H. de Lépinois, 'Notes extraites des archives communales de Compiègne', *Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 4 (1863), 484; J. Randier, 'Le gouvernement de la "bonne ville" de Compiègne et ses hommes au temps de la reconstruction (1468–1500)', *Bulletin de la société historique de Compiègne* 38 (2002), 81–82.

120 M. T. Boutiot, *Guerre des Anglais 1429–1435: un chapitre de l'histoire de Troyes* (Paris and Troyes, 1861); Louis Carolus-Barré, 'Compiègne et la guerre, 1414–30', in *La "France*

During Charles VII's re-conquest of Normandy in 1449–50, the duchy's municipal leaders employed a strategy similar to that used by the *échevins* of Champagne in the late 1420s. As part of the negotiations that preceded Charles VII's entry into Rouen, the *échevins* obtained the monarch's confirmation of 'all their rights, franchises and liberties', in return for which they offered him the keys to the city. In advance of this meeting with the king, the Rouennais recruited the services of Jean, count of Dunois, who held great influence with the king. Dunois spoke on the city's behalf to the king during the pre-entry negotiations, persuading Charles to treat the townspeople favourably.[121] Even without Dunois' support, the *échevins* were able to negotiate with the Valois monarch from a position of strength. Although large parts of Normandy had returned to Valois rule in 1449, Rouen was well defended by a large Lancastrian garrison under the able command of John Talbot. Without the support of Rouen's leaders, Charles faced a long and costly siege, with no guarantee of success. Although Henry VI's French policy was chaotic, reinforcements were then being gathered in England to reinforce Talbot's troops in Rouen.[122] In return for confirming their rights, the municipal council opened the gates to Charles's forces and overthrew the English garrison. Rouen's leaders used the same tried and tested strategy seventeen years later when Louis XI retook control of Normandy from his brother, Charles of France. The *échevins* sent a delegation to the king at Pont-de-l'Arche to seek his pardon and obtain the confirmation of their liberties 'and numerous other requests'. After obtaining these demands, the citizens opened the city's gates to Louis's soldiers and expelled those people who had opposed the monarch. Although Louis appointed royal officers and executed some of those who had taken his brother's side in the war, he also ratified the city council's rights and liberties.[123] As Rouen's experiences throughout the wars of the fifteenth century illustrate,

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anglaise" au Moyen Age, colloque des historiens médiévistes français et britanniques. Actes du IIIe Congrès national des sociétés savantes (Poitiers, 1986), 386–87.

121 Beaucourt, *Chronique Mathieu d'Escouchy*, i. 222, 232; J. J. de Smet, ed., 'Chronique des Pays-Bas, de France, d'Angleterre et de Tournai', in *Recueil de Chroniques de Flandre* (Brussels, 1856), iii. 440; Henri Courteault and Léonce Celier, eds., *Les chroniques du roi Charles VII par Gilles Le Bouvier dit le Héraut Berry* (Paris, 1979), ii. 319.

122 C. T. Allmand, 'The Lancastrian Land Settlement in Normandy, 1417–50', *Economic History Review* 21 (1968), 478–79; Ralph A. Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI: The Exercise of Royal Authority, 1422–1461* (London, 1981), 514–15.

123 A. Heron, ed., *Deux chroniques de Rouen* (Rouen, 1900), 101; *Mélanges historiques, choix de documents*, 5 vols (Paris, 1873–86), ii. 419; *Chronique Scandaleuse*, i. 187; Basin, *Histoire de Louis XI*, i. 151–52.

a royal visit was a proven mechanism for towns to obtain the security of their liberties even when they had opposed the Crown.

Pre-entry grants principally occurred during periods of internal conflict, when the Crown was weak and in need of support from urban governments. Between December 1419 and June 1420, Charles VII (then dauphin) made substantial concessions to the towns he entered during his tour of Languedoc.[124] Charles fled Paris in 1419 as a result of his suspected role in the murder of John the Fearless, following which his father, Charles VI, and the principal political institutions of the kingdom (including the *Parlement* of Paris), under pressure from Henry V, disinherited him from the succession to the throne of France. As a result of these difficulties, Charles used the granting of new rights as a means to encourage southern communities to recognise the legitimacy of his rule. The dauphin made these grants after receiving entries that included royal honours such as the canopy, which endorsed his claim to be the regent of the kingdom and heir to his father's throne.[125] Bernard Chevalier correctly identified Charles VII's reign as the moment when an *entente cordiale* developed between the Crown and the kingdom's urban elites. In return for receiving municipal support, Charles conferred substantial privileges on the *bonnes villes*.[126] Towns were administrative, military and commercial centres and their possession was a key feature of warfare during the fifteenth century. Chevalier saw the 1440s as the crucial decade in the formation of this *entente cordiale*, claiming that close links between town and Crown developed during the princely revolt of the Praguerie.[127] In fact, Charles granted the bulk of new urban rights and liberties before the capitulation of Paris in 1436, when his position was weak and he needed urban support. Although Charles confirmed the privileges of towns that submitted to him after 1436, when his rule

124 Dauphant, *Royaume*, 280.

125 Alicot, *Thalamus parvus*, 468–69. For the representation of ceremonial entries in this document, see: Vincent Challet, 'Entrées dans la ville: genèse et développement d'un rite urbain (Montpellier, XIVe–XVe siècle)', *Revue historique* 670 (2014), 267–93.

126 Bernard Chevalier, *Les bonnes villes de France du XIVe au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1982), 101–6; J. Russell Major, *From Renaissance Monarchy to Absolute Monarchy: French Kings, Nobles, & Estates* (Baltimore and London, 1994), 44.

127 Bernard Chevalier, 'Un tournant du règne de Charles VII. Le ralliement des bonnes villes à la monarchie pendant la Praguerie', in idem, *Les bonnes villes, l'État et la société dans la France de la fin du XVe siècle* (Orleans, 1995), 155–67; idem, 'L'état et les bonnes villes en Fance au temps de leur accord parfait (1450–1550)', in Neithard Bulst and J.-P. Genet, eds., *La ville, la bourgeoisie et la genèse de l'état moderne* (*XIIe–XVIIIe siècles*) (Paris, 1988), 72.

was more secure, he did not grant them additional privileges in advance of his entries (see, for example, his entry into Rouen discussed above).[128]

To return to the keys, the king normally entrusted them to one of his officials who retained them for the duration of a royal visit. When Charles VII entered Rouen in 1449, for example, he passed its keys to Pierre de Brézé, whom he had just appointed captain of the city.[129] With the growth in the number of the French king's household troops during the second half of the fifteenth century, city keys came to be handed to the king's chief guards. As soon as Francis I received the keys to Toulouse in 1533, he passed them to the captain of his *Garde Écossaise*.[130] Monarchs returned the keys to town councils when they wanted to show public trust in civic leaders. This gesture was particularly common at royal entries into frontier cities that had resisted foreign domination. When Tournai's municipal council offered its keys to Louis XI in 1463, he immediately returned them to the *échevins* saying they 'had always guarded it [the city] well and continued to do so'.[131] By the mid-fifteenth century, Tournai was a French enclave deep within the Burgundian lands. It was a frontier city *par excellence* and Louis XI was the first French monarch to visit Tournai in eighty years. Although the city's leaders often felt distant from the Crown, they remained loyal to the Valois monarchy during the Hundred Years' War and the Franco-Burgundian conflicts, resisting both English and Burgundian domination.[132] Louis thanked Tournai's government for its loyalty to the Valois monarchy by returning its keys at the entry. Similar circumstances led Francis I to hand back the keys to Dijon's mayor when he entered the city in 1521.[133] Dijon's location on the eastern frontier of the kingdom placed its population at the centre of the Valois-Hapsburg wars. The city had successfully resisted Charles V's armies during the siege of 1513 and Francis articulated his trust in the capability of the municipal administration to protect the frontier of his kingdom by returning the keys.[134] As we shall see in chapter two, the

128 Hippolyte Dansin, *Histoire du gouvernement de la France pendant le règne de Charles VII* (Geneva, 1858), 318–20.

129 Courteault and Celier, *Chroniques du roi Charles VII*, 326.

130 AM Toulouse AA 5/97.

131 La Grange, 'Entrées de souverains', 53.

132 Graeme Small, 'Centre and Periphery in Late Medieval France: Tournai, 1384–1477', in Christopher Allmand, ed., *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France* (Liverpool, 2000), 145–74.

133 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, i. 54.

134 Likewise, when the dauphin entered Beauvais in 1544, he returned the keys to the mayor asking him 'to keep the town loyally for the king, saying he knew well that [it] would be done': BM Beauvais, Coll. Bucquet, vol. 57, p. 601.

king's confidence in the governments of frontier towns such Dijon and Tournai led him to grant them significant liberties. In order words, having the king return the keys at an entry was a strong indication to urban administrations that he was well disposed to receive their petitions for substantial new rights.

Between the expulsion of the English from France in 1453 and the onset of the religious wars, the kingdom's areas of persistent conflict were largely confined to its frontier regions. The opening of civil war in the 1560s led to a return to the destabilising conditions of the Hundred Years' War and large swathes of the kingdom became zones of incessant conflict. As a result of internal warfare during the later sixteenth century, towns and cities across the kingdom found themselves on a frontier once again. This political instability was reflected in the form of key presentations during this period. When Philippe de Volure, governor of Angoumois, entered Angoulême on 12 November 1573 as Charles IX's representative, the Catholic mayor, Mathurin Martin, offered him the keys to the town gates. The civic records note that the governor 'did not want to receive them, saying that they were in the hands of a good and loyal servant of the king, who had done his duty well by stopping the enemy surprising the town'.[135] While Angoulême's location in the centre-west of the kingdom meant that it was far from the main areas of conflict in the century between 1460 and 1560, the growth of Protestantism in the region placed the town at the heart of the religious wars of the later sixteenth century. The governor's return of the keys to Angoulême's leaders formed part of the Crown's efforts to maintain control of this former bastion of Protestantism in the wake of the edict Charles IX had issued at Boulogne in July that year, which stripped Huguenots of many of the rights they had been granted by the Peace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (August 1570).[136]

Town councils devised distinctive key presentations in order to to draw the king's attention to this important act.[137] Tournai's keys were brought to Louis XI in a wooden castle that was attached to a horse's saddle. The city's incorporation of the key presentation into the theatricality of event pleased the king, who was 'very happy' with the *échevins*' efforts.[138] For Henry II's entry

135 J.-F. Eusèbe Castaigne, 'Entrées solennelles dans la ville d'Angoulême depuis François Ier jusqu'à Louis XIV', *Buletin de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charante* 1 (2nd series) (1856), 317–18.

136 A.-F. Lièvre, *Angoulême: histoire, institutions & monuments* (Angoulême, 1885), 39–44.

137 See, for example: M. A. Matton and M. V. Dessein, *Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790. Ville de Laon* (Laon, 1885), 74; Ledieu, 'Éléonore d'Autriche à Abbeville', 58.

138 La Grange, 'Entrées de souverains', 42.

into Reims in 1547, the *échevins* had a 'beautiful virgin richly dressed, decorated with jewellery and representing the town of Reims' offer the city keys to the king outside the gate of entry. The playful manner of the key presentation encouraged Henry II to respond to the *échevins*' gesture in an unusually direct way. According to one eyewitness, Henry 'showed great pleasure at this thing', following which he spoke to the woman directly and then kissed her.[139] By the mid-sixteenth century, contemporary expectations that kings should remain remote and emotionless during the public entry meant that this type of direct communication was unusual. By skilfully devising a distinctive key presentation, Reims' *échevins* persuaded the king to engage directly with a woman who symbolised the identity of the town. When Henry III entered Reims in 1575, the town council once again offered its keys to the king from the hands of a well-dressed and beautiful young woman, who was lowered from a building in a chariot.[140] By recycling the form of Henry II's key presentation, Reims' *échevins* used a proven method to emphasise the extent of their attachment to the Valois monarchy, and to encourage the king to transcend contemporary standards of behaviour. As French monarchs became increasingly remote in the public entry from the mid-sixteenth century, town councils devised increasingly inventive ways to persuade him to interact with their representatives.

Young women participated in key presentations across France during the sixteenth century. When Charles IX entered Nîmes on 12 December 1564, two young townswomen – who were noted for their beauty – offered him the keys to the city.[141] We find the presence of women in the extramural greeting from the mid-fourteenth century, when they greeted the king and occasionally carried a canopy above him (such as the 'beautiful and noble young women' who raised a *pallium* over Charles VI at Lyon in 1389).[142] These women symbolised civic identity: when Charles VII entered Rouen in 1449, he was introduced to 'a woman who signified the town', while Francis I was greeted at Langres in

139 Kraft, *Henri II dans la ville de Reims*, 279–80.

140 Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, ii. 322.

141 Vaillancourt, *Entrées solennelles, Charles IX*, 16; M. Menard, *Histoire civile, ecclésiastique et littéraire de la ville de Nismes avec les preuves*, 7 vols (Paris, 1744–58), iv. 401. See also for Henry II's entry into Châlons in 1552: Barthélemy, *Histoire de* Châlons-*sur-Marne*, 201.

142 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 143. Occasionally, these women offered the king gifts. Upon entering Dijon in 1494 Charles VIII was greeted by 'a beautiful young woman, who gave him a golden heart': M. Rossignol, 'Histoire de Bourgogne: Charles VIII', *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Dijon* 9 (1861), 135. This custom was also used at entries in the Low Countries: Jesse Hurlbut, 'Symbols for Authority: Inaugural Ceremonies for Charles the Bold', in T.-H. Borchert et al., eds., *Staging the Court of Burgundy* (Turnhout, 2013), 107.

1521 by 'a young woman representing Langres seated on a chair decorated with many fine colours' who 'spoke to the king with great submission and reverence'.[143] When Louis XI entered Lyon in 1462, the municipal council attached their keys to a large statue of a lion (the city's symbol) outside the gate of entry. In order to accentuate civic identity, Lyon's consuls had two young women stand on either side of the statue.[144] Moreover, the townswomen who presented the city keys to the king linked their families to the monarch. Eleanor of Austria received Abbeville's keys from the daughter of Nicholas de Gagny, who was one of the town's leading men.[145] Such strategies formed an additional means for urban elites to develop personal links with the king and promote their interests with him. Furthermore, as the young women who offered the keys to the monarch were often dressed as angels, this act linked the earthly city with the Heavenly Jerusalem.[146] For Louis XII's entry into Rouen in 1508, the municipal council constructed a stage just outside the gate of entry, where two actors dressed as angels descended from the top of the gate – as if from heaven – and offered the city's keys to the king.[147] Hence, the key presentation was transformed into a sacred gesture, drawing upon biblical accounts detailing the offering of the keys of heaven and identifying Rouen as the New Jerusalem. This gesture reinforced the sacred nature of the king's confirmation urban liberties, which took place at this point in the ceremony.

Finally, it was crucial for a town's well being that the king or his representatives accepted the keys. When the monarch refused to accept the keys of a rebellious town, its population was left open to punitive punishment. In other words, a refusal to accept urban keys represented the Crown's refusal to negotiate. When a rebellion broke out in Bordeaux in 1548, Henry II sent

143 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 162; E. Jullien de La Boullaye, 'Entrées et séjours de François Ier à Langres', *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique de Langres* 1 (1872), 74–75. See also: Anne-Marie Lecoq, *François Ier imaginaire. Symbolique et politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française* (Paris, 1987), 369–74.

144 J.-R. Boulieu, 'Louis XI à Lyon', *Revue d'histoire de Lyon* 2 (1903), 400; Albert Champdor, *Les rois de France à Lyon* (Lyon, 1986), 18. For female actors and the presentation of keys to kings see also: Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, i. 185–87; Ruben, *Registres consulaires, Limoges*, ii. 119.

145 Ledieu, 'Élénore d'Autriche à Abbeville', 58.

146 For royal entries and the Heavenly Jerusalem see: Ernst H. Kantorowicz, 'The "King's Advent" and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina', in idem, *Selected Studies* (Locust Valley, 1965), 37–75; Kipling, *Enter the King*, especially chapters 1 and 2. For the New Jerusalem, see also: Keith D. Lilley, *City and Cosmos: The Medieval World in Urban Form* (London, 2009), 15–73.

147 Le Verdier, *Entrée de Louis XII à Rouen*, 5.

the constable, Anne de Montmorency, to suppress the rising. In an attempt to avoid retribution, Bordeaux's *jurades* sent a delegation to offer the city's keys to the constable. However, Montmorency refused to accept them.[148] Bordeaux was then stripped of its privileges and almost one hundred and fifty bourgeois (including members of the ruling council) were executed. By rejecting the key presentation, the constable refused to participate in a ritual that would have bound him to spare the town from serious punishment. When Montpellier revolted against the governor of Languedoc, Louis of Anjou, in 1378 over the imposition of a heavy tax, the duke laid siege to the city. When it became clear that Montpellier could not hold out against the royal army, the consuls sent a delegation dressed in penitential clothing to express their contrition to Charles. The consuls hoped that by engaging the governor in this ceremony they would oblige him to forgo sacking the city. However, Charles refused to participate in the city's ceremonial submission; instead, he ordered the execution of six hundred of the city's wealthiest residents by burning, drowning and hanging (though this sentence was later commuted to a large fine).[149] As these examples illustrate, the offering of municipal keys was much more than an insignificant token of a town's submission to the king. It was a crucial tool in the negotiations that took place between town and Crown over the issue of urban rights.

Changes to the Extramural Greeting

While Jean-Pierre Leguay found that the extramural element of the entries of the dukes of Brittany was 'an unchanging ritual', the adjustments made to the greetings staged for the Valois monarchs altered the nature of town-Crown relations.[150] In particular, the changes made to the form of the extramural reception in the mid-sixteenth century created a distance between the king and his townspeople. As a result of these alterations, the confirmation of urban

148 Tatiana Baranova, 'Le discours anti-tyrannique dans la France d'Henri II: un des sens multiples du Pasquille sur la rébellion de Bordeaux et la conduite du connétable', *Histoire, économie, société* 21 (2002), 484–85; S.-C. Gigon, *La révolte de la gabelle en Guyenne* (Paris, 1906), 163.

149 Eustache Deschamps, *Oevures complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, ed. Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 10 vols (Paris, 1878–1903), iii. 67–68; Françoise Autrand, *Charles VI: la folie du roi* (Paris, 1986), 828.

150 Jean-Pierre Leguay, 'Un aspect de la sociabilité urbaine: les fêtes dans la rue en Bretagne ducale aux XIVe et XVe siècles', *Mémoire de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne* 71 (1994), 28.

liberties lost its central place in the extramural greeting, which profoundly altered the nature of the ceremony. These developments were a result of the move by French towns to have their privileges confirmed at court at the beginning of a new monarch's reign, rather than waiting for an inaugural entry. While the origins of this trend have traditionally been dated to the reign of Louis XI (1461–1483), we can find examples of this process from the 1430s.[151] The scale of Charles VII's conquests from 1429 meant that the king was not always present at a town's surrender. While Bernard, lord of Châteauvillain, restored Langres to Valois rule in 1433, Charles's preoccupations in other parts of the kingdom caused him to postpone his inaugural entry into the town. As Charles had still not entered Langres by 1437, the town council decided to send a delegation to the monarch (who was based at Bourges) to have its privileges confirmed and registered in the *Chambre de Comptes*. From this moment, the rulers of Langres sent a delegation to court at the beginning of each new monarch's reign to have their liberties confirmed, rather than waiting for the inaugural entry.[152] While they may not have realised it, Langres' *échevins* were at the forefront of a practice which became the norm by the mid-sixteenth century.

The trend to have liberties confirmed at court was also a consequence of the French monarchy's success in expanding its territories and imposing its power more firmly across the kingdom. Charles VII confirmed Rouen's liberties on 19 July 1449, three months before the city returned to his rule.[153] The pre-entry confirmation of Rouen's liberties allowed the king to reassure the citizens that a return to Valois rule would not lead to the abolition of their privileges as a punishment for supporting the Lancastrian monarchy. As we saw earlier, this tactic was effective and Rouen's citizens overthrew the English garrison and opened their gates to Charles VII's soldiers. Accordingly, when Charles made his inaugural entry as king into the city on 10 November 1449, the confirmation of municipal liberties did not feature in the extramural greeting.[154] As well as restoring Valois rule to territories such as Normandy, French monarchs also

151 Bryant, *King and the City*, 42; Davis, *The Gift*, 156.

152 For example, Langres had its liberties confirmed by Francis I at Paris in February 1515, and by Louis XII on 12 July 1498: Julien de la Boullaye, *Inventaire sommaire des archives communales de Langres antérieures à 1790* (Troyes, 1882), 103, 172, 355. For the charter of liberties confirmed by French monarchs at Langres, see: S. Migneret, *Précis de l'histoire de Langres* (Langres, 1835), 345–55.

153 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 7, fol. 52r.

154 G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, 'Charles VII à Rouen en 1417, 1418 et en 1449', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Normandie* 3 (1880–83), 336–45; Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 160–62.

acquired new lands. Louis XI absorbed the independent county of Provence into the French kingdom in 1481 following the death of its last Angevin ruler. As Provence lay far from the centres of Valois power in the north, the French king rarely visited the region. Consequently, Provençal towns sent delegations to court soon after the ascension of a new monarch to give their oath of loyalty to the king and receive the confirmation of their privileges. Although Arles' rulers declared in 1481 that they would only take an oath to the French king after either he or one of his representatives visited the town and confirmed its privileges, the consequences of this stance led the town council to modify its position.[155] As Louis XI, Charles VIII, Louis XII and Henry II did not visit Arles, it was imperative that the town had its liberties confirmed at court, rather than wait in expectation for a royal entry. Although Francis I and Charles IX made entries into Arles in the early years of their reign, the town council had already obtained the confirmation of its privileges in advance of these visits.[156] The changing political conditions in France, especially the expansion of the monarchical state, meant some towns had to wait for years to have their liberties confirmed at an inaugural entry; indeed, as we saw at Arles, the inaugural entry might never take place. Hence, urban governments, particularly those on the frontiers, took the initiative to have their rights secured at the very beginning of the king's reign. In contrast to conditions on the periphery of the kingdom, towns and cities lying close to the centres of royal power were able to have their liberties confirmed by the monarch at one of his many visits. For example, when Louis XI visited Tours for the first time as king (soon after his coronation in 1461), the town was able to obtain the confirmation of its rights and franchises.[157] Similarly, towns in the north-east of the kingdom did not need to send delegations to court to have their liberties ratified because French monarchs customarily made ceremonial entries into these towns as they progressed from Reims to Paris after the coronation. When Henry II swore to forgo making his customary post-coronation entries into northern towns until he had campaigned in Italy, Amiens was forced to take the novel step of sending a delegation to court to have its liberties confirmed. However, having to travel to court to obtain the confirmation of urban liberties was both time-consuming and expensive. While Amiens' delegation departed for court in November 1547,

155 AM Arles BB 5, fol. 271r.

156 AM Arles BB 5, fol. 324r; Philippe Rigaud, 'Arles de 1481 à 1588', in Jean-Maurice Rouquette, ed., *Arles: histoire, territoires, cultures* (Paris, 2008), 479. Other Provençal towns also had their privileges confirmed at court. See: AM Aix-en-Provence AA 9, n. 13, AA 16, fols. 145r, 154r, 162r.

157 AM Tours AA 1. See also those of Francis I: AA 2.

they were unable to obtain the ratification of their rights until February 1548. Furthermore, Amiens had to provide gifts to the *procureur général* of the *conseil privé* to have their privileges examined.[158] Given this expense, those towns and cities that could expect an entry soon after a king's coronation preferred not to seek the confirmation of their rights at court unless it was absolutely necessary.[159]

Yet for towns located far from the centre of royal power, the opportunity to have their privileges validated at the start of a reign reduced the period of uncertainty that inevitably followed a monarch's death. When a delegation from Toulouse appeared before Henry II at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on 30 May 1547 to do homage to the new king, Anne de Montmorency, the constable and *grand-maître* of France, presented its members to the king, who confirmed the city's privileges, franchises and liberties.[160] Municipal delegations brought copies of their charters to court and asked the king to renew them. There was little negotiation in this act as it was just a general renewal of urban rights. On 13 May 1547 Lyon's town council appointed a delegation to bring copies of their charters to Paris and have Henry II confirm the privileges his predecessors had granted to the city.[161] Although this was a straightforward renewal of existing urban liberties, urban governments were expected to pay to have their rights confirmed; indeed, Louis XI used the renewal of charters as a means to generate revenue. On 7 October 1461, Jean de Bar, *bailli* of Touraine, informed Tours' leaders that they would have to pay 1,000 *livres* to have their liberties confirmed, while Toulouse paid 1,375 *livres* to have its privileges renewed in the same year.[162] Furthermore, municipal councils had to provide gifts to those people who had influence with the king. For Louis XII's entry into Reims in 1498, Châlons-en-Champagne sent a delegation to offer presents of wine to the cardinal of Reims, the chancellor, Georges d'Amboise, and the royal financial

158 AM Amiens BB 25, fols. 390r, 315r.

159 Similarly, the delegation Beavais's municipal council sent to court in 1547 remarked that it had obtained the confirmation of the town's privileges 'with great difficulty': Renaud Rose, *Ville de Beauvais. Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antèrieures à 1790* (Beauvais, 1887), 17.

160 AM Toulouse AA 8/2.

161 AM Lyon BB 66, fols. 22v, 26r.

162 AM Tours BB 10, fol. 344r; AM Toulouse AA 38/8; Bonnafous, 'Toulouse et Louis XI', 122. Despite Tours' initial protests about the poverty of the town and the expense of the gift for Charlotte of Savoy, a civic deputation brought five hundred *écus* to Louis XI at Saint-Jean-d'Angely in 1462 when they went to have their privileges confirmed: Rivaud, *Villes et le roi*, 85. For payments to have privileges confirmed at the beginning of a monarch's reign see also: AM Lyon BB 66, fol. 4v; Chevalier, 'King's Council', 113.

officers (*messieurs des finances*) 'in order that the said lords recommend the town towards the king our lord after his coronation'.[163] These men were head-hunted by Châlons' *échevins* because of the influence they had with the king. The archbishop of Reims crowned the monarch, while Georges d'Amboise was one of the Louis XII's closest friends. Furthermore, the chancellor, was responsible for registering the monarch's confirmation of urban liberties. Once Henry II had confirmed Lyon's privileges in 1547, the municipal delegation went immediately to the chancellor to obtain his confirmation of the privileges, after which they were able to have them registered with the *procureur* of the *conseil privé*.[164] Perhaps the most important people targeted by Châlons' *échevins* in 1498 were the royal financial officers, as they drew up the documents confirming the king's grant. As we shall see in chapter three, it was essential that urban governments had the senior royal secretaries (the *sécretaires des finances*) ratify the king's grants.

Despite the financial cost, obtaining the confirmation of urban liberties at the beginning of a new monarch's reign had clear advantages for urban administrations. Nonetheless, the gradual removal of this element from the royal entry ceremony changed the character of the extramural greeting: rather than providing a moment of interaction between the king and the city, the extramural greeting increasingly became a channel for the display of royal majesty. Alterations to the form of the extramural greeting contributed to the transformation in the public presentation of the king in the century separating the reigns of Louis XI and Charles IX. Whereas Louis XI was prepared to keel before the mayor of La Rochelle and take an oath to confirm the city's liberties, Charles IX was not. From the late fourteenth century, La Rochelle's municipal council had placed a silk ribbon across the path of the French monarch at his inaugural entry, which was only removed after the king had confirmed the city's privileges. When Charles IX entered La Rochelle in 1564, however, the Crown considered the ribbon to be an affront to the king's majesty and the governor of Guyenne, Guy Chabot, lord of Jarnac, cut through it with his sword. There was no public confirmation of the city's rights and liberties, and in a striking image of royal power the king's cortège tramped over the ribbon as it entered the city.[165]

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163 AC Châlons-en-Champagne CC 91, fol. 540r; Paul Pélicier, *Ville de Châlons-sur-Marne. Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790* (Châlons, 1903), 200.

164 AM Lyon BB 66, fol. 103r.

165 David, *Entrées princières*, 159–60. For the wider context of this entry, see: Kevin C. Robbins, *City on the Ocean Sea: La Rochelle, 1530–1650* (Leiden, 1997), 194–96.

While the challenge to monarchical authority unleashed by the civil wars of the later sixteenth century gave a religious resonance to the confirmation of liberties during royal entries into towns and cities containing significant Protestant populations (as at La Rochelle), the underlying issue remained the nature of royal authority. Some urban communities were unable to obtain the king's confirmation of their liberties either at the beginning of his reign or at his inaugural entry. Nîmes was forced to wait for many months after Charles IX's entry into the town to have its liberties confirmed because its Protestant inhabitants had taken up arms against the king during the first religious war.[166] As Protestants had obtained control of Nîmes' municipal administration by the early 1560s, the Crown decided to intervene in municipal elections to ensure that Catholic consuls regained dominance of the council in 1564.[167] It is likely that Charles did not confirm the city's liberties because they included the right to form a government. As the Crown wanted to intercede in the formation of Nîmes' government, Charles's entry was planned for December 1564, around the time of the council elections. Indeed, royal officials orchestrated the appointment of further Catholic consuls during the king's visit.[168] It was not simply the fact that the city was Protestant; it was because these Protestants had risen in opposition to the Crown. In contrast to his actions at Nîmes, Charles IX confirmed the rights of the neighbouring Catholic city of Narbonne during his inaugural entry.[169] Throughout the religious wars, the king used the public swearing of oaths to bolster the authority of dependable municipal councils in regions where royal power was challenged. In other words, the public confirmation of privileges became a favour the king granted to urban administrations that supported the Crown. Charles removed this element from his entries into towns (Catholic and Protestant) which had challenged his authority. While Henry II confirmed Dijon's liberties at his entry

166 Boutier, *Un tour de France royal*, 296.

167 This was part of a kingdom-wide drive by the Crown to reserve the right to allow the king to nominate the candidates in municipal elections. See, for example, the commands Charles IX sent to Angers on 9 August 1564 about this issue, as well those he issued as his entry into Aix-en-Provence: AM Angers BB 143; Sylvain Bertoldi, *Lire les écritures anciennes*, 2 vols (Angers, 1991), ii. 65–75; Claire Dolan, 'Rites d'accueil, identité urbaine et représentation politique à Aix-en-Provence au XVIe siècle', in Massimo Miglio and Giuseppe Lombardi, eds., *Simbolo e realtà della vita urbana nel Tardo Medioevo* (Manziana, 1993), 300.

168 Allan A. Tulchin, *That Men Would Praise the Lord: The Triumph of Protestantism in Nîmes, 1530–1570* (Oxford, 2010), 156–57. For Protestantism at Nîmes see also: A. H. Guggenheim, 'The Calvinist Notables of Nîmes during the Era of the Religious Wars', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 3 (1972), 89–96.

169 Vaillancourt, *Entrées solennelles, Charles IX*, 178–79.

in 1548, this element was removed from Charles IX's entry sixteen years later.[170] Charles's progress of 1564–66 was designed to impose the terms of the Edict of Amboise (which had brought an end to the first religious war in 1563) across the kingdom.[171] As the religious freedoms the Edict had granted to Protestants were unpopular with Dijon's staunchly Catholic leaders, both the civic authorities and the *Parlement* of Burgundy delayed registering it.[172] Charles considered this to be an affront to royal authority and he used his visit to Dijon to chastise its leaders for their disobedience. As Penny Roberts has found, the implementation of the peace edicts by the Valois monarchy during the religious wars was a crucial means to enforce royal authority.[173] Regardless of a town's religious composition, the key issue for the king was that municipal elites gave him their unswerving loyalty, in return for which he granted them liberties that sustained their place at the head of urban society. Moreover, as Charles IX made clear to recalcitrant townspeople at his entries, these liberties could be taken away if they defied him.

The *Loggia*

An increasing stress on the majesty of the Valois monarchy was manifested in the physical presence of an entry in the mid-sixteenth century, most notably with the emergence of the *loggia* (a raised wooden platform, often in the form of a gallery, which was decorated with tapestries and other expensive ornaments).[174] These structures – which were erected outside the gate of entry in the lead up to a royal visit – fundamentally altered the interaction between

170 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, i. 67, 78; ii. 9–11.

171 Penny Roberts, *Peace and Authority during the French Religious Wars, c.1560–1600* (Basingstoke, 2013), 68–69.

172 Robert J. Knecht, *Hero or Tyrant? Henry III, King of France, 1574–89* (Farnham, 2014), 17–18. As the *Parlement* of Bordeaux delayed registering the Edict of Amboise, Charles IX enforced it following his entry into the city: H. de Montégut, ed., *Journal historique de Pierre de Jarrige, viguier de la ville de Saint-Yrieix* (*1560–1574*) (Angoulême, 1868), 16.

173 Penny Roberts, 'Royal Authority and Justice during the French Religious Wars', *Past & Present* 184 (2004), 3–32; idem, 'Religious Pluralism in Practice: The Enforcement of the Edicts of Pacification', in K. Cameron, M. Greengrass and P. Roberts, eds., *The Adventures of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France* (Bern, 2000), 31–43.

174 M. Boudon, M. Chatenent and A.–M. Lecoq, 'La mis en scène de la personne royale en France au XVIe siècle: premières conclusions', in Jean-Philippe Genet, ed., *L'État moderne: genèse. Bilans et perspectives* (Paris, 1990), 241, 245; Wagner, *Entrées royales, Henri IV*, 39–40.

the king and the municipal elite. Rather than meeting the urban delegation on horseback, the monarch arrived outside the town in advance of the entry and waited for the townspeople while seated on the raised platform of the *loggia*. For Henry II's entry into Paris in 1549, the *échevins* built a wooden stand at the end of the rue Saint-Laurent from where the king could sit and watch the extramural procession of townspeople.[175] Before Henry II's reign, municipal delegations brought a halt to the movement of the royal cortège and only moved aside to allow the king to continue his journey into the town after he had taken an oath to safeguard urban rights; in contrast, by the mid-sixteenth century, the king remained stationary and the townspeople came to greet him.

Loggias were first used in cities across the kingdom (including Lyon, Nantes, Paris and Rouen) for the entries of the French king during the reign of Henry II. While contemporary sources do not reveal where the initiative for this development came from, the French monarchy was exerting more control over the form of the ceremonial entry in the 1540s.[176] There were precedents for the use of similar structures in ecclesiastical and ducal entries into northern French towns which the Crown could draw on. When he entered Rouen in 1532, Antoine Duprat, archbishop of Sens, papal legate and chancellor of France, received three formal greetings (from the *bailli*, the town council and the *Parlement* of Rouen) while seated 'in his chair' outside the city walls.[177] In the same year the king's eldest son, Francis, sat on a 'great stage' outside Rennes to watch processions of townspeople come to greet him during the

175 Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*, 164, 180.

176 Lawrence M. Bryant, 'From Ephemeral to Perdurable Rituals and Ceremonies', in idem, *Ritual, Ceremony and the Changing Monarchy*, 4.

177 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 13, fol. 18r. While many bishops were carried in a chair by their vassals during their inaugural entries, this was not the custom at Rouen: Véronique Julerot, 'La première entrée de l'évêque: réflexions sur son origine', *Revue historique* 639 (2006), 641–42. For this custom at bishops' entries, see: Henry Jongleux, ed., *Archives de la ville de Bourges avant 1789*, 2 vols (Bourges, 1877), i. 222; Rivaud, *Entrées princières*, 62, 96; Pierre Debofle, 'Le cérémonial des archevêques au temps de la Renaissance: l'exemple de l'entrée du cardinal de Clermont-Lodève dans la ville d'Auch en 1512', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique, historique, littéraire et scientifique du Gers* (2002), 422; Charles Lalore, 'Documents sur l'abbaye de Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains de Troyes', *Mémoires de la Société d'agriculture, sciences et arts du département de l'Aube* 11 (1874), 173; Marquis de Sécillon, 'Les premières entrées des évêques de Nantes en la ville de Guérande', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Nantes et du département de la Loire-Inférieure* 23 (1884), 192; Julien Théry, 'Les entrées épiscopales à Thérouanne (X^e–XVIe siècles)', in *L'album Thérouanne* (forthcoming), p. 6; Bertrand Yeuch, 'Les premières entrées épiscopales en Bretagne ducale', *Britannia Monastica* 16 (2012), 121–22.

ducal coronation entry.[178] As some of the very earliest uses of the *loggia* in France were for members of the Habsburg family, this new device may also represent the introduction of a foreign custom into French entries. By the terms of the Habsburg-Valois peace of 1529, Francis I married Charles V's sister, Eleanor of Austria. For her post-coronation entry into Paris in 1531, the Parisians erected a stage for the queen outside the Saint Ladre gate, where she sat and watched processions of townspeople come out of the city to honour her.[179] A *loggia* was also used at Paris for the entry of Emperor Charles V in January 1540. The municipal council constructed a 'wooden house surrounded with glass' next to the church of Saint-Antoine-des-Champs, where the emperor sat next to the French king's sons and with the chancellor and constable of France on either side of him.[180] There are good reasons to believe that this entry influenced the incorporation of the *loggia* into French royal entries in the mid-sixteenth century, as the future Henry II was one of those people who sat beside Charles V to watch the Parisians greet the emperor. Upon coming to the throne in 1547, Henry II renewed the war against Charles V. As part of its propaganda efforts, the Crown used display as a way to assert the Valois monarch's superiority over his Habsburg rival. Furthermore, Henry appears to have imitated the manner in which Charles V interacted with the Parisian delegation at his entry into the city in 1540. When Charles V received a greeting from the *prévôt des marchands*, he did not reply in person; rather, he had the constable thank the city on his behalf.[181] Henry II adopted this manner – which was uncustomary for French kings – when he made his entry into the city nine years later (see below).[182]

No matter where the initiative to use the *loggia* came from (whether royal or civic), it was probably the growing popularity of festival books during the sixteenth century that led to its increasing adoption by cities across France. The development of festival books enabled the rapid diffusion of trends across

178 Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, i. 611. For this entry, see: AM Rennes MS. 126.C.6, fol. 176r; Paul de La Bigne Villeneuve, 'Extrait d'une relation manuscrite sur l'entrée et couronnement du duc François III de ce nom en la ville de Rennes, capital du duché de Bretagne', *Bulletin et mémoires de la Société archéologique du départment d'Ille-et-Vilaine* 14 (1880), 307–20.

179 Tuetey, *Registres Paris, 1527–1539*, 111. Although Francis I and Eleanor of Austria did not enter Amiens in 1536, the town council constructed a wooden stage for the queen outside the city's Paris gate, from where she could watch the six thousand soldiers of the Picard legions parade past her: AM Amiens BB 23, fol. 7v.

180 Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*, 9.

181 Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*, 9.

182 Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*, 64.

the kingdom, as cities competed to outdo each other in the magnificence of their entries. Lyon appears to have been the first city to construct a *loggia* for a French king's entry (that of Henry II in 1548).[183] It is significant that the festival book for this entry was published quickly and distributed widely.[184] Lyon was a centre of innovation for royal entries in sixteenth-century France; indeed, it was the first city to use triumphal arches in its receptions (Francis I in 1515), which was a feature soon copied by other towns and cities across the kingdom.[185] French municipal councils looked to Lyon for inspiration when planning their entries. A *loggia* was first used at Rouen for Henry II's entry in 1550, which the *échevins* designed in response to knowledge of practices at Lyon.[186] Once adopted, *loggias* became a regular feature of French royal entries, with their use spreading across the kingdom during the reigns of Charles IX and Henry III.[187] The mid-ranking town of Angers constructed a *loggia* for the entry of Charles IX in 1565.[188] By the 1570s, Angers was constructing *loggias* (in imitation of their use for the king) for the entries of other members of

183 AC Lyon BB 67, fol. 282r; CC 980, no. 2.

184 Georges Guigue, ed., *La magnificence de la superbe et triumphante entrée de la noble & antique Cité de Lyon faicte au Treschrestien Roy de France Henry deuxiesme de ce Nom, Et à la Royne Catherine son Espouse le XXIII de Septembre M.D.XLVIII* (Lyon, 1927), 4.

185 Georges Guigue, ed., *L'entrée de François premier roy de France en a cité de Lyon le 12 juillet 1515* (Lyon, 1899), ix–x; Neil Murphy, 'Building a New Jerusalem in Renaissance France: Ceremonial Entries and the Transformation of the Urban Fabric, 1460–1600', in Katrina Gullier and Helena Tóth, eds., *Cityscapes in History: Creating the Urban Experience* (Farnham, 2014), 186–88. Lyon had planned to erect a triumphal arch for the entry of Louis XII in 1509, though the king did not visit the city: Cooper, *Roman Antiquities*, 143; Hochner, *Louis XII*, 113. For triumphal arches see: Zdzislaw Bieniecki, 'Quelques remarques sur la composition architecturale des arcs de triomphe à la renaissance', in Jean Jacquot and Elie Konigson, eds., *Les fêtes de la Renaissance, tome 3: Quinzième colloque international d'études humanistes, Tours, 10–22 juillet, 1972* (Paris, 1975), 200–15.

186 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 16, fol. 13v.

187 Boutier, *Tour de France royal*, 294–95; Vaillancourt, *Entrées solennelles, Charles IX*, 113; Rivaud, *Entrées princières*, 159; David Rivaud, 'L'accueil des souverains par les corps de villes: les entrées royales dans les "bonnes villes" du Centre-Ouest (XVe–XVIe siècles)', *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest* 8 (2002), 277.

188 AM Angers BB 30, fol. 226r. Several other towns and cities (including Bordeaux and Tours) also constructed *loggias* for the first time in 1565: David Rivaud, 'Les entrées solennelles de la Renaissance à Tours (1461–1565)', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Touraine* 57 (2011), 157. Limoges used a *loggia* for the first time for the entry of the Antoine de Bourbon, *vicomte* of Limoges and king of Navarre in December 1556: Ruben, *Registres consulaires, Limoges*, ii. 110–11.

the royal family.[189] These structures were principally confined to the larger towns and cities of the kingdom, as the cost of their fabrication exceeded the financial capabilities of the kingdom's smaller urban communities. As *loggias* were expensive to construct, they acted as both a mark of urban prosperity and as a means to honour the king (and thus encourage him to respond with generous gifts).

Although the incorporation of the *loggia* into the entry ceremony allowed urban governments to greet the monarch in an especially magnificent way, it also created a distance between him and the municipal delegation. The character of the extramural greeting changed from being a moment of exchange to become an occasion when townspeople honoured the majesty of the French king, who was aloof and resplendent on a dais. When Henry II entered Nantes, he sat in the *loggia* where he could 'see, receive and hear the very affectionate zeal and willingness that the Nantais had shown for his blessed coming'.[190] There is little sense of the reciprocal obligations that typified the extramural greeting before the mid-sixteenth century. In some towns and cities, the inclusion of the *loggia* profoundly altered the nature of the extramural greeting. Before 1531, Paris's municipal council customarily met visiting French kings and queens in an enclosed space in La-Chapelle-Saint-Denis. The greeting was hidden from public view and it normally only involved the participation the town council, the royal family and their officials. However, the incorporation of the *loggia* meant that the greeting was moved outside into open air and thus into the wider public gaze. Yet, while this aspect of the Parisian entry focused on the public presentation of the majesty of the French monarchy, it also acted as a means for the city council to highlight its close links to the royal family in front of a large and socially diverse audience.[191] As the size of the extramural procession of townspeople grew substantially from the mid-sixteenth century, this move allowed Paris's leaders to underscore their elite status to more townspeople than ever before. It dovetailed with the efforts Paris's civic administration took in the sixteenth century to use a ceremonial entry specifically to display their status to the general population. For example, while the civic council normally assembled outside the walls in preparation for the

189 See, for example, the entry of Francis, duke of Anjou, and brother to Henry III, in 1578: AM Angers BB 35, fol. 333r; Sylvain Bertoldi, 'Les entrées des rois et des enfants de France à Angers de 1424 à 1598', *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1994), 325–28.

190 M. Rathouis, 'Entrée du roi Henri II à Nantes le 12 juillet 1551', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Nantes et de Loire-Atlantique* 1 (1859), 49.

191 On this point, see: Bryant, *King and the City*, 97.

extramural greeting during the fifteenth century, from the 1530s they met at the town hall and marched in a procession through the streets before exiting the city, thus displaying their power to the wider population. It is striking to note that this measure was first used at Paris for the entry of Eleanor of Austria in 1531, which – as we saw – was also the first time a *loggia* was erected for an entry into the city.[192] As such, there is the possibility that the Parisians introduced a *loggia* into entries as part of their wider strategy to use an entry to parade their elite status to the general population.

Prior to the mid-sixteenth century, urban elites had unfettered access to the king during the extramural greeting. They did not have to pass through intermediaries, nor were there barriers around the king. However, the introduction of the *loggia* fundamentally altered this process. Royal officials, such as the chancellor, now regulated access to the king by introducing the urban delegation into the king's presence. Prior to mid-sixteenth century, Mâcon's municipal council approached the monarch directly during the extramural greeting. However, when Charles IX entered Mâcon in 1564, the governor first presented the town council to the duke of Aumale and then to the king.[193] The *loggia*'s design was adapted over time to help control access to the monarch. In 1571, Charles IX sat on a scaffold outside Paris to receive the harangues. A dais covered with Turkish carpets was placed on the scaffold and – as a means to avoid disorder among those going up to greet the king – two large staircases were incorporated into the design to control access to the monarch.[194] As a consequence of these architectural changes, royal officials could restrict the amount of direct contact the king had with urban officials during the ceremony.

In sum, the development of a heightened reserve and lack of public dialogue between the king and his urban subjects formed an important element in the Crown's drive to accentuate the majesty of the French monarchy in the mid-sixteenth century. Whereas Louis XI conversed freely with his urban subjects, Henry II maintained a public distance from even the urban elite. While Francis I replied in person to municipal greeting speeches (and even displayed considerable emotion when doing so), his son Henry II often remained motionless, like a statue, during the extramural greeting. When Claude Guyot,

192 Before going out to greet Eleanor of Austria in 1531, the Parisian civic delegation departed from the town hall went down the rue de la Vannerie as far as the Paris gate, where it turned into the rue Saint-Denis and went up to the Saint-Denis gate: Tuetey, *Registres Paris, 1527–1539*, 113.

193 AM Mâcon BB 39, fols. 79r–79v.

194 Graham and Johnson, *Paris Entries*, 165–66. See also: Reuben, *Registres consulaires, Limoges*, ii. 111.

the *prévôt-des-marchands* of Paris, delivered his *harangue to* Henry in 1549, the monarch sat silent on a dais and had the chancellor reply on his behalf.[195] From the mid-sixteenth century, the French king restricted the extent of his interaction in the extramural greeting, becoming a spectator who sat immobile and watched the procession of townspeople file past him. Yet, the confirmation of liberties remained a part of some entries well beyond the reign of Henry II, in addition to which the municipal elite's close and privileged contact with the king allowed them to maintain their authority over the general urban population.

The royal entry ceremony was the principal occasion for the confirmation of urban liberties by the fourteenth century. Oaths lay at the heart of the operation of western European states during this period and the king's confirmation of urban privileges was the most important aspect of the ceremony for townspeople.[196] Urban elites embedded the confirmation of municipal liberties within the extramural greeting as a means to emphasise the contractual nature of monarchical rule. Yet, as towns opted to have their liberties confirmed at the beginning of a new monarch's reign, there was a gradual decline in this function of the extramural greeting. Nonetheless, we should not overstate the speed of this transformation. While the move to have urban rights confirmed at court is apparent from the resurgence of Valois power in the 1430s, it did not become widespread until the middle of the sixteenth century. In many respects, it was preferable for urban populations to have their liberties confirmed in this way, as there could be a long gap between the ascension of a ruler and his first entry, especially in more remote parts of the kingdom.

Although the initiative to have municipal liberties confirmed at court came from the towns, it brought clear advantages to the Crown. In particular, it transformed the presentation of monarchical power during a royal entry. Prior to the appearance of the *loggia*, it was customary for the king to greet the town council on horseback and exchange greetings with the speaker. This form of greeting emphasised the scope of civic jurisdiction, as the municipal

195 Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*, 64.

196 Corinne Leveleux-Teixeira, 'Des serments collectifs au contrat politique? (début du XVe siècle)', in François Foronda, ed., *Avant le contrat social. Le contrat politique dans l'Occident médiéval XIIIe–XVe siècle* (Paris, 2011), 269; Neil Murphy, 'Ceremonial Entries and the Confirmation of Urban Privileges in France, c.1350–1550', in Jeroen Duindam and Sabine Dabringhaus, eds., *The Dynastic Centre and the Provinces: Agents and Interactions* (Leiden, 2014), 161–62; Michélè Populer, 'Les entrées inaugurales des princes dans les villes. Usage et signification. L'exemple des trois comtes de Hainaut, Hollande et Zelande entre 1417 et 1433', *Revue du Nord* 76 (1994), 29–30.

delegation stood blocking the road until the king swore an oath to uphold their liberties. While the confirmation or re-confirmation of urban liberties was not completely eradicated from royal entries by the reign of Charles IX, it took place less frequently.[197] Despite these transformations to the form of the extramural greeting, a royal entry remained an important event for townspeople because it provided urban governments with access to the king, which they used to present him with petitions for new liberties.

197 We can also see a similar process at work in the French king's territories in Italy during the mid-sixteenth century. While Henry II made a progress around Piedmont in 1548, and entered towns and cities such as Turin, he did not confirm their liberties until he had returned to France: Michel Antoine, 'Institutions françaises en Italie sous le règne de Henri II: gouverneurs et intendents', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 94 (1982), 768.

CHAPTER 2

Petitioning the King

The preceding chapter examined the king's confirmation of urban charters during the extramural greeting. Municipal councils did not attempt to win further rights at this stage of the ceremony; indeed, they insisted that the king did not alter the scope of their liberties during the extramural oath taking. For instance, the text of the oath the king took at La Rochelle stated that he was to confirm the city's rights as they stood, without making any amendments.[1] The townspeople's insistence on the immutability of the oath was probably to allay any fears that the monarch would use the act to diminish or abrogate municipal liberties. Hence, the extramural swearing of liberties was a straightforward confirmation of urban rights. Despite the fact that the oath-taking element of the ceremony was eroded over time, a royal entry continued to provide town councils with an opportunity to petition the monarch for new liberties right through to the late sixteenth century. This was particularly important for civic leaders, as they could otherwise find it difficult to gain access to the king and his ministers.

Historians have typically followed Gaston Zeller's assertion that it was easy to gain access to the French monarch before the reign of Henry III.[2] Most recently, Robert Knecht has asserted that 'the king of France in the early sixteenth century had been easily accessible . . . Access to the court was easy: anyone decently dressed was admitted.'[3] This chapter argues that such claims about the accessibility of the French court have been overstated. It was one thing to gain access to the king's court and quite another to secure contact with the monarch and those in power. Certainly, the perception of accessibility (if not the reality) was a central feature of French kingship from the reign

1 Rivaud, *Entrées princières*, 119.

2 Gaston Zeller, *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1948), 97–99. For the continuing influence of Zeller's view, see: Ronald G. Asch, 'The Princely Court and Political Space in Early Modern Europe', in Beat Kümin, ed., *Political Space in Pre-industrial Europe* (Farnham, 2009), 45; Monique Chatenet, *La cour de France au XVIe siècle: vie sociale et architecture* (Paris, 2002), 135–40; idem, 'Henri III et l'ordre de la cour. Evolution de l'étiquette à travers les règlements généraux de 1578 et de 1585', in Jacqueline Boucer and Robert Sauzet, eds., *Henri III et son temps* (Paris, 1992), 133–39; idem, 'Etiquette and Architecture at the Court of the Last Valois', in Mulryne and Goldring, *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance*, 89–94; J.-F. Solnon, *La cour de France* (Paris, 1987), 31–32, 41–42.

3 Knecht, *Henry III*, 67–70.

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of Louis IX, whose reign was looked upon as a golden era precisely because the saintly king had removed many of the obstacles that separated the monarch from his subjects. French kings were adept at maintaining the appearance of accessibility, while at the same time blocking their subjects' attempts to gain access to them. Historians' assertions about the openness of the French court are largely based on either the idealised projection of Valois kingship found in royal documents or on the evidence gleaned from ambassadors' letters. In contrast to the accessibility of the French monarch found in these sources, municipal documents make it clear that towns encountered great difficulties when they tried to gain contact with the king and his ministers.[4] Furthermore, the process of obtaining access to the royal council was governed by protocol and concerns with precedence, which made the task painfully slow and laborious. As Timothy Watson has noted, even the representatives of the most important cities of the kingdom 'had no option but to wait around, often for weeks, outside the council chamber, hoping for an invitation to present their case'.[5] Municipal councils could not be sure that their delegations would be granted an opportunity to present their requests to the royal council. On the other hand, royal entries provided civic governments will immediate access to the king and his ministers, thus speeding up the workings of government.

