

University of Alberta

**(Re)Constructing The Château Trompette: Architectural Politics in Post-Fronde
Bordeaux**

by

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For Duncan Bruce McGillivray

Abstract

This thesis examines the role architecture played in the negotiation of power between local government and the Bourbon monarchy in Bordeaux after the Fronde—the civil war that was waged in France during the seventeenth century. By considering the construction and development of the Château Trompette, a royal military fortress in Bordeaux dating to the fifteenth century, in relation to significant local structures in the city, like the ancient Roman temple called the Piliers de Tutelle, the author traces a complex struggle for authoritative control in Bordeaux that revolved around the connection between material buildings and indigenous memory. The study of the history of architectural structures in Bordeaux after the Fronde—their construction and destruction—reveals the competitive relationship that existed between Bordeaux's local government and the French Crown and adds to the historical debate concerning the nature and development of absolutism in seventeenth-century France.

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Abbreviations

A.M. Bx	Archives Municipales de Bordeaux
A.D. Gir.	Archives Départementales de la Gironde
A.H.D.G.	Archives Historiques de la Gironde
R.S.	Régistres Sécrètes de la Cour
B.M.	Bibliothèque Municipale
B.N.	Bibliothèque Nationale

N.B. All translations and italics are mine unless noted otherwise. All attempts were made to contact institutions for permission to use images discussed in this work.

Introduction

If one gave an account of regret to all that falls, it would require too many tears.
Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*¹

In 1453, after victory over the English during the Hundred Years War, the French King Charles VII ordered the construction of two royal fortresses in Bordeaux: the Château Trompette and the Château du Hâ. Ostensibly, the fortresses were erected to protect the city of Bordeaux, whose territory the French had recently won, from English invasion. Strategically placed along the city's western boundary, the Château du Hâ was meant to sustain Bordeaux's defenses against land attack, while the Château Trompette, located on the banks of the Garonne River, would protect the city from any naval offensive. However, with its bastions and major defenses oriented away from the river and toward the city, the Château Trompette's design made the fortress an assurance against potentially recalcitrant conquered inhabitants rather than a means of protection against foreign invasion.

While the physical form of the Château Trompette adhered to the principles of early-modern fortress design, the orientation and architectural décor of the château made it unique among European military structures. Discussing the planning of fortresses in Europe during the Renaissance, André Chastel described the intended impact of successful fortress design: "the bastions, mere excrescences placed at regular intervals on the fortified glacis, came to acquire considerable symbolic force... They crouched, squat

¹¹ François-René de Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, cited in Claude de Montclos, *La Mémoire des Ruines: Anthologie des Monuments Disparus en France* (Paris: Editions Mengès, 1992) 1.

like a toad, deliberately giving the city an air of menace.”² With its bastions penetrating into the heart of the city rather than concentrated around its perimeter, the Château Trompette was constructed with the intent to intimidate those living within the city walls of Bordeaux; the fortress’s principle threat was not directed toward exterior enemies. Even though over the course of three hundred and fifty years the Château Trompette would undergo numerous transformations, becoming a palimpsest of stone, wood, and steel, the position of its cannons remained fixed in the direction of the center of the city.³ For Bordeaux’s inhabitants, over whom the Château Trompette stood guard until it was razed to provide necessary space for the city’s urban renewal projects at the end of the eighteenth century, the fortress existed as a material mnemonic of the menacing presence of royal power and authority.

Although the subject of my study will focus on the history of this fortress in relation to the political situation in Bordeaux during and after the Fronde (the civil war which erupted in France in 1648 in response to the Crown’s attempt to levy new taxes without the consent of the *parlement* of Paris), the reflections on material loss and history expressed by the nineteenth-century novelist, François-René de Chateaubriand, upon visiting Bordeaux’s ancient ruins, capture perfectly the most important coalescing themes of this paper: materiality, absence and memory. Modern studies of memory, beginning with Sigmund Freud and the development of psychoanalytic methodologies in the late nineteenth century, cover an expansive interdisciplinary field that includes anthropology, literary studies, sociology, psychology, cognitive science, biology, history, and

² André Chastel, *The Crisis of the Renaissance 1520-1600*, trans. Peter Price (Geneva: Edition d’Art Albert Skira, 1968) 83.

³ Albert Réche, *Naissance et Vie des Quartiers de Bordeaux: Mille Ans de Vue Quotidienne* (Paris: Seghers, 1979) 89.

philosophy.⁴ For the purposes of this investigation, my discussions of the function of memory in relation to the politics of seventeenth-century state building rely particularly on the pioneering work of Maurice Halbwachs, as well as on the more recent work of historian Pierre Nora and sociologist Paul Connerton.⁵ Halbwachs abandoned Henri Bergson's notion of memory as a purely individual and idiosyncratic faculty and asserted instead that memory depended on a network common to a collective.⁶ Halbwachs' claim for the existence of "collective memory," the idea that memory is conditioned by society, established memory as a primary structural element in the formation of cultural identity; access to shared memories linked the various members of any given society together. Memory's importance to the ontology of community made the potential to control and manipulate it advantageous to the political designs of foreign authoritative forces in asserting control and dominance over indigenous groups. In this study, I will show how a politics of memory shaped the Bourbon monarchy's architectural endeavors in Bordeaux after the Fronde and, while never completely realized, was integral to the absolutist project of centralizing administrative control of the state.

The connection I suggest between material buildings and memory has developed from an understanding of the theories of memory advanced in the works of Pierre Nora and Paul Connerton. Both Nora and Connerton imagine a system of memory that is collective, sustained through non-inscribed means, and, therefore, in opposition to

⁴ See Sigmund Freud, *The Origins of Religion: Totem and Taboo*, trans. by James Strachey (London: Penguin, 1990).

⁵ Maurice Halbwachs, trans. by Lewis A. Coser, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992); Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations*, No. 26 (Spring, 1989) 7-24; Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁶ Henri Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, trans. by Nancy Margaret Paul and W. Scott Palmer (New York: Humanities Press, 1911).

history— a tradition dependent upon writing, interpretation, and analysis. Nora describes history as antithetical to “real memory,” which he defines as organic and unlearned.⁷ Under history’s critical gaze memory is violated: it is organized, evaluated, and reconstructed, and, in the process, evacuated of its sacredness. History establishes temporal contours and demarcations while “memory is a...bond tying us to the eternal present.”⁸ However, the interaction between history and memory (history’s work on memory) creates what Nora calls *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory)— “moments of history torn away from the movement of history, then returned; no longer quite life, not yet death, like shells on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded.”⁹ Nora locates these *lieux de mémoire* “in spaces, gestures, images and objects,” the concrete serves as the depository of memory.¹⁰ As such, Nora’s *lieux de mémoire* are inherently material, possessing physical qualities, which enables their primary function as conduits for the reification of memory. These *lieux de mémoire* exist as remnants, traces and vestiges of memory that result from “the acceleration of history—” a phrase Nora uses to describe the increasing speed at which the present becomes the past and “the general perception that anything and everything may disappear.”¹¹

While Nora describes the appearance of *lieux de mémoire* as a symptom of modernity, I suggest that the secretion of memory into the material is a phenomenon not specific to any particular historical period. In my study, I will explore the existence of *lieux de mémoire* in seventeenth-century Bordeaux. I am interested in the role of

⁷ Nora, 8.

⁸ Nora, 8.

⁹ Nora, 12.

¹⁰ Nora, 9.

¹¹ Nora, 7.

Bordeaux's architectural heritage in sustaining the inhabitants' sense of local identity and autonomy after the Fronde. Why and how did buildings like the antique Piliers de Tutelle (a Roman ruin built in the 3rd Century AD) and the Palais de l'Ombrière (the building in which the city's *parlement* deliberated) become mobilized in the struggle for self-governance? What threat did the construction of new sites of memory, like the Châteaux Trompette, pose to the political integrity of the city? Furthermore, what risks emerged in the displacement of memory into material buildings? The physicality of *lieux de mémoire* made them susceptible to damage, loss, appropriation, and destruction; the mechanism for the continuation of memory left it vulnerable to potential ruin and decay— an irony made apparent by the physical absence of these buildings from Bordeaux's contemporary urban landscape.

Because the Château Trompette was completely destroyed, it is no surprise that the fortress remains an obscure subject in contemporary art historical scholarship of seventeenth-century France. While the Palace of Versailles and the Collège des Quatre Nations (presently the Institut de France) continue to attract the attention of scholars and stand as powerful material and architectural testaments to Louis XIV and Jean-Baptiste Colbert's program of constructing an absolutist state, the memory of the Château Trompette as a material metonym of monarchical authority in the provincial city of Bordeaux seems a subject of inquiry almost entirely neglected.¹² Like the Château Trompette, other buildings that belong to this story, such as the Piliers de Tutelle and the

¹² For more information on the significance of the Collège des Quatre Nations in the Bourbon monarchy's construction of absolutist power see Hillary Ballon, *Louis Le Vau: Mazarin's Collège, Colbert's Revenge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Palais de l'Ombrière, no longer physically exist; their continued presence is one of written or painted memory.

The physical absence of the subjects of my study is important to the understanding of the politics of memory that emerges in my work. The enlargement of the Château Trompette after the Fronde required the destruction of civic and private buildings in the city, and, in the eighteenth century, the large-scale urban renewal projects in Bordeaux lead to the diminution and eventual erasure of the fortress. The absence of these buildings signifies their action in an architectural performance; the construction, retreat, and eventual destruction of the buildings that took place on Bordeaux's urban landscape during the seventeenth century represents their activation in a struggle for the authoritative control of the city.

The notion of architectural performance I describe is linked to Paul Connerton's work on memory. Connerton asserted that action or performance was essential to sustaining cultural memory.¹³ His study focused primarily on the role of both ritual and bodily performance in perpetuating memory into posterity.¹⁴ While I agree with the importance Connerton places on corporeal action in the transmission and continuation of cultural memory—an idea that will be central to my discussion of the role of the representation of the King's body in the city of Bordeaux after the Fronde—I suggest that the construction and destruction (the physical movement) of buildings constituted a performance similar to the type Connerton insisted was essential to the preservation of memory. By considering the retreat of buildings from Bordeaux's urban landscape in

¹³ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

¹⁴ See Connerton, Chapter 2 "Commemorative Ceremonies" 41-71.

response to the expansion of the Château Trompette after the Fronde as part of an architectural performance— in the Connertonian sense—, construction and erasure take on political significance; the action of each affected the substance (both literal and figurative) and survival of local recollection. I am particularly interested in how the French monarchy developed a politics of erasure as an essential part of the absolutist project. I will explore how the residue of erasure— ruins, traces, and even material absence—marked the displacement of one political order for another by recalling that one being replaced; paradoxically, the politics of erasure destroyed *lieux de mémoire* by sustaining them.

In addition to its physical absence, another reason why the Château Trompette escapes attention in art historical scholarship is its classification as military architecture. A disciplinary division exists that separates the consideration of civil architecture and military architecture into different academic fields of study: architecture vs. engineering. However, the distinction between architect and engineer in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is artificial. In fact, the boundary separating the two professions, if one ever existed in the first place, was entirely permeable: Pierre Le Muet, François Mansart, Clément Métezeau, and Charles Chamois all served simultaneous positions as architects and engineers of the king.¹⁵ Although the Château Trompette essentially functioned in a military capacity, its exceptional décor was more civil than military: the Château Trompette existed as a hybrid building, bridging civil and military architecture formally and institutionally. Through this study, I will reunite the architect and the engineer by considering the structural and ornamental qualities of the Château Trompette, as well as

¹⁵ Jean-Pierre Babelon, *Demeurs Parisiennes sous Henri IV et Louis XIII* (Paris: Hazan, 1991) 244-278.

the selection of Nicolas Desjardins as the primary architect/engineer of the fortress after the Fronde.

The story that I will construct is necessarily complex. Although the Château Trompette is present throughout the entirety of my thesis, its actual physical absence has required me to rely on other sources, both written and visual, for an understanding of its importance in the history of the Bourbon monarchy's program to centralize power and Bordeaux's struggle to retain some form of local autonomy after the Fronde. My account will be pieced together through the consideration of numerous documents: letters, parliamentary registers, royal decrees, popular literature, and chronicles; such visual material as: engravings, drawings, sculpture, architectural plans, and maps; as well as contemporary art historical literature and cultural theory. I have grouped the information I will present into three different chapters that will treat distinct topics important to the study of the Château Trompette's role in the monarchy's imposition of power in the city of Bordeaux.

Chapter I will examine the political-historical circumstances of the Fronde in Bordeaux. Although some revisionist historians have studied the distinct nature of the Fronde in Bordeaux, they have neglected the role of the Château Trompette and Bordeaux's civic buildings in the conflict, which I suggest were central to the struggle.¹⁶ In this chapter I will explore the material politics of the Fronde in Bordeaux: how and in what ways did the buildings of the city take part in the rebellion?; What functions did

¹⁶See Joël Cornette, *La Monarchie, entre Renaissance et Revolution: 1515-1792* (Paris: Seuil, 2000) and Alexander Westrich, *The Ormée of Bordeaux: A Revolution during the Fronde* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).

these buildings serve during the insurrection?; And what significance did these structures have for the people and municipal institutions of Bordeaux before and during the Fronde?

