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**THE CAPTIVITY OF  
JOHN II, 1356–60**

The Royal Image in Later  
Medieval England and France

**Neil Murphy**



# The New Middle Ages

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Neil Murphy

# The Captivity of John II, 1356–60

The Royal Image in Later Medieval  
England and France

palgrave  
macmillan

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*To my parents*

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# CONTENTS

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>John II and the Display of Plantagenet Power, 1356–58</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Constructing the Royal Image</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>The French Royal Household in Captivity</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>95</b>
	<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>105</b>
	<b>Index</b>	<b>123</b>



## Introduction

**Abstract** This chapter begins with an examination of the historiography of the captivity of John II. It shows that historians have often portrayed John's time in captivity as the most disastrous years of pitiable reign, with his behaviour in England being seen in an especially negative light. Yet John's time in captivity was the catalyst for a number of innovations in the presentation of the royal image which had lasting consequences in both England and France. After providing an analysis of the primary sources upon which the book is based (particularly the Valois monarch's household accounts), the introduction concludes by establishing the chronology of John's time in English captivity.

**Keywords** Household accounts • Historiography • Charles V • Chronicles • Poitiers

John II ('the Good') spent one third of his reign in captivity. While he was not the only king of France to be taken in battle (Saint Louis was captured at Fariskur in 1250 and Francis I at Pavia in 1525), the repercussions of his capture at Poitiers were the undoubtedly the most significant. According to Raymond Cazelles, the battle had 'incalculable consequences' ('conséquences incalculables'), while Georges Minois has recently pronounced that its effects were so severe that 'it is permissible to think that it would have been better for King John to have been killed at Poitiers rather than

taken prisoner' ('il est permis de penser qu'il eut mieux valu que le roi Jean soit tué que fait prisonnier à Poitiers').<sup>1</sup> Certainly, John's capture at Poitiers triggered a series of events that destabilised his kingdom, including: the reforming programme of the Estates of Languedoil, Charles of Navarre's release from prison, the major peasant revolt known as the *Jacquerie* and Étienne Marcel's 'Parisian Revolution'. In addition to these political crises, France was suffering from widespread economic and social turmoil in the mid-1350s, as a result of two decades of war with England, the depredations of the free companies and the impact of the Black Death. It is for these reasons that J. B. Henneman has observed that the reign of John II is associated with 'the great disasters in French history'.<sup>2</sup>

While the years following Poitiers were undoubtedly filled with calamities, John II played a secondary role in his government's response to these events because he was in captivity and unable to rule his kingdom effectively. As his eldest son, Charles, was left to contend with these crises, historians have overwhelmingly approached the events of the later 1350s from the dauphin's perspective. It is revealing that two of the best accounts of these years are found in Roland Delachenal's and Françoise Autrand's biographies of Charles V, both of which give limited treatment to John's actions in captivity.<sup>3</sup> While Raymond Cazelles studied the reigns of John II and Charles V together in *Société politique, noblesse et couronne*, he says little about John's time in England beyond showing how the Valois monarch's efforts to try and rule his kingdom from captivity harmed his son's position in France.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, Henneman focuses on the impact John II's capture at Poitiers had on France (particularly through the raising of his ransom) and he does not deal with the French king's actions in England.<sup>5</sup> The events of the later 1350s are typically seen to belong to the reign of Charles V rather than that of his father. For Autrand these years were 'for Charles, the passage from childhood to adulthood' ('pour Charles, le passage de l'enfance à l'âge adulte'), while Delachenal found that the experiences Charles gained during the four years of his father's captivity formed 'a decisive influence' ('une influence décisive') on his style of rule as king.<sup>6</sup>

While historians have written sympathetically about the dauphin because of the difficulties he had to contend with during these years, they have been scathing in their criticism of John II. In his *Histoire de France*, Louis-Pierre Anquetil wrote that 'the reign of King John is one of history's most disastrous' ('le règne du roi Jean est un des plus désastreux que l'histoire présente').<sup>7</sup> The events of John's reign undoubtedly seemed especially pitiful to Anquetil because his *Histoire* (written at Napoleon's

request) was first published in 1805, the year of Austerlitz, when France, triumphant in Europe, crushed the Holy Roman Empire and even considered invading Britain. From the early twentieth century, historians began to attribute many of the disasters that befell France in the 1350s to defects in John II's character. Roland Delachenal labelled him a 'mediocre sovereign' ('mediocre souverain'), while Alfred Colville found that he had 'mediocre intelligence' ('une intelligence médiocre').<sup>8</sup> Likewise, in his influential *La guerre de cent ans* (published in 1945 after another disastrous period of French history, when military defeat had again led to foreign occupation), Édouard Perroy found that 'at a tragic moment in its history, the crown of France was worn ... by a mediocrity' ('à un moment tragique de son histoire, la couronne de France fût portée ... par un médiocre'), while Richard Vaughan noted in his 1962 study of Philip the Bold that John II was reckoned to be 'amongst the worst of medieval French kings'.<sup>9</sup> Raymond Cazelles challenged the typically negative view of John II's character in his 1974 article 'Jean II le Bon: Quel homme? Quel roi?'. While Cazelles presented John as an 'innovative king' ('roi innovateur') who was responsible for many of the achievements that had been erroneously credited to his son, he largely omitted John's four years in captivity from his study.<sup>10</sup> This is a considerable oversight because, as I show in this book, the developments John II made to the presentation of the royal image during this period deserve to rank high amongst the achievements of his reign.

Historians are overwhelmingly negative about John II's time in England, which they rate as the most pitiful years of a disastrous reign. John is typically cast as a negligent monarch who squandered his subjects' money in the pursuit of his own personal pleasures at the Plantagenet court. For Jules Michelet, the captive French king enjoyed 'the insolent courtesy of the English' ('de jouir bonnement de l'insolente courtoisie des Anglais'), while Françoise Autrand writes that John 'from his gilded prison of Windsor ... did little either for his son or for the honour of the Crown of France' ('de sa prison dorée de "Windsor" ... ne faisait pas grand-chose ni pour son fils ni pour l'honneur de la couronne de France').<sup>11</sup> For Delachenal, John 'young still, carefree, insouciant, passionate for hunting, had the freedom to satisfy his desires' ('jeune encore, insouciant, passionné pour la chasse, il avait tout latitude pour donner satisfaction à ses goûts'), while the duke of Aumale (who edited the first set of the household accounts detailing John's time in England—see below) stated that 'with little concern for the miseries of his kingdom

... he especially loved pleasure' ('assez peu préoccupé des misères de son royaume ... il aimait surtout le plaisir').<sup>12</sup> Historians generally portray John as filling his time with frivolous pastimes as 'he waited for the hour of his release' ('il attendit l'heure de la délivrance').<sup>13</sup> Recently, Jonathan Sumption has stated that John 'kicked his heels' in England while waiting to return to France.<sup>14</sup> Even sympathetic accounts of John II's reign view his actions in captivity as of little importance and divorced from the practice of kingship.<sup>15</sup>

In contrast, this book shows that the activities John II pursued during his captivity were of the utmost importance to his struggle with Edward III. John's innovations in the presentation of the royal image, which came as a result of the conditions of his captivity, also had a wider impact on the fashioning of Valois power during the fourteenth century. Historians customarily state that courtly display blossomed under Charles V because of his achievements in restoring the French monarchy's power after the catastrophe of his father's reign. For Robert Knecht, the Valois court was 'a "theatre of magnificence" for which Charles V laid down certain rules', while David Loades has called the reign of Charles V the 'apogee' of the French court.<sup>16</sup> In his influential study of pre-modern European courts, A. G. Dickens even compared the magnificence of the court of Charles V with that of Louis XIV.<sup>17</sup> In this book, I demonstrate that the developments which took place to the presentation of Valois power during Charles V's reign have been overstated and that he has been credited for initiatives which should be attributed to his father. Rather than being a product of the military and diplomatic successes of Charles V's reign, it was the conditions of his father's captivity that spurred on the major developments that took place in the construction of the royal image during this period. It was John rather than Charles who played the formative role in establishing the French court as the leading court in Europe in the mid-fourteenth century.

The perception that Charles V's reign was the golden age of the medieval French court is partly a consequence of the lack of work on the early Valois French court. While there are numerous books on the Renaissance Valois court, beyond the work by Élisabeth Lalou and Jules Viard on household ordinances, historians have paid little attention to the reigns of the first two Valois monarchs.<sup>18</sup> While Malcolm Vale compares the courts of England, France and the Low Countries during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in *The Princely Court*, he does not discuss John II's reign. Françoise Beriac-Lainé and Chris Given-Wilson provide an overview of the

operation of John II's household in captivity in their study of the prisoners of the battle of Poitiers. Yet, John's activities in captivity merit a sustained analysis, particularly because of the richness of the sources detailing his time in England and the importance of his activities to the presentation of royal power in later medieval England and France. A study of the operation of John II's household in custody is also important because—despite the frequency with which rulers found themselves imprisoned—none of the books on pre-modern courts and households examines a ruler's experiences in captivity.<sup>19</sup> Yet the constraints placed on John in England were a stimulus to developments in the manifestation of the royal image.

### SOURCES

One of the principal reasons why the early Valois court has been so poorly studied is because of the dearth of surviving sources.<sup>20</sup> In particular, there are few surviving sets of household accounts for the reigns of the first two Valois monarchs.<sup>21</sup> Yet John II's period of captivity in England is well documented because of the survival of an excellent set of household accounts, which runs for over eighteen months (from 25 December 1359 to 8 July 1360) and provides us with a highly detailed view of the workings of the French king's household.<sup>22</sup> These sources are particularly important because—unlike most of the other surviving household accounts of the fourteenth-century Valois monarchy—they provide a daily breakdown of the king's expenses. The accounts were compiled by John's secretary, Denis de Collors, who used them to keep a record of the financial expenditure of John's household during its time in England. They were inspected by the count of Sancerre, Guillaume Racine (John's chaplain) and Jean de Danville (his *maître d'hôtel*), who all deemed the information contained in them to be correct.<sup>23</sup>

The household accounts are divided into three parts. The first section details the goods and money John's subjects and supporters sent him, while the second part of the accounts lists the ordinary expenses of the six domestic offices of his household ('*dépense ordinaire des VI offices de l'ostel du Roy*'), which includes the basic goods used by John and his staff (such as food, drink and lighting). This is the least detailed section of the accounts and it only provides us with the monthly totals of ordinary expenditure rather than an itemisation of the goods purchased. In contrast, the third part of the accounts provides extensive information about the king's daily extraordinary expenditure. This allows us to track

John's spending pattern over time, which is important because it reveals how the French king responded to the different conditions placed on him during the various stages of his captivity. The information contained in the extraordinary expenses is central to this book because it provides detailed information on the luxury goods John purchased and the elite activities he participated in. This section of the accounts also provides a wealth of information about the structures of John's household, as well as the personal and commercial networks the French king and his staff developed in England.

As John's surviving household accounts do not begin until December 1358, they do not cover his time in Bordeaux or his first twenty months in England. Yet we possess a range of other primary sources which detail John's first two years in captivity. Chroniclers across Europe recorded the French king's activities, particularly the ceremonies and festivities he participated in. In addition to these narrative sources, we also possess the administrative records of the English Crown, which provide us with good information about the conditions of the French king's captivity. As John was separated from his kingdom, he came to rely on letters to keep in touch with his subjects, many of which survive. These letters reveal how John presented his activities in England to his subjects in France. The records held in French municipal archives intersect with the first section of John's household accounts (which records the money and goods he received from his supporters) to provide us with a rounded view of how John raised the money he required to maintain his royal status. Finally, papal letters and petitions provide us with good information about the composition of John's household. These documents are particularly valuable because they yield information not contained elsewhere.

While the sources documenting John II's time in captivity provide us with a good insight into the operation of the French king's household in the fourteenth century, they are not without their limitations. Much of the recent work on pre-modern courts has focused on what Jeroen Duindam has termed 'domestic ceremony', that is to say the daily round of rituals and ceremonies which governed the ruler's actions from morning to evening.<sup>24</sup> We know from the work of Christine de Pisan that ceremonies such as the *lever* and *coucher* (which are most commonly associated with the later Valois and Bourbon monarchs) were already in use at the later medieval French court; yet, John II had no Christine to record the domestic ceremonies of his court or the protocol which governed events such as feasting.<sup>25</sup> Although his household accounts afford an occasional glimpse

into some of these conventions (including the use of elaborate silverware and the presentation of gifts during banquets), we learn little about the manner in which dishes were served to different ranks of guests. While John's household accounts show that music was a prominent feature of his court in England, they do not tell how this music was performed or if meals were accompanied by *entremets*. Moreover, although the household accounts, safe conducts, chronicles and other sources show that John received numerous visitors during his time in England, it is difficult to reconstruct the protocol dictating how these guests were admitted into the king's presence. Despite such limitations, when taken together the mass of primary sources documenting John's time in captivity provides us with a rare opportunity to understand how the early Valois court operated.

### CHRONOLOGY

Before beginning Chap. 2, it is necessary to establish the chronology of John the Good's captivity, particularly because several historians have made number of significant errors in their accounts of the stages of the French king's time in England, which has led to a distorted impression of John's activities during this period. Establishing a precise account of John's movements is important because the conditions placed on him in each location affected how the French king presented his power and upheld his status.

After his capture at the battle of Poitiers on 19 September 1356, Edward of Woodstock, the Black Prince (who had commanded the victorious Anglo-Gascon army), led John on a progress through Gascony, which culminated with his reception at Bordeaux on 5 October. After spending almost eight months in Bordeaux, John sailed to England with the Black Prince on 11 April 1357. A number of historians have stated that John docked in southeastern England (Sandwich or Dover) in early May, following which he visited Saint Thomas Becket's shrine at Canterbury and then progressed through Kent to London.<sup>26</sup> These studies follow Froissart, who probably confused the itinerary of John's arrival in England in May 1357 with either his departure in July 1360 or his return to captivity in January 1364.<sup>27</sup> Yet the English Crown's administrative records show that John docked at Plymouth, which was the obvious port to disembark at when travelling from Gascony. From Plymouth, the Black Prince led John on a progress through southern England, during which he made entries into towns such as Salisbury and Winchester. Following

his ceremonial entry into London on 24 May 1357 the French king was lodged in the Savoy Palace. Again following Froissart, some historians have stated that John was lodged for part of this time at Windsor. While John visited Windsor several times, he resided at the Savoy Palace until he was moved to Hertford Castle in early April 1359.<sup>28</sup> Leaving Hertford on 29 July, John arrived at Somerton Castle in Lincolnshire on 4 August 1359, where he remained until 21 March 1360.<sup>29</sup> Some historians have stated that John was brought from Somerton to Berkhamsted Castle, when in fact the English Crown only mooted the idea and did not implement it. Rather, John's household accounts show that he arrived back in London eight days after leaving Somerton and that he was lodged in the Tower, where he remained until he left for Dover with the Black Prince on 30 June 1360.<sup>30</sup> Sailing from Dover on 8 July 1360, John docked at Calais the following morning and was kept there until 25 October, when he returned to France. The French monarch's final period of captivity came with his voluntarily return to England on 5 January 1364, when his son, Louis, duke of Anjou (one of the hostages who took John's place in England), broke the terms of his captivity. After a lifetime of ill health, John died at the Savoy Palace on 8 April 1364. In total, he spent four years, four months and nine days in English captivity.

## NOTES

1. Cazelles, *Société politique*, 229; Minois, *Poitiers*, 199.
2. Henneman, "Age of Charles V", 36.
3. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V*; Autrand, *Charles V*.
4. Cazelles, *Société politique*, 274–277, 298–300.
5. Henneman, *Captivity and Ransom*.
6. Autrand, *Charles V*, 275; Delachenal, *Charles V*, vol. 1, 244.
7. Anquetil, *Histoire de France*, vol. 2, 363.
8. Colville, *Europe occidentale*, 534.
9. Perroy, *Guerre de cent ans*, 100; Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, 2.
10. Cazelles, "Quel homme?", 17.
11. Michelet, *Histoire de France*, vol. 6, 306; Autrand, *Charles V*, 304–305.
12. Delachenal, *Charles V*, vol. 2, 57; Aumale, "Notes et documents", 28–29.
13. Colville, *Histoire de France*, 108.
14. Sumption, *Hundred Years War*, vol. 2, 291.
15. Deviosse, *Jean Le Bon*, 411–418.
16. Knecht, *French Renaissance Court*, 34.
17. Loades, *Tudor Court*, 7; Dickens, "Courts in the Middle Ages", 28.



18. Lalou, "Hôtel du roi", 145–155; Lalou, "Ordonnances de l'hôtel", 29–38; Viard, "Philippe VI de Valois", 465–487. For the Renaissance French court, see: Knecht, *French Court*; Chatenet, *Cour de France*; Le Roux, *Faveur du roi*; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*; Boucher, *Cour de Henri III*; Solnon, *Cour de France*.
19. Edward Corp has studied at the Stuart court in exile, which is different to the operation of a court in captivity: Corp, *A Court in Exile*; idem, *A Royal Court in Permanent Exile*. On royal captives during the Middle Ages, see: Kosto, *Hostages in the Middle Ages*, 163–198.
20. Vale, *Princely Court*, 81.
21. Cazelles, *Catalogue de comptes royaux*, 48–49; Lalou, "Un compte de l'Hôtel du roi", 91–127. Two sets of household accounts also survive for Philip IV's reign: Lalou, "Tablettes de cire", 123–140.
22. BNF français 11205 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 193–299); Aumale, "Notes et documents", 1–190. See also: Aumale, "Nouveaux documents", 1–24. It is also clear that there a further household account was kept during John's time at Calais, though this is now lost: Aumale, "Notes et documents", 148.
23. See Aumale, "Notes et documents", 144–149.
24. Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 181. Historians have also focused on the spaces in which these rituals and ceremonies were performed: Dillon, *Language of Space*; Johannsen and Ottenheim, *European Courts and Court Residences*; Chatenet and De Jonge, *Prince, la princesse et leurs logis*.
25. Pisan, *Livre des fais*, 43–48.
26. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 27; Deviosse, *Jean le Bon*, 406–407; Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 278–279.
27. Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. 6, 13–14, 18.
28. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 28; Colville, *Histoire de France*, 107.
29. David Green confuses Somerton Castle in Lincolnshire with the Huntingdonshire village of Somersham (now Cambridgeshire), which was the location of one of the Black Prince's studs: Green, *Edward the Black Prince*, 112, 281.
30. Brown, Colvin and Taylor, *History of the King's Works*, vol. 2, 563; Aumale, "Notes et documents", 50; Deviosse, *Jean le Bon*, 445; Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 280; Green, *Edward the Black Prince*, 127; idem, *Black Prince*, 115. He was probably not lodged in Berkhamsted because the castle was in a poor state of repair: *CPR, Edward III*, vol. 11, 341; *BPR*, vol. 4, 265, 342, 400, 411.

## John II and the Display of Plantagenet Power, 1356–58

**Abstract** This chapter focuses on the first two years of the John II's captivity, during which the Black Prince and Edward III devised a range of ceremonies and festivities (including ceremonial entries, tournaments and feasts) that put the French king on public display and highlighted the power of the Plantagenet monarchy. As well as triggering developments in the presentation of the French king's image, John's presence in England spurred on Edward III's use of political propaganda. The English king and the Black Prince highlighted their chivalric qualities by treating the French king with great honour. While their handling of John was a far cry from the actions of kings such as Philip Augustus and Edward I (both of whom had displayed their high-ranking prisoners in chains), the festivities Edward III devised to honour John II were intended to call attention to the power he held over the French king.

**Keywords** Ceremonial entries • Tournaments • Feasting • Gascony • Poitiers • Chivalry

In early October 1356, Edward III learned that his eldest son, Edward of Woodstock, the Black Prince, had defeated a French army outside Poitiers and captured the Valois monarch, John II, his youngest son, Philip, and numerous other prominent French nobles.<sup>1</sup> As a token of the scale of his victory, the Black Prince sent his father the French king's helm and tunic.<sup>2</sup> While victory at Poitiers did not lead to an immediate expansion of

Plantagenet lands in France, John II's capture changed the course of the war. It is clear that the English considered the French king's capture to be the chief benefit of the Black Prince's victory. Élisabeth Charpentier has shown how English chroniclers principally focused on the large number of high-ranking French nobles taken prisoner at Poitiers in their assessments of the battle's significance.<sup>3</sup> The English Crown encouraged its subjects to focus on the capture of the French monarch. For example, the Black Prince wrote to the bishop of Worcester on 20 October 1356, cataloguing every high-ranking prisoner his soldiers had taken in the battle, with 'John de Valoys' appearing at the top of the list.<sup>4</sup> It was John II's capture—rather than the battle itself—that was celebrated across England in October 1356. Within days of receiving news of Poitiers, Edward III directed the archbishop of Canterbury to instruct the English clergy to give thanks for God having 'led the said John into the hands of our son' *conduisit ledit Jean aux mains de notre dit fils*.<sup>5</sup> As Sir Thomas Grey (who was then in captivity in Scotland) observed, Edward III 'owed many thanks to God for his grace' in delivering the French king into his hands because John II was 'the mightiest of Christians'.<sup>6</sup>

While John II's ransom stood to generate considerable revenue for the English Crown, this was not the principal benefit of having the French king in custody. Chris Given-Wilson and Françoise Bériac have demonstrated that 'the primary value of great prisoners was not financial, but political' and that 'simple financial profit was far from being the sole, or even the primary, factor involved' in Edward III's use of high-ranking prisoners.<sup>7</sup> Rather than focusing on the effects of John's captivity on the Anglo-French peace negotiations (which have been well documented by many historians), this chapter focuses on John's value as an object of political propaganda for the English Crown during his first two years of his captivity. During this period, John's presence was the catalyst for an abundance of magnificent festivities and ceremonies that were designed to place the French king on display.

### THE AFTERMATH OF POITIERS

Because John II's value as an object of propaganda was dependent on his visibility, the English Crown put him on public display from the moment of his capture. The Black Prince gave John the position of honour at the victory banquet he held on the evening of the battle of Poitiers and (despite being the victor) seated himself below the French king. On the

face of it, the Black Prince's actions sprung from a combination of deference to the French king's superior social status and a desire to honour John's bravery on the battlefield; indeed, historians typically treat the Black Prince's actions as a straightforward gesture of honour towards the French king.<sup>8</sup> Yet this clever strategy allowed the Black Prince to focus his leading supporters' gaze on his greatest prize and highlight his chivalrous qualities to the French, English and Gascon knights who attended the feast. According to Jean le Bel, the Black Prince told John that he 'should be of good cheer, even though the battle has gone against you, for you have earned a reputation for high prowess and surpassed the finest of your army in the way you fought today.'<sup>1</sup> In response to these honourable words, 'a general murmur arose, [with] everyone [English, French and Gascon] saying that the young prince had spoken most nobly. He had won the respect of them all, and they said that if he was able to continue in that vein he would grow into a man of outstanding wisdom.'<sup>9</sup> In other words, the Black Prince won praise for his honourable treatment of the French king. He also juxtaposed his leniency with the conduct of John II, who had raised the *oriflamme* during the battle and thus signalled to his soldiers that they were not to take prisoners. During the banquet, the Black Prince asked John: 'Good cousin, if you had taken me, thanks be to God, as I have taken you, what would you have done to me?': *Beau cousin, si vous m'eussiez pris, merci à Dieu, comme je vous ai pris, que faisiez-vous de moi?*, to which John did not reply: *ne respondi riens le roy [John II]*.<sup>10</sup> In short, the Black Prince treated John with a combination of honour and humiliation in the aftermath of the battle as a means to articulate his own superior character. Both the Black Prince and his father would continue to employ this strategy throughout the French king's time in captivity.

The English Crown paraded the French king in public at every opportunity, particularly during the festivities and ceremonies that celebrated its victory at Poitiers. From the battlefield, the Black Prince led John II and the other French captives on a progress through Gascony, which culminated with a ceremonial entry into Bordeaux on 5 October 1356.<sup>11</sup> The city's temporal and spiritual authorities greeted the Black Prince and his captives with enthusiasm and led them through decorated streets that were lined with townspeople. There was an unusually large female presence at the extramural greeting. The Black Prince's herald, Sir John Chandos (who participated in the entry) states that 'the ladies, the damsels, old and young, and serving-maids' came to greet the royal party outside the city walls.<sup>12</sup> The participation of women from different social classes in

the extramural procession served a number of purposes: First, high-born women formed a crucial part of the audience at tournaments where their presence played a vital role in validating male success in combat (indeed, female attendance at tournaments became particularly pronounced during the mid-fourteenth century).<sup>13</sup> Accordingly, the participation of Gascon noblewomen in the Bordeaux entry affirmed the Black Prince's chivalric qualities and vouched for his military prowess. Second, as elite townswomen embodied civic identity in late medieval royal entries, their presence in the extramural greeting called attention to the city's role in devising an entry to honour the Black Prince. Third, the presence of female domestic servants in the ceremony may suggest that the entry was also designed to humiliate the high-ranking French captives who accompanied the Black Prince in the procession. Richard Trexler has shown how the participation of lower-class women in the extramural element of fourteenth-century Italian entries celebrating military successes was intended to humiliate the captives paraded in the procession.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, as we saw earlier, the Black Prince used a combination of honour and humiliation in his treatment of the French king during the post-battle banquet.

