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Edited by Alessandro Arcangeli, Jörg Rogge and Hannu Salmi

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### Material Cultures Of Living

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# 3

## MATERIAL CULTURES OF LIVING

### Spatiality and everyday life<sup>i</sup>

*Jan Hirschbiegel and Gabriel Zeilinger*

#### **Trust and confidence as fundamental preconditions for the establishment of social spaces**

In any given moment of life, one proceeds into an unknown future. All efforts to persist in such a specific presence apply to care for further circumstances. Those precautions refer to diverse aspects, which undergo historical changes and are visible in varied institutions and instruments to secure survival not only of individuals but also of societies. Therefore, the human objective in general is to interact proactively and to thereby generate and ensure confidence and trust, because confidence and trust form a hypothesis for future behavior, yet strong enough to translate into practical actions.<sup>1</sup> The sociologist Niklas Luhmann pursued this notion of Georg Simmel and determines trust in the first instance as confidence in own expectations.<sup>2</sup> For that reason, it is in fact necessary to explain the world based on confidence as defined by the function to mediate between the unlimited complexity of future possibilities and the limited stock of past experiences. The fundamental aim is supposedly to be capable of acting in diverse present social environments.<sup>3</sup> To trust in distrust,<sup>4</sup> as the historian Ernst Schubert phrases, is one of the basic principles of human coexistence. The general objective in social relationships based on past experiences is to establish security in an ever-threatened present, because the present is burdened by a merely estimated and therefore incalculable option for the future.<sup>5</sup> Trust in its interpersonal variant can be described as intensified confidence.<sup>6</sup> It is a fundamental organizing principle of social exchange, always reciprocally geared,<sup>7</sup> indispensable as the basic element of social cohesion and therefore essential for communitization ('Vergemeinschaftung') and socialization ('Vergesellschaftung'),<sup>8</sup> especially in premodern face-to-face societies,<sup>9</sup> particularly visible in all forms of gift-giving. Finally, all institutions are built on trust often secured by (written) contracts.<sup>10</sup> After all, every form of communitization or socialization can be understood as a specific social context, defined by Martina Löw as a space socially constructed through human action.<sup>11</sup> This also applies to the contemporaries of the Middle Ages and their different sets of human experience and

behavior. Thereby, they left material and immaterial traces of interaction, which allow us to study how they tried to create and to understand their world. Therefore, we will present exemplarily two social spaces in the following – the noble court and the urban commune – by means of an interactive triangle of location, objects and actors, because space is a relational order and collocation of bodies and social goods, as Löw argues, generated by the synthesis and placing of these elements.<sup>12</sup> According to this concept, court and city are institutions which can be characterized as social spaces with different functions due to specific patterns of interaction and established by specific shapes of trust.<sup>13</sup> This will here be demonstrated by two exemplary samples: gift-giving at court, and the production of written documents in town-halls.

### **Fields of analysis: court and city**

#### ***Gift-giving at court: social networks as spaces of interaction decoded by their relicts***

When talking about gift-giving at court, the focus is commonly directed only to the material court culture and especially on those objects which were produced for representative and consumptive purposes of the court society.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, the non-material aspects of court culture have to be mentioned as well: behavioral patterns, gestures and rituals.<sup>15</sup> Many traditions clearly combine material and non-material aspects of court culture: a common court scene shows a prince in a chamber while receiving the honors of his noblemen, proved by numerous illustrations of dedicated manuscripts.<sup>16</sup> Also, gift-giving implied the mutual existence of material and non-material court culture. It always meant both the context and the action of giving – along with receiving from others, of course – and the object that was given away as a present.<sup>17</sup> This interplay between material and non-material forms of court culture can be ideally observed by the gift exchange on New Year's Day at the French courts around 1400.<sup>18</sup>

Not only in this context, princely courts have to be considered as space-creating<sup>19</sup> social systems consisting of personal relationships between interacting individuals.<sup>20</sup> Within the numerous different social relationships, the set of personal bilateral relationships between a prince and his courtiers is of particular importance. As these specific relationships were based on the exchange of obedience against favor,<sup>21</sup> they were at the core of the whole system and formed its functional kernel. These court-internal relationships between a prince and his courtiers had to be affirmed and reassured on a regular basis. Affirmation and reassurance were not only attained by committing to joint social actions such as festivities, ceremonies or rituals in the rhythms of daily life at court;<sup>22</sup> the visibility of this commitment in public was of high importance, too.<sup>23</sup>

Manuscripts as gauges of social relationships assume a particular role in this system,<sup>24</sup> because they are almost without any material value, but of important validity in the frames of inevitable courtly representation for the spaces and horizons of politics, knowledge and interests at court.<sup>25</sup> As well as other gifts, books were of great functional significance for the interacting participants of the gift-giving circles with respect to the representational, perceptual, experiential and therefore socializing perspectives of those whose presence at court was laid down by the customs and

ordinances in the late Middle Ages. The *Livre de la Paix* by Christine de Pizan (c. 1364–c. 1431), which the Duke of Berry received from the author in 1414,<sup>26</sup> was valued at only five *livres*,<sup>27</sup> whereas the Duke himself was once prepared to pay 200 *livres* for a collection of poems by the said Christine.<sup>28</sup> In contrast, the French translation by Laurent de Premierfait (c. 1350–1418)<sup>29</sup> of Boccaccio's<sup>30</sup> *De mulieribus claris*, a New Year's Day gift from Martin Gouge de Charpaignes (c. 1360–1444),<sup>31</sup> at this time Bishop of Chartres and the Duke's Chancellor, was valued at 100 *livres*.<sup>32</sup> The embellishments could well have played a decisive role here. For Boccaccio's work was 'bien enluminé, couvert de drap de damas noir' and fitted with two silver-gilt fastenings.<sup>33</sup> In Christine de Pizan's book the fastenings were made from brass.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, the limited capital value of the manuscripts raised their chances of survival exponentially. Contrary to countless objects created by the goldsmiths of the time, they could not be melted down and turned into money. After all, an ordinance of Charles VI (1368–1422), dating from 1416, determined that after the death of John of Berry in 1416 an 'assez grand quantité d'orfèvrerie d'or et d'argent' from his collection should be sold 'pour payer les soldats qui luttaient contre les Anglais'.<sup>35</sup>

Except for Christine de Pizan and the Patriarch of Alexandria,<sup>36</sup> partners in the exchange of manuscripts were nearly exclusively members of the Duke of Berry's court. With the exception of Philip the Bold (1342–1404),<sup>37</sup> who was Duke of Burgundy, and the King's brother, Louis I, Duke of Orleans (1372–1407),<sup>38</sup> it is the Duke of Berry who is recorded mostly as the receiver of gifts.

Philip received a Chronicle of France in 1396.<sup>39</sup> The gift-giver was Gilles Malet (d. 1411), 'garde de la librairie' in the Royal Palace from 1369, thus virtually the founder of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.<sup>40</sup> The first inventory of the royal book collection in the year 1373 also comes from Malet.<sup>41</sup> In return, Gilles Malet had received silver cutlery worth a significant sum of 200 *livres*<sup>42</sup> from Philip. Furthermore, Gilles Malet was involved in other ways in the courtly giving of gifts. In 1402 it was the trader and moneylender Dino Raponi (before 1350–c. 1414),<sup>43</sup> an Italian merchant, who presented the Duke of Burgundy with a manuscript. It was Livy's *Ab urbe condita*. Raponi came from Lucca and was the manager of the commercial and financial affairs of the 'Societe des Raponde', whose business activities embraced especially Bruges, Paris, Avignon and Venice.<sup>44</sup> In return for this manuscript gift, Philip made a present to Dino of 500 *livres*.<sup>45</sup> Giacomo, brother of Dino, honored the Duke of Burgundy with a copy of Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris*.<sup>46</sup> In return Philip spent Giacomo a gift of 300 *livres*.<sup>47</sup>

Louis of Orleans received a gift in 1400 which is only described as a 'grant livre en latin', but it was obviously of great material value, as the fastenings were made of gold and the front cover was decorated with a coat of arms in enamel.<sup>48</sup> The donor was Amaury d'Orgemont (d. 1400), a prominent royal councilor, chancellor to the Duke and at that time the master of the royal Audits Office.<sup>49</sup> A further manuscript, which Louis received in 1402, was an edition, translated into French with the title *Archiloge Sophie*,<sup>50</sup> of parts of the so-called *Sophilogium*, a moralistic and scholarly compilation in which love of wisdom and knowledge as well as love of the theological virtues is recommended.<sup>51</sup> The donor, author and translator was the erudite scholar Jacques Legrand (c. 1360–c. 1415), otherwise known as Jakobus Magni, an Augustinian teacher at the University of Paris.<sup>52</sup>

The *Chronique de France* and Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris*, but even more so the work by Livy or the 'grant livre en latin', reveal the early humanistic cultural interests of this period and make clear the role and significance of the courts as open-minded centers for the transmission of knowledge.<sup>53</sup> The heads of the courts also played an active part with respect to the transfer of scientific knowledge by the court and the transmission of cultural awareness. For instance, there is a translation of Boccaccio's work now preserved in the library at Wolfenbüttel,<sup>54</sup> and the dedication by Laurent de Premierfait to the Duke of Berry suggests that the Duke has assisted him in the translation of this work.<sup>55</sup>

Another example is Simon Aligret, the personal physician of the Duke of Berry. He was one of those who most frequently gave gifts to the Duke.<sup>56</sup> From him Berry received, rather appropriately, a 'livre d'Abvinscene',<sup>57</sup> a 'livre de Medicine, appelé Galien',<sup>58</sup> another 'livre de medicine, qui traicte de la vertu des herbes et des bestes'<sup>59</sup> and for his spiritual well-being a Book of Psalms.<sup>60</sup> We may assume that Berry and Aligret shared an interest in medical themes.