In order to understand the origins of the Fronde in Bordeaux and how particular buildings came to be involved in the struggle for authoritative power in the city, I will study the official registers and correspondence of Bordeaux's *parlement* to gain a sense of how the city's governing elite viewed the nature and catalysts of the conflict that erupted in the year 1649. An analysis of these governmental documents will also provide insight into the relationship between Bordeaux's *parlement* and the monarchy. While these sources will help to construct an understanding of the institutional conflict and political strategies involved in the Fronde in Bordeaux, they are insufficient in showing the significance buildings had in the popular imagination of the city's inhabitants.

I will conduct a formal analysis of drawings made by Herman Van Der Hem, a Netherlandish artist working in Bordeaux during the Fronde, paying particular attention to his representations of the Château Trompette and the Palais de l'Ombrière. Although Van Der Hem was a foreigner, he came from a country whose recent struggle against Spain, a distant authoritative force, had striking parallels to the situation in Bordeaux; his unique background makes his artistic vision relevant to understanding how the people of Bordeaux saw these buildings in relation to the political environment of the Fronde.

Additionally, I will attempt to shed light on how the people of Bordeaux viewed the Château Trompette by examining the ways the fortress was represented in popular literature. During the Fronde, political writings, called *Mazarinades* (after the Cardinal Mazarin, who was often the satirical subject of this genre), which criticized the central

government, circulated and were read widely throughout Paris and the provinces.¹⁷ I am interested in the architectural allusions and metaphors that appear in *Mazarinades* published in Bordeaux during the Fronde, and will consider the literary descriptions of the Château Trompette and other buildings in these written materials in order to determine how these buildings functioned within this popular political literature.

In Chapter II, I will focus on the monarchy's architectural investments in Bordeaux following the conclusion of the Fronde. I will show a correspondence between the material reconstruction of the Château Trompette and the reassertion of royal authority in the city of Bordeaux through a consideration of the importance of the physical integrity of the royal fortress to the peace terms offered to the city by the Crown; the monarchy's political strategy for preserving its authority in Bordeaux required the material preservation of the Château Trompette.

Furthermore, I will support my claim for the existence of a link between the Château Trompette and the institution of the monarchy—invested in the body of the King—through an analysis of Louis XIV's royal *entrée* into Bordeaux in 1659. Within Connerton's theoretical framework, the *entrée*, as a state ceremony and ritual performance, had a significant role in implementing and sustaining memory. I will contextualize the *entrée* by exploring its origins and comparing it to contemporary *entrées* of other French monarchs in order to grasp the political function of this ceremony and to illustrate the important ways Louis XIV's *entrée* deviated from tradition. By retracing the King's procession through the city with the use of historical street maps of Bordeaux and descriptions of the event in historical chronicles, I will show how the

¹⁷ See Christian Jouhaud, *Mazarinades: La Fronde des mots* (Paris: Aubier, 1985).

architecture of the city played an important part in the politics of the performance and how the orchestration of the ceremony through Bordeaux connected the body of the King to material buildings.

Chapter III will deal with the politics of erasure. In this chapter, I will provide an account of the destruction of buildings in Bordeaux, including the Piliers de Tutelle, in order to necessitate the expansion of the Château Trompette in the second-half of the seventeenth century. I will consider the history of the Piliers de Tutelle and its visual representation by both local and state sponsored artists to understand its significance to Bordeaux's argument for local autonomy; how did the people of Bordeaux understand this structure?; Did the visual representations of the Piliers de Tutelle by local and state artists follow the same artistic conventions?; How and why did they differ? I will frame my discussion of the political motivations for the destruction of the Piliers de Tutelle and other buildings in Bordeaux in relation to historical accounts of architectural erasure carried out by previous French monarchs. In this way, I will determine how a politics of erasure developed in connection with the increasing centralization of state government, and why material destruction became such a powerful tool in the age of absolutism.

Additionally, I will examine the physical qualities of the royal fortress that physically and materially displaced the Piliers de Tutelle. Since this structure also no longer exists, I will rely on ink drawings of the Château Trompette made by the architect Louis de Combes in the eighteenth century and historical descriptions of the fortress from the journals and correspondence of the architect Claude Perrault and the King's military advisor, Maréchal de Vauban. These sources will be invaluable in assessing the unique nature of the Château Trompette's architectural design and how this fortress differed in

appearance and purpose from other military structures built in Europe during the seventeenth century. I will show how the Château Trompette's ornamentation and orientation contributed to its metonymic function of reifying the power of the monarchy and reminding Bordeaux's inhabitants of the King's authority over the city.

The Château Trompette exists today as a remnant; one dispossessed of material form. What remains of the structure is little more than a trace— a visible outline of its absent bastions and ramparts. The goal of this thesis is to uncover the trace, to reconstruct the fortress, and to establish its role in the negotiation of power in Bordeaux after the Fronde. The study of the history of Bordeaux's buildings and their traces will contribute to our understanding of the dynamic between central and local authorities in seventeenth-century France, and give evidence for the Crown's fragmented control and volatile authoritative position in the city. I believe that the very physical absence which threatens the memory of the Château Trompette, which makes its consideration reliant upon exterior elements necessary, will allow the reader to imagine the fortress as more than a building which once possessed material form and to understand the Château Trompette as the product of social conflict and political vision.

Laying the Foundations: The History of Bordeaux during the Fronde

The great rise of the parlements was dangerous to the entire Kingdom during my minority. It was necessary to bring them down [abaisser], less for the trouble they had made than for that which they could make in the future. Their authority, as much as one thought it opposed mine, however good their intentions were, produced horrible effects in the state, and undermined [traversait] all that was grand and most useful that I was able to set about doing.

Louis XIV, *Mémoires*¹⁸

After the death of Louis XIII in May of 1643, political power in France passed to the Queen, Anne of Austria, who acted as regent for her four-year-old son and king, Louis XIV. The Queen named Cardinal Mazarin, a favorite of Cardinal Richelieu and god-father of the young king, chief counsel of the Regency Government. Mazarin's principal objective as a member of the Regent's counsel was to find the funds necessary to continue the foreign policy of his predecessor, Cardinal Richelieu: since 1635 France had been involved in the Thirty Years War, a conflict originating from the refusal of the Diet of Prague to invest Ferdinand II of Hapsburg, a staunch Catholic, as Holy Roman Emperor in 1618. By May of 1648, with the French monarchy on the verge of bankruptcy and France still embroiled in war, Mazarin's solution involved increasing existing taxes, imposing additional ones, and creating new venal offices.¹⁹

¹⁸ Louis XIV, *Memoirs pour l'Instruction du Dauphin*, presented by Pierre Goubert (Paris: Editions Imprimerie Nationale, 1992) 66: "L'élévation trop grande des parlements avait été dangereuse à tout le royaume durant ma minorité. Il fallait les abaisser, moins pour le mal qu'ils avaient fait que pour celui qu'ils pouvaient faire à l'avenir. Leur autorité, tant qu'on la regardait comme opposee à la mienne, quelques bonnes que fussent leurs intentions, produisait de très méchants effets dans l'État, et traversait tout ce que je pouvais entreprendre de plus grand et de plus utile."

¹⁹ Ornst Ranum, *The Fronde: A French Revolution* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1993) 133-34.

The taxes were levied without the consent of the *parlements*, sovereign courts invested with the legal authority to check encroachments of royal power. In Paris, members of the *parlement* not only refused to enforce the payment of taxes, but also condemned Mazarin's financial edicts. Additionally, the Chambre de Saint-Louis, a body composed of representatives from all four sovereign courts in Paris, demanded constitutional reform, which it elaborated within a program composed of 27 articles that included the suppression of *intendants*, representatives of royal power in the provinces, and the proposition that all new taxes had to be approved by the *parlement*.²⁰ The Regency Government resisted acceptance of the articles, and Mazarin had counsel member Broussel and President Potier de Blancmensnil, two of the most outspoken members of the Chambre de Saint-Louis, arrested. The day after the arrests, insurrection engulfed the capital; barricades were constructed in the streets of Paris. Mazarin emerged as the enemy of the *parlement* and the people. Thus began the civil war, known as the Fronde, which enveloped France from 1648 to 1653.

The Origins of the Parliamentary Fronde in Bordeaux

Writing on the subject of the Fronde in 1827, Abbé Saint-Aulaire distinguished two phases of France's civil war: The Parliamentary Fronde (1648-1649) and the Fronde of the Princes (1650-1653). He envisioned the former phase of the Fronde as a bourgeois movement for constitutional reform and separate from the late, aristocratic phase of France's civil war.²¹ The events that took place in Paris during the summer of 1648 are

²⁰ *Journal de la France et des Français* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000) 785.

²¹ Saint-Aulaire, *Histoire de la Fronde* (Paris: Ducrocq, 1827).

traditionally cited as the origins of the Parliamentary Fronde: a dispute between the *parlement* of Paris and the Regency Government (headed by Mazarin) over the imposition of new taxes. However, an attempt to understand the Fronde in the provinces through the lens of Parisian politics would be overly simplistic. The historian Joël Cornette has suggested that “an analysis of the provincial Frondes will reveal itself much richer as it would place emphasis on the power games and mechanisms of adhesion and resistance to central authority: *parlement*, governors, municipalities, urban factions...”²² Cornette underlines an important factor concerning the Fronde in the provinces: the monarch’s absence from the sites of conflict. Additionally, the presence of hereditary noble families, members of the *Noblesse d’Épée*, was weak in Bordeaux, whose strong commercial economy favored the rich merchant class that purchased royal offices—the *Noblesse de Robe*. This observation may explain, in part, the differences between the catalysts of the Parliamentary Fronde in Bordeaux and Paris.

Bordeaux’s *parlement*, which entitled the city to limited privileges of self-government, had existed since 1462, making it one of only nine cities in France in 1648 that possessed a sovereign court.²³ When a king of France died, the people of Bordeaux sent a delegation to his successor to ask for reconfirmation of the oaths by which the preceding monarch swore to respect the privileges of Bordeaux.²⁴ Thus, Bordeaux’s

²² Joël Cornette, *La Monarchie, entre Renaissance et Révolution: 1515-1792* (Paris: Seuil, 2000) 208-209: “Une analyse des Frondes provinciales se révélerait, pourtant, d’autant plus riche qu’elles mettrait l’accent sur les jeux de pouvoirs et les mécanismes d’adhésions et de résistances à l’autorité centrale: parlement, gouverneurs, municipalités, factions urbaines...”

²³ Caroline Le Mao, *Parlement et Parlementaires: Bordeaux au Grand Siècle* (Paris: Champ Vallon, 2007) 13.

²⁴ Ranum, 250.

populace was conscious of the rights and authority granted to their municipal governing body by the French Crown.

The Parliamentary Fronde in Bordeaux did not take place until the spring of 1649. Some scholars have explained the temporal discrepancy between events in Paris and Bordeaux as a result of the geographical distance between the two cities: it took six days for mail to travel from Paris to Bordeaux, and, in times of trouble the delay was multiplied.²⁵ However, I suggest that the difference had little to do with the distance between the two cities. Instead, it can be attributed to the transformation of the role of the Regency Government in the political affairs of Bordeaux. The quarrel in Paris that began in 1648 took place between the *parlement* and the Regency Government (in absence of a king in his majority), two authoritative bodies in direct contact and confrontation with each other. In Bordeaux, the *parlement's* original dispute was not with the Regency Government, which was spatially removed from the city and posed no significant threat to Bordeaux's local authority, but with Bernard de Nogaret de La Valette, Duc d'Epemon, governor of the Guyenne province.

The *parlement* of Bordeaux's complaint with d'Epemon concerned the encampment of his troops, returning from the war in Catalogne, in the environs of the city. On March 4th, 1649 the *parlement* assembled to "deliberate some propositions concerning the tranquility of the city and the province, one of which [was] to chase from the city the vagabonds and people without admission, the other [was] that there [were] many soldiers in the province."²⁶ Very quickly, panic ignited within the chambers of the

²⁵ Le Mao, 53.

²⁶ A.M. Bx. R.S. 03/04/1649: "la cour se reunite pour délibérer sur quelques propositions concernant la tranquillité de la ville et de la province, entre lesquelles est celle de chaser

parlement as d'Épernon's army made successive advances toward the city: On March 6th, "the men of war's approach toward the city of Libourne has caused great disorder in the said city;" on March 7th, "the soldiers have entered the city [of Libourne];" and on March 8th, "they [the soldiers] [were in] in Bourg..."²⁷ These worries grew with d'Épernon's plan to continue building fortifications in Libourne, which would empower his position over the city, giving him military control of all routes leading to Bordeaux: "this city [Bordeaux] is blocked and surrounded on all sides by the positions taken by men of war in the cities and places of Bazas, La Réole, Barsac, Saint-Émilion, Bourg, and Libourne, the latter being taken to construct a citadel and by this means closing two rivers [the Garonne and the Dordogne] which provide subsistence for the city of Bordeaux."²⁸ The encroachment of d'Épernon's troops toward the city threatened Bordeaux's "tranquility" and food supply.

Facing the growing menace of d'Épernon's army, the *parlement's* eventual military action against the Duke was a measure of self-defense. At the end of March, 1649 the *parlement* called for the protection of the *maison de ville* with "a good number of bourgeois in whom one can have confidence," officially implicating Bordeaux's populace in the affair.²⁹ Before long, the participation of the people of Bordeaux in the *parlement's* dispute with d'Épernon escalated: citizens formed armed regiments in the

de la ville les vagabonds et gens sans aveu, l'autre qu'il y a beaucoup de gens de guerre dans la province..."