The Black Prince also drew attention to the magnitude of his victory at Poitiers by entering Bordeaux at John II's side. The Black Prince repeatedly proclaimed his chivalric qualities to the Gascon nobility during his periods of residence in the duchy as his father's lieutenant, with the Bordeaux entry serving as a marker of the military prowess that was expected from Edward III's heir.<sup>15</sup> The presence of the French captives in the Bordeaux entry also symbolised the Plantagenet monarchy's ability to enrich its supporters, which was a key facet of rulership in the Middle Ages. As Gascon nobles expected to receive significant financial rewards from the duke-king in return for fighting on his behalf, the Black Prince paid (or promised to pay) these nobles for the ransoms of leading French nobles taken at Poitiers, such as the counts of Auxerre and Ponthieu.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, the Black Prince met with the Gascon nobles before he departed from Bordeaux in April 1357 and promised that he would return to the duchy and lead further successful campaigns against the French.<sup>17</sup>

John II's extended stay in Bordeaux also benefited its population, particularly because the cost of the victuals needed to supply the households of the Black Prince and the French king (as well as the presence of numerous other French, Gascon and English nobles in the city) generated substantial revenue for the city's merchants.<sup>18</sup> In addition, the Black Prince poured money into a profusion of festivities during the eight months John was

held captive in the city, which benefited Bordeaux's craftsmen.<sup>19</sup> The magnificence of the Black Prince's court at Bordeaux—especially the numerous ceremonies and the rebuilding programme that followed his victory at Poitiers—enriched the city.<sup>20</sup> During his stay in Bordeaux, the French king was lodged in comfortable accommodation at the abbey of Saint-André and permitted a great deal of freedom, so that the Black Prince could display John to the duchy's population.<sup>21</sup> Like the presence of a famous relic, John's presence drew people (and their money) into Bordeaux from across Gascony, while the residence of the French king and the Black Prince placed the city at the centre of western European diplomacy until the royal party sailed for England on 11 April 1357.<sup>22</sup>

### JOHN II IN ENGLAND

The French king's arrival in England allowed the Plantagenet monarch to display John II on a new stage. The Valois king landed at Plymouth on 3 May 1357 and the Black Prince brought him on a progress through southern England, as part of which he made ceremonial entries into towns such as Salisbury and Winchester.<sup>23</sup> This progress celebrated the Black Prince's triumphant return to England after two years of hard campaigning in France. Accordingly, the Black Prince ensured that he appeared at his most magnificent, and he even had his best horses sent from Windsor for the progress.<sup>24</sup> Lavish displays of royal power were expensive and the Black Prince had to pause at Salisbury for money and supplies to arrive from London so that he could complete the progress in a suitably impressive manner.<sup>25</sup> The English Crown poured money into this progress, because of its considerable propaganda value, and Edward III took a personal role in its organisation.<sup>26</sup> He had a group of English knights dressed as woodsmen stage a mock ambush of John II, which enabled the Plantagenet monarch to playfully remind John that he was a prisoner of the English Crown. The progress reached its apogee on 23 May 1357 when the two kings met outside the walls of London. Edward 'did great honour and reverence [to John], and spoke to him for a long time': *fist moult grant honneur et reverence [to John], et parla à ly moult longuement*, before returning to London in advance of the entry, rather than accompany John through the city streets.<sup>27</sup> This was probably intended to be an honourable gesture towards his son, the Black Prince, whose victory at Poitiers had won him the right to make a triumphal entry into the capital. The Black Prince escorted John through London (as at Bordeaux), displaying his greatest prisoner to its

citizens.<sup>28</sup> The London entry also raised the Black Prince's international profile because it was reported widely across Europe. For example, Matteo Villani (writing in Florence) included an account of John's London entry in his chronicle, commenting particularly on the Black Prince's good character and valiant behaviour.<sup>29</sup>

While the English Crown organised John II's progress and prepared displays such as the mock ambush, it relied on urban governments to devise and pay for the ceremonial entries. Certainly, townspeople played a crucial role in promoting the Plantagenet monarchy's successes in France. For example, London's aldermen organised lavish festivities to celebrate Edward III's successes at Calais and Crécy in 1347, as well as the Black Prince's victory at Poitiers in 1356.<sup>30</sup> Yet townspeople did not produce the festivities simply to promote royal power; they also designed these events to advance civic aims and ambitions. For example, London's aldermen used their control of the 1357 entry to establish links with the Valois monarch. The mayor, Henry Picard—who formally greeted John outside London and escorted him through the city—went on to develop a close and lucrative relationship with the French king during his time in the city. Picard was accompanied the city's aldermen, many of whom also went on to make substantial profits from supplying goods to John's household (see Chap. 4).<sup>31</sup> The chroniclers who recorded John's entry emphasise the prominent role that the city's guilds played in the extramural greeting, which drew attention to London's place as a centre of international commerce.<sup>32</sup> As John was brought through the city's streets, he was shown theatrical displays emphasising London's political and economic power. When the royal cortège approached Cheapside, the municipal council had two young women (who symbolised the city's identity) spread gold and silver leaves over John from a wooden cage attached to one of the goldsmiths' shops. This gesture symbolised London's economic importance, as did the wine that flowed freely from the city's fountains.<sup>33</sup> John was met outside St Paul's by the bishop of London, who was accompanied by the leading members of city's clergy (which meant that John was introduced to the city's religious and secular leaders during the course of the entry), and a range of contemporary sources attest to the large size of the crowd that turned out to witness the entry.<sup>34</sup>

While English chroniclers largely state that the London entry was staged specifically to honour the French king, the Chandos herald writes that it was a military triumph marking the Black Prince's victory in France.<sup>35</sup> Although it would be easy to dismiss Chandos' views as an example of

sycophancy towards his master, other chroniclers support his view. Henry Knighton states that ‘quantities of bows and arrows, and of every kind of arms, there were on display in the streets of the city wherever the French king was to go’.<sup>36</sup> This emphasis on the display of military power was unusual for royal entries in the fourteenth century. It is clear that John II’s entry transcended the form of reception customarily accorded to a foreign dignity; it was a display of England’s military strength. Moreover, some English chroniclers highlight the display of high-ranking captives in the entry (which was a key element of Roman triumphs), thus sustaining the focus that Edward III put on the taking of prisoners in the events he orchestrated to celebrate the battle.<sup>37</sup>

Nonetheless, the 1357 entry was more than just a triumphal parade for the Black Prince. Although the Londoners incorporated elements of a Roman triumph into the *mise-en-scène* of the event, the reception was designed to honour the French king. While the entry was principally devised and produced by London’s ruling elite (who used their control over the ceremony to establish links with John II), Edward III also sought to influence the overall tone of the reception.<sup>38</sup> As well as giving the English Crown an opportunity to exhibit its power through military symbolism, Edward’s courteous treatment of his principal adversary won him praise.<sup>39</sup> John was given the marks of honour customarily accorded to a sovereign ruler, and he was permitted to enter London on a white horse, whereas the Prince of Wales rode beside him on a black horse.<sup>40</sup> Jean Devoisse attributes the difference in the colour of the horses to the fact that ‘the Prince is an artist. He knows that this opposition of tones will strike the spirit of the Londoners’: *le Prince est un artiste. Il sait que cette opposition de tons frappera l’esprit des Londoniens*.<sup>41</sup> In fact, the difference in colour between the two horses had nothing to do with an artistic presentation of tone; rather, the use of a white horse was crucial marker of John’s political status and it symbolised his sovereignty. Froissart tells us that John II addressed his troops at Poitiers mounted on a white horse and carrying a white baton in his hand: *montés sur ung blancq courssier et tenoit ung blancq baston*, as these were symbols of sovereignty.<sup>42</sup> Kings did not grant visiting monarchs the honour of entering on a white horse lightly, even when there were good relations between the two rulers. When Emperor Charles IV visited France in 1379, the French king, Charles V, did not permit his uncle (who was raised at the Capetian court) to make entries into French towns on a white horse ‘so that no sign of domination could be noted’: *affin qu’il n’y peust ester notté aucun signe de dominacion*.<sup>43</sup> Likewise, David II was only



permitted to enter London in 1347 on a black horse.<sup>44</sup> The extent of the honour the English Crown accorded to John by permitting him to enter London on a white horse is all the more striking when we remember that Edward III claimed that John II's father, Philip VI, was a usurper who had taken his throne unlawfully. Edward's gesture may have been a sign that he was prepared to negotiate over the issue of the French Crown during the forthcoming peace negotiations. Indeed, Edward III's right to the France throne did not feature in the Anglo-French talks of 1357–1358, when the English king agreed to suspend his claim in return for holding his lands in France in full sovereignty.<sup>45</sup>

### FRENCH CAPTIVES AND TOWN-CROWN RELATIONS IN ENGLAND

The townspeople of southern England were the principal audience for the 1357 progress. John's capture figured prominently in the English Crown's communication with its urban elites after Poitiers. For example, the Black Prince wrote to London's aldermen on 22 October 1356 to outline his achievements in France. He focused on the capture of John II and listed all the high-ranking captives his soldiers had taken prisoner.<sup>46</sup> As English townspeople had funded his expedition to France, John's capture allowed the Black Prince to demonstrate that he had not wasted their money.<sup>47</sup> The 1357 progress enabled the Black Prince to show the fruits of his campaign to the townspeople of southern England, whose geographical location meant they stood to benefit from the resurgence in the Gascon wine trade which had resulted from his victory. Indeed, the merchants who dominated the administrations of southern English towns, such as Winchester (which the Black Prince entered with John on this progress), were heavily involved in the Anglo-Gascon wine trade.<sup>48</sup> The victory at Poitiers particularly stood to enrich the merchants who dominated London's civic government, because they could expect that a substantial part of the money generated in ransoms would eventually flow through the city. London's merchants had profited from the conflict with France, such as the vintner, Henry Picard, who had supplied goods to the army (and who led the extramural delegation at John's entry in 1357). These men made fortunes speculating on royal war debts and obtained considerable security for the loans they made to the king.<sup>49</sup> Overall, Edward III's successes in France had sustained the city's position as one of northern Europe's leading commercial centres.

While London benefited from Edward III's conflicts in France, the run-up to John II's entry was a time of tension between the civic administration and the Crown. Shortly before John's arrival in the city, London's government had written to Edward III to complain that, as well as being overburdened with taxes, it had loaned the king the enormous sum of £137,000 for his French war, most of which had not been repaid.<sup>50</sup> The discontent between the Crown and the capital harmed Edward III, who relied on the city's merchants to fund his wars in the 1350s because he had exhausted his credit with Italian banks and foreign merchants during the previous decade.<sup>51</sup> As the Londoners expected to profit from their support of Edward's cause, the parading of French prisoners during the 1357 entry allowed the Crown to display the collateral it was going to use to repay its debts. Moreover, the revival of the Gascon wine trade principally benefitted London's merchants, because most of the wine imported from the duchy was brought directly to the capital.<sup>52</sup> Accordingly, the wine that flowed in abundance from London's fountains during John II's entry in 1357 highlighted the close link that existed between the Valois monarch's capture and the influx of wine into the city—and by extension Edward III's ability to enrich London's merchants by means of his victories in France.

In sum, there were multiple agendas operating during John II's entries in England and Gascony. First, these events allowed the Black Prince and Edward III to display their idealised personal qualities (especially military strength, wealth and magnanimity) to their subjects. Second, ceremonial entries were expressions of urban political and economic power, and they were devised by the people who stood to benefit most from the resurgence in continental trade and the presence of the French king in England. Third, these entries sparked off an extended period of festivities in England, during which the French king was placed at the centre of a highly successful programme of English political propaganda devised by the Plantagenet Crown.

### JOHN II AND PLANTAGENET PROPAGANDA

Like other medieval rulers, Edward III celebrated his military successes with impressive festivities.<sup>53</sup> In contrast to the 1357 London entry (which was principally organised by the civic elite), the tournaments, banquets, hunting expeditions and other celebrations that marked John's first two years in England were predominantly a product of the Plantagenet court. While English tournament culture had fallen into abeyance during the

reign of Edward II (largely because these events provided discontented nobles with a chance to meet and plot against the king), it enjoyed a revival under his son and became closely wedded to the Crown's political propaganda.<sup>54</sup> Edward III used the presence of high-ranking prisoners at tournaments to form a panorama of royal power that was designed to impress and overawe those who attended these events.<sup>55</sup> While David II was put on display at tournaments in the years following his capture at Neville's Cross, it was the presence of the French king at the tournaments of 1357–1358 that made these events the most celebrated of the age.<sup>56</sup> John's presence in England reversed the decline in the number of tournaments held in England during the 1350s, and acted as the catalyst for one of the greatest displays of festivities in fourteenth-century Europe.<sup>57</sup> According to Sir John Chandos, the French king's arrival in London sparked off a long period of 'dancing, hunting, hawking, feasting, and jousting, as in the reign of Arthur'.<sup>58</sup> The profusion of celebrations that marked the French king's early period of captivity in England offered Edward III a succession of opportunities to display his power both at home and abroad. These events significantly contributed to his growing international reputation and chroniclers from across Europe praised the king for the magnificence of these events.

Many of these events were held in urban environments, such as the acclaimed night tournament: *hastiludia nocturna* held at Bristol in December 1357.<sup>59</sup> Due to the high cost of lighting, a night tournament was an extravagant way for Edward to flaunt his wealth.<sup>60</sup> As towns were typically only illuminated at night during royal visits, the profusion of lighting at this tournament was a significant mark of royal power. For Craig Koslofsky, the use of night celebrations was a product of the early modern era (principally the seventeenth century), yet as we see, royal courts used these types of celebrations to good effect centuries earlier.<sup>61</sup> Nonetheless, there are crucial differences between these medieval manifestations and their early modern successors. In particular, in contrast to the nocturnal spectacles held in the restricted environment of the seventeenth-century Bourbon court, those of the fourteenth century were played out on city streets. By holding festivities in urban environments, Edward III could proclaim his successes in France to a large and socially diverse audience. It is clear that the tournaments of 1357–1358 were not just elite events and that members of the general urban population watched them.<sup>62</sup> In the Low Countries, rulers such as the counts of Flanders and Artois held jousts in cities as a means to develop links with the urban world.<sup>63</sup> Edward

III had competed in tournaments in the Low Countries and later went on to hold urban jousts in England, possibly as a result of seeing how these events had brought court and city together. For example, the mayor and aldermen of London participated in the Smithfield jousts of 1359 alongside leading noblemen, such as Henry of Grosmont.<sup>64</sup> Edward III took great efforts to include civic elites in his tournaments during the early years of John's captivity, when he paraded the French monarch before them in order to demonstrate that he had the political clout to enrich his merchants.

Tournaments provided an ideal setting for Edward III to display high-ranking captives in an exhibition of Plantagenet power. At the Smithfield tournament of 1358, Edward sat between his two captive kings (David II and John II) wearing a crown and holding the symbols of his office.<sup>65</sup> As well as staging tournaments to flaunt his military strength before an urban audience, Edward III also summoned his nobles to attend these events. The anonymous chronicler of Canterbury observed that 'the earls, barons, magnates, and virtually all the knights of England' attended the St George's day jousts at Windsor in April 1358.<sup>66</sup> Likewise, Sir John Chandos describes how the Black Prince 'summon[ed] all the barons [to London] to do him honour'.<sup>67</sup> Whereas Henry III and Edward II clamped down on tournaments because English barons used them to foment opposition to their rule, Edward III used these occasions to overawe his leading subjects with a display of royal strength.<sup>68</sup> A ruler who had captured the king of France was not to be defied lightly.

As well as using jousts to flaunt royal power before his English subjects, Edward III used the presence of the French monarch to promote these events across Europe. For example, the anonymous bourgeois chronicler from Valenciennes recorded that the St George's day tournament of 1358 was held and publicised 'in the name of King John of France': *fut ordonné, disposée et publiée ens ou nom du roy Jehan de France*.<sup>69</sup> This tournament and its attendant festivities were held to celebrate the formation of a friendship between the two monarchs, which came on the back of months of negotiations (and would eventually lead to the First Treaty of London).<sup>70</sup> In addition to promoting the forthcoming peace between England and France, Edward III hoped to use this tournament to consolidate the international prestige his son had won for the English Crown at Poitiers. Accordingly, he spent the substantial sum of £32 announcing the St George's day tournament throughout Europe, sending heralds to Brabant, Flanders, France, Germany and Scotland.<sup>71</sup> Edward's

efforts to promote the tournament were successful and a large number of Gascon knights travelled to England to participate in the event, as did the acclaimed jouster, the duke of Brabant.<sup>72</sup> Essentially, Edward III used the royal captives in his custody to entice international guests to visit England and witness the splendour of the Plantagenet court. The international dimension of the St George's day tournament was a crucial marker of its success, especially as English tournaments were more difficult and expensive to attend than those on the continent (Flanders, Artois and Brabant were popular venues for international tournaments because they stood on an intersection of travel routes).<sup>73</sup> In this respect, Edward III imitated his grandfather, Edward I, whose most successful tournaments had included the participation of leading knights from the continent.<sup>74</sup> Sir Thomas Grey tells us that the duke of Brabant asked Edward III 'for help against the count of Flanders' during the St George's Day jousts in 1358, thus validating Edward III's efforts to promote England's military and political strength across the Channel.<sup>75</sup>

As well as encouraging knights from across Europe to attend the St George's day tournament, the French monarch's appearance at the event guaranteed that it would be reported widely. The English writer, Henry Knighton remarked that 'the splendour of the festival was richly varied, and it is not within our powers to do it justice', while Anonymous of Canterbury wrote of the 'unprecedented jousts' that took place at Windsor.<sup>76</sup> On the other side of the Channel, the bourgeois chronicler from Valenciennes stated that it was 'a feast so noble and so rich the like of which had not been seen in a long time': *une feste sy noble et sy riche qu'on n'avoit en grant tamps point veu de sy noble et sy triompheuse feste que celle fait.*<sup>77</sup> John II called attention to the lavish scale of the tournament in the letters he sent to his subjects in France. He told the consuls of Nîmes 'that the king of England held a magnificent feast on St George's day at Windsor...and did great honour to us there': *que le roy d'Angleterre a tenue une moult bele feste à la S. George derr passé, à Windouses...et là nous fist moult grant honneurs.*<sup>78</sup> In short, the St George's day festivities of 1358 must surely rank amongst the most successful displays of English royal propaganda in the fourteenth century.

The French king's presence at the St George's day tournament bolstered the prestige of the Order of the Garter, the military order Edward III had founded a decade earlier as part of his long-standing propaganda war with the Valois monarchy. It was important that the tournament took place on St George's day, because John and Edward competed for the

exclusive use of the saint. In 1344, while still duke of Normandy, Pope Clement VI had granted John permission to found a collegiate church dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St George, with two hundred knights attached to it.<sup>79</sup> Jonathan Good plausibly suggests that Edward III decided to dedicate the Order of the Garter to St George rather than Arthur because John had attempted to lay claim to the saint. In the end, Edward won the battle for St George, and when John eventually founded his own military order (the Order of the Star) in 1352, it was solely dedicated to the Virgin Mary.<sup>80</sup> Although Edward III had founded the Order of the Garter on the back of his victories at Crécy and Calais, the order needed to continue to prove itself in battle if was to succeed.<sup>81</sup> John II's presence at the 1358 celebrations promoted Edward III's military triumphs around Europe and secured his exclusive use of St George.

While St George may have trumped Arthur to become the patron of the Order of the Garter, the legendary English king remained crucial to the character of the festivities of 1357–1358. As with the competition for St George, Arthur's Round Table occupied a salient place in the propaganda war between the Plantagenet and Valois monarchs in the mid-fourteenth century. Edward III held a Round Table at Windsor in 1344, which was linked to his war in France (he used this event to try to obtain foreign support against Philip VI).<sup>82</sup> As with St George, Edward III could not guarantee exclusive use of Arthur. For example, John II held a Round Table in 1352 at his founding of the Order of the Star, which Jean le Bel called 'a fine company, great and noble, of the Round Table, which existed in the days of King Arthur'.<sup>83</sup> Arthurian imagery remained a significant tool of propaganda throughout Edward III's reign because Arthur had international appeal.<sup>84</sup> French and English monarchs used this form of festivity to attract international support during the early stages of the Hundred Years War. For example, Thomas Walsingham remarks that when Philip VI learned of Edward III's Windsor Round Table in 1344, the French monarch 'began to build a Round Table in his own country, in order to attract the knights of Germany and Italy, in case they set out for the table of the king of England'.<sup>85</sup>

John's presence in England halted the sharp decline of Arthurian imagery in Edward III's tournaments.<sup>86</sup> Edward resurrected Arthurian imagery during John's captivity as part of his efforts to ensure that these events were popular across Europe. As Round Tables were also associated with military success, Edward III could draw on an established language of power by holding this type of event during John II's captivity.<sup>87</sup> Commenting on

Edward III's use of a Round Table to celebrate his victory against the Scots at Halidon Hill in 1333, Jean Le Bel stated that the 'great feasts and tourneys and jousts and assemblies of ladies earned him such universal esteem that everyone said he was the second King Arthur'.<sup>88</sup> Although Edward III used Arthurian imagery to celebrate his victories in Scotland, it was most widely deployed in the French war. For example, the 1344 Round Table marked the beginning of Edward's preparations to campaign in Normandy.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, the deployment of Round Table imagery during the Hundred Years War was especially appropriate because Arthur was believed to have conquered lands in France.<sup>90</sup> Edward III used this belief to support his wars in France, and he was identified in works such as the *Prophecies of Merlin* as the ruler who would conquer France and unite Britain.<sup>91</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The English Crown held a range of celebrations and festivities during the first two years of John's captivity. As it was not in Edward III's interests to keep his great rival locked away in prison during this period, the French king was put on display from the moment of his capture. John's presence in England was the backbone of Edward III's efforts to project a carefully crafted image of Plantagenet royal power at home and abroad. He achieved this feat by means of a delicate balance of gentle humiliation and great honour in a series of tournaments, banquets and other royal festivities, which placed the French king on display. John was the catalyst for these celebrations, which outstripped the festivities of Edward III's early reign in both frequency and magnificence. While Edward III had patronised a number of tournaments in the 1330s and 1340s, the presence of the French king in England set apart those of 1357–1358 from the rest. Antheun Janse notes that tournaments were often held during periods of truce during the Hundred Years War and 'should be seen as the continuation of a military conflict with other means'.<sup>92</sup> However, there is no evidence that John II participated in these jousts, probably because he was too valuable a prize to risk in such a dangerous sport. Although the French king's presence in Gascony and England triggered these festivities, he had almost no control over them. Nonetheless, as well shall see in the following chapter, John engaged in a range of other activities during his time in captivity that were designed to assert his status as the leading monarch of Europe.

## NOTES

1. Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. 18, 388; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 3, 129; Ormrod, *Edward III*, 352; Sumption, *Hundred Years War*, vol. 2, 248–249.
2. Dupuy, *Prince Noir*, 164.
3. Charpentier, “Bataille de Poitiers”, 26–28. For an analysis of how the French portrayed the battle, see: Autrand, “Bataille de Poitiers”, 93–121. For examples of the listing of prisoners, see: Thompson, *Adae Murimuth Continuatio Chronicarum*, 469; Scott-Stokes and Given-Wilson, *Chronicon Anonymi Cantuariensis*, 23–29; Grey, *Scalacronica*, 146–147; Martin, *Knighton’s Chronicle*, 145–149.
4. BL Cotton MS Caligula D. III, f. 33r; Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. 5, 528–529, vol. 18, 389–392; Nicholas and Tyrrell, *Chronicle of London*, 206–208; Goodman, *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral*, 159–164.
5. Cited in Charpentier, “Bataille de Poitiers”: 26. See also: CCR, *Edward III*, vol. 10, 334; Hingeston-Randolph, *Register of John de Grandisson*, vol. 3, 1190–1191. For Edward III’s use of national prayers for political propaganda, see: McHardy, “Edward III’s Use of Propaganda”, 179–192.
6. Grey, *Scalacronica*, 149.
7. Given-Wilson and Bériac, “Edward III’s Prisoners of War”, 828.
8. See, for example: Bevan, *Edward III*, 103; Green, *Black Prince*, 73; Hewitt, *Black Prince’s Expedition*, 35; Lodge, *Gascony under English Rule*, 89–90.
9. Bryant, *Chronicles of Jean le Bel*, 228. See also: Viard and Déprez, *Chronique de Jean le Bel*, vol. 2, 336–337; Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. 5, 463–464.
10. Luce, *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois*, 57–58.
11. Molinier, *Chronique Normande*, 116; Prest, *Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker*, 133; Haydon, *Eulogium Historiarum sive Temporis*, vol. 3, 226; Viard and Déprez, *Chronique Jean Le Bel*, vol. 2, 201; Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. 5, 468–69; Hewitt, *Black Prince’s Expedition*, 138.
12. Pope and Lodge, *Life of the Black Prince*, 147.
13. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 198–199; Van den Neste, *Tournois, joutes, pas d’armes*, 153–155; Jourdan, “Combat amoureux”, 83–101; Karras, *Boys to Men*, 47–57.
14. Trexler, ‘Regional Solidarities’, 268.
15. Capra, “Séjour du Prince Noir”, 242.
16. Given-Wilson and Bériac, “Prisoners of War”, 814–815.
17. Bock, “Documents Illustrating the Hundred Years War”, 97–99.
18. Devoisse, *Jean le Bon*, 383–384.
19. Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. 5, 468.
20. Capra, “Séjour du Prince Noir”, 243, 244, 250–251.



21. Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. 5, 468.
22. Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 3, 348–351.
23. Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 3, 348; Martin, *Knighton's Chronicle*, 148–151; *CPR, Edward III*, vol. 10, 531; *BPR*, vol. 4, 253–254; Delachenal, *Chronique Jean II*, vol. 1, 110; Riley, *Historia anglicana*, vol. 1, 283; Thompson, *Chronicon Angliae*, 37; Scott-Stokes and Given-Wilson, *Anonymous of Canterbury*, 35.
24. Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, 149.
25. Dupuy, *Prince Noir*, 170.
26. *CPR, Edward III*, vol. 10, 519–531; *CCR, Edward III*, vol. 8, 346–347; *BPR*, vol. 4, 204–205.
27. Delachenal, *Chronique Jean II*, vol. 1, 110.
28. Delachenal, *Chronique Jean II*, vol. 1, 110.
29. Gheradi-Dracomanni, *Cronica di Matteo Villani*, vol. 2, 130–131.
30. Sumption, *Hundred Years War*, vol. 2, 289.
31. Galbraith, *Anonimale Chronicle*, 41.
32. Martin, *Knighton's Chronicle*, 151; Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. 6, 18, 82.
33. Galbraith, *Anonimale chronicle*, 41.
34. Thompson, *Chronicon Angliae*, 37; Riley, *Historia anglicana*, vol. 1, 283; Delachenal, *Charles V*, vol. 2, 54; Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. 1, 170.
35. Pope and Lodge, *Life of the Black Prince*, 147–148.
36. Martin, *Knighton's Chronicle*, 151.
37. Haydon, *Eulogium Historiarum*, vol. 3, 227. For the display of captives during Roman triumphs see: Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 107–142.
38. Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. 6, 17.
39. Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. 6, 17–18.
40. Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. 6, 18.
41. Devoisse, *Jean le Bon*, 408.
42. Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. 5, 408.
43. Pisan, *Livre des fais*, vol. 2, 97. See also: Delachenal, *Chronique Jean II*, vol. 2, 211; MAE, Archives diplomatiques MS 164, fol. 152v; Delachenal, *Charles V*, vol. 5, 61–119.
44. Martin, *Knighton's Chronicle*, 75; Thompson, *Robertus de Avesbury*, 7.
45. For the negotiations, see: Delachenal, *Charles V*, vol. 2, 47–67; Le Patrourel, “Treaty of Brétigny”, 22–31.
46. Sharpe, *Letter-Book G*, 71; Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life*, 285–289; Nicholas and Tyrrell, *Chronicle of London*, 204–206; Barber, *Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince*, 57–59.
47. For urban financing of the war, see: Liddy, *War, Politics and Finance*, 21–43; L. Attreed, *King's Towns*, 190–92; Lindenbaum, “Smithfield Tournament”, 18.

48. Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, vol. 1, 270, 272.
49. Fryde, *William de la Pole*, 192; Sumption, *Hundred Years War*, vol. 2, 289–290.
50. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. 1, 170–171; Sharpe, *Letter Book G*, 85–86; Sumption, *Hundred Years War*, vol. 2, 289.
51. Fryde, “Farmers of the Customs”, 2–3.
52. Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales*, 153.
53. Ormrod, “Arthur and St George”, 19–20; Barker, *Tournament in England*, 68; Munby, Barber and Brown, *Edward III’s Round Table*, 78; Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, 114.
54. Vale, *Princely Court*, 185–186; Barber, *Triumph of England*, 67; Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 30–31.
55. Munby, Barber and Brown, *Edward III’s Round Table*, 78.
56. For the display of David II at tournaments, see: Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 34–35.
57. Barber, *Triumph of England*, 73.
58. Pope and Lodge, *Life of the Black Prince*, 148.
59. Haydon, *Eulogium historiarum*, vol. 3, 227.
60. Medieval kings used displays of light as a means to promote their power: Carpenter, “Meetings of Henry III and Louis IX”, 4, 7–8, 15, 25–26.
61. Koslofsky, *Evening’s Empire*, 97, 118.
62. Thompson, *Chronicon Angliae*, 38; Riley, *Historia anglicana*, vol. 1, 285.
63. Barber, *Triumph of England*, 70–71; Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 45–47; Ormrod, “Arthur and St George”, 19–20. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 66–67; Janse, “Tourneymen and Spectators”, 44; Damen, “Tournament culture”, 248.
64. Lindenbaum, “Smithfield tournament”, 15; Scott-Stokes and Given-Wilson, *Chronicle of Anonymous of Canterbury*, 48–49. On this point, see also: Janse, “Tourneymen and Spectators”, 40–41.
65. Green, *Lives of the Princesses*, vol. 3, 152.
66. Scott-Stokes and Given-Wilson, *Anonymous of Canterbury*, 44–45.
67. Pope and Lodge, *Life of the Black Prince*, 147.
68. For the problems Henry III and Edward II faced, see: Barker, *Tournament*, 45–53.
69. Lettenhove, *Bourgeois de Valenciennes*, 292.
70. Scott-Stokes and Given-Wilson, *Anonymous of Canterbury*, 44–45; Haydon, *Eulogium Historiarum*, vol. 3, 227; Grey, *Scalacronica*, 151; Martin, *Knighton’s Chronicle*, 158–159.
71. Haydon, *Eulogium Historiarum*, vol. 3, 227; Viard and Déprez, *Chronique Jean le Bel*, vol. 2, 240; Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, 169; Grey, *Scalacronica*, 151; Beltz, *Order of the Garter*, 5; Nicholas, “Observations”, 37, 38–39, 40–41, 42.

72. Martin, *Knighton's Chronicle*, 158–159; Baluzius, *Vitae Papatum Avenionensium*, vol. 1, 338; Tighe and Davis, *Annals of Windsor*, vol. 1, 171.
73. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 65.
74. Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 31.
75. Grey, *Scalacronica*, 151.
76. Martin, *Knighton's Chronicle*, 159; Scott-Stokes and Given-Wilson, *Anonymous of Canterbury*, 45. See also: Gray, *Scalacronica*, 151.
77. Lettenhove, *Bourgeois de Valenciennes*, 292.
78. AM Nimes LL 1, fos. 219r–220r; Delachenal, *Charles V*, vol. 2, 66.
79. Renouard, “Ordre de la Jarretière”, 284.
80. Good, *Cult of St. George*, 67–68.
81. Indeed, John's Order of the Star had fallen into disarray by the mid-1350s because a large number of its members were killed fighting English in a bloody encounter outside Mauron in Brittany on 14 August 1352: Good, *Cult of St. George*, 68, 70–71.
82. Barker, *Tournament*, 68; Vale, “Arthur in English Society”, 192–193.
83. Viard and Déprez, *Chronique Jean le Bel*, vol. 2, 204.
84. Janssens, *Koning Artur in de Nederlanden*; Avonds, *Koning Artur in Brabant*; Frappier, *Amour courtois et Table Ronde*, 265–281; Munby, Barber and Brown, *Edward III's Round Table*, 78–79, 80.
85. Riley, *Historia anglicana*, vol. 1, 263; Barber, *Triumph of England*, 165.
86. For the decline in Arthurian imagery, see: Saul, *Chivalry in England*, 105–106.
87. For the holding of Round Tables to celebrate military success, see: Avonds, *Koning Artur*, 37–42; Barber, *England's Triumph*, 156–157; Barker, *Tournament*, 68–69; Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, 108–109; Ormrod, *Edward III*, 158–161; Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 68.
88. Bryant, *Chronicles of Jean le Bel*, 65. See also: Viard and Déprez, *Chronique Jean le Bel*, vol. 1, 118–119.
89. Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 34–35.
90. Loomis, “Edward I”, 126; Good, *Cult of St. George*, 65; Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, 108; Thompson, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, 232; Munby, Barber and Brown, *Edward III's Round Table*, 78.
91. Barber, *Triumph of England*, 167, 171–172; Ormrod, “Arthur”, 23; Coote, *Prophecy and Public Affairs*, 101–102, 105–106.
92. Janse, “Tourneyers”, 40–41. In contrast, David II (who was of less financial and propaganda value to the English Crown) was able to compete in tournaments during his time in English captivity: Staniland, “Clothing and Textiles”, 227.