Top-ranking clerics took also place in the circles of the exchange of manuscripts as gifts around the Duke of Berry. Gérard du Puy, Bishop of Saint Flour (d. 1420),<sup>61</sup> gave the Duke an edition of the *Orationes sive Meditationes*<sup>62</sup> of Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109). In 1406 he had already honored the Duke with a small manuscript with the title *Lamentations de la mort du roy Charlemaigne*,<sup>63</sup> by Aymeric de Peyrac (c. 1340–1406), the Abbot of St-Pierre de Moissac.<sup>64</sup> From Martin Gouge de Charpaigne (c. 1360–1444),<sup>65</sup> Bishop of Chartres and the Duke's Chancellor, who was later to become Chancellor of France, Berry received an edition of Terence's comedies<sup>66</sup> in 1408 as well as the expensively produced translation of Boccaccio<sup>67</sup> in 1411. Another clerical participant was Guillaume de Boisratier (1365–1421), who occupied the posts of master of the court, councilor and – as Martin Gouge's successor – chancellor to the Duke. In 1409 he became archbishop of Bourges, and later, like Gouge, one of the councilors of Charles VII.<sup>68</sup> In 1404 Berry received the *Livre de Sidrac*<sup>69</sup> from Boisratier, an encyclopedic work which brought together knowledge of religious, ethical, medical and scientific nature.<sup>70</sup> Earlier, in 1403, Boisratier had given him a 'tres bel Pontiffical'<sup>71</sup> and in 1405 he presented Berry with a 'mappamonde de toute la Terre sainte'.<sup>72</sup> At least Pierre Trousseau, a canon of the cathedral of Bourges,<sup>73</sup> gave to the Duke a manuscript of the *Epitres saint Pol*.<sup>74</sup>

Also the Secretaries of the Duke of Berry, Erard Moriset, Jean de Cande, Michelle Beuf and Pierre de Gynes, appeared as donors.<sup>75</sup> They gave him the *Livre des Propriétés des choses*.<sup>76</sup> Guillaume Beaumaître, the Duke's almoner,<sup>77</sup> gave the Duke a missal,<sup>78</sup> and Gieffroi Robin the *Trésor de Sapience*<sup>79</sup> by Jean Gerson.<sup>80</sup>

The New Year's Days of 1410, 1413 and 1414 were the occasions on which Christine de Pizan emerged as a giver of gifts. In 1410 Berry received a Book of Psalms<sup>81</sup> from Christine, in 1413 the *Livre des Faiz d'armes et de chevalerie*<sup>82</sup> and in 1414 the *Livre de la paix*.<sup>83</sup> In 1405 the Duke had received the *Faiz et bonnes meurs du saige Roy Charles* from her.<sup>84</sup> Philip the Bold had apparently also received the *Livre de la mutation de fortune* from Christine for New Year's Day in 1404;<sup>85</sup> she mentions this in her book on King Charles V of France.<sup>86</sup>

Only the Dukes of Burgundy appear as representatives of other courts as donors of manuscripts to the Duke of Berry. Philip the Bold had made a gift of a copy of

Anglicus' 'De proprietatibus rerum' in 1402,<sup>87</sup> quoted in a Burgundian record of accounts, with the value of the manuscript given as 400 *ecus d'or*.<sup>88</sup> John the Fearless made a gift to Berry in 1413 of the *Livre des Merveilles*, a French translation of the travel account of Marco Polo.<sup>89</sup> The Duke reciprocated the Fearless's gift with another a few months later, giving him the French translation of the *Speculum historiale*, translated as *Mirouer historical*, from the four-part work by Vincent de Beauvais (before 1200–64) entitled *Speculum quadruplex*.<sup>90</sup> This was one of the first encyclopedic works dating from the thirteenth century, which gives an overview of the state of theology and philosophy of the time.<sup>91</sup>

As pointed out, manuscripts were an ideal medium of representation at court that could express the contemporary and enduring significance of princely largesse, specialist knowledge and patronage. Furthermore, the manuscripts given as gifts in the years around 1400 and their contents are related to current events and highlight a specific discursive space of learned and artistic communication and interaction among those partaking.<sup>92</sup> Accordingly, Paris was, around 1400, a literary, artistic and intellectual center,<sup>93</sup> influenced by early humanists like Jean de Montreuil, the Col brothers and Nicolas de Clamanges (c. 1362–1437), theologians such as Jean Gerson, Pierre d'Ailly (c. 1350–1420) and Jacques Legrand, and erudite translators like Laurent de Premierfait. Paris was the arena of the first literary debate about a vernacular text, the *Roman de la Rose*,<sup>94</sup> and courtly society engaged in it through Christine de Pizan.<sup>95</sup> The manuscripts given as gifts testify a vivid and active participation in the theological, political, cultural, scientific and artistic interests and debates of the time. They reveal an open, wide-reaching and manifold network of relationships (which, naturally, can only be outlined here) comprising the political and artistic elite of the time, a space of communication, that was certainly not only limited to the partners in the exchange of gifts.

As documented by the empirical indications, the theoretically stated efforts are due to confirm persisting social relations. In the given frame this attitude is nothing other than the attempt to generate trust. Moreover, the observation of gift-giving at court reveals that hierarchical structures could be burst: Guy de La Trémoille appears in the exclusive circle of gift-giving dominated by the princes as one of the few non-princely persons, therefore marked as one of the closest confidants of the Burgundian duke.<sup>96</sup> As demonstrated, the space-building function of the interaction of humans in this social system with its confidence-building implications could be clearly carved out in its material and non-material aspects, which constitutes a suitable methodological approach for the examination and interpretation of all fields of communication and interaction.

### ***Written documents in town-halls: materialized expression of immaterial interaction***

Most European towns in the Middle Ages were not 'founded' on 'greenfield' sites. The formation and further development of towns usually took place at locations with some pre-existing central functions for the surroundings – be it economic, religious, administrative, legal or others.<sup>97</sup> A surplus of such services is one possible definition for urban settlements in general and had a particular material and cultural



manifestation in the urban practices of writing and preserving of records – as we shall outline in the following.

Most European towns of the High and Late Middle Ages also reveal – not solely in their early development toward urbanity – a distinct seigneurial character. It is striking that in many places of eventually developed towns there were several lords with substantiated rights and consistent representations on site. Thus, the importance of ‘mediators between lordship and commune’,<sup>98</sup> i.e. among others sheriffs, judges and city councilmen, for the formation and development of urban settlements and their communes can hardly be overstated. Several and occasionally even competing lords in one place sometimes but not automatically meant more agency and thereby more liberty for these mediators and/or the communes that were no monolithic blocs in themselves. This is impressively shown not least by the pervasive intra-urban power struggles in medieval Europe. Also, the communicative, political or even familial networks of seigneurial representatives and early urban elites have to be taken into account. These aspects figure as one important basis for (the need for) urban interaction, its increasing scriptualization and filing.<sup>99</sup>

Another one is of a spatial nature: local communes mostly had two starting points and continuous reference points for their communalization and their public life: the parish church and churchyard as well as the common land and their power of control over it. Many of the early written documents of active communal actions refer to at least one of these two places, notably regarding the cooperative appropriation (especially of the churchyard) and the cooperatively transacted disposal (especially of the commons). While particularly the earliest of such transactions can hardly be perceived as entirely cooperative operations of equals, communities, confraternities, guilds and the neighborhood of people adhering to different jurisdictions, yet belonging to the same parish, have to be interpreted as fundaments of the commune. The interactions between lordships and evolving communes (and the written records thereof) show that the processes of negotiation and their scriptualization are often essentially richer in content for an understanding of a settlement’s development toward urbanity than the mere central-space factors comprised in such documents. Hence, the processes of communication – with their chronological sequence, their spatial transitions and their changing forms and subjects of negotiation – can, at least in some respects, portray and explain the process of medieval urbanization more comprehensively than the albeit indispensable question of central spaces alone.<sup>100</sup>