²⁷ A.M. Bx. R.S. 03/06/1649: "l'approche des gens de guerre ès environ de Libourne a cause grand désordre en ladite ville..." 03/07/1649: "les soldats ont investi la ville" 03/08/1649: "ils seraient à Bourg"

²⁸ A.M. Bx. R.S. 03/30/1649: "Cette ville est bloquée et investie de toutes parts par les postes que les gens de guerre ont pris dans les villes et lieux de Bazas, La Réole, Barsac, Saint-Émilion, Bourg et Libourne, celle-ci ayant été prise pour bâtir une citadelle et par ce moyen fermer deux rivières qui fournissent la subsistance à la ville de Bordeaux."

²⁹ A.M. Bx. R.S. March 1649: "...bon nombre de bourgeois auxquels l'on puisse se fier."

streets and erected barricades throughout the city.³⁰ That same month, with the support of the people, the *parlement* laid siege to the Château du Hâ, the military fortification on the city's western boundary controlled by representatives of the Crown, and established that fortress as their military headquarters. Throughout the city's parishes, the people of Bordeaux began taking oaths, swearing their unity, under the authority of the *parlement*, in defending the city and bringing peace to the province. By taking this oath, the people of Bordeaux recognized the danger d'Epernon's troops posed to the *parlement's* authority in the city.³¹ According to Yves Marie Bercé, the sort of revolt against a threatening force, such as that of the *parlement* and people of Bordeaux against d'Epernon, "is a very ancient reaction of community defense, as ancient as the incursion of troops."³²

Insurrection in Bordeaux against the king's representative in the province (d'Epernon) was initially the result of the people's fear of a dangerous and immediate threat: d'Epernon's troops and his control of the passageways leading to Bordeaux. The origins of the Parliamentary Fronde in Bordeaux had little to do with Parisian politics.

Imaging Bordeaux: Herman Van Der Hem

In the years immediately preceding the events of the Fronde in Bordeaux, a Netherlandish artist, Herman Van Der Hem, made an impressive number of drawings of

³⁰ A.M. Bx. R.S. 03/31/1649: "quelques magistrates sont allés par toute la ville rassurer les habitants d'icelle, qu'ils trouvaient attroupés et armés par les rues, et faire rompre les barricades qui avaient été faites en divers endroits de la ville."

³¹ A.M. Bx. R.S. 03/28/1649

³² Yves Marie Bercé, *Histoire des Croquants: Études des soulèvements populaires au XVIIe Siècle dans le Sud-Ouest de la France* (Geneva: Dorz, 1974) vol. 2, 548: "L'émute contre les gens de guerre est une très ancienne réaction de défense communautaire, aussi ancienne que le passage des soldats."

the city and its surroundings. Born in Amsterdam in 1619 into a family of wealthy merchants, Van Der Hem arrived in Bordeaux in 1638 and worked there until his death in 1649.³³ Like Bordeaux, Van Der Hem's native Amsterdam was an important seventeenth-century European port city. Amsterdam was the economic pulse of the newly established United Provinces, the seventeenth-century republic that formed in the aftermath of the revolt against Spanish rule in the Netherlands. Much of the fighting involved in the Netherlandish revolt consisted of siege warfare, whereby cities relied upon the strength of their military fortifications for their safety and defense. Considering the bustling urban environment of his native city and the recent military troubles of his country, the political, social and cultural importance of a city's physical structures to its inhabitants would not have been lost on Van Der Hem. This may explain why his drawings exhibit such architectural and topographical detail. Van Der Hem's drawings of Bordeaux visually communicated the role of architecture in the city's political self-consciousness.

Van Der Hem's depiction of the building in which Bordeaux's *parlement* met, the Palais de l'Ombrière, reified the importance of the governing body to the city (fig. 1). In this drawing, the artist presents the parliamentary palace as a powerful structure, rising above all other buildings in the square: its towers stretch elegantly into the sky. Van Der Hem pays little attention to perspective in his depiction of the Ombrière in order to emphasize the building's monumentality: the three towers in the right of the drawing move further back into the picture plane, one after the other, but retain their impressive,

³³ For more information on Herman Van Der Hem see Emmanuelle Demont and Marc Favreau, *Herman Van Der Hem (1619-1649): Un Dessinateur Hollandais À Bordeaux et dans le Bordelais au XVIIe Siècle* (Bourg: Les Editions de l'Entre-deux-Mers, 2006)

equal heights. The centrality and monumentality of the palace within Van Der Hem's depiction suggest its position as a source of prosperity in the scenes witnessed below: these figures do not labor in the shadow of an imposing fortress like those peasants before the Louvre in the *Très Riches Heures* (fig. 2), but engage in commercial activity and chivalric quotidian exercises; a man exits a building in the right middleground, while another man begins to bow to a woman in the left foreground. These harmonious interactions between the people in the street seem to emanate from the Ombrière, a building which one author cited as the "perfect incarnation of the *parlement*."³⁴ The physical structure of the building took on political significance; it served as a material reminder of Bordeaux's rights and privileges of self-government.

While Van Der Hem's depiction of the Ombrière pointed to the building's role in communicating the power and authority of the city's governing body, the artist's 1639 representation of the Château Trompette (fig. 3) denied the royal fortress any sense of grandeur that could convey the power of the institution that controlled it, namely, the French Crown.

Unlike the artist's depiction of the Palais de l'Ombrière, Van der Hem's drawing of the Château Trompette evokes little notion of the physical force or the monumentality of the building that is represented. The walls of the fortress along the banks of the Garonne River seem solid enough, but the angle at which Van Der Hem has chosen to present the view of the city diminishes their size; for example, the tower just to the right of the center of the drawing appears stubby and short; it is the visual opposite of the

³⁴ Le Mao, 47.

Ombrière's towers which rise above the cityscape in the left middle-ground of the drawing.

Since its construction in Bordeaux in 1453, the Château Trompette served as a strategic military fortification that could assure the Crown's control over a potentially recalcitrant populace. Oriented in the direction of the city's center and stationed with royal troops, the Château Trompette represented a physical threat to Bordeaux's local sovereignty. Even the scenes of harmonious social interaction which took place in the artist's representation of the Ombrière are absent in his drawing of the Château Trompette: besides the presence of two men pulling their small boat onto the shore, this part of the city seems rather deserted and distanced from the lively center around the parliamentary palace. In addition, an ambiguous moment takes place in the right side of the drawing where the wall extending from the right edge of the image suddenly disappears: the stumpy tower and this wall do not connect, and it is unclear if this part of the Château Trompette's defenses has fallen into ruin. The fortress's unimpressive size and questionable physical state in Van Der Hem's depiction can be interpreted as a rebuke of the threat of the incursion of monarchical power into the city. Whether or not the fortress's physical condition in Van Der Hem's drawing is in question, the Château Trompette's marginalized and lackluster representation convey a sense of distaste or aversion felt toward the building meant to guarantee the monarchy's presence and authority in the city. In Bordeaux, the city's buildings took on political associations and signified the competing interests of local government and the French Crown.

Mazarinades=Epernonneries?

At the outset of the Parliamentary Fronde in Bordeaux, the *parlement* and people's revolt was not a direct challenge to the Crown's power in the city.³⁵ At this stage of events in Bordeaux, the King, the incarnation of the French monarchy, remained an exterior figure in what seemed nothing more than an internal quarrel. Acting as an interlocutor between two rival powers, the Regent sent a member of the King's state counsel, Sire René Voyer d'Argenson, to mediate between the *parlement* and d'Epernon in order to reestablish peace in the province.³⁶ The *parlement's* response to d'Argenson's appeal for peace demonstrates the *parlement's* recognition of the Crown:

Messieurs de Sabourin and Cursol will go to the city gate to receive the said Sire d'Argenson and show him the honor and respect with which the court receives those who come on behalf of the King...³⁷

Similarly, when the commander of parliamentary troops, M. Sauveboeuf, assumed his position in the spring of 1649 he was named "general of the King's army under the authority of *parlement*," and his predecessor, the Marquise de Chambert, took an oath to "well and faithfully serve the King and defend the city [of Bordeaux]." ³⁸ These examples suggest that the *parlement* of Bordeaux considered itself not in opposition to the monarchy but united with royal authority: they, not d'Epernon, were the allies of royal power.

³⁵ William Beik, *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 219. Beik accuses the Parlement of Bordeaux of drawing Bordeaux's populace into "two wars against the king." This analysis is overly simplified and does not take into consideration the unique circumstances regarding the encroachment of Epernon's troops in relation to Bordeaux's rebellion in 1649.

³⁶ A.M. Bx. R.S. 04/21/1649

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Le Mao, 68.

However, the ideas of monarchical authority differed between the *parlement* and d'Épernon. Historian Caroline Le Mao has defined an opposition between the parliamentary rhetoric and that of d'Épernon in their respective correspondence with the Crown. She notes that while d'Épernon addressed “Their Majesties [Leurs Majestés]” in his letters to Mazarin, the *parlement* only spoke of “the King [le Roi]” or “His Majesty [Sa Majesté].”³⁹ D'Épernon's use of the plural address—*Leurs Majestés*—implied an expansion of monarchical authority that included the Queen Regent, and, by extension, her governing counsel, of which, Cardinal Mazarin assumed a powerful position. D'Épernon's association of Mazarin with monarchical authority was logical: it was Mazarin who had the greatest influence on the Queen, and Mazarin who invested d'Épernon with the governorship of the province. Mazarin's identification with the monarchy and d'Épernon's relationship with the Cardinal had a great effect on the course of events in Bordeaux.

On July 24th, 1649 d'Épernon entered the city of Bordeaux accompanied by four hundred men on horseback and a group of trumpeters to sound his arrival. The Duke's entry alluded to the *entrée*, a traditional ceremony practiced upon the arrival of the French monarch into a city that was based on Roman triumphal processions: the Duke's entry into Bordeaux aligned him with the monarchy. D'Épernon marched toward the Palais de l'Ombrière. He entered the palace with his troops to forcibly disband the *parlement*: with this gesture the Duke violated the sanctity of the Ombrière, which had

³⁹ Ibid. 54-56.

never before been entered by force.⁴⁰ D'Epernon, the triumphant governor and voice of central authority, read the royal decree:

His majesty, having in his counsel the advice of the Queen Regent his mother, has declared and declares the inhabitants of the said city of Bordeaux all together, those others being present in the said city who serve and follow their rebellion, criminals of Their Majesties & as such inhabitants restricted and deprived of their privileges, including the right of community.⁴¹

The King had forsaken his oath: he did not protect the privileges of Bordeaux against d'Epernon. Furthermore, the language employed throughout the decree was the same used by the Duke in his letters to the Crown. The decree's reference to *Leurs Majestés* linked the Regency Government (i.e. Mazarin) to the institution of the monarchy; the decision to revoke Bordeaux's privilege of self-governance came from King, the Queen Regent, and the Regency Counsel. At this juncture, the *parlement's* quarrel with d'Epernon escalated.

D'Epernon's connection with Mazarin and Mazarin's connection with the Regency Government transformed the Fronde in Bordeaux into a revolt against the monarchy. Following d'Epernon's entry into the city, an alliance between d'Epernon and Cardinal Mazarin cemented in the popular imagination of Bordeaux's inhabitants. The publication of libels against d'Epernon shortly after his *entrée* linked the Duke to Cardinal Mazarin:

You were not just

⁴⁰ Le Mao, 47.

⁴¹ A.M. Bx. BIB K 7/17: Sa Maïesté estant en son conseil de l'auis de la Reyne Regente sa mere à declare & declare les habitant de ladite ville de Bordeaux ensembles tous, les autres qui estans à present dans la dite ville les servent ou adherent à leur rebellion, criminals de Leurs Majestés & comme tells habitants descheves & privez de tous leurs privileges, mesme du droit de communauté

You saw the city ready
You left without drums
Duc d'Epéron, and without trumpets⁴²

The text, which makes reference to d'Epéron's July 1649 entry, the critical moment at which Bordeaux's revolt turned against the monarchy, identified with the style of the libels printed against Mazarin, called *mazarinades*, in publication in France since 1648.⁴³ The people of Bordeaux's critique of d'Epéron through the use of *mazarinade* literature associated the Duke with the Cardinal: they were both enemies of Bordeaux for whom entry into the city would later be prohibited by the *parlement*.⁴⁴

The text also makes reference to the Château Trompette. The last line of the *mazarinde* (or *eperonnerie*), "Duc d'Epéron, without trumpets," or "*sans trompette*" in French, is intended as a *double entendre*: the line references the Duke's less than heroic departure from the city as well as d'Epéron's eventual dispossession of the royal fortress. After d'Epéron left the city, the *parlement*'s forces began their siege against the Château Trompette, stationed with royal troops, which heretofore had been neglected during the fighting. In September of 1649 d'Epéron wrote to the Regency's counsel in Agen: "They [the members of parlement] refuse to accept peace, and, far from wanting to accept, continue to commit acts of hostility, having laid siege to the Château Trompette."⁴⁵ For over two months the *parlement*'s forces attacked the fortress

⁴² A.D. Gir. 4 J 136, Recueil de Mazarinades, Triolets de Bordeaux: "À vous jouer un mauvais tour/ Vous vîtes la ville prête/ Vous sortîtes aussi sans tambour/ Duc d'Epéron, et sans trompette."