## Constructing the Royal Image

**Abstract** This chapter examines how John responded to Edward III's attempts to overawe him with a display of Plantagenet power. As John had failed at war, he came to rely on display to maintain his honour during his time in captivity. He could perhaps take heart from Saint Louis who had also failed at war but whose conduct during his captivity in Egypt had played an important role in establishing a good impression of his character. John had to be seen to live like a king, which meant pursuing a range of public pastimes and activities that exhibited his status. Although historians have minimised the importance of the activities John pursued in captivity, this chapter shows the vital role they played in upholding the French king's status in the face of challenges from Edward III. The chapter moves on to examine John's use of clothing and the display of luxury objects to promote his power, as well as considering how he used displays of largesse to develop networks of influence in England and compete with the Plantagenet monarchy.

**Keywords** Clothing • Fashion • Gift giving • Hunting • Charity • Art

While John's ceremonial appearances were important because they exposed him to large and socially diverse audiences, they only filled a small (if highly significant) part of his time in captivity. Yet the demands of late medieval kingship meant that rulers needed to flaunt their status in their

day-to-day activities.<sup>1</sup> It was imperative that John exhibited his status as king of France at every opportunity because Edward III disputed John's right to the French Crown and referred to him as either 'his 'adversary of France' (*adversarii de Francia*) or simply John of France' (*Johanne de Francia*).<sup>2</sup> While Edward sought to win acclaim by treating his adversary with magnanimity, this strategy harmed the Plantagenet monarch's efforts to assert his superior status because the freedom of action he permitted John allowed his Valois rival to pursue a range of activities that underscored his position as the king of France.<sup>3</sup>

Although John's participation in the ceremonial and festive activities organised by Edward III in 1357–1358 served as propaganda for the English monarchy, the French king's leisure activities allowed him to draw attention to his royal status. These activities were particularly important for John because despite his best efforts to govern his subjects from captivity by means of an epistolary style of rule he was unable to perform key royal duties such as law making and the dispensation of justice.<sup>4</sup> Yet, as Michel Foucault has pointed out, the manifestation of sovereignty existed beyond the operation of laws or legislation.<sup>5</sup> John II pursued a range of activities during his time in England that allowed him to express his sovereignty in ways other than ruling his people. Possibly drawing on his experience of serving John in England, Gace de la Buigne (the French monarch's chaplain and librarian, as well as falconer to John's son, Philip) stated that it was vital for members of the royal family to pursue suitable leisure activities in order to avoid the sin of sloth.<sup>6</sup> During the fourteenth century, moralists increasingly insisted on the sinfulness of wasting one's time.<sup>7</sup> The conditions of John's captivity left him with a considerable amount of free time, which he had to fill with activities that befitted a king of France. John's leisure activities acquired a high degree of significance and became the principal means by which he asserted his position. This chapter will examine how John used pastimes such as hunting, hawking, feasting and collecting to manifest his kingship during his time in England. These leisure activities were not designed simply to occupy John's time in England: they were used to achieve a number of political aims.

## HUNTING

As one of the principal royal pastimes, hunting was vital to the expression of monarchical power. While most medieval rulers hunted, French monarchs were renowned for their devotion to the sport.<sup>8</sup> It was imperative

that John II upheld his reputation by hunting regularly during his time in England. He took to the task energetically and hunted as often as he could.<sup>9</sup> French chroniclers drew attention to the fact that John filled his time in England with honourable activities such as hunting. For example, the *Grandes Chroniques* (which laid down the French monarchy's official history) emphasised that John hunted often (“aloit esbatre et chacier toutes foiz que il li plaisoit”).<sup>10</sup> The *Grandes Chroniques*' portrayal of John's enthusiasm for hunting in England was more than a literary topos: his household accounts are full of references to the purchase of expensive hunting animals and equipment during his time in captivity.<sup>11</sup> Hunting was one the very best ways for late medieval nobles to display their social status because it required well-trained horses, birds and hounds—all of which were expensive to buy and maintain.<sup>12</sup> Elite forms of hunting became particularly costly after the Black Death, as people from lower social groups sought to participate in the sport (the cost of a gyrfalcon rose from 10l in the 1320s to more than 15l by 1380).<sup>13</sup> While John's chaplain and falconer in captivity, Gace de la Buigne, noted how the expense of hawking and hunting with dogs had financially crippled many of those who sought to reach above their station, the post-Black Death rising cost of luxury goods also allowed ruling elites to use their possession of falcons and greyhounds to highlight their elevated social status.<sup>14</sup> Birds of prey were graded according to their rank (mirroring the idealised gradations of medieval society) and only the most expensive birds were deemed appropriate for a king.<sup>15</sup> Falcons came to symbolise nobility in the later Middle Ages and were often depicted in heraldic devices, while the size and quality of a nobleman's pack of hunting dogs was a mark of his status (John II kept an especially large pack of hunting dogs in France, sometimes using as many as fifty animals at a time<sup>16</sup>). The records of the inspections of goods English officials made at Calais show that captive French nobles brought greyhounds and falcons across the Channel for use in England.<sup>17</sup> Certainly, John kept a pack of greyhounds in England (though we do not know how large it was) and he purchased falcons to hunt with. The nature of hunting also meant that these animals had to be replaced intermittently (Gace de la Buigne lost a falcon, though it was later found and returned to John by Edward III's falconer).<sup>18</sup>

Although the high costs of hunting and hawking stretched John's finances, he needed to use the very best animals and equipment to display his royal status during a time when it was under serious threat. Geoffroi de Charny (the model of late-medieval French chivalry, who died at Poitiers

while holding the *oriflamme*) extolled the value of hunting with hounds and hawking in his *Livre de chevalerie*.<sup>19</sup> Certainly, captive monarchs used hawking as means to assert their position. Richard I had his hawks sent from England to Austria, so that he could use them during his imprisonment at [Dürnstein Castle](#).<sup>20</sup> As well as underscoring Richard's position, the use of these birds symbolised the English monarch's wealth and indicated to his captor, Duke Leopold of Austria, that he was rich enough to pay a substantial ransom and thus should be well treated. Hawking was a political activity and it formed part of the competition between Richard I's ancestors and their Valois rivals. Edward III took his best hawks with him on campaign in France, which allowed him to use his skill at falconry to show that he possessed the qualities necessary to sit on the throne of France.<sup>21</sup>

As well as participating in hunting expeditions, John also ensured that his son Philip was trained in the sport, as proficiency in hunting and hawking were crucial to a royal upbringing (only training in combat was deemed superior to hunting in the education of royal male children).<sup>22</sup> Accordingly, the French king had Jean de Milan and Gace de la Buigne instruct his son in falconry during their time in captivity. Gace began work on his long treatise on hawking (*Le roman des deduis*) at Hertford Castle, dedicating the book (which became one of the most influential books on the sport in pre-modern Europe) to Philip.<sup>23</sup> Although Gace was compelled to return to France when Edward III restricted the size of the French king's household in July 1359 (see Chap. 4), John insisted on retaining Jean de Milan so that he could continue his son's training in falconry.<sup>24</sup>

The capacity to use hawking for political purposes was dependent on the presence of an audience. While historians typically portray jousting as the principal elite late medieval spectator sport, hawking also took place before a distinguished audience of both noblemen and noblewomen.<sup>25</sup> The numerous hunting and hawking excursions that occupied much of John's time during his first two years of captivity in England provided the French monarch with a stage on which to display his kingly qualities. The ability to control a hawk was considered to be a mark of personal military skill and nobles participated in hunting expeditions in order to display their courage.<sup>26</sup> The combative aspect of hunting was important to John and his son because the traditional ways to display courage and military prowess (tournaments and battles) were forbidden to them during their time in captivity.

While feasts and tournaments are typically seen as the foremost occasions for the construction of alliances and celebration of peace, hawking

also provided a setting for international diplomacy. Falcons symbolised the bringing of peace in medieval literature, particularly when they were associated with ambassadors.<sup>27</sup> Hunting expeditions were especially suitable for the creation of peace and good will because they created an atmosphere of conviviality (which is noted in all the principal later medieval texts on hunting).<sup>28</sup> Nonetheless, hunting and hawking are often presented as pastimes that distracted kings from the real business of state. In his analysis of Froissart's chronicles, Peter Ainsworth remarks that fourteenth-century French kings were led 'to desert their political responsibilities for the pleasures of the case', while Richard Vaughan has written that John's hunting expeditions in England were 'diversions' through which John 'found some relief from the rigors of his captivity'.<sup>29</sup> Yet John's hunting was fundamental to his participation in politics, especially because his hunting and hawking excursions provided the backdrop to the Anglo-French peace talks of 1357–1359. When John's efforts to create peace finally broke down in May 1359 with the rejection of the second treaty of London by the dauphin and the French Estates, hunting lost the prominent position it had held during the first two years of his captivity in England. John's household accounts show a clear decline in his participation in hunting after the collapse of his diplomatic efforts. Instead, he focused his attention on maintaining his son's education in the sport and the only falconer in the Valois household in England after July 1359 was Philip's instructor, Jean de Milan.<sup>30</sup>

### GIFT GIVING

Many of the gifts John offered and received during his time in England were associated with hunting. For example, Sir John Chandos gave the French monarch three greyhounds, which was a particularly appropriate gift because greyhounds were the most expensive hunting dogs and were strongly associated with royalty.<sup>31</sup> As well as receiving gifts, John II showed largesse by offering his own gifts of hunting animals. For example, he gave hunting birds to some of the French nobles held in English captivity, including the count of Auxerre who was one of the most celebrated hunters of the age.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, many of the French nobles taken prisoner at Poitiers were noted hunters, such as Jean de Melun, count of Tancarville, whom Hardouin de Fontaines-Guérin, lord of Fontaines, included in the list of eminent huntsmen he compiled for his *Trésor de Vanerie* (which he wrote in captivity after being captured at the siege of Meyrargues in



1393), while Henri de Ferrières, lord of Gisors, also included Tancarville in his poem about hunting with dogs and birds, *Le jugement de chiens et d'oisiaux*.<sup>33</sup> As hunting was an important way for noblemen to display their skills and assert their status while in captivity, John II's gifts of animals such as falcons were important because he was providing his nobles with the means to maintain their reputation in England (which ultimately impacted on the Valois monarch's honour). Moreover, John II's ability to offer expensive gifts to his leading nobles reaffirmed his suzerainty and allowed him to exhibit the munificence they expected from their king.

John II used gift giving to find supporters in captivity, particularly amongst the French noblewomen living in England.<sup>34</sup> The French monarch exchanged gifts and dined with Jeanne de Bar, the widow of John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, and Marie de Saint-Pol, the widow of Aymer de Valence, count of Pembroke, who came from the powerful Châtillon family, which had close links with the French monarchy.<sup>35</sup> As well as dining with Edward III's wife, Philippa of Hainault, who was half-Valois (her mother was John II's aunt, Joanna of Valois), the French king also made regular visits to Isabella of France (the daughter of Philip IV) at Hertford Castle and exchanged gifts with her.<sup>36</sup> Isabella could perhaps sympathise with John's predicament because she had spent a long period in captivity for her role in the deposition and murder of her husband, Edward II, while Michael Bennett speculates that she played a role in peace negotiations then taking place in London between the English and French delegates.<sup>37</sup> Historians such as Jean François Solnon give little credit to the importance of women at the French court before the late fifteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Yet, while the number of women who kept company with John II was small, these women effectively formed the core of a rump Valois court in England and they played a vital role in validating John's status. Their efforts were crucial to maintaining the operation of the Valois court in captivity because it was at the invitation of these French noblewomen that men such as Jacques de Bourbon, count of Ponthieu, Arnoul d'Audrehem, marshal of France, Jean de Melun, count of Tancarville, and the sire d'Aubigny visited Hertford Castle, which functioned as a surrogate Valois court in England.<sup>39</sup>

The presence of the French king and some of his most powerful subjects in England was beneficial for these French noblewomen, who had interests on both sides of the Channel. For example, Marie de Saint-Pol owned extensive estates in both England and France, which she maintained for decades after the death her husband, Aymer de Valence, in

1324. During her time in England, Marie constructed strong links with Edward III, who exempted her lands from his general confiscation of alien property in 1337, while Jeanne de Bar was also favoured by English king.<sup>40</sup> John's captivity in England put Marie and Jeanne in a favourable position to develop similarly strong links with the French king and both women offered assistance to the Valois monarch at every opportunity. First, these women treated John as the king of France and offered him gifts that underscored his rank, such as the royal meat venison.<sup>41</sup> This meat was vital for John because his honour as a king required him to serve it at feasts. Having access to adequate supplies of venison was an issue of concern for John who often had to buy venison at Bruges and transport it to England (which was both time-consuming and expensive).<sup>42</sup> Certainly, Jeanne de Bar and Marie de Saint-Pol provided him with a variety of food and drink which covered a substantial amount of his household needs.<sup>43</sup> Second, these women also allowed John to maintain his social and political networks in England and France by carrying messages to his subjects on both sides of the Channel.<sup>44</sup> Third, they also played a vital role in helping John transport his household around England. Jeanne de Bar provided horses, carts and men to help John bring his servants and goods from London to Hertford, Hertford to Somerton and Somerton to London, while both Jeanne and Marie de Saint-Pol helped him transport his goods from London to Dover in July 1360.<sup>45</sup>

As well as using gift exchange to develop and maintain his social networks with French nobles, John II also exchanged gifts with Edward III. In June 1360, Edward III invited John to dine with him at Windsor and during the feast he gifted him an ornate belt and an eagle.<sup>46</sup> By honouring John with these gifts (which symbolised the Valois monarch's status), Edward could indicate that his position as the king of France was dependent on the English monarch's magnanimity (by the terms of the treaty of Brétigny, made the previous month, Edward III agreed to withdraw his claim to the French throne in return for substantial territorial concessions).<sup>47</sup> In other words, Edward could use his gift giving to subtly show that John II was only the king of France because he had allowed it. When John prepared to cross the Channel in early July 1360, Edward III used gift giving to remind the French king that he remained under his authority in Calais. Edward sent his silver cup ("le proper gobelet à quoy ledit roy d'Angleterre buvoit") to be offered as a gift to the French monarch during the feast the Black Prince held in John's honour at Dover castle in July 1360. This gesture conveyed multiple meanings. First, as communal

drinking vessels were used in late medieval rituals and ceremonies to create friendship and fraternity, the gifting of this cup represented the peace that now existed between England and France.<sup>48</sup> Second, it embodied Edward's view of the political relationship between the two monarchs: Edward, as the superior monarch, granted a distinguished gift to John, his inferior, which suggested (as with the gifting of the belt and eagle in the previous month) that John's position was dependent on Edward's benevolence. It was a clever way for Edward to assert his superior status because this honourable and unique gift could not easily be reciprocated.

In order to reassert his power in the face of Edward's assertion of pre-eminence, John had to provide a counter-gift of equal or greater value to that which he had accepted. As soon as John received Edward's cup he sent the English king "as a gift the cup from which he drank, which was that of Saint Louis" ("en don le proper henap à quoy il buvoit, qui fu Monseigneur St Loys"), which French monarchs had kept in their collections as a relic of their saintly ancestor.<sup>49</sup> Not only was this a gift in kind (both cups had belonged to kings), its political and cultural value exceeded that of Edward's cup, thus allowing John to reaffirm his superior status. As both Edward and John used their descent from Saint Louis to justify their claims to the French Crown, the offering of this gift emphasised John II's closer links to the Capetian monarch, whose personal artefacts and right to the throne had descended directly to him rather than Edward. In other words, the cup was a demonstration of the superior lineage of the Valois monarch. There is no indication that John had intended to part with Saint Louis's cup, which his ancestors (along with their saintly king's missal) "kept preciously and like relics" ("conservoient précieusement, & comme des reliques").<sup>50</sup> Rather, the pressures placed on John to assert his status in response to challenges from the Plantagenet monarchy forced him into a staggering level of gift giving.

Feasting featured prominently in the competition for status between John II and Edward III. For example, the French king marked his departure from London by holding a feast at his lodgings in the Tower on Sunday 14 June 1360. He made Edward III the guest of honour and used the occasion to have the English king swear an oath that bound both monarchs to observe the terms of the peace agreed at Brétigny (thus implicitly having the English king confirm John's right to the throne of France).<sup>51</sup> In response, Edward invited John to a feast at Westminster on 28 June, which was the occasion when he gifted John the belt and eagle, reminding him that he was only king of France because of Edward's magnanimity.

To hammer this point home, the Black Prince held a further feast for John at Dover and gave the French monarch the place of honour at the table, thus employing the same tactics he had used successfully in the feast which followed his victory at Poitiers.<sup>52</sup> David Carpenter notes that “the ostensible purpose of hospitality was for the host to give ‘honour’ to his guest ... But equally the host gained honour himself, and ... might be seeking to dull the display of his guest and indicate his social inferiority.”<sup>53</sup> Indeed, the Black Prince and his father worked to overawe the French king with gift - giving at the Dover feast. While Alan Weber notes that “the splendour of one’s table was a transparent allegory of both one’s social rank and political or military power”, in fact during John’s time in captivity the table had to act as a surrogate for the Valois monarch’s lack of political and military power.<sup>54</sup> While John did not have access to the abundant resources at Edward III’s disposal during his time in England, he made good use of the materials available to him (such as Saint Louis’s cup) to counteract Edward’s attempts to use lavish feasts to intimidate him.<sup>55</sup>

### CHARITY AND ROYAL POWER

John used the dispensation of charity to demonstrate his largesse and piety. The pattern of John’s charitable giving in England suggests that he used gifts to religious institutions and individuals, the poor, the sick and prisoners as a way to demonstrate his royal status in public. Certainly, his household accounts show that John’s charitable spending increased the more he was in the public eye. John spent little on charity during his time in seclusion in Somerton; in some months the only alms we can be certain the king gave were his modest daily offerings of 2d, which went to his local church.<sup>56</sup> Based on the pattern of John’s dispensation of charity at Somerton, Given-Wilson and Bériac-Lainé have stated that the French king was too poor to offer more than his modest daily alms (“he did not have the means to do more” [“il n’a pas les moyens de faire plus”]).<sup>57</sup> Yet John could have afforded to dispense more charity during his time at Somerton but he did not feel compelled to do because he lacked an audience. The French king typically reserved his charity for public displays of largesse and there was a sharp increase in his charitable spending when he returned to public life in London. He spent 228l 11s 1d on charitable donations in June 1360 alone, which was almost eight times the total amount of his charitable donations over the previous eighteen months (29l 6d). By slashing his charitable expenditure during his seclusion in

Somerton (when he did not need to promote his status in public), John could accumulate enough money to make a lavish display of royal munificence upon his return to public life.<sup>58</sup> To put it another way, while Edward III moved John to Somerton to keep him of sight while he pursued his claim to the French throne, one of the consequences of this strategy was that it allowed John to amass the money he needed to give a heightened display of Valois power upon his return to public life. For example, St Paul's Cathedral received a variety of gifts from the French king in June 1360 worth a total of 56l 6s 8d.<sup>59</sup> As Edward III had compelled John to go into seclusion into Somerton, the French king needed to make a suitably impressive gesture in order to restore his status. The scale of John's charitable spending increased significantly upon his return to London because he was in the presence of his Plantagenet rivals. John's most concentrated period of spending during his entire period of captivity came during the first eight days of July 1360, when he spent 120l 4s 7d on donations to a variety religious houses, individuals and hospitals he encountered as he travelled from London to Dover in the company of the Black Prince.<sup>60</sup> In addition to the displays of competitive gift giving, largesse and feasting which marked this progress, John's charitable requests provided a way for him to compete with the Plantagenet monarchy.

John made a point of visiting many of England's leading shrines and holy sites. He interrupted his journey from Somerton to London in April 1360 to visit the Abbey of St Alban, so that he and Philip could leave gifts at the saint's shrine.<sup>61</sup> John also left bequests at shrines to promote the power of the Valois monarchy. As he made his way to Dover in July 1360, John stopped at Canterbury Cathedral so that he could leave gifts totalling 33l 6s 8d at three places in the cathedral, including before the saint's head.<sup>62</sup> The size of this bequest (which was the largest single donation he made outside of London) was probably politically motivated because Thomas Becket had long played an important role in the competition between the kings of England and France. Louis VII had provided Thomas Becket with refuge in France and his successors encouraged the saint's commemoration.<sup>63</sup> The cult of Becket spread across France in the thirteenth century and was particularly strong in Normandy.<sup>64</sup> This may have been significant for John because he was duke of Normandy from 1332 until his ascension to the throne in 1350. By leaving a gift at Becket's shrine just four days before the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr (7 July) was celebrated in the cathedral, John was able to publicly restore the French monarchy's relationship with the saint.

In the same way that John used gift giving to forge bonds with the living, he also employed the same strategy with the dead.<sup>65</sup> John gifted objects that expressed French royal power, such as the lamp he gave to the church at Hertford.<sup>66</sup> The granting of lamps to churches had long associations with the display of royal power in medieval France and both the French and English Crowns employed this strategy as part of their competition for legitimacy during the Hundred Years War.<sup>67</sup>

In addition to his contest for status with Edward III and the Black Prince, John's expenditure increased when he was in public view because he received more appeals for charity on the road. Despite being accompanied by an English guard, John made an effort to be accessible so that he could receive petitions as he travelled around England. For example, in June 1360 his household accounts note that John gave numerous small gifts to people who petitioned him as he amused himself (*"venant d'esbatre"*) in the fields around London.<sup>68</sup> For Jens Röhrkasten, by the fourteenth century the dispensation of royal alms and donations was "a routine activity of court officials" which involved little personal direction from the monarch.<sup>69</sup> In fact, it is clear from John's household accounts the king's personal wishes lay at the heart of his almsgiving in England. For example, John's household accounts for July 1360 note that his officials gave alms of 13s 4d to two Carmelite friars from Aylesford Priory on the direct instructions of the king, as well as alms of 23s 4d to nuns outside Canterbury because it was "ordered by the king" (*"comandée par le roy"*).<sup>70</sup> By receiving petitions for support as he travelled, John II could emulate Saint Louis, particularly as his almsgiving had a strong religious character; indeed, the bulk of John's donations went to the voluntary poor, especially those who were going on pilgrimage or had joined one of the mendicant orders.<sup>71</sup>

John used his charitable gift giving to associate himself with the holiest people in the England, particularly hermits and recluses (who were also amongst the voluntary poor). In July 1360 John gave 6l 13s 4d to the former knight Richard Lexden, who had given away his wealth and title to live a hermit at Sittingbourne.<sup>72</sup> Patronage of religious recluses formed a key element of royal charity during the Middle Ages. Ann Warren has established that kings give alms to hermits when their status was challenged because it allowed them to "restore their reputation."<sup>73</sup> As hermits and anchorites were considered to be living saints, French kings attempted to augment their sacral character by supporting and encouraging the holiness of these individuals. Although John offered alms to the hermits and

recluses he encountered as he travelled around England, those based in London and its suburbs received the bulk of his donations. This reflected the wider pattern of religious patronage in fourteenth-century England, with the anchorites and recluses of London benefiting considerably from the Plantagenet's monarchy's increased residence in the south-east of the kingdom.<sup>74</sup> We find John adapting to English patterns of religious charity by patronising the hermits that were traditionally favoured by the Plantagenet monarchy. During his time in London, John II visited the Westminster anchorite and offered him gifts in addition to many other holy men and women who were patronised by the Plantagenet monarchy, including the female recluse based at St. Katherine's (which lay close to John's lodgings at the Tower).<sup>75</sup> The Valois monarchy's tradition of patronising female urban recluses in the fourteenth century possibly stems from John's experiences in England. While historians such as Paulette L'Hermite-Leclercq find that Charles V initiated the Valois monarchy's strategy of harnessing the spiritual power of religious women by constructing cells in Paris for a number of prominent female recluses, John II laid the foundations for the patronage of female recluses during his time in England, when the pressures of his competition with Edward III led him to patronise holy women.<sup>76</sup>

More widely, the Plantagenets and the Valois both sought to use the religious orders during the Hundred Years War, particularly the Dominicans because of the close associations this order had with French royal power. The success of the Dominican order was a product of the French Crown's wars in southern France during the thirteenth century and the order blossomed because of its strong links to Saint Louis, whose confessor, Geoffrey de Beaulieu, was a Dominican. The Dominicans spearheaded the campaign to have Louis canonised and transformed him into a model of kingship, in return for which they received considerable support from Saint Louis's successors.<sup>77</sup> All the kings of France in the fourteenth century had Dominican confessors (both of John II's confessors—Adam de Nemours and Guillaume de Rancé—were Dominicans) and worked to establish French supremacy of the order.<sup>78</sup>

Edward III also sought to use the Dominican order to show his credentials as the rightful king of France. As well as having a Dominican confessor and favouring the Dominicans over the other mendicant houses in London, Edward III also founded a Dominican nunnery at Dartford—the only Dominican nunnery in England. This foundation was a direct consequence of the Hundred Years War and Edward III used it to bolster his

claim to the throne of France. He decided to found a Dominican house in England during his siege of Poissy in 1346. While Edward sacked the town, he spared its Dominican nunnery because his grandfather, Philip IV (whose heart was buried in the conventicle church), had founded the house. Moreover, Philip IV had dedicated the house to Saint Louis (who was born in Poissy) and gave the nuns some of saintly monarch's relics.<sup>79</sup> By founding the Dominican nunnery at Dartford, Edward III could connect himself to both Saint Louis and Philip IV. Edward also brought over four French nuns (who were probably noblewomen) from Poissy to establish the Dominican house in England. Edward placed these nuns under his special patronage and provided them with an especially large endowment. He also continued to lavish the Dartford house with gifts during John's time in England.<sup>80</sup>

The English king's patronage of these nuns challenged John's status because it suggested that prominent French members of a religious order which had strong associations with the French Crown supported Edward's cause.<sup>81</sup> John acted to reassert his position in the eyes of these women—who were his subjects—by giving them an donation (16l 13s 4d) that was substantially larger than the payments he made to other religious houses located outside London (for example, John gave only 10l to be distributed equally between the four mendicant houses in Lincoln), which is all the more striking given the low number of residents in the Dartford house in comparison to the others he visited.<sup>82</sup> This alms-giving formed part of John's wider strategy to support religious houses that had French connections. He gave 33s 4d to Bermondsey Abbey, a Cluniac institution that was run by French priors until 1376.<sup>83</sup> Likewise, John made donations to the London house of the Abbey of Saint-Antoine de Vienne (33s 4d) and its hospital at Ospringe in Kent (66s 8d).<sup>84</sup> John's donation was particularly important for the survival of the order's London house because Edward III had terminated its right to ask for alms when Dauphiné (where the mother house was based) came under French rule in 1349.<sup>85</sup> As religious houses in England with French connections had suffered because of the war between the two kingdoms (particularly through the confiscation of property), John's gifts to them allowed him to demonstrate the largesse and patronage that was expected from a king of France. By acting to protect French religious communities, John could show that he was keeping the oath he had sworn at his coronation (and again at his inaugural entry into Paris) to defend and support the French Church.<sup>86</sup>