The cultural, social and political logic of scribality, notably the preceding interaction for and the production of written documents in town-halls and their use,<sup>101</sup> reveals both a specific urban space of communication<sup>102</sup> and the contractual protection of trust which is essential for the future existence of urban communities. The town-hall itself – not least as a building – is the emblem of the urban commune both within the city walls as well as for the perception from the outside (relations to the hinterland).<sup>103</sup> The culture of writing and of preserving the written documents – formerly situated at court<sup>104</sup> and in ecclesiastical institutions<sup>105</sup> – was subsequently taken over by urban elites<sup>106</sup> with the arising town-halls serving as localities for magistrates or, for instance, municipal courts. This process not only included the development of municipal institutions but in turn increased the amenity of cities in the eyes of the contemporaries.<sup>107</sup> When, in the High Middle Ages, parish localities or mercantile

parlors had often served as places for congregation of the magistrates, separate buildings were later on re-dedicated or newly erected to function as town-halls in the following centuries – often in splendid style and in ensembles with other communal buildings (parish churches, market- and guildhalls) on the (central) marketplace.<sup>108</sup> These ensembles were in a way the showcases of cities where everyday life took place, but also where assemblies or festivities (even tournaments) were held – ‘the city as theatre’.<sup>109</sup>

Scribality also meant ‘order’ in a wider sense, i.e. trust protected by contracts, as the function of magistrates as notaries public even for the extra-mural vicinity indicates: in thirteenth-century Alsace, countrymen and -women would stream into even the (relatively young) small- or medium-sized towns to have their wills or other business certified and enshrined.<sup>110</sup> In effect, written documents by urban institutions represent the materialization of (partially) immaterial interaction – which again could take place around objects such as the magistrate’s bench or the clerks’ desks.<sup>111</sup> The way from intent to interaction to inscription can be followed literally and topographically in many town-halls preserved in their late medieval/early modern form, exceptionally so in the Northern German city of Lüneburg.<sup>112</sup> From entering the segmented complex to ascending the winding staircases to approaching the inner hall and its magistrate’s bench – to interact or be judged by the council or to see the scribe in order to get matters taken care of by the official scribe – any actor (rich or poor) was all the way confronted with emblems and insignia of the city as well of the Empire and Duchy. Thus, there was no way around the political representation and manifestation of the urban elites even in everyday dealings.<sup>113</sup>

In consideration of the above-mentioned fact that premodern cities were mostly not autonomous entities, because most of them adhered to particular sovereignties, interrelated interaction in these towns between the authority and/or the urban elites obeyed an explicitly or implicitly expressed specific logic.<sup>114</sup> This can be observed at its best in the example of the so-called ‘Residenzstädte’,<sup>115</sup> a unique phenomenon of the premodern Holy Roman Empire.<sup>116</sup> Nevertheless, the research on ‘urbanism as a network of integrative and competing relationships between seigneurial rulership and civic community’ by focusing on residential cities in the Holy Roman Empire is quite a recent topic in historical sciences.<sup>117</sup>

In these cities, specific conditions, shapes and processes of mediation and negotiation can be observed that are reflected by various records of courtly, ecclesiastical and communal origins.<sup>118</sup> In contrast, the so-called ‘Stadtbuch’ – *liber civitatis* or *Statpuech* – offers a specifically urban form of documentation<sup>119</sup> with the general function of establishing legal certainty. Since the thirteenth century, ‘Stadtbücher’ had been emerging as collections of legally binding documents with various contents of different functions, in the beginning as mixed compilations, later as thematically independent volumes:<sup>120</sup> collections of privileges served to protect urban communities against the claims of different rulers and statute books combined specific urban laws. While so-called ‘Gerichtsbücher’ collocated transcripts or sentences and some books examined urban tax collection or important urban services, other books listed transactions of the citizens among themselves (business dealings or testaments) or assembled the official correspondence.<sup>121</sup> Notably in the last two categories, we even find townspeople not usually practicing scribality in everyday life themselves – not least



the economically weaker or even marginalized social groups who still might seek the benefit of public record for their meagre wills, rents or purchases.<sup>122</sup> Therefore ‘Stadtbücher’ are a future-oriented hedge and a contractual protection of trust in one of its purest forms. They not only visualize intra- and extra-urban communication and interaction, but also former urban self-conception as a central point of reference for intra-urban social relations.<sup>123</sup>

All spaces of courtly and urban communication and interaction – be it social spheres or actual buildings – were established by different representatives of authority, in particular the nobility, the clergy, the urban council or the guilds’ leaders; they were also sustained by and connected with these and even more urban groups, thereby configuring the spatial and social frame for everyday life.<sup>124</sup>

### Notes

- 1 We thank Lisa Leiber, Kiel, for support in preparing the English text. Abbreviations: ACO, Archives départementales de la Côte-d’Or, Dijon; AN, Archives nationales, Paris; BNF, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; ms.fr., manuscrits français; ms.lat., manuscrits latins; n.a.fr., nouvelles acquisitions françaises.
- 1 G. Simmel, *Soziologie. Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung*, Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1908, 393. Simmel interprets trust in particular as a kind of creditworthiness, cf. B. Accarino, ‘Vertrauen und Versprechen. Kredit, Öffentlichkeit und individuelle Entscheidung bei Simmel’, in H.J. Dahme, O. Rannstedt (eds), *Georg Simmel und die Moderne*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1984, 115–46; M. Endreß, *Vertrauen*, Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2002, 12–16; C. Muldrew, ‘Zur Anthropologie des Kapitalismus. Kredit, Vertrauen, Tausch und die Geschichte des Marktes in England 1500–1750’, *Historische Anthropologie* 6, 1998, 67–199.
- 2 Cf. N. Luhmann, *Vertrauen. Ein Mechanismus zur Reduktion sozialer Komplexität*, Stuttgart: Lucius und Lucius, 2000, 1. Therefore, Luhmann differentiates trust [‘Vertrauen’] from confidence [‘Zuversicht’] as a preliminary decision to trust somebody, cf. C. Mencke, *Vertrauen in sozialen Systemen und in der Unternehmensberatung. Eine Grundlagenanalyse und Hinweise für eine vertrauenssensible Beratungspraxis am Beispiel größerer mittelständischer Unternehmen*, Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitätsverlag, 2005, 133seq.; J.P. Reemtsma, *Vertrauen und Gewalt. Versuch über eine besondere Konstellation der Moderne*, Hamburg: Hamburger Ed., 2008, 37–9.
- 3 Cf. Luhmann, *Vertrauen*, esp. 13seq., 27–38; essential as well is N. Luhmann, *Soziale Systeme. Grundriß einer allgemeinen Theorie*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991, 179–82; critical is H. Bleumer, ‘Das Vertrauen und die Vertraute. Aspekte der Emotionalisierung von gesellschaftlichen Bindungen im höfischen Roman’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 39, 2005, 253–70, esp. 254–6 with notes 3–6, cf. Reemtsma, ‘Vertrauen’, 30seq., 37. Cf. M. Endreß, ‘Vertrauen und Vertrautheit – Phänomenologisch-anthropologische Grundlegung’, in M. Hartmann, C. Offe (eds), *Vertrauen. Grundlage Die Grundlage des sozialen Zusammenhalts*, Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verl., 2001, 161–203. Regarding the functionality of trust in Luhmann’s approach see M. Schweer, B. Thies, *Vertrauen als Organisationsprinzip. Perspektiven für komplexe soziale Systeme*, Bern: Huber, 2003, 12seq.
- 4 E. Schubert, *Alltag im Mittelalter. Natürliches Lebensumfeld und menschliches Miteinander*, Darmstadt: Primus-Verl., 2002, 202–11, cit. 211.