⁴³ Christian Jouhoud, *Mazarinades: la Fronde des Mots* (Paris: Aubier, 1985)

⁴⁴ A.D. Gir, 4 J 127 Arrêts de la cour de Parlement de Bordeaux sur le refus de l'entrée des gens de guerre et du Cardinal Mazarin dans la ville de Bordeaux... 1650, p. 4

⁴⁵ A.H.D.G. v. XXXVI Lettre du Duc d'Epéron aux consuls d'Agen 09/10/1649: "ils refusent cette paix, et, bien loi de vouloir accepter, continuent à commettre des actes d'hostilité jusques à avoir assiégé le Chasteau Trompette" 175.

relentlessly with three batteries of cannons, one of which was placed on the vault of the Piliers de Tutelle, another on the roof of the Jacobin monastery.⁴⁶ On the 18th of October, 1649, the Château Trompette fell to the “Bordeaux rebels:”

After more than two months of siege, during which the Bordeaux rebels lost many lives and spent much money which has totally exhausted them making it necessary to tyrannize the bourgeois, the Sire Haumont, who commanded the Château Trompette, has finally surrendered.⁴⁷

D’Epernon, having sent this letter to the counsel in Agen condemning the tyrannical rebels, was “sans [le Château] trompette.”

The *parlement* did not decide to use the Château Trompette as a military camp for its forces as it had with the Château du Hâ. Instead, the Château Trompette was targeted for complete destruction. The plans for the erasure of the fortress are made explicit in another mazarinade:

I want to make you [d’Epernon] a mausoleum
Of the razed Château Trompette,
Of the pulverized Puy Paulin,
Of the absent citadel.⁴⁸

The author of this *mazarinade* pointed to a connection between architectural destruction and political impotence within the libel. He makes reference to the “razed Château Trompette” and the “pulverized Puy Paulin,” the governor’s residence in the city. The destruction of these buildings would provide the materials necessary for the construction

⁴⁶ Paymond Celeste, *Les Piliers de Tutelle* (Gounouilhou, Bordeaux: 1906) 15.

⁴⁷ A.H.D.G. v.XXXVI Lettre du Duc d’Epernon aux consuls d’Agen 10/21/1649: ‘apres plus de deux mois de siege, pendant lesquels les Bourdelois rebelles ont perdu quantité de monde et faict des dépenses qui les ont entirément espuisés et obliges à les tyranniser les bourgeois, le sieur Haumont, qui commandoit dans le Chasteau Trompette, en est enfin sorti.

⁴⁸ A.M. Bx. *Le Prince Ridicule*, inedited mazarinade composed in 1650.

of another: “a mausoleum” for d’Epernon. Although construction enters the story, the type of construction evoked, that for the building of a mausoleum, connotes the idea of death, or absence: remnants of the “absent citadel” will be used for the construction of a monument to absence— the Duke’s mausoleum. Through its transformation into a mausoleum, the Château Trompette, although not entirely destroyed, will serve as a signifier of the Duke’s bodily absence. For Bordeaux’s inhabitants, the absence of d’Epernon and the Château Trompette signified the absence of monarchical authority in the city.

Parlement vs. the Menu Peuple: The End of the Fronde in Bordeaux

On January 18th, 1650, the Prince de Condé, his brother, the Prince de Conti, and brother in law, the Duc de Longueville were arrested by the order of Mazarin and the Queen. The response of those in the camp of the princes was quick: the wives of the arrested princes raised popular support for their husbands in their provinces in order to wage a war against the Regency Government. France’s nobility split into factions, taking sides with either the crown or the Condé party. In June of 1650, the Princess de Condé and her young son entered the city of Bordeaux. The Fronde of the Princes arrived with them.

As William Beik explains, the arrival of the Condé party in Bordeaux created problems for the authorities in the city: “The jurade and the *parlement* would face rival command centers, and splits would widen between those advocating behind-the-scenes resistance to Mazarin and Epernon led by the *parlement*...and those who wanted to join

the princes overtly in all-out-rebellion...’’⁴⁹ The members of the *parlement* resisted an alliance with the Condé party, hesitant to rekindle rebellion against the King’s forces. However, the Princess de Condé appealed to the common people [*menu peuple*] of Bordeaux. In his *Histoire de la Ville de Bordeaux*, Dom Devienne commented that “the coldest heart would warm at this spectacle, and would not have witnessed with cold blood a princess and a prince of the blood humiliated to the point of asking, on their knees like those begging for mercy, that one give them justice.”⁵⁰ The people supported the princess’s plea and, as a united “civic force,” pressured the *parlement* to join the Condé party’s fight against the crown.

Over the next two years, the wars between the *parlement*’s forces and the King’s army exhausted Bordeaux’s treasury. The *parlement* was obligated to levy taxes, which caused an uproar amongst the people:

Having, with the public’s consent, taken charge of public funds, they have come to regard that function as a legal right, and are nettled when asked to give an accounting. One can only list all their crimes...their overweening pride, their hunger for profit, the cruelty of their justice...’’⁵¹

Explaining their polemic against the *parlement* of Bordeaux, the Ormée, an organized faction of the *menu peuple*, cited the sovereign court’s administration of public finances as one of many injustices resulting from their desire to “exercise absolute power” over

⁴⁹ Beik, 225.

⁵⁰ Dom Devienne, *Histoire de la ville de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux: 1762) 367-368: “le coeur le plus dur se serait attendri à ce spectacle, et n’aurait pas ve de sang-froid une princesse et un prince du sang homilies au point de demander, à genoux et comme une grâce , qu’on leur rendit justice.”

⁵¹ L’Apologie pour l’Ormée par un de l’assemblée de messieurs les bourgeois, cited in Alexander Westrich, *The Ormée of Bordeaux: A Revolution during the Fronde* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1972) 19.

the inhabitants of the city.⁵² The Ormée, supported by the Condé party, who considered the group's anti-Regency Government position positive to their cause, revolted against the *parlement*.⁵³ The Ormists targeted the houses of members of *parlement*—"exercisers of absolute power"—for destruction:

Then the cannons were turned on the house of President Pichon, which was taken, then pillaged and put to the torch.⁵⁴

Like the Château Trompette, the houses of members of the *parlement* existed as material symbols of the power invested within their owners: their destruction signified the erasure of that power in Bordeaux.

As their houses disappeared, so too did the members of *parlement*. The Ormée defeated the sovereign court and established their authority over the city. Ormists called for the restoration of the "liberties lost in the course of all these centuries" which "[could] only be accomplished by the people. The great nobles and magistrates are the accomplices of tyranny."⁵⁵ Their rhetoric condemned the hierarchical organization of seventeenth-century French society as tyrannical, and the Ormists envisioned the establishment of "a republic [in Bordeaux]."⁵⁶ However, the parliamentary members who had been chased from Bordeaux, bereft of their political power (and homes), joined with the King's army against the city. The Ormée could not sustain their defense against the attack of the united forces. The Ormée's republican aspirations were silenced, and the Fronde in Bordeaux came to an end.

⁵² Ibid. 19.

⁵³ See Chapter Four, "The Ormée in Power: Institutional Change," in Westrich's *The Ormée of Bordeaux*, 60-72.

⁵⁴ Westrich, 38.

⁵⁵ Manifest des Bordelais p. 7-8, cited in Westrich, 54.

⁵⁶ A.H.D.G. v. VII Lettre de M. Lenet au M. le Prince de Condé: "tous ont l'esprit de république" 264-65.

The Crown emerged as the victor in Bordeaux. Peace was made between the King and the people of the city. However, what impact did the Fronde have on the young monarch? Joël Cornette suggests that the troubles of the Fronde should not be neglected in our understanding of the rise of absolutism in France under Louis XIV.⁵⁷ Although the extent of the Fronde's impact on Louis XIV's exercise of political power can not be measured, the events of the Fronde remained forever present in the memory of the monarch: he would pass that memory of the danger of the Fronde to the *Dauphin* in his *Mémoires*. The *parlement* of Bordeaux, whose actions during the Fronde contributed to the "horrible effects produced in the state," offered thanks to the King for the peace reestablished in the city and its excuses for insurrection:

Sire, the subjects distanced from their prince resemble those people on whom the sun shines only by the reflections of its rays, and for whom the distance makes them suffer excessive difficulties. Your throne is too far to see the hand as soon as it hits us, to hear the cry of our sorrow at the moment that one hurts us.⁵⁸

According to the metaphor used by the *parlement*, the distance of the people of Bordeaux from their monarch likened them to people distanced from the light of the sun: the darkness of revolt, in whose shadows lay the ruined Château Trompette, grew in the absence of the King's light. But how could the King's absence be mitigated to prevent future rebellion? The sustained presence of the distant monarch required the construction of a material metonym of his power and authority. In the aftermath of the Fronde, the monarchy would soon look to rebuild the Château Trompette. The French Crown's reinvestment in the construction of the Château Trompette would link the physical

⁵⁷ Joël Cornette, *Absolutisme et Lumières 1652-1783* (Paris: Hachette, 2005) 8-12.

⁵⁸ A.M. Bx. Fonds Anciens, *Remerciement des Bordelais au Roi sur le sujet de la Paix*

structure of the fortress to the memory of the monarch's presence in the city. Bordeaux's illumination after the Fronde required the presence of the Sun King.

Sunrise: The King and His Fortress in Bordeaux

The *entrée* [King's entry] is the *mise en scène* of the power of the monarch, as much for the statutes of this imaginary city as for the assemblies of the corteges where the symbolism of the mystic body of the king finds itself- the bodies of the city where the members order themselves around the head, the sovereign.

Michel Cassan, *Fêtes*⁵⁹

Michel Cassan's use of the expression *mise en scène* to describe and define the royal *entrée* stresses the ceremony's association with theatre and performance. Set against an urban backdrop, the spectacle of the *entrée* transformed the site of quotidian ritual into an "imaginary city." The transformation of urban space into a theatrical stage setting for the performance of the monarch's power involved the organization and display of a complex system of visual stimulants: processions, paintings, sculpture, costumes, etc. Typically, the visual elements of the *entrée* constructed an iconographic program that made connections between the monarch and mythological heroes or great leaders from ancient history in order to honor the King. The *entrée's* allusion to the classical past would not have been lost on educated elites who studied the Latin histories of ancient Rome in the French *collèges*; the French ceremony of the *entrée* recalled the Roman triumphal procession—a celebratory parade intended to purify soldiers contaminated by

⁵⁹ Michel Cassan, "Fêtes," *Dictionnaire de l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Seuil, 1996) 544: "L'entrée est la mise en scène de la puissance du monarque, tant par les statues de cette ville imaginaire que par l'agrégation des cortèges où se retrouve la symbolique du corps mystique du roi- les corps de la ville où les membres s'ordonnant autour de la tête, le souverain."

war and to signify the culmination of successful military campaigns.⁶⁰ The procession of the Roman triumph adhered to a strict route through the city that was determined by specific geographic and architectural sites associated with religious and secular concerns of the ceremony: the triumph began in the Campus Martius to signify the military victories that the parade celebrated and ended at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus where religious sacrifices were made to “appease and honor the gods.”⁶¹

One of the most defining architectural features that organized and was associated with the Roman triumphal procession was the triumphal arch. Relief sculptures decorating the Arch of Titus (fig. 4), an honorific arch dedicated to the victories of the Roman Emperor Titus and completed in 82 C.E., visually exemplify the order and direction of the Roman Triumph. In both of the reliefs, which depict the procession of the spoils of Jerusalem (fig. 5) and the allegory of Rome guiding the Imperial *Quadruga* carrying Emperor Titus and an allegory of Victory (fig. 6), there exists an emphasis on order that enables easy legibility of the scenes. For example, in the relief of Emperor Titus with the Imperial *Quadruga*, the artists established a visual hierarchal order by making Emperor Titus the tallest figure among those in the group. Furthermore, in both panels spatial order is established by the high or low relief techniques in which the figures are carved: those figures closest to the viewer are carved in highest relief while those farther back are carved in lower relief. These techniques aid the image’s legibility of the scene, underscoring Emperor Titus’s victory and the immediacy of the procession which leads the viewer in the direction of the triumph: the figures in both scenes face the

⁶⁰ Diane Favro, “The Street Triumphant: The Urban Impact of Roman Triumphal Parades” in *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*. Ed. Zeynep Çelik, et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) 151-164.

⁶¹ Favro, 154.

direction in which the ceremony would have proceeded— toward the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus which was directly aligned with the Arch of Titus.⁶²

In addition to serving as an important material element organizing the triumphal procession, the construction of triumphal arches also communicated political implications of the Roman Triumph. Designed as a permanent monument in the city to one's glory, the triumphal arch was one of the highest honors a commanding general or Emperor could receive in Rome. However, the decision to dedicate or construct a triumphal arch was the prerogative of the Roman Senate, and each triumphal arch bore the inscription: SPQR (*Senatus Populusque Romanus*), the Senate and Roman People. When political power shifted from the Roman Senate to the Roman Emperor, the authority to bestow a triumphal arch remained with the elected body and provided the otherwise impotent Senate a means to leverage their influence with the Emperor. Like other arches, the Arch of Titus bears the SPQR inscription that proclaimed the monument a gift of the Roman Senate. Although the structure honors the military victories of Emperor Titus, the arch's dedicatory inscription declares senatorial agency.⁶³

Like the Roman Triumph, the ceremony of the French *entrée*, typically celebrated upon the arrival or return of the visiting or traveling monarch, involved the use of architectural constructions to organize the procession through the city. A list of architectural structures made for the occasion of another Henri II's *entrée* in Lyon in 1548 included: an obelisk, the Arch at Pierre-Scize, the Arch at Bourgneuf, victory columns,

⁶² Ena Makin, "The Triumphal Route, with Particular Reference to the Flavian Triumph," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 11 (1921) 25-36.