While John made large charitable donations to churches, religious houses and the voluntary poor, his donations to the involuntary poor



were infrequent and modest, which is perhaps surprising given that medieval kings were expected to dispense charity by distributing daily alms to the poor.<sup>87</sup> Caring for the poor had traditionally provided a method of non-violent competition between the kings of England and France: when Henry III visited Paris in 1259 to negotiate a treaty with Saint Louis, David Carpenter has noted that he “made a special effort” to distribute charity to the city’s poor.<sup>88</sup> While John maintained the tradition of feeding the poor the remains of his meals (he paid one “Geufroy le tonnelier” 8d to make “a small tin for the food to be given as alms” [“une petite tîne pour mettre le potage de l’ausmosne”] in May 1360”), the mass displays of largesse typically associated with thirteenth-century monarchs are noticeably absent from John’s actions in England.<sup>89</sup> There is no evidence of the French king making widespread donations of gifts in kind to the poor beyond the remnants of his meals—and certainly not in the manner than Saint Louis had been accustomed to do.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, John rarely gave money to the involuntary poor, which is particularly striking because the distribution of monetary alms was a hallmark of royal charity in the later Middle Ages.<sup>91</sup> The only occasions where we can state with certainty that John offered gifts of money to the involuntary poor were on especially important dates in the liturgical calendar when custom obliged him to do (and when he could also make a public spectacle of distributing charity). For example, John doled out the modest sum of 15s 2d to thirteen paupers on Holy Tuesday in April 1360—a custom traditionally practiced by French kings.<sup>92</sup>

In addition to these payments to the poor (which are clearly described in John’s household accounts), there are a number of unspecified payments listed under the designation “aumosne” from July 1359. Up to this point, John’s chaplain Arnoul de Grandpont distributed *aumônes*, with the French king providing him with funds of 40l in April 1359 to use for this purpose (for example, after John recovered from an illness in May 1359, he directed Arnoul to distribute alms of 6l 13s 4d).<sup>93</sup> When Arnoul was sent back to France in July 1359, Denis de Collors (who served as John’s chaplain and kept his household accounts) appears to have taken over this role and he started to keep specific records of what monies were distributed as *aumônes* (these details were not normally provided in the accounts before July 1359). Yet while Denis uses the word “aumosne” to refer to charitable donations, he also used it to describe John’s gifts of money more generally. For example, Collors used the word ‘ausmone’ to designate the offerings the Valois monarch gave to the Dominicans and Franciscans of Winchelsea in July 1360, as well deploying it to describe the payments

John made to supplement the wages of his household staff (these types of gifts will be discussed in the next chapter).<sup>94</sup> However, there are indications that at least some of the unspecified payments listed under the rubric “*amosne*”—specifically those with the designation “*amosne secrète*”—were probably charitable donations to the involuntary poor, particularly because many of these offerings were made on important religious days.<sup>95</sup> Payments are listed for All Hallows in November 1359, Easter and the Feast of St Mark the Evangelist in April 1360, the Vigil of the Assumption in May 1360, and the Feast of St Peter and St Paul on 29 June 1360.<sup>96</sup> Alms were also dispensed on feast days for French saints (including that of St Hilary of Poitiers and St Berno of Cluny on 13 January 1360, as well as that of St Victor of Champagne on 26 February 1360); indeed, we saw that John maintained his support for French religious houses in England, such as the Cluniac foundation at Bermondsey, so it stands to reason that he would continue to support the commemoration of French saints.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, payments were made on feast days associated with English saints (such as 7 June 1360, the feast of St Wulstan of Worcester, St Robert of Chichester, St Robert of Newminster and St Willibald of Wessex), when the English population would have expected the dispensation of royal largesse.<sup>98</sup> The provision of alms on the feast of St David of Scotland (24 May 1360) may represent a gesture of support towards his ally, David II, who had briefly shared his captivity in London in 1357.<sup>99</sup>

Yet, even if we allow that some of these payments probably represented the distribution of alms to the poor, they were still modest and infrequent. Between 1 July 1359 and 8 July 1360 only thirty-nine “*amosne*” payments were made (and it is unlikely that all these went to the poor).<sup>100</sup> To put this in perspective, Saint Louis gave alms to one hundred and twenty paupers each day.<sup>101</sup> Furthermore, the amounts John gave were small (varying from 2s to 66s 8d) and he spent a total of only 20l 1s 6d on “*amosnes*” from 1 July 1359 to his departure from Dover on 8 July 1360. Given that John made payments of 33l 6s 4d to each of the four major mendicant houses in London in June 1360 alone, the money he gave in in unspecified “*amosnes*” had a negligible impact on his overall charitable spending pattern.<sup>102</sup>

The disparity between the extent of John’s charity towards the poor and that of thirteenth-century monarchs such as Saint Louis reflects a wider change in attitudes towards poverty. While the late thirteenth century saw the emergence of a distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor, the impact of a series of natural disasters in the fourteenth century,

particularly the Great Famine and the Black Death, led to a hardening of attitudes towards the poor. It was not just that John's spending habits reflected these changing attitudes towards vagrancy, but rather that his actions impacted considerably on poor relief. As well as devising legislation against vagrants in the early 1350s (like Edward III), the hardening of John's attitude towards poverty impacted negatively on the very poorest members of society on both sides of the Channel who were hit hardest by his reluctance to distribute monetary alms directly to the needy.<sup>103</sup> Beggars were treated with increased suspicion after the Black Death and they were often portrayed as criminals who preyed on royal charity.<sup>104</sup> Accordingly, rather than give alms directly to the poor, John donated money to the institutions that cared for them (such as the London hospitals of St Anthony and St Katherine, as well as the four hospitals he visited on the road from Rochester to Canterbury) in the expectation that these funds would be used to care for the deserving poor rather than the apparent swindlers who petitioned the king directly.<sup>105</sup> John's concern about fraudsters taking alms from him was exacerbated by the conditions of his captivity when he restricted giving alms to the involuntary poor to key moments of public largesse, which allowed him to assert his power and compete for status with the Plantagenet monarchy.

### CLOTHING AND FASHION

In mid-fourteenth century, John II's court set the elite fashion of Western Europe and it was a mark of Valois power that the English imitated French fashions, especially during John's period of captivity. As well as having an array of different outfits, kings had to appear in clothing that was of a superior quality and richness to all those around them. As dyes in medieval clothing faded quickly, it was also important for social elites to purchase luxury clothing regularly.<sup>106</sup> A monarch who dressed in anything but the most expensive materials had to possess great power and be confident of the security of his position. For example, Saint Louis was able to renounce luxury dress in favour of more humble clothing because he was a strong monarch who was secure on his throne.<sup>107</sup> In contrast, the equally pious Henry VI of England harmed his kingship by "rejecting expressly all curious fashion of clothing" because he was a weak monarch whose rule was contested.<sup>108</sup> To put it another way, it was essential that kings whose right to the throne was contested (such as John II) dressed in a manner that emphasised their power and status.

As fashion needs an audience, John's expenditure on clothing (like his almsgiving) was determined by the degree to which he was in public.<sup>109</sup> The French monarch spent little money on clothing during his months in seclusion in Somerton Castle because he was not the public eye. During the first two months he spent at Somerton (August and September 1359), John spent nothing at all on clothing for either himself or his son, while the only clothing he purchased in October and November was inexpensive material (17 s) from a merchant in Boston on 29 October 1359 to make two coats, probably reflecting the change in the seasons.<sup>110</sup> John's two principal moments of expenditure on clothing during his time at Somerton were at Christmas and Easter, when he maintained the Valois monarchy's standard practice of commissioning new suits for key feasts in the religious calendar, when kings had to put on a great display. He bought materials from Lincoln, Boston and London, rented workshops and additional staff, and had his tailor, Tassin du Breuil, make new suits of clothing for him and Philip.<sup>111</sup> Celebrations such as Christmas and Easter were so intrinsic to the display of royal power that they required the king to wear luxurious new clothing even when there was only a restricted audience to watch him. Nonetheless, Christmas and Easter were exceptional and apart from these two instances John spent little on clothing during his time in Somerton.

We can clearly see the link between John's expenditure on clothing and his visibility when we follow the actions he took upon his return to London in April 1360. Initially, John was confined in the Tower because of fears the French were planning to rescue him (indeed, John's security was of such concern to the Plantagenet government that the state archives were moved out of the Tower and the French king installed in their place).<sup>112</sup> At the beginning of May 1360, the Black Prince and the dauphin agreed terms at Brétigny, which restored peace between England and France. John began to order new sets of luxury clothing as soon as he received news of the treaty because he expected an imminent return to public life and needed to reassert his position as the king of France, which had been secured in the treaty of Brétigny. John tailored his appearance to give an overawing display of Valois power when he returned to public view. Amongst the items John purchased was a "golden brooch equipped with pearls, diamonds, sapphires and rubies" ("fermail d'or garni de perles, de dyamens, et de saphirs, et de balaiz") from a merchant from Pistoia called Martin Parc.<sup>113</sup> John's return to public life in June 1360 saw his greatest expenditure on clothing during his entire period of captivity. It was important for John to dress in an especially magnificent way because

he was returning to the presence of the English nobles who had fought with Edward III in France in 1359–1360, when the English king had attempted to capture Reims and have himself crowned king of France.<sup>114</sup> As well as flaunting his status before the English nobility, John's high spending on clothing in June 1360 probably reflected a desire to ensure that he made a majestic impression on his subjects when he returned to France. In addition to items such as the jewel-encrusted brooch, John purchased a luxurious new travelling suit (19l 17s 8d), new hoods and cloaks for himself and Philip (13l 10s 10d).<sup>115</sup>

Many of these garments were lined with fur—either miniver or *gris*, which were the two principal furs used by royalty in the fourteenth century.<sup>116</sup> Although Charles V is often credited as the king who made use of large amounts fur to display his power, John II had already employed this strategy to good effect in England. Between January 1359 and July 1360, at least 14,603 animals were killed to provide the fur that was used to line the clothes John purchased for himself and for his son.<sup>117</sup> When we bear in mind that John spent the majority of this period in seclusion, this is a remarkable amount of fur to use. In her classic study of dress in medieval France, Joan Evans cites as her principal example of the opulent use of fur at the French court the suit of clothing Charles V commissioned in Easter 1373, which was made from 2515 miniver skins.<sup>118</sup> Yet John having commissioned a suit made from 2550 fur skins for Christmas 1359 (the bulk of which was miniver), followed four months later by a suit made from 4707 pieces of fur for Easter.<sup>119</sup> John dressed in luxurious clothing, including miniver, at his London entry, which, as well as emphasising his dignity as the king of France, advertised to the London merchants who led the procession that he was a source of wealth (especially for men such as the alderman and skinner Adam de Bury, who went on to sell large quantities of fur to John during his time in captivity—see Chap. 4). In short, while Charles V is typically portrayed as the monarch who used luxurious clothing to manifest his exalted status, he was simply following the strategy his father had developed during his time in captivity.

In addition to fur, John had his clothing made from a range of other luxury materials, such as cendal (a fine silk cloth that was one of the most expensive of the period).<sup>120</sup> As well as using the quality of the material to advertise his social status, the Valois monarch also used colour to achieve his socio-political aims. He purchased large amounts of scarlet cloth which (as well being the most expensive colour to produce in the later Middle Ages because of the high costs of dying) symbolised courage, charity and

largesse—the very qualities that John attempted to exhibit through his activities in England.<sup>121</sup> He also purchased clothing made from the official materials and colours of the Plantagenet court, probably as a means to integrate into English elite society.<sup>122</sup> Certainly, Marie-Thérèse Caron has shown that John used this strategy in France to create cohesion amongst the leading members of his court and to bind them closer to him.<sup>123</sup> Yet John did not simply adapt to the styles of the Plantagenet court; his presence in England made a significant contribution to the English nobility's adoption of French fashions during the 1350s. Three centuries before Jean-Baptiste Colbert “used the [Bourbon] court as a showcase for the French cloth and dress industry” John II promoted French styles of dress and materials to advertise the power of France.<sup>124</sup> The innovations of the Valois court in the mid-fourteenth century drove forward the development of European fashions.<sup>125</sup> While Sarah Grace Heller has rightly pointed out that historians are too dismissive about the developments in fashion that took place before the mid-fourteenth century, nonetheless it is clear a significant changes occurred in European elite fashions during the mid-fourteenth century and that they emanated from the Valois court.<sup>126</sup> John played a key role in this process because of the crucial role dress played in his competition for status with Edward III during his time in captivity. Stella Newton has identified a “major change in the fashion” in England following Poitiers, which she attributes to the participation of English nobles in the Black Prince's campaign of 1355–1356 and their exposure to new fashions while in France.<sup>127</sup> Yet there are problems with this interpretation, particularly because the English nobles were largely based in Bordeaux and had little if any direct experience of Valois court fashions before John II's capture at Poitiers. Rather, it was probably the sustained contact these English nobles had with the French king and his leading subjects, first of all at Bordeaux and then in England—where John introduced the latest French fashions directly into the heart of the Plantagenet court—that led to the spread of French fashions amongst the English nobility in the years immediately following Poitiers. In particular, John played a key role in creating a fashion for the *houppelande*, which did not appear at the English court until the late 1350s.<sup>128</sup> This long outer garment made extravagant use of fur and embroidery and became synonymous with elite fashion during the later Middle Ages.<sup>129</sup>

As well as having his tailor (Tassin du Breuil) make a number of *houppelandes* for his public appearances, John had him produce the hoods and mantles that were then at the forefront of fashion.<sup>130</sup> Moreover, during

this period the belt was transformed into an important fashion accessory, which symbolized a number of virtues, including courage, military prowess and elite status—all of which John wanted to display during his time in England.<sup>131</sup> One of the most expensive items of dress John purchased during his captivity was a belt with five gold buckles.<sup>132</sup> He was pioneering a fashion for large belts ornately decorated with buckles, which became popular during the second half of the fourteenth century.<sup>133</sup> John's clothing also made use of unnecessary buttons, precious stones and bands on elite dress for the purposes of conspicuous consumption. Clothing was moving beyond the functional, with utility becoming subordinate to symbolic importance.<sup>134</sup> When these examples are taken together, they suggest that John was making a concerted effort to stay at the forefront of fashion during his time in captivity. This strategy provided him with an important way to assert his power because by imitating John's style of dress the English court tacitly acknowledged the Valois monarch's cultural superiority.

In his highly influential study of the development of western clothing, Gilles Lipovetsky has suggested that aristocratic fashion developed during the fourteenth century because the nobility sought to replace its apparent loss of power on the battlefield with the use of magnificent display.<sup>135</sup> While Lipovetsky considerably overstates the decline of aristocratic military power, his central point holds true for John's period of captivity, when defeat in battle and an inability to participate in martial activities led the French monarch to use clothing and display to make up for his loss of military position. Indeed, Robert DeVeleshouwer has shown how monarchs who found themselves in difficult circumstances used clothing to shore up their political power and ensure their survival.<sup>136</sup> While historians frequently present the Valois dukes of Burgundy as the late medieval trailblazers in the use of fashion for political purposes, the conditions of John the Good's captivity meant that he relied on fashion to assert his power.<sup>137</sup>

### ROYAL APARTMENTS

As well as ensuring that he was dressed in the finest clothes, John also made sure that his chambers in the Savoy Palace and the Tower were decorated to a high standard. It was crucial that his rooms were in good order because they were central to his projection of power, particularly the royal bedchamber which was an important political space that was often used

for matters of state. John poured money into decorating and refurbishing his living quarters in the Savoy Palace and the Tower to ensure that they were of a standard befitting the king of France because this is where he met important visitors, including Edward III.<sup>138</sup> In contrast, even though his rooms in Somerton were significantly more austere than his London accommodation, he showed little interest in decorating them to a high standard because he was kept in seclusion in a remote part of the kingdom and did not receive important visitors. Again, this highlights the fundamental role that the presence of an audience played in determining John's actions in captivity.

The royal *chambre* provided an important arena for the performance of royal power in later medieval France. Manuscript illuminations depict the royal bedchambers as the location for many of the key moments of political display and interaction.<sup>139</sup> While the political use of the *chambre* is typically associated with the reigns of Charles V and Charles VI, this room was central to the manifestation of John's power during his time in England. Denied the use of his royal palaces, John's autonomy over his surroundings was confined to his rooms. Nonetheless, the Valois monarch and his officials ensured that this limited space was put to good use. For example, during his time in the Tower of London in 1360, John paid one Denys de Lombart "for the construction of four windows for the king's chamber" ("pour la façon de 4 fenestres pour la chambre du Roy").<sup>140</sup> In the later Middle Ages, windows were a clear marker of wealth and social status; indeed, Saint Louis had made highly effective use of them in his Sainte-Chappelle, a building that was designed to display French royal power.<sup>141</sup>

John advertised his status as the king of France by decorating his rooms in luxury materials. He spent the considerable sum of 38l on a silk baldachin for his chambers, in addition to purchasing valuable cloth for the chapel he had installed in his rooms.<sup>142</sup> While silk was becoming more common north of the Alps in the fourteenth century, it was very expensive and normally only used in small amounts.<sup>143</sup> Yet John commissioned an entire bedspread made of silk as a demonstration of his wealth and royal status. As we saw, French kings used their beds as political stages and these decorations affirmed his position. John reordered the interiors of his room so that he could appear in state during his time in England and even had a canopy ("paveillon")—perhaps the ultimate symbol of sacral monarchy in the later Middle Ages—installed in his rooms in the Savoy.<sup>144</sup>

John brought some of the most celebrated artists of the age from France to decorate his rooms in England, including Jean Coste and Girard



d'Orléans, both of whom had decorated the *chambres* of the royal palace in Paris and the castle of Vaudreuil in Normandy in the 1340s and the 1350s.<sup>145</sup> Girard d'Orléans was particularly experienced in representing Valois royal power: in addition to working on Vaudreuil and the Louvre, Girard had decorated chapels for Philip VI and designed the furnishings for the first meeting of John II's Order of the Star.<sup>146</sup> Accordingly, Girard knew John's tastes and how important the decoration of these rooms was to the projection of French royal power. In addition to beautifying John's rooms, Girard also refurbished his furniture and executed paintings and other works of art, all of which underscored the Valois monarch's status; indeed, Girard was extremely productive during his time in England in terms of both the quantity and variety of works he assembled for John.<sup>147</sup> While historians celebrate the artistic achievements of Charles V's reign because he employed artists on household salaries, in fact John led the way in the patronage of artists.<sup>148</sup> While Francis I is acclaimed as the Valois monarch who used prestigious positions in the royal household for purposes of artistic patronage, John had already employed this strategy almost two centuries earlier to encourage artists to work for him in captivity.<sup>149</sup> For example, Girard d'Orléans was promoted from *bussier de salle du Roi* to *valet de chambre du Roi* in return for serving John in England.<sup>150</sup> John's sons copied his father's policy of appointing royal painters, with Charles V and Philip the Bold keeping official painters in their households.

Royal painters played an important role in projecting John's image in captivity and the French king fought to retain the services of Girard d'Orléans when Edward III slashed the size of his household in July 1359. John was prepared to sacrifice his personal comfort by losing staff that tended to his physical needs in order to retain the services of Girard. While scholars put many of the developments that took place in French art during the fourteenth century down to the talents of artists from the Low Countries working at Charles V's court (particularly Jean Bandol and André Beauneveu), it was Frenchmen in the employ of John II who produced some of the most influential works of the period. The portrait of John II—which is generally attributed to Girard d'Orléans—was trailblazing in depicting the first personalised portrait of a medieval king in Western Europe and emphasising the sacral qualities which unpinned the Valois monarchy's ideology of royal power in fourteenth-century France.<sup>151</sup> The developments in the depiction of the royal image were a consequence of the Hundred Years War, with the Valois monarchy having to promote its legitimacy in the face of challenges from the kings of England.

John also displayed furniture and silverware in his *chambre* to project his status. Items of high-status medieval furniture such as buffets and tables (which Girart d'Orléans made for the Valois king during his captivity) were designed to display precious objects to the best effect.<sup>152</sup> Although many late medieval rulers accumulated and displayed silverware, this strategy was particularly important for the Valois monarchs, who regularly exhibited their silverware at the royal palace in Paris during important ceremonial occasions.<sup>153</sup> By continuing to display these objects in England, John could draw attention to the power of France because Paris produced the finest pieces of silverware in fourteenth-century Europe.<sup>154</sup> In addition to the items of silverware John brought from France, he continued to buy expensive goods in England including several silver goblets (for example, he purchased a silver goblet at the substantial sum of 343 *moutons* from a London merchant in May 1359).<sup>155</sup> As kings were expected to be the principal consumers of luxury goods, John displayed large amounts of silverware in a bid to emphasise the extent of his power. He brought out items such as ornate *nefs* and *drageoirs* at feasts to hold the expensive spices (over thirty different kinds) he purchased in large quantities, which acted as a further mark of his elevated social position.<sup>156</sup> John also had one of his *drageoirs* decorated with a ruby and diamond, which he bought in London.<sup>157</sup> Diamonds and rubies were symbolically important and they projected idealised characteristics of royal power in the fourteenth century. For Philippe de Mézières, diamonds signified the mass (and thus the spiritual character of the French monarch), as well as wisdom and sovereignty, which were the very attributes that John was seeking to promote during the peace talks with England.<sup>158</sup> Moreover, as well as keeping silverware for display purposes, Richard Vaughan reminds us that late medieval rulers used silverware as “liquid assets ... for melting down and sale whenever cash was required.”<sup>159</sup> This function was particularly important to John for two reasons. First, as he was separated from the treasuries and strong rooms of his palaces, John needed to be able to store and transport the money his subjects sent him from France. Certainly, John used silverware as collateral to obtain loans in England. In January 1359 Gaucher de Vannes borrowed money from Francois Bandin “on certain items of silverware belonging to the king” (“sur certains vaisselle d’argent qui est au Roy”).<sup>160</sup> Second, as John’s overarching concern during his time in captivity was to obtain his release, he could use the display of silverware to remind Edward III and his agents that he was able to meet the costs of his ransom. Medieval rulers regularly exhibited goods to their subjects

and visitors (especially during times of political difficulty) as a means to highlight their solvency and power.<sup>161</sup>

John placed a variety of objects on display in his rooms to highlight his kingly qualities, including a chessboard.<sup>162</sup> Chess was one of the most popular and revered games played at court during the Middle Ages, with the Spanish writer Petrus Alfonsi listing proficiency at the game amongst the seven essential knightly skills.<sup>163</sup> As kings displayed their elevated social position through the possession of expensive and lavishly decorated chessboards, John had Girard d'Orléans decorate his chessboard to a high standard so that he could exhibit it in his rooms in England.<sup>164</sup> Kenneth Fowler speculates that Girard worked on John's chessboard because of his friendship with the king and states that it provides "an insight into the nature of their relationship."<sup>165</sup> Yet rather than having Girard decorate the chessboard so that they could play chess together, it is more likely that John commissioned this work so that he could display it as a marker of his social status to the English dignitaries, including Edward III, who visited his rooms (as we saw, Girard's works were all geared towards this aim).<sup>166</sup> The fact that the chess pieces were made of ivory (which typically came from East Africa and was expensive) was also a further mark of his wealth, power and social prestige.<sup>167</sup>

Late medieval kings often used chess symbolism in their public rooms to highlight their kingly qualities.<sup>168</sup> According to Olivier de La Marche, during a game of chess between the Black Prince and Philip the Bold in England a disagreement arose between the two regarding the capture of a knight (La Marche is quite possibly making an allusion to Poitiers) which escalated until the two princes drew their daggers and prepared to attack each other, before being separated by English knights.<sup>169</sup> When Edward III was told about the incident, he "said courageously that they had done wrong in separating them and that the one who survived and was victorious in this battle could be named the most valiant of the two kings' sons, in truth the bravest knight in the world" ("dit courageusement que l'on avoit mal fait de les departir et que celluy des deux qui fut demouré en vie et victorieux de ceste bataille, se pouvoit nommer et dire le plus vaillant filz de Roys, voire le plus hardy chevalier du monde"). Whether or not this alleged confrontation took place, the key point is that chess had a wider significance in the display of knightly qualities for late medieval nobles and it acted as a means of competition (which could spill over into violence).<sup>170</sup> Michel Pastoureau has also observed that during the fourteenth century the chess board served as a model court because it showed

that “a king did not define himself by his military aptitudes, but by his majesty” (“un roi ne se définit pas par ses aptitudes militaires, mais par sa majesté”).<sup>171</sup> This aspect of chess symbolism was particularly significant for John who—defeated in battle and prevented from engaging in military pursuits—sought to demonstrate his power instead through displays of majesty.

While chess sets were typically only owned by the very wealthy, the cost of these items paled in comparison with the money John spent on the fabrication and upkeep repair of a mechanical clock during his time in English captivity.<sup>172</sup> Although mechanical clocks were extremely expensive and difficult to use, the possession of this object considerably raised the profile of its owner.<sup>173</sup> While the first mechanical clocks appeared in the late thirteenth century, they remained rare and highly desirable objects in the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>174</sup> The French monarchy (which sought to position itself as the arbiter of European fashions) led the way in utilizing this technology as a marker of royal power. The use of mechanical clocks for display purposes is traditionally seen as an innovation of Charles V because the celebrated German horologist Heinrich von Wiek finished installing a mechanical in the royal palace in Paris in 1370.<sup>175</sup> Yet the French monarchy’s use of mechanical clocks pre-dated Charles V’s reign by decades: Philip IV commissioned mechanical clocks in the early fourteenth century and there was a clockmaker (Girard de Juvigny) in permanent employment at the royal palace in Paris between 1322 and 1336.<sup>176</sup> John resurrected his ancestors’ use of mechanical clocks to display royal power during his time in captivity. Moreover, while the placing of von Wiek’s clock on the royal palace is traditionally attributed to Charles V because it was completed in 1370, in fact John II commissioned the clock after he had returned from captivity.<sup>177</sup>

Mechanical clocks were associated with good rulership because they were highly complex machines and it took great skill to make them work effectively.<sup>178</sup> For Christine de Pisan, in the same way that a clock needed a governor to ensure that all its parts worked together, a kingdom required a good king to run it effectively.<sup>179</sup> As the ability to keep and maintain a clock symbolised the competence to rule, French kings used these objects—particularly chamber clocks—to highlight their right to power. Louis XI purchased a clock “to carry with him wherever he goes” (“pour porter avecques luy par tous les lieux où il yra”) and he even had it included in one of his portraits, while Charles V kept a clock on the desk in his palaces where he worked on matters of state.<sup>180</sup> By keeping a clock in his

rooms, Charles was imitating his father who had commissioned his clock in England for display in his chambers (it was a portable clock [“I auloges portative”]).<sup>181</sup> As well as symbolising his rule, John’s clock also allowed him to assert his cultural superiority. While mechanical clocks were used in England, there were used by religious institutions and civic governments, rather than by the royal court. Indeed, Edward III was hostile towards this new technology. Thomas Walsingham records that when the monarch visited St Albans in 1329 he reprimanded the abbot, Richard Wallingford, for spending the institution’s money on a mechanical clock.<sup>182</sup> For Jacques Le Goff, the economic needs of urban societies led the way for the technological developments in timekeeping that took place in fourteenth-century France.<sup>183</sup> Certainly, the urban dimension to time keeping was important, yet we must also give credence to the role that the French royal court played in championing this new technology, which was spurred on during John II’s reign because of his competition with Edward III.

John II also maintained his interest in books during his time in captivity. Historians rightly celebrate Charles V for amassing a collection of over 1200 manuscripts and having many key works translated from Latin into French, yet the novelty of Charles’s achievement is sometimes overstated. For Kenneth Fowler, “Charles was the first secular ruler to establish in France a more or less extensive library.”<sup>184</sup> Yet Léopold Delisle, writing over a century ago, was closer to the mark when he wrote that we must consider John II “as the first founder” (“comme le premier fondateur”) of the library Charles V would install in the Louvre.<sup>185</sup> John’s interest in books embodied his sense of cultural superiority over Edward III, who had little interest in books. John’s books were of such importance to him that (as with Girard d’Orléans) he insisted on retaining his librarian when Edward III curtailed the size of his household in July 1359.<sup>186</sup> His librarian’s services were required because John continued to amass books during his time in England, purchasing items such as a “Romans de Renart” at Lincoln and a “Romans de Loherenc Garin” and “Roumans du tournoiement d’Antechrist” at London.<sup>187</sup> Yet France was far ahead of England in terms of both manuscript production and illumination, with John deeming the quality of some of the goods he purchased in England to be far below those he could find in the workshops of Paris.<sup>188</sup> For example, John returned a Psalter he ordered in London in 1359 from one “Maistre Jean Langlois, escrivain” when he saw the low quality of the work, giving Langlois a noble in compensation for his loss of revenue.<sup>189</sup> Moreover, John continued to patronise French authors while in captivity, with Pierre

Bersuire dedicating his 1358 translation of Livy's history of Rome to the Valois monarch, in which he praised the French king for being a clever ruler.<sup>190</sup> John also exchanged books with the French noblewomen whose company he sought out in England. He had a French Bible from his own collection refurbished and offered as a gift to the countess of Warenne, while he received two books (*Lancelot* and the *Sang Réal*) as gifts from Isabella.<sup>191</sup>

We can get a sense of the amount of goods the French king had with him in England when we examine the means by which he transported them. As the type of cart John used to move his possessions from Somerton to London in 1360 could hold between 1300 and 1500 kg, he may have had between 15,600 kg and 18,000 kg of possessions at that time.<sup>192</sup> When we remember that this amount does not include his wine (which was shipped separately) and the goods he sold before leaving Somerton (including heavy items of furniture) we have an impression of the extent of John's possessions in England. As many of these items were extremely valuable (spices, luxury textiles, silverware), John's staff used their contacts in the English local administration to hire additional guards to protect them.<sup>193</sup> Likewise, six ships were required to transport his goods across the Channel in July 1360, with one for his wine alone.<sup>194</sup> There was nothing superfluous about these possessions—John needed to be able to display the finest and most expensive goods available in Europe if he wanted to be taken seriously as a king.