Royal entries benefitted civic elites in a number of important ways relating to the winning of grants. First, they enabled urban governments to speak to the king in person about pressing matters, such as economic hardships, problems with garrisons and other military obligations, as well as natural catastrophes and crop failures. Second, they allowed towns to avoid the expense of having to send a delegation to court.[6] In addition to the financial cost of keeping a delegation at court (lodgings, victuals, transport, etc.), urban delegations also had to pay the royal officials who controlled access to the *conseil privé* if they hoped to have an opportunity to present their requests to the king's ministers. Third, and most important, custom bound the king to grant the petitions offered to him at a royal entry. We can see all these benefits in action when we examine Avignon's efforts to win new grants from the Crown in the mid-1550s. Avignon's consuls sent one M. de Panisse to Henry II's court at Blois in 1556 to gain access to the *conseil privé* and petition its members for new economic

4 O. Mattéoni, 'Plaise au roi: les requêtes des officiers en France à la fin du Moyen Age', in H. Millet, ed., *Suppliques et requêtes: le gouvernement par la grâce en Occident* (*XIIe–XVe siècle*) (Rome, 2003), 268–307. For urban delegations see: Rivaud, *Villes et le roi*, 195–97.

5 Watson, 'Friends at Court', 288–89.

6 Gisela Naegle, 'Vérités contradictoires et réalités constitutionnelles. La ville et le roi en France à la fin du Moyen Âge', *Revue historique* 632 (2004), 727–28.

rights for the city. Although Panisse managed to obtain an audience with the *conseil privé*, he was unable to win any new grants. Not only did Panisse's mission end in failure, it also drained municipal finances. Panisse wrote to the consuls on 24 February to inform them of his desperate situation, stating he was returning to Avignon because of the high financial costs of remaining at court.[7] Five days after Panisse sent his despondent letter of 24 February 1556, he wrote again to the consuls to say that Charles of Lorraine (one of the most powerful men in the kingdom) had advised him of Henry II's intention to make a ceremonial entry into Avignon. Specifically, Charles told Panisse that the city's petitions for new grants were 'propitious to put before the king when he makes his entry into your town'.[8] As the cardinal of Lorraine made clear to Avignon's delegate, a royal entry provided one of the very best opportunities for municipal councils to obtain new liberties from the monarch. To take a further example, when Francis I cancelled his planned entry into Toulouse in March 1526, the council sent a delegation to find the king and obtain his confirmation of its existing liberties. Crucially, the delegates were instructed not to petition the king for new liberties.[9] The consuls likely wanted to wait until Francis entered the city to obtain these liberties, as an entry provided the most favourable time for the negotiation of new privileges.

Municipal councils often found it tough to gain access to the king and his council. For example, a delegation from Lyon waited outside the *conseil privé* every day for two months in 1560 without obtaining a hearing for their petition for tax exemption.[10] Difficulties in gaining access to the monarch and his ministers were not just a feature of a sedentary court fixed around a royal palace. Towns also found it difficult to gain access to the king while he was on progress, when – in theory at least – the ruler was meant to be more accessible, like Saint Louis, as he travelled around his kingdom to meet his subjects. The only time an urban government could guarantee that they would have access to the monarch was when he made an entry into their town. When the king was outwith their walls, civic leaders found it hard to secure direct contact with him. When Dijon's rulers learnt that Francis I was travelling through Burgundy in 1536, they sent a deputation to the nearby castle of Pagny to seek an audience with the king and request an *octroi* of 5,000 *livres* to cover the damage imperial

7 AD Vaucluse, AM Avignon AA 42, n. 9.

8 AD Vaucluse, AM Avignon AA 42, n. 10.

9 AM Toulouse BB 9, fols. 30r–34v.

10 Watson, 'Friends at Court', 288–89.

troops had caused to the city's *faubourgs*.[11] However, despite their best efforts, Dijon's municipal delegation could not gain access to the king. As such, the *échevins* had to settle with presenting their petition to the *général des finances*, Guillaume Prudhomme, who passed it to his son-in-law, François de Pré, lord of Cossigny-en-Brie and a member of the king's council.[12] Pré promised to implement any requests the king authorised for the city, although he advised the *échevins* that their petition was unlikely to reach the monarch. In an effort to gain access to the king, the civic council asked the admiral of France, Philippe de Chabot-Brion (who was one of Francis I's favourites[13]) to persuade the monarch to visit Dijon, thus allowing the councillors to hand their petitions directly to the king.[14] Although municipal councils had to build networks of reciprocity with members of the royal entourage, these efforts were worthwhile because a ceremonial entry guaranteed them access to the king. Even the rulers of towns lying outside France tried to persuade the Valois monarch to make an entry so that they could offer him their petitions. When the consuls of Marseille (which was not then under French rule) learned in December 1355 that John II was to visit the region, they prepared a ceremonial entry specifically so that they could present a number of requests to him. As well as asking the Valois king to order his subjects to stop harassing Marseille's merchants, the consuls also petitioned him to release the townspeople who were then imprisoned in Montpellier as a consequence of letters of marque he had issued against the city.[15]

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11 For the granting of *octrois*, see: David Potter, *War and Government in the French Provinces: Picardy, 1470–1560* (Cambridge, 1993), 233–64; David Rivaud, *Les villes au Moyen Âge dans l'espace français XIIe–XVIe siècle* (Paris, 2012), 30–31; Bernard Chevalier, 'The Policy of Louis XI towards the *Bonnes Villes*: The Case of Tours', in P. S. Lewis, ed., *The Recovery of France in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1971), 271–72.

12 For Prudhomme, see: Rémy Scheurer, ed., *Correspondence du Cardinal Jean du Bellay*, 2 vols (Paris, 1969), i. 123; Camille Trani, 'Les magistrats du grand conseil au XVIe siècle (1547–1610)', *Mémoires publiés par la fédération des sociétés archéologiques de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* 42 (1991), 139. The *généraux des finances* were responsible for taxation: J. A. Guy, 'The French King's Council, 1483–1526', in R. A. Griffiths and J. Sherborne, eds., *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1986), 285.

13 Cedric Michon, 'Conseils et conseillers sous Francois Ier', in Cedric Michon, *Les conseillers de Francois Ier* (Rennes, 2011), 41.

14 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, i. 60

15 AM Marseille BB 21, fols. 88r–90r, 95r–97r, 103r–107r, 108r. For requests presented by the consuls of Marseille at ceremonial entries, see: Noël Coulet, 'Les entrées solennelles en Provence au XIVe siècle', *Ethnologie française* 1 (1977), 64. For Marseille and letters of

Urban elites commonly used the promise of a magnificent entry to entice the king to visit their town, so that they could offer him their requests. When Francis I passed close to Gap on his way to campaign in Milan in 1515, the municipal council sent a speaker (Claude Olier) to greet the monarch and persuade him to ceremonially enter the town. While Francis was unable to enter the city at this time, he promised to visit Gap on his return from Italy, hence sustaining the French monarchy's impression that it was open to receive the pleas of its subjects.[16] In October 1542, Agen prepared an entry for Francis I. As the king was unable to visit the town, his sent a deputation in his place to meet with the consuls and thus show his willingness to listen to urban requests.[17] Furthermore, urban governments hoped that the staging of a magnificent entry would encourage the monarch to make an extended stay, providing them with further opportunities to gain access to the king and those who travelled with him. According to Montpellier's municipal records, Francis I was so enamoured with the entry he received from the city in 1533 that he remained in the city for nine days, which was longer than the duration of the other urban visits he made during this progress through Languedoc.[18] As towns and cities were in constant competition with their neighbours, Francis's protracted stay at Montpellier allowed its consuls to secure increased contact with the king as well as hampering the efforts of other urban administrations to access the monarch. French towns used the time they had the king within their walls (whether it be for nine days or just a single afternoon) to win his favour and persuade him to grant them new rights. They deployed a number of strategies to gain contact with the monarch, the most important of which was gift giving.

Gift-Giving

The post-entry ceremonies and festivities provided the best time for urban rulers to interact directly with the monarch. For instance, the organisation of a banquet gave municipal councils the means to access the king as well

marque in the fourteenth century, see: Christopher D. Beck, 'Seizing liberties: private rights, public good, and letters of marque in medieval Marseille' (PhD thesis, Fordham University, 2012).

16 Théodore Gauiter, *Précis de l'histoire de la ville de Gap* (Gap, 1944), 65.

17 Auguste, *Inventaire sommaire, Agen*, 23

18 Alicot, *Petit Thalamus de Montpellier*, 509.

as creating a sense of conviviality through the provision of food, drink and entertainment.[19]

Banquets allowed civic councillors to secure contact with the people at the very centre of power, including leading nobles and royal officials. More importantly, town governments used banquets to petition the king for new liberties. After entering Nîmes on 23 December 1362, John II invited the consuls to dine with him and present their requests.[20] The king made an abundance of grants during this progress, which came soon after his return from England. Whereas Paris and many other northern urban communities had challenged his son's government during his captivity, southern towns had both remained loyal and sent John gifts of goods and money.[21] In return for their generosity, the towns of Languedoc obtained extensive new liberties at the banquets which followed John's entries.[22]

The showcasing of regional and national delicacies provided civic councillors with an opportunity to promote the extent of their trading networks, which they sought to maintain by obtaining grants from the king at an entry. When Francis I entered Angers in June 1518, the municipal council prepared a banquet that included delicacies from across northern France: *loches* from

19 Serge ter Braake, 'Brokers in the Cities: The Connections between Princely Officers and Town Officials in Holland at the End of the Middle Ages (1480–1558)', in Sheila Sweetinburgh, ed., *Negotiating the Political in European Urban Society, c.1400–c.1600* (Turnhout, 2013), 170. See also: Dolan, 'Rites d'accueil', 291–93; Jean-Pierre Leguay, *La ville de Rennes au XVe siècle à travers les comptes des Miseurs* (Rennes, 1968), 309–15; idem, 'Banquets, cadeaux alimentaires et autres présents aux visiteurs de marque dans les villes françaises à la fin du moyen âge', in *Jeux, sports et divertissements au moyen âge et à l'âge classique* (Paris, 1993), 193–213; idem, 'Un aspect de la sociabilité urbaine: cadeaux et banquets dans les réceptions municipales de la Bretagne ducale au XVe siècle', in *Charpiana: Mélanges offerts par ses amis à Jacques Charpy* (Rennes, 1991), 349–60; C. M. Woolgar, 'Gifts of food in medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (2011), 6–18. Kings could also invite urban administrations to attend banquets organised by royal officials: La Grange, 'Entrées des souverains', 28; Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 100, 126; Bonnardot, *Registres Paris, 1499–1526*, 221; Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*, 183.

20 Louis J. Thomas, 'Séjour du roi Jean II le Bon à Villeneuve-lès-Avignon (16 novembre 1362–10 mai 1363)', *Cahiers d'histoire et d'archéologie. Revue méridionale d'histoire locale, de géographie humaine, d'archéologie* 6 (1933), 401.

21 Claude de Vic and J. Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc: avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, 16 vols (Toulouse, 1872–93), ix. 688; x. 1153; Charles-Victor Langlois, *Instructions remises aux députés de la commune de Montpellier qui furent envoyés au roi Jean pendant sa captivité en Angleterre* (*1358–1359*) (Montpellier, 1888), 2–7; Laurière, *Ordonnances rois de France*, iii. 88, 106.

22 Thomas, 'Séjour Jean II', 406–8.

Bar-sur-Seine (Champagne); eels from Maine; barbells from Saint-Florentin (Champagne); pike from Chalôns-en-Champagne; trout from Les Andelys; tarts from Chartres, and *purées* from Arras.[23] The range of goods offered to Francis encapsulated the scope of the Angers' trading networks, which extended across the urban belt of northern France. In order to provide these gifts to Francis (which symbolised the town's wealth and thus its value to the Crown), the *échevins* required Francis to use his powers to support their commercial interests. Municipal councils drew on their connections with members of the king's household to tailor the post-entry banquet to suit the monarch's tastes and thus further endear the town to him. For example, in advance of Charles VIII's entry into Reims 1484, the royal *maître d'hôtel* informed the *échevins* of the king's favourite dishes.[24] In addition to food, towns offered a range of other presents to the king during the banquets that were related to feasting, including alcohol and tableware. The presentation of these gifts provided a good opportunity for urban rulers to win new rights and liberties because the monarch was expected to offer a counter-gift of greater value than that provided by the town in order to affirm his superior status.[25]

From the fourteenth century, it was customary for visiting dignitaries to be introduced to the French king as soon as he had finished dining.[26] In an awareness of court protocol, urban delegations gave their requests to king at the conclusion of the meal. After presenting Charles VIII with gifts during his post-entry banquet at Abbeville 1493, the town's leaders petitioned him for exemption from the *taille*.[27] Likewise, when Eleanor of Austria entered Paris in 1531, the municipal council sent a delegation to invite her to dine in the town hall so that they could present her with a silver chandelier. They wanted to use the banquet to encourage her to promote the interests of the city with

23 Aimé de Soland, 'Réceptions et galas en Anjou', *Bulletin historique et monumental de l'Anjou* 4 (1868), 334–35.

24 Édouard Bartholomé, 'Mémoires de Jean Foulquart. Procureur de l'échevinage à Reims 1479–1499', *Revue de Champagne et de Brie* 2 (1877), 48.

25 Laure Verdon, 'Don, échange, réciprocité. Des usages d'un paradigm juridique et anthropologique pour comprendre le lien social médiéval', in Lucien Faggion and Laure Verdon, eds., *Le don et le contre-don. Usages et ambiguités d'un paradigm anthropologique aux époques médiévale et moderne* (Aix-en-Provence, 2010), 9–22; Claude Gauvard, 'Ordonnance de réforme et pouvoir legislative en France au XIVe siècle', in André Gouron and Albert Rigaudière, eds., *Renaissance du pouvoir législatif et genèse de l'Etat* (Montpellier, 1988), 97.

26 Chatenet, *Cour de France*, 120.

27 Ledieu, 'Charles VIII à Abbeville', 57.

her husband the king and his councillors.[28] Italian civic elites also exploited their knowledge of French ceremonial practices to obtain substantial political concessions from Valois monarchs at their entries. When Charles VIII made his entry into Pisa on 9 November 1494, a delegation formed of the leading citizens came to the king during his banquet at the *Opera del Duomo* to petition him for 'libertà', by which they meant freedom from Florentine dominance. For Charles, this was a straightforward grant of a petition for new rights, which he could expect to receive when entering any French town. The French king did not appreciate the full ramifications of this grant, which was celebrated throughout the streets of Pisa with festivities and the tearing down of symbols of Florentine dominance. In the days following Charles VIII's grant, Florentine officials were expelled from the city and a republican government installed.[29] As we see, urban governments could win substantial rights by offering gifts during the conviviality created by a feast. Yet, should a king decide to remain in the town for one night or more there were other opportunities for urban governments to give him their requests.

Rather than offer gifts and petitions to the king at the conclusion of the banquet, municipal administrations could seek to gain entry to the king's private quarters; indeed, there are a number of reasons why it was more desirable to do so. First, it meant they could time their visits to coincide with the daily meeting of the royal council, which took place in the king's private chambers immediately after he had dined. While Paris was the administrative centre of the kingdom, the royal council accompanied the monarch on progress. The council was at the centre of government and it took the major decisions affecting the kingdom's administration.[30] By timing their gift presentation to occur during a sitting of the royal council, municipal councils had access to the most powerful people in France.[31] Second, the less-public setting of the king's rooms

28 Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, i. 802.

29 When Charles entered the city again in June 1495, a triumphal arch with the depiction of Charles's horse trampling on a Florentine lion was amongst the decorations: Mitchell, *Majesty of State*, 61–2; Gene Brucker, *Florence: The Golden Age, 1138–1737* (Berkeley, 1998), 180.

30 Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *The French Royal State, 1460–1610*, trans. Juliet Vale (Oxford, 1994), 47; M. G. A. Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270–1380* (Oxford, 2001), 138.

31 For the composition and evolution of the king's council see: Jean Barbey, *Être roi: le roi et son gouvernement en France de Clovis à Louis XIV* (Paris, 1992), 329–42; Mikhaïl Harsgor, *Recherches sur le personnel du Conseil du roi sous Charles VIII et Louis XII*, 2 vols (Lille, 1980), i. 188–204, 256–461; Guy, 'French King's Council', 274–94; R. J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge, 1994), 50–53; Michon, 'Conseils

facilitated the creation of links between the urban elite and the monarch. The opportunity to acquire close contact with the king following the entry became more important for townspeople as a result of the changes made to the extramural greeting during the mid-sixteenth century (see chapter one). The degree to which the monarch was in the public gaze profoundly affected the nature of his contact with the municipal elite. There was an acute shift in the king's behaviour between the extramural greeting (which took place in the open air and before an audience of hundreds – and sometimes thousands – of people) and the less public setting of the gift-giving ceremony. As we saw in the previous chapter, Henry II sat in silence as he received the *prévôt-des-marchands*' greeting at Paris in 1549 and had the chancellor reply on his behalf. Yet when the members of the municipal council met Henry in his private chambers after the public entry, the king received their gifts and thanked the councillors directly before listening to their requests.[32] Likewise, during the gift presentation that took place in Henry II's lodgings following his entry into Rouen in 1550, the king thanked the *échevins* for the present and received their requests.[33] Henry's concern to appear aloof from his urban subjects diminished as soon as he was out of the wider public's gaze. By controlling the environment, municipal elites could exploit their exclusive contact with the king in order to win new rights.

The ease with which municipal councils were able to gain access to the king depended on the status of his residence. In part, the location of the king's lodgings reflected the nature of his authority in the region. For example, kings of France entering Angers before the late fifteenth century lodged in the abbey of Saint-Aubin; however, once Louis XI united Anjou with the royal domain in 1480, visiting monarchs stayed in the castle.[34] Valois kings tended to stay in royal palaces situated in or close to urban centres, as at Compiègne, Paris, Senlis and Tours. There was also a geographical element to the choice of royal residence, as the majority of royal palaces were located in the north of the kingdom, especially around the Loire valley and the Île-de-France.[35] Because urban governments had no control over royal palaces, they paid royal staff to gain entry to these buildings during a royal visit. When Charles VIII entered

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et conseillers', 11–81; Roland Mousnier, *Le conseil du roi de Louis XII á la Revolution* (Paris, 1970), 5–13.

32 Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*, 183.

33 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen, A 16, fol. 172r.

34 Bertoldi, 'Entrées des rois à Angers', 314.

35 Bernard Barbiche, *Les institutions de la monarchie française à l'époque modern XVIe–XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1999), 37–38; Chatenet, *Cour de France*, 6–38.

Évreux in 1485, the *échevins* paid 35 *sous* to the porters of the castle to give them access to the building 'to make their supplications and requests to the king'.[36] Having the support of royal officials was particularly important from the mid-sixteenth century, when municipal councils found it increasingly difficult to procure entry to the king's lodgings. From the reign of Henry II, the French Crown adopted increasingly restrictive measures to regulate access to the monarch's chambers when he was on progress. In advance of Charles IX's entry into Bergerac in July 1565 the *maréchal des logis* (who oversaw the preparation of the king's quarters when he was on progress) instructed the *consuls* to construct a separate staircase at the monarch's lodging for his personal use. This meant that even if the townspeople managed to gain entry to the king's residence, they would not be able to enter the monarch's rooms without the assistance of royal officials.[37] Staircases were constructed in royal palaces as a ceremonial space that was designed to accentuate the majesty of the king. As well as permitting the king's officials to restrict entry to his chambers to all but the most intimate of guests, it also allowed the monarch to utilise the vertical dimension of the staircase to highlight his superior status when receiving dignitaries.[38] By constructing temporary staircases when on progress, royal officers maintained the distance between the king and his subjects that changes to the design of royal palaces had established in the mid-sixteenth century. Possibly acting in imitation of royal trends in palace design, municipal councils also began to construct temporary staircases so that they could control access to the king and queen. For the entry of Henry II and Catherine de Medici into Paris in 1549, the *échevins* invited the queen to a banquet at the residence of Cardinal Jean du Bellay, where they hoped to win her support through the provision of gifts. In order to control Catherine's progress to the

36 M. Benet, 'Louis XI à Evreux', *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de Normandie* 7 (1893), 170.

37 G. Charrier, ed., *Les jurades de la ville de Bergerac tirées des registres de l'Hôtel de Ville*, 4 vols (Bergerac, 1892–83), i. 278–79, 282–83. For this entry see also: *Bergerac. Ses hôtes illustres, Charles IX, Roi de Navarre, Louis XIII, Félix Faure* (Bergerac, 1895), 39–41; Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, eds., *The Royal Tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici: Festivals and Entries, 1564–6* (Toronto, 1979), 121.

38 Chatenet, *Cour de France*, 254–56; Mary Whiteley, 'Royal and Ducal Palaces in France in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: Interior, Ceremony and Function', in Jean Guillaume, ed., *Architecture et vie sociale: l'organisation des grandes demeures à la fin du Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1994), 48–49; idem, 'Deux escaliers royaux du XIVe siècle: "les grands degrez" du Palais de la Cité et "la grande viz" du Louvre', *Bulletin Monumental* 147 (1989), 133–42; Jean Guillaume, 'L'escalier dans l'architecture française de la première moitié du XVIe siècle', in André Chastel and Jean Guillaume, eds., *L'escalier dans l'architecture de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1985), 27–47.

banqueting hall from Notre Dame, the *échevins* built a staircase leading from the doors of the cathedral directly to the residence of du Bellay. Although this was a considerable undertaking, which involved constructing a bridge across the Seine, it allowed the municipal council to control the movements of the queen and deny rival groups and individuals from accessing her.[39]

In the absence of a royal palace, kings customarily stayed in religious buildings, including abbeys and episcopal palaces. In these situations, municipal councils had little control over the king's lodgings. When Louis XII entered Mâcon in 1501, for example, his rooms were prepared by the doyen of the cathedral of Saint-Vincent, with no input from the *échevins*.[40] Although the town council was spared the financial expense of hosting the king, this situation was ultimately to the *échevins'* detriment because it limited their access to those in power. Fundamentally, control of royal lodgings allowed communication with the monarch. When Henry II entered Lyon in September 1548, Archbishop Ippolito d'Este vacated the episcopal palace for the king and queen. Nonetheless, the archbishop kept an apartment in the building, allowing him to remain in close proximity to the monarch. When Henry's *fourriers* decided to expel the archbishop from his apartment, d'Este was able to reverse the decision by using the access he had to the royal lodgings to appeal directly to the king.[41]

Yet as urban jurisdiction did not extend to episcopal palaces, gaining admittance to the monarch's rooms could be difficult. In an attempt to establish some control over Louis XI's residence Beauvais' municipal council worked with members of the clergy to prepare the lodgings for king and his entourage.[42] Urban governments also exploited friendly relations with cathedral authorities to gain admittance to the king's rooms. When Louis XI entered Tournai in 1463, he lodged at the house of the cathedral canon, Jean Manich, rather than at the

39 Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*, 180–81. *C'est l'ordre et forme qui a este tenue au sacre* [*et*] *couronneme*[*n*]*t de treshaulte* [*et*] *tresillustre dame, Madame Catherine de Medicis, royne de France* (Paris, 1549), p. 35.

40 AM Mâcon BB 22, fols. 89v–92r.

41 Cooper, *Entry of Henry II into Lyon*, 26. While d'Este had influence with Henry II in 1548, this was lost the following year: Cédric Michon, 'Hipployte d'Este (1509–1572)', in Michon, *Conseillers de François Ier*, 532. For d'Este, see: Mary Hollingsworth, *The Cardinal's Hat: Money, Ambition and Housekeeping in a Renaissance Court* (London, 2004); Jean Tricou, 'Un archevêque de Lyon au XVIe siècle, Hippolyte d'Este', *Revue des études italiennes* (1958), 147–66.

42 BM Beauvais Coll. Bucquet, vol. 57, pp. 8, 10.

episcopal palace (the traditional residence for visiting monarchs).[43] This benefited Tournai's *échevins*, who were on good terms with Manich. The canon had already acted as a peace broker between the monarch and the civic councillors, who had refused to support Louis's rebellion against his father in 1440. During the king's visit to Tournai, Manich brought the *échevins* into Louis's presence, allowing them to offer their gifts to the king and petition him for new liberties.[44] In the same way that civic administrations enlisted the support of the clergy to deliver the municipal *harangue* at the extramural greeting, they needed to negotiate with religious authorities in order to gain access to the king when he stayed in religious buildings.

As we saw with Louis XI's actions at Tournai in 1463, kings could decide to stay in lodgings of their choice rather than in traditional royal residences. French monarchs rarely lodged with commoners before the mid-fifteenth century, yet Charles VII opted to stay at bourgeois' residences following his entries. His choice of accommodation was a consequence of the political instability of the 1420s, when the Lancastrian monarch ruled large swathes of France and Charles VII's support base had shrunk considerably. During this period, the Valois king became increasingly paranoid and preferred to stay with trusted followers such Martin d'Agougues at Tours and Jean Boucher at Orléans, both of whom were royal financial officers.[45] With the resurgence of Valois power after 1429, there were other reasons to lodge with townspeople. When Charles entered Caen in 1450, he chose to stay with a prominent merchant.[46] Given that Caen had been under English control for the past thirty years, the king's decision to lodge with one of its leading families allowed him to re-establish links with the town's rulers. Charles's choice of residence during his entries formed part of the monarchy's efforts to develop an *entente cordiale* with urban elites. When Charles VII entered Limoges in 1439, he lodged with the draper Guillaume Julien, whose family dominated the town's government during the

43 During his northern progress of 1463 Louis also opted to stay at the house of a canon at Arras rather than with the bishop. Likewise, when he entered Abbeville, he lodged with Jean Vilain, his advocate in Ponthieu: 'Continuator of Monstrelet', in Thomas Johnes, ed., *The chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, 12 vols (London, 1810), x. 154; BNF Collection Picardie 37, p. 282. Louis XI stayed at bourgeois residences throughout his reign: P.-R. Gaussin, *Louis XI, roi méconnu* (Paris, 1978), 412.

44 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 194, 198; Douët-d'Arcq, *Chronique de Monstrelet*, x. 157.

45 Dauphant, *Royaume*, 79; Bernard Chevalier, *Tours, ville royale, 1356–1520: origine et développement d'une capitale à la fin du Moyen Age* (Louvain, 1975), 222.

46 'Continuator of Monstrelet', in Johnes, *Monstrelet*, ix. 132.

fifteenth century.[47] The Juliens had almost unfettered access to the king during his visit to the town, which allowed them to promote the family's position. This was a two-way process and the positive effects of Charles's attempts to build up links with urban administrations during his entries were manifested during the princely revolt known as the Praguerie (1440), when municipal governments overwhelmingly gave their support to the Crown against the rebel princes.[48] There was also symbolic capital in staying at a bourgeois' residence. Two months after Francis, duke of Guise, recaptured Calais in January 1558, Henry II made his inaugural entry into the town. Before its conquest, Calais was a centre of commerce. Yet the French monarch entered a ghost town, as the population had crossed the Channel (England controlled Calais from its conquest by Edward III in 1347 right through to its loss by Mary in 1558). Henry II decided to stay at the former house of a wealthy English merchant, which one eyewitness called 'the most beautiful and best decorated in all the city.'[49] This merchant's house was symbolic not only of Henry's achievement in retuning Calais to French rule after two hundred years of foreign domination, but also of a decade spent extending the frontiers of France.[50] As these examples highlight, while French monarchs could limit their contact with townspeople by staying in royal or episcopal buildings, political considerations could induce them to stay in bourgeois residences.

Municipal councils were also obliged to provide lodgings to members of the king's entourage. This could work to the advantage of urban governments as it allowed them to gain access to the most influential members of the royal household. As we shall see in chapter three, it was crucial for municipal councils to secure the support of those who travelled with the king in order to have their grants confirmed. Towns were divided into different sections, with each section given over to one of the principal nobles who travelled with the king. When Charles VI entered Tournai in 1382, the city was divided into four sectors to lodge the dukes of Berry, Bourbon, Burgundy and the constable of France (Olivier de Clisson), as well as their entourages, while the king and

47 Jean Tricard, 'Mariage, "commérages", parrainage: la sociabilité dans les livres de raison limousins du XVe siècle', in *Croyances, pouvoir et société* (Treignac, 1988), 137; Jean Tricard, 'Le consul, le moine et le roi: entrées royales et antagonismes urbaines à Limoges au XVe siècle', in Patrick Boucheron, ed., *Religion et société urbaine au Moyen Âge, études offerts à Jean-Louis Biget* (Paris, 2000), 406.

48 Chevalier, *Bonnes villes*, 101.

49 Léon Pollet, 'L'entrée d'Henri II à Calais en 1558', *Bulletin de la commission des Monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais* 7 (1956), 549.

50 As well as re-taking Boulogne (1550) and Calais (1558) from the English, Henry II also conquered Metz, Toul and Verdun from the Empire in 1552.

his household stayed in the abbey of Saint-Martin (the traditional royal residence in the city).[51] As the size of royal entourages grew significantly during the fifteenth century, it became necessary for townspeople to give over rooms in their houses to the king's followers. While Charles VII was installed in the archiepiscopal palace following his entry into Rouen in 1449, the members of his entourage were placed in the very best houses in the city. Although Mathieu d'Escouchy tells us that the Rouennais received their noble guests with 'good cheer', townspeople frequently resisted the billeting of nobles in their homes because of their unruly and often violent behaviour.[52] Following Louis XII's entry into Amiens in 1513, a number of townspeople who had been mistreated by the nobles staying with them went to the royal *prévôt* to receive compensation.[53] As well as harassing their hosts, members of royal entourages also damaged the property of bourgeois families. After the entry of Mary of Guise into Amiens in 1551, numerous townspeople came to the municipal council seeking compensation for broken beds and damaged linen (for example, one Simon Pointel complained that one third of the mattresses he had provided for the dowager queen of Scotland and her entourage had been lost).[54] Although municipal councils used the access they had to the members of royal entourages lodged in bourgeois houses to help them obtain new grants from the king, the disorder nobles and officials created did not encourage townspeople to willingly give over rooms in their residences for this purpose. Moreover, the general population frequently did not benefit from the petitions the elite put to the king following the entry, many of which were designed to shore up the elite's dominance of the town at the expense of other urban groups. As such, rather than creating cohesion and harmony between urban social groups, an entry frequently led to the creation of resentment and hostility between municipal elites and the general population.

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51 A. Hocquet, ed., *Croniques de Franche, d'Engleterre, de Flandres, de Lile et espécialement de Tournay* (Mons, 1938), 255.

52 Beaucourt, *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, i. 242. For unruly nobles see: R. J. Knecht, 'The Court of Francis I', *European Studies Review* 8 (1979), 14–15; Robert A. Scheider, *Public Life in Toulouse 1463–1789: From Municipal Republic to Cosmopolitan City* (Ithaca and London, 1989), 30; M. G. A. Vale, 'Provisioning Princely Households in the Low Countries during the pre-Burgundian period, c.1280–1380', in Werner Paravicini, ed., *Alltag bei Hofe: 3. Symposium der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* (Sigmaringen, 1995), 39.

53 AM Amiens AA 12, fol. 113r.

54 AM Amiens BB 27, fol. 80r. For further complaints from the townspeople, see: BB 27, fols, 73r, 87r, 111r.

Given the problems associated with lodging members of royal households, municipal councils often had to compel townspeople to host nobles and officials during a royal visit. In advance of Louis XII's entry into Mâcon in 1501, the *échevins* instructed the townspeople to receive their guests well and without complaint.[55] However, it was not always possible for municipal governments to lodge members of royal households with urban populations. During the fifteenth century, the people of Paris obtained an exemption from the obligation to lodge members of the king's entourage. When Charles VII entered Paris in 1437, he confirmed the cathedral chapter's right to forbid members of the king's, queen's and dauphin's households from lodging in the cloister of Notre Dame.[56] These rights posed little threat to the lodging of royal entourages in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries because Paris had numerous inns where the members of royal entourages could stay. Furthermore, as France's principal nobles possessed residences in Paris (as did royal officials), the citizens' exemption from housing members of the king's entourage was of minimal concern to the municipal government and the royal quartermasters (*fourriers*), who organised the preparation of the king's chambers when he was on progress. However, the political crises of the first half of the fifteenth century (particularly the civil war and the English occupation of northern France) led the Valois court to favour the Loire over Paris. The monarchy's abandonment of Paris impacted on the businesses that relied on the presence of the court, especially innkeepers. During the second half of the fifteenth century, a decline in the number of inns, combined with the rapid growth in the size of the Valois court, meant that Parisian rights to be exempt from lodging members of royal entourages became a source of increasing concern for both the municipal government and the king's household officers. The registers of the *Parlement* of Paris note that when Louis XI made his post-coronation entry into Paris in 1461, his followers 'could not be lodged in the inns of Paris because of the great diminution and little number of them . . . [a result of] the long time that the king and princes of the blood had neglected to make their residence and frequentation in the said town'.[57] The Parisians exemption from lodging members of the royal entourage was of immediate concern to the city council which was planning Louis XI's entry. In order 'to avoid scandal and inconvenience',

55 Bazin, 'Rois de France à Mâcon', 66;

56 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 71. Likewise, in 1429, Charles VII exempted the bourgeois of Orléans from having to contribute towards the residences of the king and princes of the blood: P. Veyrier du Muraud et al., *Ville d'Orléans. Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790* (Orléans, 1907), 2.

57 Laurière, *Ordonances rois de France*, xv. 10.

the *échevins* mobilised their sergeants to persuade the city's bourgeois to lodge royal officials, though these efforts met with little success.[58] When the Valois court returned to Paris in the mid-sixteenth century, concerns about the lodging of royal entourages became pressing and the municipal council began to adopt methods harsher than persuasion. When Henry II made his inaugural entry into Paris in 1549, the civic council ruled that anyone who resisted lodging members of the king's entourage would be compelled to leave their house.[59] The tokens used to mark out houses destined to receive guests became a source of tension between urban governments and the general population, who often tore them down. At Tournai, any townspeople caught removing the markers were to be 'punished as rebels' – one of the most serious crimes of the age.[60] Municipal councils clamped down on resistance to the lodging of nobles because such confrontations harmed their efforts to gain access to the members of the king's entourage. When the population of Arras opposed attempts by Louis XI's *fourriers* to allocate houses to his followers in 1463, the king forbade the people travelling with him from staying in the town.[61] This limited the *échevins*' opportunities to gain access to those nobles who could promote municipal affairs with the king and his officials. The townspeople's actions were disastrous for Arras' municipal council, which was then attempting to rebuild its relations with the Valois monarch. As the *échevins* were unable to gain contact with the king's supporters, they found it difficult to acquire agents to intercede with the monarch on their behalf. Indeed, Louis delayed making his entry into Arras and kept the town council fearful that he would not confirm its liberties.[62] Overall, it was important for municipal councils to win the support of those who travelled with the king so that he was amenable to receive their requests during the second harangue.

The Second *Harangue*

Municipal councils devised a second harangue to draw attention to the town's gifts and the king's obligation to reciprocate. These speeches instructed the monarch about the key qualities of kingship, particularly largesse. For

58 *Chronique Scandeleuse*, i. 24–25.

59 Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*, 162.

60 La Grange, 'Entrées des souverains', 50.

61 'Continuator of Monstrelet', in Johnes, *Monstrelet*, x. 152.

62 A. Proyart, 'Louis XI à Arras', *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, lettres et arts d'Arras* 34 (1861), 107–8.

example, when offering their gifts to Charles IX in 1564, Sens' *échevins* emphasised the king's responsibility to give generously.[63] Although municipal councils hired professional speakers to deliver the extramural greeting, it was often the mayor, accompanied by the senior members of the municipal council, who delivered the second *harangue*. Furthermore, whereas the extramural greeting normally took place in a highly public setting, the second greeting was made in the king's chambers and involved a more restricted audience – typically the monarch, his closest advisors, and the municipal council. This exclusive encounter allowed urban elites to cement their relationship with the king by excluding others from the meeting. Municipal councils were composed of individuals drawn from the leading families of the town, which dominated civic governments for generations.[64] To give one example, the male members of the Clabaut family filled the senior positions in Amiens' administration for two centuries.[65] The participation of the principal members of these urban dynasties in the second greeting was important because the mayor petitioned the king for rights and liberties that were intended to strengthen the urban elite's mastery of municipal political, social and economic structures. While urban governments wanted the general population to prepare the entry and lodge the guests, they excluded them from the petitioning process. This is because the civic elite sought rights and privileges that were frequently to the disadvantage of other urban groups, such as the craft guilds. The elite's exclusion of these rival groups was especially important for the older urban dynasties, as many of their lineages had weakened during the later Middle Ages. In their place, new families (which had often immigrated into towns from the surrounding countryside as a result of the opportunities offered by post-Black Death changes to the urban economy) attempted to dislodge the entrenched civic elites from the upper echelons of civic governments.[66] As a consequence of these broader social changes, royal entries provided the older municipal dynasties with an opportunity to reaffirm their dominance over urban power structures, while at the same time providing the new families that were seeking to control urban governments (but who lacked the pedigree gained through family lineage that was important for municipal office holding) to affirm their right to power by stressing their links to the Crown.

63 Vaillancourt, *Entrées solennelles, Charles IX*, 79.

64 David Nicholas, *Urban Europe, 1100–1700* (Basingstoke, 2003), 99.

65 Auguste Omer Janvier, *Les Clabault: familie municipale amiénoise, 1349–1539* (Amiens, 1889).

66 Nicholas, *Urban Europe*, 103.

Civic elites both old and new used the second greeting to create an affiliation between their families and the king. The children of the mayor and other leading urban officials regularly participated in the gift presentation, which accompanied the offering of the town's petitions. The daughters of one of Mâcon's pre-eminent families presented the gifts to Henry II and Mary of Guise in 1548.[67] When Charles IX entered the town sixteen years later, three young women drawn from Mâcon's principal families were again chosen to present the town's gifts to the king.[68] In other towns, such as Poitiers, the mayor's eldest son took part in the gift presentation. As urban dynasties dominated civic governments for years, the male children of elite families could expect to lead the municipal delegations that welcomed future kings of France. For this reason, royal entries promoted interaction between the king and successive generations of leading urban families, thus facilitating the construction of long-lasting attachments between civic leaders and the Crown. When Charles VIII entered Poitiers on 15 February 1487, Geoffroy, the ten-year-old son of the mayor, Yves Boilesve, stood holding 'a *fleur-de-lis* signifying Poitiers' while his father delivered the second *harangue* and submitted the town's petitions to the king. This event provided the mayor's son with practical experience of the workings of the French state (indeed, Geoffroy sat on Poitiers' ruling council before becoming a member of the *Parlement* of Paris).[69] Geoffroy Boilesve's career was typical of a new breed of bourgeois officials who, from the late fifteenth century, used their experience of civic government to obtain positions in the royal administration in a trend that Bernard Chevalier likened to 'a cancer in a healthy organism'.[70]

Recent years have witnessed a move away from the influential reciprocity model of gift giving first proposed by Marcel Mauss and then developed by Marshall Sahlins and others.[71] In his recent studies of urban gift giving Valentin

67 Bazin, 'Rois de France à Mâcon', 79–80.

68 Bazin, 'Rois de France à Mâcon', 84. For women presenting gifts see also: Boudet, 'Charles VII à Saint-Flour', 303; Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, iii. 6.

69 Rivaud, *Entrées princières*, 123. Two members of the Boilesve family (Thomas and Jehan) had organized the gifts for Louis XI's entry in 1462: M. Rédet, 'Extraits des comptes de dépenses de la ville de Poitiers aux XIVe et XVe siècles', *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest* 7 (1904), 445.

70 Chevalier, *Bonnes villes*, 129.

71 Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London, 1954); Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (Berkeley and Oxford, 1992); Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986); Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (London, 2004). For an overview of how different historians have applied Mauss's theories see:

Groebner has substituted reciprocity for uncertainty, writing 'it is evident that, in the moment of giving, the giver cannot openly claim any return, if he does not want to put the whole operation at risk.'[72] Likewise, in their study of gift giving in French royal entries Bruno Paradis and Lyse Roy (who follow Pierre Bourdieu) state that the king received post-entry gifts in return for having ratified urban privileges.[73] In other words, the town waited until the conclusion of the entry to provide a gift in exchange for the ruler's confirmation of their liberties (which took place at the beginning of the entry) so that the two acts did not appear to be connected. However, when we examine the municipal documents relating to French entries, we find that town councils did not provide gifts in return for the confirmation of their current liberties. In fact, they were given in the expectation of winning new rights. As the king had already confirmed municipal liberties either during the extramural greeting or at court in advance of the entry, the gift exchange offered the town an opportunity to press for new liberties. For Louis XI's entry into Tournai, the municipal council decided that the gift presentation was the best time to make their requests to the king.[74] By tendering their petitions to the king at the same time as they offered the gift, town councils indicated to the monarch what they hoped

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Around-Jan A. Bijsterveld, 'The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach', in Esther Cohen and Mayke B. De Jong, eds., *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context* (Leiden, 2001), 126–37.

72 Valentin Groebner, 'Accountancies and Arcana: Registering the Gift in Late Medieval Cities', in Esther Cohen and Mayke B. de Jong, eds., *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context* (Leiden, 2001), 238. See also: idem, 'The City Guard's Salute: Legal and Illegal, Public and Private Gifts in the Swiss Confederation around 1500', in Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner and Bernhardt Jussen, eds., *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange* (Göttigen, 2003), 248–49.

73 Bruno Paradis and Lyse Roy, '"Le cueur craintif est de tout danger seur, puisque Titan en ce pays arrive". Le don dans les entrées solennelles en France aux XVe et XVIe siècles', in Marie-France Wagner, Louise Frappier and Claire Latraverse, eds., *Les jeux de l'échange: entrées solennelles et divertissements du XVe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 2007), 109; Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* (Stanford, 1998), 94. See also: Florence Migneault, 'Bon vouloir et affection: don et réciprocité dans les entrées rouennaises du XVIe siècle', *Cahier du Groupe de recherches sur les entrées solennelles* (2003), 20–21. Also following Pierre Bourdieu's influential work on gift giving, in his study of ceremonial entries in the Low Countries Mario Damen asserts 'it is important that the gifts were not handed over during the welcome of the prince outside the city's gates but only after the oath ceremony had taken place': Mario Damen, 'Princely entries and gift exchange in the Burgundian Low Countries: a crucial link in medieval political culture', *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007), 234.

74 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 188.

to receive in return for their generosity. Certainly, there was an explicit link between the offering of gifts to the king and the granting of new urban liberties. When Francis I entered Troyes in 1521, the silver statue the municipal council had commissioned for the king was not ready by the time of his departure. Once the item was finished, the *échevins* sent deputies to Dijon to present it to the monarch. As soon as Francis received the town's gift, he immediately granted the petitions the municipal council had put to him at the entry, which included the right to hold a new fair and to levy a salt tax.[75] By delaying his confirmation of the town's petitions until he had received the silverware, Francis underscored the explicit correlation between gift and counter-gift.

Historians have also downplayed the economic benefits of entries for townspeople. In his study of gift giving at Burgundian ceremonial entries, Jesse Hurlbut states that 'in material terms alone, the first entry constituted an exchange that was always to the disadvantage of the city'.[76] Yet Hurlbut linked the gift giving to the extramural confirmation of liberties, when the offering of gifts was actually tied to the winning of new rights that went beyond those ratified at the extramural greeting. Although French municipal councils spent prodigiously on the king's gifts, the grants they received in return provided long-lasting financial rewards that outweighed the expense of an entry. Indeed, the king was expected to meet with civic administrations and grant them substantial new privileges at an entry. When Charles VI returned to Paris after his coronation at Reims in 1380, Jean Juvénal des Ursins tells us that the monarch avoided making the customary entries into northern towns so as to avoid receiving requests regarding the *aides* (a tax on goods).[77] In other words, Charles bypassed these towns because custom would have bound him to authorise urban requests for tax reduction at his entries.[78] As the granting of petitions was a fundamental part of an entry, they were issued even when

75 Babeau, *Rois de France à Troyes*, 33–35.

76 Jesse Hurlbut, 'The duke's first entry: Burgundian inauguration and gift', in K. M. Ashley and W. Hüsken eds., *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Amsterdam, 2001), 173.

77 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 58.

78 Increasing taxation was one of the main features of Charles V's reign, so much so that on his deathbed he abolished the hearth tax (*fouages*). While Charles VI was able to avoid abolishing the *aides* at his entries, popular resistance to these taxes at the beginning of his reign soon compelled him to do so: Autrand, *Charles VI*, 73–88; F. Chatillon, 'Charles V "Nummularius" et l'abolition des fouages', *Revue du Moyen Age Latin* 1–2 (1964), 112–14; H. A. Miskimin, 'The Last Act of Charles V: The Background of the Revolts of 1382', *Speculum* 38 (1963), 433–42; Peter Lewis, *Later Medieval France: The Polity* (London, 1968), 105–6.

townspeople were not in royal favour. Although Charles VII delayed his entry into Paris to show his displeasure at the city's support for the Lancastrian monarchy, when he entered his capital in 1437 he granted the requests brought to him by the town council, the *Parlement* and the University.[79] The conferring of these rights is especially significant when we remember that the municipal government, the *Parlement* and the University had all supported the claims of Henry V and Henry VI to the throne of France. Despite Charles's ill feeling towards the Parisians, the awarding of these requests formed part of the monarch's efforts to legitimise his rule. It was a mark of royal power to be able to grant a request, and the fact that the Parisians were petitioning him, rather than the Lancastrian monarch, was recognition of his right to rule from the city's principal institutions. Overall, municipal councils used gift giving as a means to significantly expand their power by persuading the monarch to furnish them with financially and politically rewarding new rights, which went beyond those set down in the urban charters he confirmed either during the extramural greeting or in advance of his entry. In order to ensure that they capitalised on a royal visit by winning new rights, urban governments had to ensure they offered suitable gifts to the king.

The Gifts

While the obligation to offer gifts may have developed from the early medieval royal right of *gîte* (which required townspeople to provide the king and his entourage with victuals and lodgings), the provision of victuals also reflected urban cultural practices, as food and drink were frequently exchanged between members of the municipal elite.[80] Urban governments also offered liquid gifts when seeking to obtain the services of a broker to promote their affairs at court.[81] There was a biblical precedent for the offering of gifts of food and

79 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 75.

80 Cyrille Chatellain, 'La maïeur et les échevins d'Amiens à table (1385–1483)', *Publications du Centre Européen d'études bourguignonnes* 47 (2007), 169–88; M. Mathon, 'Le droit de gîte du roi saint Louis à Beauvais', *Mémoires de la Société académique d'archéologie, science et arts du départment de l'Oise* 6 (1865), 656; M. Facinger, 'A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987–1237', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 5 (1968), 26; Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La ville des cérémonies: essai sur la communication politique dans les anciens Pays-Bas bourguignons* (Turnhout, 2004), 121; H. Richardot, 'Le fief roturier à Toulouse', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 14 (1935), 315–16.

81 Davis, *The Gift*, 58; M.-A. Arnould, 'L'origine historique des pots-de-vin', *Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques de l'Académie royale de Belgique* 62 (1976),

wine to the powerful in order to construct friendly relationships and obtain their patronage. Melchizedek offered gifts of bread and wine to Abraham, while Abigail offered David gifts of food and wine to gain his favour.[82] As wine was the principal high-status drink of the age, large amounts of it were given to the king at an entry. When John II entered Tournai in 1355, the town offered him two *pipes* of Grenache wine, two *pipes* of Rhenish wine, four barrels of French wine and one barrel of red wine of Saint Jehan, which was produced in the region. As the wine was presented to the king in nine casks each bearing a mark identifying its provenance, the king could see that the municipal council was providing him with high-quality wines from across the kingdom and beyond.[83] In addition to displaying the city's generosity, the *échevins* could also advertise the extent of their trading connections, which encompassed France, the Holy Roman Empire and the Low Countries.

The gifting of foodstuffs highlighted the scope of a town's economic and political networks. The small southern town of Béziers provided Francis I with goods from the Spanish kingdoms, demonstrating that it was involved in international trade despite its modest size – and thus of economic value to the king.[84] Large commercial centres such as Lyon, Paris, Rouen and Toulouse obtained an abundance of exotic foods to offer as gifts, with the quantity and range of foods corresponding to the guest's social status.[85] When the dauphin, Francis, entered Paris in 1552 the municipal council gave him a range of luxury foodstuffs, including numerous spices.[86] This was an attractive gift, as royal households consumed vast quantities of spices.[87] As well as highlighting

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227–55; Marc Boone, 'Dons et pots-de-vin, aspects de la sociabilité urbaine au bas Moyen Age: le cas gantois pendant la période bourguignonne', *Revue du nord* 70 (1988), 471–87; Alain Derville, 'Les pots-de-vin dans le dernier tiers du XVe siècle (d'après les comptes de Lille et de Saint-Omer)', in W. P. Blockmans, ed., *1477: Marie de Bourgogne. Le privilège general et les privilièges régionnaux de Marie de Bourgogne pour les Pays-Bas* (Courtrai, 1985), 449–69. See also: Valentin Groebner, *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts: Presents and Politics at the End of the Middle Ages*, trans. Pamela E. Selwyn (Philadelphia, 2002).

82 Davis, *The Gift*, 98–99.

83 La Grange, 'Entrées de souverains', 27–28.

84 Domarion, *Entrée François Ier, Béziers*, 14.

85 For the social status attached to different foods and spices, see: Bruno Lauroiux, *Une histoire culinaire du moyen âge* (Paris, 2005), 183–239.

86 Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*, 293.

87 Laurioux, *Histoire culinaire*, 170–71, 183–96; Leslie G. Matthews, 'King John of France and the English Spicers', *Medical History* 5 (1961), 65–76. See also: Raymond van Uytven, 'Showing off One's Rank in the Middle Ages', in Antheun Janse and Wim Blockmans, eds.,

Paris's status as a commercial centre, the provision of expensive spices and other exotic goods presented its municipal council with an opportunity to submit petitions for privileges that would enable the city to consolidate its dominant economic position in the kingdom. Furthermore, Paris's *échevins* gifted spices to a range of visiting dignitaries, such as the imperial ambassadors who entered the city in 1500.[88] Accordingly, the *échevins* were able to show visitors from across Europe that Paris was a leading commercial centre with international trading links. Not all French towns were able to procure, or afford, exotic gifts. Smaller towns tended to offer more modest items such as fish. All towns offered the king basic goods such as wheat, grain and candles to provide for the needs of the monarch and his entourage. When Charles VII entered Lyon on 16 June 1434, the king was presented with 50 *livres* of spices, 72 torches and 300 bushels of grain. According to the account made by a cathedral canon who witnessed the gift presentation, as soon as Charles left the room the goods 'were devoured by people of his entourage' especially the fifty boxes of spices.[89] As spices were extremely expensive, they lay beyond the financial capabilities of most members of the royal household. By providing the king with the opportunity to be generous to his followers, the municipal council sought to encourage him to help the city generate the wealth it needed to provide expensive gifts such as spices.

Oxen were the centrepieces of the foodstuffs offered by municipal councils at royal entries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For example, Abbeville gave Charles VIII three oxen that were harnessed and brought into the king's presence by three young women.[90] Cattle were a traditional marker of prosperity, and the wealth of some urban elites (such as the rulers of fifteenth-century Montferrand) was derived from the sale of these animals.[91] Furthermore, cattle were a feature of urban festivities (such as the *fête des*

Showing Status: Representations of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages (Turnhout, 1999), 24–29.

88 Bonnardot, *Registres Paris, 1499–1526*, 52.

89 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 158; Louis Caillet, *Étude sur les relations de la commune de Lyon avec Charles VII et Louis XI (1417–1483)* (Lyon and Paris, 1909), 122–24.