⁶³ For a thorough work on the history of Roman Triumphs see, H.S. Versnel, *Triumphus: An Inquiry into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970).

the Double Arch of Saint-Paul, the Arch of Honor and Virtue at Saint-Éloy, a model Roman temple, a monument to Fortune (Occasio), the Arch at Porte-froc, and another victory column at Saint-Jean.⁶⁴ Each of these structures was richly decorated with mythological and/or allegorical figures that communicated the virtues and praise of the visiting monarch. The structures' ornamentation— like the depiction of Victories surmounting Furies on the obelisk (fig. 7) and the representation of the figures of Fidelity and Obedience in the entablature on the Arch at Pierre-Scize (fig. 8)— reinforced the city's encomium and support for Henri II through the employment of a visual language that mixed allegory and ancient history.⁶⁵

A print from Pierre Matthieu's *L'Entrée de très grand et victorieux prince Henry III, en sa bonne ville de Lyon, le IIII sept 1595* (fig. 9), published to commemorate one of Henri IV's royal *entrées*, gives some sense of the way in which the architectural structures guided the procession through the city. The long parade of the King's arriving party weaves through various victory arches, around fountains and past obelisks— similar to the ones employed in Henri II's *entrée* mentioned above. One provisional monument constructed for another of Henri IV's *entrées*— the one celebrated in 1599 in Rouen— was an obelisk with vertical registers representing the labors of Hercules (fig. 10). The iconography of the structure was intended to make a connection between the classical hero and Henri IV:

Henri and Hercules are similar

⁶⁴ Maurice Scève, *The Entry of Henri II into Lyon: September 1548*, a facsimile with and introduction by Richard Cooper (Tempe: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997) 44-62.

⁶⁵ Scève, 46-47.

In virtue, speech and deeds...⁶⁶

The inscription on the obelisk declared the similarity between Henri IV and Hercules' virtue, speech and actions, and the connection made between Henri IV and a mythological hero acted as an allegorical tool to legitimize the new Bourbon dynasty. While elaborately embellished, the architectural structures that formed the "imaginary city" for the ceremony of the *entrée*— unlike the Roman Triumphal Arches— were not permanent.

Although these temporary monuments to the King's glory were designed to convey the appearance of stability and antiquity (the obelisk from Henri II's *Lyon entrée*, for example, was left with cracks and had grass placed in the upper part to make it seem ancient), the structures constructed for the *entrée* were typically made from transient materials like wood and paper-maché; the rustication of the monuments belied their contemporary production and ephemeral nature.⁶⁷ Even though classical motifs and antique architectural forms were used to associate the King with heroic figures and a historical past in order to legitimize and extol the power and virtue of the French monarch, the material trappings mobilized for the *entrée* hinted at the superficiality of any claims to historical legitimation. The architectural structures of the *entrée* masked the city's historical architecture and transformed the city into an iconographic presentation of the King's power— the "imaginary city" to which Cassan makes reference.

⁶⁶ Pierre Matthieu, "Discours de la ioyeuse et triomphante entrée..., Rouen, 1599" in *Entrée à Rouen du Roi Henri IV en 1596* (Rouen: Esperance Cagniard, 1887) : "Hercule & Henry sont semblables/En vertus, en dits, & en faits/Sinon qu'Hercule est dans les fables/Et Henry dedans les effets".

⁶⁷ Ibid. 44.

However, discussing Henri IV's *entrée* into Rouen in 1594, art historian Todd Olson, who identifies local elites as the directors of the ceremony, explains that the *entrée* "was also a picture of the King, physically constrained by local elites, following a highly prescribed spatial, iconographic, performative, and linguistic discipline." As Henri IV made his way through Rouen during the *entrée* and arrived at the obelisk depicting the labors of Hercules, Pierre Matthieu tells us that the monarch contemplated "this magnificent work, true hieroglyph of his virtues," then turned and proceeded according to schedule.⁶⁸ Although the King was modeled after Hercules and a triumphant Roman hero on horseback, it was a model designed by the political and educated elites of Rouen, and the King was expected to take his proscribed place in the ceremony; the *entrée*'s production and organizing framework negotiated monarchical and local authority.⁶⁹

The regulation, activation, and organization of bodies in the ceremony—including that of the King's—constituted the type of ritual performance Paul Connerton described as essential to sustaining cultural memory.⁷⁰ The *entrée*'s insistence upon a set of expected and codified gestures and interactions between the visiting monarch and local officials transformed the physical bodies of those involved in the ritual performance into visible reminders of the historical relationship between the institution of monarchy and provincial localities. Just as the dedication of the triumphal arch inscribed the compromising political relationship between the Roman Senate (SPQR) and the Emperor,

⁶⁸ Matthieu, 53: "Le Roy ayant contemplé ce magnifique ouurage vray hieroglyfique de ses vertus, detournant á main gauche, entra dans la ruë aux Ouës, & étant au milieu d'icelle, les quatre Quarteniers de ladite ville descendus de leurs cheuaux prindrent des mains des Conseillers Escheuins remonterent à cheual pour aller reioindre le corps de la ville."

⁶⁹ Todd Olson, *Poussin and France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002) 19-20.

⁷⁰ Connerton, 41-71

the organization of the French *entrée* displayed the mediation of power relations between local governing elites and the King; encomia and panegyric masked competing political prerogatives.

Noting the use of “temporary arches” and “other provisional monuments” within the ceremony, Olson also underscores the importance of architectural elements to Henri IV’s *entrée* into Rouen and points to their ephemeral nature. The monuments, which were so crucial to the program to panegyricize the power of the King, were as fleeting as the monarch’s presence in the provincial city. The complex architectural structures constructed for the *entrées* of the Kings of France only survive as depictions and descriptions in chronicles and written programs printed to commemorate the ceremonies. Like any performance, that of the King’s *entrée* into the city eventually came to an end: the monarch’s exit, his absence from the stage, indicated the conclusion of the *mise en scène* of his power in the city, leaving authority to local elites.

The *entrée*’s ephemeral nature and the inherent recognition of local authority conveyed through participation in the ceremony are opposed to traditional historical interpretations of the development of French absolutism in the seventeenth century. The standard account of the Crown’s consolidation of power in France explains that after witnessing the danger of “the great rise of the *parlements*” during the Fronde, Louis XIV set about constructing a political program that relied less on the recognition of municipal powers.⁷¹ As sociologist and historian Norbert Elias explained, the construction of monarchical power in seventeenth-century France was an extension of authority the

⁷¹ Marie-France Wagner and Daniel Vaillancourt, *Le roi dans la ville: Anthologie des entrées royales dans les villes françaises de province 1615-1670* (Paris: Champion, 2010) 10.

prince exercised over his house and his court throughout the rest of the country: “Louis XIV, the turning and culminating point of this evolution [of absolutism], had no other ambition than to organize France as private property, as an extension of his court.”⁷² Over the years, historians have debated the traditional view of absolutism and have challenged the degree of control and authority the monarchy commanded. James B. Collins, for example, has studied the seventeenth-century French tax system in order to show the relative ineffectiveness in the Crown’s ability to raise and spend money. Collins’ analysis reconsidered the model of the all-powerful monarch and presented instead an image of the French King whose authority was constrained and limited by the Kingdom’s financial and economic systems.⁷³

While these competing understandings of French absolutism have considered economic and political situations in seventeenth-century France, I am interested in exploring the role of architecture in relation to the development of the monarchy’s program to exert greater authority in the affairs of state. Specifically, I would like to examine an association between bodies and architectural structures in Bordeaux to see how buildings participated in a performance (*à la* Connerton) — similar to that of the *entrée*— that was requisite to the preservation of memory and central to the competition for authoritative control in the city. In Bordeaux, following the events of the Fronde, the implementation of the King’s power, the extension of the authority he possessed, would also rely upon the imposition of architectural structures in the city. However, unlike the temporary monuments that orchestrated the recognition of the King’s power in the

⁷² Norbert Elias, *La Société de Cour*, trans. Pierre Kamnitzer (Paris: Flammarion, 1985) 18.

⁷³ James B. Collins, *Fiscal Limits of Absolutism: Direct Taxation in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

ceremony of the *entrée*, the building Louis XIV (re)constructed as the material synecdoche of monarchical presence in Bordeaux expressed— visually and materially—the King’s intentions for a *permanent* reminder of his power in the city: the Château Trompette took center stage in the theatre of Bordeaux’s urban landscape after the Fronde and signaled the monarchy’s design for a lasting presence and authority in the city.

Enter the King

Before the Fronde, the French monarch’s authority in Bordeaux was less than marginal. Although Bordeaux had been under the French crown since 1453, the investiture of a sovereign court there granted local governing bodies, the *parlement* and the *jurade*, authoritative control in managing bureaucratic and judicial affairs in the city. Until the middle of the sixteenth century, official parliamentary decrees, registers, and legislation were written in the provincial dialect, *Gascon*, and not in French.⁷⁴ Thus, even the language in which laws were promulgated and justice communicated, the language of authority in the city, belonged to local officials; *Gascon* was their language, a language foreign to the French King. Additionally, the establishment of Crown sanctioned representatives invested with royal authority in the provinces, the *intendants*, originated within Cardinal Richelieu’s program for governing the state, and, therefore, did not exist in Bordeaux before the beginning of the seventeenth century.

⁷⁴ Robert Boutruche, *Bordeaux de 1453 à 1715* (Bordeaux: Fédération Historique du Sud-Ouest, 1966) 282-83.

The terms of peace offered by the King to the inhabitants of Bordeaux in order to restore “public tranquility” after the Fronde in 1653 included two articles specifically concerning the Château Trompette:

Article XI: The Château Trompette will be replaced in his Majesty’s possession in its present state to be hereafter protected by his royal body guard.

Article XII: The cannons which were in the Château Trompette will be reinstalled in the said château...⁷⁵

The fortress, like the young monarch, was stripped of power in Bordeaux during the rebellion: the Château Trompette suffered the loss of basic elements of military force, soldiers and artillery. However, within these articles the King underlined his intention to reinvest physical might into the Château Trompette: the fortress was to be protected by “his [Majesty’s] royal body guard” and its cannons “[were to be] reinstalled.” These measures provided the King with the military power necessary to impose his authority and control over a city that had for centuries defied submission to central/national governorship. Furthermore, Article XI attributes ownership of the Château Trompette to the King. The monarch’s “possession” of the Château Trompette, as well as the text’s stipulation that the military structure would be stationed and protected by the King’s “body guard,” reinforced the corporeal/material link between the King, royal authority, and the fortress.

The King’s reinvestment of physical and symbolic force into the Château Trompette, I suggest, was important to the monarch’s program of constructing the

⁷⁵ A.M. Bx. BIB K 7/17 *Lettre et Declaration du Roy avec les articles en consequence accordez par sa Majesté pour le repos & pour la tranquillité de la ville de Bordeaux*: ‘Article XI: le Chasteau Trompette sera remis entre les mains de sa dite Majesté en l’estat qu’il est à present pour estre cy-apres gardé par ses gardes du corps. Article XII: Les canons qui estoient dans le Chasteau Trompette seront remis audit chasteau...’

Crown's authority in Bordeaux after the Fronde. An engraving by an anonymous artist representing the capitulation of Bordeaux at the end of France's civil war illustrates this point (fig. 11). According to the art historian Marc Favreau, the publishing rights of the engraving belonged to Christophe Tassin, an engineer and geographer of the King. Tassin's collection included engravings of cityscapes of French cities, and in 1631 he published a collection of maps titled, *Cartes générales & particulières de France et des royaumes et provinces voisines, avec les plans profilz et eslevations de toutes les villes & lieux de consideration*.⁷⁶

While the engraving depicting Bordeaux's defeat at the end of the Fronde was completed around or after 1653—twenty years after Tassin's *Cartes générales*—, the historic event represented takes place in front of a borrowed map of Bordeaux from Tassin's 1631 publication. Even though neither the contributing artist nor the engraver of the background's cityscape made any signature on the work, Favreau has identified the artist of the engraving's background as Henri Picart based on stylistic similarities between the representation of Bordeaux in this image and other cityscapes attributed to Picart.⁷⁷ In the right foreground of the engraving, the Duc de Vandôme, the legitimate son of Henri IV and Gabrielle d'Estrées (Louis XIV's great-uncle), lifts his sword in his right hand and clutches the reins of his horse's bridle with his left. Kneeling before the Duke are three deputies of the *jurade* of Bordeaux who the artist of the engraving identified in writing. The figures of the three deputies genuflect in front of the Duke, visually depicting a hierarchy of power within the image: their physical location beneath

⁷⁶ Marc Favreau, *Les "Portraits" de Bordeaux: Vues et Plans Gravés de la Capitale de la Guyenne du XVIe au XVIIIe Siècles* (Bourg: Editions de l'Entre-deux-Mers, 2007).

⁷⁷ Favreau, 86.

the Duke, whose horse rears back and elevates him above the *jurats* to a higher level of the picture plane, establishes the *jurats*' subordinate position in relation to Vandôme. The first deputy offers the Duke the keys to the city while the other two cross their arms on their chests in sign of allegiance. By offering the keys of the city to the leader of the King's forces, the *jurats* symbolically surrender their authority in the city, and their action conforms to the tradition— in practice since the Medieval period— of the “remission of the keys” that typically signaled the start of the *entrée*:

Medieval entries to the city had borne a profoundly religious stamp: the monarch or other important visitor was normally met outside the gates by the clergy with banners and by the city fathers and citizens, and after the city ceremony of the remission of the keys, a parade, and a harangue, a grand procession then accompanied him...⁷⁸

It is also important to note that this scene takes place beneath the Château Trompette, which happens to be the only building in the cityscape of Bordeaux identified by the artist in writing. The Duke's position directly under the Château Trompette, his sword almost touching the walls of the fortress, aligns the commander of the King's troops physically and symbolically with the material representation of royal authority in Bordeaux: the artist united the fortress and the King's force (i.e. his victorious army). Therefore, in presenting the Duc de Vandôme with the keys of the city, the deputies also acknowledged the superior authoritative power of the monarch. Although the ceremony in which local officials surrendered the keys of the city signified their inferior rank within the hierarchy of power before the King, the very fact that the keys had heretofore belonged to local officials and were theirs to give made evident the deputies' possession of authority in the King's absence.