- 5 See e.g. M. Müller, *Besiegelte Freundschaft Die brandenburgischen Erbeinungen und Erbverbrüderungen im späten Mittelalter*, Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2010, 192seq. for a discussion of the phenomenon of calculated trust.
- 6 ‘Nahvertrauen’, see Reemtsma, *Vertrauen*, 35. Cf. the corresponding sociological concept of very close communication in familiar social environments named ‘Nahweltkommunikation’, N. Luhmann, *Liebe als Passion. Zur Codierung von Intimität*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1982, 157. A confidant could not be a stranger, cf. also R. Schnell, ‘Kommunikation unter Freunden vs. Kommunikation mit Fremden. Eine Studie zum Privaten und Öffentlichen im Mittelalter’, in G. Krieger (ed.), *Verwandtschaft, Freundschaft, Bruderschaft. Soziale Lebens- und Kommunikationsformen im Mittelalter*, Berlin: Akad.-Verl., 2009, 127–50, treating the stranger among others as a member of a table fellowship of familiar persons.
- 7 See for a fundamental study T. Ripperger, *Ökonomik des Vertrauens. Analyse eines Organisationsprinzips*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998, esp. 152–8, cf. A. Picot, R. Reichwald, R.T. Wigand, *Die grenzenlose Unternehmung. Information, Organisation und Management. Lehrbuch zur Unternehmensführung im Informationszeitalter*, Wiesbaden: Gabler, 2001, 123seq. An economical explanation of social exchange on the basis of a definition of court given by the concept of institutional economics is offered by U.C. Ewert, ‘Sozialer Tausch bei Hofe. Eine Skizze des Erklärungspotentials der Neuen Institutionenökonomik’, in R. Butz, J. Hirschbiegel, D. Willoweit (eds), *Hof und Theorie. Annäherungen an ein historisches Phänomen*, Köln: Böhlau, 2004, 55–75. The relations between social exchange and trust are explained by P.M. Blau, *Exchange and Power in Social Life*, New York: Wiley, 1964, 91–7; cf. Frank Hillebrandt, *Praktiken des Tauschens. Zur Soziologie symbolischer Formen der Reziprozität*, Wiesbaden: VS, 2009, 180–206. For more information on reciprocity see A.W. Gouldner, *Reziprozität und Autonomie. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1984, cf. M. Schenk, *Soziale Netzwerke und Kommunikation*, Tübingen: Mohr, 1984, 129seq. Such an understanding of alternating effective relations of trust is correlated to an interpretation of communication as a reciprocally determined process of sending and recognizing, cf. B. Stollberg-Rilinger, ‘Die Welt als Symboluniversum. Überlegungen zur symbolischen Kommunikation in Vormoderne und Moderne’, in G. Andenna (ed.), *Religiosità e civiltà. Le comunicazioni simboliche (secoli IX–XIII)*, Mailand: V&P, 2009, 23–46, here 26.
- 8 Cf. Reemtsma, *Vertrauen*, 32.
- 9 Cf. R. Schlögl, ‘Kommunikation und Vergesellschaftung unter Anwesenden. Formen des Sozialen und ihre Transformation in der Frühen Neuzeit’, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift für historische Sozialwissenschaft* 34,2, 2008, 155–224; R. Schlögl, ‘Vergesellschaftung unter Anwesenden. Zur kommunikativen Form des Politischen in der vormodernen Stadt’, in *ibid.* (ed.), *Interaktion und Herrschaft. Die Politik der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt*, Konstanz: UVK, 2004, 9–60.
- 10 Cf. U. Frevert, ‘Vertrauen in historischer Perspektive’, in R. Schmalz-Bruns, R. Zintl (eds), *Politisches Vertrauen. Soziale Grundlagen reflexiver Kooperation*, Baden-Baden: Nomos-Verl., 2002, 54seq.
- 11 Martina Löw, *Raumsoziologie*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2001.
- 12 *Ibid.*, e.g. 158. Cf. J. Hirschbiegel, G. Zeilinger, ‘Urban Space Divided? The Encounter of Civic and Courtly Spheres in Late-Medieval Towns’, in A. Classen (ed.), *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009, 481–503.
- 13 Hirschbiegel attempted to show this by investigating the relations established by trust between rulers and their main servants, J. Hirschbiegel, *Nahbeziehungen bei Hof – Manifestationen des Vertrauens. Karrieren in reichsfürstlichen Diensten am Ende des Mittelalters*, Köln: Böhlau, 2015.

- 14 Cf. U.C. Ewert, J. Hirschbiegel, 'Nur Verschwendung? Zur sozialen Funktion der demonstrativen Zurschaustellung höfischen Güterverbrauchs', in W. Paravicini (ed.), *Luxus und Integration. Materielle Hofkultur in Westeuropa, 1200–1800*, München: Oldenbourg, 2010, 105–21; U.C. Ewert, J. Hirschbiegel, 'Mehr als nur der schöne Schein: Zu einer Theorie der Funktion von Luxusgegenständen im zwischenhöfischen Gabentausch des späten Mittelalters', in M. Häberlein, C. Jeggle (eds), *Materielle Grundlagen der Diplomatie. Schenken, Sammeln und Verhandeln in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Konstanz: UVK-Verlag, 2013, 33–58.
- 15 See e.g. J. Hirschbiegel, 'Hof. Zur Überzeitlichkeit eines zeitgebundenen Phänomens', in B. Jacobs, R. Rollinger (eds), *Der Achämenidenhof. The Achaemenid Court*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010, 13–37. Instead of quoting specific references see in particular the corresponding articles given in the handbook W. Paravicini, J. Hirschbiegel, J. Wettlaufer (eds), *Höfe und Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich. Hof und Schrift*, Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2007.
- 16 Cf. E. Benesch, *Dedikations- und Präsentationsminiaturen in der Pariser Buchmalerei vom späten dreizehnten bis zum frühen fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, University of Wien: unpublished dissertation manuscript, 1987; C. Stroo, *De celebratie van de macht: Presentatieminiaturen en aanverwante voorstellingen in handschriften van Filips de Goede (1419–1467) en Karel de Stoute (1467–1477)*, Brussels: De celebratie van de macht, 2002.
- 17 A theoretical approach is given by J. Hirschbiegel, *Étrennes. Untersuchungen zum höfischen Geschenkverkehr im spätmittelalterlichen Frankreich der Zeit König Karls VI. (1380–1422)*, München: Oldenburg, 2003, 123–31.
- 18 Hirschbiegel, *Étrennes*. Primarily records have been analyzed, in the first place financial accounts and inventories; see 70–110. The material forms are especially visible in valuable courtly gifts: precious stones, goldsmiths works, jewelries, tapestries, gold- and silverware, manuscripts – all these were very exclusive and visible gifts that were used for deeply impressing the public court and were usually circulating within the higher positions of the social hierarchy only. Those gifts were for instance a *bel et gros balay longuet* up to 18,000 *livres*, received by John, Duke of Berry, from Charles VI as a New Year's gift for the years 1402, 1403 and 1404, 446, no. 1292. The year before, in 1401, the king himself gave a *coffre* up to 4,000 *livres* to Berry, 420, no. 1071. In 1388 John of Berry received from Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, a splendid clip up to 5,500 *livres*, 341, no. 268, in 1389 *un grant tableau de la Trinité, garny de plusieurs gros balais, gros saphirs et plusieurs grosses perles* up to 6,000 *livres*, 347, no. 311, and again in 1399 a golden cross, which was up to 7,400 *livres*, 414, no. 1009. The duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy also used the common gift-exchange ceremonies on New Year's Day in 1403 for acquiring a tableship up to 12,000 *livres* for himself, 443, no. 1275. Numerous other examples could be given.
- 19 In the sense of Löw, *Raumsoziologie*. Cf. W. Paravicini, 'Höfischer Raum', in G. Melville, M. Staub (eds), *Enzyklopädie des Mittelalters*, vol. 2, Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges., 2008, 285–92.
- 20 Cf. J. Hirschbiegel, 'Der Hof als soziales System. Das Angebot der Systemtheorie nach Niklas Luhmann für eine Theorie des Hofes', in R. Butz, J. Hirschbiegel, D. Willoweit (eds), *Hof und Theorie. Annäherung an ein historisches Phänomen*, Köln: Böhlau, 2004, 43–54; J. Hirschbiegel, 'Gabentausch als soziales System? Einige theoretische Überlegungen', in U.C. Ewert, S. Selzer (eds), *Ordnungsformen des Hofes. Ergebnisse eines Forschungskolloquiums der Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes, Kiel: Residenzen-Komm. der Akad. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1997, 44–55; J. Hirschbiegel, 'Zeichen der Gunst. Neujahrsbeschenke am burgundischen Hof der Zeit König Karls VI. von Frankreich (1380–1422)', in S. Selzer, U.C. Ewert (eds), *Menschenbilder – Menschenbildner. Individuum und Gruppe im Blick des Historikers*, Berlin: Akad. Verl., 2002, 213–40; Hirschbiegel,