90 Ledieu, 'Charles VIII à Abbeville', 59. The town planned to offer the same gift to Louis XI in 1477: Alcius Ledieu, 'Abbeville en Liesse. Réjouissances et fêtes publiques au XVe siècle', *Mémoires de la Société d'émulation d'Abbeville* 20 (1901), 198. Urban governments went to considerable trouble to find the highest-quality oxen to present to king. When Charles VI and the dauphin entered Amiens with a large entourage in 1414, the *échevins* sent a butcher to search neighbouring villages for the best animals and then paid him look after them for ten weeks: AM Amiens BB 2, fols. 49r–49v.

91 Graeme Small, *Late Medieval France* (Basingstoke, 2009), 190–91.

merveilles in Lyon) and shooting confraternities competed for oxen in regional tournaments.[92] During royal entries, these animals were offered to the king with great ceremony. When John II entered Tournai in 1355 a civic official presented him with three oxen covered in a red fabric that had been embroidered with the city's arms. Seated on each animal, was a page dressed in the town's livery.[93] While some towns provided gifts of oxen at entries right through to the sixteenth century, the custom began to fall out of fashion during the second half of the fifteenth century. Municipal councils had traditionally offered animals to the king so that he could use them to feed his servants during the visit. However, the expansion in the size of the French king's household from the mid-fifteenth century meant that cattle no longer covered his needs. When Louis XI entered Évreux in 1462, the town council presented him with the customary ox. Whereas previous monarchs had ordered their servants to slaughter the animal for consumption by the royal household, Louis left it in Évreux. The monarch's actions posed a problem for the municipal council: as the ox now belonged to the Crown, it could not be killed or sold. Instead, the animal had to be maintained at Évreux's expense for several years, draining funds from the urban budget.[94] By the time of Francis I's entry into Évreux in 1517, the town council had stopped offering oxen to the monarch; instead, it provided the king's household staff with cash payments to cover their living costs (see chapter three).[95] Furthermore, by the mid-sixteenth century, the presentation of a living animal was not deemed appropriate for the dignity of the French king and it is difficult to imagine Charles XI or Henry III accepting a gift of cattle from the hand of an urban deputy. The later Valois monarchs expected to receive items of silverware instead of animals. While ornamental objects such as plates or vases were offered to kings at royal entries from the fourteenth century, the presentation of these items became more common from the later

92 A. Péricaud, ed., *Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de Lyon 1350–1485* (Lyon, 1839), 12; Jacques Rossiaud, 'Les rituels de la fete civique a Lyon, XIIe–XVIe siecles', in Jacques Chiffoleau, Lauro Martines and Agostino Paravicini, eds., *Riti e rituali nelle societa medievali* (Spoleto, 1994), 286–94.

93 La Grange, 'Entrées des souverains', 28. See also Amiens' presentation of oxen to the dauphin, Louis, in 1443: AM Amiens CC 31, fols. 72v, 74r. Animals were given as entries across the kingdom from the fourteenth century. For example, when Charles VI entered Lyon in 1389 he was given oxen and sheep: Albert Champdor, *Les rois de France à Lyon* (Lyon, 1986), 12.

94 Benet, 'Louis XI à Evreux', 174.

95 AM Évreux CC 52, n. 82.

fifteenth century, which went hand-in-hand with a decline in the presentation of live animals.[96]

As Gordon Kipling has noted, the offering of silverware derived from the medieval act of 'feudal homage' and symbolised the town's recognition of its ruler.[97] When Francis I entered Béziers in 1533, the municipal records note that he received a piece of silverware 'in form of recognition of our prince and natural lord'.[98] Yet despite its feudal origins, gift giving at royal entries went beyond a simple act of homage: it consolidated the relationship between the king and the urban elite by placing reciprocal obligations on both.[99] Although the late-fifteenth century expansion in gift giving placed pressure on municipal budgets, urban administrations used the act to oblige the monarch to grant their petitions. Indeed, town councils offered gifts of silverware to the king even when they were not required to do so. Whereas the proffering of plates and vases was initially restricted to inaugural entries, by the sixteenth century French civic councillors offered silverware to kings who were entering a town for a second, or even a third time.

While historians typically downplay the importance of subsequent entries, we should also not assume that townspeople considered first entries to be the most significant. Louis XI's entry into Rouen in 1467 was arguably more important for the townspeople than his inaugural entry because of the value of new rights the city obtained on this occasion.[100] Urban elites deemed second (or even third) entries to be as important as the king's first entry because it provided them with the means to use gift giving to win new liberties. Although urban administrations were not bound by custom to offer gifts at subsequent entries, the presentation of these items provided civic councillors with access to the king and required him to reciprocate. Failure to offer a gift could mean

96 When John II made his inaugural entry into Paris in 1350, the municipal council offered him an item of silverware: R. Delachenal, ed., *Chronique des règnes des Jean II et de Charles V*, 4 vols (Paris, 1910–20), i. 331. For gifts of silverware during entries in the fourteenth century, see also: Léon Mirot, 'Les cadeaux offerts à Charles VI par les villes du royaume', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 101 (1940), 220–24.

97 Kipling, *Enter the King*, 115–16. Joël Blanchard, 'Les entrées royales: pouvoir et représentation du pouvoir à la fin du Moyen Age', *Littérature* 50 (1983), 6. For medieval rituals of vassalage see: Jacques Le Goff, 'Le rituel symbolique de la vassalité', in Jacques Le Goff, *Pour un autre Moyen Âge: temps, travail et culture en Occident* (Paris, 1977), 349–420.

98 Domairon, *Entrée François Ier, Béziers*, 53–54.

99 Arnould-Jan A. Bijsterveld, *Do ut des. Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries* (Hilversum, 2007), 7; Damen, 'Princely Entries', 235.

100 Laurrière, *Ordonnances rois de France,* xvi. 579–81; Beaurepaire, 'Six voyages de Louis XI', 306.

civic councils were unable to recoup the expenditure of the festivities by winning new grants. When Grenoble's consuls learnt in October 1537 that Francis I intended to enter the city for the third time, they decided not to provide him with any gifts of silverware due to the financial difficulties the city was suffering (indeed, the municipal council had to borrow the sum of 800 *écus* from the most prominent citizens of the town in order to pay for the silver helm they offered the dauphin at his entry earlier that month). As Francis had first entered Grenoble in 1515, the consuls were not obliged to offer him items of silverware; however, their failure to do so meant they lost the opportunity to present him with a request for tax exemption. As a result, the town had to send its representative, Paul Simon, to follow the court to try and pursue its petition with the monarch.[101]

The king expected to receive a gift that reflected the size and wealth of the town he was entering. It could be injurious for municipal councils to offer a gift the monarch deemed to be sub-standard, particularly because an unworthy gift did not bind him to reciprocate by offering grants. While Lyon was the second city of France in the sixteenth century, its municipal council spent only 750 *écus* (1687 *livres* 10 *sous*) on the gift for Henry II, and 500 *écus* (1125 *livres*) on the gift for his wife, Catherine de Medici, in 1548.[102] To put this in perspective, Rouen (a city ranked just below Lyon in the urban hierarchy of sixteenth-century France) set aside 12,000 *livres* alone for the gifts it offered Henry and Catherine in 1550.[103] Financial difficulties led Lyon's municipal council to curb its expenditure on the gifts to the king and queen in 1548.[104] Despite the fact that Lyon's rulers had prepared a magnificent ceremonial entry for Henry and his wife (which included gladiatorial displays and naval combat on the Saône[105]), the city's efforts to save money by offering a gift that was unrepresentative of its status had dire consequences for the consuls. This testifies to the crucial role that gifts (rather than decorations) played in the winning of new rights for towns. Although Lyon's municipal council informed royal officials they had poured money into preparing magnificent entries for Henry and Catherine, the consuls' failure to ensure that they offered a suitable gift to the king and his wife nullified these efforts. It was imperative that towns offered

101 AM Grenoble BB 11, fol. 31r.

102 AM Lyon BB 67, fols. 107r, 211v; Cooper, *Entry of Henry II into Lyon*, 16. This was less than a third of the value of the gift (5,000 *livres*) they had offered Louis XI at his entry in 1476: Caillet, *Relations de la commune de Lyon*, 217.

103 For the urban hierarchy of sixteenth-century France, see: Chevalier, *Bonnes villes*, 41.

104 AM Lyon BB 67, fol. 176r.

105 Guigue, *La superbe et triumphante entrée*, 3, 13.

generous gifts to the king if they wanted the gift exchange to be profitable.[106] Given the crucial role that gift giving played in the winning of new liberties, the failure of Lyon's ruling administration to obtain appropriate presents for the king and queen was a major oversight.

The inadequacy of Lyon's gift to Henry II in 1548 was underscored by the efforts of the city's Florentine merchants, who spent 5,000 *livres* (over three times the value of the municipal council's gift) on a silver statue for the king.[107] The Florentines offered this costly statue to the monarch because they wanted to extend their commercial rights in the city. Whereas the Florentine merchants received new privileges from the French king in return for their gift, Lyon's consuls obtained nothing. As Henry II did not deem Lyon's gift to be of an adequate standard, there was no obligation for him to reciprocate. Lyon's failure to win new liberties highlights the crucial role gift giving played in the granting of petitions at royal entries. Other town councils attempted to make their gifts look more substantial than they actually were in order to inflate the extent of their generosity. When the consuls of Valence learned in May 1496 that Charles VIII (then returning from a successful campaign in Italy) planned to enter the town, they decided to offer him a silver cup with eight pieces of gold, each bearing the mark of the Dauphiné. However, the consuls resolved to use a small cup 'so that the coins were more apparent'.[108] In other words, they tried to make the gift appear more substantial than it actually was, thus seeking to have their petitions granted while also reducing the expense of the entry.

Although Lyon's town council incurred Henry II's displeasure by offering him an inappropriate present, French kings did not expect all *bonnes villes* to offer gifts of equal value. When Francis I entered Toulouse in 1533, the city council spent 25,702 *livres* on the gifts alone, which represented 69% of the total costs of the entry.[109] However, the governments of smaller towns did not have access to the financial resources of the principal cities of the kingdom to allow them to offer gifts on this scale. Béziers only raised 500 *livres* to purchase silverware for Francis I in 1533.[110] Although this was only a fraction of the total value of the gifts he received at Toulouse, Francis deemed it appropriate for a town of its size. Likewise, when Louis XI entered the small Norman town of Pont-Audemer in December 1465, the ruling administration could only

106 Émile Benveniste, 'Don et échange dans le vocabulaire indo-européen', in Émile Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, 2 vols (Paris, 1974), ii. 322–23.

107 Cooper, *Entry of Henry II into Lyon*, 91.

108 AM Valence BB 2, fol. 419r.

109 Paradis and Roy, 'Le don', 131.

110 Domarion, *Entrée François Ier, Béziers*, 22–23.

afford one cask of good-quality red wine. While Louis received expensive gifts at his entries into larger towns on this progress through Normandy, he did not expect a town of fewer than three thousand inhabitants, lying in a region that was suffering persistent economic difficulties, to offer a gift that lay beyond its capabilities. As Louis deemed Pont-Audemer's single cask of good-quality wine to be a suitable present, he granted the municipal council the right to collect the profits from a tax levied on all the salt sold in the town for the next four years, even though the town had taken the side of the rebel princes in the War of the Public Weal.[111] In some circumstances the king allowed a larger town to provide a less-expensive gift than he could normally expect. In advance of Francis I's entry into mid-ranking town of Angers in 1518, the governor of Anjou, René de Cossé, count of Brissac, wrote to the municipal council (which was then experiencing economic difficulties) stating that it would be sufficient for the town to offer only wine to the king.[112] Yet such examples are rare and towns were normally expected to render gifts that reflected their position in the urban hierarchy.

Civic administrations also had to ensure that the scale of an entry corresponded to the status of their town, as kings did not confirm the liberties of places which had failed to provide a suitable welcome. Displeased with the entry he received at Grenoble in 1548, Henry II left the city without confirming its privileges or receiving petitions for new liberties.[113] Grenoble's municipal deliberations reveal that the city was suffering from acute financial problems in the run up to Henry's entry. Its economic difficulties were exacerbated by the clergy's refusal to contribute to the cost of the elaborate entry staged in the previous month for Francis of Lorraine, the incumbent governor of Dauphiné.[114] In addition, Grenoble's consuls did not expect Henry II to enter the city so soon after his coronation. The city council's decision to pour its financial reserves into the governor's entry left it unable to provide Henry II with the standard of entry he expected, and thus meant that the king did not feel bound to reciprocate.

In contrast to Henry's actions at Grenoble, French kings made additional grants to urban governments which produced entries that exceeded royal expectations. Henry II was so pleased with the reception Nantes provided him

111 This money was to be used to repair the town's fortifications: A. Canel, *Histoire de Pont-Audemer*, 2 vols (Pont-Audemer, 1885), ii. 28.

112 AM Angers BB 17, fol. 4r.

113 Denise Gluck, 'Les entrées provinciales de Henri II', *L'Information d'histoire de l'art* 10 (1965), 216; A. Prudhomme, *Histoire de Grenoble* (Grenoble, 1888), 337.

114 AM Grenoble BB 14, fols. 42r–43r.

in 1551 that he instructed the Breton *Cour des Comptes* to reimburse the town council with the money it had spent on the entry.[115] In exceptional circumstances, the king could permit one of the kingdom's leading cities to forgo the obligation to offer him an expensive gift. When Charles IX entered Rouen in 1563, the *échevins* offered him a gift that cost 1,537 *livres* (they had spent almost ten times this sum on presents for his father in 1550).[116] Charles allowed Rouen's leaders to provide him with a diminished gift because the city's fortunes had declined drastically in the decade since Henry II's entry into the city. In May 1562, Rouen's Protestants had seized control of the city. As a result of this insurrection, a royal army besieged and then sacked Rouen, crippling its already ailing economy.[117] In consideration of the difficulties faced by the city's Catholic leaders (who were restored to power after the siege), Catherine informed the *échevins* in advance of the entry that her son the king was prepared to receive a less-expensive gift than was customary.[118] The governor of Normandy, Henri-Robert de La Marck, also wrote to Rouen's municipal council in advance of the entry to advise the *échevins* that both Charles and Catherine de Medici were sympathetic to the city's difficulties and they did not need go to unnecessary expense for the entry.[119] Besides the diminished value of the gift, the overall character of the entry was on a scale far reduced to that staged for Henry II in 1550.

It was only in exceptional circumstances (such as the sack of a town) that the monarch permitted urban administrations to stage entries that fell short of what he could expect. The king did not deem the economic difficulties faced by the ruling councils of Grenoble and Lyon in 1548 to be sufficiently serious to allow their rulers to reduce the cost of his entries. It was crucial that municipal councils obtained the king's permission to provide an inferior reception in advance of his arrival. For this reason, urban rulers had to gain the support of those people who had great influence with the king in order to seek a reduction in the value of the gift. In advance of the entry of Henry III and Louise of Lorraine into Nevers in 1580, the *échevins* asked the king's brother, Francis, duke of Anjou, to ensure that the gifts they were obliged to provide did not

115 Gluck, 'Entrées provinciales', 216.

116 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 18, fol. 103v.

117 For the background to this siege see: Philip Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge, 1981), 49–70; Florence Migneault, 'Ruines et désolation: la mise en scène de Rouen dans les entrées royales de 1563 et 1596', *Memini. Travaux et documents* 5 (2001), 10–22.

118 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 18, fol. 104r.

119 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 18, fol. 104r; Paul Le Cacheux, ed., *Entrée de Charles IX à Rouen au mois d'aout 1563* (Rouen, 1936), x.

exceed thirty *pièces* of wine.[120] It was damaging to the monarch's honour to be received with an inferior ceremony or gift, especially during the sixteenth century when he travelled with foreign dignitaries who circulated reports of entries across Europe. In these circumstances, the king could punish the town by refusing to confirm its liberties or grant new ones. In contrast, if the monarch allowed a city council to receive him with a scaled-down reception, he could spread the news amongst his entourage in advance of an entry. Such a gesture could stand as an example of royal magnanimity and allow the town to continue to seek new grants from the king (which was a further example of example of the monarch's generosity to his urban subjects). However, under normal circumstances, urban governments were expected to provide the monarch and his family with a range of suitable gifts. While the monetary value and the quantity of these items was important, so too was their design.

Designing the Gift

Because gifts of silverware played a fundamental role in the winning of liberties, municipal councils discussed their design at great length. First of all, they established how much money they could spend on the items. Indeed, the cost of the silverware was commonly the greatest single expense incurred by municipal councils. When Charles VIII entered Tours in 1484, 3,400 *livres* out of the entry's total cost of 4,000 *livres* was spent on the king's gift of silverware.[121] In 1549, Paris's town council gifted Henry II a silver statue costing 10,000 *livres*, which the *échevins* reckoned to be the 'most beautiful item of work in all Europe'.[122] Although the gifts of silverware were expensive, municipal councils hoped they would serve as lasting reminders of their generosity. While an entry ceremony was transitory, a tangible gift of silverware could survive in royal collections for generations. As many of the items of silverware were connected to drinking or eating (such as bowls, dishes or goblets), urban leaders were able to draw on the symbolism of the gifts of wine and food they provided at the meal as well as the sense of conviviality a banquet created. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the most common forms of silverware were plates or cups, although more elaborate items (such as saltcellars) were also offered.

120 François Boutillier, *Ville de Nevers. Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790* (Nevers, 1876), 5.

121 AM Tours BB 13, fol. 20r; Rivaud, 'Entrées à Tours', 159.

122 Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*, 181. For this gift see: George A. Wanklyn, 'Le présent offert à Henri II par la Ville de Paris en 1549', *Revue de l'Art* 46 (1979), 25–30.

FIGURE 3 *The presentation of gifts of silverware to King Charles V of France and Emperor Charles IV following their joint entry into Paris in 1378. Bibliothèque Nationale de France 2812, FOL. 478V*

As the gifts were of a similar design, municipal councils decorated them with civic emblems to remind the beneficiary of their town's generosity. Urban administrations hoped that the recipient of this gift would look at the item in the future and recall the entry fondly. Amiens' *échevins* engraved the town arms on the silver fountain they presented to Anne of Beaujeu in 1493 'so that the queen could . . . have memory of the gift for the good of this town'.[123]

123 AM Amiens BB 16, fol. 234r.

By acting as reminder of the recipient's promises to act for the good of the town, gifts had a lasting power for urban governments.

By the sixteenth century, civic councils commissioned elaborate items of silverware which stood out from the more common forms of gifts. Rather than purchasing a cup or plate from a silversmith, urban governments began to employ a team of experts to produce an original item. Mâcon's town council hired the artist Robert l'Argentier to design Louis XII's gift, and the silversmiths Philibert Tramart and Jean de Lyon to make it.[124] Urban governments hoped that a distinctive gift would remind the recipient of their obligations to the town. Paris's municipal council gave Eleanor of Austria a candlestick holder at her entry in 1531, symbolising (according to the municipal deliberations) her role as 'our light . . . [and] the principal reason for the peace, harmony and deliverance of *messeigneurs* [i.e. the town council].'[125] In order words, the *échevins* wanted Eleanor to act as their intercessor, promoting the city's interests to her husband the king (see chapter three). Likewise, at the entry of Henry II and Catherine de Medici into Lyon in 1548, the Florentine merchants presented the queen with a golden *fleur-de-lis*, which was the emblem of both France and Florence, on the base of which was a representation of Florence looking to France for protection. The design of the gift illustrated the Florentines' expectation that in return for their generosity Catherine would persuade her husband to secure their dominant commercial position in Lyon. This design was effective, as Henry II extended Florentine trading privileges in the city.[126]

The Valois monarchs made regular progresses around their kingdom and received numerous gifts from townspeople. In order to devise items that appealed to royal tastes, municipal administrations employed artists who worked for the monarch. The rulers of Troyes hired Charles Colin, who had decorated the royal palace of Fontainebleau, to design their gift for Charles IX in 1564.[127] Urban elites hoped that ornamental statues would stand out from the array of plates and cups the king received. When Péronne's municipal council gave Charles IX a statue of Hercules at his entry in 1564, the king immediately passed it around members of his court for them to admire.[128] A distinctive gift could engage the king's attention. When Charles VIII entered Angers in 1487, the municipal council presented him with a pot made out of jasper. The town's

124 AM Mâcon BB 22, fols. 89v–92r.

125 Tuetey, *Registres Paris, 1527–1539*, 74.

126 Cooper, *Entry of Henry II into Lyon*, 92, 143.

127 Babeau, *Rois de France à Troyes*, 61.

128 BNF Collection de Picardie 54, fol. 228v.

present charmed the king, who decided to keep it for himself despite having promised the item to Louis de La Trémouille, who had played a key role in securing Brittany for him.[129] This jasper pot was so successful in promoting Angers to the Crown that the *échevins* attempted to repurchase it so that they could offer it to Francis I at his entry in 1518.[130] As this example shows, the offering of a gift which appealed to the king's tastes meant that there was less of chance that it would be given it away. Urban governments could hope that it would remain on display in royal collections for many years and thus remind the king of the town's generosity and his obligation to respond in kind.

Some gifts were designed to articulate civic identity and act as a memory object. When Henry II entered Tours in 1551, he was given a silver statue representing Turnus, while his wife, Catherine, was given a statue of Lavinia. According to Roman mythology, Turnus, king of the city of Ardea, was the principal suitor for Lavinia, daughter of Lavinius, king of the Latins. More importantly for Tours' *échevins*, Turnus (a municipal king) was also the legendary founder of their city and it was believed that Aeneas had killed him just outside the town. By the later Middle Ages, Turnus was an emblem of civic identity for Tours and his death was depicted on the wall of the castle and during royal entries into the town.[131] Furthermore, pilgrimage centres drew on local spiritual power when devising their gifts. For example, Tarascon gave golden images of Sainte Marthe at its entries. This early Christian martyr, who had converted the region's inhabitants to Christianity in the first century, was buried in Tarascon, where her body functioned as a symbol of local identity.[132] In addition to their spiritual role, relics were also marks of urban wealth, with towns such as Amiens and Le Puy profiting from the influx of pilgrims (which included royalty).[133] Amiens offered gifts of metal images of the head of Saint John the Baptist which was held in the city's cathedral.[134] In order to highlight

129 AM Angers BB 5, fol. 8r.

130 Bertoldi, 'Entrées des rois à Angers', 312.

131 Rivaud, 'Entrées à Tours', 162–63, 173–74; Rigord, 'Vie de Philippe Auguste', in M. Guizot, ed., *Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1825), 187; Kisha C. Tracy, 'Defining the Medieval City Through Death: A Case Study', in Albrecht Cassen, ed., *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age* (Göttingen, 2009), 187–88; C. Petitfrère, 'Réflexions sur la place du mythe dans l'histoire de Tours aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles', in A. Bartoli and G. Chaix, eds., *La mémoire de la cité. Modèles antiques et réalisation renaissantes* (Naples, 1997), 235–44.

132 AM Tarascon BB 12, fol. 353r.

133 Small, *Late Medieval France*, 181; Roger Chartier et al, *Histoire de la France urbaine, tome 3: la ville classique de la Renaissance aux Révolutions*, ed. Georges Duby (Paris, 1981), 97–98.

134 AM Amiens BB 4, fol. 98r.

the close links that existed between the saint and Amiens, the municipal council had its arms placed on the statues. As these gifts connected both the recipient and the donor to noted saints, they added a further solemnity to the event and encouraged the beneficiary to promote the interests of the town in the future.[135]

Municipal councils moved away from designing gifts based on Christian imagery during the early sixteenth century, drawing instead on classical symbolism. This was part of a wider trend to produce entries informed by knowledge of ancient world, and the gifts were designed to accompany the thematic programme. As well as commissioning the poet Maurice Scève to plan the programme for Henry II's entry in 1548, Lyon's consuls also employed him to design the gift.[136] Likewise, the gifts Rouen offered to Henry II and Catherine de Medici in 1550 complimented the classically inspired themes of their entries.[137] The king was gifted a golden statue of Minerva and his wife received a golden statue of Astraea.[138] Minerva was the goddess of learning, while Astraea represented the coming of a Golden Age, both of which were themes in the decorative programme of the entries. In other parts of France, the shift to classical imagery allowed municipal councils to emphasise civic identity. For example, by offering Louis XII a statue of Hector, Troyes' *échevins* referenced three important themes. First, it alluded to the legend that Troyes was founded by a group of Trojans who had escaped Agamemnon's sack of their city. Second, the gift referenced the myth of the Trojan origins of France. As Colette Beaune has shown, French kings used the Trojan myth 'to justify the independence of the kingdom from the papacy and the Germanic empire'.[139] Both of these claims were particularly important for Louis XII, who was then at war with the pope and the Holy Roman Emperor. Third, the offer-

135 Hurlbut, 'Inaugural Ceremonies', 110.

136 AM Lyon CC 987, no. 35.

137 For the themes of this entry see: André Pottier, 'Entrée à Henri II à Rouen', *Revue de Rouen* 5 (1835), 29–43; Margaret McGowan, 'Form and Themes in Henri II's Entry into Rouen', Renaissance *Drama* 1(1968), 199–252; Victor E. Graham, 'The Entry of Henry II into Rouen: A Petrarchan Triumph', in K. Eisenbichler and A. Iannucci, eds., *Petrarch's Triumphs, Allegory and Spectacle* (Ottowa, 1990), 403–13; Michael Wintroub, 'Civilizing the Savage and Making a King: The Royal Entry Festival of Henri II', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998), 465–94; idem, *A Savage Mirror*.

138 AM Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 16, fol. 117r.

139 Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. Susan Ross Hudson (Oxford, 1985), 231. For the Trojan myth of the foundation of French cities see: Jean Tricard, 'Limoges entre Troyens et Géants: les origines mythiques d'une ville', in Bartoli and Chaix, *Mémoire de la cité: Modèles*, 161–70.

ing of a statue of Hector allowed the rulers of Troyes to place their city at the forefront of new trends in the design of royal entries.[140] While Troyes' could only draw on legends surrounding its foundation, the ancient Greeks and Romans had established towns and cities in the south of the kingdom, such as Arles, Marseille, Nîmes and Orange. These towns possessed physical remains attesting to their antiquity, which they incorporated into royal entries. When Francis I visited Arles in 1533, the town council brought a sarcophagus from the town's Roman necropolis (the *Alyscamps*) to his lodgings, while Charles IX left Arles in 1564 with Roman arches and columns in his baggage.[141] Moreover, at Francis I's entry into Nîmes in 1533 the city offered the king a silver replica of its Roman arena.[142] As we see, towns in possession of Roman remains could use them to their advantage by offering highly distinctive gifts, which drew upon local characteristics. They responded to broader changes in royal fashions in the sixteenth century to devise gifts that endeared the town to the king and persuaded him to make generous grants in return.

Although urban governments hoped that a distinctive gift would encourage the king or his family to keep the item in their personal collections and thus act as an enduring reminder of municipal generoisity, ultimately they had no control over what happened to the piece after it was offered. Catherine de Medici bestowed the solid gold statue she received at her entry into Lyon to Luigi Almanni, who had composed a play for the queen during her stay in the city.[143] Similarily, when her son, Charles IX, entered Troyes in 1564, he received a statue depicting the three virtues of Justice, Prudence and Force, which was of such intricicay and quality that it took a team of sculptors, goldsmiths and painters six months to complete it. Yet the statue was given away almost

140 Babeau, *Rois de France à Troyes*, 33–35. See also: Elie Konigson, 'La cité et le prince: premières entrées de Charles VIII (1484–1486)', in Konigson and Jacquot, *Fêtes de la Renaissance*, iii. 65–66.

141 Rigaud, 'Arles de 1481 à 1588', 479.

142 Achille Bardon, *Ce que couta l'entrée de Francois Ier a Nimes* (1533) (Nimes, 1894), 3; J. E. Brink, 'Royal Power through Provincial Eyes: Languedoc, 1515–1560', *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* 10 (1982), 55; Philippe Chareyre, 'La harangue et le canon: les entrées à Nîmes, au temps des guerres de Religion', in Desplat and Mirronneau, *Entrées: gloire et declin*, 113.

143 Cooper, *Entry of Henry II into Lyon*, 92. During France's frequent foreign wars, the monarch often melted down silverware in royal collections to pay for armies: Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier, 'Claude de France: In her Mother's Likeness, a Queen with Symbolic Clout?', in Cynthia J. Brown, ed., *The Cultural and Political Legacy of Anne de Bretagne: Negotiating Convention in Books and Documents* (Woodbridge, 2010), 129.

immediately to the lord of Carnay, a *maître-d'hôtel*.[144] Despite such losses, many of the gifts offered to the king – particularly those that appealed to a monarch's tastes – were exhibited in royal collections. After receiving a gilded vase from Sens in 1564, Charles IX thanked the mayor and *echevins* for the item which he displayed in his private cabinet 'as a rare and precious object'.[145] Likewise, the statutes of Turnus and Livinia that Tours offered Henry II and Catherine de Medici impressed the king and queen 'not for the value, but for the exquisite structure and manufacture' of the gift, so much so that they decided to keep the items in their *cabinets* in 'perpetual memory of their entry into the said place of Tours and [of the] excellence of the work'.[146] This examples testifies to the fact that municipal gifts could function as memory objects and remind the king that these towns had given him an especially impressive entry. From the perspective of urban elites, the most desirable place for the king to display their gifts was in the private rooms where he worked. For this reason, the rulers of Rouen and Sens could hope that the monarch would look at their gifts in the future and keep them in mind as he worked through the business of the state.

Urban gifts were also put on public display at court during royal festivities.[147] Following the coronation entries of kings and queens into Paris, it was customary to display the very best silverware held in royal collections on the *table du marbre* in the great hall of the royal palace during the post-entry banquet.[148] For Anne of Brittany's coronation entry in 1504, this display was composed of the 'great plates, large basins, heavy cups, large goblets, rich dishes and other pieces of work'. As the gifts were designed to be highly visible, they were surrounded by blazing torches 'as bright as the midday sun'.[149] Because the post-coronation banquet was attended by the most powerful people

144 Babeau, *Rois de France à Troyes*, 61. Municipal councils could attempt to buy back these gifts from the recipients. When Charles IX handed over to his chaplain the silver cup he had received at his entry into Beaucaire entry in 1564, the consuls offered to repurchase it for the sum of 40 *écus*, well aware of the fact that it was actually worth 48 *écus*: Lamothe, *Ville de Beaucaire. Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790* Série BB (Beaucaire, 1867), 23.

145 Vaillancourt, *Entrées solennelles, Charles IX*, 79

146 Cited in: Rivaud, 'Entrées à Tours', 173–74.

147 For the display of gifts in the collections of French monarchs see: Philippe Henwood, 'Administration et vie des collections d'orfèverie royales sous le règne de Charles VI (1380–1422)', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes* 138 (1980), 179–215; Dauphant, *Royaume*, 275.

148 See also for Louis XI's entry in 1461: Couderc, 'Entrée de Louis XI à Paris', 140.

149 H. Stein, 'Le sacre de Anne de Bretagne et son entrée à Paris en 1504', *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* 29 (1902), 299.

in the kingdom, it was a mark of esteem for urban governments to have their gifts displayed here. In the same way that municipal councils deliberately designed entries to assist the Valois monarchy in the presentation of its power as a means to obtain lucrative grants in return, the display of gifts during royal festivities allowed urban governments to continue to contribute to the display of royal magnificence after the conclusion of the entry. This worked to the benefit of townspeople as their gifts remained visible and reminded the recipient of their obligations to them. In sum, the gift presentation was the most important moment in the ceremony for urban governments to obtain new rights. In order to spell out exactly what they wanted from the king in return for these offerings, civic leaders made a number of requests relating to specific economic, political, military and religious matters.

A Typology of Requests

As Olivier Mattéoni has observed, requests lay 'at the heart of the dialogue which the prince had to have with his subjects'.[150] The petitions brought to the king following a royal entry embodied clearly defined goals which civic elites made in the name of the 'common good' as a way to legitimise their authority to speak on behalf of the wider urban population.[151] Municipal councils used the second harangue (which accompanied the gift giving) to outline the problems they faced. When Chalôns-en-Champagne's *échevins* offered their gifts to Francis I in 1533, they spoke to him of the city's poverty, the wars that had ravaged the region, the high price of victuals, the outbreaks of plague, and their obligation to care for large numbers of the poor.[152] Municipal councils used these speeches to justify the need for their petitions because it was essential that requests for new grants were tied to specific problems. Municipal councils devised a range of requests (which they discussed in advance of the entry) in

150 Olivier Mattéoni. '"Plaise au Roi": Les requêtes des officiers en France à la fin du Moyen Age', in Hélène Millet, ed., *Suppliques et requêtes. Le gouvernement par la grâce en Occident* (Rome, 2003), 283.

151 Gisela Naegle, *Stadt, Recht und Krone: Französische Städte, Königtum und Parlament in späten Mittelater*, 2 vols (Husum, 2002), ii. 760. See also: Gisela Naegle, 'Armes à double tranchant? Bien Commun et chose publique dans les villes françaises au Moyen Age', in Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, eds., *De Bono Communi: The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City (13th–16th c.)* (Turnhout, 2010), 55–70.

152 A. Chassaing, ed., *Chroniques de Estienne de Médicis, bourgeois de Puy*, 2 vols (Le Puy, 1869), ii. 363–64 (also cited in Paradis and Roy, 'Le don', 123).

the expectation of having one or more granted.[153] When Charles VIII entered Senlis in 1484, the town council submitted a number of petitions, including: the removal of the impositions placed on the town's drapers; the right to levy a tax on the sale of wine; the opportunity to hold fairs in September, 'and other things'.[154] Typically, matters relating to urban financial and economic matters formed the bulk of the requests.

Financial and Economic Requests

The most substantial petitions were those seeking remission of taxes, especially exemption from the *taille*. This property tax was onerous for urban populations, particularly from the mid-fifteenth century when the Crown levied heavier and more regular taxes in order to pay for its overhaul of the military establishment.[155] *Tailles* were levied by province and varied across the kingdom, with some urban communities being taxed more heavily than others. As the *taille* was collected by region, a town's exemption increased the burden on its neighbours and thus encouraged them to also seek tax exemption. When Charles VIII entered Abbeville on 19 June 1493 the mayor successfully petitioned him for exemption from the *taille* 'like those of Amiens and other neighbouring towns', while town after town petitioned Francis I's for exemption from the *taille* during his tour of Normandy in 1532.[156]

Towns located on or close to a military frontier had a greater chance of gaining exemption from the *taille* than those situated in more secure parts of the kingdom. This is because frontier towns were able to persuade the king that

153 For meetings to devise requests, see: Canel, *Histoire de Pont-Audemer*, ii. 32; Pierre Varin, ed., *Archives administratives de la ville de Reims. Collection de pièces inédites pouvant servir à l'histoire des institutions dans l'intérieur de la cité*, 3 vols (Paris, 1839–48), ii. 566.

154 BNF Collection de Picardie 5, fol. 121r. When Charles VIII entered Compiègne in 1486, the municipal council devised secondary petitions that were to be offered if its primary request (ten years of *aides*) was refused: AM Compiègne BB 10, fol. 34v.

155 Jean-François Lassalmonie, *La boîte à l'enchanteur: politique financière de Louis XI* (Paris, 2002), 48–49; A. Mazure, 'Publication de pièces inédites, relatives au règne de Charles VII', *Revue Anglo-Française* 3 (1835), 123–24; Jean Nicolas, Julio Valdeón, and Sergij Vilfan, 'The Monarchic State and Resistance in Spain, France, and the Old Provinces of the Habsburgs, 1400–1800', in Peter Blickle, ed., *Resistance, Representation, and Community* (Oxford, 1997), 68.

156 Ledieu, 'Charles VIII à Abbeville', 59; Lyse Roy, 'Espace urbain et système de représentations. Les entrées du Dauphin et de François Ier à Caen en 1532', *Memini. Travaux et documents* 5 (2001), 74. When Charles VIII entered Reims in 1484 the town council petitioned him for exemption from the *taille* 'as at the town of Paris': Bartholomé, 'Mémoires de Jean Foulquart', 147.

their precarious situation created additional economic and military burdens. When Louis XI entered Honfleur in December 1465, the municipal council successfully petitioned him for *taille* exemption by stating that the town was obliged to take additional security precautions because it was 'beside our enemies the English'.[157] Although Lancastrian Normandy had collapsed fifteen years earlier, Honfleur's *échevins* claimed that a persistent threat of English attack meant that they had to keep their fortifications in good order and take additional security precautions. Towns that could demonstrate a national strategic importance received substantial tax remissions. Urban governments on the eastern frontier such as Abbeville argued that they deserved major economic grants because they were at the forefront of France's wars in the sixteenth century. When Henry II entered Chalôns-en-Champagne in 1552, he granted the inhabitants perpetual exemption from the *taille* 'because of the loyalty and obedience of the inhabitants'.[158] This grant was of such magnitude that the *Cour des Aides* refused to register it, claiming the tax remission was unduly detrimental to royal finances. As a consequence, Henry II wrote to his officials in the *Cour des Aides* on 2 September to compel them to register his grant. Henry's actions can be explained by the geopolitical situation of Châlons, which lay at the centre of the conflicts between France and the Holy Roman Empire. When Emperor Charles V invaded Champagne in 1544 and captured the nearby town of Saint-Dizier, it was in Henry's interests to ensure that Chalôns remained strong, especially as he launched a campaign from Champagne into imperial lands in 1552. Indeed, Chalôns proved its value to the Crown later that year by sending its masons and carpenters to help defend Metz against Charles V's armies.[159] While relief from the *taille* tended to be restricted to strategically important towns and cities, kings could also grant exemptions in extraordinary circumstances. Louis XI entered Toulouse in 1463 nineteen days after a devastating fire had destroyed three quarters of the city. The conflagration sparked off a major economic crisis in Toulouse and Louis attempted to assist the city by awarding it exemption from the *taille* for ten years.[160] As the granting of a general tax exemption was particularly detrimental to royal finances, urban governments had to demonstrate that remission from the *taille* was ultimately to the Crown's benefit. It was in Louis's interests to help rebuild Toulouse's

157 P.-P. U. Thomas, *Histoire de la ville de Honfleur* (Honfleur, 1840), 425–27.

158 Municipal deliberations cited in: Barthélemy, *Histoire de Chalons-sur-Marne*, 201.

159 Knecht, *Renaissance France*, 216–18.

160 AM Toulouse AA 3/375. He also pardoned the husband and wife bakers who had started the fire: Bonnafous, 'Toulouse et Louis XI', 17.

economy because the city paid one quarter of Languedoc's *taille* in the mid-fifteenth century.[161]

In addition to winning exemptions from national taxation, urban government also brought requests to the king relating to local economic issues, such as the permission to hold fairs or establish markets. For example, when Charles IX entered Mâcon in 1564, the town council petitioned him for the right to establish a market for the butchers.[162] This type of petition was commonly granted at entries, probably because it did not have a detrimental effect on royal finances (unlike exemption from the *taille*). Fairs and markets were the lifeblood of urban communities and municipal governments competed against each other for the right to hold them.[163] When Louis XI made his inaugural entry into Lyon in 1462, the king awarded the city the right to hold four fairs; when he retuned to the city in 1474, the *échevins* petitioned the king for the maintenance of these fairs.[164] While Fernand Braudel has described Louis's initial granting of fairs to Lyon in 1462 as the city 'entering upon its modern destiny', in fact by the time of Louis's second entry Lyon was struggling to preserve its fairs against encroachments from towns in Burgundy and Champagne.[165] The significance of Lyon's fairs transcended their economic value because they were an important guarantee of its security. In comparison to many cities on the eastern frontier, Lyon's fortifications were not particularly strong. This is because the city's location on the commercial crossroads between France, Italy, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Swiss cantons meant that it was not in the interests of any of these powers to see the city destroyed. It is striking to note that in contrast to the experiences of other cities on the eastern frontier, Lyon was not besieged during the Valois-Hapsburg conflicts of the sixteenth century. As Lyon's commercial importance was crucial to its security, its rulers

161 Bonnafous, 'Toulouse et Louis XI', 14.

162 AM Mâcon BB 39, fols 95r–95v.

163 Naegle, 'Vérités contradictoires', 730–32, 742–43.

164 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 219; Champdor, *Rois de France à Lyon*, 18–19. Indeed, the city council requested confirmation of the right to hold these fairs through to the mid-sixteenth century: AM Lyon BB 66, fol. 26r. For encroachments on Lyon's fairs see: Naegle, *Stadt, Recht und Krone*, i. 90; Rivaud, *Villes et le roi*, 199; *Ordonnances et privileges des foires de Lyon: et leur antiquité: avec celles de Brie, & Champagne, et les confirmations d'icelles, par sept roys de France, depuys Philippe de Valois, sixieme du nom: iusques à François second, à present regnant* (Lyon, 1560); M. Bressard, *Les foires de Lyon aux XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris, 1914), 22–104; A. Bernier, ed., *Procès-verbaux des séances du conseil de régence du roi Charles VIII pendant les mois d'août à janvier 1485* (Paris, 1836), 155.

165 Fernand Braudel, *The Identity of France*, trans. Siân Reynolds 2 vols (London, 1988), i. 211.

were concerned that losing the fairs would compromise their situation.[166] The city's neutrality lay at the heart of its development into an international trading city during the second half of the fifteenth century. Not only were large numbers of foreign merchants based in the city, the Medici bank transferred its regional branch from Geneva to Lyon in 1465 because of the commercial security the city offered.[167] The consuls were able to use a royal entry to obtain the safe keeping of their fairs and thus bolster Lyon's increasingly dominant economic position in the kingdom.

Urban communities used royal entries to try and take privileges from their neighbours. When Charles VIII entered Mâcon in June 1494, the *échevins* petitioned the king to return the mint to their town (Charles VI had transferred the mint from Mâcon to Lyon in 1389 in return for the magnificent entry he had received there).[168] Towns also competed on a national level to obtain the same rights as other urban centres. When Francis I made his inaugural entry into Bourg-en-Bresse in 1544, the consuls asked him for permission to establish a silk industry in the town as well as the privilege to trade this silk throughout the kingdom without having to pay custom duties, like 'those of Tours and elsewhere'.[169] The French silk trade was in turmoil in the early 1540s because of the commercial damage brought about by the Italian wars. Indeed, the artisans of Tours (which was a major centre of silk production) rioted in 1542 as a consequence of the damage foreign conflicts were causing to city's industry. The 1540s was also a period of increasingly bellicose economic competition in the French silk trade, with many towns (such a Bourg-en-Bresse) attempting to move into the fabrication of this luxury good. The economic revival of the late fifteenth century was beginning subside and in real terms the purchasing power of the bulk of the French population was suffering noticeably in the 1530s and 1540s. Yet silk was produced for the pre-eminent members of French society, who felt the effects of the economic downturn less severely and who could still afford exclusive luxury goods.[170] By moving into silk production, towns which were suffering from this economic downturn hoped to tap into one of the most lucrative industries in sixteenth-century France. As such,

166 Likewise, Tournai's rulers feared that the overhaul of its fortifications would threaten the neutrality upon which the city's security depended: Rolland, *Histoire de Tournai*, 179; Neil Murphy, 'Tournai under Tudor Rule: Cooperation or Opposition?', *Mémoires de la Société royale d'histoire et d'archéologie de Tournai* 12 (2014), 34.

167 Ladurie, *Royal French State*, 44–45.

168 Bazin 'Rois de France à Mâcon', 62; Champdor, *Rois de France à Lyon*, 13–14.

169 E. Millet, *Entrée de François Ier à Bourg-en-Bresse le 1er octobre 1541* (Paris, 1877), 6.

170 Potter, *Nation State*, 289.

Bourg-en-Bresse – which had only recently become French – used Francis I's inaugural entry to expand the scope of its economic activity by claiming that their status as subjects of the French king entitled them to the same rights as those towns which lay at the centre of royal power, such as Tours.

Civic councils had a greater chance of winning grants if they explained how they would use these grants to curb specific problems. In order to help Rouen pay for its contribution to the war subsidy (*soulde*), following his entry in 1550 Henry II approved the *échevins*' request to levy a tax of 5 *sous* on a range of goods sold in the city.[171] The granting of this request benefitted the king as it allowed Rouen's government to raise the money he needed to fight in Italy. It was generally in the monarch's interest to help municipal administrations overcome their economic difficulties because it would ultimately generate more tax revenue for the Crown. At Charles VIII's entry into Poitiers on 15 February 1487, the town council presented the king and his council with a petition seeking 1,000 *livres* per year from the Crown 'to help to support the costs and expenses of the said town'.[172] The consuls explained that they were making this request because of the recent decline of the town's cloth industry, upon which much of their wealth was based. The root of Poitiers' problems lay in Louis XI's expulsion of Arras's population a decade earlier. After renaming the city Franchise, Louis offered economic incentives to persuade merchants and artisans from across France to relocate to the city.[173] This policy was detrimental to Poitiers' industry, as many of the town's cloth workers moved to Franchise.[174] Whereas the ramifications of Louis's efforts to repopulate Arras/Franchise had led to violence from workers at Limoges in 1480, Poitiers' municipal council sought to avoid such disorder (which threatened the town's internal stability and weakened their position with the king) by using a royal entry

171 C. M. de Robillard de Beaurepaire, *Ville de Rouen. Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790* (Rouen, 1887), 171.

172 Rivaud, *Entrées princières*, 124.

173 Robert Favreau, *La ville de Poitiers à la fin du Moyen Age: Une capitale régionale*, 2 vols (Poitiers, 1978), ii. 435–36. For Louis XI's failed attempt to repopulate Arras, see: A. Laroche, 'Une vengeance de Louis XI', *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, lettres et arts d'Arras* 37 (1865), 237–356; M. Caillet, *Repeuplement de la ville d'Arras sous Louis XI: rôle de Lyon* (1908); Henri Stein, 'Les habitants d'Évreux et le repeuplement d'Arras en 1479', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 84 (1923), 284–97; idem, 'La participation du pays de Languedoc au repeuplement d'Arras sous Louis XI', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 92 (1931), 62–69.

174 P. M. Raveau, 'Les rapports entre Louis XI et le Conseil de Ville de Poitiers', *Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest* 8 (1928), 97–98.

to win concessions from the Crown to ameliorate the situation.[175] The rulers of Poitiers wanted Charles VIII to grant them financial exemptions on tools and taxes in the hope that this would persuade cloth workers to come and settle in the town.[176] While Poitiers' consuls had spent a decade at court trying to obtain these grants from the king, their efforts had ended in failure. The petitions were successful in 1487 precisely because a royal entry provided them with direct access to the king and bound him to grant the city's requests.

Defence

Issues relating to urban defence formed the second principal type of request that urban administrations made to the king and his representatives during an entry. These requests were tied up with fiscal matters because urban elites justified their petitions regarding taxation by claiming they would put the money towards the construction and maintenance of fortifications. Towns developed into significant military centres during the Hundred Years' War, which allowed them to win major economic concessions at entries because the Crown was more inclined to issue economic grants when the profits went towards ensuring the kingdom's security. Towns frequently asked the king for the right to keep the profits of a specific tax (*octroi*), which usually came in the form of a sales tax. When Francis I entered Beauvais in 1520, the *échevins* asked him for permission to collect the revenue from a tax on sale of fish, stating that the profits would be used to pay for the upkeep of its defences.[177] *Octrois* were granted for a set number of years (normally between two and ten), though they could be renewed at royal entries. With the end of the Hundred Years' War, the granting of *octrois* (as with exemption from the *taille*) became more common in the frontier regions of the kingdom such as Burgundy, Champagne and Picardy, which were regularly menaced by foreign troops.[178] The allocation of *octrois* at entries was vital to the security of those urban communities that were unfortunate enough to be at the centre of the Valois-Habsburg conflicts.

175 For Limoges, see: René Gandilhon, *Politique économique de Louis XI* (Paris, 1941), 121–35.

176 For Charles VIII's granting of this request at his entry see: Rivaud, *Entrées princières*, 123–24.

177 BM Beauvais, Coll. Bucquet, vol. 57, p. 422.

178 Naegle, *Stadt, Recht und Krone*, ii. 744. For other examples of grants made at a royal entries to pay for the construction and maintenance of urban fortifications in frontier towns, see: AM Compiègne BB10, fol. 34v; Ledieu, 'Charles VIII à Abbeville', 57; B. H. J. Weerenbeck, ed., *Comptes de la ville de Doullens pour l'année 1470 et cueilloir de cens dus au béguinage de cette ville* (Paris, 1932), 13; M. E. Delogove, *Histoire de la ville de Doullens* (Amiens, 1865), 242–43. For the overhaul of the fortifications of Champagne and Burgundy after 1500 see: Dauphant, *Royaume*, 242.

Financial concessions and economic grants allowed these towns to keep up to date with the latest developments in military technology, especially during the first half of the sixteenth century when Italian engineers oversaw the modernisation of urban fortifications along France's eastern frontier.[179] For example, the fortification grants issued at royal entries into Dijon in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century ensured that the city's defences were in a good state when it was besieged by an imperial army in 1523.[180] Furthermore, the extensive grants accorded by Francis I following his entries into Langres (1521) and Péronne (1539) allowed these towns to demolish their redundant medieval walls and construct state-of-the-art modern fortifications in their place.[181] It was advantageous for towns to receive a royal visit, as the king could see their dangerous situation first hand and thus be more inclined to make defensive grants. In 1494 Charles VIII made entries into the Burgundian towns that lay on the Saône, including Dijon, Nuits, Châlons, Beaune, Auxonne and Saulx-le-Duc. This river marked the boundary between France and the Holy Roman Empire and Charles was able to see imperial horses being brought to drink in the Saône on the opposite bank of the river (which highlighted the immediacy of the threat of invasion), as well as the state of urban fortifications along this important frontier.[182] A royal visit highlighted both the precarious situation of these towns and the crucial role they played in the defence of the kingdom, and made it likely that they would receive substantial economic liberties from the Crown at an entry. Charles VIII granted *octrois* to all the places he visited on his tour of the Burgundian frontier towns in 1494 specifically so that they could repair their fortifications during this time of heightened tension with the Empire. In addition to the military value of urban fortifications, city walls were a crucial symbol of urban power and identity; indeed, possession of walls was often used to define whether or not a settlement could be considered a town.[183] Thus, by making grants towards the construction and maintenance

179 Fawtier, *Ville classique*, 121; David Potter, *Renaissance France at War: Armies, Culture and Society, c.1480–1560* (Woodbridge, 2008), 157–86.

180 For the fortification grants made by Charles VIII following his entry into Dijon in 1494 see: M. Rossignol, 'Histoire de Bourgogne: Charles VIII', *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Dijon* 9 (1861), 136. For the siege of Dijon see: Laurent Vissière, *'Sans poinct sortir hors de l'orniere': Louis II de La Trémouille (1460–1525)* (Paris, 2008), 224–30; Catherine Chédeau, 'Le siège de Dijon in 1513', in G. Audisio, ed., *Prendre une ville au XVIe siècle* (Aix-en-Provence, 2004), 17–32.

181 Jules Dournel, *Histoire générale de Péronne* (Péronne, 1879), 192; Boullaye, *Inventaire sommaire, Langres*, 106, 118.

182 Rossignol, 'Charles VIII', 136.

183 Braudel, *Identity of France*, 179.

of city walls the French Crown also helped to maintain a keystone of urban identity and independence.

As well as protecting the kingdom against foreign invasion, requests relating to urban security reflected France's internal military and political conditions. During the Hundred Years' War, French towns used entries to petition the king to act against the bands of mercenaries (*routiers*) terrorising urban communities. Indeed, Charles VII's mercenary captains were as prone to intimidate the Valois monarch's own supporters as they were to attack the population of Lancastrian France. When Charles VII entered Limoges in 1439, the municipal council informed him about the depredations caused by a local mercenary company.[184] Like other regional centres, Limoges' commercial prosperity derived from its ability to participate in local trade, which was dependent on peace and stability. The character of the warfare prosecuted by the mercenary companies (which included pillaging, extortion and the harassment of merchants) was devastating for urban populations. In return for ending the mercenaries' subjection of the region, the population of the Limousin gifted Charles the large sum of 20,000 *livres*, while Limoges contributed a further 3,000 *livres* (this was in addition to the 4,500 *livres* the consuls had already spent on presents for his entry). The scale of the gifts Charles received during his visit to Limoges reflected the degree of royal assistance sought by the region's population, who expected the cash to be used to pay for soldiers to end mercenary activity in the region.[185] Problems with mercenaries persisted in some regions of the kingdom throughout the sixteenth century, particularly in the south where their infractions (including rape, arson and assault) were the source of constant complaints from the Estates of the Languedoc to Francis I.[186] Royal entries offered municipal councils an opportunity to speak directly to the king and obtain an immediate end to the disorder his soldiers caused. Following Francis I's entry into Béziers in 1542, the region's inhabitants came to the monarch to complain that mercenaries in his pay had kidnapped three hundred local women. As a result, Francis had the women ransomed and returned to

184 A. Leroux, 'Passages de Charles VII et du dauphin Louis à Limoges en 1439, des mêmes et de la reine de France en 1442', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 46 (1885), 309; Tricard, 'Entrées royales à Limoges', 408.