⁷⁸ Cooper, 1.

When Louis XIV entered the city of Bordeaux in the summer of 1659 in anticipation of the conclusion of the Peace of the Pyrenees, he did not accept the keys of the city offered to him by the *jurats*. According to an early eighteenth-century source:

Their Majesties arrived in Bordeaux at five o'clock in the evening, were welcomed at the Porte [du Chapeau Rouge] by the *jurats*; the sire Camarsac harangued the king as he emerged from the navel vessel, and offered him the keys of the city which he refused and thanked the *jurats* who escorted their Majesties to the residences which had been prepared for them: the King stayed with Monsieur President Pichon on the Rue du Chapeau Rouge.⁷⁹

The description of Louis XIV's arrival to Bordeaux does not entirely conform to the expectations of events that preceded a monarch's *entrée*: while the elements of the ritual took place—Louis was greeted by the *jurats*, harangued and presented with the keys—the King deviated with protocol by rejecting the offer of the keys. By refusing the keys of the city, the King refused to recognize any authoritative power in the Bordeaux other than his own.

Additionally, the chronicler does not provide a description of an elaborate procession and parade celebrated on the occasion of Louis XIV's entry into Bordeaux: the King continued to ignore ancient and local traditions. Looking at a detail from a map of Bordeaux completed by de Ferry in 1699 showing the various stages of enlargement of the Château Trompette between 1653-1680 (fig. 12), one can see just how short a distance the King and his party would have had to travel from the Porte du Chapeau Rouge to the “residences prepared for them” on the Rue du Chapeau Rouge. The more or less adroit route between point A—the Porte du Chapeau Rouge where the King entered Bordeaux—and point B—the house of President Pichon on the Rue du Chapeau Rouge where the King stayed during his visit—would have eliminated the need for local

⁷⁹ A.M. Bx. BIB D 8/10 Tillet, *Chronique de Bordeaux* (Limoges: 1718).

officials to map out a complex procession through the city in which the King would be expected to participate. Louis XIV's entry to Bordeaux via the Porte du Chapeau Rouge not only made use of the ceremony of the *entrée* impractical, but also positioned the King's body in close proximity to the Château Trompette.

Another detail of de Ferry's map shows that the Porte du Chapeau Rouge was the point of entry closest to the royal fortress whose bastions would have been visible to those *jurats* awaiting the King's arrival (fig. 13). The monarch, emerging onto the scene of Bordeaux's urban landscape in the shadows of his fortress, made it visually apparent that the Château Trompette served as the point of origin for his entrance into the city. Thus, the King's entry physically and symbolically identified the Château Trompette as the source from which monarchical authority moved centrifugally throughout the city, connecting his body to the château: Louis XIV (royal power incarnate) moved into Bordeaux *from* the fortress. By deviating from the ritual of the *entrée*, the King failed to recognize the customary spaces and local knowledge structured by the history and topography of Bordeaux. Additionally, by associating his body with the Château Trompette, Louis XIV activated the château in an architectural performance that communicated the Crown's political intentions in Bordeaux: unlike the compromising gestures performed by his predecessors in past *entrées*, Louis XIV's arrival in Bordeaux acknowledged the fortress as the only symbolic power in the city.

Although Louis XIV broke with traditional local protocol, every performative gesture was calculated to be understood symbolically. The early eighteenth-century historical account of Louis XIV's entry into Bordeaux also makes note of the fact that the King stayed in the home of "Monsieur President Pichon." President Pichon's residence

still stands today (presently number 4 Cours de l'Intendance) in a condition similar to that when Pichon reconstructed the building after its demolition during the Fronde (fig. 14).⁸⁰ Its design is modest: a square building with an interior courtyard whose façade is separated into three symmetrically unified levels: the two upper levels are each composed of six window bays, while the lower level acts as a loggia whose six arched vaults, in perfect alignment with the rows of windows above, open on the street. Aside from the sculpted bouquets of garland that drape around the bays in the upper levels and the presence of two *mascarons* (stone faces) above the third and fourth windows of the second level (fig. 15), Pichon's house is without exterior ornamentation. The relative austerity of the president's home undermines any notion that Louis XIV chose to stay in the house on account of its princely sumptuousness. Rather, like Norbert Elias described, by lodging with Pichon, the King literally extended the power he exercised over his house to the house of the president. Furthermore, by taking possession of Pichon's house for his use in Bordeaux, the King simultaneously appropriated the symbolic power invested in that house which had previously been targeted for destruction by the Ormists: the King, not President Pichon, nor, by extension, the *parlement*, commanded the highest authoritative power in the city: a power which he would continue to construct in the fortress viewable from the windows of his apartments in Pichon's house; a power which the inhabitants of Bordeaux would continue to contest.

⁸⁰ This was one of the houses the Ormists pillaged during the Fronde.

Ring in Rebellion and Its Consequences

In August of 1675 the inhabitants of Bordeaux, like those of other provincial cities in France, rebelled once again against Louis XIV. The cause of revolt in the provinces stemmed from the King's imposition of taxes on paper, stamps, and tobacco. However, a letter written to Jean-Baptiste Colbert by Nicolas Desjardins, the King's engineer in charge of the reconstruction of the Château Trompette after the Fronde, four years before the eruption of the crisis suggests that the people of Bordeaux's frustration with central authority had another source:

Monseigneur, if we had a little more help and security of authority, I wouldn't worry half as much as I do; the garrison of this place [the Château Trompette], since I've been here, has a negative effect on the inhabitants of the city...a few days ago, a vagabond in the city, accompanied by two others, the first named Chapelus,...assassinated one of our carpenters having no pretext other than this man worked on the Château Trompette...M. Bordes, a counsel member of this parlement, has saved the life of Chapelus two times.⁸¹

According to Desjardins' letter, the inhabitant's hostility toward the Château Trompette continued to grow, with some going so far as to commit criminal acts against those whose work associated them with the fortress. It is striking that the assassins chose a carpenter as their victim, perhaps because he was a visible and vulnerable participant in the construction of the Château Trompette. The Château Trompette's reconstruction after the

⁸¹ Depping, *Correspondance administrative sous le règne de Louis XIV* vol. 4 (Paris: 1851) 34: 11/12/1671 Desjardins à Colbert: "Monseigneur, si nous étions un peu plus aidés et secourus d'autorité, je n'aurais pas la moitié de la peine que j'ai; la garnison de cette place, depuis que j'y suis, a un étrange effet sur les Bordelaus...depuis peu de jours, un vagabond de cette ville, accompagné de deux autres, le premier nommé Chapelus,...assassinèrent un de nos charpentiers,...n'ayant pris autre prétexte que cet homme travaillais au Château Trompette...M. Bordes, un conseiller de ce parlement a sauvé la vie par deux fois au nommé Chapelus.'

Fronde signified the victory of royal power over the rebel city: The angry inhabitants of Bordeaux reacted against the material imposition of power in their city.

At the conclusion of his correspondence, Desjardins also wrote that a member of Bordeaux's *parlement* protected the man accused of killing the worker. In the last sentence of his letter, Desjardins made the effort to emphasize that M. Bordes, "a member of [the] *parlement* [of Bordeaux]," aided the assassin not once but "two times." This information suggests that members of the municipal government took sides with the *menu peuple*: they too resented the fortress whose reconstruction signaled the Crown's design to establish a *lieu de mémoire* in the city that reminded the inhabitants of its presence and power in Bordeaux—a power that threatened the *parlement's* local governing authority. When Louis XIV levied taxes in 1675, the parliamentary magistrates responded disapprovingly to the King's actions:

We humbly reprimand his Majesty so that it will please him to give general amnesty to the inhabitants of the city of Bordeaux and its environs who have taken up arms to protect the city against acts of hostility, and for the abolition of control of the taxes on tobacco; thus, the said court [of Bordeaux] orders the cancellation of the said rights of control.⁸²

The *parlement's* declaration condemning the King's taxes employed a language which fashioned the sovereign court as the supreme authoritative voice in Bordeaux: the *parlement* "[reprimanded] his Majesty," and the *parlement* "[ordered] the cancellation" of the King's "rights of control" in the city. Parliamentary officials allied themselves to the cause of the *menu peuple*: Bordeaux revolted against the King's growing power over

⁸² A.M. Bx. R.S. 08/16/1675: "nos humbles remontrances seront faites à sa Majesté afin qu'il lui plaise de donner amnistie générale aux habitants de la ville de Bordeaux et banlieue d'icelle qui ont pris les armes, pour la prise d'icelle et actes d'hostilité, ensemble pour l'abolition des impots miss u le tabac; aini ordonne ladite cour que la levee desdites droits de contrôle."

its privileges; the people of Bordeaux sounded that revolt with the ringing of the bells in the campanile of the church of Saint-Michel.⁸³

Destruction Begins, Construction Continues

Rebellion in Bordeaux, which began with the sound of Saint-Michel's bells in August of 1675, came to an end by November of the same year. Although occupied with the war in Holland, Louis XIV sent the Duc de Chaulnes into the provinces with six thousand men to end the rebellion.⁸⁴ The combined force of Chaulnes' army and the King's garrison at the Château Trompette, which fired its cannons at rebel crowds during the insurrection, established order in the city through military repression: the forces of order executed seditious citizens by hanging them from the same campanile they had used to announce their revolt.⁸⁵ For both the rebelling inhabitants of Bordeaux and the Crown, the city's architectural structures served as sites for the demonstration of power. Like the anecdote of the murder of the carpenter who worked on the construction of the Château Trompette, the administration of capital punishment following the rebellion in 1675 connected bodies and bodily violence to architecture; the materiality of buildings was associated with the physical human body in both cases. The connection between bodies and buildings in meeting out capital punishment was also indicative of the ritual of torture that marked the bodies of criminals. The spectacle of rebels hanging from the campanile of Saint Michel visually branded the crime to the criminal by positioning the body of the victim in proximity to the architectural structure associated with the rebellion.

⁸³ Albert Réche *Naissance et Vie des Quartiers de Bordeaux: Mille Ans de Vie Quotidienne* (Paris: Seghers, 1979) 43.

⁸⁴ *Journal de France et des Français*, 847.

⁸⁵ Le Mao, 143.

Discussing the implications of public execution to early modern power structures, the historian and philosopher Michel Foucault explained:

[The public execution's] aim is not so much to re-establish a balance as to bring into play, as its extreme point, the dissymmetry between the subject who has dared to violate the law and the all-powerful sovereign who displays his strength.⁸⁶

Similar to the way in which the King positioned his body in relation to particular architectural structures in the city during his *entrée* in 1659, bodies were deployed in relation to material buildings; just as the Château Trompette served as a physical reminder of the monarch's presence and authority in Bordeaux, the campanile of Saint-Michel stood as the symbol of opposition to that authority. Both structures constituted competing *lieux de mémoire* in the struggle to impose power in the city: Saint-Michel's physical presence in the city evoked the memory of Bordeaux's insurrection against the Crown. Although the execution of participants of the revolt at the symbolic site of opposition to the Crown clearly warned the people of Bordeaux of the consequences of taking up arms against the King, Louis XIV extended the punishment of human bodies to the material structures to which they were connected. In an unpublished letter to his cousin the Marechal d'Albert, Louis XIV insisted that the campanile of Saint-Michel be destroyed:

My Cousin, having felt it necessary for the important considerations in my service, in addition to the instructions which I sent you the 16th of this month [November] concerning the city of Bordeaux, to entirely demolish the bell tower of the Saint-Michel parish, I'm writing this letter to inform you that even after receiving it you must begin that said demolition so that my plans be accomplished punctually.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977) 48.

⁸⁷ A.M. Bx. AA carton 12 *Lettre de Louis XIV au Marechal d'Albert pour ordonner la demolition du clocher du Saint-Michel* 11/24/1675: 'Mon cousin, ayant estimé à propos

The monarch responded to the revolt in Bordeaux with the employment of a politics of erasure: to erase seditious action in the city he planned to physically erase the *lieu de mémoire* associated with the rebellion of 1675: Saint-Michel's bell tower. The King, taking advice from the Surintendant of Fortifications, Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban, eventually decided to compromise the total destruction of the campanile for the removal of its bells.⁸⁸ Although the bell tower of Saint-Michel escaped demolition, destruction remained the tool that Louis XIV used to punish the rebel city and to make way for the continued construction of his authority in Bordeaux.

Not long after his forces regained control of the city from the rebels, Louis XIV ordered the exile of Bordeaux's *parlement*:

1675, 20th November: declaration of the King of the 20th November 1675 which transfers the Parlement of Bordeaux to the city of Condom for punishment of the inhabitants' violent uprising.⁸⁹

Although the King's expulsion of Bordeaux's sovereign court did not officially call for its dissolution (the body continued to meet in exile), the removal of the *parlement* left authoritative control of Bordeaux to the King's reinstated *intendant*, M. de Sève, who

pour des considerations importantes à mon service outré les choses portées par l'instruction que je vous ay envoyée du XVII^e de ce mois concernant la ville de Bordeaux, de faire démolir entièrement le clocher de la paroisse de Saint-Michel, je vous faites cette letter pour vous dire qu'après avoir reçue vous ayes à faire travailler cette demolition, en sorte mon intention soit ponctuellement accomplie..."