- Étrennes*, 111–20; J. Hirschbiegel, ‘Zur theoretischen Konstruktion der Figur des Günstlings’, in J. Hirschbiegel, W. Paravicini (eds), *Der Fall des Günstlings. Hofparteien in Europa vom 13. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*, Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2004, 23–39.
- 21 Hirschbiegel, ‘Zeichen der Gunst’, 227seq.; Hirschbiegel, ‘Konstruktion’, 32–4; Ewert, ‘Sozialer Tausch’, 57seq. and 60.
- 22 By the term ‘public’ the set of all actors who were relevant to the social system is circumscribed. Public communication usually was not only a verbal discourse; it was mainly done by the representation and the exhibition of objects. Cf. W. Paravicini (ed.), *Alltag bei Hof*, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995, in particular the introduction given by Werner Paravicini, 9–30. Cf. A. Ranft, ‘Feste des deutschen Adels am Ausgang des Mittelalters, Form und Funktion’, in S. Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Il tempo libero. Economia e società (Loisirs, Leisure, Tiempo Libre, Freizeit) secc. XIII–XVIII*, Prato: Le Monnier, 1995, 245–56, here 252–6.
- 23 Cf. W. Paravicini, ‘Zeremoniell und Raum’, in W. Paravicini (ed.), *Zeremoniell und Raum*, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997, 11–36, here 15; U. Daniel, ‘Überlegungen zum höfischen Fest der Barockzeit’, *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 72, 2000, 45–66, here 49.
- 24 Cf. B. Buettner, ‘Past Presents: New Year’s Gifts at the Valois Court, ca. 1400’, *The Art Bulletin* 83, 2001, 598–624; J. Hirschbiegel, ‘Gift Exchange at the French Courts around 1400: Manuscripts as Gauges of Social Relations?’, in G. Müller-Oberhäuser (ed.), *Book Gifts and Cultural Networks from the 14th to the 16th Century: Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme. Schriftenreihe des Sonderforschungsbereichs 496*, 41, Münster: Rhema, 2019, 89–115.
- 25 See for instance the detailed indications given in the inventories of the treasure of the Duke John of Berry, J. Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry (1401–1416)*, vol. 1, Paris: Leroux, 1894–96, 223–71, 328–36.
- 26 A. Hiver de Beauvoir, *La librairie de Jean, duc de Berry, au château de Melun-sur-Yèvre, 1416, publiée en entier pour la première fois d’après les inventaires, avec des notes*, Paris: Aubry, 1860. AN KK 258, fol. 214r, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 1, 332, no. 1239. Cf. L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale. Étude sur la formation de ce dépôt comprenant les éléments d’une histoire de la calligraphie de la miniature, de la reliure, et du commerce des livres à Paris avant l’invention de l’imprimerie*, 3 vols., Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1868–81, 61; L. Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V, Roi de France, 1337–1380*, 2 vol., Paris: Champion, 1907, 269, no. 288. For the edition see W.C. Cannon (ed.), *Christine Pisan, Le Livre de la Paix. Of Christine de Pisan*, La Haye: Mouton, 1958.
- 27 J. Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, 332, no. 1239; Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, 193, no. 288.
- 28 AN KK 258, fol. 152v., *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 1, 252–3, no. 959, cf. cxliv.
- 29 For Laurent de Premierfait, see R.C. Famiglietti, ‘Laurent de Premierfait: The Career of a Humanist in Early Fifteenth Century Paris’, *Journal of Medieval History* 9, 1983, 25–42; C. Bozzolo (ed.), *Un traducteur et un humaniste de l’époque de Charles VI, Laurent de Premierfait*, Paris: Publ. de la Sorbonne, 2004.
- 30 AN KK 258, fol. 162v, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 1, 265, no. 993. Cf. J. Lebeuf, *Recueil du divers écrits pour servir d’éclaircissements à l’histoire de France, et de supplément à la notice de Gaules*, Paris: Babel, 1738, 259; L.C.D. d’Arcq, ‘Notice sur la bibliothèque de Jean, duc de Berry, en 1416’, *Revue Archéologique* 7, 1850, 152seq., no. 21; Delisle, *Recherches*, 256, no. 208. See also G. Di Stefano, *Decameron: Traduction (1411–1414) de Laurent de Premierfait*, Montreal: CERES, 1999; P.M. Gathercole (ed.), *Laurent de Premierfait’s ‘Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes’*, Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1968; A.D. Hedeman, *Translating the Past: Laurent de Premierfait and Boccaccio’s ‘De casibus’*, Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008. See also no. 46.

- 31 For Martin Gouge see A. Hiver de Beauvoir, 'Les Hommes d'État du Berry depuis le Duc Jean jusqu'à Henry IV', in Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest (ed.), *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre* 2, Bourges: Imprimeur de la Société des Antiquaires, 1868, 267–89.
- 32 Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, 187, no. 208.
- 33 See above n. 30.
- 34 See above n. 26.
- 35 BNF ms.fr. 6747 (Comptes du duc de Berry, fols 25r–34v: Compte de Lomer le Bez, 1418 [List of purchases 'pour le fait de nostre guerre [...] et non pour autre cause']; for the ordinance of November 24, 1417 see esp. fols 31r–34v), *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 2, 339–44, cf. esp. vol. 1, XIII.
- 36 For Hugues de Robertis or rather Ugo Roberti, Bishop of Adria 1386–92, Bishop of Padua 1392–6, Titular Patriarch of Jerusalem 1396–1409 and Titular Patriarch of Alexandria 1402–9, see E. Peverada, 'Ugo Roberti patriarca di Gerusalemme e un tentativo di riforma giustiniana dell'abbazia di S. Spirito di Caltanissetta', in F.G. Trolese (ed.), *Monastica et humanistica: Scritti in onore di Gregorio Penco O. S. B.*, 2 vols, Cesena: Badia di Santa Maria del Monte, 2003, here vol. 1, 227–44. Hugues de Robertis gave as a gift 'un bel messel, au commencement; duquel est le calendrier', BNF ms.lat. 17173, fol. 228, no. 10, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 2, 174, no. 145. Cf. Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 1, 176, no. 67; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 2, 233seq., no. 67. Cf. BNF n.a.fr. 1363, no. 145.
- 37 For Philipp, see R. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State*, Cambridge, MA et al.: Harvard Univ. Press 1962; Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2002.
- 38 For Louis, see E. Jarry, *La vie politique de Louis de France, duc d'Orléans 1372–1407*, Genève: Slatkine-Megariotis Repr., 1976.
- 39 This may well be the Inventory of Margarete of Flanders of 1405, recorded as a Chronicle, ACOB 302, fols 34, 35, see W.P.M. de Winter, *La bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1364–1404): Étude sur les manuscrits à peintures d'une collection princière à l'époque du 'style gothique international'*, Paris: Ed. du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1985, 166seq., no. 175, 171, no. 196. This may well be the same work as the *Inventaire des livres Roumans de feu Monseigneur Philippe le Hardi, que maistre Richart Conte, son barbier, a euz en garde à Paris 1404*, see J. Barrois, *Bibliothèque prototypographique, ou Librairies des fils du roi Jean, Charles V, Jean de Beni, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens*, Paris: Treuttel & Würtz, 1830, 105, no. 605, recorded as a Chronicle, cf. ACO B 301, fol. 36, cf. Winter, *Bibliothèque*, 130, no. 33. Of the many research reports on the book collections of the Dukes of Burgundy, esp., Philip the Bold, one should particularly consult M.J. Hughes, 'The Library of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders, First Valois Duke and Duchess of Burgundy', *Journal of Medieval History* 4, 1978, 145–88. There is also information about Gilles Malet's gift, esp. 168seq., no. 10, 185, no. 5. Cf. G. Doutrepoint (ed.), *Inventaire de 'Librairie' de Philippe le Bon (1420)*, Bruxelles: Kiessling, 1906, 37seq., no. 75, as well as G. Peignot, *Catalogue d'une partie des livres composant la bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne, au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Dijon: Lagier, 1841, 41seq., 73, 75. Winter, *Bibliothèque*, 59, 167, which is, in my opinion, wrongly dated to 1397.
- 40 For Gilles Malet, see J.B. de Vaivre, 'Monuments et objets d'art commandés par Gilles Malet, garde de la librairie de Charles VI', *Journal des Savants* 4.4, 1978, 217–39; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 1, 10–20.
- 41 G. Malet, *Inventaire ou catalogue des livres de l'ancienne Bibliothèque de Louvre fait en l'année 1373*, ed. by Joseph van Praet, Paris: Chez de Bure Frères, 1836; cf. Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 1, 23–5, 337–64, 387seq.
- 42 ACO B 1508, fol.109r; BNF Coll. de Bourgogne, vol. LIII, fol.166. Cf. E. Petit (ed.), *Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur, ducs de Bourgogne (1363–1419): D'après les comptes de dépenses de leur Hôtel*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1888, 553.