185 C. Chabanneau, 'Cartulaire du consulat de Limoges', *Revue des études Romanes*, 4 series 8 (1895), 223.

186 J. E. Brink, 'Louise de Savoie, "King" of France 1525–1526', *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* 9 (1981), 22. For the problems with maintaining discipline in French armies, see: Potter, *Renaissance France at War*, 248–54.

their families.[187] There are a number of reasons why it was important that municipal governments had the opportunity to bring requests to the king regarding his soldiers' depredations. First, more urban revolts in early sixteenth-century France were provoked by the actions of 'friendly' troops than by tax reasons.[188] As urban governments were responsible for maintaining order for the king, any outbreak of disorder amongst the general population could result in punishment. Second, urban governments stretched their budgets in order to pay armed forces to protect them from French soldiers.[189] Third, having royal intervention in this matter was important for civic governments because soldiers often operated outside the normal parameters of the provision of justice in the localities, which meant that it was not easy to use local courts to punish them.[190] By listening to urban requests and putting a stop to the depredations his soldiers caused, the king could demonstrate that he was listening to his subjects' principal grievances and responding to them accordingly.

Yet while urban governments wanted the Crown to bring its soldiers to heel and cover the costs of maintaining municipal fortifications, they also wanted to retain their military autonomy.[191] As civic leaders lacked the necessary expertise to defend their populations from attacks by professional soldiers, captains played a crucial role in the organisation of urban military resources. In those towns where the Crown named the captain, there was a risk that this position would be granted as an honour to one of the ruler's favourites, who would then reside elsewhere. As such, municipal governments faced the problem of absenteeism. This was a serious issue for urban populations, especially during periods of intense warfare when it put their security (and commercial activities) in jeopardy. For example, the captain of Amiens, Jean de Beeloy, was almost entirely absent from the city during the 1420s and 1430s, which meant that it was unprepared to face the mercenary soldiers that poured into the region with the resurgence of Charles VII's power after 1429.[192] In order to avoid such situations, urban governments petitioned the king for the right to name their own captain at royal entries. They wanted to be able to

187 *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, xi. 267–68. For complaints about mercenaries, see: Potter, *Nation State*, 34.

188 Potter, *Nation State*, 159; Henry Heller, *Iron and Blood: Civil Wars in Sixteenth-Century France* (Montreal, 1991), 44–45.

189 Heller, *Iron and Blood*, 24–25.

190 Bernard Chevalier, 'La réforme de la justice: utopie et réalité (1440–1540)', in André Stegman, ed., *Pouvoir et institutions en Europe au XVIème siècle* (Paris, 1987), 243.

191 Chevalier, *Bonnes villes*, 113–28.

192 Neil Murphy, 'Between France, England and Burgundy: Amiens under the Lancastrian Dual Monarchy, 1422–1435', *French History* 26 (2012), 158–59.

appoint a trusted and capable local military expert who would reside in the town, oversee matters of defence, and protect both its merchants and those who came to trade at its markets. When Charles VI entered Péronne in 1382, he granted the town the right to elect its own captain. As Péronne stood on the frontier with Flanders (from where Charles VI was returning after a successful military campaign against the Flemish towns), the town's defence was a key issue for both the Crown and the municipal government. Hence, it was in the interests of the monarch to have the position filled with a captain who was based in Péronne. Grants relating to urban security could be long standing and Péronne held on to the right to name its captain right through to 1560, when the responsibilities of the position were transferred to the governor of Picardy.[193] Overall, civic governments used royal entries to ask the king to intercede in a number of ways relating to urban defence while at the same time seeking to keep their autonomy undiminished.

Urban Justice and Administration

Although matters relating to urban economic and military concerns formed the bulk of the requests municipal councils submitted to the king at an entry, some petitions related to matters of justice and administration. Like the king's guarantees of municipal political and economic rights, those relating to justice sought to preserve local or regional jurisdictions. Following Henry II's entry into Rouen in 1550, the town council claimed that their privileges entitled the city's inhabitants to appear only before the judges of the region's *ressort* (a designated juridical area) rather than being tried by other authorities.[194] An entry also offered towns the opportunity to bring concerns regarding the implementation of justice by other regional judicial institutions such as the *bailliage*, the *sénéschausée* and the *parlement*. When Philip VI entered Narbonne in 1336, the town presented the king with a remonstrance containing forty-one articles concerning the reform of justice in the region. Narbonne's leaders asked the king to strip the notaries of the *sénéschausée* of their right to receive gifts because they were extorting money from the townspeople.[195] Ceremonial entries also provided civic councillors with an opportunity to inform the monarch and his agents about infractions on municipal jurisdiction. Following his entry into La Rochelle in 1491, the town council asked Charles, count of Angoulême, to persuade Charles VIII to restore the former authority of the town council, 'which jurisdiction the provost of the said town and other royal

193 Dournel, *Histoire de Péronne,* 116.

194 Beaurepaire, *Inventaire sommaire, Rouen*, 172.

195 AM Narbonne AA 162.

officers were trying to destroy and suppress' by having their case heard in the *conseil privé*.[196] As La Rochelle's consuls did not have privileged access to the *conseil privé* (in contrast to the city's royal officers), they used their access to the duke to persuade him to ask the king to restore their authority.

The duty to remove corruption from the judicial system lay at the heart of late medieval and early modern conceptions of French kingship; namely, that as the successor of Louis IX, the French king was obliged make progresses around his kingdom so that he could hear his subjects' judicial complaints. Moreover, when the French Crown set about reforming of the provision of justice in the mid-sixteenth century, municipal governments were able to obtain grants at royal entries which expidited townspeople's access to justice. When Henry II entered Évreux in 1550, he received complaints from the town council about the length of procedures in the *Parlement* in Paris which he resolved by installing a *siège présidial* (a local tribunal court) at Évreux.[197] Requests relating to judicial matters also placed towns in competition with their neighbours. When Francis I visited Le Puy in 1533, the civic council petitioned him to establish a *siège présidial* in the town, which was to the detriment of the *sénéchaussée* of Nîmes.[198] As well as speeding up justice and maintaining local jurisdiction, the installation of a seat of justice also allowed towns to prosper economically because (like the possession of a cathedral or site of religious significance) it drew people and their money into the town from the surrounding region.[199]

Although urban elites claimed that economic and military petitions benefitted the entire community, many requests were unmistakably aimed at consolidating their wealth and social position at the expense of other social groups. When Charles VIII entered Rouen in 1485, he granted the townspeople exemption from the *franc-fief*, which was a tax due on land owned by non-nobles.[200] Rather than profiting the entire population, this grant was only of benefit to the city's wealthy merchants, who were attempting to move into landholding in a bid to gain noble privileges.[201] This grant was particularly important in the north of kingdom where the *taille* was based on an individual's social

196 Rivaud, *Entrées solennelles*, 128.

197 T. Bonnin, 'Notes sur les entrées solennelles des rois de France à Évreux', *Recueil de la Société libre d'agriculture, sciences, arts et belles-lettres du département de l'Eure* 9 (1838), 119–20.

198 Paradis and Roy, 'Le don', 138.

199 Braudel, *Identity of France*, i. 183–84; Small, *Late Medieval France*, 180–81.

200 Beaurepaire, 'Charles VIII à Rouen', 294–95.

201 Georges Huppert, *Les bourgeois gentilshommes: an essay on the definition of elites in Renaissance France* (Chicago and London, 1977).

status (known as the *taille personnelle*). Hence, noble status conferred exemption from the *taille*. This was in contrast to the situation in the south of the kingdom, where the *taille* was assessed on the status of the land (*taille réele*), which meant that many nobles had to pay land taxes. Overall, the bulk of the *taille* fell on the population of north of the kingdom, especially wealthy non-nobles such as Rouen's merchants.[202] The wider socio-political context of the entry made it especially amenable for Rouen's ruling elite to present the king with a petition that was specifically designed to promote their interests. Louis, duke of Orléans, who was then leading the noble rebellion known as the *Guerre Folle,* claimed that the regent of the kingdom, Anne of Beaujeu, was abrogating local rights and autonomy in an attempt construct a despotic form of government.[203] Louis attempted to build a support base amongst the elite of northern towns by posturing as the champion of urban liberties. By having Charles VIII grant Rouen's elite exemption from a land tax, the Beaujeu administration attempted to regain the support of the rulers of one of the kingdom's principal cities.[204] Louis XI had used the same tactic to win the city's support in the mid-1460s, when he re-established royal power in Normandy by undermining regional support for the princes who had rebelled against the Crown in 1465. When Louis entered Rouen in June 1467, he granted the town council exemption from the obligation to pay a tax on the acquisition of noble properties 'considering the great and good loyalty that our dear and well-loved bourgeois and inhabitants of the good town and city of Rouen have always had towards our predecessors'.[205] Despite Louis's warm words, the city had in fact supported the rebel princes during the War of the Public Weal; nonetheless, the grants the king made at his entry into Rouen derived from considerations of practical politics. While Louis had re-imposed his rule over Normandy, his authority in the region was still weak. As such, he granted lucrative concessions to Rouen's ruling elite as a means to bind their interests to those of the Crown and secure their future support.

Civic elites asked the king to grant them the means to impose their rule over general urban populations. Following his entry into Poitiers 1487, the ruling elite asked Charles VIII 'to support thirty or forty archers in the said town to be subject to the mayor'.[206] Essentially, the municipal council wanted to establish

202 David Parker, *The Making of French Absolutism* (London, 1983), 19.

203 J. S. C. Bridge, *A History of France from the Death of Louis XI*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1921–36), i. 122.

204 Knecht, *Renaissance France*, 24; Bridge, *History of France*, 126.

205 Laurrière, *Ordonnances rois de France,* xvi. 579–81; Beaurepaire, 'Six voyages de Louis XI', 306.

206 Rivaud, *Entrées solennelles*, 124.

a militia in order to strengthen its grip over the town. Civic elites also won grants at royal entries which allowed them to clamp down on assemblies of the lower urban orders. These rights were a mark of considerable municipal power, particularly because assemblies of townspeople were a potential threat to the elite's control of urban political and economic structures. In 1474 Louis XI granted Lyon's municipal council extensive powers over the craft guilds, which were no longer permitted to assemble together and 'make statutes and ordinances touching their guilds without the assistance and presence of the said councillors [i.e. the town council]'.[207] Because the guilds did not have the same access to the king as that enjoyed by the municipal council, they were unable to promote their concerns to the monarch. As a result of such grants, Lyon's municipal council gained control over the city's craft guilds and kept them weak. The consuls gained the right to nominate the guild masters who in turn nominated the councillors and consuls, thus maintaining the elite's dominance of the city's government. Consequently, Lyon's municipal council was at the height of its powers by the mid-sixteenth century.[208] In short, rather than acting in the interests of all urban groups, municipal governments used royal entries to petition the king for grants that were intended to consolidate their domination of general populations. In return for buttressing their authority, the monarch expected urban elites to use these powers to maintain order and stability on his behalf in the provinces. This symbiotic relationship was particularly important during times of civil conflict, most notably during the Wars of Religion.

Religious Requests

In addition to requests regarding justice and administration, petitions relating to matters of faith were offered to the king. While requests relating to religious groups were rare before 1550, the nature of the conflicts of the second half of the sixteenth century encouraged this type of petition. With the spread of Protestantism amongst urban populations and the kingdom's

207 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 220.

208 For the conflicts between Lyon's consuls and the guilds, see: Richard Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVIe siècle: Lyon et ses marchands* (*environs de 1520-environs de 1580*), 2 vols (Paris, 1971), i. 407–33; Caroline Fargeix, 'La querelle des artisans et des consuls: mémoire, pouvoir et conflit à Lyon au début du XVIe siècle', in Philippe Hamon and Catherine Laurent, eds., *Le pouvoir municipal: de la fin du Moyen Âge à 1789* (Rennes, 2012), 253–69; A. Bassard, 'La querelle des consuls et des artisans à Lyon (1515–1521)', *Revue d'histoire de Lyon* 8 (1909), 1–42; Carloine Fargiex, *Les élites lyonnaises du XVe siècle au miroir de leur langage. Pratiques et representations culturelles des conseillers de Lyon, d'après les registres de délibérations consulaires* (Paris, 2007), 484–530.

collapse into civil war during the 1560s, religious requests were brought before Charles IX and Catherine de Medici during their progress of 1564–66.[209] When Charles IX entered Angoulême in August 1565, the Protestant leader Jacques de Boucart made a speech before the king and the *consil privé* in which he lamented the persecution of his co-religionists. The queen and *conseil* listened agreeably to this address, assuring Boucart that the strengthening of royal authority in the region would benefit its Protestant population.[210] However, not all religious requests were received favourably. When Charles IX entered Sens in March 1564 he entered a staunchly Catholic town, whose Protestant population had been slaughtered in the previous year. Robert Hémard, *lieutenant criminel* of the *bailliage*, former mayor of the town and one of the leaders of the massacre, delivered the welcoming speech to Charles IX. Sens' Catholic leaders used their control of the entry to gain access to the king and influence his response to the massacre. When Jacques Penon – a Protestant who had fled the killing – returned to Sens to present Charles IX with a protest regarding the attacks, he was accused of sedition.[211] Although the Crown had informed Jacques de Boucart it would support Protestant rights, many royal entries in the 1560s were used to strengthen Catholic domination of local political structures. When Charles IX entered Nîmes in December 1564, the recently elected Catholic consuls (who replaced a Protestant council) petitioned the king for a series of measures designed to reinstall Catholic dominance in the town.[212] Likewise, Charles IX granted Agen the town the right to hold annual elections for six consuls in 1565.[213] The reformation of Agen's communal government

209 These religious issues are also reflected in the nature of the pardons Charles issued during this progress: Michel Nassiet, ed., *Les lettres de pardon du voyage de Charles IX (1565–1566)* (Paris, 2010).

210 J.-F. Eusèbe Castaigne, 'Entrées solennelles dans la ville d'Angoulême depuis François Ier jusqu'à Louis XIV', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente* 1 (1856), 311–12; *La harange prononcee par le sieur de Boucart deuant la Maiesté du roy estant en son Conseil priué à Angoulesme le xvie jour d'aoust, mil cinq sens soixante cinq* (1565), printed in Louis Condé, *Mémoires de Condé: ou recueil pour servir à l'histoire de France, contenant ce qui s'est passé de plus mémorable dans la royaume, sous la règne de François II, & sous une partie celui de Charles IX*, 6 vols (London, 1743), v. 367.

211 Vaillancourt, *Entrées solennelles, Charles IX*, 61–62.

212 However, a request that that Protestants serving on the *cour présidial* would be removed from office was not granted because it would have impacted on royal finances: Tulchin, *Triumph of Protestantism*, 157; Menard, *Histoire civile*, iv. 404–5.

213 Rivaud, 'Entrées à Tours', 164; Auguste, *Inventaire sommaire, Agen*, 29; Bernard Labénazie, *Histoire de la ville d'Agen et pays d'Agenois suivie des annales ou chronique agenoise*, 8 vols (Agen, 1888), i. 259–61.

was linked to the re-establishment of royal power in southwestern France, which lay at the centre of the kingdom's religious wars. While Agen had a large Protestant population, its Catholic leaders remained staunchly loyal to the Crown, in return for which the monarch buttressed their authority over the town.[214] Yet not all religious requests related to Christians. When Henry II entered Lyon in 1548, the town council planned to inform the king that 'the Jews and Moors who were chased from the emperor's lands' had come to live in the city.[215] The consuls considered the presence of the Jews in the city to be a 'great scandal to the Christian religion'.[216] Yet there was also an economic element to this complaint as the Jews had opened a business in the city centre without first gaining the municipal council's permission.[217] In other words, the Jewish traders had challenged the municipal council's authority. Regardless of religion, an entry allowed those who were in power to gain access to the king, which they could use to seek rights that were to the detriment of others, whether they be guildsmen, Jews or Protestants.

Conclusion

While a royal entry began to lose its central role in the ratification of existing municipal liberties from the mid-fifteenth century, it remained one of the very best times for civic elites to win new rights and liberties. It was important that urban requests for new liberties followed the public entry because by the time the king received the town's petitions he had processed through the city streets and witnessed a series of spectacles devised by the urban elite which celebrated the French monarchy. Furthermore, towns offered gifts of silverware to recognise the king's right rule. As with the reciprocal swearing of oaths, the gift presentation was a remnant of the feudal relationship urban governments had entered into with the king during the urban resurgence of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In return for this display of idealised kingship, municipal elites expected the monarch to use his power to sustain their elevated position in the urban hierarchy, as well as improving the town's economic situation. While historians have devalued the economic benefits of royal entries for urban communities, there was a clear link between the town's gift and the king's counter-gift. By placing reciprocal obligations on both parties,

214 Stéphane Baumont, *Histoire d'Agen* (Toulouse, 1991), 118–22.

215 AM Lyon BB 67, fol. 232v.

216 AM Lyon BB 67, fol. 250r.

217 AM Lyon BB 69, fol. 3v.

the post-entry gift exchange embodied the broader interdependent relationship that existed between the king and the urban elite. This was, of course, an unequal relationship and in return for shoring up his power the king granted urban elites privileged access to his person, which they could use to petition him for new liberties.

Custom obliged the monarch to award new liberties as part of a royal entry. Towns specifically waited until an entry to bring their requests to the king as it was the best time to have petitions granted. When Lyon's consuls learned on 7 October 1456 that Charles VII planned to visit the city, they decided to wait until the entry to petition him for a reduction of its military burden.[218] It was essential that towns provided the king with gifts that were appropriate to their place in the urban hierarchy. When urban councils failed to do so, there was no obligation for the king to respond. Nevertheless, in most cases urban governments had some or all of their requests granted by the monarch. However, obtaining the king's sanction was only the first stage in the enactment of petitions. As we will see in the next chapter, municipal councils had to enter into protracted discussions with royal officials to have the grants implemented.

218 AM Lyon BB 8, fol. 27r; Caillet, *Relations de la commune*, 149.

CHAPTER 3

Accessing the King

The ability to provide access to the monarch was a source of great power in pre-modern Europe and the royal household stood at the centre of networks of influence and patronage that stretched across the kingdom. Valois victory in the Hundred Years' War and the concomitant growth in French royal power led to a sharp decline in the opportunities for the subjects of the French king to seek advancement in rival royal and princely courts operating in France. By the late fifteenth century, town governments from across the kingdom (including the former Lancastrian territories of Gascony and Normandy, as well as the Burgundian lands) went to the Valois court to request the granting of their petitions. Accordingly, members of the Valois monarch's court had more power and influence than ever before, while a growth in the size of the French king's household during the later fifteenth century gave increasing numbers of people the opportunity to sell their services to urban communities. These courtiers and officials were able to use their capability to act as brokers for townspeople to strengthen their place in the increasingly pernicious and competitive environment of the French court.

The first part of this chapter examines how townspeople used gift giving at ceremonial entries to recruit brokers, who promised to ensure that the monarch and his ministers listened favourably to urban petitions. The offering of gifts to nobles and royal officers was a normal part of the system through which urban governments won tax remissions and favours. After examining the development of these networks of clientage, the chapter will move on to investigate how urban governments worked to obtain the services of a range of household staff, including guards and domestic servants. Although these individuals lacked the nobility's political influence, they had the capacity to provide to entry to royal lodgings. The chapter concludes by examining the leading role that royal women played as brokers for urban communities. Recent work on queenship has emphasised the corporate nature of pre-modern monarchies and royal women's important contribution to government.[1] In sum,

1 Theresa Earenfight, *The King's Other Body. Maria of Castile and the Crown of Aragon* (Philadelphia, 2010); idem, 'Without the Person of the Prince: Kings, Queens, and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe', *Gender and History* 19 (2007), 1–21; Joseph F. O'Callaghan, 'The Many Roles of the Medieval Queen: Some Examples from Castile', in Theresa Earenfight, ed., *Queenship and Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (2005), 21–32. See also the

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this chapter explores the role that ceremonial entries played in the operation of a political system that was based on favour and patronage. Access and influence were commodities that could be bought and sold – and a ceremonial entry provided a market for this transaction to occur.

Brokers and Networks of Clientage

Towns maintained brokers in the royal household to help promote urban affairs with the king.[2] Mark Greengrass and Timothy Watson have shown how French urban councils worked to gain the support of the best brokers.[3] Municipal governments offered substantial gifts to the powerful people who travelled with the king in order to recruit or retain their friendship. Tournai's *échevins* gave a gilded cup to Louis, count of Vendôme, in consideration 'of the good that he can do for the town'.[4] As Louis was a leading member of Charles VII's court and held great influence with the king, he was in a good position promote Tournai's affairs. Likewise, when Louis of Orléans entered Beauvais with Louis XI in January 1474, the *échevins* used the gift presentation to flatter the influential duke and make him aware of the problems they faced. According to

articles by Diana Pelaz Flores, Ana Rodrigues Oliveira and Isabel de Pina Balerias in: Elena Woodacre, ed., *Queenship in the Mediterranean: Negotiating the Role of the Queen in the Medieval and Early Modern Eras* (New York, 2013), 97–123, 125–44, 169–90.

2 For the crucial role that members of the king's household played in the petitioning process, see: Bernard Chevalier, 'The *Bonnes Villes* and the King's Council in Fifteenth-Century France', in J. R. L. Highfield and Robin Jeffs, eds., *The Crown and Local Communities in England and France in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1981), 110–28; Philippe Contamine, 'Mécanismes du pouvoir, information, sociétés politiques', in idem, *Des pouvoirs en France* (*1300–1500*) (Paris, 1992), 16–18; Peter Lewis, 'Reflections on the role of royal *clientèles* in the construction of the French monarchy (mid-XIVth/end-XVth centuries)', in N. Bulst, R. Descimon and A. Guerreau, eds., *L'état ou le roi. Les fondations de la modernité monarchique en France* (*XIVe–XVIIe siècles*) (Paris, 1996), 51–67; idem, 'The Centre, The Periphery, and the Problem of Power Distribution in Later Medieval France', in Highfield and Jeffs, *Crown and Local Communities*, 151–68; Hélène Olland, 'La France de la fin du Moyen Age: l'État et la Nation', *Médiévales* 5 (1986), 89–90; Graeme Small, 'Centre and Periphery in Late Medieval France: Tournai, 1384–1477', in Christopher Allmand, ed., *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France* (Liverpool, 2000), 156–59.

3 Mark Greengrass, 'Functions and limits of political clientism in France before Cardinal Richelieu', in Bulst, Descimon and Gurreau, *Fondations de la modernité monarchique*, 77–78; Watson, 'Friends at Court', 281–302.

4 A. de La Grange, 'Extraits analytiques des registres des consaulx de la ville de Tournai, 1431–1476', *Mémoires de la Société historique et littéraire de Tournai* 23 (1893), 71.

the civic records, 'they made him understand the poverty of the town. Without which they would have given him a gift as rich as that for the king'.[5] In general, municipal councils approached the most influential figures in the royal administration. When Charles IX entered Nantes in 1565, the *échevins* went to the lodgings of the chancellor and the constable (two of the most powerful people in the kingdom) to offer them gifts.[6] Likewise, before Mâcon's *échevins* brought their requests to Louis XII at his entry in June 1501, they first went to offer their services to the chancellor and Georges d'Amboise, asking in return that they recommend the municipal council to the king and seek the remittance of the *gabelle* levied on the town.[7] Urban governments sought out royal favourites because they held considerable influence over the king's decisions.[8] When Louis XI entered Rouen in 1462, for example, the town council targeted his *chambellan*, Jean Guaste de Montespedon, with gifts specifically because he was known to be close the king.[9]

In return for offering presents to dignitaries such as Montespedon, civic councils asked the recipients to persuade the king and his ministers to listen favourably to their petitions. When Louis XI entered Lyon in 1474, one of the city's leading consuls, François Buclet, was sent to find someone at court 'capable and suitable . . . [who had] access and entry to speak to the king'. In return for asking the king to grant the city council the right to levy a tax on the foreign currency traded in the city, the town council was prepared to pay up to five hundred *écus*; if the king and his ministers approved the city's request, this sum was to increase to seven hundred *écus*.[10] Urban governments established relations with influential members of the king's entourage before bringing their requests to the monarch as the delay gave brokers time to promote urban petitions with those in power. In 1492, Orange's consuls offered gifts to Philiberta of Luxembourg's confessor and financial officers, asking them to support the requests they wanted to bring to the princess.[11] Urban governments offered gifts to an array of the ruler's favourites, family members and officials in order to maximise their chances of success. When Louis XII visited

5 BM Beauvais Coll. Bucquet, vol. 57, p. 10.

6 AM Nantes AA 33, nos. 19, 20.

7 Bazin, 'Rois de France à Mâcon', 72.

8 For the role of favorites in decision making, see: Cédric Michon, 'Conseils, conseillers et prise de décision sous François Ier', in Roseline Claerr and Olivier Poncet, eds., *La prise de décision en France (1525–1559)* (Paris, 2008), 27–34; François Nawrocki, 'Le conseiller favouri, objet de la décision royale', in Claerr and Poncet, *Prise de décision*, 35–52.

9 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 8, fol. 204r.

10 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 224.

11 AM Orange BB 8, fols. 104r, 107r.

Dijon in 1507, the *échevins* awarded gifts to 'many great and noble people of this kingdom and other officers of the king . . . so that they have the business of this town in recommendation'.[12] As we shall see, it was particularly important for municipal councils to supply gifts to the king's administrative officers if they hoped to have their petitions granted.

As well as offering gifts in expectation of future support, municipal councils used royal entries to reward successful brokers for past services. At Louis XI's entry into Tournai, the *échevins* provided gifts to the king's favourites, Jean de Montauban and Pierre Doriole, because they had promoted the town's business with the king.[13] Royal entries provided a lucrative stream of revenue for powerful men such as Doriole, who held considerable influence with the king and his council. In 1461, Tours' *échevins* planned to offer fifty *livres* to Doriole (then *général des finances*) at Louis XI's inaugural entry into the town.[14] As Doriole's power increased when he became chancellor in 1472 so did the value of the gifts he received at a royal entry.[15] If urban administrations wanted to retain the services of successful fixers, it was important to reward their achievements. Failure to offer gifts to brokers could lead them to offer their talents to other urban councils. Wealthier towns and cities hired the services of multiple brokers at court, rewarding all those who travelled with the king. When Francis I entered Amiens in 1539, the town council paid a range of people in his entourage for their efforts regarding the city's ordinances.[16] The number of payments Amiens' *échevins* made to their fixers at Francis's entry illustrates the extent of the city's networks of influence at court. As senior officials in the royal government were often away from court on business, urban governments recruited multiple brokers in order to have friends close to the king at all times.[17] Municipal councils also targeted brokers who could promote their affairs with several political authorities. When Claude of Lorraine entered Dijon in 1511, the *échevins* provided him with a gift 'so that he had in singular recommendation the town and its inhabitants towards the king our lord and *monsieur* the governor of Burgundy'.[18] As Claude of Lorraine's influence at court was

12 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, ii. 7.

13 La Grange, 'Entrées de souverains', 63–64.

14 AM Tours CC 35, fol. 157r.

15 Jean Favier, *Louis XI* (Paris, 2000), 299–300. For Doriole, see: Lucie Fossier, 'La fortune d'un Rochelais du XVe siècle: Pierre Doriole', *Revue de la Saintogne et de l'Aunis* 3 (1977), 49–66; P. S. Lewis, 'The Centre, the Periphery and the Problem of Power Distribution in Later Medieval France', in Highfield and Jeffs, *Crown and Local Communities in England*, 43–44.

16 AM Amiens BB 23, fol. 3v.

17 Watson, 'Friends at Court', 295.

18 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, ii. 27.

growing in the 1510s, he was in a good position to promote Dijon's affairs with both Louis XII and the governor of Burgundy, Louis de La Trémouille. The expansion of provincial governors' powers in the sixteenth century led urban governments to seek influence with these individuals, especially as governors had the authority to make some grants without having to consult the king (see chapter four). Claude of Lorraine was a valuable asset for Dijon's rulers because his ascendancy at court promised to work to their advantage. Accordingly, the *échevins* offered Claude a large gift both to reward past success and retain his future service.

Royal entries gave urban administrations opportunities to construct and consolidate networks of clientage. The brokers recruited by municipal leaders helped to ensure that the king and his ministers received urban petitions favourably. On the evening of Louis XI's entry into Brive-la-Gailliarde in June 1463, the municipal council gave Charles of France, the king's brother, a gift of salmon. As they offered the fish to the duke, the consuls described 'the poverty and needs of the said town', asking Charles to promote their affairs to the king, which he agreed to do. Brive's consuls waited until the duke had spoken to Louis before presenting their requests.[19] Before Charles went into rebellion against his brother during the War of the Public Weal in 1465, he was a key broker for urban communities. When Louis XI entered Tournai in 1463, the *échevins* gave Charles a silver cup containing 200 *écus* in return for the efforts he had taken on the city's behalf.[20] While urban communities situated close to the centres of Valois power were able to cultivate relations with members of the king's family over a long period of time, towns such as Brive-la-Gaillard or Tournai lacked opportunities to do so because they were rarely visited by French monarchs.[21] For these civic administrations, a royal entry provided a good moment to win friends at court.

The rulers of towns that were not to be visited during a royal progress could send delegations to attend neighbouring entries to try and make contact with the king.[22] Orange's consuls sent delegations to attend royal entries at Caderousse, Lyon and Tarascon in order to submit their requests to the French

19 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 182.

20 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 198.

21 Rivaud, *Villes et le roi*, 203.

22 Other authorities could also send representatives to attend entries. For example, the entry of the Dauphin Louis into Compiègne in July 1443 was attended by representatives from surrounding abbeys, as well as from neighbouring towns: AM Compiègne CC 16 fol. 13v; Marcel Thibault, *La jeunesse de Louis XI, 1423–1445* (Paris, 1907), 245.

king.[23] Although some urban delegations found it difficult to access to the king when he entered a neighbouring town, French monarchs were receptive to receiving petitions from those places they did not intend to visit as these urban governments would otherwise lack the opportunity to offer him their requests. Of course, these municipal delegations first had to gain contact with the king, which (as we saw in the previous chapter) could be difficult. Nonetheless, those delegations that were able to negotiate or cajole their way to an audience with the king could win substantial grants. The delegation Pont-Audemer sent to attend Charles VII's entry into Louviers in September 1449 secured an exemption from the *taille* for six years.[24] Charles was then campaigning in Normandy to return the duchy his obedience after thirty years of Lancastrian rule. While Charles did not intend to enter Pont-Audemer, its leaders were able to re-construct their relations with him (which were entirely curtailed with the imposition of Henry V's rule in 1419) at his entry into Louviers. The presence of Pont-Audemer's delegation at Charles's entry into Louviers was also a mark of the Valois monarch's success because it represented the further contraction of Lancastrian Normandy. As it was clear to Pont-Audemer's administration that the Dual Monarchy was on the point of collapse, they travelled to Louviers to offer their submission to Charles before they were besieged. By voluntarily capitulating to the Valois king rather than being taken by force, Pont-Audemer expected to secure new rights from the king. Although many Norman towns had prospered under the Dual Monarchy, Pont-Audemer's councillors justified their application for remission from the *taille* by claiming that the town had suffered under Lancastrian rule. From Charles's perspective, he needed to win local support if he hoped to make his rule in Normandy permanent – and the issuing of lucrative grants to urban leaders was one way to achieve this.

For urban governments from more remote parts of the kingdom, the presence of the royal court in their region provided them with an opportunity to ask the monarch to intervene in local disputes in their favour. Delegates from the small town of Puy-Saint-André travelled to Louis XII's entry at Embrun in June 1502 to seek the confirmation of their rights over the neighbouring mountain of Les Combes. While John, dauphin of Auvergne, had granted Puy-Saint-André these rights in perpetuity in 1311, local rivals were threatening the

23 AM Orange BB 5, fols. 86r (Tarascon), 103r (Lyon); BB 11, fol. 129r (Caderousse). Orange sent twelve leading townsmen to bring their requests to Francis I when he entered Caderousse in 1536: AM Orange BB 12, fol. 253r.

24 T. Bonnin, *Cartulaire de Louviers. Documents historiques originaux du Xe au XVIIIe siècle*, 5 vols (Evreux, 1883), ii. 241–44.

town's claim to the mountain in the early sixteenth century.[25] It was important for small towns such as Puy-Saint-André (lying in regions rarely visited by the court and far from the centres of royal power) to obtain contact with the king during a progress as their limited financial resources meant they could not easily send delegations to court, let alone afford keep them there. It was particularly important for smaller towns to gain access to the king at an entry when they were in conflict with more powerful regional political authorities. When Orange's consuls learnt that Charles VIII was to enter Lyon in 1490, they sent a delegation to seek the king's confirmation of the market his ancestors had granted to the town. This issue was of crucial importance for the consuls as they were in conflict with both the neighbouring town of Carpentras and the *Parlement* of Dauphiné over the right to the market.[26] In short, a royal entry provided smaller urban communities, such as Orange or Puy-Saint-André, with an opportunity to gain access to the king and have him intercede in local quarrels on their behalf.

The onset of the Italian Wars in 1494 led French kings to make extended visits to Lyon (indeed, the city became a centre of monarchy under Charles VIII and Louis XII).[27] During Lyon's time as *de facto* capital of the kingdom, neighbouring towns regularly sent delegations to attend its royal entries and offer petitions to the king. When Louis XII returned from campaign in Italy the mayor of Dijon travelled two hundred kilometres to greet him at Lyon.[28] Despite being a base for the Valois monarchy, Lyon could not be certain of a royal entry. As part of their preparations for Henry II's reception in 1548, the consuls devised a contingency plan to offer their requests to the king: should Henry II cross into Piedmont without entering the city, the city council planned to ask the governor of the Lyonnais (Jean d'Albon de Saint André) to bring its petitions to the monarch.[29] Given the political and economic importance of ceremonial entries for urban communities, the cancellation of a royal visit was detrimental for townspeople, especially if they had already paid for the plays and decorations. When Francis I cancelled his planned entry into Toulouse in March 1526, the municipal council sent a delegation to the king

25 P. Guillaume, 'Louis XI à Embrun', *Bulletin de la Société d'études des Hautes-Alpes* (1882), 32–35.

26 AM Orange BB 8, fols. 57r, 92r.

27 L. Bourgeois, *Quand la cour vivait à Lyon (1494–1551)* (Brignais, 2004); Brink, 'Louise de Savoie', 23; Dauphant, *Royaume*, 287, 301; Dorothy Moulton Mayer, *The Great Regent: Louise of Savoy, 1476–1531* (London, 1966), 197.

28 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, i. 49.

29 AM Lyon BB 67, fol. 230v.

to seek the confirmation of its privileges. Despite having had these privileges confirmed at court at the beginning of the reigns of Charles VIII (1483) and Louis XII (1498), Toulouse does not appear to have had its liberties confirmed on Francis I's ascension to the throne, which may explain the eagerness to have Francis ratify them in 1526.[30] As this was to have been Francis's first visit to the city, the consuls had not yet had their liberties and franchises authorised by the monarch.[31] Furthermore, Francis had just been released from captivity in Madrid, during which time his mother, Louise, acted as regent. As soon as Toulouse's consuls learnt of Francis I's capture at Pavia in 1525, they sent a delegation to Louise of Savoy to have her confirm the city's privileges because she was the effective ruler of the kingdom.[32] In order to guarantee their privileges, towns took great efforts to ensure they had their rights reconfirmed following any change in rule, whether as a consequence of the death of a monarch or the end of a regency. Hence, Toulouse's municipal council wanted to guarantee its privileges as soon as Francis I had returned to France. Nonetheless, the municipal council had to wait until the king entered the city in 1533 to offer him their petitions for new liberties.[33]

Although the cancellation of a royal entry harmed urban finances due to the costs of staging the entry, losing the opportunity to offer gifts to the king and petition him for new liberties was of much greater concern to civic governments. In these circumstances, town councils could transport an entry's gift-giving element directly to the ruler. When Charlotte of Savoy failed to enter Tours in 1461, the civic leaders sent a delegation to the royal palace in Amboise to offer their gifts to the new queen of France.[34] Tours' location at the centre of Valois power meant that its rulers had regular access to the royal court, which was based around the Loire during the fifteenth century. In contrast, towns and cities lying far from the Valois heartlands did not enjoy the same ease of contact with the court. Furthermore, it was dangerous to transport valuable gifts over long distances, especially by road, due widespread banditry. Although the rulers of Tours could sail the short distance upriver to Amboise to bring

30 See, for example: AM Toulouse AA 3/228/288 (Charles VIII); AA 5/403 (Louis XII). Furthermore, they had their privileges confirmed at the beginning of Henry II's reign in 1547: AA 8/1.

31 AM Toulouse BB 9, fols. 30r–34v.

32 AM Toulouse BB 9, fol. 8v; Brink, 'Louise de Savoie', 18.

33 AM Toulouse AA 5/97.

34 Rivaud, 'Entrées à Tours', 159–61.

their gifts to Charlotte of Savoy, this option was not available to most urban administrations.[35]

Sedentary courts, such as that based around Tours, attracted municipal delegations, which competed against each other to persuade the king and his officers to favour their requests over all others. However, many towns could not afford to send a delegation to try and gain access to king, even when the court was in their vicinity. When Charles VIII toured the centre-west of France in 1487, Bergerac (which was not visited on this progress) decided to dispatch agents to attend the king's entry into the neighbouring city of Bordeaux. The consuls hoped to gain access to Charles and offer him a petition seeking exemption from the *taille*.[36] As a small town, Bergerac had limited finances; indeed, its municipal council even struggled to raise sufficient funds to send its representatives the short distance to Bordeaux. Although one of Bergerac's wealthiest consuls agreed to fund the delegation, his offer came too late: the king had already departed from Bordeaux and the consuls did not have the funds to follow the court over a longer distance.[37] Unable to speak to the king or his council, Bergerac's requests remained unheard. Even when urban governments could afford to send representatives to attend entries at neighbouring towns, they could not be sure of gaining access to the king as they were dependent on the good will of their neighbours. Amiens' *échevins* exploited their good relations with Abbeville's rulers to gain a place at Henry VI's entry into the town in July 1430, which enabled them to recommend the city to the Lancastrian monarch.[38] Yet obtaining this level of support could be difficult because towns offered the monarch requests for liberties that were often detrimental to their neighbours.[39] As such, urban administrations preferred to access the monarch in their own town, where they could control the environment and restrict the involvement of rivals.[40] Having control of the wider context of a royal visit was important for town councils because (as well as providing access to the monarch) a ceremonial entry allowed municipal councils to meet those key

35 Rivaud, 'Entrées à Tours', 159–61.

36 Charrier, *Jurades de Bergerac*, i. 21.

37 Charrier, *Jurades de Bergerac*, i. 24–25.

38 AM Amiens BB 4, fol. 2v; CC 24, fol. 39v; Ledieu, *Inventaire sommaire, Abbeville*, 64; Ernst Prarond, *Histoire d'Abbeville: Abbeville aux temps de Charles VII, des ducs de Bourgogne, maîtres du Ponthieu, de Louis XI, 1462–1483* (Paris, 1899), 15–16. For the wider context of this entry see: Murphy, 'Amiens', 153–54.

39 Gisela Naegle, 'Vérités contradictoires et réalités constitutionnelles. La ville et le roi en France à la fin du Moyen Age', *Revue historique* 632 (2004), 730, 732.

40 Rivaud, *Villes et le roi*, 99.

officials in the royal administration who were in a good position to ensure that urban elites obtained new rights, particularly the chancellor.

The Chancellor

The chancellor was one of the most important royal officers in France and he held wide-ranging powers that extended across the kingdom. He had regular and privileged access to the king and was one of the few members of the royal entourage permitted to reside in the monarch's residence during a progress. In addition to his considerable judicial powers (which included drafting royal edicts), the chancellor played a key role in fiscal affairs.[41] Furthermore, chancellors offered continuity between reigns (Francis I's chancellor, François Olivier, was one of the few members of the royal council to survive the transition to Henry II's rule in 1547).[42] Gaining entry to the king's council was crucial for townspeople as the members of the council examined urban requests. For instance, when Charles V entered Tournai in 1368, the town council went to his lodgings in the abbey of Saint-Martin 'and made numerous requests to the king, in the presence of his council'.[43] Whereas it was customary for kings to receive petitions in person on Friday mornings during the fourteenth century, the monarch stopped attending this session in person (except on Good Friday) during the fifteenth century, instead delegating the responsibility to the chancellor.[44] Furthermore, because the king was normally absent from the afternoon sitting of the royal council, the chancellor also presided over this meeting.[45] By the late fifteenth century, the afternoon session of the royal council (known as the *conseil privé*) had grown very powerful, particularly because it evaluated all the petitions handed to the king. When Poitiers' consuls brought their requests to Charles VIII following his entry into the city in 1487, the chancellor instructed them to prepare a written document setting out the specifics of their petitions so that the royal council could examine them.[46]

41 Knecht, *Renaissance France*, 14–15; Potter, *Nation State*, 137. For late medieval chancellors, see also: Guido Castelnuovo and Olivier Mattéoni, eds., *Chancelleries et chanceliers des princes à la fin du Moyen Âge. De part et d'autre des Alpes* (*II*) (Charenton, 2011).

42 Michon, 'Conseils et conseillers', 48–52. For Olivier's career see, Cédric Michon, 'La valse des gardes des sceaux', in Michon, *Conseillers de François Ier*, 570–73.

43 Smet, 'Chronique des Pays-Bas', 245.

44 Chevalier, 'King's Council', 112.

45 Chevalier, 'King's Council', 112; Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen age*, 3 vols (1957–62), ii. 83.

46 Rivaud, *Entrées princières*, 123–24.

After scrutinising Poitiers' requests, the royal council approved them all. The chancellor then directed the town council to bring copies of the grants to be registered by the *généraux des finances*.[47] Given the chancellor's central role in the granting of urban liberties, it was important for municipal governments to win his favour. When planning the inaugural entries of Louis XI and Charlotte of Savoy in 1461, Tours' *échevins* ruled that the chancellor was to be given a gift both in recognition of his previous efforts on behalf of the town and to ensure that he 'seals and expedites the privileges of the town'.[48] Chancellors also advertised their ability to obtain liberties for towns. In the days leading up to Francis I's entry into Dijon in 1521, Antoine Duprat wrote to the *échevins* reminding them of his power with regards to the granting of liberties at the king's entry, thus tacitly encouraging them to provide him with gifts.[49] As well as being able to recommend urban petitions to the royal council, the chancellor controlled the ratification of royal grants. He held the great seal (which legitimised royal acts) and could refuse to issue any grants he considered prejudicial to the Crown.[50]

Municipal governments used gift gifting at entries to win the chancellor's support for their petitions. When Francis I entered Dijon in 1541, the *échevins* gifted expensive wine to the chancellor, Guillaume Poyet, 'so that he had the town in recommendation'.[51] The gifts offered to the chancellor were second only to those of the king – and chancellors were amongst the privileged few who received gifts of silverware. When Louis XI entered Rouen in 1462, for example, the town council gave ten silver cups to the chancellor, Pierre de Morvilliers.[52] Failure to provide the chancellor with a suitable gift could lead to the failure of urban petitions. In 1548, Lyon's civic council made a series of ill-judged decisions regarding gift giving at Henry II's entry. In addition to offering unsuitable items of silverware to the king and queen, the consuls failed to provide the chancellor, François Olivier, with a gift. At first glance, Lyon's negligence seems unusual, as the consuls had planned to offer a gift to the chancellor at Henry's entry; indeed, the municipal deliberations state

47 Rivaud, 'Accueil des souverains', 285.

48 AM Tours BB 10, fol. 347r.

49 J. G. Garnier, ed., *Correspondance de Mairie de Dijon extraite des archives de cette ville*, 3 vols (Dijon, 1864), i. 293–94.

50 For the chancellor's seal see: Bernard Barbiche, 'De la commission à l'office de la Couronne: les gardes des sceaux de France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 151 (1993), 359–90.

51 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, ii. 7.

52 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 8, fol. 204r.

that it was essential they did so as they had not provided Olivier with a gift on his appointment to the office three years earlier.[53] However, a closer investigation of the negotiations that took place between the chancellor and city in advance of Henry II's visit to Lyon reveals that the consuls may have deliberately chosen not to offer Olivier gifts because he had failed to act as an effective broker for the city. Despite his senior role in the kingdom's administration, Olivier had been unable to persuade the royal council to pre-approve Lyon's petition for tax exemption, which the consuls intended to bring to Henry II at his entry. French urban governments customarily provided gifts to chancellors at royal entries to reward their successful promotion of municipal affairs at court. When Charles VI entered Amiens in 1414, the *échevins* gave the chancellor, Henri de Marle, an expensive jewel in return for the efforts he had taken on their behalf.[54] Likewise, when Eleanor of Austria entered Abbeville in December 1531, the municipal council gifted wine to the chancellor, Antoine Duprat, 'in consideration of the great pleasures' he had made for the town at court.[55] As François Olivier had failed to secure grants for Lyon in 1548, the consuls may not have considered themselves bound to offer him a gift at Henry II's entry. If so, their actions were ill considered because the consuls left the chancellor with no incentive to promote their interests at court in the future.

As the subsequent actions of Lyon's municipal council make clear, urban governments provided gifts to royal officials in return for favours. Lyon sent a delegation sent to court in January 1549 to persist in its endeavour to obtain tax exemption. As part of their efforts, the consuls instructed the delegates to offer a gift to the chancellor to 'repair the fault which was done in not having made him a gift at the entry of the king and queen'.[56] By the time the delegation left the city, Lyon's situation had grown desperate: not only had all its efforts to obtain relief from the war tax failed, the Crown had also threatened the city leaders with imprisonment.[57] Despite obtaining the right to levy a wine tax during Henry II's visit, the consuls were unable to have this grant ratified.[58] While the chancellor failed to persuade the royal council to grant Lyon

53 AM Lyon BB 67, fol. 245v.

54 AM Amiens BB 2, fol. 46r.

55 Ledieu, 'Élénore d'Autriche à Abbeville', 63.

56 AM Lyon BB 68, fol. 299r. Paris's *échevins* also tried to win the support of the chancellor's services in order to gain exemption from this tax: Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, i. 299–300.

57 Indeed, on 20 March 1549 forty-three members of the city elite were arrested and imprisoned: AM Lyon BB 68, fols. 324v–326r.

58 AM Lyon BB 67, fol. 281v, BB 68, fol. 324v.

immunity from the war contribution, he was in a key position to ensure that the *octroi* on wine was registered. As such, the consuls used gift giving in an attempt to secure his services and they gave Olivier an item of silverware valued at between 5–600 *livres*, which was the same value as the gift they offered Henry II at his inaugural entry four months earlier.[59] Other municipal councils were quicker to rectify oversights in providing the chancellor with gifts. When Francis I entered Pont-Audemer in July 1540, the town council also neglected to offer a present to the chancellor, Guillaume Poyet. The *échevins* regretted this error, particularly as they considered Poyet to be 'amongst the notable people who could help the inhabitants of the town'. As soon as the councillors realised their mistake, they sent a delegation to Vatteville to offer gifts to the chancellor, aware of his power to obtain new liberties for the town.[60]

There was a fine line between legitimate gift giving (which was made in payment for services) and bribery, particularly from the 1540s when there was a growing uncertainty amongst senior royal officials, especially the chancellor, about what types of gifts were appropriate. In the mid-sixteenth century, the Crown placed restrictions on the value and types of gifts that royal officials were permitted to receive; indeed, expensive gifts had to be approved by the king.[61] When Henry II entered Rouen in 1550, the *échevins* offered François Olivier gifts of such value that he spoke to the king before accepting them.[62] When Olivier's predecessor, Guillaume Poyet, refused to accept a golden cup from the consuls of Lyon in 1541, the city paid his close associates to persuade the chancellor to receive their gift, thus binding him to repay the favour.[63] Moreover, the manner in which gifts were presented was crucial: legitimate gifts were made openly and with an audience, whereas bribes were given in secret.[64]

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59 AM Lyon BB 68, fol. 299r.

60 Pont-Audemer's financial accounts, given in Canel, *Histoire de Pont-Audemer*, ii. 35. For Poyet as chancellor, see: Marie Houllemare, 'Guillaume Poyet (v. 1473–1548)', in Michon, *Conseillers de François Ier*, 370–76.

61 *Edict du Roy prohibitif à tous Gouverneurs, leurs Lieutenants, Presidens, Tresoriers, Generaulx, et autres officiers Royaulx, de prendre n'exiger du peuple deniers n'autres presens, sans la permission expresse dudict seigneur Roy* (Paris, 1560). See also: Davis, *The Gift*, 144–45; idem, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, 1987), 10, 153; Hélène Michaud, *La grande chancellerie et les écritures royales au XVIs siècle (1515–1589)* (Paris, 1967), 113, 295.

62 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 16, fol. 116r.

63 Davis, *The Gift*, 144.

64 Algazi, 'Doing Things with Gifts', 84–85; Braake, 'Brokers in the Cities', 169–70; Davis, *The Gift*, 67–84; Sharon Kettering, 'Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France', *French History* 2 (1988), 147–51.

The gifts that towns offered to chancellors at royal entries were not made in public. When Louis XI entered Tours the *échevins* decided to offer their presents to the chancellor 'at his lodging . . . so that that he always recommends the people and business [of the town] towards the king'.[65] Given the concerns surrounding the legality of gifts, François Olivier wanted to gain Henry II's approval that Rouen's expensive present (which was made in his residence and without a wider audience) was a legitimate gift, rather than a bribe.

The efforts the Crown took in the middle decades of the sixteenth century to reform gift giving formed a part of the monarchy's attempt to overhaul the judicial system. Yet, despite the apparent sincerity of these efforts to clamp down on corruption, the distinction between legitimate gift giving (made in return for services) and bribes remained uncertain.[66] In a shrewd move, some municipal councils offered their presents to the chancellor's wife, thus avoiding any negative connotations with gift giving. When Louis XI entered Tournai, the town council gave Philippe de Morvilliers' wife two silver pots in consideration of the efforts her husband the chancellor had taken on behalf of the town.[67] Likewise, at Louis XII's entry into Troyes in 1510 the cathedral chapter (which was trying to obtain new liberties from the king) gave the chancellor a gift through the hands of his wife.[68] Furthermore, the offering of gifts to female relatives of powerful men shows an awareness of practical politics: municipal councils hoped these women would persuade their husbands, brothers and fathers to act in the interests of the town. When Louis XI entered Lyon in 1476, the *échevins* offered ten *aulnes* of velvet cloth to Georgette de Montchenu, wife of Ymbert de Batarnay, lord of Bouchage, 'in compensation for the services and pleasures that the said lord of Bouchange, her husband, has made and can make for the town'.[69] Many people sought Batarnay's services because he was an influential broker and one of Louis XI's most trusted supporters.[70] As well as being one of the king's favourites, Bouchage came from a powerful family,

65 AM Tours BB 10, fol. 347r.

66 Davis, *The Gift*, 146–49.

67 A. de La Grange, 'Extraits des comptes généraux de Tournai, 1463', *Mémoires de la Société littéraire et historique de Tournai* 19 (1885), 62.

68 Léon Pigeotte, *Étude sur les travaux d'achèvement de la cathédrale de Troyes 1450 à 1630* (Paris, 1870), 95.

69 Lehoux and Guenée, *Entrées royales françaises*, 221. Georgette later asked for fifty *écus* instead of the cloth, possibly as this was of more value to her husband: Boulieu, 'Louis XI à Lyon', 411.

70 Lewis, 'Role of Royal Clientèles', 63–64; Bernard de Mandrot, *Ymbert de Batarnay: seigneur de Bouchage, conseiller des rois Louis XI, Charles VIII, Louis XII et François Ier, 1438–1523* (Paris, 1886), 4–11; Potter, *Nation State*, 58–59, 140.

which held extensive lands in the Dauphiné.[71] As this territory bordered Lyon, Bouchage was in a good position to help the city's commercial interests in the region. By offering gifts to the wives of influential men, urban administrations sought to circumvent both the restrictions and the uncertainties around gift giving, and to oblige these powerful individuals to help them.