⁸⁸ A.M. Bx. Fonds anciens, EE 33 *Copie du Mémoire adressé au Roi par M. Vauban sur les fortifications de Bordeaux*: ' Cette tour est une des plus belles pieces de l'Europe; ce seroit tres mal faict que de l'abbatre...Il seroit d'ailleurs de la pietté du Roy de luy restitues ses cloches.'

⁸⁹ A.M. Bx. R.S. 11/20/1675: "1675, 20 novembre: declaration du roi du 20 novembre qui transfère le parlement de Bordeaux dans la ville de Condom en punition des emotions des habitants."

represented royal power in the city: through this act, the King destroyed the abstract entity of local government and supplanted it with central authority.

In addition to transferring the *parlement* of Bordeaux to Condom, and thereby eliminating its power in the former city, Louis XIV ordered the demolition of 269 houses in the Chapeau Rouge *quartier* for the enlargement of the glacis of the Château Trompette beginning in December of 1675.⁹⁰ In a drawing of the plan of the fortress and its environs, Desjardins indicated with a line the area into which the Château Trompette's fortifications would extend (fig. 16). The line demarcating the boundary of space which the fortress would appropriate for its enlargement echoes the pentagonal form of the Château Trompette and visualizes the sort of centrifugal movement of the King's power into the city from the fortress which Louis XIV previously made allusion to in his 1659 entry into Bordeaux. On the left side of the plan, one can see that many of the buildings along the Rue du Chapeau Rouge were incorporated into the fortress's envisioned territory. A great number of the houses within the limits of the Château Trompette's extension belonged to members of Bordeaux's exiled *parlement*: the residences of magisterial families, such as those belonging to the former presidents M. de Lalanne and Jean II de Secondat de Montesquieu⁹¹ fell victim to the expansion of the King's fortress.⁹² Thus, Louis XIV not only erased the immaterial practice of local government

⁹⁰ A.H.D.G. v. XXV *Construction du Château Trompette*: "Desnombrement des maisons et échopes comprises dans les thoises d'esplanade à compter du pied du glacis de la contrescarpe de la citadelle de Bordeaux, commences à desmolir en décembre 1675, avec la note de revenu de chacune, la valeur du capital, la date du jour de la demolitions et l'appréciation de matériaux que les propriétaires de chaque maison ont emportes."

⁹¹ Jean II de Secondat de Montesquieu was the grandfather of the famous Enlightenment philosopher.

⁹² A.H.D.G. v. XXV *Construction du Château Trompette*, 197.

from Bordeaux, but also eradicated the material representations of the power that the officials of local government commanded: their houses.⁹³

Louis XIV's decision to destroy the houses of parliamentary officials in response to their resistance to central authority was similar to the type of judicial punishment practiced during the *Grands Jours* in the sixteenth century:

The *Grands Jours* was a judicial system that brought the Parlement of Paris's rhetoric and legal process to cities throughout the kingdom that did not enjoy the privilege of a *parlement*...In response to the wars of religion, the *Grands Jours* assumed greater responsibility as a form of centralized penal discipline...In capital cases, after the standard rituals of evidentiary torture, executions were swift and the house of the offenders were razed, the building materials were sold, and any construction on the site was forbidden.⁹⁴

The *Grands Jours* threatened material consequences for committing certain high crimes: those local citizens found guilty by the foreign court risked not only their lives, but the destruction of their property; physical objects which communicated their memory (i.e. *lieux de mémoire*). In the case of the *Grands Jours*, the erasure of memory was signified by the continued absence of its material referents: "new construction on the site was forbidden." Although Louis XIV attempted to destroy the memory of the *parlement's* authoritative control in Bordeaux by transferring the sovereign court to Condom and erasing the physical signs of its power from Bordeaux's urban landscape, acts reliant upon the agency of absence, he replaced that memory with another: the Château

⁹³ The appropriation and manipulation of territory was also central to the development of the gardens of Versailles in the later years of Louis XIV's reign. The landscaping and technological innovations devised to irrigate the acquired expanses of land that made up the gardens demonstrated the military and territorial ambitions of the French Crown. See Chandra Mukerji, *Territorial Ambitions and the Gardens of Versailles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁹⁴ Todd P. Olson, "La Femme à la Puce et la Puce à l'Oreille: Catherine Des Roches and the Poetics of Sexual Resistance in Sixteenth-Century French Poetry," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32:2 (Spring 2002) 328.

Trompette's construction over demolished local sites established a material reminder of the Crown's authority in the city.

The Piliers de Tutelle

In his book *L'Antiquité de Bordeaux* published in 1574, humanist Elie Vinet, described the Gallo-Roman ruin he called the Palace Tutelle, whose presence in Bordeaux "proved that the city was very ancient:"

That which they call the Palace Tutelle, which is today located in the city but in ancient times was not...is a building of stone with a square shape, eighty-seven feet long and sixty-three feet wide, without a roof...and once had eight columns on each long side and six columns on each end: which made the number of columns twenty-four around the square.⁹⁵

As Vinet explained, the physical presence of the Piliers de Tutelle in Bordeaux was important to the city's claim of possessing an ancient past: the ruin served as observable proof of Bordeaux's history, and its presence in the city since ancient times helped sustain the local inhabitant's inherent knowledge of their city's distinctive history.

Through an etymological study of its name, the author also suggested that the building existed as a temple to the gods responsible for the defense of the city: "*Tutela* is a Latin word meaning guard and defense...from which comes the name *Tutelar* meaning of the

⁹⁵ Elie Vinet, *l'Antiquité de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux: Simon Millanges, 1574) 14: " Il i a Bourdeaux troi choses entre autres restes du vieil temps, qui monstrent clérement, que c'est une ville fort ancienne, le Palais Tutèle, le Palais Galiene, et des murs...ce qu'ils appellent Palais Tutèle, qui pour le iourdhi est en ville, mais anciennement estoit hors d'icele, toutefois Presque sur le bort du fosse, qui regardoit le Spetentrion, & assés près de la riuière, est un bastiment de pierre à angle quarré, d'huitant sept pies de long, et soixante troi de large, sans couuerture, voute par le bas de facon plate à l'antique, aiant eu autrefois huit piliers ou colonnes canelees, en longueur de chaque costé, et sis en largeur de chaque bout: qui faisoient le nombre de vignt & quatre colonnes en tout le quarré. Desqueles I a encores dixhuit debout pour le iourdhui."

guard or of the defense.”⁹⁶ The humanist’s analysis of the function of the Piliers de Tutelle imbued the ancient ruin with local symbolic importance: its presence signified Bordeaux’s protection by divine force. Vinet’s identification of the Piliers de Tutelle as a physical memory of Bordeaux’s classical past and his knowledge of Latin, which allowed him to speculate about the building’s historic purpose, are examples of the type of humanist resources educated local elites employed to negotiate municipal power in an increasingly centralized state.⁹⁷ The Piliers de Tutelle offered Bordeaux’s educated elite material evidence for the city’s claim to local privileges based on historical precedent; Bordeaux’s Roman heritage legitimated the city’s historical connection to political institutions which had no direct relationship to the French monarchy. The political agency invested within the Gallo-Roman ruin gave the Piliers de Tutelle important status in Bordeaux and motivated Louis XIV’s decision to demolish the building in favor of the expansion of the Château Trompette following the rebellion of 1675.

In addition to the written description of the ancient temple, Elie Vinet included a drawing of the Piliers de Tutelle in his book that visually depicts the building’s local significance (fig. 17). The author/artist represented the Piliers de Tutelle’s ruined state. Aside from the absent Corinthian columns, Vinet included the presence of foliage that grows from the ruin’s architrave and cornice. For example, Vinet paid particular attention to the detail of the capital of the column in the middle foreground: its stone acanthus ornamentation seems to transform ambiguously into the actual vegetation that sprouts in the shadowed area around the fragmented architrave the column supports. Like the

⁹⁶ Vinet, 15: “Tutela est mot latin, significant garde, et defence. De la vient un autre nom Tutelaris, qui est à dire de la garde, et de la defence.”

⁹⁷ See chapters one and two of Olson’s *Poussin and France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

decorative manipulation and rustication of the provisional obelisk in the ceremony of King Henri II's *entrée* into Lyon in 1548, the depiction of Piliers de Tutelle's ruined state signified the city's claim to a historical Roman past. However, unlike the obelisk in the King's *entrée*, the structure and materiality of the Piliers de Tutelle opposed transience and empermanence. Vinet's attention to detail— like the growing foliage— is a direct effort to localize the Piliers de Tutelle: foliage grew from this ruin in specific places connected to the building's physical locale.

In contrast, Charles Perrault's image of the same ruin (fig. 18), which he produced during his official tour of the provinces as architect to the King, divorces the Piliers de Tutelle from the type of vernacular pictorial qualities seen in Vinet's image. The representation of the building is manipulated by concerns of mathematical proportions and scale indicated by the "eschelle" at the bottom. The lack of idiosyncratic detail— like the growth of foliage or visible marks of the structure's ruined state— or any localizing background visually removes the Piliers de Tutelle from its indigenous setting and denies the possibility of a connection between the historical past that the ancient Roman ruin recalls and the city in which it is situated.

Vinet's inclusion of various figures within and around the ancient temple allude to the Pilier de Tutelle's intimate connection to the city. In the middle foreground, a woman serves a drink to a man standing next to her table, and on the building's platform interactions abound: at the extreme left of the image a soldier and a man seem engaged in dialogue, while just above the woman serving drinks two men approach each other with arms open in preparation for an amicable embrace. The Piliers de Tutelle, although a ruin, was a vibrant locus of quotidian activity in Bordeaux. As a site of community in the

city, the building existed as an integral part of local experience and shaped indigenous cultural knowledge: the Piliers de Tutelle's depiction in this image signified the building's importance as a marker of Bordeaux's cultural and geographic identity.

In the seventeenth century, the Piliers de Tutelle continued to represent Bordeaux's position as an indigenous locality with a specific cultural heritage. After a storm caused damage to the ruin in 1617, Daniel de Priézac, a parliamentary magistrate, suggested that the *parlement* finance the building's repair in order to "assure the conservation of the Temple of Tutelle and thus preserve the dignity of this city [Bordeaux]." ⁹⁸ De Priézac's motion entered the Piliers de Tutelle into local chauvinistic discourse: the conservation of the monument was not important to the glory of France, but to specific prerogatives of Bordeaux; it communicated the city's dignity. Thus, governmental elites recognized the ruin's local significance. Furthermore, the *parlement's* decision to use the Piliers de Tutelle as a support for its attack against the Château Trompette during the Fronde indicates that municipal authorities were well aware of the building's symbolic currency: the positioning of a battery of cannons on the arch of the ruined temple once dedicated to the gods responsible for the protection of the city was no coincidence. The Piliers de Tutelle served as evidence of Bordeaux's possession of a specific history, separate from that of the center (i.e. Paris), and therefore played a symbolic role in the city's claim for political privileges.

The Piliers de Tutelle's significance in relation to Bordeaux's struggle for recognition of its rights to local authority—its existence as a *lieu de mémoire* that transmitted knowledge of Bordeaux's privileges and past—must have encouraged Louis

⁹⁸ Celeste p. 17: "...assurer la conservation du Temple de Tutelle et ainsi la dignité de la ville."

XIV's selection of the building for erasure. By order of the King, work on the demolition of the Piliers de Tutelle, began in February of 1677.⁹⁹ Writing to the engineers of the Château Trompette in the same year, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV's powerful Minister of Finance, gives some indication of the attitude of royal power in response to the ruin's destruction:

I am very pleased that the demolition of the Piliers de Tutelle has produced a great quantity of materials [for construction]. His majesty would like you to reserve some stones and clean rubble for this year and next year's work on the Château.¹⁰⁰

This cold indifference seems in direct opposition to the emotion expressed by Bordeaux's populace over the loss of the prestigious symbol of its local heritage:

Why do you complain so much over these destroyed piliers
People of Bordeaux, Louis reigns, obeys without cries
Know that Bordeaux reposes
Under the protection [tutele] of Louis.¹⁰¹

Although the poem related the inhabitants' unfavorable reaction to the demolition of the Piliers de Tutelle, the verse obviously acted as propaganda to persuade the people of Bordeaux that the King would serve as a preferable replacement for the ancient temple: the monarch appropriated the building's association with the protection of the city; Bordeaux would repose "under the tutele of Louis." Just as for Vinet, the etymology of *tutèle* is crucial to the understanding of its message. The author's use of *tutèle* in the panegyric can be read as a pun or foil to Vinet's investment of the Piliers de Tutelle with

⁹⁹ Tillet, 17.

¹⁰⁰ A.M. Bx. Série 1, n° 205, 1677, f° 68: "Je suis bien ayse que l'on ayt trouvé grande quantité de matériaux dans la demolition des Piliers de Tutelle. Sa Majesté veut que vous en réserviez les pierres et moislons propres aux ouvrages de cette année et la suivante."