- 43 For Dino Rapondi, see V. Fris, 'Dino Rapondi', in A. Van Hasselt (ed.), *Biographie Nationale: Vie des hommes et des femmes illustres de la Belgique, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours XVIII*, Bruxelles: Jamar, 1905, 735–9.
- 44 See B. Lambert, M. Bonne, *The City, the Duke and Their Banker: The Rapondi Family and the Formation of the Burgundian State (1384–1430)*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2006. Cf. L. Mirot, *Études luquoises*, Paris: Daupeley-Gouverneur in Nogent-le-Rotrou, 1930, 79–86.
- 45 Hughes, 'Library', 169, no. 12, 181, no. 6.
- 46 Ibid., no. 13, 181, no. 8. Cf. B. Buettner, *Boccaccio's 'Des cleres et nobles femmes': Systems of Signification in an Illuminated Manuscript*, Seattle, WA: College Art Ass., 1996, 7–15.
- 47 Hughes, 'Library', 169, no. 13, 181, no. 8.
- 48 L.E.S.J. de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne: Études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et plus particulièrement dans les Pays-Bas et le Duché de Bourgogne*, Paris: Plon, 1849–51, 201seq., no. 5946.
- 49 For Arnaury d'Orgemont see F.A.A. de La Chenaye des Bois, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse, contenant les généalogiques, l'histoire et la chronologie des familles nobles de France*, 15 vols, Paris: Kraus, 1770–86, here vol. 2, 92; J.B. Hennemann, 'Who Were the Marmoussets?', *Medieval Prosopography* 5, 1984, 19–63, esp. 60seq. See also L. Mirot, *Les d'Orgemont: Leur origine, leur fortune, le boiteux d'Orgemont*, Paris: Champion, 1912.
- 50 J.H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry the Fourth*, 2 vols, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1884–98, vol. 2, 66, n. 1. Cf. A.P. Paris, *Les manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque de roi, leur l'histoire et celle des textes allemands, anglois, hollandois, italiens, espagnols de la même collection*, 7 vols, Paris: Imprimerie de Bethune et Plon, 1836–47, vol. 1, 284. Extant in four copies, including BNF ms.fr. 143. Cf. Paris, *Manuscrits*, vol. 1, 284.
- 51 For information on this edition see J. Legrand, *Archiloge Sophie*, ed. Evenico Beltran, Genève: Slatkine, 1986.
- 52 For Jacques Legrand, see S. Lefevre, 'Jacques Le grand', in G. Greme (ed.), *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le Moyen Age*, Paris: Fayard, 1996, 773seq.; R.E. Rahner, '19. J. Magni', *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 5, München: Artemis & Winkler, 1991, 259.
- 53 Cf. e.g. C. Arcelli (ed.), *I saperi nelle corti: Knowledge at the Courts*, Florence: SISMEL, 2008; G. Grebner, 'Zur Einleitung: Interkulturalität und Verwissenschaftlichung am Fürstenhof des Mittelalters', in G. Grebner, J. Fried (eds), *Kulturtransfer und Hofgesellschaft im Mittelalter: Wissenskultur am sizilianischen und kastilischen Hof im 13. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Akademie Verl., 2008, 7–11. Cf. A. Buck (ed.), *Höfischer Humanismus*, Weinheim: Acta Humaniora, 1989. See also C. Bozzolo, E. Ornato (eds), *Préludes à la Renaissance: Aspects de la vie intellectuelle en France au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris: Ed. du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1992.
- 54 Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Codex Guelferbytanus A.3 Augusteus 2: Giovanni Boccaccio, *Des cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes*, parchment, 362 leaves, 43,2 x 32,5 cm, fifteenth century, northern France, fol. 169r, see also O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel: Die Augusteischen Handschriften*, vol. 1, Wolfenbüttel: Hansebooks, 1890, 12.
- 55 H. Bergen (ed.), *Lydgate's 'Fall of Princes'*, 4 vols, Washington, DC: Oxford Univ. Press, 1923–27, LXIV seq.
- 56 For Simon Aligret, see J.L. Romelot, *Description historique et monumentale de l'église patriarcale, primatiale et métropolitaine de Bourges*, Bourges: Imprimeur de la Cour royale, 1824, 212seq.
- 57 BNF ms.lat. 17173, fol. 228, no. 23; n.a. fr. 1363, no. 145, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 2, 174, no. 145, cf., 176, no. 173. Cf. Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, 186, no. 183; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 2, 253, no. 183.



- 58 BNF ms.lat. 17173, fol. 228, no. 34, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 2, 313seq. Cf. L. Delisle, 'Notes sur la bibliothèque de la Sainte-Chapelle de Bourges', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 17, 1856, 142–59, esp. 143; Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, 185, no. 182; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 2, 252seq., no. 182.
- 59 AN KK 258, fol. 164v, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 1, p. 269, no. 1003. Cf. Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, 186, no. 185.
- 60 AN KK 258, fol. 215V, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 1, 334, no. 1243. Cf. Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, 173, no. 26; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 2, 227, no. 26.
- 61 For Gerard du Puy see V.J. Vigier, *Sainte-Croix de La Volte, Lavoûte-Croix, Haute-Loire: Un prieuré du réseau dunoisien*, Nonette: Edité par CREER, 2000.
- 62 See F.S. Schmitt, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia: Orationes sive meditationes necnon epistolarum*, vol. 3, Edinburgh: Nelson, 1946.
- 63 AN KK 258, fol. 149v, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 1, 249seq., no. 950. Cf. Lebeuf, *Recueil*, vol. 2, 259seq.; Barrois, *Bibliothèque*, 91, no. 523; Douët d'Arcq, 'Notice', 158, no. 46; Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 1, 59seq., vol. 3, 190, no. 245; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 2, 262seq., no. 245. There are two copies of this work in the BNF ms.lat. 5944 and 5946, but neither of them appears to be the one belonging to the Duke of Berry.
- 64 Or more precisely, Aimeri du Peyrat, the learned Abbot of St-Pierre de Moissac, see J. Dufour, 'Moissac', *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 6, München: Artemis & Winkler-Verlag, 1993, 719seq.
- 65 For Martin Gouge see Hiver de Beauvoir, 'Les Hommes d'État du Berry'.
- 66 See Lebeuf, *Recueil*, vol. 2, 260; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 2, 265, no. 261; Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 1, 257, no. 969, vol. 2, 277, no. 1122. See M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2 vols, London: Thames and Hudson, 1967, vol. 2, 315seq. The Duke's copy is now in the BNF ms.lat. 7907A.
- 67 See above n. 30.
- 68 For Guillaume de Boisratier see Hiver de Beauvoir, 'Les Hommes d'État du Berry'. See also P.R. Gaussin, 'Les conseillers de Charles VII (1418–1461): Essai de politologie historique', *Francia* 10, 1982, 67–130, in particular 108 (Gouge), 116seq. (Boisratier).
- 69 AN KK 258, fol. 146vseq., *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 1, 245seq., no. 938. Cf. Lebeuf, *Recueil*, vol. 2, 259; Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, 183, no. 149; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 2, 248, no. 149. See also Meiss, *French Painting*, vol. 2, 49 with n. 170, 372.
- 70 Cf. O.S.H. Lie, M. Banda (eds), *Het boek van Sidrac. Een honderdtal vragen uit een middeleeuwse encyclopedie*, Hilversum: Verloren, 2006.
- 71 BNF n.a.fr. 1363, no. 143, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 2, 174, no. 143. Cf. Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, 177seq., no. 88; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 2, 236, no. 88. It is not possible to establish the New Year's Day on which Philip the Bold received from his Chancellor Jean Canard '[...] ung bon Messel, à l'usage de Paris', ACO B 301, fol. 17, cf. C.C.A. Dehaisnes, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Lille: Danel, 1886, vol. 2, 839; Doutrepoint, *Inventaire de 'Librairie' de Philippe le Bon*, 2seq., no. 2. On the question of dating see Winter, *Bibliothèque*, 59, 122, no. 2.
- 72 BNF ms.lat. 17173, fol. 228, no. 36, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 2, 317, no. 195. Cf. Delisle, 'Notes', 143; Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, 186, no. 195; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 2, 254, no. 195. On the Duke's gift to the cathedral of Bourges, see Meiss, *French Painting*, vol. 2, 50.
- 73 After Guiffrey, Pierre Trousseau 1405 became archdeacon of Paris, see Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 2, 313, n. 3. In 1409 Trousseau appears as bishop of Poitiers, in 1413 as archbishop of Reims, see P. Kurmann, B. Kurmann-Schwarz,