Royal Secretaries and the Ratification of Urban Grants

The capacity to grant petitions was a crucial attribute of pre-modern kingship. As a potent mark of power and legitimacy, it boosted the monarch's authority. It is striking to note that French kings did not refuse requests brought to them at a royal entry. Occasionally, the king would inform a municipal council that he was delaying his approval for a grant, though such instance were rare and, crucially, he did not reject the petition.[72] It was important that the king showed his subjects he was a benevolent ruler who used his power for their good. By approving petitions, the monarch demonstrated that he possessed to the wealth, authority and legitimacy necessary to dispense grants. It was damaging to the character of the monarchy to refuse a petition, as it could imply that the king lacked the power to grant it. This issue was of fundamental importance to the French Crown because the Valois monarchy's legitimacy to rule was contested regularly between the reigns of Philip VI and Henry III. Nonetheless, having the king's verbal approval of a petition at an entry was not sufficient enough for it to be granted. It was only the beginning of a complex process of negotiation between royal and urban officials in which the king's secretaries played a crucial role.

The royal secretaries developed out of the clerks of the *Grand Chancellerie*, who were employed to perform a range of general administrative tasks

71 M. Harsgor, *Un très petit nombre: des oligarchies dans l'histoire de l'Occident* (Paris, 1994), 168–69.

72 For example, the Catholic leaders of Nîmes petitioned Charles IX at his entry in 1564 for the right to form a consulate. This was a complex case, as the Catholic elite was trying to re-impose its rule over the town's Protestant population. While it was beneficial for Charles to have the town ruled by Catholics, this petition had ramifications for the power and authority of the archbishop of Narbonne, whose jurisdiction extended over the town. The situation was particularly delicate as the see of Narbonne was under the authority of Ippolito II d'Este, who had close links with the Valois monarchy. As Charles only visited Nîmes briefly, he promised to look more closely at the requests when he reached Montpellier: AM Nîmes LL 10.

including the drafting of royal letters.[73] In 1372, Charles V raised the profile of those clerks who had the right to sign documents concerning royal finances and they became known as the *secrétaires des finances*.[74] They were powerful members of the royal household and had constant access to the king.[75] Unlike the higher nobility, who were often called away from court on military or administrative matters, the secretaries accompanied the king wherever he travelled. Given the remit of their work, it was essential that the secretaries were close to the king at all times, day and night, whether he was in a royal palace or on a hunt, progress or campaign.[76] While the royal secretaries began their rise to prominence in the late fourteenth century, they did not become crucial to the granting of urban petitions until the mid-fifteenth century. From the reign of Louis XI, royal secretaries were indispensable to the granting of urban liberties because they evaluated the king's concessions; indeed, the royal secretaries had to counter-sign all grants issued by the king for them to be legal.[77] When Louis XI wanted to issue new liberties to Amiens, he had a copy of this grant authorised by his secretary, Gilles Le Flameng.[78] As we shall see, the emergence of the royal secretaries was part of a process whereby from the mid-fifteenth century political power was being concentrated in the hands of a small group of officials who sat on the king's council.[79]

Royal secretaries became fundamental to ceremonial entries during the second half of the fifteenth century as a consequence of their vital role in both the confirmation of municipal rights and the granting of new liberties. They even travelled with the people the king sent to make entries on his behalf. Charles VII's secretaries were part of the entourage of Jean, count of Dunois, who entered the conquered city of Bordeaux as the Valois monarch's proxy in

73 N. M. Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici* (London, 1962), 2; R. Doucet, *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris, 1948), i. 109–10.

74 Marie-Bernadette Brugière, Henri Gilles and Germain Sicard, *Introduction à l'histoire des institutions françaises des origines à 1792* (Toulouse, 1983), 129; Octave Morel, *La Grande Chancellerie royale et l'expédition des lettres royaux de l'avènement de Philippe de Valois à la fin du XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1900), 69; J. H. Shennan, *Government and Society in France 1461–1661* (Birkenhead, 1969), 40. There were six *sécretaires des finances* by 1400: Michon, 'Conseils et conseillers', 52.

75 André Lapeyre and Remy Scheurer, *Les notaires et sécrétaires du roi sous les règnes de Louis XI, Charles VIII et Louis XII: notices personnelles et généalogies*, 2 vols (Paris, 1978), i. xxvi.

76 Sutherland, *French Secretaries of State*, 16.

77 Sutherland, *French Secretaries of State*, 10.

78 Favier, *Louis XI*, 270.

79 Potter, *Nation State*, 288.

1451.[80] As Bordeaux had been under English rule for three centuries, the French king needed his legal experts to assess the privileges he had sent Dunois to confirm on his behalf. The secretaries' responsibility for the granting of liberties arose from the Crown's need to develop a system whereby experts could consider the full implications of the petitions it received. In other words, the secretaries made sure that grants of rights and liberties were not unduly detrimental to the Crown. Furthermore, as royal secretaries were recruited from provincial royal and municipal administrations, they were experts at analysing urban petitions.

As soon as municipal councils received the king's verbal confirmation of their petitions at an entry, they directed their lawyers to prepare written copies of these requests. Whereas the petitions urban governments made to the monarch were given without elaboration, the written copies handed to the king's secretaries set out both the specific elements of each grant and the reasons why they were seeking the grant. For example, Mâcon's *échevins* petitioned Louis XII for exemption from the *gabelle* at his entry in 1501. As soon as Louis approved their request, the *échevins* drew up a letter explaining to his secretaries that they needed this tax remission due to the decline of the fortunes of the town and its merchants as a result of 'the exactions, oppressions and abuses' caused by the tax farmers who were sent to collect the *gabelle* ('fermiers d'icelles gabelles').[81] In the case of a royal minority, written copies of the petitions were also sent to the regent, who presided over the royal council. When the young Charles VIII made his inaugural entry into Reims in 1484, the municipal council's requests were sent to Anne of Beaujeu.[82] The procedures the Crown developed to issue grants at entries permitted the monarch to sustain the appearance a ruler who was open to receive the petitions of all his subjects. As we saw, French monarchs stood in the shadow of Louis IX, whose reign was looked on as a golden age because of his efforts to allow his subjects access to the king. As well as being open to receive petitions, the king had to be able to grant any request his subjects put to him. In theory, no temporal

80 Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, i. 1004–5. For Charles VII's secretaries, see: Roger G. Little, *The Parlement of Poitiers: War, Government and Politics in France, 1418–1436* (London, 1984), 45–53; G. Tessier and G. Ouy, 'Notaires et secrétaires du roi dans la première moitié du XVe siècle d'après un document inédit', *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques* 2 (1963), 861–90.

81 AM Mâcon BB 22, fols. 39r–41v; Bazin, 'Rois de France à Mâcon', 72–73; B. Rameau, 'Entrée de Louis XII à Mâcon', *Annales de l'Académie de Mâcon. Société des arts, sciences, belles-lettres et agriculture de Saône-et-Loire* 8 (1901), 415.

82 Bartholomé, 'Mémoires de Jean Foulquart', 147.

request lay beyond his power to grant; in practice, it was not feasible to grant all petitions, especially those that went against law or custom. As part of his efforts to remove corruption from the petitioning process, Henry III sought to strip the royal secretaries of their power to approve or decline royal grants. In response to the king's actions, Nicolas de Neufville, his leading *secrétaire d'Etat*, justified this power. He explained to Henry that because it was customary for French kings to approve all petitions, his ancestors had granted the secretaries the power to block any unlawful requests.[83] Hence, the secretaries ensured that good government prevailed over corruption and bribery.

Despite the monarch's appearance of accessibility, the real business of government took place behind the scenes and without the king's involvement. The monarch was the channel through which civic administrations delivered their pleas and ultimately it was the royal secretaries who decided whether or not to approve urban petitions. Royal secretaries held considerable administrative power and they declined any request authorised by the king they considered to be unduly detrimental to the rights and prerogatives Crown. While a Parisian delegation obtained Louis XI's approval for substantial tax remissions at his entry into Poitiers in 1465, the grant was never implemented because the king's officials did not approve it.[84] This was an effective system for the French monarchy as the secretaries formed a barrier between the king and his subjects. At times, the king instructed his royal council not to accept requests rather than decline them in person. For example, during his visit to Lyon in 1548, Henry II directed his councillors to reject the city's petition for tax exemption.[85] On those occasions when urban grants were terminated, the blame could be attributed to royal officials. In other words, the appearance of unlimited and benevolent royal power was undiminished by the rejection of requests.

As the *secrétaires des finances* were indispensable to the operation of the royal government, they were admitted to the sittings of both the *conseil des affaires* and the *conseil privé*. When the role of the *conseil des affaires* declined during the mid-sixteenth century, the secretaries filled the vacuum and increased their authority. The chancellor lost some of his powers to the secretaries in the mid-sixteenth century and the secretaries' signature came to

83 Moreau, 'Mémoires d'estat par Monsieur de Villeroy, conseiller d'état et secrétaire des commandemens des rois Charles IX, Henri III, Henri IV, et de Louys XIII', in J.-F. Michaud and J.-J. F. Poujoulat, *Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe*, 1st series, 11 vols (Paris, 1838), xi. 108.

84 *Chronique Scandeleuse*, i, 36; Johnes, *Monstrelet*, x. 373.

85 AM Lyon BB 67, fol. 281v.

supersede the chancellor's seal in the issuing of grants.[86] In 1547, Henry II raised the principal *secrétaires des finances* to the position of *secretaires d'État*. By the mid-sixteenth century the secretaries effectively embodied the executive power of the French state. In 1563, the English ambassador to France, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, considered Claude de L'Aubespine, *secrétaire des finances*, to be one of the most influential people in the kingdom. He informed Elizabeth I that L'Aubespine 'principally governs the Queen Mother [Catherine de Medici]', who was then regent of the kingdom.[87]

We can track the political ascendancy of the royal secretaries by examining municipal accounts detailing expenditure on royal entries. The mid-fifteenth century expansion in gift giving reflected France's move towards an increasingly bureaucratic style of monarchy. Urban financial documents detail the array of payments that municipal administrations made to the members of the king's household. While the six offices of the French king's household were in place by the early fourteenth century, the court was not a static entity and the influence of the different offices rose or declined over time.[88] The shifting internal power networks of the royal household are made clear in urban accounts, as municipal councils gave the most expensive gifts to the people who had most influence with the monarch. Payments to royal secretaries are rare before 1450; indeed, payments to any administrative official beyond the very top rung of royal officers (such as the chancellor) were uncommon. During the fourteenth century, municipal governments tended to restrict their payments to those officials who controlled access to the royal chambers.[89] When Charles VI entered Mâcon in 1389, the *échevins* offered gifts to his *valets de chambre*,

86 Michon, 'Conseils et conseillers', 51–52; Doucet, *Institutions de la France*, i. 104–9.

87 Joseph Stevenson, *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1563* (London, 1869), 542; Sutherland, *French Secretaries of State*, 112.

88 Élisabeth Lalou, 'Le fonctionnement de l'hôtel du roi du milieu du XIIIe au milieu du XIVe siècle', in Jean Chapelot, ed., *Vincennes aux origines de l'état moderne: acts du colloque scientifique sur "Les Capétiens et Vincennes au Moyen Age"* (Paris, 1996), 145; Bernard Guenée, *States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe*, trans. Juliet Vale (Oxford, 1985), 78. See also: Élisabeth Lalou, 'Hôtel du roi', *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 5 (1991), 140–41; idem, 'Les ordonnances de l'hôtel des derniers Capetiens directs', in H. Kruse and W. Paravincini, eds., *Höfe und Horfordnungen, 1200–1600. 5. Symposium der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Sigmaringen, 5–8 Oktober 1996* (Stuttgart, 1999), 91–101; Jules Viard, 'L'hôtel de Philippe VI de Valois', *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes* 55 (1894), 474–87.

89 Aware of their power, the king's ushers offered to admit municipal delegations into the royal residences in return for a cash payment: Lewis, 'Centre and Periphery', 40–41.

who controlled access the king's rooms.[90] Before the early fifteenth century, gaining access to the king was often sufficient to have petitions accorded; however, by the end of the century, towns had to make payments to a range of household staff and administrative officials in order to obtain these grants. When Anne of Brittany entered Tours, the municipal council gave gifts of hippocras to the 'financial officers and other great lords and officers of the king' for the efforts they had taken on behalf of the town.[91] Likewise, the rulers of the Italian cities which came under French rule after 1494 also knew the importance of offering gifts to the French king's principal officials. When Louis XII entered Genoa in 1502, the city council gave gifts to a number of key household officials, with the largest (300 ducats) going to Florimond Robertet, the king's principal secretary. The extent of Genoa's gift giving to the officers of the king's household was so substantial that André de La Vigne (who accompanied Louis on this progress) noted 'there were few officers in the king's household who were not enriched by the gifts of the Genovese'.[92] While the city had just come under French rule, the rulers of Genoa understood that they needed to make such gifts if they wanted their petitions to be successful.[93]

The wages and social status of the royal secretaries increased steadily during the last decades of the fifteenth century. An examination of urban records reflects this rise and reveals a clear expansion in the payments made to royal secretaries from the 1480s. At Charles VIII's entry into Pont-Audemer in November 1487, for the first time the gifts accorded to the *secrétaires des finances* were second only to those given to the chancellor.[94] In 1485, Charles VIII granted the privilege of ennoblement to the *secrétaires des finances* and their descendants were made eligible for entry into any chivalric order after four generations.[95] The secretaries' consolidation of political power during the later fifteenth century is perhaps best represented by the career of Florimond Robertet. Rising to prominence under Charles VIII as *secrétaire des finances*, Robertet used this position to become a 'veritable minister of finances', before going on to take effective control of the government during the reigns

90 Bazin, 'Rois de France à Mâcon', 60.

91 AM Tours AA 4.

92 Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, i. 710–11.

93 For Louis XII's rule at Genoa, see: Steven A. Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese 958–1528* (Chapel Hill and London, 1996), 312–13.

94 See the financial accounts given in: Canel, *Histoire de Pont-Audemer*, ii. 30–31.

95 Lapeyre and Scheurer, *Notaires et sécrétaires du roi*, i. xx.

of Louis XII and Francis I.[96] As the career of Florimond Robertet illustrates, royal secretaries provided a thread of continuity across the reigns of successive monarchs.[97] While kings and their favourites came and went, the secretaries remained in office. Furthermore, evidence from municipal accounts shows a steady increase in secretarial power under the later Valois monarchs. Significantly, by the mid-sixteenth century the gifts towns offered royal secretaries were no longer classified under the rubric of payments made to the king's domestic staff.[98] Rather, the secretaries' social status had increased to the point where they were given the most expensive wine (the *vin d'honneur*), which was customarily reserved for the most important members of the royal entourage. For example, the four principal royal secretaries were amongst the select few who were given high-status wine at Charles IX's entry into Mâcon in 1564.[99]

The longevity of their office and the importance of their position encouraged urban governments to try and construct relationships with the secretaries at royal entries.[100] In some cases, there were family links between royal secretaries and civic governments, particularly during the late fifteenth century, when urban elites began to use service in municipal administrations as a stepping-stone to advancement in the royal administration.[101] As David Rivaud has shown, mayors of some towns were drafted into the royal administration during the late fifteenth century.[102] Indeed, Nicolle Chartier, who was both a royal secretary and the mayor of Tours, was instrumental in planning Anne of Brittany's entry into the town in 1491, as was the Rouennais *échevin* and royal secretary, Pierre du Couldray, for Henry II's entry into Rouen in 1550.[103]

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96 Lapeyre and Scheurer, *Notaires et sécrétaires du roi*, i. xxiii. See also: Sutherland, *French Secretaries of State*, 11. For the career of Florimond Robertet, see: Léon Marlet, 'Florimond Robertet, son rôle à la cour et ses missions diplomatiques', *Revue des questions historiques* 47 (1890), 472–536; G. Robertet, *Les Robertet au XVIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris, 1888); Michon, 'Conseils et conseillers', 53–54.

97 The secretaries Guillaume Bochetel and Claude de L'Aubespine were amongst the few to survive the transition of power from Francis I to Henry II in 1547: Michon, 'Conseils et conseillers', 54.

98 See, for example, the financial accounts detailing Abbeville's expenditure on Eleanor of Austria's entry in 1531: Ledieu, 'Élénore d'Autriche à Abbeville', 64–66.

99 AM Mâcon BB 39, fols. 93r–94r.

100 Chevalier, 'King's Council', 112; idem, 'Pouvoir urbain et pouvoir royal à Tours pendant la guerre de Cent Ans', *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 81 (1974), 698–99.

101 Chevalier, *Bonnes villes*, 135.

102 Rivaud, *Villes et le roi*, 81–82.

103 AM Tours AA 4; Wintroub, *A Savage Mirror*, 86.

As many royal secretaries were drawn from the bourgeoisie, they were in a good position to promote urban concerns with the Crown. After he became a secretary to Louis XI, Thomas Berbisey advanced the affairs of his family, which dominated Dijon's municipal council.[104] Likewise, the great families from Tours who monopolised the senior financial positions in the royal government at the end of the fifteenth century used their power to advance the commercial activities of their brothers and cousins.[105] Yet the actions of men such as Berbisey were driven by family interest rather than by a wider championing of urban power. One of the major social shifts of the fifteenth century (which Fernand Braudel memorably termed the 'treason of the bourgeois') was the trend by elite bourgeois families to leave their commercial activities behind in favour of landholding, which brought honour, social mobility and tax exemption.[106] In return for their service to the Crown, the *sécrétaries des finances* received lands and property close to the centres of royal power, especially around the Île-de-France and Loire valley.[107] As these secretarial families moved away from commercial pursuits and married into other landholding families, they had no personal interest in promoting urban concerns.

The establishment of administrative dynasties accelerated the social gulf that was opening up between the secretaries and the bourgeoisie. The ordinance issued by Louis XI in 1482 granting royal secretaries the right to resign their office in favour of a son or son-in-law allowed families such as the Robertet to dominate the higher offices of the royal administration for generations.[108] In addition, the secretaries consolidated their position through intermarriage. For example, Robert Gedoyn succeeded his father-in-law, Jean Robineau, as royal secretary in 1526, before passing on his position to François Robertet (who was a son of Florimond Robertet). Indeed, the Robertet household provided several prominent royal secretaries, including Gilles Bayard, Jean Breton and most notably Guillaume Bochetel.[109] As the secretaries constructed dynasties that were based around royal service, the fortunes of their families were dependent

104 Dauphant, *Royaume*, 357.

105 Chevalier, *Bonnes villes*, 140; Harsgor, *Oligarchies*, 187–96.

106 Fernand Braudel, *La méditerranée et le monde méditerranéan à l'époque de Philippe II*, 2nd edition, 2 vols (Paris, 1966), ii. 68.

107 Lapeyre and Scheurer, *Notaires et sécretaires*, i. ix. For an image of the scale of the residences given to royal secretaries, see the painting of the château of Le Plessis Bourré, which belonged to Louis XI's secretary Jean Bourré: Ladurie, *French Royal State*, 18.

108 Lapeyre and Scheurer, *Notaires et sécretaires*, i. xviii.

109 Michon, 'Conseils et conseillers', 54, 77. For Bochetel's career, see Thierry Rentet, 'Gullaume Bochetel (?–1558)', in Michon, *Conseillers de François Ier*, 583–87; Bruno Garnier, 'Guillaume Bochetel (?–1558): l'irrésistible ascension d'un lettré de province

on the maintenance of the king's authority. In return for royal advancement, the secretaries worked to promote the power of the monarchy.

In 1531, Francis I appointed his *secrétaire des finances*, Guillaume Bochetel, to prepare an account of the inaugural entry of his second wife, Eleanor of Austria, into Paris.[110] In this work, which was published soon after the event, Bochetel presents his readers with a ceremony that was unquestionably a manifestation of monarchical power rather than a moment of dialogue between city and Crown. For the most part, his record of the ceremony emphasises the rigid social stratification observed during the procession and post-entry banquet. This was a world in which every person knew his or her place in the hierarchy that underpinned the Crown's conception of the French state. Although Bochetel refers to the gift presentation, he does not mention the requests that Paris's *échevins* brought to the queen. The interaction between the queen and the city, particularly with regard to the welcoming speech and gift presentation, is entirely absent from Bochetel's work. However, the city's municipal deliberations tell us that Eleanor spoke to the *échevins*, promising to hold Paris 'always in good and recommended memory' and 'to make pleasure to this town'.[111] In contrast, Bochetel finishes his account of the gift-giving ceremony by presenting it as an offering 'to the praise of the queen, and [the] devotion of the Parisians towards her'.[112] There is no sense of the reciprocal obligations the gift giving placed on the queen; rather, for Bochetel's readers, the *échevins'* gift symbolised the city's devotion to the Crown. Bochetel's deliberate attempt to emphasise the submissive role of the city is especially striking when we remember that as a royal secretary he would have been intimately acquainted with the reciprocal nature of gift giving at entries. Bochetel's portrayal of Eleanor of Austria's entry is an example of the slippage between the urban elite's conception of an entry as a moment of dialogue between town and Crown and how the event was presented to a wider audience in the commemorative works published after the entry.

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sous François Ier', in Stéphan Geonget, ed., *Bourges à la Renaissance: Hommes de lettres et hommes de lois* (Paris, 2011), 343–65.

110 For the literary works produced by the secretaries of the king, see: Sylvie Charton-Le Clech, *Chancellerie et culture au XVIe siècle* (*les notaires et secrétaires du roi de 1515 à 1547*) (Toulouse, 1993), 269–85.

111 Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*, 105, 117.

112 *Lentree de la Royne en sa ville & Cite de Paris, Imprimee par le Commandement du Roy nostre Sire* (Paris, 1531), p. 21. For the career of Guillaume Bochetel see: Vittorivo Comparato, 'Guillaume Bochetel, secrétaire d'Etat (?–1558)', in Mousnier, *Conseil du roi*, 105–29.

By the mid-sixteenth century, the *secrétaires des finances* were at the centre of government. Their dominant role in the *conseil privé* was of particular importance for civic administrations because this council travelled with the king and oversaw the issuing of petitions. Shortly after Henry II's coronation, Paris's *échevins* stated that it was necessary to bring the city's business to the attention of the king and the *conseil privé*.[113] As it was difficult for urban administrations to gain admittance to meetings of the *conseil privé*, those household officials who regulated access to its sittings could offer their services to civic leaders. In advance of Henry II's entry in Amiens in 1558, the *capitaine de la porte du roi*, who controlled access to the king's lodging while on progress, solicited the municipal council for a golden key at the king's entry. In return for this gift, the captain offered to admit the *échevins* to a sitting of the *conseil privé*, where they could speak to its members about the city's business.[114] This was an attractive offer for the *échevins*, who decided to offer the gift to the captain. Access to the sitting of the *conseil privé* allowed municipal councils to explain the necessity of their requests directly to the royal secretaries and other council members.

The king rarely attended the daily sittings of the *conseil privé*, which is highlighted by the fact its *arrêts* were largely made 'by the king in his council', in contrast to 'the king being in his council', which was used when the monarch was present. While the chancellor presided over the *conseil privé* in the absence of the king, the secretaries made the decisions regarding petitions.[115] It is significant that while Lyon's council declined to give the chancellor a gift at Henry II's entry in 1548, they offered high-quality wine to Jean de La Chesnaye, who was a royal secretary and the *controleur général des finances*. The town council even approached La Chesnaye's *sommelier* to learn what his favourite type of wine was. In return for this gift, the consuls wanted La Chesnaye to persuade the *conseil privé* to grant the petition for tax exemption they planned to submit at Henry's entry.[116] Once the secretaries had decided what petitions to approve, the grants were written down a roll and brought to the king to sign. Following his entry into Agen on 23 March 1565, Charles IX verbally confirmed the town's request for annual elections of the consuls. These requests were then

113 Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, i. 298.

114 AM Amiens BB 31, fol. 124v; A. Dubois, *Entrées royales et princières dans Amiens pendant les 15e & 16e siècles* (Amiens, 1868), 44.

115 Michon, 'Conseils et conseillers', 36.

116 AM Lyon BB 67, fol. 243v.

brought the royal secretaries, who approved and registered them before the king left the town on 27 March.[117]

Civic administrations were required to pay royal secretaries to ensure that this process was completed. When Louis XII entered Pontoise on 28 October 1508, he granted the town council the right to collect the profits on the sale of salt for eight years. In order to have the king's grant ratified, the *échevins* were obliged to make a number of payments. First, they paid 18 *écus* to Florimond Robertet, the *général des finances*. Second, they made a payment of 25 *livres* 10 *sous* to have the correct seals put on the documents. The use of green wax was crucial as it showed the clerks of *Cour des Aides* (where the final grant was registered) that the secretaries had ratified the king's concession.[118] Third, the *échevins* paid 4 *livres* 12 *sous* 'for the verification of the said letters'. Finally, once Robertet had approved their petition, Pointoise's leaders had to pay a further 3 *livres* 12 *sous* to his clerks to have them registered.[119] The king's grant of the salt tax was only official once all the stages in this process were complete.

These payments (which were made in addition to the gifts of wine) formed part of the profits which royal secretaries could legally make on all the grants they issued. From 1389, the secretaries had the right to claim 5 *sous* on all charters they sealed with green wax (as well as the right to food and lodgings for themselves and their servants).[120] However, this system was open to abuse and officials could demand additional payments from town councils to confirm royal grants. When Louis XI entered Lyon in 1474, he approved the city's petition to compel townspeople who possessed properties and estates in the surrounding countryside to contribute towards the *taille* for these lands. This was part of a long-running dispute with local villages regarding the payment of the *taille* on the rural properties owned by the city's bourgeois. This issue was becoming more common in France from the late fifteenth century because increasing numbers of wealthy townspeople were moving into landholding. As David Potter had observed, exemption from this tax generated great bitterness because it placed an additional financial burden on the native rural population, which was already heavy as a result of the widespread exemptions from

117 Auguste, *Inventaire sommaire, Agen*, 29.

118 For the sealing of such documents, see: Barbiche, 'Gardes des sceaux', 359–90; Roland Mousnier, *The Institutions of France under the Absolute Monarchy 1598–1789. Vol. II: The Organs of State and Society* (London, 1984), 136–38.

119 J. Depoin, 'Entrée de Louis XII et d'Anne de Bretagne à Pointoise, 1508', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 2 (1875), 167–68.

120 Davis, *The Gift*, 144; idem, *Fiction in the Archives*, 10, 153; Michaud, *Grande chancellerie*, 113, 295.

the *taille* urban governments obtained at royal entries.[121] Yet, as this example reveals, townspeople's exemption from *taille* payments on their rural properties was also a matter of some concern for urban governments. It was of particular interest to Lyon's consuls because the townspeople who purchased land in the countryside had it taxed at their principal urban residence. Although this move was to the detriment of the rural population, it benefitted municipal governments because as Daniel Hickey has observed 'it widened the tax base of the town without increasing its assessment and therefore lowered the *taille* rate for each unit of town property value'.[122] While the *taille* in the south was largely assessed by the status of the land (*taille réele* – see chapter 2), Lyon's merchants insisted on the *taille* being assessed on terms of social status from the late fifteenth century. By claiming exemption from the *taille* for these properties, Lyon's land-holding merchants also increased the tax burden that fell on the rest of the city's population, especially other members of the elite. This was particularly serious when a town or city had not already secured a *taille* exemption, as Lyon had not in 1474.

As the Crown received numerous appeals about individual *taille* exemption, it was crucial that city councils capitalised on the access they had to the king and his officials at an entry to have the matter settled in their favour. Certainly, Lyon's consuls worked to ensure that Louis XI's officials ratified his grant so that they could continue to collect the tax from urban landholders.[123] On 5 May 1476, the consuls paid six *écus* to the royal secretaries Estienne Petit and Loys Daniel and their clerks 'for having drawn up, corrected and written out the final version' of the king's grants. In addition to these payments, they offered smaller sums of money and gifts of cloth to Aynard Eschat to have Guillaume Le Picard (*général des finances de Normandie*) check the letters detailing the awards the king had verbally granted them. While this process ensured that the letters they submitted to the royal officers were in order, the grants were only legal once they had obtained the correct seals. Aware of the uncompromising situation that Lyon's rulers were in, the king's *audiencier, contrôleur* and royal secretaries steadily increased the money they demanded from Lyon's consuls in 1476 to have the necessary seals placed on the documents. Although the consuls considered these sums to be 'excessive and exorbitant', there was little they could do but make these additional payments, otherwise all the

121 Potter, *Nation State*, 152.

122 D. Hickey, *The Coming of French Absolutism. The Struggle for Tax Reform in the Province of Dauphiné, 1540–1640* (Toronto, 1986), 20.

123 Watson, 'Friends at Court', 282.

expense and effort they had taken for the entry would be lost.[124] Urban governments complained about the financial cost of obtaining the confirmation of their liberties; indeed, the widespread corruption amongst the royal officials who ratified municipal liberties was condemned at the Estates General held at Tours in 1484.[125]

As royal visits were often short, it was not always possible for urban administrations to complete all the stages of the grant verification process before the king's departure, even during longer stays in larger cities. Although Henry II gave Rouen the right to levy a number of *aides* at his entry in 1550, the municipal council had to send a delegation to follow the royal household to Dieppe to obtain the ratification of these grants. As the royal council did not meet in Dieppe they were forced to continue their journey to Vatteville, where the chancellor finally ratified their grants at a meeting of the *conseil privé* held on 25 December 1550 – almost seven weeks after the king had initially granted their requests.[126] Small towns faced further complications in obtaining the ratification of royal grants because they often lacked lawyers with the necessary expertise to draw up the petitions that were submitted to royal secretaries for inspection. In such cases, the municipal council's key concern was to ensure that they obtained the king's verbal approval of a grant at the entry, which they could pursue with his secretaries later. The rulers of the small Limousin towns of Brive-la-Gaillarde and Uzerche obtained grants from Louis XI during his 1463 progress. As the king's visits to Brive and Uzerche were brief, the consuls of both towns sent representatives to follow the court to the provincial capital of Limoges, where they hired lawyers to draft the letters for the royal secretaries. As these documents took some time to prepare, the municipal delegations had to follow the royal cortege to Amboise, where they were able to have their grants confirmed and sealed in green wax.[127]

In order to accelerate the process – and to make sure that they received the grants before the king left their town and passed out of their control – some town councils brought details of their petitions to royal officials in advance of a royal entry. Before Henry II entered Rouen in 1550, the town council approached the members of the royal council and informed them about the tenor of the petitions they planned to bring to the king at his entry.[128] There

124 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 223.

125 Jean Masselin, *Journal des état-généraux tenus à Tours en 1484, sous le règne de Charles VIII*, ed. A. Bernier (Paris, 1835), 684–85.

126 Beaurepaire, *Inventaire sommaire, Rouen*, 172.

127 Jean-Paul Lartigue, *Louis XI en Bas-Limousin 1463* (Brive, 1963), 16.

128 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 16, fol. 116r.

were two principal benefits to entering into pre-entry negotiations with royal officials. First, it was a sensible and effective means of reducing uncertainly in the process of petitioning. Second, it sped up the ratification of the grants by cutting down the time it took royal secretaries to inspect the grants. When Troyes' municipal council learned that Louis XII planned to make an entry into the town in 1510, the *échevins* decided to seek the abolition of a tax. Aware of the potential difficulties with this request, the councillors brought the details to the chancellor and the *géneraux des finances* (who were often royal secretaries) for inspection before they approached the king. Louis's officers found that the abolition of the tax was unreasonable, given that it generated between 800 *livres* and 1000 *livres* annually for the Crown. As a result of this ruling, Troyes' rulers entered into negotiations with royal officials to devise petitions that would be mutually acceptable for town and Crown. Louis's officers told the *échevins* that if they continued to farm the tax on behalf of the Crown, the king would grant Troyes a free fair of fifteen days. This grant gave the municipal council the chance to put Troyes back on the commercial map, as Lyon had supplanted the fairs of Champagne in the fifteenth century. The *échevins* brought their requests to Louis, who approved them, and with no further delay the grants were drawn up, sealed and registered at the *Cour des Aides*.[129] These strategies allowed towns to successfully negotiate with the Crown regarding grants while they still had access and direct contact with the king and his principal ministers. Once the court had moved on to another town, the costs and difficulties of having grants registered – even when they already had been made – increased substantially. In order to gain as much contact as possible with the king and his leading officials (and thus speed up the grant-awarding process), municipal councils sought the assistance of the servants and lesser officials who travelled with the royal party.

Domestiques et Commensaux du Roi

Although the king's household included the most senior officials in the kingdom, an array of lower officers and domestic servants formed the bulk of the *Domestiques et Commensaux du Roi*.[130] These men and women cared for the physical and spiritual needs of the king, and included physicians, apothecaries and musicians, as well as porters, washerwomen and quartermasters.

129 Babeau, *Rois de France à Troyes*, 24–25.

130 Forty-three distinct categories of household staff are listed in the *estat* of the king's household compiled in 1536: Zeller, *Institutions*, 101.

Despite forming the greater part of the royal household, historians have overlooked the vital role that these officials and servants played in linking the courtly and urban worlds during a provincial progress. They were particularly important for urban administrations because the nature of their tasks (which included securing the king's lodgings and provisions) brought them into contact with a wide range of urban groups.

While payments to the king's domestic staff are apparent from the late fourteenth century, the extent of these sums remained modest until the mid-fifteenth century, largely due to the small size of the Valois court.[131] For example, the only payments Mâcon made to Charles VI's household staff at his entry in 1389 were fifty *sous* to his *valets de chambre* (see above) and ten *sous* to his minstrels.[132] Yet the range of these payments increased steadily as a consequence of the steady growth in the size of French king's household from the mid-fifteenth century. While ninety officers served Louis XI in 1465, three hundred and sixty-six people tended to his son, Charles VIII. The size of the king's household exceeded one thousand people during the reign of Henry II – and it continued to grow under his successors.[133] As household expenditure swelled when the size of the court grew, the French king increasingly insisted that civic councils were obliged to cover these costs during a royal visit. The Valois monarchy reduced its household expenditure by embarking on a progress, as this allowed it to place the costs of feeding the household on the towns and cities of the kingdom.[134] Once the court drained a town of its resources, it moved on to another. The English ambassador who accompanied Charles IX on progress remarked that the monarch left Toulouse on 19 March 1565 after a stay of forty-six days because food was running short in the city.[135] The Valois court then travelled to Bordeaux where the costs of feeding the royal household almost led to the city's financial collapse.[136] By travelling from town to

131 Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Major Dynastic Rivals, 1550–1780* (Cambridge, 2003), 30–31.

132 Bazin, 'Rois de France à Macon', 60.

133 Monique Chatenet, *La cour de France au XVIe siècle: vie sociale et architecture* (Paris, 2002), 26–27; Yvonne Labande-Mailfert, *Charles VIII et son milieu, 1470–1498: la jeunesse au pouvoir* (Paris, 1975), 139–44. In 1584, the size of Henry III's household stood at 1094: Jacqueline Boucher, *La cour de Henri III* (Rennes, 1986), 359–79.

134 Solnon, *Cour de France*, 19.

135 Hector de la Ferrière, ed., *Le XVIe siècle et les Valois d'après les documents inédits du British Museum et du Record Office* (Paris, 1879), 183. Out of the 30,000 *livres* Toulouse spent on Charles IX's entry, 12,000 *livres* went towards the costs of feeding the king's entourage: Vaillancourt, *Entrées solennelles, Charles IX*, 15.

136 Solnon, *Cour de France*, 57.

town, the monarch was able to sustain the appearance of largesse and liberality without incurring the financial cost.

In particular, municipal authorities were required to provide subsistence to the *Domestiques et Commensaux du Roi* – the permanent members of the king's household who possessed table rights. The increased emphasis on civic responsibility to pay for the upkeep of royal staff is reflected in the language of urban financial accounts. Under Louis XI, payments were made to members of the king's household staff 'for the honour and love of the king'.[137] By the reign of Charles VIII, however, royal officers increasingly asserted that these were customary payments rather than voluntary grants made in honour of the king's presence. When Charles VIII entered Pont-Audemer in 1487, his *hérault d'armes* claimed 4 *livres* 5 *sous* from the *échevins* as their right at a royal entry ('pour leur droit de l'entrée du roi').[138] This was a key phrase and it was used throughout the sixteenth century. When Henry II entered Mâcon in 1548, the *échevins* paid his household staff a sum of money 'for a certain right which they say they have at each entry'.[139] The household's staff insistence on their right to these payments became especially pronounced during the reign of Francis I, who attempted to slash royal expenditure by limiting access to table rights.[140] When Mantes' town council failed to pay the customary sums to the members of Eleanor of Austria's household in 1536, the disgruntled officials demanded six *écus* from the *échevins*, claiming they were entitled to this sum each time the king or queen ceremonially entered a town.[141]

Municipal councils attending an entry in a neighbouring town could also choose to make these payments to household staff. On 29 March 1492, Pont-Audemer's *échevins* sent a delegation to Honfleur to attend the entry of Louis, duke of Orléans, and offer their petitions. Pont-Audemer's financial accounts note that the *échevins* gave four *écus* 'to the quartermasters, trumpeters, heralds and chamber guards of the lord, being at the entry, as they say they are accustomed to take from the good towns where the lord makes his entry'.[142] Despite the claims of Louis's staff, the municipal council was not obliged to

137 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 198.

138 Michelin, 'Pont-Audemer', i. 260. See also: Canel, *Histoire de Pont-Audemer*, i. 31. Likewise, Charles's staff made similar claims at his entry into Évreux in 1485: Benet, 'Charles VIII à Evreux', 170.

139 Bazin, 'Rois de France à Macon', 81.

140 Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 31; Potter, *Nation State*, 70.

141 Alphonse and Eugène Grave, *La Chronique de Mantes; ou histoire de Mantes depuis IXe siècle jusqu'à la Révolution* (Mantes, 1883), 313.

142 Given in Canel, *Histoire de Pont-Audemer*, i. 43. They had to make further payments when Louis of Orléans entered Pont-Audemer later that year: Michelin, 'Pont-Audemer', iii. 104.

cover the expenses of the duke's officials as he was not entering Pont-Audemer; this was the responsibility of Honfleur's *échevins*. Nonetheless, it was in Pont-Audemer's interests to make these payments because Louis was emerging as one of the most powerful figures in the kingdom in 1492. Not only had Charles VIII pardoned Louis for rebelling against the Crown in the 1480s, he had also made him governor of Normandy.[143] As such, it was desirable for municipal councils situated in his *gouvernment*, such as Pont-Audemer, to gain contact with the duke. Given the central role that members of the household staff played in providing access to those in power, they were able to demand these payments from municipal councils. Indeed, the value of the payments made by Pont-Audemer became clear when the duke of Orléans ascended to the throne as Louis XII in 1498.

There was a difference between the status of the gifts offered to senior officials in the royal administration and the payments accorded to domestic staff. In contrast to the gifts of wine and silverware handed over to people such as the chancellor and the *sécretaires des finances*, cash payments to servants and lower household officials were not given with the expectation of reciprocity. In pre-modern French the noun 'gift' (*don*) and the verb 'to give' (*donner*) were used when the gift giving implied an exchange. As Alain Guéry notes, 'a reciprocal relationship is contained in the original meaning of the word gift'.[144] Tournai's financial accounts for Louis XI's entry in 1463 illustrate the distinction between the two types of gifts. Tournai's treasurer used the word 'don' when detailing the luxury gifts of food, wine and silverware that the *échevins* gave to those people in Louis's entourage who had influence with the monarch, including the chancellor, Pierre de Morvilliers, and the king's brother, Charles, duke of Berry. In return for the provision of these gifts, Tournai's municipal council expected the chancellor and duke to perform services for the city. In contrast, the payments to the staff of the royal household ('gens et privez serviteurs de l'Ostel du roy') were 'distributed by form of courtesy'.[145] In other words, the receipt of these gifts did not oblige the beneficiary to reciprocate.

Nonetheless, the provision of payments to domestic staff promised to benefit municipal councils. The people who filled the lower positions of the

143 Knecht, *Renaissance France*, 29.

144 Alain Guéry, 'Le roi dépensier. Le don, la contrainte, et l'origine du système financier de la monarchie française d'Ancien Régime', *Annales E.S.C.* 39 (1984), 1243. See also: Émile Benveniste, 'Don et échange dans le vocabulaire indo-européen', in Émile Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, 2 vols (Paris, 1979–80), ii. 315–26; Mauss, *The Gift*, 37–41.

145 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 198.

royal household pursued a range of occupations that were indispensable to the running of the court and they were permitted to reside at court permanently. Although the social status of the recipient partly determined the size of the payments, municipal councils targeted those members of the household staff who could provide access to the king. In the fifteenth century, municipal councils gave the most substantial sums of money to the king's personal guard (*hussiers*). When Charles VII entered Rouen in 1449, the town council made payments to all the members of the king's household but 'especially to the *huissiers d'armes*'.[146] As the *hussiers* guarded the king and controlled the access to his chambers, they were able to admit municipal councils into his presence to offer him their petitions. In addition to the *hussiers*, municipal councils targeted royal confessors with substantial gifts in the fifteenth century. This was an intelligent choice because confessors had regular and intimate access to the royal family, while their power over the king's spiritual wellbeing placed them in a privileged position to influence royal policy.[147] Confessors often had links with municipal administrations, which made them good go-betweens.[148]

During the second half of the fifteenth century, the power of the *huissiers* waned as other groups superseded them. In particular, municipal councils began allocate the highest payments to the *fourrière* (the office of the quartermaster), which prepared the king's lodgings in advance of his arrival in the town.[149] The quartermasters (*fourriers*) were key officials for urban

146 Beaucourt, *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, i. 243; Courteault and Celier, *Chronique de Charles VII*, ii. 328.

147 For payments to confessors, see: Leroux, 'Passages de Charles VII', 307–8; Tricard, 'Entrées royales à Limoges', 407; Douët-d'Arcq, *Chronique de Monstrelet*, iv. 24; AM Orange BB 8, fol. 104r. For the influence confessors held with early modern monarchs, see: Magdalena S. Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun: Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain* (Balitmore and London, 1998), 16–21; Benoist Pierre, 'Le clergé de cour et la décision politique dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle', in Claerr and Poncet, *Prise de décision*, 54–62; Joseph Bergin, 'L'essor du confessor du roi au XVIIe siècle', in Denis Lopez, Charles Mazouer and Éric Suire, eds., *La religion des élites* (Tübingen, 2008), 111–26; Joseph Bergin, 'The royal confessor and his rivals in seventeenth-century France', *French History* 21 (2007), 187–204.

148 For example, Francis I sent his confessor to Rouen's town council with royal letters in May 1512: AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 10, fol. 105r.

149 Though the *hussiers* and *portiers* remained important officials for towns to target as they continued to control access to the royal chambers. When Francis II and Mary Stuart entered Tours in 1560, the municipal council paid 13 *écus* (32 *livres* 10 *sous*) to their *hussiers* and *portiers*: AM Tours CC 77.

governments as they organised the court's lodgings.[150] The importance that municipal councils attached to the *fourriers* is illustrated by the fact that while the *écurie* (stable) was the most senior office in the French king's household by the sixteenth century, the largest payments were given to the *fourriers*. When Francis I entered Évreux on 9 September 1517, his *fourriers* received fifteen *écus* (450 *livres*), which was the largest single sum paid to the king's household staff.[151] At the previous royal entry into the town (Charles VIII in 1485), the *fourriers* only received 3 *écus* (90 *livres*).[152] The *fourrière* maintained its dominant position throughout the sixteenth century. When Henry II entered Amiens in 1558, the king's *fourriers* continued to receive the greatest sums of money (10 *écus*) from the *échevins*.[153] The same was true for the entries of the queen of France. At Eleanor of Austria's entry into Abbeville, the *fourriers* received the highest payments of the queen's domestic servants, while Tours' municipal council gave the *fourriers* of Francis II and Mary Stuart 20 *écus* (50 *livres*) in 1560 because they were accustomed to receive this amount at the king's entries.[154]

The *fourriers* were given these high payments because they provided a vital link between Crown and town. As the *fourriers* preceded the king's arrival in a town by several days in order to organise the lodgings for the royal party, they had extensive contact with civic officials in the run up to an entry. Municipal councils used this time to develop friendly links with the *fourriers* by providing them with high-quality food and drink that went beyond the customary payments they received at an entry. For instance, in the days leading up to Louis XII's entry into Dijon in 1501, the municipal council spent the considerable sum of 55 *livres* entertaining the king's *fourriers*. To put this into perspective, the civic administration's expenditure on the *fourriers* in advance of the entry was only three *livres* less than the total cost of the gifts and provisions they offered to all the other members of Louis XII's domestic staff during his visit to the town.[155] Similarly, Abbeville's municipal council paid the sum of 36 *livres* 15 *sous* 3 *deniers* to the innkeeper Nicholas de Broustelles and the cook Jehan Mourrier 'for the expenses made by the *maréchal des logis* and *fourriers* of the king and queen' during the four days they spent in the town organising

150 Vaillancourt, *Entrées solennelles, Charles IX*, 56. For an outline of the *fourriers*' duties for a royal entry, see: Varin, *Archives administratives, Reims*, ii. 564.

151 AM Évreux CC 52, no. 82.

152 Benet, 'Charles VIII à Evreux', 171.

153 AM Amiens BB 24, fol. 288r.

154 Ledieu, 'Élénore d'Autriche à Abbeville', 65; AM Tours CC 77.

155 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, ii. 6. See also: Ledieu, 'Élénore d'Autriche à Abbeville', 72; AM Mâcon BB 22, fol. 89r.

residences for the royal entourage.[156] Indeed, urban administrations treated the *fourriers* more akin to the elite officials who travelled with the king (such as the chancellor), rather than domestic staff.

In return for treating the *fourriers* favourably, municipal councils hoped to influence the lodgings they chose for the principal members of the royal entourage. In preparation for Louis XII's entry into Troyes on 21 July 1500, an urban delegation accompanied the king's *fourriers* as they marked out the residences designated to receive the monarch and the most important members of his entourage.[157] Likewise, when Charles VIII entered Pont-Audemer in 1487, the financial deliberations note that the king's *fourriers* were given 10 *livres* 'in order to have the lodgings of the bourgeois and inhabitants in good recommendation'.[158] Municipal councils wanted the important members of the king's entourage to stay in bourgeois households during a royal visit as it afforded them access to people who had the king's ear. For example, when Francis I entered Dijon in 1521 the governor, Louis de La Trémouille, was lodged at the house of Jean Chisseret, who was paid 20 *livres* by the *échevins*.[159] Nonetheless, the wider urban population did not share the elite's desire to gain access to those in power. As we saw in chapter two, householders resisted efforts to have members of the court lodge with them, which meant that municipal councils frequently had to compel townspeople to welcome these guests. By offering hospitality and gifts to the *fourriers*, municipal councils hoped to reduce tensions between the townspeople and the king's officers. In advance of Louis XI's entry into Lyon in 1476, the consuls gifted wine and 10 *livres* to the king's *fourriers* 'in order that in their duties they [the *fourriers*] treat the inhabitants of the town softly'.[160] Likewise, when Louis de La Trémouille, the governor of Burgundy, entered Dijon in 1524 the *échevins* paid 4 *livres* to both of his *fourriers* 'in order that they treat the habitants graciously when organising the lodgings of my lord the governor and *madame* his wife, and also that they have a good report of the habitants'.[161] In essence, urban governments wanted the *fourriers* to treat the bourgeois householders with courtesy as ill feeling towards the lodging of nobles damaged the municipal council's efforts to promote civic interests with members of the king's entourage.

156 Ledieu, 'Élénore d'Autriche à Abbeville', 72.
157 Babeau, *Rois de France à Troyes*, 7.
158 Canel, *Histoire de Pont-Audemer*, ii. 31.
159 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, iii. 8.
160 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 222.
161 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, ii. 16.

Furthermore, *fourriers* had the power to determine whether or not the king visited the town. As plague was endemic in France, royal *fourriers* were sent into a town in advance of an entry to check for the presence of the disease. If they found that plague was present, the king would not enter. Charles VIII cancelled many of his customary post-coronation entries because of an outbreak of plague.[162] Urban governments needed to convince the *fourriers* that there was no epidemic disease present in their towns, particularly in areas where plague was known to be present. In the run up to a royal entry, municipal governments took steps to contain outbreaks of epidemic disease. When Mâcon's *échevins* discovered the presence of plague in the neighbouring village of Plotes just in advance of Louis XII's entry in June 1501, they sent sergeants to the village to prevent its residents from travelling to the town for the king's entry.[163] When Louis XII planned to return to Mâcon in 1510, the *échevins* again uncovered the presence of plague in several neighbouring villages. In response, they forbade anyone from these villages from entering the town under pain of being hanged.[164] Municipal councils hoped that the introduction of diligent anti-plague measures would persuade the *fourriers* that their towns were healthy. In advance of Louis XII's entry into Valence in 1503, the consuls' implementation of plague ordinances convinced the king's *fourriers* that the town had been free of plague for three months.[165] It was crucial for urban governments to ensure that the king made an entry, as they stood to lose the opportunity to present him with their petitions. Some towns were even prepared to lie about the presence of plague (and thus run the risk of infecting the royal entourage) in order to have the king enter. When Charles IX entered Valence in 1564, the municipal administration concealed an outbreak of plague for the duration of the royal visit.[166]

Overall, the lower and mid-ranking officials of royal households gained considerable power during a ceremonial entry because their control over royal residences and itineraries placed them in an ideal position to assist municipal councils in a range of ways. In return for facilitating access to the king and the

162 BNF Collection de Picardie 5, fols. 12r, 121r; AD Oise, AM Senlis BB 3, fol. 51r; P. Pélicier, ed., *Lettres de Charles VIII, roi de France*, 4 vols (Paris, 1898–1905), i. 40.

163 AM Mâcon BB 22, fols. 89r–92r; Bazin, 'Rois des France à Mâcon', 66.

164 Rose, *Inventaire sommaire, Beauvais*, 73–74. For measures against epidemic diseases during royal entries, see also: BM Beauvais Coll. Bucquet, vol. 57, p. 371; AM Compiègne BB 13, fol. 50v.

165 André Lacroix, *Inventaire sommaire des archives communales et des archives hospitalières de la ville de Valence antérieures à la Révolution et inventaire sommaire des archives communales de Die et Montélimar* (Valence, 1994), 18.

166 Lacroix, *Inventaire sommaire, Valence*, 43.

most important members of his entourage, groups such as the *fourriers* and *hussiers* were able to profit from a royal entry.

Royal Women and Royal Entries

The final section of this chapter examines the king's female relations, who were amongst the most influential people in the kingdom. As these women's entries reflected the king's authority, Valois monarchs wrote to municipal governments to encourage them to prepare magnificent receptions for their female kin. On 7 November 1504, for example, Louis XII wrote to the Parisian town council asking it to receive his second wife, Anne of Brittany, 'as you would . . . our own person'.[167] Although the French kings and queens could progress around the kingdom together, the monarch and his spouse tended to enter towns separately. It was not customary for French kings to attend their wives' entries in a formal capacity, though some monarchs watched these receptions clandestinely.[168] As such, they could see how the queen was received. With the monarch's gaze on them, urban governments devised lavish entries that credited both the king and the town. For example, Paris's *échevins* decided to grant a canopy to Claude of France in 1517 'for the honour of the King and of the town'.[169] By devising magnificent entries for royal women, urban administrations hoped to recommend themselves to the king. When Rouen's rulers learned that Queen Isabella intended to visit the city in May 1390, they devised a magnificent entry 'to keep the honour of the town'.[170] French town councils prepared splendid receptions for royal women which emphasised the dignity of the Valois monarchy and thus endeared the citizens to the king.[171]

Urban governments stood to profit from staging entries for royal women. According to the *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denis*, the Parisians hoped that Isabella of Bavaria's entry into Paris in 1389 would lead to a reduction of the city's tax burden.[172] The Parisian elite was also able to use the queen's

167 Bonnardot, *Registres Paris, 1499–1526*, 93.

168 Fanny Cosandey, *La Reine de France. Symbole et pouvoir, XVe–XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2000), 186.

169 Bonnardot, *Registres Paris, 1499–1526*, 248.

170 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 1, fol. 8r.

171 See also: Claire Dolan, 'Rites d'accueil, identité urbaine et représentation politique à Aix-en-Provence au XVIe siècle', in Massimo Miglio and Giuseppe Lombardi, ed., *Simbolo e realtà della vita urbana nel Tardo Medioevo* (Manziana, 1993), 289–90.