## CONCLUSION

The chapter has shown how John's pastimes played a crucial role in promoting and defining his status as king. Honour and reputation were key qualities of kingship and John was mindful of the importance of being seen to act in a kingly manner, both through his appearance and his activities.<sup>195</sup> Social elites defined their status by pursuing a particular type of lifestyle, which included hunting, clothing, feasting and living in magnificent surroundings. Hunting allowed John to give a public display of his courage and physical prowess to the English nobility, including those he had fought against at Poitiers, while his expenditure on luxury clothing allowed him to exhibit his position as king. Furthermore, John's almsgiving was as important as his ceremonial and military displays in asserting his royal status. There is no evidence that John offered charitable bequests to religious institutions in return for the saying of masses

or commemoration of the souls of the dead; rather, John appears to have used his charity principally as a means of displaying his power.<sup>196</sup> Although John was removed from the day-to-day government of his kingdom, he used a range of pursuits to maintain his sovereignty during his captivity in England.

While John exhibited a range of the behaviours that were expected of a king during his time in England, not all French monarchs took such care. For example, Philip II did not like hunting and was he was criticised both for his lack of artistic patronage and his parsimonious attitude towards charity. Yet Philip could afford to neglect these aspects of kingship because he was a highly successful monarch who had displayed his prowess on the battlefield.<sup>197</sup> In contrast, John's defeat at Poitiers and the conditions of his captivity meant that he had to rely on other pursuits to articulate his status as king. Accordingly, John led the way in artistic patronage and the dissemination of the latest fashions and new technologies (which he used as a non-violent way to promote his power and status during his time in captivity) and it is clear that John was an agent of cultural change during his time in England. For Johan Huizinga, honour had to be 'publicly acknowledged and forcibly maintained if need be'.<sup>198</sup> The Hundred Years War was not just fought on the battlefields of France; it was played out daily in the competition for status between Edward III and John II—and this competition was at its most intense during the French monarch's time in captivity.

## NOTES

1. Blockmans, "Feeling of Being Oneself", 2.
2. TNA PRO C76/35, memb. 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 14d, 15, 15d, C76/36, memb. 6, 9, TNA PRO C76/37, memb. 10, 11; TNA PRO C76/38, memb. 2, 3, 4; TNA PRO C76/39, memb. 13, 14, 15; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 6, 112, 117, 157, 158–159. Edward III referred to John as "king of France" after sealing the peace of Brétigny (*Regis Franciae, Regem Franciae*, or even *Regem & Adversarium Franciae*): TNA PRO C76/39, memb. 6, 11d; C76/40, memb. 9, 10.
3. While David Green has recently stated that Edward III kept John under "house arrest" during his time at the Savoy Palace, in fact the English monarch imposed few restrictions on John's freedom of movement during his first two years in England: Green, *Hundred Years War*, 216.
4. AM Nimes LL 1, fos. 219v–220r; Delachenal, *Chronique Jean II*, vol. 1, 176–177.

5. Foucault, *Society Must be Defended*, 23–40.
6. Buigne, *Roman déduis*, 93.
7. Le Goff, “Temps du travail”, 611–613.
8. Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, 13; Bautier, “Diplomatique et histoire politique”, 3–37; Vale, *Princely Court*, 182–183.
9. Scott-Stokes and Given-Wilson, *Anonymus of Canterbury*, p. 65; Delachenal, *Chronique Jean II*, vol. 1, 110; Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. 6, 14, 18–19.
10. Delachenal, *Chronique Jean II*, vol. 1, 110.
11. BNF français 11205, fos. 36r, 36v, 40v, 44v, 52v, 67v, 95r (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 219, 222, 227, 234, 249, 276); Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 27–28, 98, 108, 119, 121, 130.
12. Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, 56; Keen, “Nobles’ Leisure”, 319; Swaen, *Valkerij in de Nederlanden*, 55–67. A fully trained bird was so expensive that it could form part of a ransom: Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, 40; Cummins, *Hound and Hawk*, 199; Van den Abeele, *Fauconnerie dans les lettres françaises*, 85.
13. Verdon, *Loisirs en France*, 66.
14. Buigne, *Roman déduis*, 418–419.
15. Oggins, “Hawking and Falconry”, 48.
16. Dunnoyer de Noirmont, *Histoire de la chasse*, vol. 1, 94.
17. Bériac-Lainé and Given-Wilson, *Prisonniers*, 136.
18. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 119.
19. Keen, “Nobles’ Leisure”, 316. For hunting and nobility, see also: Lull, *Order of Chivalry*, 47; Wood and Fyfe, *Art of Falconry*.
20. Oggins, “English Royal Household”, 321.
21. For Edward III’s hunting expeditions in France, see: Green, *Black Prince*, 111.
22. The bulk of John’s hunting purchases between December 1358 and July 1360 went on animals and items necessary for Philip’s training in falconry: Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 98, 108, 130; BNF français 11205, fos. 36r, 40v, 44v, 49v, 67v, 70v (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 219, 222, 227, 230, 249, 252). For hawking and the education of young male nobles: Oggins, “Medieval Social Status”, 45; Orme, *Childhood to Chivalry*, 191.
23. BNF français MS 1615; BM Tours MS 0842; Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 161–190.
24. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 47.
25. Grassby, “Decline of Falconry”, 42, 45, 50; Van den Abeele, *Fauconnerie*, 84–86; Verdon, *Guerre de Cent Ans*, 190–191.
26. Grassby, “Decline of Falconry”, 48; Griffin, *Blood Sport*, 43–44; Knecht, *French Court*, 81.
27. Grassby, “Decline of Falconry”, 45; Oggins, “Falconry”, p. 46; Van den Abeele, *Fauconnerie*, 38.



28. Strubel and Saulnier, *Poétique de la chasse*, 155–159.
29. Ainsworth, *Fabric of History*, 189; Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, 2.
30. BNF français 11205, fos. 36r, 40v, 44v, 49v, 67v, 70v (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 219, 222, 227, 230, 249, 252).
31. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 106, 137; Thomas and Avril, *Hunting Book of Gaston Phébus*, 34–35; Strubel and Saulnier, *Poétique de la chasse*, 132–133. However, these greyhounds also caused trouble. For example, the French monarch provided compensation of 4d to a “poor woman from London who was knocked over by one of the king’s greyhounds and spilt her milk” (“povre femme de Londres qui un des lévriers du Roy qui aloit esbatre, espandi son lait”), while one the king’s greyhounds-which were then being looked after by the count of Joigny-attacked a sow (“avaient estranglé une truie”): BNF français 11205, f. 71v (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 253); Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 137.
32. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 91, 122. He also gave the count of Auxerre gifts of money: Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 132; BNF français 11205, f. 63 (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 244).
33. Pinchon, *Trésor de vénerie*; Brunelière, “Gaston Fébus et Hardouin de Fontaines-Guérin”, 150; Froissart, “Dits” et “débats”, 70; Tucoo-Chala, *Gaston Fébus*, 165–166. Many of the leading French nobles held in captivity in England kept their falconers with them, including marshal d’Audrehem, the counts of Auxerre, Eu and Joigny, as well as the lord of Craon: Bériac-Lainé and Given-Wilson, *Prisonniers*, 136, 149 (fn. 97).
34. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 106.
35. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 97, 122; BNF français 11205, fos. 77v, 81v (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 259, 263); Delachenal, *Charles V*, vol. 2, 58.
36. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 30–34, 106; BNF français 11205, fos. 69v, 77v 87v (Douët-d’Arcq “Journal de la dépense”, 251, 259, 270); Bond, “Last Days of Isabella”, 461; Lettenhove, *Bourgeois de Valenciennes*, 292.
37. Michael Bennett, ‘Isabelle of France, Anglo-French Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange in the Late 1350s’, in Bothwell, *Age of Edward III*, 221–223.
38. Solnon, *Cour de France*, 22–23.
39. Delachenal, *Charles V*, vol. 2, 57–58. See also: Bennett, ‘Isabelle of France’, 219–221.
40. Lambert and Ormrod, “A Matter of Trust”.
41. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 122; BNF français 11205, f. 77v (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 259).
42. BNF français 11205, f. 58v (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 239).
43. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 83, 84, 85.
44. TNA PRO C76/36, memb. 5; C76/38, memb. 15; Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 102, 108, 130, 138.

45. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 118; BNF français 11205, fos. 31r, 60v, 61v–62r, 73r, 93r (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 215, 242, 243–244, 273–274).
46. Ormrod, *Edward III*, 388–389.
47. BNF français 11205, f. 85v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 267).
48. Woolgar, *Great Household*, 154. For the gifting of cups between rulers, see: Carpenter, "Meetings", 20.
49. BNF français 11205, f. 92v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 274).
50. Fresne du Cange, *Histoire de S. Loys IX*, 121; Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 125.
51. Delachenal, *Chronique Jean II*, vol. 1, 319.
52. Scott-Stokes and Given-Wilson, *Anonymous of Canterbury*, 65.
53. Carpenter, "Meetings", 10.
54. Weber, "*Queu du Roi*", 154–155.
55. For the magnificence of the Garter feast Edward III held for John II in 1358, to which the French king allegedly responded "that he sawe never so ryall a feste and so costelewe mad with tailles of tre, withoughte paying of gold and sylvere", see: Nicholas and Tyrrell, *Chronicle of London*, 63–64; Tighe and Davis, *Annals of Windsor*, pt. 1, 170; Collins, *Order of the Garter*, 238–239; Steele, *The Receipt of the Exchequer*, xxxiv.
56. For these daily offerings, see: BNF français 11205, fos. 29v, 35r, 36v, 39r, 46v, 49v, 53r, 56v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 213, 218, 219, 221, 228, 230, 233, 237; Aumale, "Notes et documents", 90, 100, 107, 115, 118, 129–130, 138, 143–144. He occasionally made additional gifts during significant religious services, such as Christmas: BNF français 11205, fos. 40, 44, 50, 58, 65 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 222, 226, 231, 238, 247).
57. Bériac-Lainé and Given-Wilson, *Prisonniers*, 145.
58. Furthermore, John sent scarcely any charitable donations to France during his time in England, one of the few being a gift of money he sent to the church at Boulogne, possibly because his wife, Jeanne, had inherited the county of Boulogne from her father. John also went on pilgrimage to Boulogne as soon as he returned to France in October 1360: Aumale, "Notes et documents", 119.
59. BNF français 11205, fos. 83v–84r (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 265–266).
60. BNF français 11205, fos. 89–95 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 271–276).
61. BNF français 11205, f. 61 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 242).
62. BNF français 11205, f. 91 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 272); Scott-Stokes and Given-Wilson, *Anonymous of Canterbury*, 65; Martin, *Knighton's Chronicle*, 181; Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*, 266.

63. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 116, 121; Duggan, "Cult of St Thomas Becket", 28–29; Brisac, "Thomas Becket dans le vitrail français", 221–226; Foreville, "Diffusion du culte de Thomas Becket", 19–76.
64. Foreville, "Culte de saint Thomas en Normandie", 135–152; Fournée, "Lieux de culte de Saint Thomas Becket", 377–392.
65. For this type of gift giving, see: Farris, "Pious Practices of Edward I", 46–47.
66. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 121.
67. Beaurepaire, *Fondations pieuses*, 25–27. For the royal tradition of gifting lamps to churches in medieval France, see: Vincent, *Fiat Lux*, 373–383; Fouracre, "Eternal Light", 73–74.
68. BNF français 11205, fols. 73, 83v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 254, 265).
69. Röhrkasten, *Mendicant Houses of Medieval London*, 349.
70. BNF français 11205, f. 90v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 272).
71. Dixon-Smith, "Image and Reality", 86.
72. BNF français 11205, fol. 90 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 272).
73. Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, 127. On this point, see also: Licence, *Hermits & Recluses*, 158.
74. Warren, *Anchorites*, 169; Gougau, *Érmites et reclus*, 18.
75. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 91; BNF français 11205, fos. 67r, 70r, 74r, 81v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 248, 252, 255, 263); Taylor and Roskell, *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 146–147; Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, 68, 149–150, 151, 152–153; Mulder-Bakker, *Lives of the Anchoresses*, 6, 7.
76. Hermite-Leclercq, "Anchoritism in medieval France", 120; idem, "Reclus et recluses", 284–285; idem, "Réclusion dans le milieu urbain", 157; idem, "Reclus dans la ville", 229; idem, "Reclus parisiens", 226–227. For these holy women, see: Lebeuf, *Diocèse de Paris*, vol. 2, 203; Pisan, *Livre des faits*, vol. 2, 66–67.
77. Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, 100–124; Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, vol. 1, 256–258; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 329–344.
78. Oroux, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, vol. 1, lxii.
79. Lee, *Nunneries*, 13, 19; Ormrod, *Edward III*, 275–276; Hinnebusch, *Dominican Order*, vol. 1, 256–257; Röhrkasten, *Mendicant Houses*, 370.
80. *CPR, Edward III*, vol. 11, 87; Lee, *Nunneries*, 19, 20–21; Palmer, "Priory of Dartford", 246; Erlande-Brandenburg, "Priorale Saint-Louis", 89–95; idem, "Art et politique", 507–518; Moreau-Rendu, *Prieuré royal de Saint-Louis*, 105–106; Little, "Dominican Nuns of Dartford", 181–190.
81. *CPR, Edward III*, vol. 11, 87; Lee, *Nunneries*, 20–21; Palmer, "Priory of Dartford", 244–248.
82. BNF français 11205, fos. 56v, 89r (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 237, 271).
83. BNF français 11205, f. 74r (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 255); Thornbury and Walford, *London*, vol. 6, 118–119.

84. BNF français 11205, fos. 78v, 90v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 260, 272).
85. Barron and Davies, *Religious Houses of London*, 229; Maxfield, "St. Anthony's Hospital", 225; Mischelewski, *Grundzüge der Geschichte des Antoniterordens*, 94–102.
86. Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées royales françaises*, 48–55; Jackson, *Vive le Roi*, 57; David, *Serment du sacre*, 155–219. These restrictions were only lifted as a result of the treaty of Brétigny: *CPR, Edward III*, vol. 11, 564; vol. 12, 12, 18, 36, 57, 83, 112, 192, 459. See: McHardy, "Effects of War", 277–288; Morgan, "Suppression of the Alien Priorities", 204–212.
87. Geremek, *Poverty*, 23.
88. Carpenter, "Meetings", 12.
89. BNF français 11205, f. 65v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 247). For the dishes the kings of France used to distribute the remains of their meals to the poor during the later Middle Ages, see: Selle, *Xervice des âmes*, 169–171.
90. For Saint Louis, see: Selle, *Service des âmes*, 167.
91. Courtenay, "Token coinage and Poor Relief", 285.
92. BNF français 11205, f. 61r (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 242). For the distribution of alms at feast days, see also: Aumale, "Notes et documents", 88, 90, 91, 101.
93. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 121, 132.
94. BNF français 11205, fos. 69v, 92v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 251, 274).
95. For the 'aumône secrète', see: Le Blévec, "Aumône secrète", 209–219.
96. BNF français 11205, fos. 37r, 58r, 62v, 67r, 86r (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 220, 238, 244, 248, 268).
97. BNF français 11205, fos. 47v, 52v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 228, 233).
98. BNF français 11205, f. 73r (Douët-d'Arcq, *Journal de la dépense*, 255).
99. BNF français 11205, f. 69r (Douët-d'Arcq, *Journal de la dépense*, 251).
100. BNF français 11205, fos. 24r, 25r, 27r, 31r, 32r, 33r, 33v, 37r, 37v, 44r, 47v, 49v, 50r, 51v, 52v, 56v, 58r, 59r, 62v, 65v, 66r, 67r, 69r, 73r, 78r, 83r, 83v, 86r (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 206, 207, 209, 215, 216, 217, 220, 227, 228, 230, 231, 232, 233, 237, 238, 240, 244, 247, 248, 251, 255, 260, 265, 268).
101. Geremek, *Poverty*, 36–37; Dixon-Smith, "Image and Reality", 85–89; idem, "Feeding the Poor", 86.
102. BNF français 11205, fos. 78r–78v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 260).
103. Ricci, "Naissance du pauvre honteux", 170–171; Mollat, *Poor in the Middle Ages*, 193–210; Geremek, *Poverty*, 28–29, 82; Goglin, *Misérables dans l'Occident*, 105–109.

104. Geremek, *Margins of Society*, 194–210.
105. BNF français 11205, fos. 80r, 90v, 91r, 91v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 261, 272–273).
106. Vale, *Princely Court*, 98, 106.
107. For Saint Louis's clothing, see: Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, 95–97.
108. James, *John Blacman's Memoir*, 36; Thomas and Thornley, *Great Chronicle of London*, 215; Myers, *Household of Edward IV*, 5.
109. Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*, 32–33.
110. BNF français 11205, f. 36v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 219).
111. BNF français 11205, fos. 44v, 52v–53r, 59v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 227, 234–235, 240–241).
112. CCR, *Edward III*, vol. 11, 24; Rymar, *Foedera*, vol. 3, 470, 475.
113. BNF français 11205, f. 87r (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 269).
114. Sumption, *Hundred Years War*, vol. 2, 424–435.
115. BNF français 11205, f. 86r (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 268–269).
116. Crane, *Performance of Self*, 12. In addition to purchasing new items of clothing, John also had his tailor, Perrin, repair and clean fur and other clothing sent from France (Aumale, "Notes et documents", 112, 131).
117. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 98, 107, 111, 114–115, 126, 127; BNF français 11205, fos. 27r, 27v, 41v, 70r (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 209, 210, 223, 251–252). The amount of fur used exceeded this because there are other examples of unspecified amounts of fur being used: Aumale, "Notes et documents", 114–115; BNF français 11205, fos. 25v, 71r (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 208, 252–253). It also does not include the large amounts of fur John purchased for the clothing of his household staff and others: Aumale, "Notes et documents", 126, 127; BNF français 11205, fos. 27r, 27v, 42r, 86v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 209, 210, 224, 268–269).
118. Evans, *Dress in Mediaeval France*, 28.
119. BNF français 11205, f. 41v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 223–224). John also made more use of fur than his predecessors: Delort, *Commerce des fourrures*, vol. 1, 426–427.
120. See, for example: Aumale, "Notes et documents", 89–90, 92, 94, 119, 120, 135, 138. BNF français 11205, fos. 25r, 25v, 41v, 52v, 53r, 59v, 69r, 76r, 79r, 80v–81r, 85r, 94v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 207, 208, 223, 233, 234, 240–241, 250, 257, 260–261, 262, 266–267, 276).
121. Pastoureau, *Figures et couleurs*, 40.
122. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 134, 136; Newton, *Fashion*, 58.
123. Caron, *Noblesse et pouvoir royal*, 128–129.
124. Mansell, *Dressed to Rule*, 8.

125. Piponnier and Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, 65.
126. Heller, *Fashion*; idem, 'Birth of Fashion', 25–39.
127. Newton, *Fashion*, 55.
128. For the *houppelande* in fourteenth-century England, see: Mathew, *Court of Richard II*, 26–27; Newton, *Fashion*, 58.
129. Piponnier and Mane, *Dress*, 68–69.
130. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 94, 120, 135.
131. Piponnier and Mane, *Dress*, 61.
132. BNF français 11205, fos. 51v, 54v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 232, 235).
133. Piponnier and Mane, *Dress*, 68.
134. For examples of John's clothing, see: Aumale, "Notes et documents", 130; Bapst, *Testament*, 45. On this point, see: Baudrillard, *Critique of the Political Economy*, 130–142; Crane, *Performance*, 12–13.
135. Lipovetsky, *Empire*, p. 45.
136. Devleeshouwer, "Costume et société", 169.
137. Arnade, *Realms of Ritual*, 26–27; Beaulieu and Baylé, *Costume de Bourgogne*; Cartellieri, *Court of Burgundy*, 128; McCabe, *History of Global Consumption*, 112; Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, 168–169.
138. See, for example, his work to the Savoy Palace: Aumale, "Notes et documents", 88. He also paid for the cleaning of the palace during his residency there: Aumale, "Notes et documents", 101.
139. See: BL MS Harley 4431; BNF MS français 165; Duby, *Vie privée*, 480; Praz, *History of Interior Decoration*, 75.
140. BNF français 11205, f. 63v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 245). For windows, see also: BNF français 11205, f. 60v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 241).
141. Leguay, "Fenêtre", 273–293. For Sainte-Chapelle and French royal power, see: Cohen, *Sainte-Chapelle*.
142. BNF français 11205, fos. 81, 85 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 262, 266–267). See also: Aumale, "Notes et documents", 96.
143. Piponnier and Mane, *Dress*, 20–21; Spufford, *Power and Profit*, 116.
144. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 96; BNF français 11205, f. 82v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 264); Newton, *Fashion*, 59.
145. Dufour, *Peintres parisiens*, 50–68; Cazelles, *Société politique*, 43–44.
146. Dufour, *Peintres parisiens*, 48–49.
147. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 30, 107, 112, 118, 121; BNF français 11205, fos. 67r, 80v, 82v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 248, 262, 264).
148. Fowler, *Plantagenet and Valois*, 183.
149. Knecht, *French Court*, 35.
150. Dufour, *Peintres parisiennes*, 48.

151. While this portrait has been the subject of a long debate between historians about the identity of the sitter and its time of composition, the most recent consensus is that the portrait is of John II. On this debate and the painting, see: Cazelles, “Peinture et actualité politique”, 53–65; Vaivre, “Trois primitifs français”, 131–156; O’Meara, *Monarchy and Consent*, 151; Perkinson, *Likeness of the King*, 290–296, 303.
152. Woolgar, *Great Household*, 149; Thiron, *Mobilier du Moyen Âge*, 40–44; Paviot, “Marques de distance”, 91–96. An illumination of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* depicts the display of silverware on a table during a feast John II held at a meeting of the Order of the Star: BNF, français 2813, f. 394.
153. Robin, “Luxe de la table”, 1.
154. Spufford, *Power and Profit*, 119–120.
155. BNF français 11205, f. 7 (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 198). See also: BNF français 11205, f. 68 (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 249). John also paid for his silverware to be repaired and cleaned: BNF français 11205, f. 24v (Douët-d’Arcq, *Journal de la dépense*, 207). For goblets, see: Helfenstein, “Burgundian Court Goblet”, 159–166.
156. For John’s spices, see: Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 88, 89, 93–94, 95, 97–98, 100, 101, 103, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 115–117, 121, 122–123, 128–129, 136, 139, 140–143, 142; BNF français 11205, fos. 24v, 29r, 35v, 38r–38v, 41r, 47r, 48v, 51r, 55r, 64r–64v, 72r–72v, 75r, 84v (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 206–207, 212–213, 218–219, 220–221, 222–223, 228, 229, 231–232, 235–236, 245–246, 253–254, 257, 266); Matthews, “English Spicers”, 65–76. For *nefs* and *drageoirs*, see: Oschema, “Liquid Splendour”, 133–140; Oman, *Medieval Silver Nefs*; Belozerskaya, “Cellini’s *Saliera*”, 71–96.
157. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 99–100. For the other precious stones John purchased in England, see: BNF français 11205, f. 83 (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 264; Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 133.
158. Mézières, *Songe du vieil pelerin*, vol. 2, 478. Chevalier and Gheerbrant, *Dictionary of Symbols*, 290, 815.
159. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, 190.
160. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 96–97.
161. Paravicini, “Court of the Dukes of Burgundy”, 76.
162. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 30.
163. Hermes and Quarries, *Petrus Alfonsi*, 115; Oggins, *Kings and their Hawks*, 111.
164. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 30. For the display of chessboards, see: Jean-Michel Mehl, *Jeux au royaume de France*, 122–127.
165. Fowler, *Plantagenet and Valois*, 196.
166. For Girard on the chessboard with the pieces made of ivory, see: Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 99. John also had his tailor line a luxury backgammon

- table (“jeu de tables”): BNF français 11205, f. 48r (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 229).
167. Guérin, “Supply of Elephant Ivory”, 156–174.
  168. Dixon-Smith, “Feeding the Poor”, 54–55.
  169. Violence was often associated with games during the later Middle Ages: Mehl, *Jeux*, 296–308.
  170. Beaune and Arbaumont, *Mémoires d’Olivier de La Marche*, vol. 1, 62–63. Philip the Bold showed an especially strong interest in games when he became duke of Burgundy, possibly influenced by his experiences in England where he saw the important of such games in the articulation of his father’s power: Mehl, *Jeux*, 267–273.
  171. Pastoureau, “Roi du jeu d’échecs”, in 159.
  172. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 91, 103, 108, 112–113, 120, 132; BNF français 11205, fos. 26v, 46v, 47r, 56r (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 209, 228, 237).
  173. Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture*, 43, 47.
  174. Gimpel, *Révolution industrielle*, 144–145; Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture*, 39–40; Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 189.
  175. Usher, *History of Mechanical Inventions*, 201.
  176. Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour*, 178.
  177. Robertson, *Evolution of Clockwork*, 50.
  178. Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture*, 42–45.
  179. Pisan, *Livre des fais*, 42. For Froissart, the mechanical clock also represented governance: Froissart, *Paradis d’amour*; Singer, “Horlogerie”, 155–172.
  180. Horlogerie, *Comptes de l’Hôtel*, 388; Deslisle, *Actes divers de Charles V*, 779; Labarde, *Notice des émaux*, vol. 2, 414–415.
  181. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 132. Philip IV had also used a chamber clock, which J. Drummond Robertson states “is perhaps the oldest chamber clock of which we have any certain knowledge”: Robertson, *Evolution of Clockwork*, 44–45.
  182. Walsingham, *Gesta abbatum monasterii*, vol. 2, 281–282. John probably saw Wallingford’s clock when he visited the Abbey in April 1360. For Wallingford, see: Bendini and Maddison, “Mechanical Universe”, 6–8; Gimpel, *Révolution industrielle*, 146–148; North, *God’s Clockmaker*.
  183. Le Goff, “Temps de l’Église”, 426–427; idem, “Temps du travail”, 597–613.
  184. Fowler, *Plantagenet and Valois*, 184. See also, Autrand, *Charles V*, 719–721.
  185. Delisle, “Livre royal de Jean de Chavenges”, 330. For a detailed study of Charles V’s library, see: Delisle, *Librairie de Charles V*.
  186. Cazelles, *Société politique*, 43; Beriac-Lainé and Given-Wilson, *Prisonniers*, 144.
  187. BNF français 11205, fos. 42v, 69v (Horlogerie, “Journal de la dépense”, 224, 251; Cazelles, *Société politique*, 43.



188. Spufford, *Power and Profit*, 123.
189. BNF français 11205, f. 59v (Horlogerie, “Journal de la dépense”, 240).
190. Taylor, *Chivalry*, 49.
191. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 97. John also had some of his own books refurbished: Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 109.
192. Spufford, *Power and Profit*, 199. For transport costs later medieval England, see: Campbell, *Medieval Capital*, 193–198; Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 71–73.
193. BNF français 11205, fos. 61v–62r (Horlogerie, “Journal de la dépense”, 243, 244). Having reliable security was important because the roads outside London were particularly dangerous: Spufford, *Power and Profit*, 215.
194. BNF français 11205, f. 94 (Horlogerie “Journal de la dépense”, 275).
195. For honour, see: Dravasa, *Vivre noblement*; Kaminsky, “Exhibition of Estate”, 679–681.
196. One rare example of John offering a gift in return for a specific spiritual service came when he offered the modest amount of 6s 9d to the church of St Nicholas in Dover for the safe passage by ship to Calais: BNF français 11205, f. 94 (Horlogerie, “Journal de la dépense”, 276).
197. Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, 168; Dixon-Smith, “Feeding the Poor”, 50.
198. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 64.

## The French Royal Household in Captivity

**Abstract** This chapter analyses the operation of John II's household in captivity, focusing especially on the activities of John's staff. The French monarch relied on the talents of his servants and officials to construct an image of Valois power during a period when it was under great threat. Certainly, John's achievements in recasting the royal image would not have been possible without the skills of his household staff. This chapter considers the benefits of royal service and examines how John was able to attract both French and English staff to join his household during his time in captivity. This chapter also reconstructs the commercial networks John developed to obtain the range and volume of luxury goods he needed to live nobly, before moving on to consider how he raised the funds he required to purchase these goods.