- ‘Französische Bischöfe als Auftraggeber und Stifter von Glasmalereien: Das Kunstwerk als Geschichtsquelle’, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 60, 1997, 429–50, esp. 446–8.
- 74 BNF ms.lat. 17173, fol. 228, no. 35, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 2, 313. Cf. Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, 174, no. 36; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 2, 229, no. 36.
- 75 Cf. Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 2, 40, no. 2.
- 76 AN KK 258, fol. 147r, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 1, 246, no. 939. Cf. Lebeuf, *Recueil*, vol. 2, 258seq.; Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, 183, no. 145; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 2, 247, no. 145. This manuscript was based on Bartholomaeus Anglicus’ thirteenth-century encyclopedia *De proprietatibus rerum*. The aim of the work was to provide a deeper understanding of concepts and facts referred to in the Bible, cf. H. Meyer, *Die Enzyklopädie des Bartholomäus Anglicus: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte von ‘De proprietatibus rerum’*, München: Fink, 2000; C. Hünemörder, M. Mückshoff, ‘2. B. Anglicus’, *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 1, München: Artemis & Winkler, 1980, 1492seq.
- 77 It is possible that Beaumaitre was a Canon of the cathedral of Chartres, see J.B. Souchet, *Histoire du diocèse et de la ville de Chartres, publ. d’après le manuscrit original de la bibliothèque communale de Chartres*, 3 vols, Chartres: Imprimerie de Garnier, 1866–73, vol. 3, 308.
- 78 BNF n.a.fr. 1363, no. 146, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 2, 175, no. 146. Cf. Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, 176, no. 70; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 2, 234, no. 70.
- 79 AN KK 258, fol. 150v, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 1, 250, no. 951. Cf. Lebeuf, *Recueil*, vol. 2, 260; Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, 185, no. 170. The ‘Trésor de Sapience’ – which is edited in extracts in J. Gerson, *Œuvres complètes: L’œuvre polémique (492–530). Suppléments, documents, tables*, Paris: Desclée, 1973, no. 534, 345–65 – is a reflection on the proper way to live and to die and is influenced by the *Horologium Sapientiae* by Heinrich Seuse, for which see Herb en Backes, ‘Seuse’, *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 7, München: Artemis & Winkler-Verlag, 1995, 1801–3.
- 80 On Gerson, consult F.W. Bautz, ‘Gerson, Johannes’, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, F.W. Bautz, T. Bautz (eds), vol. 2, Hamm: Bautz, 1990, cols 229seq; R. Baumer, ‘79. J. Carlerius de Gerson’, *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 5, München: Artemis & Winkler-Verlag, 1991, 561seq.
- 81 AN KK 258, fol. 158v, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 1, 260, no. 977. Cf. Lebeuf, *Recueil*, vol. 2, 260seq.; Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, 181seq., no. 129; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 2, 245, no. 129. For information on the edition itself, see R.R.R. Rains (ed.), *Les sept psaumes allégorisés of Christine de Pisan*, Washington, DC: Cath. Univ. of Amer P., 1965.
- 82 AN KK 258, fol. 163r, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 1, 270, no. 1004. Cf. Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, 193, no. 289; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 2, 269, no. 289. For information on the edition itself see A.T.P. Byles (ed.), *Christine de Pisan, The Book of Fayttes of Armes and of Chyualye*, London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1937.
- 83 See above notes 26, 27.
- 84 AN KK 258, fol. 148r, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. I, 247, no. 943. Cf. Lebeuf, *Recueil*, vol. 2, 259; Barrois, *Bibliothèque*, 90, no. 518; Douët d’Arcq, ‘Notice’, 231; Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, 190, no. 246; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 2, 263, no. 246.
- 85 Guiffrey, *Inventaire de ‘Librairie’ de Philippe le Bon*, 57seq., nr 98.
- 86 S. Solente (ed.), *Christine de Pisan, Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V.*, 2 vols., Paris: Champion, 1936–40, vol 1, 6seq. Incidentally, the Duke of Berry received a copy of this work as a gift from Christine in March 1404, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 1, p. clxxvi; no. 70, vol 2, 250, no. 952. Cf. Meiss, *French Painting*, vol. 2, 372, no. 175, 300; 405, notes 109 and 310.
- 87 See above, n. 76.

- 88 ACO B 1526, fol. 298. Cf. H. David, *Philippe le Hardi au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Extraits somptuaires*, Dijon: Bernigaud et Privat, 1945, 46.
- 89 AN KK 258, fol. 165r, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 2, 270, no. 1005 (cf., p. 242, no. 558 and vol. 1, clxxii, no. 49), but it cannot be identified as *étrennes*. Cf. Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 3, 186, no. 196; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 2, 254, no. 196. The Duke of Burgundy received a copy of this manuscript from Johan Hayton in person, see Buettner, 'Past Presents', 603, fig. 3.
- 90 AN KK 258, fol. 157v, no. 972, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 2, 174, no. 972. First Berry gave this work to Jean de Montaigu, a prominent member of French courtly society and Chancellor to the Duke until 1406 – see R.C. Famiglietti, 'Montaigu', in W.W. Kibler, G.A. Zinn (eds), *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, New York: Garland, 1995, 632 – and got it back after Montaigu's death, cf. Meiss, *French Painting*, vol. 2, 49, 291, 404, n. 45.
- 91 Cf. J.B. Voorbij, *Het 'Speculum Historiale' van Vincent van Beauvais: Een studie van zijn ontstaansgeschiedenis*, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen: Univ. Diss, 1991.
- 92 Cf. Buettner, 'Past Presents', 609–13 with fig. 10.
- 93 Cf. E. Tauburet-Delahaye, *La création artistique en France autour de 1400. Actes du colloque. École du Louvre – Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon – Université de Bourgogne. École du Louvre, 7 et 8 juillet 2004, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon – Université de Bourgogne, 9 et 10 juillet 2004*, Paris: Ecole du Louvre, 2006.
- 94 A gift Berry received in 1414 from Louis the Bearded, later sold by him to Bernard of Armagnac, his son-in-law, AN KK 258, fol. 214r, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. 1, p. clxxii-clxxiii, no. 51, 332, no. 1238. Cf. Douët d'Arcq, 'Notice', 164, no. 65; Delisle, *Cabinet*, vol. 1, 183, nr 148; Delisle, *Recherches*, vol. 2, 247, no. 148. Presumably it is now in the BNF ms.fr. 568. For the *Roman de la Rose* see G. de Lorris, J. de Meung, *Le roman de la rose*, ed. by Eugène Langlois, 5 vols., Paris: Firmin-Dido, 1914–24. Edition with German translation: G. de Lorris, J. de Meun, *Der Rosenroman*, ed. by K.A. Ott, 3 vols., München: Wiss. Buchges., 1976–9.
- 95 For later times cf. in particular N.Z. Davies, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*, Madison, WI: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 2000.
- 96 Cf. Hirschbiegel, 'Zeichen der Gunst', in particular 215. See also Hirschbiegel, 'Konstruktion'; cf. J. Hirschbiegel, A. Caliebe, 'Philipp der Kühne, Johann Ohnefurcht und der höfische Geschenkverkehr zum neuen Jahr um 1400', in W. Paravicini, B. Schnerb (eds), *Paris, capitale des ducs de Bourgogne*, Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2007, 219–62.
- 97 As excellent overviews cf. D. Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City. From Late Antiquity to the Early Fourteenth Century*, London, New York: Longman, 1997; D. Nicholas, *Urban Europe, 1100–1700*, Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003; E. Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter 1150–1550. Stadtgestalt, Recht, Stadregiment, Kirche, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft*, Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2012.
- 98 Cf. E. Gruber, S.C. Pils, S. Rabeler, H. Weigl, G. Zeilinger (eds), *Mittler zwischen Herrschaft und Gemeinde: Die Rolle von Funktions- und Führungsgruppen in der mittelalterlichen Urbanisierung Zentraleuropas*, Innsbruck: Studien-Verlag, 2013.
- 99 As more recent programmatic as well as exemplary works cf. among others M.F. Kluge, *Die Macht des Gedächtnisses. Entstehung und Wandel kommunaler Schriftkultur im spätmittelalterlichen Augsburg*, Leiden: Brill, 2014; P. Chastang, *La ville, le gouvernement et l'écrit à Montpellier (XII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle). Essai d'histoire sociale*, Paris: Publ. de la Sorbonne, 2013.
- 100 Cf. the latest case study for Upper Alsace: G. Zeilinger, *Verhandelte Stadt. Herrschaft und Gemeinde in der frühen Urbanisierung des Oberelsass vom 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert*, Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2018, 78–80, 198.