172 Bellaguet, *Chronique de Saint-Denys*, i. 616.

entry to gain an audience with Charles VI. Before going to offer their gifts to the queen, the town council first went to present gifts to the king in his *chambre* in the royal palace.[173] The following year, Rouen's *échevins* used Isabella's entry to petition Charles VI for an *octroi* on wine sold in the city.[174] As kings regularly travelled with their female relatives, royal entries provided the rulers of provincial towns with a further opportunity to present their petitions to the king. When Mary Tudor entered Beauvais in 1514, the *échevins* gave Louis XII requests seeking exemption from taxes on the sale of fish as well measures relating to the fabrication of cloth in the town's suburbs.[175] The honourable treatment of the queen encouraged French kings to make grants to urban communities. Following Louis XII's entry into Valence in July 1511, the consuls offered to escort his wife to Lyon at the city's cost. In return for this respectful treatment of his wife (which went beyond what the town was obliged to provide), Louis gave the consuls twenty *muids* of salt. This was a lucrative grant for the town council as salt was expensive (twenty *muids* of salt cost 900 florins). Furthermore, as this was a gift from the king, it was exempt from the salt tax (*gabelle*), thus saving the consuls a further hundred florins.[176] Indeed, the salt tax was such a critical issue in sixteenth century France that it led to a revolt against the Crown at Bordeaux in the summer of 1548.[177]

Of greater value to municipal governments than these short-term financial concessions were the longer-term benefits that came from recruiting royal women as brokers. The intimate nature of these women's relationships with the king gave them considerable power to assist urban governments.[178] To take one example, Louis XII granted new liberties to Étaples after a receiving a request from his daughter Claude on her wedding day.[179] The nature of the

173 J. A. C. Buchon, ed., *Chroniques de Froissart*, 15 vols (Paris, 1824–28), xii. 24–25.

174 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 1, fol. 8r.

175 BM Beauvais, Coll. Bucquet, vol. 57, p. 373.

176 AM Valence BB 4, fols. 15r, 23r.

177 Tatiana Baranova, 'Le discours anti-tyrannique dans la France d'Henri II: un des sens multiples du Pasquille sur la rébellion de Bordeaux et la conduite du connétable', *Histoire, économie, société* 21 (2002), 479–500; Anne-Marie Cocula, '"Je vis en mon enfance un gentilhomme commandant a une grande ville": Montaigne et la révolte Bordelaise de 1548', in Bernard Babiche, Jean-Pierre Poussou and Alain Tallon, eds., *Pouvoirs, contestation et comportements dans l'Europe moderne. Mélanges en l'honneur du professeur Yves-Marie Bercé* (Paris, 2005), pp. 531–47; S.-C. Gigon, *La révolte de la gabelle en Guyenne* (Paris, 1906).

178 Diana Pelaz Flores, 'Queenly Time in the Reign of Juan II of Castile (1406–1454)', in Elena Woodacre, ed., *Queenship in the Mediterranean: Negotiating the Role of the Queen in the Medieval and Early Modern Eras* (Basingstoke, 2013), 169–90.

179 Wilson-Chevalier, 'Claude de France', 130.

king's relationships with the women in his life put them in a particularly good place to influence his decisions. The blurring between the private and public spheres of the French monarchy meant that royal women held considerable influence with the king, which could be used to promote municipal affairs.[180] They had a back-room communication with the king and were permitted entry into spaces that were denied to most members of the royal household. Accordingly, royal women had the potential to be key brokers for urban governments, which was especially important from the mid-sixteenth century when access to the king became increasingly restricted.

Municipal councils drew on models of female intercessory power to persuade royal women to act on their behalf.[181] When Francis I and his wife Claude entered Poitiers on 5 January 1520 the consuls likened the queen to Radegund in their welcoming speech and presented her with a silver statue of the saint.[182] Radegund was a good model of intercessory queenship for the consuls because the sixth-century Merovingian queen had used her influence with her husband (the Frankish king, Clothar) to persuade him to make grants to found religious houses.[183] Furthermore, as Radegund lived in Poitiers she embodied local identity and emphasised the special links that existed between the queens of France and the city. Changing fashions in the design of entries during the mid-sixteenth century led urban governments to include references to elite Roman women noted for the influence they held over their sons. When Catherine de Medici entered Sens in 1564, the *échevins* referenced Julia Mamaea in their greeting speech. This powerful member of the Roman imperial family had held considerable influence with her son, Emperor Severus Alexander, who followed his mother's advice to improve economic conditions in the Roman state, particularly through the reduction of taxes and the stabilisation of the currency – issues that were of as much concern to the townspeople of sixteenth-century France as they were to third-century Romans.[184] As well as

180 Theresa Earenfight, 'Without the Person of the Prince: Kings, Queens, and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe', *Gender and History* 19 (2007), 9.

181 Cosandey, *Reine de France*, 195.

182 Rivaud, *Entrées princières*, 129.

183 Suzanne Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister 500 to 900* (Philadelphia, 1981), 61; Jo Ann McNamara, 'A Legacy of Miracles: Hagiography and Nunneries in Merovingian Gaul', in Julius Kirshner and Suzanne F. Wemple, eds., *Women of the Medieval World* (Oxford, 1985), 47. For Radegund see also: Jo Ann McNamara and John E. Halbourg, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (London, 1992), 60–105. Ian Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450–751* (London and New York, 1994), 183–84.

184 R. L. Cleves, *Severus Alexander and the Severan Women* (Los Angeles, 1982); E. Kosmetatou, 'The public image of Julia Mamaea. An epigraphic and numismatic enquiry', *Latomus* 61

comparing Catherine de Medici to Julia Mamaea, Sens' *échevins* also likened her to Louis IX's mother, Blanche of Castile, who was one of the most popular secular models of intercessory queenship in pre-modern France.[185] This thirteenth-century French queen had exercised considerable influence over her son's government (a Bible presented to Louis IX included an image of Blanche of Castile advising him in affairs of state). Blanche was held up as a model of queenship and late medieval writers put a strong emphasis on the mediatory role she had with her son (Christine de Pisan exhorted French queens to follow Blanche's example and intercede with the king).[186] Municipal councils across the kingdom included references to Blanche in the entries they devised for French queens right through to the sixteenth century. When Claude of France made her entry into Paris on 10 May 1517, the municipal council staged a pageant showing Blanche encouraging Louis IX to receive requests from three petitioners.[187] One of the reasons why Blanche was such a potent model of French queenship was that motherhood was a source of political power for royal women.[188] The belief that kings should listen to the advice given by their mothers was ingrained in contemporary notions of good government in pre-modern France. In the greeting speech Charles IX heard at Narbonne on 3 January 1565, the consuls exhorted the young king to follow his mother's guidance, making reference to the relationship between the sainted Merovingian queen, Clotilde, and her son the Frankish king, Childebert.[189] By gaining the support of royal women – and using their special status to draw on contemporary

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(2002), 398–414; Clare Rowan, *Under Divine Auspices: Divine Ideology and the Visualisation of Imperial Power in the Severan Period* (Cambridge, 2012), 219, 222.

185 Vaillancourt, *Entrées solennelles, Charles IX*, 77.

186 Madeline H. Caviness, 'Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and Matrons?', in June Hall McCash, ed., *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens, 1996), p. 136; Katherine Crawford, *Perilous Performances: Gender and Regency in Early Modern France* (Cambridge, 2004), 20; Elizabeth McCartney, 'The King's Mother and Royal Prerogative in Early-Sixteenth-Century France', in John Carmi Parsons, ed., *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud, 1998), 123; A. Poulet, 'Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation', in Parsons, *Medieval Queenship*, 108–10; Karen Pratt, 'Image of the Queen in Old French Literature', in Anne J. Duggan, ed., *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, 1997), 240–41.

187 Kipling, *Enter the King*, 318; McCartney, 'King's Mother', 129.

188 Indeed, queens often made entries with the dauphin and the other royal children. See, for example, the entry of Eleanor of Austria and the dauphin into Rouen in February 1532: AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 13, fols. 154v–55r.

189 Vaillancourt, *Entrées solennelles, Charles IX*, 179. For Clotilde as a royal mother, see: Nira Pancer, *Sans peur et sans vergogne: de l'honneur et des femmes aux premiers temps mérovingiens, VIe–VIIe siècles* (Paris, 2001), 153, 155; Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, 136–37.

expectations that French monarchs should heed the advice of their mothers – urban governments were employing a further means to encourage the king to follow the advice of these women and act in favour of the town.

The importance of motherhood for the empowerment of royal women was most strongly manifested in the Virgin Mary, who was a popular role model for French queens. As the Bible's most powerful intercessor, urban communities devised ceremonies to seek the Virgin Mary's protection.[190] Municipal councils also incorporated representations of the Virgin Mary into ceremonial entries as a means to encourage royal women to become their mediator with the king. In particular, urban elites appealed to the queen to use her maternal influence to intercede with the king on their behalf.[191] Amiens' *échevins* presented Louise of Savoy with a manuscript that compared her to the Virgin Mary and emphasised the extent of her leverage with the king.[192] Aside from the Virgin Mary, Esther was the other principal biblical model of intercessory queenship frequently depicted at women's royal entries.[193] When Mary Tudor made a progress across northern France in 1514, towns such as Beauvais and Montreuil-sur-Mer incorporated representations of Esther into the entries they gave the new queen of France.[194] As well as comparing Queen Claude to Radegund at Poitiers in 1520, the consuls used the greeting speech to liken her to Esther.[195] Nicole Hochner has found that Esther took on a particular significance in France from the late fifteenth century and played a role in

190 John Carmi Parsons, 'Ritual and Symbol in English Medieval Queenship to 1500', in Louisa Olga Fradenburg, ed., *Women and Sovereignty* (Edinburgh, 1992), 64–65; idem, 'The Pregnant Queen as Counsellor and the Medieval Construction of Motherhood', in John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler, eds., *Medieval Mothering* (New York and London, 1996), 40; Diana Webb, 'Queen and Patron', in Anne Duggan, ed., *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, 1997), 205–20.

191 Cosandey, *Reine de France*, 175.

192 Anne-Marie Lecoq, 'Le Puy d'Amiens de 1518: la loi du genre en l'art du peintre', *Revue de l'Art* 38 (1977), 63–74; idem, *François Ier imaginaire*, 333–40; McCartney, 'King's Mother', 129; Potter, *Nation State*, 58.

193 Nicole Hochner, 'Imagining Esther in Early Modern France', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 41 (2010), 771, 778–79; Nichole Hochner, 'Pierre Gringore: une satire à la solde du pouvoir?', *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 26 (2001), 108–11; Pratt, 'Image of the Queen', 236; Kipling, *Enter the King*, 325–26.

194 Brown, *Entrées royales à Paris*, 46; Francis Wormald, 'The Solemn Entry of Mary Tudor to Montreuil-sur-Mer in 1514', in J. Conway Davies, ed., *Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson* (London, 1957), 473, 477. See also: Hochner, 'Imagining Esther', 781; Kipling, *Enter the King*, 326. For Mary and Esther see: Paul Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton, 1992), 96–99.

195 Rivaud, *Entrées princières*, 129.

'the fundamental dilemma between an interventionist monarchy and a decentralized regime'.[196] Esther had persuaded her husband, King Xerxes (Ahasuerus), to save the Persian Jews from destruction. As Gordon Kipling notes, 'queens were constantly exhorted . . . to imitate Esther by seeking the well-being of their people, while cities cast themselves in the role as the children of Israel'.[197]

The incorporation of powerful models of intercessory queenship into ceremonial entries served more than ornamental purposes: these events had a didactic intent, as urban governments expected royal women to emulate figures such as Esther and act as their agents with the king. Indeed, in their replies to municipal greeting speeches, French queens declared that they would act as brokers for urban communities. When Anne of Brittany made her post-coronation entry into Paris on 19 November 1504, she was greeted outside the city in the customary manner. In response to the *prévôt-des-marchands*' welcoming speech, Anne thanked the municipal council for the entry and offered to serve as the city's advocate with the king.[198] Likewise, when Eleanor of Austria entered Compiègne on 15 September 1531, she agreed to the municipal's council's request to have 'the town in good recommendation'.[199] Moreover, Compiègne's clergy brought a relic of the true cross to the extramural greeting, thus sacralising Eleanor's vow to promote the town's interests.[200] Although Eleanor proved to have only limited influence with her husband, Francis I, she also maintained influence at the court of her brother, Emperor Charles V. This influence was valuable to Compiègne, as the town lay close to Habsburg lands and had strong economic links with the Low Countries.[201]

These declarations of support went beyond mere courtesy: French queens demonstrated their value as brokers for towns. While Francis I campaigned in Italy in 1515, his wife, Claude of France, went on a pilgrimage to Sainte-Baume to pray for her husband's success on the battlefield. During this progress, Claude entered Arles, where the consuls greeted her with a lavish reception. Following her entry, the town council brought their requests to the queen, asking her to obtain the confirmation of the town's privileges as well as new economic grants. As soon as her husband returned from Italy, Claude informed

196 Hochner, 'Imagining Esther', 758.

197 Kipling, *Enter the King*, 325–26.

198 Stein, 'Sacre d'Anne de Bretagne', 285.

199 AM Compiègne BB 18, fol. 100r.

200 AM Compiègne BB 18, fol. 100r. For this relic, see: Charles Rohault de Fleury, *Mémoire sur les instruments de la Passion* (Paris, 1870), 129–30.

201 Robert J. Knecht, 'Élénore d'Autriche (1498–1558)', in Michon, *Conseillers de François Ier*, 408–9.

him of the requests she had received at Arles, following which Francis wrote to the consuls stating that he would confirm their existing privileges and give them the additional right to levy taxes on grain sold in the town. The monarch explained that these grants were made 'in favour of the good reception they had made in the town for the lady the queen'.[202] In other words, Francis informed the town council they had won new grants in return for providing his wife with a honourable civic reception. Likewise, when Yolande, duchess of Savoy, travelled to the French court in 1463, she passed through Bourg-en-Bresse, where the municipal council greeted her with great ceremony. At the same time as the consuls offered their gifts to the duchess, they also asked her to promote their affairs with her brother, Louis XI. Yolande proved to be an effective broker for Bourg's consuls, who later thanked her for the grants she had obtained from the king to alleviate the damage caused to the town during the wars in Savoy and the Bourbonnais.[203] These women's relationship with the monarch (daughter, wife or mother) put them in a good position to win grants for the town. In order to utilise this power and influence, town councils staged lavish entries which honoured these women and strengthened their standing in the kingdom, thus encouraging them to return the favour by promoting municipal interests at court.

Urban governments made three principal types of requests to French royal women at their entries. First, they commonly asked them to promote the city's affairs in a general way with the king. During the post-entry banquet held at the royal palace in Paris for Anne of Brittany in 1504, the municipal council presented the queen with a silver statue of a ship (at the cost of 9,000 *livres*) and asked her to hold the city in good favour, without making any specific requests.[204] Likewise, when Catherine de Medici entered Rouen in 1550, the *échevins* asked her to keep the inhabitants of the town 'in the good grace of her royal spouse'.[205] By offering gifts to the queen and binding her to reciprocate in an as yet unspecified way, French towns hoped to develop brokers close to the king who could act for the town when the need arose.

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202 *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François Ier*, 8 vols (Paris, 1902), i. 337.

203 AM Bourg-en-Bresse BB 10, fol. 32v.

204 Stein, 'Sacre d'Anne de Bretagne', 300.

205 *C'est la deduction du sumptueux ordre plaisantz spectacles et magnifiques theatres, dressés, et exhibes par les citoiens de Rouen . . . a la sacree Maiesté du Treschristian Roy de France, Henry second leur souverain Seigneur, et à Tresillustre dame, ma Dame Katharine de Medicis . . .* (Rouen, 1551). For the giving of gifts to Catherine, see also: AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 16, fol. 172v; Beaurepaire, *Inventaire sommaire, Rouen*, 172.

Second, as queens often travelled with their husbands and typically made their entry on the same day, municipal councils asked these women to encourage the king to ratify existing urban liberties and to speak favourably to him about their petitions for further rights. On the same day as Francis I entered Valence (19 February 1516), the consuls staged an entry for his wife, Claude, and gifted her one hundred *écus*, in return for which they wanted the queen to recommend the petitions they submitted to the king. These included exemption from the billeting of soldiers, which was a matter of great concern to Valence because troops had started to pour into the region as a result of Francis's recent resumption of the Italian wars. As Claude was a successful broker who had already obtained new privileges for the town, the consuls also used this entry to repay the queen for her past favours.[206] Similarly, when Henry III and his wife, Louise de Lorraine, entered Orléans on 15 November 1576, the *échevins* asked the queen to hold the citizens 'in your favour, and grace in all matters, for the confirmation of their privileges and benefits successively granted by the king[s] of France up to the present [day]'.[207] As Orléans had been a bastion of Protestant opposition to the monarchy during the early wars of religion, the citizens wanted to obtain the mediatory services of the queen to keep the city in the king's favour and obtain the confirmation of its liberties.[208] Although Louise's inability to provide a royal heir would eventually lead to the diminishing of her influence at court, she had been married to Henry III for less than two years at the time of the Orléans' entry and her infertility had not yet impaired her intercessory powers.

The final type of request that urban governments brought to the monarch's female relatives related to the specific political or economic aims they wanted royal women to promote with the king and his ministers when they returned to court. When Margaret of Valois, sister of Henry III, entered Saintes in March 1582, the *échevin* Charles Farnoulx asked her to persuade her brother to discharge the town from the *gabelle* and other subsidies, which she promised to do.[209] Likewise, when Eleanor of Austria entered Châlons-en-Champagne in July 1535, the municipal council asked her to obtain the curtailment of the powers the *bailli* of Vermandois held over the city, with the concomitant restoration of the town council's authority over the customs of the city.[210]

206 AM Valence BB 4, fols. 95r–96r.

207 Mulryne, Watanabe-O'Kelly and Shewring, *Europa Triumphans*, i. 184–201.

208 Jacqueline Boucher, *Deux épouses et reines à la fin du XVIe siècle: Louise de Lorraine et Marguerite de France* (Saint-Étienne, 1995), 112–13.

209 Louis Audiat, *Entrées royales de Saintes* (Paris, 1875), 19.

210 AC Châlons-en-Champagne BB 8, fol. 25r.

The efforts of the *baillis* of Vermandois to impose their power over Châlons' other judicial authorities from the late fifteenth century had led to an erosion of the juridical privileges held by the town council.[211] The municipal council hoped to enlist Eleanor to persuade her husband to have his officials respect traditional municipal rights regarding the provision of justice.

Female power was not restricted to mediation with the king: some royal women had the authority to grant urban requests without having to first speak to the king. When Catherine de Medici visited Agen in 1578, she made a number of rulings relating to security provisions.[212] As Catherine was one of the most powerful people in France, municipal governments sought to present her with petitions during her progresses. When the rulers of the small Gascon town of Auch learnt that Catherine was travelling from Agen to Toulouse, they decided to send a delegation to attend the entry at Toulouse and offer her their petitions.[213] Between the reigns of Charles VIII and Charles IX, France had a succession of female regents. The entries of Anne de Beaujeu, Louise of Savoy and Catherine de Medici were particularly important for urban leaders because these women were invested with substantial political power. When Francis conferred the regency on his mother, Louise, in August 1525, he gave her the right to receive requests and petitions.[214] Likewise, when Henry II appointed his wife, Catherine de Medici, regent on 15 August 1553, he ruled that his subjects were to submit their requests to the queen and the royal council as if they were submitting them to him.[215] Even beyond their tenure as regent, these women wielded considerable political influence. With the ascension of her son to the throne in January 1515, Louise of Savoy became one of the most powerful people in France.[216] Within a month of his *sacre*, Francis had raised his mother's county of Angoulême to the status of a duchy, appointed her half-brother Charles to the governorship of Normandy and made her household favourite, Antoine Duprat, chancellor of France. Moreover, as Robert Knecht notes, 'Francis had the reputation of being ruled by his mother'.[217]

211 Barthélémy, *Histoire de Chalons-sur-Marne*, 52–3.

212 Auguste, *Inventaire sommaire, Agen*, (Paris, 1884), 31.

213 In the end, bad weather prompted the royal party to change its itinerary and visit Auch, thus sparing the consuls the expense of the journey: AC Auch BB 5, fol. 518v.

214 McCartney, 'King's Mother', 131.

215 F.-A. Isambert et al, eds., *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises, depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789*, 29 vols (Paris, 1833), xiii. 341. See also: Crawford, *Perilous Performances*, 22.

216 Robert Knecht, 'Louise de Savoie (1476–1531)', in Michon, *Conseillers de François Ier*, 176.

217 Robert Knecht, '"Our Trinity!": Francis I, Louise of Savoy and Marguerite d'Angouleme', in Munns and Richards, *Gender, Power and Privilege*, 78.

Given Louise's influence over her son, urban governments used ceremonial entries to offer her gifts and bind her to reciprocate on their behalf with her son. Aware of her power, municipal governments attempted to recruit Louise as a broker as soon as her son's ascension appeared imminent. When Louis XII lay dying in November 1514, the Parisians municipal council provided a lavish entry for Louise, offering her items of silverware and asking her 'to have the town and its inhabitants in good recommendation'.[218] The Parisians capitalized on all possible opportunities throughout her son's reign to sustain their relationship with Louise. For example, the municipal council used Claude of France's coronation entry into Paris in 1517 as a pretext to offer Louise further expensive gifts of silverware. According to the municipal deliberations, the gifts were made to the queen mother because she 'has the government of the kingdom'. The city council hoped to use this present to secure Louise's 'benevolence and put this town of Paris and its inhabitants in her grace and love'.[219] The *échevins* hoped that their gift 'would be of great profit to the town in various matters that could occur . . . because the honour and pleasure made to the mother returns to the son'.[220] The rulers of Paris maintained their relationship with this highly influential royal woman right through to the end of her life. Three months before her death on 22 September 1531, Louise entered Paris at the side of her son's second wife, Eleanor of Austria. As with the entry of Claude in 1517, the Parisians decided to give Louise a gift 'to have the business of the town in good recommendation'.[221] While many of the institutions of royal government (including the *parlements* of Paris and Languedoc) had challenged Louise's power, particularly during her second term as regent (1525–26), the Parisian municipal council provided her with ceremonies that honoured her status and recognised the legitimacy of her political authority, in return for which Louise used her power to benefit the city's rulers.[222]

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218 Bonnardot, *Registres Paris, 1499–1526*, 277.

219 Bonnardot, *Registres Paris, 1499–1526*, 239–40.

220 Bonnardot, *Registres Paris, 1499–1526*, 240.

221 Tuetey, *Registres Paris, 1527–1539*, 117. When Louise entered Lyon in 1516 in the entourage of Queen Claude, the consuls presented her with gifts and 'recommended the business of the town to her'. Accepting the presents, Louise offered to help the city in any way she could: AM Lyon CC 666, fol. 47r. For this entry, see also: E. Baux and V.-L. Bourilly, 'François Ier à Lyon en 1516', *Revue d'histoire de Lyon* 12 (1913), 116–45.

222 For example, in February 1525 Louise used her powers as regent to grant Paris an *octroi* on all the fish and salt sold in the city for six years: Bonnardot, *Registres Paris, 1499–1526*, 277. For challenges to Louise's authority, see: Brink, 'Louise de Savoie', 15–25; Roger Doucet, *Étude sur le Gouvernement de François Ier dans ses rapports avec le Parlement de Paris, 1525–1527* (Paris, 1926).

The staging of a royal entry gave municipal councils an opportunity to contact a range of influential royal women, both French and foreign. Indeed, urban governments granted entries to women who could not expect one by right as a way to gain their support. In 1548, Anna d'Este, duchess of Ferrara and daughter of Renée of France, entered Paris. In the greeting speech, the *prévôt-des-marchands* told the princess that while it was not customary to accord an entry to anyone but the king, queen, dauphin and princes, the city was affording her this honour because she was a 'princess descended from the Crown and house of France'. Although Anne was the granddaughter of Louis XII through the maternal line, she could not claim an entry by right; it was an honour conferred on her by the city. By preparing an entry for Anne, the Parisians accorded her a great mark of respect which they used to play upon the princess's vanities. As Penny Richards has noted, Anne had a strong 'sense of status – not as a Guise or Nemours, but more grandly as a member of the royal family of France'.[223] In return for granting an entry which promoted Anne's status in the kingdom, the Parisians asked her 'to keep us in your good grace and to recommend the business of the town towards his majesty the king'.[224] The speech hit its target and the princess thanked them 'for the honour that you have made me, [which is] so great that it does not belong to me' and assured the *échevins* she would use her power and influence on behalf of the city.[225]

While obtaining Anne's promise to act on their behalf was undoubtedly useful for Paris's *échevins*, of greater importance was the favour they won with Francis of Guise, who was due to marry Anne in Paris. As a successful military commander who was popular at court, Francis was one of the kingdom's leading men. The Guise used Francis's marriage to Anne d'Este to extend their influence in France, and the Parisians' efforts to prepare a royal reception for the princess increased the family's honour.[226] Once Anne had replied to the city's formal greeting, Francis 'kissed numerous times' the *prévôt des marchands*, saying that he was indebted to the municipal council for the 'honour that your have done to my children and me today. I give thanks to God and men for this, and assure you that I will never spare pleasing the town, whether

223 Penny Richards, 'The Guise women: Politics, war and peace', in Munns and Richards, *Gender, Power and Privilege*, 167; Jessica Munns and Penny Richards, 'Exploiting and Destabilizing Gender Roles: Anne d'Este', *French History* 6 (1992), 208, 212.

224 Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*, 140–41.

225 Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*, 139.

226 Richards, 'The Guise Women', 165; Stuart Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers: The Guise Family and the Making of Europe* (Oxford, 2009), 61.

in general or in particular'.[227] In other words, Francis offered to promote a good impression of the city at court and act as their broker for specific matters. The Guise were fully aware of the political power that could be gained from ceremonial entries[228] and this unusual display of heightened emotion was a mark of the extent of Francis's gratitude to the Parisian municipal council for the honour it had done him by according an entry to his betrothed. By means of this entry the *échevins* successfully created a relationship with Francis of Guise, which grew stronger throughout the sixteenth century.[229]

Royal entries also gave urban governments opportunities to develop links with members of Valois women's households, such as the three hundred noblewomen who accompanied Catherine de Medici when she toured the kingdom in 1564–65.[230] Close relationships often developed between royal women and the members of their households, who typically travelled separately from the king.[231] Municipal councils gave gifts to the influential men and women who accompanied the queen in order to encourage them to act as their agents. In 1464, Nevers gave a silver water jug to one Isabeau de la Leck, the principal lady in the household of Jacqueline d'Ailly, countess of Nevers, 'so that she passes the needs of the town and region to *Madame* [Jacqueline], and from one to another to engage *Monsieur* the count to take stock of it'.[232] In other words, the *échevins* expected that the provision of a gift to an influential member of the countess's entourage would spark off a series of events that would encourage John, count of Nevers, to intervene of behalf of the town. The potential consequences of such actions were magnified when these gifts were provided to leading women in the queen's entourage. When Isabella of Bavaria entered Paris in 1389, the *échevins* offered an expensive gift to Valentina Visconti, duchess of Orléans, who thanked the town council and

227 Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*, 139.

228 Richards, 'The Guise Women', 166.

229 Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth Century Paris* (Oxford, 1991), 62–63; Stuart Carroll, 'The Guise affinity and popular protest during the Wars of Religion', *French History* 9 (1995), 125–52.

230 Vaillancourt, *Entrées solennelles, Charles IX*, 56.

231 Cordula Nolte, 'Gendering Princely Dynasties: Some Notes on Family Structure, Social Networks, and Communication at the Courts of the Margaves of Brandernburg-Ansbach around 1500', in Pauline Stafford and Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, eds., *Gendering the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2001), 185.

232 C. A. Parmentier, *Archives de Nevers, ou inventaire historique des titres de la ville*, 2 vols (Paris, 1842), i. 168. For Isabeau de la Leck, see: Corneille Stroobant, *Histoire de la commune de Feluy* (Brussels, 1858), 72–78.

remarked that 'the good city of Paris had profited from it'.[233] The duchess made it clear to Paris's leaders that they stood to benefit from having made this gift because they had obtained her favour and influence at court. As the wife of Louis, duke of Orléans, who was the king's brother and one of the most powerful men in the kingdom, Paris could hope to profit from Valentina's patronage. Furthermore, gift giving allowed urban governments to establish networks with people they anticipated to be future power brokers at court. When Anne of Beaujeu entered Amiens in 1483, the *échevins* offered gifts to Margaret of Austria, then betrothed to Charles VIII, whom they expected to become queen of France.[234] In addition, the wives of rulers also travelled with influential male officials. When the duchess of Burgundy entered Amiens in 1448, the *échevins* gave Antoine de Croÿ (one of the most powerful members of Philip the Good's household) a gift of forty *écus* to repay him for having promoted the city's interests with the duke and duchess of Burgundy. Moreover, Amiens' *échevins* used gift giving to retain Croÿ's services and 'also to speak with him about having exemption from the *taille*'.[235] As the members of elite women's households included ambitious men seeking advancement in the administrations of their husbands, urban governments used entries to attach themselves to these officials at an early stage of their career.[236] In short, ceremonial entries provided a further way for urban governments to access the female brokers who lay at the centre of government, obtaining their assistance in return for staging entries that augmented their authority and supported their right to wield political power.

The ability to travel with the king benefited the members of his household, who received gifts from town councils during a royal entry. The provision of these payments increased the king's prestige because he was seen as a source of wealth and prosperity for those around him. Contact with the members of royal households also provided municipal councils with opportunities to gain access to those in power, which was essential to secure the granting of petitions. In particular, urban administrations offered gifts and payments to

233 Buchon, *Chroniques de Froissart*, xii. 24–25.

234 AM Amiens BB 14, fol. 90v.

235 AM Amiens BB 6, fols. 124r, 124v. For the powers held by Antoine de Croÿ, see: Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (Woodbridge, 1970), 140–41.

236 For men using positions in elite's women's household to promote their careers, see: Ruth Kleinman, 'Social Dynamics of the French Court: The Household of Anne of Austria', *French Historical Studies* 16 (1990), 517–21; Sharon Kettering, 'The Household Service of Early Modern French Noblewomen', *French Historical Studies* 20 (1992), 56–57.

members of the royal household who had influence with the king or who controlled access to his chambers. For instance, when Narbonne's consuls learnt that Charles IX intended to enter the town, they set aside 1,000 *écus* specifically to put towards paying court officials to promote their business with the king.[237]

The first stage in obtaining the approval of urban petitions was winning friends at court. As well as offering municipal councils an opportunity to recruit new brokers, urban rulers also used entries to repay dignitaries for efforts they had already taken on their behalf. There were some individuals who by virtue of their position and standing with the king were particularly valuable for urban governments, most notably the members of the royal council. One of the fundamental characteristics of the royal council was that it was inseparable from the person of the king. The council accompanied the king wherever he travelled, and its members were amongst the few people who were permitted to lodge with the king on a progress. Furthermore, the members of the royal council were permitted entry to the monarch's most personal spaces, particularly the *cabinet*.[238] Their presence next to the monarch reminds us that while Paris was administrative capital of the kingdom, executive power was peripatetic.

As we saw, municipal councils offered their petitions to the monarch during the post entry gift giving ceremony. These requests were given orally and in return the king gave a verbal confirmation of their requests. Nonetheless, gaining the king's approval of petitions was not enough to ensure that these liberties were implemented. On the contrary, the process of winning grants was considerably more complex than the straightforward dialogue between the king and civic elite during the gift-giving ceremony. While kings approved urban petitions, there was no guarantee the grants would be implemented. Essentially, the king's verbal consent gave the municipal council permission to pursue the matter further with the members of his administration, represented especially by the royal secretaries. As the king did not read urban requests, his secretaries interpreted them for him. By the late fifteenth century, the secretaries held the real power to grant requests, reflecting their rise to prominence in the royal administration. While their role is often overlooked, in many ways the royal secretaries were more important than the king in the granting of urban liberties. Although the royal secretaries were often drawn from the upper bourgeoisie, their loyalty was to the Crown and their privileged social status was dependent on service to the monarch. The secretaries' increasing

237 AM Narbonne BB 1, fol. 307v.

238 Michon, 'Conseils et conseillers', 31.

role in the allocation of urban liberties is apparent in the scale of the payments they received at royal entries. While the king posed as the worthy successor of Louis IX, who was open to receive petitions from all (and powerful enough to grant them), in reality the monarch's role in according grants was minimal and by the late fifteenth century towns found that they had to deal more fully with royal officials than ever before.

The king's female relatives were amongst the most influential people in the kingdom. Although the wider culture of the age was undoubtedly misogynistic and patriarchal, royal women played an important role in the affairs of the kingdom. These women were crucial to the government of France, and they exerted their power with the king through both formal and informal means. Although Valois royal women had lost some of the extensive powers accorded to their Capetian, Carolingian and Merovingian predecessors, they nonetheless remained very influential in the governance of the kingdom. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a combination of mental illness, civil and foreign wars, as well as royal minorities, placed a succession of Valois women at the centre of power, including Isabella of Bavaria, Anne de Beaujeu, Louise of Savoy and Catherine de Medici. Urban governments used ceremonial entries to harness the power and influence these women had as representatives of the king. As we shall see in the following chapter, urban elites deployed these same tactics when devising entries for provincial governors.

CHAPTER 4

Royal Authority in the Provinces

This chapter examines the ceremonial entries made by the provincial governors of France. While governors were the principal agents of royal power in the frontier regions of the kingdom, historians have largely overlooked their entries. Yet this chapter demonstrates that governors' entries were important events for urban populations. Like royal women, governors represented the person of the king; moreover, they possessed wide-ranging political powers, which urban administrations sought to harness. Governors' entries grew in frequency, size and importance from the late fifteenth century to the extent that they were almost indistinguishable from those of the king. As governors were the king's proxy and exercised authority in his name, they confirmed municipal liberties and received petitions at their entries. Urban governments used ceremonial entries to create and consolidate long-lasting relationships with these powerful brokers, who provided one of the principal conduits for the flow of patronage and influence between the court and the provinces.

The French monarchy created the position of provincial governor in the fourteenth century as a means of administering the more distant parts of the kingdom. The number of governors remained small until the later fifteenth century, when the Valois kings began to appoint them in increasing numbers as a means to consolidate the Crown's control over the frontiers of the kingdom. While there were only two governorships in 1400 (Dauphiné and Languedoc), there were ten at the end of the fifteenth century (Burgundy, Champagne, Dauphiné, Île-de-France, Guyenne, Languedoc, Normandy, Picardy, Provence and Roussillon).[1] The most pronounced expansion in number of governorships occurred under Louis XI, who used these officials to curb the power of the French princes. Bernard Chevalier has shown how the governors filled the role that the princes had traditionally played in the provinces and many of the *gouvernements* created during the later fifteenth century (such as Burgundy or Provence) corresponded to the major later medieval princely appanages.[2]

1 Dauphant, *Royaume*, 34, 337; G. Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia regia: ou État des officiers royaux des bailliages et des sénéchaussées de 1328 à 1515*, 6 vols (Paris, 1942–61), ii. 301–19; iii. 466–67. There was also, briefly, a governor of Auvergne in the 1470s and 1480s.

2 Bernard Chevalier, 'Gouverneurs et gouvernements en France entre 1450 et 1520', *Francia* (1980), 291–307; Jean Duquesne, *Dictionnaire des gouverneurs de province sous l'ancien régime*

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In short, governors were the principal agents of the king in the provinces by the late fifteenth century.

While the governorships created after 1460 lacked the full range of powers held by the governors of Languedoc and Dauphiné (which included the right to issue pardons in their own name), their authority was considerable.[3] Historians have traditionally found that provincial governors had a 'vice-regal' status as a result of their extensive powers. Robert Harding argued that some governors were effectively 'surrogate kings', while Michel Antoine declared that the 'fundamental and specific mission' of the governors was to represent the person of the king.[4] Recently, Léonard Dauphant has cautioned against attributing vice-regal status to the governors, writing that a governor 'can govern in his name [i.e. the king] but cannot replace him. Likewise, the duke of Bourbon is lieutenant in Languedoc, and not viceroy.'[5] However, contemporary documents such as royal letters make it clear that a governor did in fact rule as the king's proxy in his *gouvernement*. Louis XI instructed Chalôns-en-Champagne

(*novembre 1315–20 février 1791*) (Paris, 2002), 33; Potter, *Nation State*, 118; For the appanages of the fourteenth century, see: F. Autrand, 'Un essai de décentralisation: la politique des apanages dans le seconde moitié du XIVe siècle', in *L'administration locale et le pouvoir central en France et en Russie* (*XIIIe–XVe siècle*) (Paris, 1989), 2–26.

3 P. Dognon, *Les institutions politiques et administratives du pays de Languedoc du XIIe siècle aux guerres de religion* (Toulouse, 1895), 345–62; A. Lemonde, *Le Temps de libertés en Dauphiné: l'intégration d'une principauté à la Couronne de France* (*1349–1408*) (Grenoble, 2002), 79–80. However, Louis XII took away governors' right to pardon in their own name in the *ordonnance* of Blois (1499), although he augmented their powers in other ways: Vassière, *Ordonnances rois de France*, xxi. 177–207; Potter, *Nation State*, 121; idem, *War and Government*, 100.

4 Michel Antoine, 'Institutions françaises en Italie sous le règne de Henri II: gouverneurs et intendents', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome* 94 (1982), 762; Robert Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite: The Provincial Governors of Early Modern France* (London, 1978), 14. See also: Ariane Boltanski, *Les ducs de Nevers et l'État royal. Genèse d'un compromis* (*ca 1550–ca 1600*) (Geneva, 2006), 82; Brink, 'Royal Power', 55; Daniel Anzar, '"Un morceau de roi": la imagen del gobernador de provincia en la Francia barroca', in Daniel Anzar, Guillaume Hanotin and Niels F. May, eds., *À la place du roi. Vice-rois, gouverneurs et ambassadeurs dans les monarchies française et espagnole* (*XVIe–XVIIIe siècles*) (Madrid, 2014), 151–79. For early modern governors as the representatives of the monarch, see also: Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (New York and London, 2004), 120–32; idem, 'El simulacro del rey', in Anzar, Hanotin and May, *Vice-rois*, 181–208; Gabriel Guarino, *Representing the King's Splendour: Communication and Reception of Symbolic Forms of Power in Viceregal Naples* (Manchester, 2010), 221–28.

5 Dauphant, *Royaume*, 339.

to obey Louis de Laval (governor of Champagne) 'like our person'.[6] In other words, the civic administration was to follow the governor's orders as if they came directly from the king. Moreover, by the mid-sixteenth century, French towns welcomed provincial governors as if they were welcoming the king himself. Municipal councils deployed the full range of honours customarily reserved for the monarch (including the key presentation, oath taking and canopy). If the townspeople who watched a governor's entry were not aware of his identity, they could easily be forgiven for thinking that they were looking at the king.

A governor's right to receive a ceremonial entry from the towns in his province was enshrined in his letter of provision, which was read aloud during his entries before being registered at the local *parlement*.[7] While the growth of *gouvernements* meant that governors' entries became more common from the later fifteenth century, towns in Dauphiné and Languedoc already had a long tradition of staging ceremonial welcomes for their governors by this time.[8] As French kings rarely visited Languedoc during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the populations of towns such as Beaucaire, Béziers, Nîmes and Toulouse were more accustomed to ceremonially receiving the governor than the monarch.[9] Despite the early manifestations of governors' entries in Dauphiné and Languedoc, the standard form of a provincial governor's entry only emerged as a result of the negotiations that took place across the kingdom between governors, town councils and royal officials during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.[10]

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6 Vaesen and Charavay, *Lettres de Louis XI*, iii. 135. For his appointment, see also: Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia regia*, ii. 111.

7 Harding, *Power Elite*, 14; L.-H. Labande, ed., *Correspondance de Joachim de Matignon, lieutenant général du Roi en Normandie* (*1516–1548*) (Monaco and Paris, 1914), xxxi. For an example of these letters, see: Vaesen and Charavay, *Lettres de Louis XI*, iii. 134.

8 AM Nîmes LL 2; AD Tarn 4 EDT CC 149; Gaston Zeller, 'Les premiers gouverneurs d'Auvergne', *Revue d'Auvergne* 47 (1933), 162.

9 Harding, *Power Elite*, 14. Even when kings toured the Languedoc, small towns such as Beaucaire were often excluded from royal schedules. Indeed, the first monarch to enter Beaucaire was Charles IX in December 1564: Lamothe, *Inventaire sommaire, Beaucaire*, p. 23. As a result, governors' entries were particularly significant events for Beaucaire's population. See, for example, that of Pierre de Bourbon: Lamothe, *Inventaire sommaire, Beaucaire*, 3.

10 For the entries of the governors of Languedoc in the fourteenth century, see: AM Nîmes LL 2, RR 2; Challet, 'Entrées dans la ville', 276–77.

Planning Governors' Entries

Municipal governments outside of Dauphiné and Languedoc displayed an initial uncertainty about how to welcome their governors. In part, this doubt resulted from the Crown's failure to explicitly state how governors should be received. On 20 September 1526, Rouen's *procureur du roi* read out a letter from Francis I to the *échevins* instructing them to receive the new governor of Normandy, Louis de Brézé, with 'great honour and [with the] best reception that you can, and in the manner in which it is accustomed to do in such cases to the other governors of the regions and provinces of our kingdom'.[11] The letter's vague instructions were of little help to Rouen's *échevins* as the form of governors' entries varied across the kingdom and no fixed protocol had yet been established for these ceremonies. Indeed, it took three decades of debates for Rouen to settle on an acceptable form of entry for the governors of Normandy (see below). Municipal councils' uncertainty about how to receive governors was also a product of their efforts to tread a fine line between honouring the governor and preserving the king's rights. It was imperative that urban governments did not offend the monarch by granting governors any royal honours the king wished to reserve for himself. This concern was especially important as the debate on the form of governors' entries took place during a period when the Valois monarchy was placing an increasingly strong emphasis on the majesty of kingship. By the late fifteenth century, the French Crown restricted other political authorities (including dukes and bishops) from exercising sovereign rights, such as the pardoning of prisoners, at ceremonial entries.[12] Accordingly, it was crucial that towns devised entries for governors that were in line with royal expectations, especially as the king was informed about how his representatives were received. Civic administrations could win the monarch's favour by greeting governors in the appropriate manner. Châlons-en-Champagne's *échevins* received a letter from Charles VIII thanking them for the ceremonial reception they gave the incumbent governor of Champagne, Jean d'Albret, in March 1487.[13] As we saw in chapter three, obtaining the monarch's favour by granting honourable entries to his representatives could win urban communities extensive new economic and political rights.

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11 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 12, fol. 83r.

12 Neil Murphy, 'Royal grace, royal punishment: ceremonial entries and the pardoning of criminals in France, c. 1440–1560', in Jeroen Duindam et al., eds., *Law and Empire: Ideas, Practices, Actors* (Leiden, 2013), 307–8.

13 AC Chalôns-en-Champagne BB 5, fols. 73r, 80r; Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia regia*, ii. 114–15; P. Pélicier, ed., *Lettres de Charles VIII, roi de France*, 5 vols (Paris, 1898–1905), i. 181.

Governors were entitled to a number of royal honours at their entries. First, like the monarch, they had the right to create guild masters. For example, when Pierre de Bourbon entered Toulouse as governor of Languedoc in 1488 he created a master butcher.[14] By the mid-fifteenth century, the right to create guild masters at ceremonial entries was considered to be a royal prerogative, which was conferred on the king by virtue of his coronation.[15] As the monarch's direct representative, governors were entitled to exercise this sovereign power in his name. Second, as the king's substitute, governors were permitted to stay in royal residences. The governor of Picardy, Jean de Bruges, lord of La Gruuthuse, lodged at Louis XII's residence in Abbeville, while Amiens' municipal council prepared the royal residence in the city for governors to use following their entries.[16] Third, governors were entitled to have their arms put on municipal gates during a ceremonial entry. For instance, the arms of Jean de Laval were placed on the gates of Nantes when he entered the town as the governor of Brittany.[17] This was a sovereign right that signified lordship. Refusing to enter the French town of Bapaume during his campaign against John the Fearless in 1414, Charles VI instead had his arms painted on the town walls and gates as a display of his rule over the town.[18] Fourth, governors were offered town keys at their entries, which, as a mark of sovereignty, was an honour typically reserved for kings. As the governor was the king's surrogate, French town councils considered themselves to be handing over their keys to the monarch via the hands of his governor. Hence, there was a straightforward transference

14 Dauphant, *Royaume*, 352.

15 Bryant, *King and the City*, 28–29; M. Gaillard, 'Notice d'un registre du Trésor des chartes', *Mémoires de littérature de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles lettres* 43 (1786), 676–77. When Louis XI entered Amiens in 1464, he appointed Jean Delabare to the postion of master hosier and Pierre Andras to that of master locksmith: AM Amiens AA 6, fol. 125v.

16 Potter, *War and Government*, 102. At Troyes, the governors of Champagne resided in the royal palace (the former residence of the counts of Champagne) during the sixteenth century, while Dijon's *échevins* prepared rooms in the 'king's house' for governors' entries: Babeau, *Rois de France à Troyes*, 68; Dauphant, *Royaume*, 352; Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, iii. 15. For governors lodging at royal residences, see also: F. Uzureau, 'Les Gouverneurs de l'Anjou et du Saumurois', *Mémoires de la Société nationale d'agriculture, sciences et arts d'Angers*, fifth series, 19 (1916), 27; Foulquet Sobolis, *Histoire en forme de journal de ce qui s'est passé en Provence depuis l'an 1562 jusqu'à l'an 1607*, ed. F. Chavernac (Paris, 1894), 7; Maurice Veyrat, 'Les gouverneurs de Normandie du XVe siècle à la Révolution', *Études normandes* (1953), 564.

17 AM Nantes AA 38.

18 R. C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392–1420* (New York, 1986), 148.

of this royal honour to governors' entries. When Charles de Bourbon entered Abbeville in 1520 as governor of Picardy, the town council offered the duke its keys 'considering that he is a prince of the blood and *lieutenant-général* of the king'.[19] While the *échevins* noted his status as a prince of the blood, it was his position as *lieutenant-général* that entitled him to receive the town's keys. Whereas nobles who insisted on the right to a key presentation at their entries as a means to boost their status were refused this honour, the granting of keys to provincial governors took place without debate because they represented the person of the monarch. Indeed, urban governments only gave their keys to the people the king had named governor. When Claude de Savoie, governor of Provence, made the Corsican mercenary captain Sampieru Corsu governor in his place on 3 October 1560, the consuls of Aix-en-Provence refused to offer Corsu their keys.[20] As he was not appointed directly by Francis II, Aix's consuls did not feel obliged to hand over their keys to Corsu because he did not represent the king.

The submission of keys to governors was connected to oath taking and municipal councils required governors to confirm urban liberties at their inaugural entries. In advance of Claude de Savoie's inaugural entry into Aix-en-Provence in 1547, the town council compiled a list of its privileges which the governor then swore to uphold at his entry.[21] At the other end of the kingdom, in Picardy, Amiens did the same for Antoine de Bourbon's entry in 1541.[22] It was important for urban administrations to have governors take an oath to maintain their rights as the extent of the governor's authority was a potential threat to municipal liberties. On 12 February 1550, the civic leaders of Nevers had Francis of Cleves, governor of the Nivernais, take two oaths, by which he swore to respect the privileges of the city and its suburbs.[23] Certainly, some governors attempted to use their powers to infringe on local liberties (such as John of Berry, governor of Languedoc, in the late fourteenth century).[24] In order to avoid such complications, town councils used a governor's entry to guarantee their privileges. Agen's consuls required the governors of Guyenne

19 Ledieu, *Inventaire sommaire, Abbeville*, 152; Potter, *War and Government*, 98.

20 AM Aix-en-Provence BB 46, fol. 47r. For Corso, see: Antoine-Marie Graziani and Michel Vergé-Franceschi, *Sampiero Corso (1498–1567): un mercenaire européen au XVIe siècle* (Ajaccio, 1999).

21 AM Aix-en-Provence BB 44, fols. 30r, 34r, BB 45, fol. 17r.

22 AM Amiens BB 23, fol. 87r.

23 Parmentier, *Archives de Nevers*, i. 145.

24 André Castaldo, *Seigneurs, villes et pouvoir royal en Languedoc: le consulat medieval d'Agde (XIIIe–XIVe siècles)* (Paris, 1974), 416–17.

to swear not to derogate or infringe upon municipal privileges at their inaugural entries. The text of this oath was then written down, signed by the governor and deposited in the town's archives, so that the consuls could produce it should the governor threaten their rights in the future.[25] In Dauphiné, where the governor possessed extensive powers (including the right to issue acts of the *parlement* in his own name), it was particularly important for municipal councils to obtain a guarantee that he would respect their privileges before admitting him behind their walls.[26] In December 1497, Grenoble, the capital of Dauphiné, used relics to sacralise the oath taking for the entry of the governor, Jean de Foix. The consuls ensured that the oath taking took place in front of the cross of Notre Dame, which Jean kissed before swearing to uphold the city's liberties.[27] For the entry of Charles de Bourbon as governor-legate of Avignon in 1473, the consuls constructed a temporary wooden chapel outside the Saint-Lazare gate, which they filled with powerful relics including those of the local saint, Agricol.[28] Before being admitted into Avignon, the consuls asked Charles to take an oath to uphold the city's liberties in a service held in the temporary church.[29] As Pope Sixtus IV had appointed Charles to the position of governor-legate at Louis XI's instigation, the measures Avignon's consuls took to sacralise Bourbon's oath reflected their concern to safeguard their rights in response to the growth of French power in the city.[30]

Although the bulk of the oaths governors took at their entries required them to respect the rights that the king had already granted the town, the monarch could appoint a governor to make an entry and confirm urban liberties in his name. Following the incorporation of Provence into the kingdom of France in 1481, Palamède de Forbin, the incumbent governor of Provence, made a series

25 Auguste, *Inventaire sommaire, Agen*, 15, 22.

26 Lemonde, *Temps de Libertés*, 78–80.

27 AM Grenoble BB 2, fols. 50v–51r. See also: A. Lemonde, 'Les entrées solennelles en Dauphiné', in Gilles Bertrand and Ilaria Taddei, eds., *Le destin des rituels: faire corps dans l'espace urbain, Italie-France-Allemagne* (Rome, 2008), 149. At Auch, the municipal council created a special volume of extracts from the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, specifically to be used when requiring governors to respect municipal liberties: AC Auch AA 1, fol. 31v.

28 AM Avignon BB 4, fol. 37v.

29 AM Avignon BB 4, fol. 37v; P. Pansier, 'L'entrée à Avignon du gouverneur légat Charles de Bourbon, le 23 novembre 1473', *Annales d'Avignon et du Comtat Venaissin* (1913), 211–12. For this entry, see also: Rouchon, 'Rituels publics', 39–59.

30 There was controversy surrounding this appointment and Sixtus IV replaced Charles de Bourbon in 1476 with his nephew Giuliano delle Rovere (later Pope Julius II): M. R. Rey, *Louis XI et les états pontificaux de France au XVe siècle* (Grenoble, 1899), 143–90.

of entries into Provençal towns and cities, confirming their liberties on behalf of Louis XI.[31] Hoping to exploit the French king's unfamiliarity with their rights, the citizens of Marseille inserted additional liberties into the corpus they asked Forbin to confirm on Louis XI's behalf.[32] Furthermore, Agen's consuls took an oath of loyalty to Louis XI through the hands of the governor of Guyenne, Jean de Lescun.[33] As Agen had been under French rule for less than a decade by the time of Louis's ascension in 1461, the king took the unusual step of sending his governor to the town to safeguard his rule by obtaining the oath of loyalty he would typically receive at his inaugural entry. This was part of a wider move by Louis to secure his hold over the former Lancastrian territories in France, probably because he was suspicious of the loyalty of his subjects from these regions. Within days of his father's death, Louis XI sent his councillor, Jehan Desteur, lord of La Barde and *maître-de-hotel*, to take possession of Rouen (including the city's castle, palace and bridge) and place twelve of the most powerful townspeople in custody. Louis also instructed Desteur to have the Rouennais take the oath of loyalty they would customarily give at a king's inaugural entry.[34] Furthermore, on 28 August, Louis XI sent Louis d'Estouteville, recently appointed governor of Normandy, to take formal possession of Rouen for the Crown and receive the city's keys.[35] Monarchs attributed a high value to such ceremonies in the fifteenth century and the Lancastrian monarchy used the same tactics to secure the loyalty of its French subjects.[36]

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31 AM Aix-en-Provence AA 4, fol. 17r, AA 8, fol. 5r, AA 16, fol. 47v; AM Arles BB 5, fols. 271r–73r; Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia regia*, v. 7–8. The liberties of Milan (which was conquered by Francis I in 1515) were confirmed by the governor of the Milanais, Charles, duke of Bourbon, during Francis I's visit to Grenoble in 1516: Pierre de Vassière, ed., *Journal de Jean Barrillon, sécretaire du chancelier Duprat 1515–21*, 2 vols (Paris, 1897–99), i. 219.