**Keywords** Household • Gifts • Dress • Merchants • Wine • Towns • Finance

In the previous chapter, we saw how John II pursued a range of activities while in captivity that were designed to reinforce his status as the king of France. He relied on his household staff to produce a cohesive image of Valois power that was echoed in various forms of media, from his clothing to the decoration of his rooms. This chapter begins with an analysis of the structure of the French king's household in captivity, before moving on to examine how John and his officials established commercial networks with

English merchants in order to ensure that they could obtain the luxury goods they depended upon to fashion the royal image. The second part of the chapter investigates how John and his staff raised the funds required to purchase this merchandise. Unlike the Scottish king, David II, who was given a daily allowance by the English Crown during his time in captivity in the Tower (1346–1357), John was expected to pay for his own expenses; indeed, his honour as the king of France obliged him to do so.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the basic household costs (food, drink, wages), John had to purchase the luxury clothing, magnificent silverware and hunting equipment he needed to display his royal status. Although the French king was one of the wealthiest rulers in Europe, he was cut off from many of his usual sources of revenue during his time in captivity, in addition to which two decades of persistent warfare had created substantial economic difficulties for John's subjects, who now faced the prospect of having to raise an enormous ransom to obtain their king's release. While J. B. Henneman found that the principal economic effect of John II's captivity was the development of regular taxation as a result of the need to raise his ransom, the French king also required money to maintain his lifestyle in captivity, which led the Valois monarch and his staff to devise innovative ways to raise funds.<sup>2</sup>

## JOHN II'S HOUSEHOLD IN CAPTIVITY

### *Structure*

John II's household accounts show that he maintained the basic structure of the French royal household during his time in captivity.<sup>3</sup> In addition to the six domestic offices (*panéterie*, *échansonnerie*, *cuisine*, *fruiterie*, *écurie*, *fourrière*) there were the *chambre* and the *chapelle*, while a small group of staff tended to John's son, Philip: *les genz monseigneur Philippe*.<sup>4</sup> Four of these offices dealt with the provision of food and drink: the *panéterie* provided bread and cheese, as well as table linen; the *échansonnerie* supplied drink, especially the large amount of wine that was consumed at the French court; the *cuisine* oversaw the cooking of foodstuffs apart from bread; the *fruiterie* was in charge of fruits and lighting. Beyond the provision of food and drink, the *écurie* and the *fourrière* organised the court's lodgings and peregrinations, while the staff of John's *chapelle* performed a range of services.<sup>5</sup> For instance, John's chaplain Arnoul de Grandpont dispensed charitable donations for the king 'in the absence of the *aumônier*':

*en absence de l'aumosnier*.<sup>6</sup> Guillaume Racine (also a chaplain) served as John's physician, which was an important role because the French king was frequently ill.<sup>7</sup> John's chaplain Gace de la Buigne joined Jean de Milan in maintaining the *vénérie* and taught his son Philip how to hunt, while his chaplain and secretary Denys de Collors kept the household accounts.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, his chaplains Yves Darien and Aymart Gascoigne crossed the Channel regularly to carry out missions vital to the running of his household, such as raising money.<sup>9</sup> John's *chambre* staff also performed a number of roles and this department included the most important individuals in the French king's household, including his tailor (Tassin du Brueil), his painter (Girart d'Orléans) and his spicer (Thomassin Doucet).<sup>10</sup> As the *maître de l'hotel*, Jean de Dainville (an *écuyer* from Artois) oversaw the running of John's household.<sup>11</sup>

John also had his fool (Jehan le Fol) with him, who held a favoured position in the royal household. As well as ensuring that Jehan was dressed in the finest clothing (including miniver and silk), the French king appointed a valet (Giradin) to tend to his needs, in addition to which John gave him silverware and other luxury goods.<sup>12</sup> Jehan le Fol's possessions were so extensive that one of the twelve carts the French king hired to move his household goods from Somerton to London was apportioned to his fool (the same number he allocated to his son and many of his household offices).<sup>13</sup> The presence of a fool was a marker of John's elite status and Jehan le Fol formed a part of the Valois monarch's wider projection of his power.<sup>14</sup> It was important that Jehan le Fol was dressed well, as he was often in the French king's company; indeed, John even gave his fool money to make his own charitable bequests at the shrines and religious houses they visited together. As Jehan le Fol represented the French king, the duke of Lancaster offered him luxury gifts.<sup>15</sup>

### *Size*

Based on an examination of John's staff lists and the safe conducts issued by the English Crown, Chris Given-Wilson and Françoise Bériac-Lainé have estimated that the French king's household contained no more than sixty or seventy people during his time in England.<sup>16</sup> However, as Élisabeth Lalou and Werner Paravinci have reminded us, lists of office holders and domestic positions do not adequately reflect the size and composition of royal and princely households.<sup>17</sup> The evidence contained in

John's accounts suggests that his household was much larger than sixty or seventy persons, particularly because it included people who were not registered in the lists of domestic servants and office holders. For example, in April 1360 John gave 20s to Hauvin, son of Sendre (who worked in his *panéterie*), when his wife gave birth on the roadside as the French king's household travelled from Somerton to London.<sup>18</sup> This reference is interesting because it reveals that entire families (in this case, three generations of one family) lived with the French king in England. As positions in noble households were often passed on from one male relative to another, it is possible that Sendre was teaching his son the skills of the job.<sup>19</sup> Sendre's case is not unique and we know that other members of John's domestic staff were accompanied by their relatives and that these people performed services for the French king. For example, the household accounts note that a cousin of John's spicer, Thomassin Doucet, was sent from Hertford Castle (where the French king was then staying) in May 1359 'to go to London to search for medicines for the king': *à aler à Londres quérir medecines pour le Roy*.<sup>20</sup> We only know about the presence of these family members because of chance mentions in the household accounts (if Sendre's daughter-in-law had not given birth by the roadside, we would not be aware of their presence in England) and it is likely that there were many other people whose presence has gone unrecorded. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that different members of the same families served French nobles who were based in England. For example, Gilles d'Urlande was *écuyer* to Jean de Melun, count of Tancarville, while one Guiote d'Urlande served as Marie de Saint Pol's lady during this period.<sup>21</sup> As we saw in the previous chapter, Marie de Saint Pol and Jean de Melun were part of the network of French nobles that met at Hertford Castle in 1357–1358 and it is possible that they drew from the same pool of French servants.

In addition to the Valois monarch's main household staff who travelled with him, the conditions of John's captivity meant that it was necessary to set up a subset of staff who lived away from the king and thus were not included in the staff lists (which typically only recorded the names of the people who were residing with John at that moment). We only know about the existence of many of these people because of passing mentions in the household accounts. For example, in June 1359, the French king paid for the medical treatment and then funeral expenses of one 'Pioche, barillier du Roy' who the household accounts tell us was in 'royal service': *service du Roy*.<sup>22</sup> Given his occupation of *barillier* (which means

either cooper or wine steward), Pioche was probably part of the staff that remained behind in London: *the genz du Roy demorent à Londres* under Jehan Huitasse, the head of his *échansonnerie*, when John was moved out of the capital in April 1359. These people were responsible for purchasing the merchandise John needed from London's markets, which they sent to the French king at Hertford and Somerton. Jehan Huitasse also dealt with the king's administrative affairs in the capital, including obtaining safe conducts for his staff to travel across the Channel.<sup>23</sup> Huitasse kept his own set of accounts, which he submitted to Denis de Collors and Jean de Dainville for inspection.<sup>24</sup> While Huitasse and his staff were separated from John, they remained members of his household, and the French king paid for their food, lodging and other expenses. For example, John rented accommodation for his staff based in London from one 'Sire Guelfe le Lombart', who was possibly one of the Lombard bankers the French king used to change the money he received from his subjects.<sup>25</sup>

It is also clear that John had some English staff working for him during his time in captivity and that he considered them to be members of his household. Edward III expected the French king to pay for his expenses in England, which included the wages of the domestic staff who worked in the buildings where John was lodged (the Savoy Palace, Hertford Castle, Somerton Castle, and the Tower of London). For example, John distributed gifts amounting to 77l 13s 4d to the staff of the Tower where he resided between April and June 1360.<sup>26</sup> Yet it is clear that his payments to English staff (which were recorded separately to his payments to his French staff) also included people who belonged to his household. During his time in London in 1360, John drew a distinction between the English staff who belonged to the Tower: *du chastel de Londres* and those who were members of his household: *gens du Roy*. As well as paying the clerk of the Tower: *le clerc de la place* for his services, Denis de Collors kept a separate list of payments under a different rubric for the four English clerks who worked under John's French secretaries, Macé Guéhéry and Jean Le Royer.<sup>27</sup> Other contemporary sources confirm that John employed English staff as clerks and other officials during his time in captivity and that he considered them to be members of his household. For example, the French king petitioned Pope Innocent VI on behalf of Walter de Heyworth, rector of Eydon, whom he affirmed was 'a member of his household...[and] served him faithfully when he was in England'.<sup>28</sup> The household accounts state that Heyworth was the 'purchaser in part of the provisions and victuals of the king in England': *acheteur en partie des provisions et vivres du Roy en*

*Angleterre*. He performed a similar role to Jehan Huitasse and organised the supply of goods to John during his time in Somerton and London.<sup>29</sup> Sir William Steel, rector of Great Dodington, also served as John's clerk in England, in return for which the French king obtained a parish for him in the diocese of Ely as well as a papal dispensation regarding his plurality of benefices.<sup>30</sup> As we see, John used his influence with Innocent VI to obtain benefices for his household clerks. Indeed, clerks serving in royal and ecclesiastical households were often given benefices instead of wages.<sup>31</sup> When Philip of Valois, duke of Orléans, took his brother's place in English captivity, he also employed English clerks and used his family's influence with the pope to obtain benefices for them. In December 1361, Philip petitioned Innocent VI to have his clerk, Nicholas de Neuton, given either the archdeaconry of Cornwall or a canonry and prebend in Lincoln.<sup>32</sup> In addition to the administrative advantages of having English staff in his household (particularly English clerks who had expertise in managing local affairs), John could challenge the authority of the Plantagenet monarch by bringing his subjects into Valois service. It is clear that some of those people who Edward appointed to guard the French king also performed a range of other services on his behalf. For example, one 'archer of the king's guard: *archer de la garde du Roy*' took orders from John's *maître-d'hôtel*, Jean de Dainville, and performed tasks for him.<sup>33</sup> The recruitment of English members of staff also allowed John to get around Edward III's order expelling the French from England in the summer of 1359, when the Plantagenet monarch returned to war and moved John to Somerton Castle.<sup>34</sup>

### JOHN II'S HOUSEHOLD AT SOMERTON

While historians often state that Edward III decided to move John II to Somerton Castle in July 1359 because of a fear that the French were planning a rescue attempt, there are a number of problems with this interpretation.<sup>35</sup> While Somerton was located in the remote and sparsely populated county of Lincolnshire, it was only thirty miles from the sea and thus within easy reach of any French rescue force landing on the coast (a highly mobile group of soldiers could have made the journey in less than a day). The English Crown's real fears about John's security came in March 1360, when a French force landed in Sussex and sacked Winchelsea, giving rise to fears that the French were planning to 'invade the realm, seize the said adversary [John II] out of the king's hands and

bring him out of England'.<sup>36</sup> Rather than moving the Valois monarch to a more remote location, John was in fact brought back to London. The English Crown planned to place him in Berkhamsted castle (an imposing fortress, unlike Somerton), which lay thirty miles from the capital, before finally installing him in the Tower. As this example shows, the English Crown considered crowded London to be a more secure location than rural Lincolnshire.<sup>37</sup>

The English king probably moved John to Somerton to remove him from public view and prevent him from asserting his status as king of France in London. Edward was then preparing to invade France and take the city of Reims, where he could be crowned king of France. As John's display of his royal status in London threatened to undermine the credibility of Edward III's campaign, the English monarch moved him to a remote part of the kingdom. Somerton was ideal for this purpose because it lay 110 miles from London; if Edward sent John any further north, he risked bringing the Valois monarch within striking distance of his Scottish allies. As well as sending John to Somerton, Edward also expelled thirty-five members of his French household staff on 21 June 1359 and fixed the size of his household at twenty the following month.<sup>38</sup> This move struck at the very heart of John's power because Edward expelled those people who played the leading roles in the fashioning of John's image in England, including his tailor (Tassin du Breuil), his painter (Girart d'Orléans), and his falconers (Gace de la Buigne and Jean de Milan). The French king protested strongly against this move, and Edward III, by his 'special grace': *grace especial*, allowed John to bring back twenty of those who had been expelled.<sup>39</sup> The granting of John's request allowed Edward to highlight the power he had over his rival, particularly because it provided him with a further opportunity to demonstrate his magnanimity, which (as we saw in Chaps. 2 and 3) was a key element in the Plantagenet's monarchy's handling of the French king. Nonetheless, while Edward III was able to draw attention to his chivalrous qualities by granting John's appeal, he failed to stipulate which people John could bring back to England, despite apparently having specified who was to be expelled in the first place. This oversight allowed John to return to his service men such as Tassin du Breuil, Girart d'Orléans and Jean de Milan, who were all central to the projection of his royal image. In short, the lavish display of Valois royal power that followed John's return to public life in London in May 1360 would have been impossible without the skills of the people he brought back from France in July 1359.



## THE REWARDS OF HOUSEHOLD SERVICE

While there were drawbacks to serving the French king in captivity (as Edward III's dismissal of John's staff illustrates), it provided a good route to social advancement. Jean de Dainville (listed as *écuyer d'écurie du roi* in a household account for 1354–1355) was promoted to the position of *maître-d'hôtel* in the place of Guy de Leuse (listed as *maître-d'hôtel* in the same 1354–1355 account), who presumably remained in France. John then knighted Dainville upon his return to France and gave him an annual income of 500l in *rentes*.<sup>40</sup> Certainly, John rewarded well those who had served him in captivity. As well as appointing his tailor, Tassin du Breuil, to the senior household position of *valet du chambre*, he obtained prebends in Chartres and Sainte-Chapelle for Denis de Collors and a canonry in Sainte-Chapelle for Arnoul Grandpont.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, John remembered Denis de Collors in his will and left him a sum of money, while both Collors and Gace de la Buigne went on to hold leading positions in Charles V's administration.<sup>42</sup> John also paid high wages to those people who served him in captivity. The two valets who helped Tassin du Breuil make John's clothing for the Easter celebrations in 1360 were paid 8d a day (for twenty-four days), which was a higher rate of pay than that given to Edward III's wardrobe staff.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to their wages (much of which was paid in kind), John also covered the expenses his household staff incurred while serving him in England. For example, he gave 6l 13s 4d to his secretary Yves Darian in July 1359 'to pay certain debts that he had accrued for his necessities': *pour paier certainnes debtes qu'il avoit acreeues pour ses necessitez*.<sup>44</sup> John customarily issued gifts: *dons* of money to his staff, which were given in addition their wages: *gages*. There were two principal occasions when John gave monetary gifts to the members of his household: First of all, during the festive times of year when French kings customarily offered gifts to their followers. For example, John distributed Christmas *dons* on 18 December 1359 to all the members of his household staff who resided with him at Somerton (these gifts ranged from 50 *écus* to 6 *écus* and amounted to a total of 79l 6s 8d).<sup>45</sup> Second, John distributed gifts when he moved from one location to another. As he prepared to leave the Tower for Calais in June 1360, for example, John handed out 46l 13s 4d amongst the staff who were with him: *les genz de l'ostel le Roy estans et demourans avecques li à Londres* 'as a gift from the said lord [John II] to those [people] to procure their needs': *pour don à eux fait par ledit seigneur pour quérir leur*

*necessitez*, which provided him with a means to recognise the good work of his staff and to encourage their loyalty.<sup>46</sup>

As well as making monetary payments, the ordinances regulating the French royal household obliged the king to take care of the wider needs of his staff, including their accommodation.<sup>47</sup> John's household in England was so large that he had to rent additional lodgings for his staff even during his time at the Savoy, despite having use of the entire palace.<sup>48</sup> As we saw above, John rented accommodation in London for his household staff who remained in the capital when he was moved to Hertford and Somerton. When John returned to London in April 1360, he was obliged to rent further accommodation for the staff he brought with him from Lincolnshire because he did not have enough room in the Tower.<sup>49</sup> John also paid for the medical care of his staff, no matter where they resided. He covered the costs of both the treatment and the expensive spices used in medieval medicine, which were normally beyond the means of all but the wealthiest.<sup>50</sup> For example, John paid a surgeon to treat Barbatre (a clerk of his chapel) 'of a swelling and other illness': *d'une bosse et autre maladie* as well as the costs of his medicine: *a sirop magistral*.<sup>51</sup> Numerous physicians, surgeons and apothecaries were paid to treat a wide range of injuries and ailments, from setting Guy Barre's broken arm (a member of his *fourrière* who was kicked by a horse) to performing an enema on Jehan Roussel.<sup>52</sup> As well as taking care of his staff's physical needs, the French king also looked after their spiritual health by paying for their charitable offerings, thus further demonstrating the paternal care he had for his servants.<sup>53</sup>

John II was also careful to ensure that his staff were dressed well (particularly those who were regularly in public view), because servants who appeared in worn or faded clothing reflected poorly on the character of their master.<sup>54</sup> For example, he gave his principal secretary, Jehan le Royer, the substantial sum of 33l 6s 8d 'to seek out robes and other necessities according to his estate': *pour querre robes et autres neccessitez selon son estat*.<sup>55</sup> To put this into perspective, the luxurious new suit of clothing John had made in June 1360 cost 19l 17s 8d.<sup>56</sup> He also ensured that messengers were dressed in good clothing, which was important because they delivered messages to the most powerful people in both England and France—and thus projected the Valois monarch's image.<sup>57</sup> Likewise, he gave men, such as his secretary Yves Darian, who travelled to France on John's business, the very best materials (including miniver) because they represented his person.<sup>58</sup> The provision of luxury clothing was a significant benefit of royal service because under normal circumstances the sumptuary

laws prevented men like Darian from wearing elite materials like miniver (even if they could have afforded it). While the post-Black Death demand for luxury clothing from the lower classes led the English and French monarchies to enforce sumptuary legislation more firmly, service in John's household exempted his staff from these regulations and allowed them to raise their social status.

### SUPPLYING THE HOUSEHOLD

While many of the basic goods John required for the daily functioning of his household were either provided by his subjects in France, or gifted by supporters in England (such as Jeanne de Bar and Marie de Saint Pol), he needed to purchase specialist goods from England's merchants to display his social position.<sup>59</sup> The presence of a second royal court in London enriched the city's leading merchants, such as Berthelemin Mine and Michiel Gerart, from whom he purchased spices every month.<sup>60</sup> While this commercial relationship was curtailed when John was moved to Somerton, his household staff renewed their contact with Berthelemin as soon as they returned to London.<sup>61</sup> It was important that John's staff remained in contact with the merchants who could supply both the range and the volume of spices their master required. John's staff also looked beyond the top level of merchants in order to obtain the goods they required. For example, a London butcher named 'Symon' was able to provide John's household with twenty-three 'aunes of Reims cloth': *aunes de toile de Reims*, which was the finest linen in Europe.<sup>62</sup> It was also at the lower levels of London's traders that women benefitted from the presence of John's household in the city, including *Alison la custurière* and *Marguerite la custurière* who repaired clothing and materials for his chapel, and Mahaut the washerwoman who cleaned his goods.<sup>63</sup> Skilled female traders also profited from John's need for specialist goods, such as *Marguerite le relieresse* who refurbished the French Bible John gave Jeanne de Bar.<sup>64</sup> Overall, the presentation of John's power and the ability of his household to function depended on the skills and merchandise of these English men and women.

The French king played an important role in the development of his household's commercial networks by fostering good relations with London's leading merchants, particularly the vintner Henry Picard and the skinner Adam de Bury.<sup>65</sup> John's relationship with these merchants began as soon as he arrived in city. As we saw in Chap. 2, Henry Picard was the mayor of London in 1357 and he formally welcomed the French king

to the city in the presence of many of the merchants who would go on to supply John's household during his time in England. As John was a source of wealth and social prestige, Picard cultivated his relationship with the French king; indeed, John dined at his house several times.<sup>66</sup> Picard provided high-quality luxury goods to the Valois monarch (such as a gold ring containing a ruby, which cost 30l), and also acted as a middleman, seeking out the very best merchandise available in the city.<sup>67</sup> John paid Picard 793l 6s 8d for various pieces of silverware, including 333l 6s 8d for an unspecified item Picard obtained from one *Guillaume de Venise*.<sup>68</sup> Picard also helped the French king obtain loans from London's merchants.<sup>69</sup> In April 1359, for example, John paid Picard 477l 10s 'for a loan made by him... from certain London merchants': *pour emprumpt fait par li...de certains marcheans de Londres*.<sup>70</sup> John also paid Picard 1334l 16s towards the ransoms of Guillaume de Melun, archbishop of Sens, and his brother, Jean, count of Tancarville.<sup>71</sup> Edward III shared out the ransoms of several of the high-ranking prisoners taken at Poitiers amongst London's merchants as a means to repay the money they had loaned him to fight the French war.<sup>72</sup> John volunteered to make these ransom payments for the Melun brothers and wrote to the city's merchants to confirm this undertaking.<sup>73</sup> Jean and Guillaume de Melun were amongst John II's most loyal supporters, with the French king relying on the count of Tancarville to lead the anti-Navarrese party in Normandy.<sup>74</sup> By paying part of their ransom, the French king could reward the brothers for their loyalty and demonstrate the munificence that they could expect to receive from him.

It was not only London's merchants who benefitted from the French king's presence in England. When Edward III moved John out of the capital in 1359, he provided the traders of towns such as Boston, Hertford and Lincoln with the opportunity to sell their goods to the French king. For example, the Lincoln spicers Pierre de Belle-Assise and Jehan Kelleshulle took over the monthly supply of spices from Berthelemin Mine and Michiel Gerart when John was moved to Somerton.<sup>75</sup> While John's overall spending on clothing declined during his time in Somerton, his purchase of new clothing for the Christmas and Easter festivities enriched Lincoln's merchants.<sup>76</sup> John's household staff was able to purchase a range of merchandise locally during his time at Somerton because Lincoln (under ten miles from Somerton) was a staple town, while Boston (twenty-five miles from Somerton) was one of England's leading ports and a centre of Hanse trade.<sup>77</sup> John's staff developed good relations with local merchants, such as Thomas Rogier from Lincoln, who was paid 33s 4d to bring from

London to Somerton the money (1411 13s 4d) the cardinal of Tulle had sent to the French king to support his living costs in captivity.<sup>78</sup> Using contacts amongst local merchants was a secure and effective way to fetch the sums his subjects had sent to England, because it allowed John to save money on transport and security costs.

While John's presence in Lincolnshire was a stimulus for the local economy, the volume of goods on offer in the region's urban centres was not enough to satisfy the needs of his household. Despite purchasing eight hundred miniver skins and eight hundred and fifty *gris* in Lincoln, John's staff had to purchase a further six hundred miniver skins and three hundred *gris* in London in order to obtain the volume of fur Tassin du Breuil needed to make a new set of clothing for the king to wear during the Christmas celebrations at Somerton.<sup>79</sup> Similarly, John consumed such a high volume of spices that his staff had to travel to London once they had exhausted the supplies in Lincoln.<sup>80</sup> John's staff also needed access to London's international markets to purchase goods they could not obtain in Lincolnshire, such as the finest silverware.<sup>81</sup> Royal courts were amongst the foremost consumers of luxury goods in medieval Europe and they required access to large commercial cities. In particular, John's staff sought out the merchandise sold by the elite foreign merchants based in London (such as Franchequin d'Odenarde, Martin Parc from Pistoia and Guillaume de Venise), who sold some of the most exquisite goods available in England.<sup>82</sup>

Yet John's needs outstripped even London's markets and his staff had to travel to the continent to seek out a range of specialist goods in cities such as Bruges.<sup>83</sup> For example, John's agents purchased two barrels of special oil in Bruges, which they shipped to England from Sluis and then transported overland to the French king at Somerton.<sup>84</sup> John purchased diverse goods from across Europe, including Flemish horses, a North Sea whale, figs from Malta and spices from the Far East.<sup>85</sup> In addition to the substantial financial cost of purchasing this merchandise and transporting it across the Channel, John's staff also faced dangers from bandits. The oil purchased at Bruges was taken 'by enemies': *par les enemies* and John had to send ransom money to Noyon to obtain its release.<sup>86</sup> Likewise, pirates: *pilleurs de mer* captured a group of John's staff who were returning from France with clothes 'and many other things': *et plusieurs autres choses*. As a result, the French king had to pay a ransom of 13l 6s 8d 'or otherwise they would have been pillaged of all and put in danger of death': *ou autrement ils eussent esté pillez du tout et en aventure*

*d'estre mors*.<sup>87</sup> Despite the dangers of transporting this merchandise across the Channel, John needed these goods to sustain his royal status. His household staff went to remarkable lengths to obtain the range of luxury goods that fourteenth-century kings needed to express their power. Yet, as well as needing access to suitable markets, John's staff also required money to purchase and transport these goods, which they raised through a variety of means.

### RAISING FUNDS

As we saw in Chap. 2, Edward III held a series of lavish festivities during John II's time in England that were designed to capitalise on his son's victory at Poitiers and celebrate Plantagenet power. While the Valois monarch used displays of wealth and status to respond to Edward's attempts to overawe him, he was in a foreign land and lacked the easy access to resources available to the English king. Historians typically find that John had major financial difficulties in England.<sup>88</sup> Certainly, the letters the French king sent to his subjects from captivity confirm this impression. On 18 March 1358, the French monarch wrote to his officials in the *Chambre des Comptes* in Paris complaining of the 'great and notable lack of money': *grant et notable deffaut de finance* he had suffered ever since his capture at Poitiers and asked them to send funds to England 'to maintain our status and keep our honour': *nostre estat maintenir du nostre, et nostre honneur garder*.<sup>89</sup> A steady stream of letters passed between John and his subjects regarding his need for money. In December 1359, Gillequin de Tournay brought John numerous letters from France regarding the money the king had sought to cover his expenses: *touchant la finance que le Roy mandoit pour son vivre*.<sup>90</sup> While Édouard Perroy found these letters 'pathetic and purile', John was simply drawing on the standard rhetoric used in written communication between the French Crown and its subjects during the later Middle Ages. As such, we should be cautious about using them to construct a picture of John's financial state.<sup>91</sup> It was a genre of language that was designed to elicit a specific response: John exhorted his subjects to provide him with the money he needed by emphasizing the importance of upholding his royal dignity in captivity (and thus the honour of France).<sup>92</sup>

John's appeals were effective and his subjects sent him money to maintain his royal lifestyle in captivity.<sup>93</sup> As soon as John, count of Armagnac, the French king's lieutenant in Languedoc, learned of the disaster at Poitiers, he dispatched two hundred and seventy six marks of silverware

and provisions to the French king, while the Estates of Languedoc also sent gifts of money and goods to John II at Bordeaux soon after his capture, including seventy-seven marks of silverware.<sup>94</sup> The French king's household accounts also record a number of smaller gifts from unspecified sources, such as the 63l 13s 4d, which came from 'many people': *plusieurs personnes* in February 1359.<sup>95</sup> John's supporters continued to send him money and goods throughout his captivity. For example, Hugues Roger, bishop of Tulle (and brother of the late pope, Clement VI), sent the French king 141l 13s 4d in October 1359, while the dauphin dispatched provisions from Compiègne to his father that year.<sup>96</sup> Pope Innocent VI also supported John financially during his captivity. As soon as the French king arrived in England, the pope wrote to Raymond Pelegrini, the papal nuncio and treasurer of Lichfield, 'to assign secretly and cautiously' five thousand gold florins (700l 16s 8d) he had 'ordered to be collected' for John.<sup>97</sup> The pope continued to support the French king throughout his captivity and provided him with a further five thousand gold florins in 1359.<sup>98</sup> John held great influence with Innocent VI, which he used to cover some of his financial costs in England by receiving money directly from the Church and by persuading the pontiff to grant prebends and canonries to his clerks.