- 101 Scribality understood here as ‘pragmatische Schriftlichkeit’, cf. K. Andermann, ‘Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit’, in W. Paravicini (ed.), *Höfe und Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich. Hof und Schrift*, Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2007, 37–60.
- 102 Cf. J.M. Sawilla, R. Schlögl (eds), *Medien der Macht und des Entscheidens. Schrift und Druck im politischen Raum der europäischen Vormoderne (14.–17. Jahrhundert)*, Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2014; M. Pauly, M. Scheutz (eds), *Cities and their spaces. Concepts and their use in Europe*, Köln: Böhlau, 2014.
- 103 Cf. S.C. Pils, M. Scheutz, C. Sonnleucher, S. Speak (eds), *Rathäuser als multifunktionale Räume der Repräsentation, der Parteiungen und des Geheimnisses*, Innsbruck: Studien-Verl., 2012; S. Albrecht, *Mittelalterliche Rathäuser in Deutschland. Architektur und Funktion*, Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges., 2004.
- 104 See W. Paravicini (ed.), *Höfe und Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich. Hof und Schrift*, Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2007.
- 105 Cf. H. Keller, F. Neiske (eds), *Vom Kloster zum Klosterverband. Das Werkzeug der Schriftlichkeit. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums des Projekts L 2 im SFB 231 (22.–23. Februar 1996)*, München: Fink, 1997; H. Keller, C. Meier, T. Scharff (eds), *Schriftlichkeit und Lebenspraxis im Mittelalter. Erfassen, Bewahren, Verändern*, München: Fink, 1999.
- 106 P. Monnet, ‘Zwischen Reproduktion und Repräsentation. Formierungsprozesse von Eliten in westeuropäischen Städten des Spätmittelalters: Terminologie, Typologie, Dynamik’, in E. Gruber, M. St. Popovic, M. Scheutz, H. Weigl (eds), *Städte im lateinischen Westen und im griechischen Osten zwischen Spätantike und Früher Neuzeit. Topographie – Recht – Religion*, Wien: Böhlau, 2016, 177–93.
- 107 Cf. G. Fouquet, ‘Die “schöne Stadt” – Bauen als öffentliche Aufgabe deutscher Städte (14. bis 16. Jahrhundert)’, in S. Schweizer, J. Stabenow (eds), *Bauen als Kunst und historische Praxis. Architektur und Stadtraum im Gespräch zwischen Kunstgeschichte und Geschichtswissenschaft*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006, 123–57; Nicholas, *Urban Europe*, 154–74.
- 108 Cf. Nicholas, *Growth*, 193–6; C. Arnaud, *Topographien des Alltags. Bologna und Straßburg um 1400*, Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2018, 288–90 *et passim*.
- 109 Nicholas, *Urban Europe*, 167.
- 110 Cf. Zeilinger, *Stadt*, 118, 134, 158.
- 111 Cf. A. Rüter, ‘Predigtstuhl, Zunftstube, Ratsbank: Orte politischer Kommunikation im spätmittelalterlichen Breslau’, in S. Klapp, S. Schmitt (eds), *Städtische Gesellschaft und Kirche im Spätmittelalter. Arbeitstagung auf Schloss Dhaun 2004*, Stuttgart: Steiner, 2008, 141–66.
- 112 Cf. J. Ganzert (ed.), *Das Lüneburger Rathaus. Ergebnisse der Untersuchungen 2008 bis 2011*, 3 vol., Petersberg: Imhof, 2014–15.
- 113 Cf. e.g. Kluge, *Macht*.
- 114 Cf. Gruber, *Mittler zwischen Herrschaft und Gemeinde*.
- 115 Cf. G. Deutschländer, M. on der Höh, A. Ranft (eds), *Symbolische Interaktion in der Residenzstadt des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin: Akad.-Verl., 2013; W. Paravicini, J. Hirschbiegel, J. Wettlaufer (eds), *Städtisches Bürgertum und Hofgesellschaft: Kulturen integrativer und konkurrierender Beziehungen in Residenz- und Hauptstädten vom 14. bis ins 19. Jahrhundert*, Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2007; W. Paravicini, J. Wettlaufer (ed.), *Der Hof und die Stadt. Konfrontation, Koexistenz und Integration in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2009; T. Zotz, ‘Informelle Zusammenhänge zwischen Hof und Stadt’, in R. Butz, J. Hirschbiegel (eds), *Informelle Strukturen bei Hof*, Münster: LIT-Verl., 2009, 157–68.
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- Osnabrück 1600–1800, Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2014, 303–13; J. Hirschbiegel, S. Rabeler, ‘Residential Cities in the Holy Roman Empire (1300–1800). Urbanism as a Network of Integrative and Competing Relationships between Seignorial Rulership and Civic Community (A New Research Project of the Göttingen Academy of Sciences)’, in L. Courbon, D. Menjot (eds), *La Cour et la ville dans l’Europe du Moyen Âge et des Temps Modernes*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, 91–100.
- 117 Further information about the current research project of the Göttingen Academie of Sciences is given at [www.adw-goe.de/forschung/forschungsprojekte-akademienprogramm/residenzstaedte](http://www.adw-goe.de/forschung/forschungsprojekte-akademienprogramm/residenzstaedte) (accessed September 23, 2016). Cf. G. Fouquet, J. Hirschbiegel, S. Rabeler (eds), *Residenzstädte der Vormoderne. Umriss eines europäischen Phänomens*, Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2016, esp. Rabeler, ‘Stadt und Residenz in der Vormoderne’, and the summary given by Gabriel Zeilinger, ‘Umrissene Residenzstädte. Beobachtungen zum Schluss’, in *ibid.*, 389–495.
- 118 For the history and written tradition of medieval cities in particular and in general B.U. Hergemöller (ed.), *Quellen zur Verfassungsgeschichte der deutschen Stadt im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges., 2000; H. Stoob (ed.), *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Städtewesens in Mittel- und Niederdeutschland*, vol. 1: *Bis 1350*, Köln: Böhlau, 1985, vol. 2: *1351–1475*, Köln: Böhlau, 1992; G. Möncke (ed.), *Quellen zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte mittel- und oberdeutscher Städte im Spätmittelalter*, Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges., 1982.
- 119 M. Kintzinger, ‘Stadtbücher’, *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 8, München: Artemis & Winkler, 1997, 12seq. See esp. C. Speer, ‘Der Index Librorum Civitatum als Instrument der historischen Grundlagenforschung’, in W. Reininghaus, M. Stumpf (eds), *Amtsbücher als Quellen der landesgeschichtlichen Forschung*, Münster: Landschaftsverb. Westfalen-Lippe, 2012, 107–24; C. Speer, ‘Der Index Librorum Civitatum (Verzeichnis der Stadtbücher des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit) als Instrument der historischen Grundlagenforschung’, *Mitteilungen der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge: Stadt und Hof* 1, 2012, 45–50; C. Speer, ‘Stand und Perspektiven der Stadtbuchforschung – ein Überblick’, *Documenta Pragensia* 32,2, 2013, 367–94; C. Speer, ‘Account and Town Records as Mirrors of Social Change and Control in the 15th and 16th Century’, in A. Wirth-Jaillard, A. Musin, N. Demaret, E. Bodart, X. Rousseaux (eds), *Monuments ou documents? Les comptabilités, sources pour l’histoire du contrôle social*, Bruxelles: Archives générales du Royaume, 2015, 269–78.
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- 121 An overview is given by Speer, ‘Der Index Librorum Civitatum’, 47. See ‘Index Librorum Civitatum’: [www.stadtbuecher.de](http://www.stadtbuecher.de) (accessed November 23, 2017).
- 122 Cf. Isenmann, *Stadt*, 437–40; H. von Seggern, ‘Die Behandlung von Nachlaßangelegenheiten vor dem Lübecker Rat’, in H. Brand, S. Rabeler, H. von Seggern (eds), *Gelebte Normen im urbanen Raum? Zur sozial- und kulturgeschichtlichen Analyse rechtlicher Quellen in Städten des Hanseraums (13. bis 16. Jahrhundert)*, Hilversum: Uitg. Verloren, 2014, 83–100.
- 123 Speer, ‘Der Index Librorum Civitatum’, 46.
- 124 Cf. e.g. J. Rogge, *Für den Gemeinen Nutzen. Politisches Handeln und Politikvorstellungen von Rat und Bürgerschaft in Augsburg im Spätmittelalter*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996; M. Meinhardt, *Dresden im Wandel. Raum und Bevölkerung der Stadt im Residenzbildungsprozess des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Akad.-Verl., 2009.