32 Mireille Zarb, *Histoire d'une autonomie communale. Les privilèges de la ville de Marseille du Xe siècle à la Révolution* (Paris, 1961), 115.

33 Auguste, *Inventaire sommaire, Agen*, 22. Louis XI appointed Jean the governor of Guyenne and marshal of France in August 1461: Vaesen and Charavay, *Lettres de Louis XI*, ii. 34; Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia regia*, iii. 424.

34 Desteur arrived in the city on 29 July. Rouen's *échevins* tried to pre-empt the king's actions. On 24 July (two days after they learnt of the death of Charles VII), they sent a delegation to Brabant to take an oath of loyalty to Louis on behalf of the city: AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 8, fols. 190v, 195r.

35 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 8, fol. 142r.

36 Murphy, 'Ceremony and Conflict', 112–13; idem, 'War, Government and Commerce: The Towns of Lancastrian France under Henry V's Rule, 1417–22', in Gwilym Dodd, ed., *Henry V: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2013), 253, 255–56.

While the move by urban governments to have their liberties confirmed at court at the beginning of a monarch's reign led to the gradual removal of the oath taking from royal entries, some towns reintroduced this element into governors' entries during times of political instability as a means of safeguarding their rights. In the speech that Dijon's mayor delivered to Charles of Lorraine, duke of Mayenne and governor of Burgundy, outside the gate of the abbey of Champmol on 24 July 1574, he asked the duke to confirm the city's liberties in the name of the king.[37] With the death of Charles IX on 30 May 1574, the Crown passed to his brother Henry, duke of Anjou and king of Poland. As Henry had not returned to France from Poland by the time of the duke of Mayenne's entry into Dijon, the *échevins* had been unable to have their rights confirmed. There was an uncertainty about the status of municipal privileges during the transference of power between rulers. As municipal councils considered governors to wield royal authority on the king's behalf, Dijon used Mayenne's inaugural entry to secure its rights.[38] The *échevins*' request to have Mayenne confirm their liberties on the king's behalf also represents an effort by Dijon's municipal council to restore the traditional swearing of urban liberties (which Charles IX had removed in 1564) to the foreground of a ceremonial entry. In addition, governors were also important for the confirmation of urban liberties at court. When Rouen's *échevins* learnt of Francis I's ascension to the throne in January 1515, they immediately sent a delegation to Paris to obtain the confirmation of their privileges. It was Charles d'Alençon, the new governor of Normandy, who introduced the municipal delegation into Francis's lodgings, where they were able to gain an audience with the king and obtain his confirmation of the city's liberties.[39] As these examples illustrate, provincial governors came to play a key role in the renewal of urban liberties by the sixteenth century. Accordingly, town councils deployed a range of strategies at governors' entries which were intended to win the lasting friendship of these powerful officials. The offering of the canopy was foremost amongst these tactics.

37 *Entrées et réjouissances dans la ville de Dijon* (Dijon, 1885), 18–19. For Mayenne's subsequent relationship with Dijon, see: Henri Drouot, *Mayenne et la Bourgogne: étude sur la Ligue* (*1587–1596*), 2 vols (Paris, 1937).

38 Henry III did not return to France until early September 1574: J.-F. Solnon, *Henri III: un désir de majesté* (Paris, 2001), 187.

39 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 11, fol. 108r.

The Canopy

While there was a straightforward incorporation of some marks of sovereignty into governors' entries (such as the key presentation, oath taking and the confirmation of guild masters), the use of the canopy was a contested honour and debates about it dominated discussions of governors' entries across the kingdom. Although French towns were accustomed to present their keys to the king's representatives, the canopy was strongly associated with the monarch's person. As a symbol of sovereignty, it appeared above the king on representations of royal power, including seals and coins.[40] It was an honour that not even the most exalted late medieval French princes claimed as their right. For example, Philip the Good (one of the most powerful rulers in fifteenth-century Europe) refused the canopy offered to him at his entry into Besançon in 1442.[41] However, the ascendancy of the provincial governors in the late fifteenth century gave a fresh impetus to debates on the canopy, particularly as urban governments had to decide if a governor's status as the king's deputy entitled him to this honour at his entries.

Some of the earliest discussions about the use of the canopy occurred in Rouen's council chambers. The French monarchy considered Normandy to be one of the kingdom's most important regions and this was reflected in the high status of its governors (three governors of Normandy went on to become kings of France).[42] When Rouen's *échevins* learned that Louis, duke of Orléans (who later ascended to the throne as Louis XII), was to enter the city as governor of Normandy in 1492, they held a debate about whether or not to raise a canopy

40 Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 14–15.

41 Henri Beaune and J. D'Arbaumont, ed., *Mémoires d'Olivier de La Marche*, 4 vols (Paris, 1883–88), i. 278. Dijon raised a canopy above Charles the Bold at his entry in 1474, though this can be explained by the political context of the entry. Charles was returning from Trier, where he had expected Emperor Frederick III to invest him with the Crown of a restored kingdom of Burgundy. While Charles failed to realise this ambition at his meeting with the emperor, it is likely that Dijon's *échevins* prepared the entry in expectation of receiving a crowned monarch: Hurlbut, 'Inaugural Entries', 112.

42 Louis XII, Francis I and Henry II. In addition, the dauphin, Francis, was made governor of Normandy in 1531, though he died before he could come to the throne: Veyrat, 'Gouverneurs de normandie', 569–71, 574–75. The dauphin was frequently the titular governor of Normandy and the actual administration of the province was given to lieutenants to rule in his absence, such as Admiral Chabot who was appointed to govern Normandy in the place of Dauphin Francis on 21 August 1531: Labande, *Correspondance de Joachim de Matignon*, xxx; *Catalogue des actes de François Ier*, vi. 266.

above him. After protracted discussions, the *échevins* decided not to offer Louis a canopy, declaring that the position of governor did not warrant it.[43] Rouen's debates about the use of the canopy intensified in 1515 when the *échevins* spent five months discussing the reasons for and against honouring the new governor of Normandy, Charles, duke of Alençon, with a canopy. Royal officials based in Rouen, including the *grand sénéschal*, Louis de Brézé, advised the municipal council not to grant the canopy to the duke as it was a right pertaining to the king alone. In addition, Nicole Caradas, the king's advocate in the *bailliage*, advised Rouen's leaders to welcome the duke with all honours except the canopy, reminding the *échevins* that they had not given Louis of Orléans one in 1492. Nonetheless, Rouen's *échevins* discounted the advice of the royal officials and decided to prepare a canopy for Louis but with the caveat that it was to be a less honourable one than that given to the king.[44] In short, Rouen's initial decision to grant the governor a canopy was made by the municipal council rather than being imposed by the Crown; indeed, the judgement was taken against the advice of the monarch's agents.

Although the ruling issued by Rouen's *échevins* in 1515 may have been influenced by the fact that in 1492 they had denied granting a canopy to a governor who later ascended to the throne, the principal reason why the city council offered a canopy to Alençon was because it allowed them to reward the duke for his services to the city. According to the municipal deliberations, the *échevins* accorded the duke this honour in return for the actions he had taken on their behalf at court regarding the exemption from the *franc-fief*, which was a tax non-nobles had to pay when purchasing noble lands. As we saw in chapter two, this was a crucial issue for the wealthy townspeople who wanted to move into landholding. The duke of Alençon's success in obtaining this tax exemption benefitted Rouen's elite, who saved money and gained honour by holding lands in the same manner as the nobility.[45] Furthermore, as the duke's brother-in-law had recently ascended to the throne as Francis I, Rouen's ruling elite expected him to be in a strong position to promote their affairs at court. In the same month that Francis I came to the throne (January 1515), Alençon told Rouen's municipal council '*Messieurs*, if you have any business with the king, I will make the request and seek after it and be your means towards him'.[46] There was also a chance that Alençon could become the next king of France

43 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 9, fol. 54r.

44 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 11, fol. 3r.

45 Chevalier, *Bonnes villes*, 102.

46 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 11, fol. 124v.

as he was first in line to the throne after Francis (in fact, he was called the dauphin before the birth of Francis I's first son in 1523).[47] As part of the speech Rouen delivered to Alençon immediately before raising the canopy above him, the *échevins* asked the governor to uphold the town's privileges and expressed their hope that he would render effective justice, particularly through the punishment of fraudsters.[48] In other words, as well as granting a canopy to reward Alençon for his past successes, the municipal council also emphasised his future responsibilities as governor by highlighting the measures they expected him to take on their account. Rouen's decision to grant the governor a canopy was taken out of self-interest and as a means to reward a proven broker for his efforts on the city's behalf. By granting Alençon the uncustomary honour of the canopy (which, even as the king's brother-in-law, he could not claim by right), the municipal council consolidated its relationship with the incumbent governor by supporting the public presentation of his power.

An entry ceremony provided municipal councils with an opportunity to deploy various markers of esteem (such as gestures, special dress and objects), which they used to articulate the governor's authority and social standing.[49] As provincial governors rose to prominence in the sixteenth-century, efforts to display their honour in public became increasingly apparent. From the early sixteenth century, governors regularly attended public functions (including entries) accompanied by large entourages composed of high-status figures.[50] When Louis de Brézé made his inaugural entry as governor of Normandy into Rouen on 27 September 1526, his entourage included the bishops of Lisieux, Évreux, Angôuleme and the abbot of Bernay, the *baillis* of Évreux and the Cotentin, as well as numerous other lords.[51] Likewise, when François de Montmorency entered Paris in 1538 as the governor of the Île-de-France, he was accompanied by thirty-six noblemen from his household, while Antoine de Bourbon, the governor of Guyenne, entered Limoges in 1556 with a large entourage composed of a number of regional dignitaries, including

47 Vassière, *Journal de Jean Barrillon*, i. 9.

48 Veyrat, 'Gouverneurs de normandie', 562.

49 For the display of status, see: E. Dravasa, *Vivre noblement. Recherches sur la dérogeance de noblesse du XIVe aux XVIe siècles* (Bordeaux, 1965); A. Jouanna, 'Recherches sur la notion d'honneur au XVI^è siècle', *Revue d'histoire modern et contemporaine* 15 (1968), 611–13; Howard Kaminsky, 'Estate, Nobility, and the Exhibition of Estate in the Later Middle Ages', *Speculum* 63 (1993), 679–81.

50 Harding, *Power Elite*, 21.

51 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 12, fol. 71r; Veyrat, 'Gouverneurs de normandie', 562.

the bishops of Mende and Oloron, as well as the lords of Cars, Lavauguyon, Pompadour and Roanne.[52]

Governors could also increase their public position by refusing the honours offered to them at their entries. For example, Philippe Chabot, the governor of Burgundy, declined the canopy presented to him at Dijon in 1526.[53] By refusing this honour, governors could attempt to increase their standing with the king. In particular, governors exploited uncertainties surrounding the use of the canopy to win praise for their deference. Anne de Montmorency, governor of Languedoc, turned down the canopy at his entry into Toulouse on 27 July 1533. As he was entering the city shortly in advance of the dauphin and the king, Montmorency could use his refusal of a customary mark of sovereignty to win favour with both the current king and the expected future monarch.[54] Montmorency also refused the canopy when it was offered to him at Béziers the following month, again just before the king was due to enter the town.[55] By publicly declining a canopy in deference to the king, governors could win more honour and acclaim than accepting it because it allowed them to appear humble before the monarch.[56] Whether or not the governor accepted the canopy, the key point was that municipal councils offered him the prospect of winning honour in one form or another. In some parts of the kingdom, the refusal of the canopy became a traditional element of a governor's entry. In fact, it was customary for the governors of Guyenne to refuse the canopy and then enter with it carried behind him.[57] In this way, the governor could appear respectful of royal authority and still have the honour of entering with it (if not under it), thus illustrating that he represented royal authority in the king's absence.

While the initiative to grant a canopy to governors lay with municipal councils, once the precedent was set it was difficult to reverse. The inclusion of a canopy quickly became a routine element of a governor's entry, rather than an

52 Tuetey, *Registres Paris, 1527–1539*, 396; Potter, *War and Government*, 102–3; Reuben, *Registres consulaires, Limoges*, ii. 110.

53 BNF Collection de Bourgogne 45, fol. 28v; Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, iii. 15.

54 AM Toulouse AA 5/94.

55 Domarion, *Entrée de François Ier, Béziers*, 39.

56 Emperor Charles V initially declined the canopy offered to him at his entry into Paris in 1540, stating that it was an honour that belonged to the French king, though after this show of due defence he relented and entered under it: Guérin, *Registres Paris, 1539–1552*, 9.

57 Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, i. 1023–4. In the seventeenth century, Louis XIV preferred to have the canopy carried in front of him rather than above him. Lawrence Bryant suggests that this was because 'his glory would be hidden underneath it': Bryant, *King and the City*, 104.

additional honour urban governments used to reward their brokers. To illustrate, when Louis de Brézé entered Rouen as governor of Normandy in 1526, he was accorded a canopy without the protracted debates that surrounded the entries of 1492 and 1515.[58] By the 1520s, Rouen had lost the initiative to grant this honour: it was now a standard practice to offer a canopy to governors at their entries. While Louis de Brézé had advised Rouen's *échevins* not to grant a canopy to Louis of Orléans in 1492 (because it was a right belonging to the king alone), he did not refuse this honour at his own inaugural entry into Rouen as governor of Normandy thirty years later.

Due to the regional nature of governorships, canopies were introduced into governors' entries across the kingdom at different times. It was first used at Dijon in 1500 for the entry of Engilbert de Cleves, whereas it was not used at Grenoble until the entry of Guillaume Gouffier, governor of the Dauphiné, in 1520.[59] The introduction of the canopy reflected local political circumstances. It was first used at Chalôns-en-Champagne in 1524 for the inaugural entry of Claude of Lorraine. As well granting Claude a canopy, Chalôns' *échevins* offered both him and his wife gifts of silverware. This gesture formed part of the municipal council's drive to bind itself to Claude, who was emerging as one of the most powerful people in France in 1520s. Shortly after becoming governor of Champagne, Claude was appointed to the king's council; furthermore, he became one of the leading members of Louise of Savoy's regency government during Francis I's imprisonment in 1525–6. Following his release from captivity, Francis raised Claude to the position of *grand veneur*.[60] As one of the principal offices in the royal household, it provided Claude with extensive access to the king.[61] By offering the canopy and other distinctions to the governor at his entry in 1524, Chalôns' *échevins* were able to develop a friendly relationship with one of the kingdom's most powerful brokers, which worked to the town's benefit throughout the 1520s and beyond.

While canopies were first introduced into governors' entries in response to local circumstances, the use of these objects developed into a national trend by the mid-sixteenth century. This was because provincial governors were in a competition for public prestige with their peers. When news began to circulate at court that some towns and cities were offering canopies to their governors, those based in other parts of the kingdom began to demand the same honours.

58 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 12, fol. 18v.

59 Harding, *Power Elite*, 12.

60 Stuart Carroll, *Noble Power during the French Wars of Religion: The Guise Affinity and the Catholic Cause in Normandy* (Cambridge, 1998), 15.

61 Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers*, 29–31.

As governors entered towns with high-status individuals in their entourages, many nobles were able to witness first-hand how their equals were received. While the towns of Picardy had no tradition of granting canopies to their governors, Louis, prince of Condé, insisted that Amiens' *échevins* carry one above him during his inaugural entry into the city in 1565. Condé claimed that French governors were due the honour of a canopy and he cited the examples of Jacques d'Albon, governor of the Lyonnais, and Charles de Bourbon, governor of Dauphiné, who had been granted canopies at their entries. Condé had been present at Jaques d'Albon's inaugural entry into Lyon in 1550, where he saw first-hand the consuls carry a canopy above the governor as he progressed through the city.[62] In addition to Condé, three other future governors were present at d'Albon's entry: Robert de La Marck (governor of Normandy from 1552 to 1556); Jacques de Savoie (governor of Lyonnais from 1562 to 1571) and Charles de Bourbon (governor of Dauphiné from 1563 to 1565), who Condé mentioned to Amiens's *échevins* as a further example of the honours he was due to receive as a governor. Nonetheless, Amiens' *échevins* refused Condé's demand, informing the prince that his own brother, Antoine de Bourbon, was not granted a canopy when he entered the city as governor of Picardy in 1541.[63] Furthermore, they told Condé that royal orders prohibited the canopy from being granted to anyone but the king.[64] Condé's claim to this honour prevailed over Amiens' protests and from his entry onwards the city council raised canopies above its governors.[65] While Amiens had tried to retain the initiative to grant this honour by hiding behind the royal prerogative, the use of the canopy had become an established part of a governor's entry by the mid-sixteenth century. This was to the detriment of town councils, as they lost the ability to grant (or withhold) this honour and thus persuade governors to act on their behalf.

Furthermore, the granting of canopies to provincial governors encouraged other prominent figures in the kingdom to demand this honour, such as Charles, duke of Bourbon, constable of France, who informed Lyon's town council that he wanted a canopy carried above him at his entry into the city in 1515. As the governor of Languedoc, Charles could expect a canopy when he entered the towns and cities in his province; however, as Lyon lay outside

62 Lucien Romier, *Jacques d'Albon de Saint-André, maréchal de France* (*1512–1562*) (Paris, 1909), 255; AM Lyon BB 71, fol. 180r.

63 While Antoine was accorded marks of honour such as the key presentation, he was not granted a canopy: AM Amiens BB 23, fols. 87r–87v.

64 AM Amiens BB 37, fols. 66r, 69r; Harding, *Power Elite*, 13.

65 For canopies at the entries of the following governors of Picardy, see: AM Amiens BB 40, fol. 20r (duke of Longueville, 1571), and BB 48, fol. 28r (duke of Nevers, 1587).

his *gouvernement*, the duke could not claim this mark of esteem by virtue of his status as governor of Languedoc. Instead, Charles informed Lyon's consuls that he was due a canopy because his appointment as constable on 12 January 1515 made him the most important person in the kingdom after the monarch.[66] Even so, Lyon refused to grant the duke a canopy in an effort to retain its control over this mark of distinction. As the consuls did not want to give an outright refusal to one of the kingdom's leading men, they drew on their network of influential friends at court to tactfully decline the constable's request. They enlisted Florimond Robertet (who was then the chief royal financial officer and one of the most powerful people in France) to write a pacifying letter to the duke reminding him that the right to a canopy was an honour reserved for the king.[67]

Whereas Lyon's consuls denied Charles de Bourbon's request for a canopy by claiming that it appertained to the monarch alone, Paris's *échevins* devised a strategy to justify giving a canopy to the chancellor of France, Antoine Duprat, when he entered the city on 18 December 1530. Although the *échevins* initially refused the chancellor's request for this honour by claiming that it was a royal right, they soon changed their minds. As the chancellor of France, Duprat was in a good position to help the city council, and the councillors wanted to grant the chancellor the distinction of a canopy to try and curry favour with him. Nonetheless, as a commoner who had risen through the ranks of the royal administration, Duprat had no basis on which to claim this honour; in fact, the position of chancellor, while powerful, did not confer on the holder the right to make an entry, let alone the royal privilege of a canopy. As Duprat was widely loathed by the general population of Paris, the *échevins* searched for a precedent to justify their aim to offer him this mark of esteem.[68] In particular, the city council needed to persuade the capital's guildsmen (who carried the canopy above the monarch during royal entries) of Duprat's right to this honour. Fortunately for the *échevins*, Duprat had been appointed papal legate earlier that year (4 June 1530). This meant that the city council could claim that Duprat was entitled to a canopy because he was the pope's representative in France. As well as allowing Paris's rulers to flatter Duprat, the incorporation of this mark of distinction into his entry enabled the *échevins* to gain access to the chancellor. While representatives from the city's most powerful guilds traditionally carried the canopy along different sections of the processional route, the municipal council revised this custom for Duprat's entry. Instead, the *échevins*

66 BNF Collection de Bourgogne 45, fol. 25v; Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia regia*, iii. 488.

67 Guigue, *Entrée de François premier, Lyon*, xxi.

68 For Parisians' antipathy towards Duprat see: Knecht, 'Francis I and Paris', 25.

ruled that they would carry it along the first part of the route (from the gate of entry at Saint Jacques up to the church of Saint Benoît). They sent a municipal sergeant, Jacques Beguin, to tell the goldsmiths not turn up on the day of the entry as they were no longer required to carry the canopy. Paris's *échevins* once again used past precedent to justify their supplanting of the goldsmiths. After searching through the city council's archives for accounts of previous entries, they discovered that the *échevins* had carried the canopy along the first stage of the intramural procession for the entries of the cardinals of Amboise (1502) and Luxembourg (1517).[69] While Georges, cardinal of Amboise, was also Louis XII's leading councillor, it was his status as papal legate which was important for the *échevins*. Although some French towns and cities accorded ceremonial entries to leading royal councillors this was not a sufficient enough precedent to allow the granting of a canopy to Duprat. Hence, Paris emphasised Georges d'Amboise's status as legate rather than councillor. Furthermore, the city council enlisted Pierre Clutin (the *prévôt des marchands* at the time of Philippe of Luxembourg's entry) to assure the townspeople that the *échevins* had carried the canopy at the cardinal of Amboise's entry.[70]

It was desirable for Paris's *échevins* to be the first group to carry the canopy above Duprat, as it allowed them to underline their role in organising the entry and according him this uncustomary honour (in return for which they sought his favour). As the chancellor of France, Duprat was one of the most important people in the royal administration. Because he was largely resident in Paris, Duprat was in a good position to listen to the city council's pleas for tax reduction. The level of taxation the Crown placed on Paris grew increasingly heavy during the 1520s and Francis I's levying of a tax of 100,000 *écus* on the capital in 1528 brought the city close to breaking point. The *échevins* struggled to collect this unpopular tax from the financially exhausted population and they had to send the civic militia to the houses of those who refused to contribute. The unrest continued into 1529, when further financial difficulties were placed on the population as a result of the so-called 'Ladies' Peace' of August 1529 which set the ransom of the king's sons (who were then in captivity in Madrid) at two

69 Bonnardot, *Registres Paris, 1499–1526*, 67, 237.

70 Tuetey, *Registres Paris, 1527–1539*, 92. Other towns and cities employed this tactic during this period of heavy taxation: Duprat also had a canopy raised above him at his entries into Dijon (1530), Rouen (1532) and Toulouse (1533): BNF Collection de Bourgogne 45, fol. 29v; AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 13, fol. 18r; AM Toulouse AA 5/96. For legates' entries, see: Marc Smith, 'Ordre et desordre dans quelques entrées de légats à la fin du XVIe siècle', in Desplat and Mironneau, *Entrées: gloire et déclin*, 65–91.

million *écus*.[71] The bulk of the ransom fell on the principal towns and cities of the kingdom, which struggled to survive under this fiscal pressure. Paris's problems were exacerbated by the actions of the Crown, which took harsh measures against urban governments to compel them to raise this sum.[72] Duprat's entry thus offered Paris's *échevins* an opportunity to win the favour of a central figure in the kingdom's financial administration who had the power to obtain a tax reduction for the city.[73] Overall, the use of the canopy provided a powerful tool for urban administrations to deploy when seeking to develop networks of clientage at court.

Governors' Networks of Clientage

Governors' entries played a crucial role in the formation and consolidation of networks of clientage, especially as the king often appointed individuals with strong local connections to provincial governorships. For example, Louis II de la Trémouille was made governor of Burgundy in 1506 partly because of his ties to the region.[74] The commissioning of governors from powerful local families whose wealth base already lay in the *gouvernement* (such as the Bourbons in Picardy or the Guise in Champagne) meant that they were less likely to be absentee rulers.[75] This policy also gave a fresh boost to the formation of networks of clientage as governors developed relationships with those urban elites who could help them enhance their status. Ceremonial entries formed a crucial element in this system, which Robert Harding notes was based on

71 R. J. Knecht, 'Francis I and Paris', *History* 66 (1981), 30.

72 Knecht, *Renaissance France*, 136–37, 150–51.

73 For Duprat's financial influence see: Albert Buisson, *Le chancelier Antoine Duprat* (Paris, 1935), 216–78; Christophe Vellet, 'Entre légistes et ministres: Antoine Duprat (1463–1535)', in Michon, *Conseillers de François Ier*, 214–218.

74 Patrick Arabeyre and Catherine Chédeau, 'Les entrées des gouverneurs à Dijon au XVIe siècle', in D. Le Page, J. Loiseau and A. Rauwel, eds., *Urbanités. Vivre, suivre, se divertir dans les villes* (*XVe–XXe siècles*). *Études en l'honneur de Christine Lamarre* (Dijon, 2012), 198. For the rise of the La Trémouille family, see: William A. Weary, 'The House of La Trémouille, Fifteenth through Eighteenth Centuries: Change and Adaptation in a French Noble Family', *Journal of Modern History* 49 (1977), 1001–38.

75 Potter, *War and Government*, 66–67; Mark Konnert, 'Provincial Governors and their Regimes during the French Wars of Religion: The Duc de Guise and the City Council of Châlons-sur-Marne', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25 (1994), 826–27.

'reciprocation for past favours and in expectation of future ones'.[76] While a governor's term in office was usually short (five years or less) in the 1460s and 1470s, the duration of their appointments increased considerably during the sixteenth century (indeed, all the governors of Burgundy in the second half of the sixteenth century remained in their post for more than two decades). Given the long tenure of their appointments, it was in the interests of municipal councils to use ceremonial entries to construct enduring friendships with their governors, who came from France's leading families (including the Bourbon, Guise and Montmorency).[77] Louis XI appointed John, duke of Bourbon, governor of Languedoc because 'the said office requires a prince of the blood of great authority'.[78] As governorships often remained in the same family, urban administrations attempted to use entries to build links with future governors. Honoré de Savoie, count of Tende, refused the entry ceremony (and gifts of silverware) Aix-en-Provence offered him in 1566 until his father, Claude de Savoie, the late governor of Dauphiné, had been buried. Yet the fact that Honoré declined these honours in advance of his appointment as his father's successor suggests that the consuls had altered him to their intentions in an effort to persuade him to enter the town.[79] Aix's consuls probably wanted to use an entry to gain Tende's services as their agent; when his father made his inaugural entry into the town as governor in 1547, it was with 'good heart that the town recognised what he [the governor] could do for it [Aix]'.[80] Governors were especially attractive to urban administrations because they normally held other positions of power in addition to their role as governors. Louis de Brézé, governor of Normandy, was both *chambellan* and *grand veneur* to

76 Harding, *Power Elite*, 28. For governors and their networks of clientage, see also: Mark Greengrass, 'Noble Affinities in Early Modern France: The Case of Henri I de Montmorency, Constable of France', *European History Quarterly* 16 (1986), 275–311; Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1986), 141–44; Konnert, 'Provincial Governors and their Regimes', 823–40; Malcolm Walsby, *Counts of Laval*, 43–79.

77 Davis Bitton, *The French Nobility in Crisis, 1560–1640* (Stanford, 1969), 42–4S3; Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers*, 223; Potter, *Nation State*, 120; J. M. H. Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century* (Tonbridge, 1975), 24–26; Zeller, 'Gouverneurs d'Auvergne', 163.

78 Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia regia*, iii. 484.

79 AM Aix-en-Provence BB 63, fol. 7r. Likewise, on 14 March 1587 Bernard de Nogaret de La Valette made his inaugural entry as governor of Provence into Aix-en-Provence. He was the brother of the previous governor, Louis de Nogaret, duke d'Epernon (who entered Aix on 21 September 1586): Sobolis, *Journal*, 42.

80 AM Aix-en-Provence BB 44, fol. 34r.

Francis I, as well as being married to the court favourite Diane of Poitiers (later mistress to Henry II).[81] Similarly, Jean de Bruges, governor of Picardy, was *chambellan* to Louis XII and a member of his royal council.[82] In addition to sitting on the royal council, governors were frequently with the king at court or on campaign. Furthermore, having a governor for a broker could bring long-term rewards for towns because they were often appointed for life. Guillaume Gouffier, admiral of France, was governor of Dauphiné from 1519 until his death at the battle of Pavia in 1525.[83] Likewise, Louis de La Trémouille was governor of Burgundy from 1506 until he, too, was killed at Pavia, while his predecessor, Engilbert of Cleves, also held this position for life.[84]

By the early sixteenth century, the combination of the governors' elevated social status and the long duration of their appointments allowed municipal councils to develop enduring networks of influence with individuals who had privileged access to the king.[85] Their regular contact with the monarch – in addition to the crucial role they played in the running of the kingdom – led municipal councils to use entries to obtain governors' services as brokers. Lyon's consuls set aside a large sum of money for the entry of Jacques d'Albon, governor of Lyonnaise, in 1550 because he had 'great access and power' with the king, which they hoped he would use to obtain the city's exemption from the war subsidy (an issue that had preoccupied the consuls since Henry II's entry in August 1548). Furthermore, they hoped that d'Albon would encourage the king to repay the debts on the loans that the Crown had taken out at Lyon to fund its wars in Italy, which stood at the colossal sum of 6,860,844 *livres* upon Henry II's ascension to the throne in 1547.[86] Likewise, when Charles de Cossé-Brissac made his inaugural entry into Angers as governor of Anjou, the mayor used the extramural greeting speech to thank him for the efforts he had taken to obtain exemption from military quartering for the town. The mayor asked Charles to continue his endeavours on behalf of Angers, promising that

81 Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia regia*, iv. 260.

82 Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia regia*, iv. 460.

83 Pierre Carouge, 'Artus (1474–1519) et Guillaume (1482–1525) Gouffier', in Michon, *Conseillers de François Ier*, 239–42.

84 Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia regia*, i. 420; ii. 319.

85 Rivaud, *Villes et le roi*, 201.

86 AM Lyon BB 71, fol. 181r; Roger Doucet, 'Le Grand Parti de Lyon au XVIe siècle' *Revue historique* 171 (1933), 480. This sum rose to 11,700,000 *livres* by the time of Henry's death in 1559, which bankrupted the *Grand Parti* at Lyon: Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, 50; Ladurie, *French Royal State*, 44.

the townspeople would honour him in return.[87] Greeting speeches such as that given to Cossé-Brissac were not just designed to flatter: they had an instructional intent. When Charles of Mayenne, governor of Burgundy, made his first entry into Dijon in 1574, the mayor used his greeting speech to highlight the importance of 'clemency, justice and generosity.[88] Urban elites used extramural greeting speeches to construct good relationships with governors that were based on reciprocal obligations. When Gaspard de Coligny, governor of the Île-de-France, entered Paris on 9 February 1551, soon after returning Boulogne to French rule, he was given a flattering speech by the *prévot-des-marchands*, Claude Guyot. In response to this greeting, Coligny stressed his capability to act as an intermediary between the king and the city. He told Guyot that he would act for the 'good and profit' of Paris, boasting that he knew people of 'great power, experience and sufficiency' who he could enlist to help the city in various ways. Paris cemented its relationship with Coligny by gifting him several of items of silverware (including two basins, two cups and two water jugs). The extent of the gifts pleased the governor greatly, thus making him more likely to use his networks of influence on the city's behalf.[89]

As with the monarch's entries, municipal councils used gift giving to bind governors to reciprocate.[90] When Lyon's consuls offered Jacques d'Albon a gift of silverware following his entry in 1550 they also gave him petitions relating to their 'great and urgent business'.[91] However, Lyon's urgency to bind d'Albon to act immediately on their behalf was not typical of the transactions

87 Uzureau, 'Gouverneurs de l'Anjou', 24. Similarly, when the duke of Bourbon entered Nevers as *lieutenant-général* on 9 July 1466, they provided gifts to him 'in recognition of the good that he did in the past year for [the] town and region, during the divisions which were between the king and the lords, and also in honouring the good will and pleasure of the count of Nevers, who made it known that we had given him [a] good welcome': Parmentier, *Archives de Nevers*, i. 204–5.

88 Cited in Arabeyre and Chedeau, 'Gouverneurs à Dijon', 262.

89 Godefroy, *Cérémonial françois*, i. 1007.

90 Nonetheless, these efforts were not successful. Five months after entering Lyon, the consuls gifted d'Albon a silver chain in order to obtain a subsidy for the city. However, d'Albon stated that the gift did not bind him to this charge, claiming that the chain was 'in recompense for pleasures and services' that he had already done for the city: AM Lyon BB 72, fol. 194r. However, d'Albon did go on to advance the affairs of the city at court. See, for example, the letters he sent to Claude of Lorraine, the first minister of Henri II, and Anne de Montmorency, constable of France, on 28 July promoting the affairs of the city: AA 28, n. 57; Lucien Romier, 'Les deputes des villes en cour au XVI siecle', 1 *Bulletin historique et philologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1909), 511.

91 AM Lyon BB 71, fol. 181r.

between urban elites and governors at entries. Relationships of clientage between governors and municipal elites were not normally based on an immediate transaction between the client and patron. Unlike the entry of the king – who immediately granted new liberties in return for gifts – the provision of an entry (and gift) to a governor created an association that was based on delayed reciprocity, whereby the governor was typically rewarded either for past successes or in the expectation of future assistance.[92] In return for promoting municipal interests at court, governors asked regional Estates for money and the governors of Languedoc were particularly adept at this tactic. Charles de Bourbon sent a letter to the Estates of Languedoc outlining the services he could provide for the province at court in return for which he requested the Estates to provide him with money. The promise of favours from one of the most powerful people in the kingdom was an attractive offer for the Estates of Languedoc, which voted to give him the substantial sum of 15,000 *livres*.[93] Monetary gifts were often tied to specific requests. Following his ceremonial entry into Montpellier on 24 May 1426, the city government paid Jean, count of Foix, governor of Languedoc, the sum of 68,000 *francs* on the condition that he used this money to bring an end to the destructive actions of mercenaries in the region.[94] Likewise, In 1529 the Estates of Languedoc agreed to pay 6,000 *livres* to the new governor of the Languedoc, Anne de Montmorency (who was appointed to the position after the treason of Charles of Bourbon), if he could obtain a reduction in the number of troops billeted in the province (these soldiers had been particularly unruly).[95] Similarly, in 1492 the Estates of Normandy voted to give 14,000 *livres* to Louis of Orléans in return for his services on behalf the province.[96] Urban administrations used ceremonial entries to provide their contributions to these monetary gifts.[97] As governors acted in the interests of a province, towns sought to have the inhabitants of the wider region – not just the townspeople – contribute towards the governor's gift. When Auch's consuls learnt that the king of Navarre, governor of Guyenne, was to enter their town, they brought together representatives from the surrounding region to give their consent to the offering (and cost) of a gift.[98] In addition to the high monetary value of the gifts, the increasing magnificence

92 Harding, *Power Elite*, 36–7.

93 Brink, 'Royal Power', 56.

94 Alicot, *Petit Thalamus de Montpellier*, 473.

95 Brink, 'Royal Power', 56.

96 Veyrat, 'Gouverneurs de normandie', 561.

97 Dauphant, *Royaume*, 352.

98 AC Auch BB 5, fol. 488v (for entry see: fol. 489r).

of governors' entries (which mirrored those of the king) drained municipal budgets. The expense of the governor of Dauphiné's entry in 1548 left Grenoble unable to provide a first-rate entry for Henry II when he entered the city one month later. As a consequence, the monarch refused to confirm the city's liberties.[99] Grenoble's municipal council was not alone in preparing increasingly magnificent entries for governors. We find a considerable evolution in the form of governors' entries across the kingdom between the later fifteenth and mid-sixteenth century, as towns sought to use these honours to encourage governors to act on their behalf.

We can track the evolution in governors' entries by looking at changes to the receptions staged at Dijon for the governors of Burgundy. While the 1481 entry of the first governor of Burgundy, Georges de La Trémouille, was a relatively modest affair, the *échevins* introduced a canopy (which was expensive to make) for the entry of Engilbert of Cleves in 1500. Furthermore, Dijon also presented Engilbert with a gift of silverware.[100] For Louis de La Trémouille's inaugural entry in 1508, the town council spent over 160 *livres* on a silver cup to offer him as a gift, in addition to paying to decorate his lodgings in the king's palace with expensive tapestries.[101] When Philippe de Chabot entered the city in 1526, the municipal council included dramatic performances in the procession for the first time. There was also a marked expansion in the scale of the gifts offered at this entry: not only did the *échevins* give eight items of silverware to the duke (six cups and two water jugs), they also provided gifts of silverware to his wife and his mother (in the same way that they would do for the king's female relations). Like the king's officers, those of the governor had the right to keep the canopy after his entry. As Chabot refused a canopy at his entry, the town council had to pay compensation of 100 *sous* to his officers (in addition to the costs of fashioning the now redundant canopy).[102] The municipal council staged a particularly elaborate entry for the duke of Guise in 1544. Not only did the *échevins* increase the number of dramatic performances and hire musicians from the neighbouring town of Auxonne to perform on the stages, they also appointed the well-regarded painters Jean Dorrain, Denis Aubber and Guillaume Thomas to fashion the sets. The town council also commissioned

99 AM Grenoble BB 14, fols. 42r–43r; Gluck, 'Entrées provinciales de Henri II', 216; Prudhomme, *Histoire de Grenoble*, 337.

100 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, iii. 15. For example, Narbonne paid 52 *livres* 10 *sous* for the canopy for the governor of Languedoc (Henri de Montmorency) in October 1563: AM Narbonne BB 1, fol. 250r.

101 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, iii. 15.

102 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, iii. 15.

these artists to decorate the triumphal arches (a feature normally restricted to royal entries) they had decided to include in a governor's entry for the first time. In addition, the *échevins* paid almost 630 *livres* for a cup to offer the duke (over four times the cost of the gift they offered Louis de La Trémouille in 1508), as well as a further 364 *livres* for two gilded water jugs they gave to the duchess.[103] When Claude of Lorraine, duke of Aumale, entered the city in December 1550, as well as erecting triumphal arches, the city council gifted the governor a silver statue of Hercules costing 400 *livres*. The scale of the decorations, the iconography and the cost of Claude's entry mirrored the reception Henry II had received at Dijon (indeed, the city council employed the same artists).[104] By the second half of the sixteenth century, French towns were transferring the exalted language traditionally reserved for the king's entry to those of the provincial governors. The mayor of Dijon called the duke of Mayenne the 'image of God and one of his ministers on Earth' at his entry in 1574.[105] In short, we can see a steady rise in the splendour and cost of governors' entries as they came to resemble those of the king.

The development of governors' entries at Dijon was echoed in other towns and cities across France. When the first governor of Lyonnnais, Tanneguy du Chastel, entered Lyon in 1462, he received a modest reception and gift. However, dramatic performances were included in the inaugural entry of the second governor, Cesare Borgia, duke of Valentinois, in 1498, along with an increase in the scale of the gifts.[106] There was a steady escalation in the magnificence of governors' entries into Lyon throughout the sixteenth century: when Jacques d'Albon made his entry on 24 August 1550, the gift alone cost 1,200 *écus*.[107] This was a considerable expenditure for the city, especially when we remember its dire financial situation (by the time of d'Albon's entry, Lyon had debts of more than 200,000 *livres* due to the war taxes Henry II had levied on the city).[108] The city's high expenditure on d'Albon's gift is especially striking when we recall that these financial difficulties had caused the consuls to offer only modest

103 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, iii. 16–17.

104 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, i. 66; *Entrées et réjouissances, Dijon*, 7–13, 17–24.

105 Cited in Harding, *Power Elite*, 13. For the entries of the governors of Burgundy in the seventeenth century, see: Michael P. Breen, 'Entrer dans la politique municipale: les enjeux des factions dans les entrées dijonnaises de Louis II de Bourbon (1648) et Bernard de Foix de la Valette (1656)', in Philippe Hamon and Catherine Laurent, eds., *Le pouvoir municipal de la fin du Moyen Âge à 1789* (Rennes, 2012), 103–21.

106 A. Péricaud, 'Gouverneurs de Lyon', *Revue du Lyonnaise* 12 (1840), 363–4.

107 AM Lyon BB 71, fols. 205r–205v, 211r–212r.

108 Péricaud, 'Gouverneurs de Lyon', 369–70; Lucien Romier, *Jacques d'Albon de Saint-André, maréchal de France (1512–1562)* (Paris, 1909), 260–61.

gifts to Henry II and Catherine de Medici when they entered the city two years earlier.[109] The scale of d'Albon's entry formed part of the consuls' attempts to restore Lyon's finances by maintaining the support of a successful broker who had a good record of obtaining concessions for the city.[110] The entries of some governors were especially magnificent. When Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre and governor of Guyenne, made his inaugural entry into Limoges in December 1556, the consuls prepared the most lavish entry yet staged in the city, probably as a consequence of his royal status.[111] When the municipal delegation came to offer Antoine its keys, the governor received them while seated on an elevated stage covered in red cloth. Furthermore, the city council constructed a *loggia* for Antoine outside the gate of entry, where he received the *harangue* and watched the procession of townspeople pass before him. The governor processed through extravagantly decorated streets where he saw a number of plays staged in his honour. In addition, the city also paid for a magnificent entry for his wife, Jeanne d'Albret.[112] As with royal entries, by the mid-sixteenth century urban governments tailored their receptions to suit the governor's expectations. For instance, Antoine de Bourbon sent his official, the lord d'Escars, to meet with Limoges' consuls in advance of his entry and advise them about the type of welcome he wanted. Governors' agents encouraged urban governments to stage honourable receptions for their masters by emphasising the extent of the good that the governor could do for them. Thus, the deputies Jacques d'Albon sent to Lyon in June 1550 in advance of his inaugural entry told the consuls that the governor could be a good friend to the city and that it would be to their benefit to prepare an honourable welcome in order to 'capture the grace and benevolence of M. de Saint-André'.[113] Aware that their powers made them attractive to urban governments, governors used their capability to act in a town's favour to encourage municipal elites to provide them with especially magnificent entries as these events underpinned their elevated social position. By using intermediaries (rather than approach the townspeople themselves), governors were able to remain aloof from the bargaining process.

109 AM Lyon BB 67, fols. 107r, 211v; Cooper, *Entry of Henry II into Lyon*, 16.

110 For example, just in advance of his entry d'Albon obtained 50,000 *livres* from the Crown to be put towards the city's fortifications: AM Lyon 71, fol. 181r.

111 Dast Le Vacher de Boisville, *Liste des gouverneurs lieutenants généraux et lieutenants du roi en Guienne* (Auch, 1898), 8.

112 *Registres consulaires, Limoges*, ii. 108–131.

113 AM Lyon BB 71, fols. 180r–81r.

As well as attempting to control the form of their own entries, governors began to influence how municipal governments received the king. For instance, Claude, duke of Aumale, governor of Champagne, decided who was to present the keys at Charles IX's entry into Châlons-en-Champagne in 1564.[114] Overall, governors' input into the design of these ceremonies benefitted municipal governments because they were close to the king and knew what would please him. In advance of Charles IX's entry into Nîmes in November 1564, Henri de Montmorency, governor of Languedoc, advised the consuls that their plan to decorate the streets yellow and white would displease the king 'because his colours are white, blue and crimson'.[115] Governors were quick to offer advice to municipal councils because the overall quality of the entry contributed to their standing with the king. In 1533, François de Bourbon, governor of Dauphiné, wrote to Valence's consuls directing them to ensure that they had the necessary provisions for Francis I's entry.[116] The issue of victualing was of particular concern to Montmorency because large numbers of people were travelling with the monarch on this progress (Francis was accompanied by the queen, the dauphin and their households). Furthermore, the increasingly military character of royal entries during the sixteenth century (when hundreds of armed guildsmen filed out of the town in procession to greet the king) was of particular concern to governors, who were responsible for ensuring the defence of their provinces. For Charles IX's entry into Narbonne, the governor, Henri de Montmorency, specified the type of weapons the participants in the extramural procession were to carry, with any infractions being subject to punishment.[117] By having the city put on a good military display, the governor could show the king he was doing an effective job in the province. The military character of the parade was of special concern to Montmorency because Languedoc's Protestant population had recently taken up arms against the monarchy. By ensuring that the participants of the extramural procession were armed, Montmorency could use the entry to show the king he had the Catholic population of Narbonne ready to defend the town against any Protestant uprising.

Governors were valuable sources of information for urban governments when planning a royal entry. Because governors often accompanied the king on progress, they were able to provide municipal councils with information regarding the monarch's location. Between 29 November 1520 and 13 April 1521, the governor of Burgundy, Louis de La Trémouille, sent eleven

114 Pélicier, *Inventaire sommaire, Châlons-sur-Marne*, p. 7.

115 AM Nimes LL 10.

116 AM Valence BB 4, fol. 376r.

117 AM Narbonne BB 2, fol. 6v.

letters to Dijon's *échevins* about the king's location.[118] It was crucial that towns received accurate information about the royal party's whereabouts so that they could prepare the gate of entry and decorate the processional route leading from it.[119] Governors informed towns in their *gouvernements* about how the king had been received in other parts of the kingdom. This information was of great value to urban rulers who were in competition for the king's favour with other towns and cities across France. Governors also stimulated rivalry between the towns of their *gouvernments* by encouraging municipal councils to outdo their immediate neighbours as these entries reflected on his honour. Louis de Bruges, *lieutenant-général* of Picardy, informed Amiens' *échevins* about how Georges d'Amboise had been received at Noyon and Saint-Quentin in 1508.[120] As well as being a papal legate and the archbishop of Rouen, Amboise was Louis XII's leading councillor and thus in a good position to assist Amiens with its petitions. Given Amboise's worth for the city, the *échevins* wanted to ensure that the entry they staged for him outdid those he received from their neighbours. As such, it was in the interests of both the town council and the governor (who could also expect to benefit from the entry) to provide important figures such as Georges d'Amboise with a good entry.

In return for staging magnificent entries, urban governments expected governors to use their powers to benefit townspeople. Mirroring royal entries, municipal councils devised a second greeting to take place at the governor's residence after the public entry, which they used to bring gifts and requests to him. The relationship between Antoine de Bourbon and Limoges' consuls was cemented during the *harangue* and gift giving which followed his public entry, when the governor 'replied to the said greeting, and offered to work for the protection and safeguard of the good of the town'.[121] Similarly, in the days following Louis de Brézé's entry into Rouen in 1526, the municipal council went to his rooms in the royal castle to make their greeting to the governor and offer him gifts of silverware.[122] As well as requiring Brézé to uphold the city's rights and liberties, Rouen's *échevins* asked him to end to the depredations mercenaries

118 Garnier, *Correspondance de Mairie de Dijon*, i. 286–97.

119 When Charles of Navarre entered Tournai in 1353, he approached the city by the road leading to the Coquerel gate, when in fact the town had prepared the Bourdel gate for his arrival. As a result, two civic deputies had to lead Charles around the walls to the correct gate so that he could make his entry: La Grange, 'Entrées des souverains', 22.

120 AM Amiens BB 21, fols. 20r–21r, 23r.

121 Reuben, *Registres consulaires, Limoges*, ii. 109–10, 127.

122 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A 12, fol. 38v.

were causing to the region's population.[123] The resurgence of the Anglo-French war in 1522 – particulalry the duke of Suffolk's invasion of northern France in 1523 – had left the north in fear of foreign attack, with Normandy becoming a militarised zone by the mid-1520s.[124] Despite a fear of attack from England, Rouen resented the billeting of troops in the region because they harassed the local population and disrupted trade. Given Brézé's authority over the defence of Normandy, Rouen's *échevins* used his inaugural entry to petition him to ameliorate the situation on their behalf. When Périgueux's consuls offered Henry of Navarre, governor of Guyenne, a gift following his ceremonial entry on 10 January 1530, they told him that a combination of famine, the longstanding presence of soldiers in the region and 'other pernicious matters' had severely affected the town.[125] As the municipal record of the entry shows, the councillors gave these gifts to Henry in the expectation that he would take action to improve the town's situation.[126] Despite the fact that Henry held little influence with Francis I, his role as governor of Gueynne gave him the authority to improve the town's position. Possibly aware of Navarre's limited influence with the king, Perigueux's consuls asked him to assist them in ways that did not necessitate him having to approach the king.[127] In order to encourage the success of their requests, some urban administrations notified the governor of the problems they were facing in advance of his entry. Before Claude of Lorraine made his inaugural entry into Dijon as governor in 1544, the municipal council sent a delegation to follow his progress through Burgundy in order to 'do him reverence' and inform him of their needs.[128] The opportunity to speak directly to the governor about pressing urban needs was of great importance to urban administrations. Although kings' visits to provincial towns tended to be short, governors spent long periods in the urban settlements of their regions. This meant that civic elites could expect the provision of a good welcome to lead

123 AD Seine-Maritime, AM Rouen A12, fol. 40r.

124 Steven Gunn, 'The Duke of Suffolk's March on Paris in 1523', *English Historical Review* 101 (1986), 28–51; idem, 'The French Wars of Henry VIII', in Jeremy Black, ed., *The Origins of War in Early Modern Europe* (Edinburgh, 1987), 28–51; David Potter, 'Foreign Policy', in D. MacCulloch, ed., *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety* (London, 1995), 101–33; Glenn Richardson, *The Field of the Cloth of Gold* (New Haven and London, 2013), 190–91.

125 Henri Montégut, *Dix entrées solennelles à Perigueux, 1470–1566* (Bordeaux, 1882), 38.

126 Montégut, *Entrées solennelles à Perigueux*, 38–39.

127 For Henry of Navarre's limited influence with Francis I, see: Jonathan A. Reid, 'Henri d'Albret, roi de Navarre (1502–1555)', in Michon, *Conseiller de François Ier*, 440–41.

128 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, iii. 15.

to the creation of a lucrative stream of influence at court by a powerful official who was in a good position to promote the town's business on a regular basis.

Although governors were the principal provincial agents of the central administration, they also postured as defenders of local privileges.[129] In 1561, Louis of Bourbon, duke of Montpensier and governor of Anjou, told Angers' *échevins* he would be their 'advocate and protector' at court.[130] French towns used ceremonial entries to remind governors of their paternal role. When Francis of Cleves, governor of Nivernais, entered Nevers on 12 February 1550, the *échevins* called him 'our head and captain' and asked him to govern them with his 'accustomed natural goodness and clemency'.[131] Similarly, when Béziers ceremonially welcomed Anne de Montmorency in 1533, the consuls called him 'our protector' during the extramural greeting and emphasised the paternal nature of his relationship with the town.[132] Moreover, during the banquet Béziers held for Montmorency on evening of his entry, the consuls notified him of the requests they intended to bring to the king (which related to the repair of their fortifications), who was due to enter the town in the following days. In order to reinforce their relationship with the governor and bind him to speak to the king on their behalf, the consuls offered Montmorency a silver plate. As soon as he received this gift, Montmorency thanked the consuls and assured them that he would speak to the king about the repairs that were necessary to ensure the town's security.[133] As governors were mediators between urban elites and the Crown, municipal governments gave them magnificent entries in the expectation of receiving future assistance. In 1547, Aix-en-Provence gave Claude de Savoie, the governor of Provence, a particularly lavish entry in recognition of his capability to help the town.[134] When Grenoble's consuls learned that Charles of Bourbon, governor of Dauphiné, intended to enter the city in May 1564, they decided to prepare a princely reception specifically so that they could offer him a request to extend their jurisdiction.[135] Moreover, a governor's entry provided an important

129 Brink, 'Royal Power', 57; Chevalier, 'Gouveneurs', 303; Harding, *Power Elite*, 16.

130 Uzureau, 'Les gouverneurs de l'Anjou', 25.

131 Cited in Cosandey, *Reine de France*, 200.

132 Domarion, *Entrée de François Ier, Béziers*, 38–39. Similarly, the Estates of Languedoc also referred to Montmorency as the 'father and protector of the region'. Cited in Brink, 'Royal Power', 55. For Montmorency's role as a broker, see: Thierry Rentet, 'Anne de Montmorency (1493–1567). Le conseiller médiocre', in Michon, *Conseillers de François Ier*, 290–97; Thierry Rentet, *Anne de Montmorency, grand maître de François Ier* (Rennes, 2001), 305–19.