John also instructed his officials in France to provide him with money and goods, including Guillaume de Vidal, 'master of the ports and passes of the kingdom of France': *maistre des ports et passages du Royaume de France* who dispatched 397l to England in January 1359, and Bernart François, his *receveur* in Nîmes, who sent him 466l 13s 4d through the hands of the Italian banker *Luca de Lombardo* in January 1359, which was followed by further payments of 195l 16s 8d and 1175l 7s later that year.<sup>99</sup> Furthermore, John had his officials in Troyes send him the sums raised from taxes levied on the city's population in 1359, including the *gabelle*.<sup>100</sup> John's subjects regularly made use of the Lombard bankers who dominated the banking system in France during the mid-fourteenth century to send funds to England, because it was the safest way to transfer the money. Pierre Chevalier, *varlet de chambre du Roy* insisted that the townsman Guiot le Flament brought the sums of money raised for the king at Troyes to Bruges because 'the said Chevalier did not dare to carry it with him because of a fear that he would be robbed': *le dit Chevalier n'osoit asporter avecques soi pour doubte qu'il ne fust pilliez*.<sup>101</sup> Bruges had emerged as the pre-eminent banking centre in northern Europe and money could be easily changed into credit notes that could then be cashed in London.<sup>102</sup>

While Florence's Bardi and Peruzzi banking houses had collapsed in the 1340s, because Edward III had defaulted on his loan repayments, their Lombard rivals were able to profit from the Black Prince's victory at Poitiers by keeping a percentage of the money John's subjects sent to him in captivity.<sup>103</sup>

The population of Languedoc made the most use of the bank credit system, changing the money they raised for the king into credit notes at Avignon (which had over forty banks in the mid-fourteenth century) and then bringing them to either Bruges or London. Within a month of the battle of Poitiers, the Estates of Languedoc levied a tax on the region 'for the love': *pour l'amour* of the king and sent him the profits to cover his living expenses in captivity.<sup>104</sup> The Estates of Languedoc continued to support John throughout his time in England and even sent a delegation to visit John in early 1359 and bring him money, which was followed by further payments later that year.<sup>105</sup> The southern towns (particularly Beaucaire, Béziers, Carcassonne, Le Puy, Montpellier, Narbonne, Nîmes and Toulouse) provided the bulk of these payments, which they sent to John 'as a gift for his subsistence in England': *en présent pour son vivre en Angleterre*.<sup>106</sup> In total, the French king received the considerable sum of 53091 from his subjects in Languedoc between March and June 1359.<sup>107</sup>

While loyalty to the Valois monarchy may have encouraged the southern towns to support John in captivity, they also sought to profit from their generosity by using their gifts to win new rights and liberties. For example, the urban delegation that travelled to England in 1359 to give John money handed over its petitions for new rights at the same time.<sup>108</sup> The offering of these gifts provided the townspeople with a good opportunity to highlight the reciprocal relationship that existed between them and the king. John regularly awarded his urban subjects in Languedoc new rights and liberties during his time in England in return for their support. For example, in 1358 he granted Carcassonne a reduction of its *feux* payment and abolished the tax Rodez paid on wine.<sup>109</sup> John laid the groundwork for his good relationship with the southern towns during his time as lieutenant of Languedoc (1344–1350). For example, on 29 March 1350 John obtained his father's confirmation of the privileges of Narbonne through his 'special grace': *grace spéciale*.<sup>110</sup> John also obtained an extension of Albi's privileges and gained new economic rights for Uzès during his time as lieutenant of Languedoc.<sup>111</sup> It was not just Languedoc's urban governments that entered into this reciprocal relationship with the king: the abbot of Grand-Silve (who sent large amounts of wine to the



French monarch in 1358) had received grants from John II exempting his abbey from the payment of commercial tolls.<sup>112</sup> Accordingly, he could hope to maintain his profitable relationship with the king by assisting him during his time of need. In contrast to the extensive support the population of Languedoc gave their king during his time in England, John received no significant material support from Normandy, which suggests that—despite having been duke of Normandy for eighteen years—John had failed to construct good relations with the duchy’s elites.<sup>113</sup>

While John received little from the population of Normandy, he had more success with his subjects in the north-east of the kingdom (although it was significantly less than the support he received from Languedoc). Beyond the money John was able to collect from Troyes with the support of its leading citizens, he also received money from the rulers of Amiens and Laon in June 1359 ‘for his provisions and to maintain his status’: *pour son vivre et estat maintenir*.<sup>114</sup> In the previous month, the Estates of Languedoil (at the instigation of the dauphin) had rejected the second treaty of London and thus prolonged John’s captivity. By sending John this money in June, the rulers of Amiens and Laon could demonstrate that they had remained loyal to him. This was an important consideration for both towns, as they had been punished by the dauphin in 1358 for opposing the Crown and giving their support to Charles of Navarre.<sup>115</sup> Firmin de Cocquerel, the mayor of Amiens, was executed on the main square and Jean du Gard (a leading opponent of the Navarrese party in the city) was elected in his place.<sup>116</sup> The new mayor travelled to England with one of the city’s guild masters, Jehan Piedeleu, to personally hand over Amiens’ gift of 540 *écus* to John II in June 1359.<sup>117</sup> Like the southern towns, Amiens was able to profit from the good relationship that du Gard developed with the king. Soon after John was released from captivity, he made a series of grants to Amiens, which extended the powers of the municipal council and gave it access to new financial revenues.<sup>118</sup> Laon also had good reason to send John money in 1359, because the town’s bishop, Robert Le Coq, had joined Étienne Marcel in leading the opposition to the dauphin’s government, while the civic administration had supported Charles of Navarre. Like Amiens, Laon also sent a representative (Jean de Bray) to personally hand over 800 *royaux* to the French king, and possibly assure him that the town remained loyal despite his son’s rejection of the treaty of London.<sup>119</sup>

John was also visited by some of those people who were most dissatisfied with his son’s rule. We know from the evidence provided in a safe conduct that the Parisian *alderman* Charles Toussac (who Raymond

Cazelles has called Étienne Marcel's 'most devoted supporter': *partisan le plus dévoué* visited John in England in August 1357.<sup>120</sup> Although we do not know what he discussed with the French king, the timing of his visit indicates that it may have been politically motivated. According to the *Grandes Chroniques*, the dauphin summoned Étienne Marcel and Charles Toussac to Maubuisson in mid-August and 'prohibited them from meddling further in the government of the kingdom': *leur deffendi que ilz ne se mellassent plus du gouvernement du royaume*.<sup>121</sup> The timing of Toussac's visit suggests that the Parisians may have been seeking John's support against his son's actions. They could have had reason to hope that they would gain John's support, because the French king had written a letter to Marcel nine months earlier in which he apparently legitimised the actions of the *prévôt des marchands* to resist his son's policies.<sup>122</sup> In any case, it is clear that John's court in England provided an alternative political centre which the political elites of northern France could access by making the short journey across the Channel.

## JOHN II AND THE ENGLISH WINE TRADE

As well as seeking money from his subjects in France, John II and his staff also devised a number of strategies to generate revenue in England, which included the sale of wine. The French monarch received more wine from his subjects than he required during his time in England, which left his household with a surplus that could be sold.<sup>123</sup> Once it became clear that the sale of wine could provide a lucrative and regular stream of revenue, John's staff began to import merchandise from France specifically to sell in England (termed *vin d'achat* in John's household accounts). In June 1359, the French king's *receveur* at Toulouse and *général des finances* in Languedoc, Raoul de Lile, was instructed to send wine 'for the provision and expense of the king and his household': *pour la provision et despense du Roy et de son hostel*.<sup>124</sup> In addition to organising transport for the twenty tons of wine provided by the *seneschal* of Agen and the abbot of Grand-Silve (designated as [*vin*] *de présent*), Raoul also purchased 194 tons of *vin d'achat* and shipped it to London, where it was placed in John's wine cellars and then sold to a range of people, including the London skinner Adam de Bury.<sup>125</sup> The revenue generated through the sale of wine more than covered John's household expenses during some months. For example, the sale of wine to eight people alone in November 1359 raised 94l 7s 9d, which was well in excess of his total household expenditure for that month (66l 13s 2d).<sup>126</sup>

The economic conditions in England in the later 1350s were favourable to the mercantile activities of John's household. While the Black Prince's victory at Poitiers had reinvigorated the Gascon wine trade, the sale price of wine remained high (it had more than doubled between the 1340s and 1350s).<sup>127</sup> The upturn in the import of wine into England after 1356 generated substantial revenue for the Plantagenet monarchy through custom duties. As the wine John's household staff shipped into England was subject to the same duties that other wine merchants had to pay, the English Crown profited further from the French's king's presence in England.<sup>128</sup> Indeed, by importing wine into England, John was effectively helping Edward III pay for his wars in France. Furthermore, because the French wine John imported into England was shipped through Gascony, the English Crown taxed it twice: first, when it was brought from France (specifically Languedoc) to Bordeaux; second, when the wine arrived at its destination in England.<sup>129</sup>

John's staff used the contacts their master had developed amongst London's merchants to help sell this wine. During the 1350s, London's vintners used their command of the city council to fix the price of wine and push out the Gascon merchants who had dominated the sale of wine in the capital before 1350.<sup>130</sup> As London's leading vintners held a virtual monopoly over the sale of wine in the city (which was the principal distribution centre for French wine in England), it was essential that John's staff had their support. The French king's household accounts note that the vintners Henry Picard (mayor in 1356–1357) and John Stody (mayor in 1357–1358) helped John sell his wine in England.<sup>131</sup> The French king used his friendly relations with the vintners who dominated London's administration in the 1350s to ensure that his goods were sold at the very heart of London's wine industry. John's staff rented wine cellars on the street Le Ryole (named after the Gascon town of the same name, which was noted for its wine), where London's leading vintners were based in the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>132</sup>

John's staff expanded their master's mercantile activities into Lincolnshire when Edward III moved the Valois king to Somerton in 1359 and sold his wine to local dignitaries, such as *Wille de Nanemby* (the village of Navenby was next to Somerton).<sup>133</sup> They rented rooms in Boston and Lincoln to store the wine right through to June 1360 (i.e. three months after John had left the region).<sup>134</sup> Soon after arriving at Somerton, John's officials developed contacts with prominent local merchants, such as *William de Spaigne*, from whom they rented storerooms

in Boston. Spaigne came from a leading local family and was mayor of the Lincoln staple three times, in addition to which he was probably involved in the Gascon wine trade.<sup>135</sup> Although Somerton was far from London, it provided a good location for the sale of French wine, because Boston was second only to London in terms of the volume of wine that passed through it during the 1350s. Indeed, during the time John had cellars in Boston, the amount of wine that passed through the town increased from 99 tuns (1358–1359) to 218 ½ tuns (1359–1360).<sup>136</sup>

As well as buying wine from the French king, *Wille de Namby*, the *damoiselle de Namby* (probably his wife) and *William de Spaigne* also bought items of furniture from John, as did the priest *Jaques de Boby* (whose church John attended during his time in the region).<sup>137</sup> As it was undoubtedly prestigious to possess items of furniture that had once belonged to the king of France, these goods could be used to increase social capital. Certainly, items that had once been owned by kings were treated with particular reverence. For example, Edward Mortimer so esteemed a golden drinking horn that had belonged to Edward III that he stipulated in his will that it was to be passed from father to heir in perpetuity.<sup>138</sup> In sum, as well as profiting from the demand for French wine in England, the Valois monarch's household staff were also able to exploit the cultural value attached to royal possessions in order to run the king's household and pay for the goods they required to assert John's royal status.

## CONCLUSION

John did not spend his captivity alone: he was surrounded at all times by the members of his household. The presence of a household was a mark of power and a king without a household was no king. All the members of John's household, from his domestic servants to his court painter, contributed to the presentation of his power. Captive kings had a particular need of their staff because they were denied other ways to demonstrate their royal status (Saint Louis had members of his household with him at Mansourah).<sup>139</sup> John maintained a large household in captivity, which was composed of both French and English staff. Without the skills and talents of these people, John's household could not have functioned effectively during his time in captivity. John also played a crucial role in the running of his household by developing relations with the merchants whose goods, services and contacts were all vital to the manifestation of his power. Although Joan Evans found that there were no fixed sellers of goods to

the Valois court during the reign of John II, and that the monarch had no impact on the provision of goods for his court, we saw how John's connections with London's leading merchants directly affected the supply of his court (in the same way that—as we saw in Chap. 3—his personal wishes determined his charitable bequests).<sup>140</sup> Indeed, John's relations with London's merchants were so good that four of the city's livery companies (the drapers, fishmongers, mercers and grocers) each contributed ten marks to the French king's ransom.<sup>141</sup>

Furthermore, John's household staff engaged in significant mercantile activities in order to raise the sums of money the French king required to live nobly in England. As Christopher Dyer has shown, the high nobility commonly sold unneeded goods from their kitchens (such as fats and sausages made from entrails), yet the scale and organisation of John's mercantile efforts made them substantially different. This was not just the sale of spare goods: his household imported wine specifically to be sold in England.<sup>142</sup> Yet while the sale of wine provided a good source of revenue for John, the French king also relied on his subjects to send him money. For Christopher Allmand, John II's capture at Poitiers made him 'a national liability'.<sup>143</sup> While the French king's captivity placed a serious financial burden on his subjects, both in terms of his ransom payment and a result of the need to support him captivity, they also sought to profit from their largesse and offered John gifts as a means of winning new rights and liberties. As we saw throughout this chapter, John remained a source of wealth and patronage throughout his time in captivity, and men and women on both sides of the Channel sought to access the French king's largesse by performing services for him.

## NOTES

1. Penman, *David II*, 183.
2. Henneman, *Captivity and Ransom*.
3. BNF français 11205, f. 16 (Douët-d'Arcq, *Journal de la dépense*, 203). For the domestic offices, see: Lalou, "Hôtel du roi", 145–155.
4. This is the structure of the domestic offices ("les gens de l'ostel du Roy") given in John II's household accounts: BNF français 11205, f. 43 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 225–226). The *chambre* was originally one of the six *métiers* of the French royal household, but it grew in importance during the early fourteenth century and its domestic service duties were taken over by the *fourrière*: Lalou, "Hôtel du roi", 150; Vale, *Princely*

- Court*, 66–67. For Philip’s staff, see: Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 107; BNF français 11205, fos. 31v, 43v (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 215, 226).
5. The *écurie* also included many of John’s messengers (*chevauchers*), who were instrumental to the functioning of John’s court in captivity because they enabled him maintain contact with his subjects in both England and France: BNF français 11205, fos. 25v, 53, 68, 73v, 82, 95v (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 208, 233–234, 249, 255, 264, 277–278); Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 103–104, 133–134.
  6. John’s *aumônier*, Garnier de Berron, remained in France during his captivity.
  7. BNF français 11205, f. 43 (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 225); Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 121, 129; Oroux, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, vol. 1, lxii. The *chapelle* also included John’s musicians: BNF français 11205, fols. 30, 39v, 59, 75 (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 214, 221, 239–240, 256).
  8. BNF français 11205, fos. 4v, 59, 75 (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 195).
  9. BNF français 11205, fos. 52v, 55v, 68 (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 233–234, 236, 249, 255).
  10. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 107, 109, 139.
  11. BNF français 11205, fos. 6v, 32, 52, 62, 76v (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 197, 216, 233, 244, 258).
  12. BNF français 11205, fols. 24v, 26, 27, 38, 41, 42, 42v, 55v, 60v, 68v, 69, 76, 76v, 80v, 86v, 87 (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 207, 208, 209, 220, 223, 224, 225, 236, 241–242, 250, 257, 258, 262, 269); Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 91, 111, 130, 138–139; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 6, 135.
  13. BNF français 11205, f. 60v (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 240–241).
  14. BNF français 11205, fos. 61, 79 (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 242, 261); Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 91, 104, 108, 139.
  15. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 119.
  16. Bériac-Lainé and Given-Wilson, *Prisonniers*, 142–143.
  17. Lalou, “Hôtel du roi”, 146; Paravicini, “Court of the Dukes of Burgundy”, 76.
  18. BNF français 11205, f. 61 (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 242). For Sendre, see: BNF français 11205, f. 63 (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 245).
  19. Mertes, *Noble Household*, 64–65.
  20. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 134.
  21. Bériac-Lainé and Given-Wilson, *Prisonniers*, 143.

22. BNF français 11205, f. 74v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 256).
23. BNF français 11205, fos. 6v, 9, 43v 51v, 55v, 65 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 197, 200, 226, 233, 236, 247).
24. BNF français 11205, f. 51v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 233)
25. BNF français 11205, fos. 51v, 52, 68v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 232–233, 250).
26. BNF français 11205, f. 87 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 269–270). See also the payments John made to the staff of Hertford castle on 29 July 1359: BNF français 11205, f. 29v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 213–214).
27. BNF français 11205, f. 87 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 269–270).
28. Bliss, *Papal Registers, 1342–1419*, 346, 359.
29. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 132, 144; BNF français 11205, fos. 48v, 61, 86 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 230, 242, 268).
30. John also petitioned the pope for a dispensation regarding Steel's plurality of benefices and asked that he be given a church in the diocese of Ely: Bliss, *Papal Registers, 1342–1419*, 298.
31. Lachaud, 'Order and Disorder', 114; Mertes, *Noble Household*, 72.
32. Bliss, *Papal Registers, 1342–1419*, 374.
33. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 101.
34. For Edward III's expulsion of the French in July 1359, see: Sharpe, *Letter-Book G*, 109; Deplitt, *Collection générale*, 82–83.
35. See, for example: Devoisse, *Jean le Bon*, 442; Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 280. For Edward III's instructions to move John from Hertford Castle to Somerton, see: *CCR, Edward III*, vol. 10, 578, 633–634; *CCR, Edward III*, vol. 11, 20. Edward III had initially threatened to move John to Somerton in December 1358, probably as a means to put pressure on him to have the terms of the treaty of London accepted in France: Aumale, "Notes et documents", 101–102; *CCR, Edward III*, vol. 10, 482; Bériac-Lainé and Given-Wilson, *Prisonniers*, 138–139.
36. *CCR, Edward III* vol. 11, 11. See also: *CCR, Edward*, vol. 11, 97–99, 111; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 6, 158. For the attack on Winchelsea, see: Delachenal, *Charles V*, vol. 2, 178–182; Germain, *Projet de descente*.
37. Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 6, 158–159; *BPR*, vol. 4, 345–346; Martin, *Knighon's Chronicle*, 174.
38. BNF français 11205, f. 28 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 210–211); Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 6, 129; Aumale, "Notes et documents", 38.
39. Bériac-Lainé and Given-Wilson, *Prisonniers*, 142. Edward III's reduction of John's household also placed a further financial burden on the French king, who paid monetary gifts to those were expelled (probably to cover

- their travel costs and loss of wages), which came to a total of 109l 13s 4d. Moreover, John's household accounts note that those who were subsequently permitted to come back to the French king in England "did not hand back the money" ("ne rendirent pas l'argent"): BNF français 11205, fos. 28, 38, 40 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 211, 220, 222).
40. Sauval, *Histoire et recherches*, vol. 3, 530; BNF français 11205, f. 86v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 269); Aumale, "Notes et documents", 18.
  41. BNF français 11205, f. 59v (Douët-d'Arcq "Journal de la dépense", 240); Laurière, *Ordonnances des Roys de France*, vol. 3, 429.
  42. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 22–23; Laurière, *Ordonnances roys de France*, vol. 3, 429; Bapst, *Testament*, 22–23. For the canons of Sainte-Chapelle, see: Billot, "Collège des chanoines", 291–307.
  43. BNF français 11205, fos. 52v–53 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 234); Newton, *Fashion*, 60. See also: BNF français 11205, f. 41v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 223–224).
  44. BNF français 11205, f. 27 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 209).
  45. BNF français 11205, fos. 43–43v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 225–226).
  46. Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 258. For such payments, see also: Aumale, "Notes et documents", 96, 101, 107, 109, 114, 117, 118, 130, 137; BNF français 11205, fos. 27, 33v, 34, 35, 38v, 43, 47v, 48v, 56, 60, 63, 68, 74v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 209, 217, 218, 221, 225, 229, 230, 236, 241, 245, 249, 256).
  47. Lalou, 'Ordonnances de l'hôtel', 91–101; Viard, 'Philippe VI de Valois', 474–487.
  48. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 103, 143.
  49. BNF français 11205, fos. 68v, 87v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 250, 270).
  50. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 131; BNF français 11205, fos. 56, 72v, 74v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 237, 254, 256).
  51. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 128.
  52. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 94, 109, 147. For his staff's medical treatment, see also: BNF français 11205, f. 74v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 256); Aumale, "Notes et documents", 131.
  53. BNF français 11205, fos. 51v, 64v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 233, 247).
  54. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 110, 114–115, 125–126; Vale, *Princely Court*, 108.
  55. BNF français 11205, f. 47v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 229). For the clothing given to his secretary Denys de Collors, see: Aumale, "Notes et documents", 110.



56. BNF français 11205, f. 86 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 268–269).
57. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 92, 132.
58. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 114–115, 125–126, 127.
59. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 83, 84, 85, 86, 122. He also received gifts of spices from one 'Derre Dugardin, bourgeois of Bruges': Aumale, "Notes et documents", 83, 85.
60. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 88–89, 93, 95, 97–98, 100, 101, 102–103, 106, 107, 108–109, 111, 115–117, 121, 122–123, 128–129, 134, 136, 139–142, 143. While Michiel Gerart principally supplied John's household with spices, he also helped the French king's staff find other goods, including the materials to make six surplices for the Easter celebrations in 1359: Aumale, "Notes et documents", 123. He regularly purchased goods from London's leading drapers, such as James Andreu and William Holbech: BNF français 11205, fos. 69, 76, 79, 80v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 250, 257, 260); Aumale, "Notes et documents", 110, 134.
61. BNF français 11205, fos. 64–64v, 72–72v, 75, 79v, 75v, 84v, 86 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 245–246, 253–254, 256, 257, 261, 266, 268).
62. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 92, 110.
63. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 104, 113, 137.
64. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 97.
65. Adam de Bury was one of the main suppliers of goods to John's household and sought out the goods he required in England. Bury also helped the expelled members of the Valois monarch's household travel back to France: Aumale, "Notes et documents", 87, 92, 98, 107, 111, 114–115, 126, 127; BNF français 11205, fols. 34, 57, 66v, 70, 86v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 217, 238, 248, 251–252, 268).
66. BNF français 11205, fol. 81v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 263); Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. 1, 172; Stow, *Survey of London*, 41, 90.
67. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 129.
68. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 103, 126–127. For Picard, see: Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, 330–331, 332–333.
69. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 77–78; BNF français 11205, f. 54v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 235).
70. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 77–78.
71. BNF français 11205, fos. 7, 54v, 57 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 198, 235, 238). March 1360 was John's month of highest expenditure (even though his spending on clothing and feasting was low) because of the large ransom payments he made on behalf of the Melun family.

72. Other Londoners profited from John's paying of ransoms, including the leading merchant John Pyel and one Fouke Torwode ('bourgeois de Londres'), who also received payments for the ransom of Guillaume de Melun: BNF français 11205, f. 88 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 270). For Henry Picard's loans to the Black Prince see: *BPR*, vol. 4, 90, 158, 177, 236, 284, 327. For Edward III's loans from London's merchants, see: O'Connor. 'Finance, Diplomacy and Politics', 18–39; O'Connor, *Cartularies of John Pyel and Adam Fraunceys*, 22–36.
73. BNF français 11205, f. 57 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 238).
74. Small, *Late Medieval France*, 110.
75. BNF français 11205, fos. 26, 31v, 34v, 35v, 37v, 38v, 41, 47, 51, 54 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 209, 215, 217–219, 220, 221, 222–223, 228, 231–232, 235).
76. BNF français 11205, fos. 32v, 36v, 41, 44, 44v, 53–53v, 55v, 56 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 216, 219, 223, 227, 234–235, 236, 237).
77. BNF français 11205, fos. 32, 32v, 33, 38, 39v, 40v, 41, 44v, 46, 50v, 52, 52v, 56 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 216, 217, 220, 221, 222, 223, 227, 228, 231, 232–233, 237). For trade at Boston and Lincoln, see: Burkhardt, "English Sea Port", 66–67; Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 249; Jenks, *England, Die Hanse und Preußen*, vol. 1, 462.
78. BNF français 11205, f. 36v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 219–220).
79. BNF français 11205, f. 41v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 223). For the purchase of goods in London, see also: BNF français 11205, fos. 26, 28 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 208, 210).
80. BNF français 11205, f. 34 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 217). And clothing as well: BNF français 11205, f. 50 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 231); Aumale, "Notes et documents", 130.
81. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 112; BNF français 11205, fos. 34, 51v, 52, 54v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 217, 232, 235).
82. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 103, 126–127, 128; BNF français 11205, f. 87 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 269).
83. BNF français 11205, fos. 46v, 58v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 228, 239). For Bruges' markets, see: Spufford, *Power and Profit*, 112–114, 318–320.
84. BNF français 11205, f. 58v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 239).
85. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 75, 82–85; BNF français 11205, fol. 58v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 239).
86. BNF français 11205, f. 58v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 239).
87. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 113–114.
88. Most recently: Bériac-Lainé and Given-Wilson, *Prisonniers*, 147.

89. Delachenal, *Charles V*, vol. 2, 401.
90. BNF français 11205, f. 40 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 222). See also: BNF français 11205, fos. 95v, 68 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 249). Furthermore, John sent his officials to visit French towns and encourage them to send him money. For example, his *pannetier*, Jean de Pomponne, travelled to the towns of Languedoc in 1358 to raise funds for his master: Ménard, *Histoire de Nismes*, vol. 2, 189–190.
91. Perroy, *Hundred Years War*, 136.
92. Delachenal, *Charles V*, vol. 2, 433.
93. AM Rodez CC 201, f. 32; Delachenal, *Charles V*, vol. 2, 414.
94. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 23–24; Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol. 9, 666.
95. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 75.
96. BNF français 11205, f. 4 (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 195); Aumale, "Notes et documents", 114.
97. Bliss and Johnson, *Papal Letters, 1342–1362*, 625.
98. Bliss and Johnson, *Papal Letters, 1342–1362*, 632–633.
99. BNF français 11205, f. 8v (Douët-d'Arcq, "Journal de la dépense", 200); Aumale, "Notes et documents", 41, 73–74, 76, 80, 104–105.
100. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 41, 73–75, 80, 104–105, 142–143.
101. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 104–105.
102. For the use of the bank transfer system and moneychangers, see also: Aumale, "Notes et documents", 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 91, 103, 104, 118, 133. For Bruges' moneychangers, see: Roover, *Medieval Bruges*, 171–197; Nicholas, 'English Trade', 23–61. For the use of bank transfers for ransom payments during the Hundred Years War, see: Ambühl, *Prisoners of War*, 165–169.
103. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 73. For the collapse of these banking houses, see: Spufford, *Money and its Use*, 286.
104. Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol. 9, 665–668.
105. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 38–39, 81, 103–104, 110, 113, 132; BN Latin 9174, fos. 292–292v, 301–301v; Langlois, *Instructions remises*, 2–7; Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol. 9, 687–688, 694–695, vol. 10, 1153–1154, 1160–1161; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 6, 117, 123.
106. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 76–77, 81. These were different to his ransom payments and war subsidy, which were raised separately: AC Rodez CC 201, f. 32; AD Tarn 4 EDT AA 44, CC 61, CC 71; AD Puy-de-Dôme 3 E 500 AA 7, no. 1; Delachenal, *Charles V*, vol. 2, 414.
107. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 81.
108. Aumale, "Notes et documents", 77; Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol. 9, 694–695.
109. Lehoux, *Jean de France*, vol. 1, 144 (fn. 3); AC Rodez CC 201, f. 34.
110. AM Narbonne AA 59; AA 60.

111. AD Tarn 4 EDT AA 19; AM Uzès AA 3.
112. Gariel, *Magalonensium et Monspelensium*, vol. 2 48–49.
113. In contrast, Charles of Navarre had strong support in Normandy: Cazelles, ‘Parti navarrais’, 845–847. On John and Normandy, see: Small, *Late Medieval France*, 108–109.
114. BNF français 11205, fos. 9, 9v (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 201, 202); Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 40.
115. Devisme, *Histoire de Laon*, 308–310.
116. Thierry, *Recueil des monuments*, vol. 1, 586; Calonne d’Avesne, *Histoire d’Amiens*, vol. 2, 274–284; Maugis, *Documents inédits*, 58–80, 120–122; Cazelles, ‘Parti navarrais’, 851.
117. BNF français 11205, f. 9v (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 202); Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 40.
118. AM Amiens AA 1, fos. 43, 43v, 51v.
119. BNF français 11205, f. 9 (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 201); Devisme, *Histoire de Laon*, vol. 1, 308–309. Moreover, as both towns were located in the north-east of the kingdom, it was in their interest to want peace with England because Edward III was then preparing to invade this region (his plans were certainly known in France by June 1359: Luce, *Chronique Quatre Valois*, 97–98). Indeed, Laon was partly destroyed by English soldiers during Edward III’s campaign of 1359–1360: Devisme, *Histoire de Laon*, vol. 1, 310.
120. Cazelles, *Société politique*, 104.
121. Delachenal, *Chronique de Jean II*, vol. 1, 112. On these events, see also: Cazelles, *Étienne Marcel*, 216–217.
122. Guesnon, *Documents inédits*, 37–39.
123. See, for example: BNF français 11205, f. 16 (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 203–204); Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 77; Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 6, 437.
124. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 78, 81.
125. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 78–79, 80–81. See also: Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 131; BNF français 11205, f. 95v (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 277).
126. Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 200. See also: Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 80.
127. James, ‘Anglo-Gascon Wine’, 20–22, 32; Carus-Wilson and Coleman, *England’s Export Trade*, 202–203.
128. BNF français 11205, f. 27v (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 210). For the tax on wine brought into London for sale, see: Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, 84–85; Lloyd, *Alien Merchants*, 86–89.
129. BNF français 11205, f. 95v (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 277); Rose, *Wine Trade*, 67–68.

130. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, 84–85; James, ‘Anglo-Gascon Wine’, 22.
131. BNF français 11205, f. 9 (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 200–201); Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 103, 126–127.
132. Aumale, “Notes et documents”, 96, 131.
133. Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 196, 201, 224, 247.
134. BNF français 11205, fos. 68v, 71v, 78, 95 (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 201, 250, 253, 260, 277).
135. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 249, 250. For Spaigne, see also: Rigby, *Overseas Trade of Boston*, 28–33.
136. Beardwood, *Alien Merchants*, 178–179. For the continental wine trade in Boston, see also: Dover, *Medieval History of Boston*, 31–33.
137. BNF français 11205, fos. 7v, 95 (Douët-d’Arcq, “Journal de la dépense”, 198–199, 276–277).
138. Woolgar, *Great Household*, 154.
139. Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 137; Gasposchkin, ‘Captivity’, 95.
140. Evans, *Dress*, 27.
141. Sharpe, *Letter-Book G*, 157; Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. 1, 171–172.
142. Dyer, *Standards of Living*, 91.
143. Allmand, *Hundred Years War*, 19.

## Conclusion

**Abstract** This chapter begins by examining John II's voluntary return to English captivity in 1364 and the resurgence of his use of display to compete with his Plantagenet rival. It then moves on to analyse how Edward III treated John II's body after the French monarch died in England in April 1364. The book concludes by considering the lasting effects of the developments in the portrayal of the royal image which came a result of John II's competition for status with Edward III and the Black Prince during his four years in captivity.

**Keywords** Royal funeral • Charles V • Philip the Bold • Courts • Display • Saint Louis

John II voluntarily returned to England in early January 1364 after his son Louis, duke of Anjou, broke the terms of his parole and refused to return to captivity.<sup>1</sup> The Valois monarch's return to England initiated another period of intense competition with Edward III. As John could expect that Edward would seek to overawe him with a display of Plantagenet magnificence, he ensured that he came to England with the resources that would allow him to demonstrate Valois power. The French king docked at Dover with a retinue of two hundred people, extensive financial resources and a gift of thirty wild boars for Edward III. He immediately travelled to Canterbury and left an expensive gift at the shrine of St Thomas Becket

in the Cathedral, renewing the French monarchy's relations with the saint (as he had done in July 1360 when he travelled to Dover with the Black Prince).<sup>2</sup>

Edward III prepared a series of festivities for the French king's arrival in England. He sent four knights to greet John at Canterbury and escort him to Eltham, where the English king had prepared a magnificent welcome for the king of France ("grans festes, grans sollas, grans esbatemens, belles dances et belles carolles de seigneur, de dame et de damoiselle, et s'efforchoit chacuns de festyer et de jouer pour le cause dou roy de Franche").<sup>3</sup> From Eltham, John travelled to London where he was received by a "great number of notable people" ("grant nombre de notables personnes").<sup>4</sup> The French king was then lodged in the Savoy Palace with "all his household" ("tout son hostel"), which included the dukes of Berry, Bourbon and Orléans, as well as the counts of Alençon and Perche. John used the money he brought to England to set up a splendid court at the Savoy, where he lived with his leading nobles in "great state" ("grant estat"). Both John and Edward vied to outdo each other in both the magnificence of the feasts they held throughout the winter and the scale of the gifts ("grans dons, biaux jeuiaux et riches") they exchanged.<sup>5</sup> John also made a large payment towards his ransom in return for which he asked the English king to release leading French hostages, particularly his family members, the dukes of Bourbon, Orléans and Berry.<sup>6</sup> Yet Edward III denied John's request, probably because the presence of so many members of the French royal family in his custody offered him unparalleled opportunities for propaganda. For example, in 1362 Edward organised a great hunt for which he "gathered the earls and barons and other great men of England, and had all the French hostages in his company", using them (according to Henry Knighton) to stage a great display of his wealth and power.<sup>7</sup>

John II's death at the Savoy Palace on 8 April 1364 did not end Edward III's ability to use the French king for propaganda purposes. Before returning John's body to France, Edward had it exhibited at a service held in St Paul's Cathedral on 18 April 1364, when "unprecedented exequies" were performed for the French king.<sup>8</sup> During this ceremony, Edward and his wife, Philippa of Hainault, sat under a cloth of gold on a special stage that had been constructed in the cathedral for the occasion, accompanied by the other members of the English royal family and a great number of the kingdom's leading nobles and clergy, while dressed in clothing that Edward had commissioned specifically for this event.<sup>9</sup> This magnificent display was

targeted at audiences on both sides of the Channel; indeed, the French chronicler Jean de Venette provided a detailed account of the Plantagenet monarch's actions describing how "Edward provided horses caparisoned from head to foot with the arms and lilies of France and riders fittingly and magnificently adorned with the same emblems" to bring the French king's body to the cathedral, where he had paid for an impressive "eighty great lights, each twelve feet high ... and four thousand wax tapers, each containing six pounds of wax, for the bier or rather the ornate wooden canopy which had been erected over the king's body in the cathedral."<sup>10</sup> After the ceremony, Edward III escorted the Valois king's body out of the city for two leagues, before entrusting it to Sir Nicholas Damory to bring to Dover. As a final mark of honour, the cortège stopped at Canterbury, where John's body was received in procession by the city's clergy and bourgeois (who John had favoured during his time in England) and led through the city streets to the cathedral where the bishop of Amiens led a service for the dead king.<sup>11</sup>

The respect with which Edward III treated the John II's body in death mirrored how he had treated the French king in life. It formed another aspect of Edward's strategy to use his honourable treatment of the Valois monarch as a means to promote Plantagenet power on the European stage. It also drew attention to the fact that ultimately Edward III controlled the body of the French king and that it was in his power alone to determine how John was treated. In Chap. 2 we saw how Edward III and the Black Prince put John on display in a series of festivities and ceremonies that were ostensibly held to honour the Valois monarch but were really designed to advertise the power of the English Crown. At times, the Plantagenet monarchy embedded a degree of humiliation within its honourable treatment of the French king. For example, while the Savoy Palace was widely regarded as one of the most beautiful buildings in England (and thus a worthy dwelling in which to lodge the Valois monarch), it was built from the profits of the duke of Lancaster's campaigns in France.<sup>12</sup>

John II and Edward III were engaged in a competition for honour, which, as Johan Huizinga has noted, was a form of rivalry marked by demonstrations of a superiority of manners and chivalric qualities.<sup>13</sup> While the competition between the two kings dated from the early 1350s, it was intensified by the conditions of the French monarch's captivity. For example, Edward's aptitude at using displays of magnanimity motivated John to respond with displays of remarkable largesse, most notably by gifting Saint Louis's own cup to the English king. Although Colette Beaune has



stated that (with the exception of Charles V) the Valois monarchy rarely evoked the memory of their saintly ancestor when promoting their own power, John II referred to his descent from Saint Louis during his time in captivity to highlight the superiority of his claim to the French throne.<sup>14</sup> It was important that John adopted this strategy because Edward III justified his right to the throne of France by stressing his descent from Saint Louis. For instance, when Edward claimed the French Crown at Ghent in 1340 he declared that he would restore to France (“the good laws and customs as they were in the time of our ancestor Saint Louis, king of France” “les bons loys et custumes, qui furent ou temps nostre ancestre progenitour Saint Lowys roy de Fraunce”).<sup>15</sup> Although Edward III contested John II’s right to the throne of France, there were few displays of hostility between the Valois monarch and his captors. While the Plantagenet monarch and his son, the Black Prince, placed the French king on display at tournaments and banquets in order to demonstrate their power to both foreign and domestic audiences, the treatment of their rival was markedly different to the manner in which some other European monarchs dealt with their captive opponents. In May 1358 (a month after Edward III feasted amicably with his Valois adversary at the Order of the Garter celebrations) Peter the Cruel had his half-brother and rival for the throne of Castile, Fadrique, slaughtered before him as he dined.<sup>16</sup>

Denied the opportunity to go to war, John poured his efforts into other ways of living nobly. As we saw in Chap. 3, John participated in activities such as hunting, feasting and public displays of charity, which were all targeted at emphasising his position. John reordered the space around him to make it suitable for a king of France and displayed the symbols of his royal status, such as the silk canopy and dais. These items interacted with the objects of esteem John placed in his chambers, including a mechanical clock, special types of furniture, works of art, and silverware, which he used as symbolic capital to convey an image of wealth, cultural sophistication and honour.<sup>17</sup> While historians have accused John II of squandering his kingdom’s money on luxuries while his subjects suffered, the French king’s competition with Edward III led him to forge a style of kingship in which splendour and display were paramount. In developing the concept of conspicuous consumption, Thorstein Veblen disapproved of the nineteenth-century American middle classes who used it for purposes of social climbing; yet, it was incumbent on medieval kings to spend as much as they could afford on displays of magnificence.<sup>18</sup> As Max Weber noted, a medieval ruler’s spending on luxury goods was never superfluous because

it was a necessary “means of self-assertion.”<sup>19</sup> While historians have praised French monarchs from Charles V to Louis XIV for their use of lavish displays of royal power, they have criticised John II for employing the same means. Yet showing extravagance was very important for John II because it was his principal means to assert his status in captivity (and unlike Charles V or Louis XIV, John had few military successes to celebrate).

According to Norbert Elias, court ceremony was a means for the monarch to curb the power of the nobility, while for Geoffrey Elton the court functioned as a mechanism for rulers to assert their cultural and political dominance over their subjects.<sup>20</sup> Although the growth of aulic history in the past two decades has overturned many of the views put forward by Elias and Elton, the focus of recent studies of the pre-modern court understandably remains on the relationship between the ruler and his nobles.<sup>21</sup> Yet John’s principal concern in England was not to utilize the court to establish his authority over the French nobility; rather, he employed political, cultural and economic activities to develop a courtly environment which he used as a means to uphold his status as the king of France against challenges from Edward III and the Black Prince. As historians such as Peter Arnade, Malcolm Vale and Gerard Nijsten have shown, the interaction between culture and politics was a key feature of late medieval courts. It was particularly important for John because the conditions of his captivity meant that ceremonies and other cultural activities became the principal means through which he exhibited his status.<sup>22</sup>

While John II’s activities in England were driven by his competition with Edward III for the French Crown, they also impacted on the character of English court culture.<sup>23</sup> As we saw, John’s captivity played an important role in reinvigorating tournament culture in England and encouraging the revival of Arthurian imagery. The ceremonies and festivities staged during John’s time in England provided him with a means to proclaim the cultural superiority of the Valois monarchy. For example, John promoted the spread of French court fashions at the very heart of his rival’s kingdom. Moreover, the French monarch’s presence in England helped to sustain the French character of the Plantagenet court. While historians have debated the extent to which French influences impacted on the late medieval English court, they have omitted John II from these discussions, focusing instead on his son, Charles V. Nigel Saul has demonstrated that many of Richard II’s developments in English court culture were influenced by practices at Charles V’s court, which were transmitted to England as a result of

the frequent diplomatic visits his nobles made to the Valois court.<sup>24</sup> Yet the four years, one month and six days John II spent in Plantagenet custody shaped the character of the English court decades before Richard II ascended to the throne. Overall, the Valois monarch's captivity played a significant role in the diffusion of French cultural influences and the evolution of international court culture in the fourteenth century.

Some historians have averred that the medieval royal court was simply a larger version of a noble household and was without the sacral qualities that would become apparent in the early modern court. For Ronald Asch, "the medieval court lacked the specific role of the early modern court as a platform for the cult of majesty. In the Middle Ages the king's household and entourage had only been a grander version of the households of his vassals."<sup>25</sup> Yet the image John presented in the mid-fourteenth century was specifically geared towards exhibiting the sacral qualities of the *rex christianissimus*. Moreover, the changes John made to the royal image in England impacted on the presentation of the sacral qualities of the monarchy in France. As soon as John returned to his kingdom, he went on pilgrimage to Boulogne, following which he undertook a slow progress through the north-east of his kingdom, making ceremonial entries into towns (typically occasions when the French king was received like Christ entering Jerusalem) and participating in noble activities such as jousting. During his entry into Paris on 12 December 1360, John had four knights carry a canopy above him ("et portoit l'en sur le Roy une paile d'or à IIII lances").<sup>26</sup> John's incorporation of this important symbol of sacral kingship into the event was highly significant because it was the first time that a canopy was carried above a king in a French royal entry ceremony.<sup>27</sup> In his classic study of sacral monarchy (*The King's Two Bodies*), Ernst Kantorowicz remarked that "the mysticism of French kingship ... reached its first growth in and after the times of Charles V."<sup>28</sup> Yet John II developed innovative ways to exhibit the sacral qualities of the Valois monarchy during his time in captivity.

Despite these innovations, historians regularly discount or ignore John's achievements and attribute the developments in the presentation of the royal image in fourteenth-century France to his son, Charles V. Writing of Charles V, Édouard Perroy stated that "no king since Philip the Fair had such a sense of the royal majesty."<sup>29</sup> Emmanuel Bourassin found that Charles V created a magnificent display of royal power by dressing in luxurious clothing, participating in ceremonies, possessing a keen interest in hunting, ensuring that women were present at his court, engaging

in lavish displays of gift giving and making good use of his past-times, while for Kenneth Fowler Charles V placed himself “amid a décor hitherto unsurpassed in its riches: in rooms hung with tapestries or wainscoted, lit by stained-glass windows and containing other rich furnishings, bric-à-brac and books.”<sup>30</sup> Yet John II had already employed all these strategies during his time in captivity and there was little new in Charles V’s actions.

Although Raymond Cazelles did not examine John the Good’s use of display, his contention that historians have falsely credited Charles V with many of his father’s achievements holds true when we examine the developments that were made to the presentation of the royal image in fourteenth-century France.<sup>31</sup> Charles V was not the innovator historians have made him out to be; rather, he adopted many of the strategies laid down by his father. Indeed, it is striking that all of John II’s sons (Philip, duke of Burgundy, John, duke of Berry, and Louis, duke of Anjou) were noted for their displays of magnificence, which they exhibited by means of luxurious clothing, gift giving, artistic patronage, display of silverware, book collecting and other cultural pursuits. While Richard Vaughan claimed that Philip the Bold had copied the politico-cultural achievements of his elder brother, Charles V, we should remember that Philip spent four years in captivity living in close contact with his father, during which time he witnessed first hand how John had successfully deployed these strategies to highlight his power and status.<sup>32</sup> Likewise, John’s third son, the duke of Berry, lived with his father during his final period of captivity in England, when the Valois monarch gave one of his most concentrated and impressive displays of French royal power. It is typically stated that Charles V’s apparent achievements in elevating the royal image were a consequence of his military and diplomatic victories over England. For example, Marie-Thérèse Caron finds that Charles V’s use of heightened royal display “was obviously symbolic of an order restored” (“était évidemment symbolique d’un ordre restauré”).<sup>33</sup> In fact, it was the crises of the 1350s rather than the triumphs of the 1370s which prompted the developments in the French royal image. For Jacques Le Goff, “being taken a prisoner was the worst misfortune that could befall a king.”<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, John’s innovation in the presentation of royal power sprung directly from the conditions of his captivity. While J. B. Henneman found that Poitiers was “a famous landmark in European military, political ..., diplomatic ..., fiscal and constitutional history”, it was perhaps in changes to the presentation of the royal image that Poitiers had its most enduring impact.<sup>35</sup>

## NOTES

1. For the hostages (including the duke of Anjou) who took John's place in captivity in 1360, see: Kosto, *Hostages in the Middle Ages*, 163–166.
2. Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. 6, 388; Ormrod, *Edward III*, 423.
3. Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. 6, 389–390.
4. Delachenal, *Chronique de Jean II*, vol. 1, 340.
5. Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. 6, 389–390. See also: Delachenal, *Chronique de Jean II*, vol. 1, 339–340; Martin, *Knighton's Chronicle*, 189; Bapst, *Testament*, 34.
6. Lettenhove, *Bourgeois de Valenciennes*, 316–317, 318; Martin, *Knighton's Chronicle*, 189.
7. Martin, *Knighton's Chronicle*, 189.
8. Tait, *Chronica Johannis de Reading*, 162–163; Scott-Stokes and Given-Wilson, *Chronicon Anonymi Cantuariensis*, 135; Galbraith, *Anonimalle Chronicle*, 50.
9. TNA E403/417, 19 April 1364; Giles, *Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense*, 172; Ellis, *Chronicle of John Hardyng*, 330; Galbraith, *Anonimalle Chronicle*, 50; Lemoine, *Chronique de Richard Lescot*, 244–245.
10. Newhall, *Chronicle of Jean de Venette*, 119–120.
11. TNA E101/29/8; TNA E403/417, 18 April 1364; Scott-Stokes and Given-Wilson, *Chronicon Anonymi Cantuariensis*, 135.
12. Martin, *Knighton's Chronicle*, 189; Minois, *Guerre de cent ans*, 150.
13. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 66–67.
14. Beaune, *Identity of France*, 116–117, 124–125. See also: Caron, *Noblesse et pouvoir*, 133.
15. Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. 18, 108. See also: Lachaud, “Teachings of Saint Louis”, 197–198, 204–205.
16. Linehan, “Castle, Navarre and Portugal”, 539, 641; Vale, “Civilising Process”, 23.
17. Grassby, “Material Culture”, 594–595.
18. Veblen, *Leisure Class*.
19. Weber, *Economy and Society*, vol. 3, p. 1106.
20. Elias, *Civilizing Process*; Elton, “Points of Contact”.
21. For an overview of the historiography of the court, see: Duindam, ‘Royal Courts’, 440–477 (esp. 442–446). Recent studies of the court have also considered how courtiers used ceremony and display to complete for position: Sternberg, *Louis XIV*.
22. Arnade, *Realms of Ritual*; Nijsten, *Shadow of Burgundy*; Vale, *Princely Court*.
23. The French noblewomen who associated with John in England (Isabella of Valois, Marie de St Pol and Jeanne de Bar) also played important roles in promoting French culture in England: Bennett, “Isabelle of France”, 224–224.

24. Saul, *Richard II*, 344, 45, 350–354, 357–358, 364–365. Historians have also debated the extent of Burgundian influence on the English court in the fifteenth century: Paravicini, “Court of the Dukes of Burgundy”, 94–96; Griffiths, “King’s Court”, 43–44; Armstrong, “Échange culturel”, 403–417; Starkey, “Old Blue Gown”, 1–28.
25. Asch “Court and Household”, 10.
26. Delachenal, *Chronique de Jean II*, 331.
27. This symbol of monarchy fell out of use in entries into Paris during the reigns of Charles V and Charles, before returning to welcome the Lancastrian king Henry VI in 1431 and remaining in use right through to the reign of Louis XIV: Wavrin, *Recueil des croniques*, vol. 4, 7; Apostolidès, *Roi-machine*, 17.
28. Kantorowicz, *King’s Two Bodies*, 218.
29. Perroy, *Hundred Years War*, 147.
30. Bourassin, *Cour de France*, 285–286; Flower, *Age of Plantagenet*, 184.
31. Cazelles, ‘Quel homme?’, 26.
32. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, 206.
33. Caron, *Noblesse et pouvoir royal*, 133.
34. Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 137–138.
35. Henneman, *Ransom and Captivity*, 1.

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# INDEX

## A

Africa, 52  
Albi, 81  
Amiens, 82, 97  
Arnoul d'Audrehem, marshal of  
    France, 34  
Arthurian imagery, 23, 24  
Artists, 17, 50, 56, 101  
Augustus, Philip, 11, 66n197  
Auxerre, count of, 14, 33, 58n33  
Aylesford Priory, 39

## B

Banking, 80, 81  
Banquets, 19, 24  
Beaucaire, 81  
Becket, Thomas, 7, 38, 60n63, 95  
Berkhamsted Castle, 8, 73  
Bermondsey Abbey, 41  
Béziers, 81  
Black Prince, 7, 11–19, 21, 35–9, 45,  
    47, 52, 95–7  
Books, 1, 3–6, 32, 54, 55, 58n31, 95,  
    101

Bordeaux, 6, 7, 13–15, 47, 80, 84  
Boston, 45, 77, 84, 85  
Boulogne-sur-Mer, 59n58, 100  
Brabant, duke of, 21, 22, 28n84  
Brétigny, treaty of, 35, 36, 45, 56n2  
Bruges, 35, 78, 80, 81, 92n102  
Buigne, Gace de la, 30–2, 69, 73, 74

## C

Calais, 8, 8n22, 16, 23, 31, 35, 74  
Canterbury  
    cathedral, 38  
    town, 7  
Carcassonne, 81  
Ceremonial entries, 11, 15, 16, 19, 100  
Chandos, Sir John, 13, 16, 20, 21, 33  
Charles (of Navarre), 2, 54, 82, 83,  
    93n113, 103n27  
Charles IV (Holy Roman Empire), 17  
Charles V  
    court of, 4  
    as dauphin, 2  
Chess, 52, 53  
Chivalry, 11, 25n13, 31

Clement VI, pope, 23, 80

Clergy

dominicans, 40–2

hermits, anchorites and recluses, 39,  
40

mendicants, 39–41, 43

religious orders, 40, 41

Clocks, 53, 54, 98

Clothing

belts, 48

cloth, 46, 47, 76, 96

colours, 46, 47

fashion, 44–8

fur, 46, 47, 78

*houppelande*, 47

jewels, 46

symbolism, 52, 53

tailor, 45, 47, 69, 74

Collecting, 30, 101

Crécy, battle of, 16, 23

**D**

Dartford, nunnery, 40, 41, 60n80

David II, king of Scots, 17, 20, 21,  
43, 68

tournaments, 20

De Bar, Jeanne, 34, 35, 76

De Bourbon, Jacques, count of  
Ponthieu, 34

De Bury, Adam, 46, 76, 83, 90n65

De Charny, Geoffroi, 31

De Collors, Denis, 5, 42, 71, 74

De Ferrières, Henri, lord of Gisors,  
34

De La Marche, Olivier, 52

De Marie, countess of Saint-Pol, 34,  
35, 70, 76, 101

De Melun, Jean, count of Tancarville,  
33, 34, 70

Dover, 7, 35, 37, 38, 95–7

Dramatic performances,

**E**

Edward I, 11, 22, 28n90

Edward II, 20, 21, 27n68, 34

Edward III

feasting, 11, 20, 30, 36, 38

gift giving, 29, 34–9

performances, 49

tournaments, 23

Edward of Woodstock, prince of  
Wales. *See* Black Prince

Eltham, 96

Ely, 72, 88n30

Estates

of Languedoc, 80, 81

of Languedoil, 2, 82

**F**

Food and feasting

drinking vessels, 36

spices, 51, 55, 75–8

venison, 35

Francis I, 1, 50

**G**

Gascony, 7, 11, 13, 15, 19, 24, 84

Gift giving, 29, 33–9, 101

**H**

Haildon Hill, battle of, 24, 91n77

Hardouin de Fontaines-Guérin,  
lord of Fontaines, 33,  
58n33

Henry III, 21, 27n60, 42

Henry of Grosmont, duke of  
Lancaster, 21, 69

Hertford Castle, 8, 32, 34, 70, 71,  
88n35

Horses, 15, 17, 18, 31, 35, 75,  
78, 97

## Household

- accounts, 1, 3, 5–7, 31, 33, 37, 39, 42, 68–71, 74, 80, 83, 84, 86, 89n39
- clerks, 72
- court fool, 69
- English staff, 67, 72
- maitre d'hôtel*, 5, 74
- ordinances, 4
- size of, 50, 54, 73
- staff, 43, 62n117, 67, 70, 73–7, 79, 84–6; dress, 44, 46–8; lodgings, 75; medical care, 75; wages, 43, 72
- structure of, 6, 67–9
- supply of, 14, 76–9
- transport of, 35

## Hunting

- diplomacy, 15, 33
- dogs, 31, 33
- falconer, 30, 31, 33
- hawks, 32
- manuals,
- social status, 31
- training in, 32

## I

- Innocent VI, pope, 72, 80
- Ivory, 52, 64n166

## J

- John, duke of Berry, 101
- John II
  - capture of, 18
  - ceremonial entries, 11, 15, 16, 19, 100
  - charitable spending, 37, 38
  - clothing, 48, 74, 75
  - communication, 17, 79
  - conditions of captivity, 4, 30, 44, 48, 56, 70, 101

- death of, 96, 97
- finances, 31
- gift giving, 34–9, 101
- ransom of, 12
- sacral character of, 39
- tournaments, 14, 19

Jousts, 20–2, 24

## L

- Laon, 82, 93n119
- Le Puy, 81
- Lighting, 5, 20, 68
- Lincoln, 41, 54, 72, 77, 78, 84, 85
- London
  - civic government, 18
  - foreign merchants, 19, 78
  - guilds, 16, 82
  - loans, 51, 77, 91n72
  - merchant and traders, 46, 76, 77
  - religious houses, 38, 41
  - St Paul's Cathedral, 38, 96
  - trade, 18, 19, 77, 85
  - vintners, 84
- London, treaties of, 8, 15–21, 33, 35–41, 43–6, 49, 51, 54, 55, 69–73, 75–8, 80–6, 96
- Louis, duke of Anjou, 1, 2, 8, 29, 36, 39–44, 49, 85, 95, 98, 101
- Louis IX, 27n60. *See also* Saint Louis
- Louis XIV, 4, 99, 103n27
- Louvre, palace of, 50, 54
- Low Countries, 4, 20, 21, 50

## M

Montpellier, 81

## N

- Narbonne, 81
- Nîmes, 22, 80, 81

Normandy, 23, 24, 38, 50, 77, 82,  
93n113  
Noyon, 78

**O**

Oaths, 36, 41  
Order of the Garter, 23, 27n71,  
59n55  
Order of the Star, 23, 28n81, 50  
Oriflamme, 13, 32  
Ospringe (Kent), hospital of, 41

**P**

Painting, 50, 64n151  
Paris, 40–2, 50, 51, 53, 54, 79, 100  
Philip IV, 8n21, 34, 41, 53, 65n181  
Philip of Valois, duke of Orléans, 72  
Philippa of Hainault, 34, 96  
Philip the Bold, 3, 50, 52, 65n170,  
95, 101  
Philip VI, 18, 23, 50  
Picard, Henry, 16, 18, 76, 77, 84  
Plymouth, 7, 15  
Poissy, 41  
Poitiers, battle of, 1, 2, 5, 7, 11–18,  
21, 31, 33, 37, 43, 47, 52, 55,  
56, 77, 79, 81, 86, 101  
Ponthieu, count of, 14, 34  
Poor, the, 37, 39, 41–4

**R**

Racine, Guillaume, 5  
Ransoms, 2, 12, 14, 18, 32, 51, 68,  
77, 78, 86, 91n72, 96  
Relics, 36, 41  
Residences  
  bed, 49  
  chambre, 49  
  decoration of, 50, 67  
  furniture, 50, 51, 55, 85, 98

windows, 49, 101  
*Richard II*, 63n128  
Roman triumphs, 17, 26n37  
Round Table, 23, 24, 27n53

**S**

Saint George, 21–3  
Saint Louis, 1, 29, 36, 37, 39–44, 49,  
85, 95, 97, 98. *See also* Louis IX  
Salisbury, 7, 15  
Savoy Palace, 8, 48, 49, 56n3, 71, 96,  
97  
Silverware, 51, 55, 68, 69, 77–80, 98,  
101  
Sittingbourne, 39  
Sluis, 78  
Somerton Castle, Lincolnshire, 8,  
9n27, 45, 71, 72

**T**

Toulouse, 81, 83  
Tournaments, 11, 14, 19–24, 32  
Towns, 7, 15, 17–20, 41, 67, 77,  
81–3, 85, 100

**V**

Vaudreuil Castle, Normandy, 50

**W**

Winchelsea, 42, 72  
Winchester, 7, 15, 18, 25n4  
Windsor, 3, 8, 15, 21, 22, 22n78, 23,  
35, 59n55  
Wine trade, 18, 19, 83–6, 94n136  
Women  
  ceremonies and festivities, 6, 11  
  commerce, 16  
  noblewomen, 14, 32, 34, 41  
  townswomen, 14