133 Domarion, *Entrée de François Ier, Béziers*, 40.

134 AM Aix-en-Provence BB 44, fol. 34r; Harding, *Power Elite*, 15.

135 AM Grenoble BB 19, fol. 63r.

opportunity for the smaller towns of his *gouvernement* to bring their matters to his attention. After the entry of Honorat de Savoie, marquis of Villars, admiral of France and governor in Guyenne, into Auch the town council sent a delegation to follow him to Agen with their complaints.[136] Once a governor had made his inaugural entries into the towns of his *gouvernement*, he tended to settle in one of the region's principal cities. As a result, smaller towns could find it more difficult to gain contact with the governor. Accordingly, the entries a governor made at the beginning of his tenure supplied the governments of towns such as Auch with a favourable moment to promote their business with him.

Urban governments brought requests to governors at their entries because they held extensive local powers, particularly relating to the defence of their provinces. As such, municipal councils used entries to petition governors to reduce the military burdens placed on urban populations.[137] When Louis, duke of Orléans, made his inaugural entry into Honfleur as governor of Normandy on 29 March 1492, Pont-Audemer sent a delegation to attend the entry and try to obtain a reduction in the number of soldiers the town was obliged to support.[138] Furthermore, in provinces such as Burgundy and Normandy governors could determine appointments to positions in municipal governments, including that of mayor.[139] Hence, urban elites sought to obtain governors' good favour at entries as a means to secure their hold over the highest positions in civic governments. In addition, governors possessed the necessary powers to defend municipal jurisdiction against encroachments from rival local authorities. In 1468, Louis de Laval, the governor of Champagne, supported Chalôns-en-Champagne's *échevins* in their dispute with the clergy regarding the obligation to provide *guet* (which the clergy were normally exempt from).[140] Governors enlarged the authority of urban elites in an effort to gain municipal backing for the Crown's efforts to curtail the power of the kingdom's princes. When Jean de Doyat, governor of Auvergne, entered Clérmont in July 1480, he took the side of the bourgeois in their dispute with the bishop over secular jurisdiction. In the name of the king, Doyat granted the townspeople the right to form a consulate and construct a town hall.[141] At the time of Doyat's

136 AC Auch BB 5, fols. 403r, 415v.

137 Chevalier, *Bonnes villes*, 104; Chevalier, 'gouverneurs', 300; Henri Drouot, 'Les pouvoirs d'un gouverneur de Bourgogne au XVIe siècle', *Annales de Bourgogne* 9 (1937), 147–52; Potter, *Renaissance France at War*, 237; Veyrat, 'Gouverneurs de normandie', 564–66.

138 Canel, *Histoire de Pont-Audemer*, 43.

139 Harding, *Power Elite*, 31.

140 Vaesen and Charavay, *Lettres de Louis XI*, iii. 272–73.

141 Zeller, 'Premiers gouverneurs d'Auvergne', 168.

visit to Clérmont, Louis XI was in conflict with Jean de Bourbon, whose brother Charles had recently been appointed bishop of Clérmont.[142] By supporting Clérmont's bourgeois in their long struggle against episcopal power, Doyat sought to gain municipal backing for the Crown's efforts to reinforce its power in Auvergne at the expense of the Bourbon family.[143] Overall, governors' efforts to buttress the power of urban elites against local seigneurial and ecclesiastical lords gave rise to the development of a mutually strengthening relationship between town leaders and the monarch. Yet, as well as bringing benefits for municipal elites, the nature of this relationship also made them ever more dependent on the Crown for their power.

Governors had households which were modelled on that of the king. In the same way that municipal governments found it necessary to enlist the support of royal officials to ensure that the king's grants were ratified, it was also important for civic councils to have the support of those who travelled with the governor. As David Potter has noted (like the monarch) governors were 'expected to take advice from those of his council who travelled with him'.[144] Pont-Audemer's *échevins* offered gifts of money to the key officials in Louis of Orléans' household at his entry in 1492 in order to encourage the duke to receive their requests favourably.[145] Municipal councils targeted the most powerful and influential members of the governor's household. When Louis de La Trémouille entered Dijon in 1508, the *échevins* gave substantial gifts to his trumpeters and *fourriers*.[146] As we saw in the previous chapter, it was important for municipal councils to construct good relationships with *fourriers* as they controlled the provision of lodgings in towns.[147] Trumpeters were also key officials for urban governments because of the influential position they held in noble households. For example, Tournai's *échevins* paid the dauphin's

142 Olivier Mattéoni, *Un prince face à Louis XI: Jean II de Bourbon, une politique en procès* (Paris, 2012), 217–92.

143 Doyat was a staunch enemy of the duke of Bourbon, whom he claimed had usurped the king's rights: Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia regia*, i. 172.

144 Potter, *War and Government*, 103. For a governor's household and its networks of influence, see that of Anne de Montmorency, governor of Languedoc: Thierry Rentet, 'Network Mapping: Ties of Fidelity and Dependency among the Major Domestic Officers of Anne de Montmorency', *French History* 17 (2003), 109–26.

145 Canel, *Histoire de Pont-Audemer*, 43.

146 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, iii. 15.

147 This was also true at governors' entries. See, for example: AM Narbonne BB 4, fol. 14v; Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, iii. 15. As with royal entries, the members of governors' entourages could cause trouble with townspeople: AC Auch BB 5, fol. 203v.

trumpeter to recommend them to their master in 1410.[148] An additional incentive for towns to provide gifts to members of governors' entourage was that they often included prominent figures from the king's household. When Anne de Montmorency entered Béziers, he was accompanied by Francis I's *maîtres-des-requêtes*, several members of the royal council and leading financial officers.[149] Hence, the provision of gifts to those people who travelled with provincial governors allowed urban administrations to form relationships with the key figures in the central administration. These relationships could prove to be especially lucrative when governors' officials were promoted to royal service.[150]

It was particularly important for urban governments to gain the favour of the governor's secretaries as they had to countersign their master's grants in order for them to be valid.[151] As a consequence of this power, the governor's secretaries received substantial gifts from urban administrations at an entry. When Jacques d'Albon entered Lyon in 1550, the consuls gave his two secretaries (Malatrat and du Tronchet) 40 *écus* each.[152] Likewise, Narbonne's rulers provided gifts of 50 *écus* and luxury sheepskins to the secretaries of Henri de Montmorency, governor of Languedoc, at his inaugural entry in 1563.[153] The provision of gifts to governors' secretaries could benefit towns for years to come because the tenure of their office was long and they often served consecutive governors. Furthermore, governors' secretaries were in a good position to assist municipal councils with local concerns; indeed, they developed their own networks of clientage with urban elites. When Antoine de Bourbon entered Amiens as the governor of Picardy, the municipal council took particular care to entertain his secretaries so that they 'always have in good recommendation the business of this town'.[154] At Mary of Guise's entry in 1551, Amiens' *échevins* apportioned money specifically to entertain the governor of Picardy's secretaries, who were travelling with the queen.[155] Governors' secretaries had significant fiscal powers, which they could use to assist urban governments. In 1554, Antoine Bouchet, the principal secretary of the governor of Picardy, allocated 12,000 *livres* to Amiens' municipal council to repair the city's

148 Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, 99.

149 Domarion, *Entrée de François Ier, Béziers*, 40.

150 Michel Antoine, 'Les gouverneurs de province en France (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)', in F. Autrand, ed., *Prosopographie et génèse de l'état modern* (Paris, 1986), 189–90.

151 Antoine, 'Gouverneurs de province', 189–90.

152 AM Lyon BB 71, fols. 205r–205v; Péricaud, 'Gouverneurs de Lyon', 24–25.

153 AM Narbonne BB 1, fol. 250r.

154 AM Amiens CC 139, fol. 143r; Potter, *War and Government*, 109.

155 Potter, *War and Government*, 109.

fortifications, in return for which he received a rent of 1,000 *livres*.[156] Likewise, Aix-en-Provence's consuls gifted 30 *livres* to Jean Ragueneau (the principal secretary of Antoine de Savoie, governor of Provence) in September 1500 for having given numerous services on behalf of the town, for which he had not taken any payment.[157] As these examples show, it was crucial for urban elites to develop good relationships with a governor's officials, particularly the secretaries, as they held considerable administrative and financial powers, which they could use to assist municipal administrations.

In addition to the secretaries, towns also used entries to engage the services of the governor's deputy. As governors were often called away from their provinces by military campaigns or business at court, deputies ruled in their absence.[158] Consequently, it was important for municipal councils to cultivate friendly relations with these officials. Indeed, it could be particularly beneficial for urban governments to develop networks of clientage with deputy governors as they tended to belong to powerful families at court.[159] Lieutenants could also be related to the governor and hold influence with him (Jacques d'Albon's cousin was his lieutenant in the Lyonnais).[160] Moreover, some deputies were promoted to the position of governor. Following the disgrace of Anne de Montmorency in 1541, his deputy, Antoine Desprez de Montpezat, was raised to the governorship of Languedoc.[161] As the deputy was only the governor's assistant, rather than the king's proxy, he could not claim an entry by right. Nonetheless, it could benefit towns to offer ceremonial receptions to deputy governors, especially as they had the power to grant some requests without having to seek the approval of either the king or the governor. The consuls of Nîmes set aside 200 *écus* from the municipal budget to provide an entry for Just I de Tournon, count of Roussillon (appointed deputy of the governor of Languedoc in 1514), so that they could offer him a petition seeking exemption

156 Potter, *War and Government*, 107.

157 AM Aix-en-Provence BB 47, fol. 43r.

158 For example, in 1537, the governor of Picardy, François de Montmorency, had to delay his inaugural entries because he was on campaign: Potter, *War and Government*, 74.

159 Potter, *War and Government*, 66.

160 Watson, 'Friends at Court', 289.

161 P. Dognon, *Les institutions politiques et administratives du pays de Languedoc du XIIIe siècle aux guerres de religion* (1896), 447; Gaston Zeller, 'L'administration monarchique avant les intendants, parlements et gouverneurs', *Revue historique* 197 (1947), 203. Montmorency was disgraced in the summer of 1541, though he maintained the governorship of Languedoc until May 1542, when it was given to Montpezat: Knecht, *Renaissance France*, 176.

from military quartering (which he granted).[162] Furthermore, municipal councils offered ceremonial receptions to other royal officials in the provinces, particularly *baillis* and *sénéchaux*.[163] As well as providing urban governments with an opportunity to obtain oaths to uphold civic liberties from these agents of the Crown, the provision of entries to *baillis* and *sénéchaux* also allowed civic elites to increase their influence at court.[164] As André Bossuat has noted, *baillis* and *sénéchaux* could perform a mediatory role between the centre and the periphery by promoting municipal affairs at court.[165] When Antoine Desprez de Montpezat (later governor of Languedoc) was appointed *sénéchal* of Poitou in 1533, the rulers of Poitiers offered him gifts and a ceremonial reception, 'having consideration of the authority of the said person and of the great access and credit that he has towards the king our lord'.[166] In addition, *baillis* and *sénéchaux* possessed sufficient local jurisdiction to grant some urban petitions, especially those relating to military concerns. When Charles de Lenoncourt, *bailli* of Vitry, entered Châlons-en-Champagne in March 1489, the *échevins* offered him gifts and a petition for a reduction in the number of *francs-archers* the town was obliged to supply.[167] Although governors gradually came to

162 AM Nîmes LL 3.

163 For *baillis*' entries, see: AM Amiens AA 5, fol. 212v; AM Tours AA 4; André Bossuat, *Le Bailliage royal de Montferrand* (*1425–1556*) (Paris, 1957), 138. For the entries of *sénéchaux*, see: AD Tarn 4 EDT CC 162; EDT CC 185, fol. 77r; 4EDT CC 452, fol. 40r.

164 For oaths taken by *sénéchaux* at entries see: AC Auch AA 1; Auguste, *Inventaire sommaire, Agen*, 15, 22; E. Prarond, *Extraits du Livre Rouge et du Livre Blanc de l'Échevinage. Introduction à quelques parties d'une étude les lois et les moeurs à Abbeville, 1184–1789* (Paris, 1906), 96–97. Furthermore, towns provided gifts to *baillis* who entered in royal entourages. See, for example, Louis XI's entry into Rouen in 1462: Beaurepaire, *Inventaire sommaire, Rouen*, 63; Charles VI's into Amiens: AM Amiens BB 2, fol. 48v. They also provided gifts to *baillis* who entered in governors' entourages. See the *bailli* entering with Louis de Brézé: Beaurepaire, *Inventaire sommaire, Rouen*, 134. A *sénéchal* could also receive the oath of loyalty on behalf of the king in return for the ruler's confirmation of urban privileges: G. de Lépinay, 'Sénéchaux, vice-sénéchaux et gouverneurs du Limousin', *Bulletin de la société scientifique historique et archéologique de la Corrèze* 8 (1886), 494.

165 Bossuat, *Bailliage royal de Montferrand*, 127–47.

166 Municipal deliberations, cited in Rivaud, *Villes et le roi*, 204.

167 AC Chalons-en-Champagne BB 5, fols. 100r–101r. For the political powers of *baillis* and *sénéchaux* see: Alain Demurger, 'Guerre civile et changements du personnel administratif dans le royaume de France de 1400 à 1418: l'exemple des baillis et sénéchaux', *Francia* 6 (1978), 151–289 (especially 186–201); Gustave Dupont-Ferrier, *Les Officiers royaux des bailliages et sénéchaussées et les institutions monarchiques locales en France à la fin du moyen age* (Paris, 1902); Bernard Guenée, *Tribunaux* et *gens de justice dans le bailliage de Senlis à la fin du Moyen Âge* (*vers 1380–vers 1550*) (Paris, 1963).

supplant the *baillis* and *sénéchaux* as the principal agents of royal power in the provinces, their local authority led some municipal governments to continue to offer entries to these officials right through to the mid-sixteenth century.[168] For example, on 28 August 1538 Amiens' *échevins* prepared a ceremonial entry for Louis III de Bournel, lord of Thiembronne, who had just been appointed *bailli*.[169] Occasionally, municipal governments offered ceremonial receptions to the wives of *baillis* and *sénéschaux*. In 1533, Nîmes' consuls granted an entry to Jeanne Ricard de Genouillac, wife of the *sénéchal* of Beaucaire, Charles de Crussol. As well as going out to greet Jeanne in an extramural procession, the consuls sounded the artillery in her honour and offered her gifts of wines and torches.[170] While her husband's family – as viscounts of Uzès – were powerful local lords, more important for the consuls was the fact that Jeanne's father, Jacques Ricard de Genouillac, was a very powerful man at court and had held the elevated position of *grand écuyer* from 1526 (he was appointed to the order of Saint Michael in the same year and went on to become governor of Guyenne in 1541 and then governor of Languedoc in 1546).[171] Nîmes' municipal deliberations note that the consuls accorded Jeanne an entry, not because she was the wife of the *sénéchal* but because she was a 'great lady of [a] powerful house'.[172] Furthermore, as the only heir to her father's lands, Jeanne was a very important person in her own right.[173] By according an entry to powerful women, municipal administrations sought to harness their strength and tap into their networks of influence for the good of the town.

The actions of Nîmes' consuls were part of a wider move by urban administrations in the sixteenth century to offer entries to the female relations of influential men. Recognising that governors were the new principal agents of royal power in the provinces, urban governments began to grant entries to their wives. Indeed, there was a steady increase in the scale of the honours that

168 For example, the governors of the Limousin were given the powers of the *sénéchaux* in the late fifteenth century: G. de Lépinay, 'Sénéchaux, vice-sénéchaux et gouverneurs du Limousin', *Bulletin de la société scientifique historique et archéologique de la Corrèze* 8 (1886), 506–8.

169 AM Amiens BB 23, fol. 64v; Louis Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire historique ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profrance*, 10 vols (Paris, 1759), ii. 429.

170 AM Nîmes LL 5.

171 Robert Knecht, 'Jacques de Genouillac, dit Galiot (v.1465–1546)', in Michon, *Conseillers de François Ier*, 155–61.

172 AM Nîmes LL 5.

173 F. Galabert, *Galiot de Genouillac: seigneur d'Assier, grand maître de l'artillerie* (Paris, 1901), 38–39. For the career of Jacques Ricard de Genouillac, see: François de Vaux de Foletier, *Galiot de Genouillac, maître de l'artillerie de France (1465–1546)* (Paris, 1925).

towns accorded to governors' wives at their ceremonial entries. While Marie de Montauban (wife of Georges de La Trémouille) and Louise de Valentinois (wife of Louis de La Trémouille) entered Dijon with their husbands, Louise de Brézé was the first governor's wife to receive her own greeting from the *échevins* when she entered the city with her husband, Claude II of Lorraine, in December 1550.[174] At the duke of Longueville's inaugural entry into Amiens in 1571, the governor's wife entered on her own after him and was given her own greeting and speech outside the city walls (like a royal entry).[175] Furthermore, governors' wives received expensive gifts at their entries by the mid-sixteenth century. In order to persuade women such as Louise de Brézé to work for their benefit, municipal councils began to offer them the types of gifts customarily presented to queens. When Louis de Gruuthuse made his inaugural entry into Amiens as *lieutenant général* of Picardy, the *échevins* spent 200 *écus* on a golden mask of the head of Saint John the Baptist to present to his wife (the form of gift that was customarily offered to visiting queens), with the deliberations noting that 'he [Louis] always has the business of this said town in recommendation'.[176] In return for gifts, governors' wives (like French queens) offered to the use the influence they had with their husbands to promote urban interests. When Léonor d'Orléans, duke of Longueville, entered Amiens as governor of Picardy in 1571, the *échevins* presented his wife, Marie de Bourbon, with a statue of the head of John the Baptist. In response, Marie told the *échevins* that she would never forget the honour the city had given her and offered to speak to her husband on their behalf.[177] Likewise, when Françoise de Foix-Candale accompanied her husband, Claude de Savoie, at his inaugural entry into Aix-en-Provence as the governor of Provence, she was gifted 160 *écus* by the consuls, which is especially striking as this gift cost more than the wine the consuls gave to her husband.[178] As we saw with the provision of gifts of

174 Gouvenain, *Inventaire sommaire, Dijon*, iii. 15–16; Catherine Chedeau, *Les Arts a Dijon au XVIe siècle: les débuts de la Renaissance 1494–1551*, 2 vols (Aix-en-Provence, 1999), i. 229–233.

175 AM Amiens BB 40, fol. 24v.

176 AM Amiens BB 20, fols. 148r–148v. At Auch, the consuls levied a forced loan of 2,000 *livres* on the population in 1569 to cover the costs of the reception and gift for Antoinette d'Ysalguier, wife to Blaise de Montluc, *lieutenant-général* of Guyenne: AC Auch BB 5, fol. 328r.

177 AM Amiens BB 40, fol. 23r. According to the municipal deliberations, the *échevins* gave Marie de Bourbon a copy of the head of Saint John 'so that she remembers the town of Amiens, towards which she has always shown affection': AM Amiens BB 40, fol. 24r; CC 194, fol. 89r.

178 AM Aix-en-Provence BB 45, fol. 17r.

money to chancellors' wives in the last chapter, municipal councils may have adopted this tactic with governors' wives in order to get round the restrictions on gift giving that the Crown was putting into place in the mid-sixteenth century. Furthermore, many of these women were powerful in their own right. By granting gifts to people such as Françoise de Foix-Candale, municipal councils sought to channel their power – not just that of their husbands. When Catherine de Tournoël entered Lyon with her husband, Jacques d'Albon, in August 1550, the consuls gave her two hundred *écus* in a velvet purse.[179] While Jacques d'Albon was undoubtedly a powerful figure (and Lyon's town council was then trying to win him over to their cause) Catherine de Tournoël stood to be a great asset to the city in her own right, particularly as she was very close to the queen. This connection to the queen was useful for Lyon's consuls as they were then seeking Catherine de Medici to promote the city's cause with the king.

Some civic governments granted substantial honours to governors' wives specifically to gain their influence rather than that of their husbands. While Antoinette de Bourbon, wife of Claude of Lorraine, governor of Champagne, entered Châlons-en-Champagne at her husband's side in 1524, the *échevins* granted Antoinette her own ceremonial entry when she returned to the town alone in July 1525.[180] The honour of being granted an entry without the presence of her husband reflected Antoinette's remarkable ability to promote Châlons' affairs at court. After ceremonially welcoming the duchess on 28 April 1529, the *échevins* promised her a silver cup if she managed persuade Francis I to abolish the *grenier à sel* at Vitry.[181] Antoinette was an effective broker for the *échevins*, whose relationship with the duchess was lucrative and long lasting. For example, she was able to obtain a tax reduction of 6,000 *livres* for the town (from 13,000 *livres* to 7,000 *livres*).[182] The *échevins* rewarded and retained Antoinette's services by granting her regular ceremonial entries; indeed, Châlons provided her with five ceremonial entries by 1531. To put it another way, Antoinette made more ceremonial entries into Châlons than both her husband and the king of France combined.[183] Although women were barred from holding office, they acted as intermediaries between urban administrations and their male relatives. Furthermore, governors' wives had their own

179 AM Lyon BB 71, fol. 205v.

180 AC Châlons-en-Champagne BB 7, fols. 113r–114r, 116r, 124r, 149r.

181 AC Châlons-en-Champagne BB 7, fol. 220r.

182 AC Châlons-en-Champagne BB 8, fol. 186r.

183 See, for example, her entries in January 1530 and September 1531: AC Châlons-en-Champagne BB 7 (1521–1534), fols. 250r, 277r.

networks of influence at court, separate to those of their husbands, which municipal councils tried to access by granting them the honour of a ceremonial entry. By the early the seventeenth century, towns such as Narbonne went so far as to grant a canopy to the governor's wife, even when she made an entry without her husband.[184] Overall, these women were versatile agents for urban administrations and they employed their services in multiple ways. As the wives of governors, these women were in a favourable position to influence this emerging power elite (in the same way that the queen held influence with her husband as a consequence of her intimate relationship with him). Yet, as we saw, noblewomen were also power brokers in their own right and could be of great value to urban governments. While the governor could be called away to go on campaign or attend court, his wife tended to remain in the region and thus acted a stable pivot of influence and patronage.

The ceremonial entries of provincial governors formed a crucial component in relations between centre and periphery in pre-modern France. Although the governor's status as the king's proxy gave him the right to enter the towns of his province, the standard form of a governor's entry only emerged after decades of negotiations in town halls across the kingdom. Despite an initial vagueness from the Crown about how provincial governors should be welcomed, urban governments considered these men to represent the person of the king and they welcomed them accordingly. Hence, by the mid-sixteenth century, governors' entries mirrored those given to the king. Municipal councils introduced markers of esteem into entries to win the friendship of the governors and obtain their services as brokers. Governors were drawn from the small pool of the kingdom's great families, each of which was trying to expand their fortunes at the expense of their rivals. Urban elites were able to exploit the competition for honours by devising entries that supported a governor's efforts to assert his exalted status.[185] These marks of esteem signalled to those who witnessed the event (or read reports about it) that the governor was the direct representative of the king and possessed his authority. Urban

184 See, for example, the entry of Marie-Félicie des Ursins (wife to Henri de Montmorency, governor of Languedoc) into Narbonne in December 1618: AM Narbonne BB 10, fol. 445r; Harding, *Royal Power*, 17.

185 For the nobility's competition for honours in sixteenth-century France, see: Stuart Carroll, *Blood and Violence in Early Modern France* (Oxford, 2006), 49–82. For the pursuit of markers of esteem in political systems, see: Charles Tilly, 'Domination, Resistance, Compliance . . . Discourse', *Sociological Forum* 6 (1991), 593–602; Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View*, 2nd edition (Basingstoke, 2005), 10.

governments used the symbolic language of honour to express the power wielded by the governor, particularly through the granting of a canopy.

As the canopy was one of the principal marks of sovereignty in pre-modern Europe, it was normally reserved for royal entries. There was a competition for the right to a canopy during the early decades of the sixteenth century. Whereas elite royal officers such as the constable tried to assert their right to this mark of honour, urban governments attempted to limit its use. Municipal rulers wanted to retain the power to grant the canopy so that it could be used as leverage to reward and retain their brokers. Governors' entries grew increasingly magnificent during the sixteenth century because French towns used these events to reward governors for their services. As maintaining one's status was expensive (especially at the very highest levels of society), ceremonial entries allowed governors to put some of these costs on the towns of their *gouvernements*. Whereas previous studies of the networks of clientage developed by the provincial governors of France have largely focused on non-urban groups, governors' municipal clients were also important. The support of these civic leaders became particularly important during the latter decades of the sixteenth century, when some governors challenged the authority of the Crown.[186]

Nonetheless, urban administrations found it difficult to control the form of governors' entries throughout the sixteenth century. Once a precedent for an honour had been set, it could not be reversed. While entries were local events, they also operated within a national system, whereby wider trends spread across the kingdom outwith their control. By the mid-sixteenth century, the use of the canopy had become a standard part of a governor's entry. Overall, there was a steady upturn in the status of governors' entries throughout the sixteenth century; by the 1560s, towns were employing the language normally reserved for the king at governors' entries. In order to keep rewarding governors for their services, urban governments had to increase the splendour and marks of esteem deployed in their entries. Hence, they started to welcome their wives with increasing ceremony, as this allowed them to both honour to the governor and to utilize his spouse's networks of influence at court. It was important for towns to have the good favour of their governors because they possessed considerable authority over local rights and liberties.[187] Furthermore, urban

186 Chevalier, 'King's Council', 124. For an overview of the historiography on this topic, see: Elie Haddad, 'Noble Clienteles in France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Historiographal approach', *French History* 20 (2006), 75–109. A notable exception to this focus on non-urban groups is: Konnert, 'Provincial Governors and their Regimes', 823–40.

187 Potter, *War and Government*, 96–97.

governments considered governors to have the necessary royal authority to confirm municipal liberties on the king's behalf. In addition to ratifying existing liberties, urban governments used governors' entries to obtain further rights. As well as possessing the power to grant petitions, governors promoted urban requests with the king and his council. As David Potter has observed, governors 'increasingly received or screened deputations from the *bonnes villes* and thus absorbed part of the petitioning process.'[188] Whereas Gaston Zeller posited that there was a decline in governors' powers across the sixteenth century, in fact their powers grew steadily during this period with the increased magnificence of their entries acting as a means to strengthen their position in the kingdom.[189] Governors' entries became particularly important during Henry III's reign, as the monarch tended to avoid making public entries and had provincial governors act in his place.[190] In short, as the power and authority of governors increased during the sixteenth century, the scale and pomp of their entries made them increasingly indistinguishable from the king.

188 Potter, *Nation State*, 120.

189 Zeller, 'Administration monarchique', 201–12; idem, 'Gouverneurs de provinces au XVIe siècle', *Revue historique* 185 (1939), 225–56.

190 Le Roux, 'Rites of Monarchy', 117.

Conclusion

In 1656, Christina of Sweden visited France during her tour of Europe. When the queen entered Paris in September that year, she received ten *harangues* from various corporate bodies based in the city, including one from Jacques-Charles Amelot, *président* of the *Cour des Aides*, who stated that 'kings were accustomed to tour their kingdoms to be seen by their subjects'.[1] Drawing on his experience of royal entries under the Bourbon monarchy of mid-seventeenth century France, Amelot characterised these events as displays of monarchical authority. While the prominent role that entries played in negotiations between Crown and town under the Valois monarchs had all but disappeared in Louis XIV's France, the memory of the constitutional importance of these ceremonies remained. Amelot used the *harangue* to remind the Swedish queen (who, like Louis XIV, embodied ultimate state power) that while monarchical power was 'absolute and independent', this authority had limits.[2]

In Valois France, entries functioned as moments of negotiation and exchange between the king and the urban elite. Municipal governments devised ceremonies that both honoured the monarch and reminded him of his obligations to them. Civic leaders expected the king to use his powers for their benefit by confirming municipal privileges and granting them new rights. In chapter one, we saw how urban governments used the extramural greeting to encourage the king to take an oath to confirm municipal liberties. While royal entries into Paris led to the adoption of some permanent structures such as the fountain at Les Innocents (which commemorated Henry II's entry into Paris in 1549) most French towns did not permanently alter their urban fabric in response to a royal visit. Rather, they made good use of the existing symbolically important features in the urban topography, such as towns walls and churches. For example, it is highly significant that oaths were sworn in front of urban gates, as these structures represented a town's judicial and financial privileges.[3]

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1 Laurent Gilbault, *Le trésor des harangues et rémonstrances faites aux ouvertures du parlement, et aux entrées des Roys, Reynes, Princes, Princesses et autres personnes de condition*, 2 vols (Paris, 1668), i. 300. For this entry, see: *Rélation de ce qui s'est passé a l'arrivé de la reine Christina de Suede à essaunce en la Maison de monsieur Hesselin, ensemble la description du Ballet qui y a esté dansé, le 6 Septembre 1656. Et un Panegyrique Latin sur l'Entrée de cette Princesse à Paris: Avec l'explication en François* (Paris, 1656).

2 Gilbault, *Trésor des harangues*, i. 300–1.

3 For the symbolic significance of urban gates, see: Daniel Jütte, 'Entering a city: on a lost early modern practice', *Urban History* 41 (2014), 204–27.

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While the extramural ratification of municipal privileges began to be separated from an entry in Valois France, there are a number of misconceptions about both the extent of this process and how it was put into operation. The traditional historiography of French royal entries finds that the confirmation of urban liberties was first removed from entries during the reign of Louis XI (a monarch who has also been incorrectly portrayed as one of the great destroyers of municipal liberties).[4] According to this view, in the late fifteenth century the Crown initiated a process designed to curtail urban power by removing the extramural confirmation of municipal liberties from royal entries, which continued in a linear fashion until it was finally completed during the reign of Henry II. However, there are a number of flaws with this model. First, the move to have urban liberties confirmed in advance of an entry began decades before Louis XI ascended to the throne. In chapter one we saw how some French towns sought the ratification of their liberties at court from the 1430s, when the political instability of the Hundred Years' War meant that the Valois king was unable or unwilling to enter many of his towns. Second, historians are incorrect when they affirm that the Crown launched this process. For Natalie Zemon Davis, the uprooting of the king's extramural ratification of urban charters to a pre-entry confirmation at court was a 'royal initiative' through which 'the king enhanced the sovereign quality of his act by preferring to make it a response to subjects come to him in obedient homage rather than a response to subjects receiving him with gifts and didactic hospitality, which might seem to oblige him.' Davis goes on to assert that the governments of French towns 'would doubtless have preferred it otherwise.'[5] Yet it was precisely these civic leaders (rather than the Crown) who launched the trend to have urban liberties confirmed at court during the reign of Charles VII and then drove it forward under his successors. Urban governments, especially those situated in more distant parts of the kingdom, devised this strategy in order to guarantee the continuity of their rights and liberties during the transference of power from one ruler to another, either as a result of monarch's death or as a consequence of a territorial settlement (typically

4 Henri Sée, *Louis XI et les villes* (Paris, 1891); Alain Giry, *Les établissements de* Rouen, 2 vols (Paris, 1883–85), i. 236–37; George Collon, *Pierre Bérand (139?–1465) et la réforme municipale en 1462* (Tours, 1928); Ladurie, *French Royal State*, 71–72; Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Les communes françaises: caractères et évolution des origines au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1947), 230–40. David Rivaud and Bernard Chevalier have highlighted the inadequacies of this perspective: Rivaud, *Villes et le roi*; Bernard Chevalier, 'The Policy of Louis XI towards the *Bonnes Villes*: The Case of Tours', in Lewis, *Recovery of France*, 265–93.

5 Davis, *The Gift*, 155–56.

by treaty or by conquest). The upshot of this was that the king became more remote in the extramural ceremony, especially during the reign of Henry II when the Crown was also implementing a ceremonial policy that was designed to emphasise the majesty of the king (a move which Michèle Fogel has termed the 'symbolic offensive of the French monarchy'[6]). Although the interplay between royal and civic strategies in the 1540s curtailed the extent of the interaction between the king and urban leaders in the public entry, nonetheless these ceremonies remained vital to the confirmation of municipal liberties right through to the end of Valois rule.[7] As we saw, both Henry II and Charles IX confirmed (and reconfirmed) the charters of numerous towns and cities during their entries.[8]

The perception that the Crown eliminated the confirmation of urban liberties at ceremonial entries in the first half of the sixteenth century has also fostered some important misconceptions about the development of these ceremonies. In particular, historians' customary focus on the evolution of the pageantry has encouraged them to downplay an entry's significance for urban rulers in Renaissance France, stating that as these ceremonies grew in magnificence they became chiefly about the display of royal power and the manifestation of a nascent absolutism.[9] Yet, while sixteenth-century entries were undoubtedly more spectacular than those staged in the preceding two centuries, Henry II's entries filled the same basic function as those of John II in terms of the granting of municipal liberties. Moreover, we can question the extent to which all the elaborate imagery urban communities deployed at ceremonial entries was principally driven by a concern to honour the monarch. As we saw, urban governments incorporated elements such as the key presentation and the display of relics into the drama of these events specifically to encourage the king to confirm their liberties. Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, these multifaceted events had at their core an encounter between the king and urban elites over the issue of rights.

In addition to obtaining the confirmation of their existing liberties, this book has also revealed the crucial role that entries played in the winning of new liberties for civic governments right through to the reign of Henry III. In his study of the letters exchanged between the king and his *bonnes villes* in fifteenth-century France, Bernard Chevalier found that requests from towns

6 Fogel, *Cérémonies de l'information*, 146.

7 Similar developments also occurred in Spain during this period: Ruiz, *A King Travels*, 136–37.

8 Furthermore, the early Bourbon monarchs also confirmed municipal liberties at their entries: Finley-Croswhite, *Henry IV and the Towns*, 47, 50, 59, 63.

9 Giesey, 'Inaugural Aspects', 41; Lardellier, *Miroirs du paon*, 101–5; Strong, *Art and Power*, 48.

to the Crown 'are known to have been made less frequently by the end of the fifteenth century'.[10] Yet when we turn our attention to royal entries, we find that urban petitioning for new rights remained widespread and important throughout the sixteenth century. A decline in written communication did not mean a decline in urban petitioning, and entry ceremonies provided crucial moments for the presentation of requests. For Natalie Zemon Davis, as well as witnessing the eradication of the extramural confirmation of urban liberties, Henry II's reign also saw the Crown extirpate the customary appeals for tax remissions, 'a shift made at the royal initiative and expressing the movement from a concept of reciprocal authority . . . to a concept centering authority in the prerogative of the king.'[11] While the extramural confirmation of urban liberties was declining by the mid-sixteenth century, the petitions for new rights and liberties remained as vibrant as ever right through to the end of Valois rule. Although the monarchy was becoming more distant from its urban subjects in public by the mid-sixteenth century, the king was not inaccessible. Entries remained crucial to the winning of liberties precisely because there was a general belief that the best way to obtain redress was to gain an audience with the king and present him with requests.[12]

Although historians such as Georges Pagès, Imbart de La Tour and Robert Knecht saw the later Valois monarchy as the cradle of Bourbon absolutism because of the Crown's supposed triumph over regional institutions, in fact the king's role as the guarantor of local privileges remained a cornerstone of French political ideology right through to the later sixteenth century.[13] While the reigns of Francis I and Henry II saw the emergence of new theories of French kingship, Claude de Seyssel's vision of a monarchy that was kept in check by custom prevailed.[14] Certainly, royal jurists championed the idea that the monarch was above all laws and customs, though even the

10 Chevalier, 'King's Council', 124.

11 Davis, *The Gift*, 155–56.

12 This was common to pre-modern European monarchies: W. Mark Ormrod, 'Murmur, Clamour and Noise: Voicing Complaint and Remedy in Petitions to the English Crown, c.1300–c.1460', in W. Mark Ormrod, Gwilym Dodd and Anthony Musson, eds., *Medieval Petitions: Grace and Grievance* (Woodbridge, 2007), 140.

13 For moves towards absolutism in the early sixteenth century, see: Georges Pagès, *La monarchie d'ancien régime en France* (Paris, 1946), 3–18; Imbart de La Tour, *Les origins de la Réforme. La France Moderne*, 4 vols (Paris, 1905–35), 199–209; Knecht, *Francis I*, 360–61; idem, *The French Renaissance Monarchy: Francis I and Henry II* (London, 1984), 68–77.

14 Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought. Volume 2: The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge, 1978), 263; Claude Seyssel, *The Monarchy of France*, trans. J. H. Hexter (London and New Haven, 1981), 56–58.

leading proponents of this view (most notably Guillaume Budé) expected the monarch to voluntarily respect them nonetheless because it strengthened royal power to do so.[15] Indeed, the confirmation of urban rights and liberties enabled the French monarchy to have its rule accepted by more people and over a greater area than ever before. From 1429, towns in Lancastrian France began to give their support to the Valois monarch, in return for which he guaranteed their privileges. By recognising the king's grants of liberties, townspeople also acknowledged his right to rule. From the mid-fifteenth century the Valois monarchy legitimised its claims to imperial authority by posing as the defender of municipal liberties. The populations of many Italian cities saw Charles VIII as a liberator when he first invaded the peninsula in 1494, while Henry II declared himself to be the defender of German liberties in advance of his invasion of the Holy Roman Empire in 1550 when the cities of Toul, Verdun and Metz placed themselves under French rule.[16] By the mid-sixteenth century, the Valois monarchy's cultivation of its role as the defender of local rights and liberties formed a cornerstone of its propaganda war against the Habsburgs, whose rule they portrayed as tyrannous.[17] Unlike the Habsburgs who were downplaying the importance of ceremonial entries in the Low Countries in the sixteenth century because of the role these events played in the maintenance of regional liberties, the French monarch continued to use entries as occasions for the granting of local rights, in return for which he sought the support and loyalty of urban governments.[18]

Valois victory in the Hundred Years' War, followed by the collapse of the Burgundian state and the French Crown's triumph over many of the other great princes of the kingdom in the century running from 1460 to 1560, meant

15 On this point, see also: Parker, *Making of French Absolutism*, 2.

16 V. Hoffman, '*Donec totum impleat orbem*: symbolisme impérial au temps de Henri II', *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de l'art française* 1978 (1980), 29–42; Knecht, *Renaissance France*, 39–41, 216.

17 Lawrence Bryant, 'Politics, Ceremonies, and Embodiments of Majesty in Henry II's France', in H. Duchhardt, R. A. Jackson and D. J. Sturdy, eds., *European Monarchy: Its Evolution and Practice from Antiquity to Modern Times* (Stuttgart, 1992), 134.

18 Raingard Esser, *The Politics of Memory: The Writing of Partition in the Seventeenth-Century Low Countries* (Leiden, 2012), 304–5. For the confirmation of rights in entries in the Low Countries, see also: Hugo Soly, 'Plechtige Intochten in de steden van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de overgang van Middeleeuwen naar Nieuwe Tijd; communicatie, propaganda, spektakel', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 97 (1984), 342–43; Margit Thøfner, 'Marrying the City, Mothering the Country: Gender and Visual Conventions in Johannes Bochius's Account of the Joyous Entry of the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella into Antwerp', *Oxford Art Journal* 22 (1999), 5–7.

that before the outbreak of the religious wars in the 1560s there were fewer rival royal or princely administrations for townspeople to approach to guarantee their rights in place of the Valois monarchy. Civic leaders saw that they could strengthen their own power by working with the Valois kings rather than against them. At entries, the monarch gave municipal elites rights that bolstered their authority over general urban populations. In turn, this policy led to the increasing exclusion of the lower orders from civic administrations, as oligarchies used the monarch's support to tighten their grip on urban political and economic structures. From the outset of an entry ceremony, municipal councils worked to gain contact with the king and limit the access other groups had to him. The ability to participate in the extramural greeting and the gift-giving ceremony was determined by social standing, with members of municipal councils and other elite bourgeois having the honour of interacting with the king and obtaining the political and fiscal rights that underpinned their power. By focusing the extramural encounter on their privileged relationship with the king, urban governments highlighted the extent of their authority to those who watched the ceremony. In contrast to the cramped intramural streets of pre-modern towns, where both visibility and movement were restricted during the procession, the open spaces outside city gates meant this act was in clear view and could be seen by the hundreds (and sometimes thousands) of townspeople, lay and clerical, from all socio-economic classes, who poured out of the town to watch the encounter. As the extramural greeting was the most public part of the entry, it allowed urban governments to ensure that the maximum number of people saw this demonstration of their legitimacy to rule.

Although urban leaders purported to speak on behalf of the entire community, they used entries to develop personal bonds with the people who stood at the centre of power in pre-modern France. Following the conclusion of the public entry, municipal elites created a less-public space where they met the king and submitted their petitions to him. These petitions embodied clearly defined economic and political goals which were made in the name of the 'common good' – a phrase that was used both to legitimize the authority of urban elites and to encourage the king to make substantial concessions.[19] Emphasising the monarch's obligations to them, municipal councils offered him a number of requests in the expectation that some or all would be granted. As taxation became higher and more regular between the reigns of Louis XI and Henry II, royal entries offered municipal councils an opportunity to mitigate

19 Naegle, *Stadt, Recht und Krone*, ii. 760: idem, 'Armes à double trenchant, in Lecuppre-Desjardin and Van Bruaene', *De Bono Communi*, 55–70.

this heavy financial burden by obtaining a range of economic concessions.[20] A royal entry provided the very best opportunity for towns to obtain economic concessions in Valois France, particularly through the remission of significant taxes such as the *taille*. This is made clear when we look at Normandy, which by the late fifteenth century paid around 25% of the kingdom's total *taille* (in comparison to Languedoc which paid only 9%). In 1491 the Estates of Normandy failed to have the region's *taille* contribution reduced to 20%.[21] Yet, as we saw in chapters one and two, the towns of Normandy (and other parts of France) were able to use royal entries as an alternative and successful means to obtain exemption from the *taille*, which allowed them to mitigate some of the effects of the establishment of more regular taxation in the mid-fifteenth century.

While Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie wrote that in the long century which ran from 1450 to 1560 'wars were almost always fought abroad. Voluntarily undertaken by the king, they cost French taxpayers relatively little', this assertion does not stand up to scrutiny.[22] In fact, royal taxation became increasingly heavy because foreign wars brought few lasting financial rewards. A tightening of the sinews of war led the French Crown to place heavy fiscal demands on its *bonnes villes*, especially during the Italian conflicts. Although the overall tax burden in France increased markedly from the 1440s, French towns used the petitions they submitted at royal entries to alleviate its effects. Even during the reigns of Francis I, Henry II and Charles IX, when mounting fiscal pressure caused by foreign and domestic conflicts led the Crown to increasingly insist on the payment of urban taxes, royal entries still provided a highly effective way to lessen the effects of taxation.[23] The staging of this ceremony was a financial investment for urban governments because they received substantial economic benefits in return. Despite the loss in revenue to the Crown, the granting of fiscal privileges at entries buttressed royal authority. As the principal of consent to royal taxation did not disappear from political discourse, by petitioning the king for a tax exemption urban governments were also tacitly affirming the Crown's right to set the tax in the first place.

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20 Ladurie, *French Royal State*, 28–30.

21 Potter, *Nation State*, 150–51.

22 Ladurie, *French Royal State*, 35.

23 For the mounting fiscal pressure, see: Bernard Chevalier, 'Fiscalité municipale et fiscalité d'État en France du XIVe à la fin du XVIe siècle. Deux systèmes liés et concurents', in J.-P. Genet and M. Le Mené, eds., *Genèse de l'État moderne. Prèlèvement et redistribution* (Paris, 1987), 137–51; Robert Descimon, 'Paris on the eve of Saint Bartholomew: taxation, privilege, and social geography', in Benedict, *Cities and Social Change*, 69–104.

Furthermore, as the operating costs of municipal government grew considerably from the mid-fourteenth century due to persistent warfare in France, the economic rights gained at entries provided an essential source of revenue for urban rulers. While the construction of walls transformed the *bonnes villes* into military powers, the costs of building and maintaining fortifications left 'ordinary' streams of municipal revenue (such as that derived from property rights and rents) insufficient to balance urban budgets. For example, the 'ordinary' revenue of Aire-sur-la-Lys in the later fifteenth century covered only one sixth of the town council's expenses.[24] As a consequence of the high costs of municipal government, royal entries took on an increasing financial importance for civic leaders, who used these occasions to access sources of 'extraordinary' revenue such as the profits gained through sales taxes. Most importantly, towns were able to use entries to obtain remission from the *taille*. In theory, the fiscal grants municipal rulers obtained from the Crown benefitted the entire urban population, yet as taxes such as the *taille* principally fell on the wealthiest urban families (whose members filled the higher positions of civic government), this tax exemption was especially lucrative for urban elites.[25]

While municipal elites used entries to underpin their domination of urban political and economic structures, many historians assert that these ceremonies created harmony and consensus by uniting disparate urban groups around the king. However, as urban rulers used their control of entries to secure their mastery over general urban populations, rather than leading to 'communal solidarity' entries frequently produced social divisions.[26] For example, the king's grants of rights could provoke violence from townspeople when these rights were not seen to benefit the wider urban community. When Louis XI visited Le Puy on pilgrimage in 1476, he granted the town tax exemption for ten years.[27] Rather than give rise to collective celebrations, the granting of these economic rights exacerbated class tensions in the town. Like other French towns, Le Puy

24 Small, *Later Medieval France*, 187. For the costs of constructing and maintaining urban fortifications, see: Philippe Contamine, 'Les fortifications urbaine en France à la fin du Moyen Age: aspects financiers et économiques', *Revue historique* 260 (1980), 23–47; Philippe Lardin, 'Le financement des fortifications en Normandie orientale à la fin du Moyen-Age', in *Les Normands et le fisc* (Elbeuf-sur-Seine, 1996), 47–58; Kathryn L. Reyerson, 'Medieval walled space: urban development vs. defence', in James D. Tracey, ed., *City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective* (Cambridge, 2000), 88–116; A. Rigaudière, 'Le financement des fortifications urbaines en France du milieu du XIVe siècle à la fin du XVe siècle', *Revue historique* 273 (1985), 19–95.

25 Small, *Later Medieval France*, 193.

26 Kipling, *Enter the King*, 3.

27 Vic and Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, x. 161; Potter, *Nation State*, 158–59.

was governed by a small elite of wealthy families which used its dominance of the urban administration to ensure that the bulk of the town's financial obligations to the Crown were placed on the general population. In the lead up to Louis's visit, the general population had accused Le Puy's consuls of financial corruption. When the disgruntled townspeople then claimed that the king's tax exemption should be backdated (and thus make them exempt from the *taille* that had been imposed on the town three months before Louis's visit), the consuls claimed that the grant only applied to future taxes. The implementation of Louis's grant sparked off a riot during which consuls and royal officials were attacked; this was followed by two decades of animosity between the general population and the oligarchy.[28] As this example illustrates, rather than causing social cohesion, entries could incite social fissures because the allocation of financial privileges often only benefited the civic elite.

As well as providing access to the monarch, a royal entry also offered town governments an opportunity to meet powerful royal officials whose actions were crucial to the granting of privileges. Although the entry of the ruler was undoubtedly the most important type of entry in pre-modern France, the distinction between the king's entries and those of his representatives was not clear cut because officials such as the governors represented the person of the king in entries and exercised sovereign rights. Furthermore, all ceremonial entries, whether they be those of the king or those of a *bailli* worked in the same way to provide municipal administrations with opportunities to obtain the support of power brokers and advocate for new rights and liberties.

Urban governments were well versed in the formal and the informal procedures necessary to ensure that royal grants were ratified, from recruiting influential brokers to speak on their behalf, to paying the correct officials. Although monarchical power remained personal throughout the period of Valois rule, there was an increasing bureaucratisation of kingship, especially from the later fifteenth century. The privileged contact municipal leaders had with France's power elite at an entry was of particular benefit to the rulers of smaller urban communities who often found it difficult to gain access to the king and his ministers due to the prohibitive costs of keeping an embassy at court. Entries were a means of levelling the playing field when it came to accessing the king and his ministers. Rather than having to send delegations to the court (which often lay hundreds of miles away), the king and his representatives came to the town instead. Indeed, the French monarch was accompanied on his travels by the key members of his administration, most notably by the chancellor and

28 A. Leguai, 'Emeutes et troubles d'origine fiscale pendant le règne de Louis XI', *Le Moyen Age* 88 (1982), 476–80; Sée, *Louis XI et les villes*, 178–79.

the royal secretaries, who formed the decision-making core of his household.[29] Whereas towns and cities located on well-travelled routes received a steady stream of royal visitors, those situated in more remote locations received fewer visits from the king and his representatives. Consequently, ceremonial entries provided these urban governments with a rare opportunity to obtain friends at court and draw on their favour in the future.

From the reign of Charles VII, entries became an increasingly important means for the Crown to maintain contact with towns that lay on the frontiers of the kingdom. During the Hundred Years' War, frontier towns such as Beauvais and Tournai often felt remote from the Crown, partly because French monarchs rarely visited them.[30] The effects of persistent warfare within the kingdom made it difficult for Valois monarchs to travel around their realm, especially during the 1420s when much of the kingdom was under Anglo-Burgundian rule. Yet with the resurgence in Valois power from the 1430s, and the subsequent expulsion of the English from France, despite being based around the Loire, French kings spent much of their time touring the eastern frontier, which lay at the forefront of political developments in France during this period.[31] If the political centre of the kingdom lay with the king, then it was frequently located on the eastern frontiers. The Crown's presence was particularly strong in frontier regions – stronger even than in some of the kingdom's heartlands – as a result of regular royal progresses and the appointment of provincial governors who embodied the person of the monarch. In addition to representing the Crown, governors also posed as the protectors of urban rights and maintained channels of communication between the provinces and the royal court. As we saw in chapter four, from the late fifteenth century governors constructed friendly relationships with urban elites – links that they were able to exploit during the instability of the religious wars as a means to challenge royal power.[32] In the context of the development of discord at court, ceremonial entries allowed governors to gain supporters amongst the urban administrations in their regions. By promoting urban business with the Crown,

29 Bernard Guenée, 'Espace et état dans la France du bas moyen âge', *Annales. E.S.C.* 23 (1968), 758; P. S. Lewis, 'Centre and Periphery', 34; Ladurie, *French Royal State*, 47.

30 Lewis, 'Centre and Periphery', 33–35.

31 Bernard Chevalier has shown how during the reigns of Louis XI and Charles VIII, 'Lyons alone received more than a fifth of the known royal letters; while almost half were sent to towns on or near the northern and the north-eastern frontiers': Chevalier, 'King's Council', 120–22.

32 Chevalier, 'King's Council', 124.

governors received municipal assistance in the competition to build up and display the extent of their power.

Entries were dialogues about how power worked in Valois France. As this book has shown, urban elites devised these ceremonies in order to gain influence with the powerful people who lay at the political centre of the kingdom, especially the king, his family and the leading officials in the royal administration. The glorification of the monarch was not an end in itself; it was a means for urban elites to interact with the king and obtain lucrative rights and privileges. Quite simply, ceremonial entries lay at the heart of how the state functioned in pre-modern France. My examination of the records of urban governments has revealed the extent of the direct dialogue municipal leaders had with the Crown, most of which did not involve pageantry. These conversations reflected the changing nature of relations between centre and periphery in Valois France. As political authority in the regions was pluralistic, successful government was built on co-operation between the Crown and the provincial elites.[33] In recent decades, historians have worked to overturn the traditional perception of the Crown's relationship with municipal rulers in late medieval and Renaissance France, which was first proposed by Henri Sée who saw the French monarchy imposing its dominance over the towns by systematically stripping them of their privileges.[34] Thanks to the pioneering work of Bernard Chevalier, we now see relations between town and Crown as being built on cooperation and communication. While some aspects of Chevalier's thesis have been challenged in recent years, his core arguments about the development of an 'entente cordiale' between the king and urban rulers holds true.[35] Yet while Chevalier's overall thesis is persuasive, the actual mechanisms of how this relationship functioned in practice merits further exploration. It is hoped that this book has contributed to this debate by examining the central role that ceremonial entries played in the relationship between the Crown and urban rulers.

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33 On this point for the twelfth and seventeenth centuries, see also: R. W. Southern 'The Place of England in the Twelfth Century Renaissance', in R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), 179; William Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France* (Cambridge, 1985), 335–39.

34 Sée, *Louis XI et les villes*.

35 See, for example, Hilary J. Bernstein, *Between Crown and Community: Politics and Civic Culture in Sixteenth-Century Politics* (Ithaca and London, 2004), 16.

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