¹⁰¹ A.M. Bx. Ms 696, f° 148 Chaumat, Sonnets et vers sur la demolition des Piliers de Tutelle, 1677: "Pourquoi plaigniez vous tant ces piliers qu'on destruit/ Bordelais, Louys règne, obéssez sans bruit/ Sachez que Bordeaux repose/ Sous la tutèle de Louys."

symbolic currency through the study of the origin of its name. Furthermore, considering that the Piliers de Tutelle existed as a material referent of the city's privileges derived from its Roman past, one can reinterpret the first two lines of the verse: Bordeaux's populace need not complain over the loss of its local rights (read: the Piliers de Tutelle), but accept the authority of the monarchy. To the detriment of Bordeaux's inhabitants, the absence of the Piliers de Tutelle signified the waning power of local authority. In its place the King imposed royal power: on the site where the columns of the antique Piliers de Tutelle once stood, Louis XIV constructed his fortress.

Ornamenting the Château Trompette

Published in 1690 by Nicolas de Fer, geographer of the King of Spain and the Dauphin of France, *Les Forces de l'Europe* consisted of the maps of 88 cities and their fortifications.¹⁰² Included in the work was a map of Bordeaux (fig. 19). The map demonstrated the cartographer's precision in executing the representation of the city's topography and streets as well as identifying civic and religious buildings: he noted each of the city's ports, fortresses, and churches in writing. What is particularly interesting about this map is that it gives some sense of the considerable space occupied by the Château Trompette after its enlargement: since the map is drawn to scale (200 toises noted in the upper-right), the image claims to represent relationships in size with mathematical truthfulness. Having incorporated the area to the left of its south-east and south-west bastions (the Bastion of Navarre and the Bastion of the King) into its domain, which necessitated the demolition of a large portion of the Chapeau Rouge *quartier* and

¹⁰² Nicolas de Fer, *Les Forces de l'Europe*, first published under the title *l'Introduction à la fortification* in 1690.

the venerated Piliers de Tutelle, the Château Trompette sprawled across Bordeaux's urban landscape unlike any other building— civic or religious— in the city. The historian Michèle Virol's description of Vauban's "first system of defense" matches the design of the King's fortress in the city that appears in the detail of the plan of the Château Trompette accompanying the map of Bordeaux (fig. 20):

A regular polygon where, if the terrain permits of course, the bastions constitute the strongest points of defense. Vauban adds there detached exterior defenses such as pincers of half-moons [demi-lunes]¹⁰³

Considering the massiveness of the Château Trompette's size and the strength of its military design, it is no wonder that Maréchal de Vauban gave his approval of the fortress when he inspected the royal fortifications in 1680:

The situation is good and well chosen for the guard of the port, the city and the country because it can equally protect the land and water and command the city...As it is, [the fortress] is good and sufficient for the purpose it serves...to reprimand the sudden emotions of a populace easily willing to take arms and rebel, most of the time not knowing what for...Thus, one need not worry that they will ever be able to lay siege [to the Château Trompette]...[for the fortress] is well and able to control [mestrise] the city, the harbor and the vessels in port.¹⁰⁴

Looking at the images of the fortress in de Fer's map, it seems that the Château Trompette's capacity to "control" the city derived from its imposing size and engineered strength. However, if the fortress's power over Bordeaux relied solely on its physical

¹⁰³ Michèle Virol, *Vauban: De la Gloire du Roi au Service de l'État* (Paris: Champ Vallon, 2003) 57: "un polygone régulier, dans la mesure évidemment où le terrain le permet, les bastions constituent les points forts de la défense. Vauban y ajoute des défenses extérieures détachées comme les tenailles ou les demi-lunes."

¹⁰⁴ A.M. Bx Fonds Anciens EE 33 copie du mémoire adressé au Roi par M. Vauban sur les fortifications de Bordeaux: "La situation en est bonne et bien choisie à l'égard du havre, de la ville et du pays, puisqu'elle peut également donner la main aux secours de terre et d'eau, et commander à la ville...telle qu'elle est, elle est bonne et suffisante pour l'effet qu'on en demande, puisqu'il ne s'agit que de réprimer les émotions soudaines d'une populace facile à prendre feu et à se mutiner, sans savoir bien souvent pourquoi. Ainsi, il ne faut pas croire, qu'ils y [vissant jamais formé un siège réglé...elle est assez bonne pour pouvoir mestrise la ville, le havre et tous les vaisseaux du port."

force, it seems odd that such a great deal of effort went into ornamenting the Château Trompette; so much effort that the quality of its decor even impressed an observer as informed as Charles Perrault, architect of the Louvre's colonnade:

The château seems like a jewel because of its architectural ornaments with which one is not accustomed to embellishing fortresses.¹⁰⁵

The quality of the Château Trompette's ornamentation, unusual for a fortress, suggests that the attention to its decorative choices had a role in this "jewel's" function: in addition to the Château Trompette's brute military force, its aesthetic display was an important instrument in Louis XIV's construction of royal power in Bordeaux.

The appointment of Nicolas Desjardins as the chief engineer responsible for the construction of the Château Trompette underscores the significance of the fortress's décor.¹⁰⁶ Desjardins first entered royal service as an architect of Louis XIII [architect ordinaire du roi] in 1632. He was then appointed to the post of architect of the king's buildings [architect ordinaire des bâtiments du roi] in 1640 and then king's engineer [ingénieur du roi] in 1643.¹⁰⁷ It is at this moment that Desjardins seems to have committed himself to a military career, working successively on fortifications in Bayonne, Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, and Marsailles.¹⁰⁸ Although Desjardins established himself as an engineer, his earlier career as an architect had a great influence over his work. Moreover, Colbert's remarks about Desjardin's work on the Château Trompette defined Desjardins as more of an architect than an engineer:

¹⁰⁵ Claude Perrault, *Voyage à Bordeaux* (Paris: Editions l'Insulaire, 2000) 94.

¹⁰⁶ For more information on Nicolas Dejardins and the ornamentation of the Château Trompette see Alexander March, "Le Château Trompette de Bordeaux et Son Décor Architectural," *Revue archéologique de Bordeaux* (1998).

¹⁰⁷ A.M. Bx. Fonds Birot, transcription de Mélanges Colbert, B.N., 120 bis, fol. 843

¹⁰⁸ Ibid

It appears to me that Desjardins was an architect, but not a military architect. He has a strong inclination to assemble stones and make works of [civil] architecture.¹⁰⁹

Colbert's statement makes it clear that royal officials were well aware of Desjardins' "inclination: to produce military buildings which resembled works of civil architecture. Therefore, the selection of Desjardins as chief engineer of the Château Trompette ensured that the building's construction would not only be overseen by someone with experience in the domain of fortification, but also someone whose military structures included aesthetic elements associated with civil architecture.

A wash-drawing by Louis de Combes, an artist of the later eighteenth century, of the Château Trompette's Porte de la Mer (fig. 21) which faced the Garonne River, shows how Desjardins' inclusion of decorative elements in the design of the fortress symbolically communicated the crown's power and prestige. As a place through which one is obligated to pass, a transition zone between exterior and interior the doorway is a symbolic element which should be valorized by its monumentality and the sumptuousness of its sculpted decoration: looking at de Combes' drawing, it appears that the Porte de la Mer did not deviate from the rule. On each side of the doorway, Desjardins constructed two Doric columns. The architect-engineer's use of the Doric order was appropriate for the entry-way of the fortress. It was the preferred order of Nicolas Goldman, a theorist of military architecture, who described the Doric column as a "mark of masculinity [homme], the Ionic [a mark of] femininity [femme], and the Corinthian [a mark of] feminine adolescence [demoiselles]; it is therefore clear, if you

¹⁰⁹ A.M. Bx. Fonds Birot, transcriptions Mélanges Colbert, 132 bis, fol. 468 B.N.: 'Il m'a paru que Desjardins estoit architecte, mais peu architecte de guerre. Il a une forte inclination à assembler des pierres et à faire des ouvrages d'architecture.'

choose the last two orders, you wish to make your city appear effeminate.”¹¹⁰ Therefore, the Doric order’s connection to masculinity would have connoted the power and strength of the fortress. However, above the doorway of the Porte de la Mer, one finds exterior decoration which has little to do with military force: for example, the inclusion of garlands which sweep down from the bottom of the cornice, and the shell niche situated directly above the entry-way which is flanked by two sculpted, composite animals whose tails curl around the arched space above. These civil architectural elements signified the richness and sumptuousness of the King’s fortress, and combined with the more standard use of the imposing Doric columns, communicated both the grandeur and power of Louis XIV to those foreign merchants sailing into Bordeaux’s busy ports.

Although the Porte de la Mer’s ornamentation propagated the King’s greatness to those visitors sailing into Bordeaux from afar, one must not forget that the fortress’s purpose was to “command the city.” Therefore, it made sense that the decoration of the Château Trompette’s Porte Royale, the fortress’s main entry-way facing the city, was entirely dedicated to the glory of the king. Like the Porte de la Mer, the doorway of the Porte Royale (fig. 22) is flanked by columns of the Doric Order, but this time with three on each side instead of two. What was most interesting about the Porte Royale, however, was the ornamentation of the niche above its entryway: two sculpted allegorical figures of Justice and Force frame the bust of Louis XIV. The presence of the allegorical figures of Justice and Force signified virtues associated with the King which exalted monarchical power: as Pascal concluded, the virtues of Justice and Force were considered

¹¹⁰ Nicolas Goldman, *La nouvelle fortification* (lyde, Elzeviers: 1645) p. 169: “le dorique est plus joly et la marque des hommes, mais la ionique des dames, et la corinthiaque des demoiselles; il est donc bien clair, si vous choisissez les deux dernières manières, que vous désirez de faire paroistre vostre ville efféminée.”

indispensable in the exercise of power: “Justice without force is weak, Force without Justice is tyrannical.” The allegorical sculptural group on the Porte Royale suggested the King’s virtuous rule over Bordeaux and visually reinforced the sovereigns’ right to punish criminal acts that derived from the Roman law of *merum imperium*: “a right by virtue of which the prince sees that his law is respected by ordering the punishment of the crime.”¹¹¹ The sculpture of the King with Justice and Force displaced *and* defended the image of the dead bodies hanging from the campanile of Saint-Michel; by the right of *merum imperium* the bodies of the criminals reminded the inhabitants of Bordeaux of the “unrestrained presence of the sovereign.”¹¹² The allegorical sculptural group was intended to justify Louis XIV’s prerogative to punish and invoked the memory of the King’s corporeal power.

The bust of the King (fig. 23), the only physical element of the Château Trompette that survives, perched high above the doorway of the Porte Royale, had a commanding view over the city of Bordeaux. If one considers the theory of semiotician Louis Marin, the sculpted portrait of Louis XIV on the Porte Royale takes on new significance: “when it is a question of the king, the portrait is in some way and in some fashion the person it represents” — the King’s third body.¹¹³ The power of the representation of the King is equal to the effect of power which his physical presence

¹¹¹ Foucault, 48.

¹¹² Foucault, 49.

¹¹³ Louis Marin, *The Portrait of the King*, trans. Martha M. Houle (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981) 207. For the theory of the King’s Two Bodies see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981). Through a study of English medieval and early modern juridical texts, Kantorowicz underscores the juridical justification for monarchical authority that was based on an understanding of the monarch’s possession of two bodies: one physical body and one immortal, juridical body. Marin’s work on the representation of the King constitutes a third body of the monarch.

exerts. Therefore, the bust of Louis XIV on the Porte Royale existed as both a representation of the King and the King himself. Its position on the Château Trompette physically united the King to his fortress: the Château Trompette was “in some way and in some fashion” the King who asserted his control over the city of Bordeaux.

Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, I have considered the role of absence and memory in the French monarchy's formation of a system of power and control in Bordeaux during the reign of Louis XIV. The King's reconstruction of the Château Trompette, which necessitated the demolition of buildings symbolically connected to local authority, served as a means by which the Crown imposed its power in the city: construction and destruction were effective tools in the development of absolutist politics. Although the sculpted image of Louis XIV surveying the "rebel city" from the monumental Port Royal seems to have visualized what Joël Cornette described as the all-knowing absolute monarch, I would like to take the time to clarify the conception of absolutism which emerges from my work.¹¹⁴

The story of the construction of the Château Trompette in Bordeaux does not adhere unconditionally to revisionist models of the "myth" of absolutism.¹¹⁵ However, I am not suggesting either that the King's imposition of central power in Bordeaux existed in total absence of local authority. After the Fronde—and except for its expulsion for a period of time following the rebellion of 1675—the *parlement* of Bordeaux resumed the practice of governing the city, and thus continued to exercise, to some extent, the privileges entitled to Bordeaux based on historic precedent. However, the operation of municipal government occurred in tandem with the reconstruction and enlargement of the Château Trompette. This suggests a sort of competition between central and local prerogatives: absolute power was not entirely absolute. If that were the case, the constant

¹¹⁴ Joël Cornette, *Absolutisme et Lumières 1652-1783* (Paris: Hachette, 2005) 11.

¹¹⁵ See James B. Collins, *Fiscal Limits of Absolutism: Direct Taxation in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

enlargement of the King's fortress in Bordeaux would not have been necessary; its importance did not escape the attention of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the King's minister of Finance. In a letter written to Colbert by Bordeaux's *intendant* M. de Terron, the royal representative makes evident the fortress's position in the struggle to institute monarchical control in the provincial city:

You [Colbert] know well how important it is that the château [Trompette] be completed and in the best condition possible.¹¹⁶

Through representation (i.e. the construction of the Chateau Trompette) and the erasure of physical elements of local authority, the King's power in Bordeaux grew while that of the *parlement* diminished. Nevertheless, even after fifteen years of exile from the city following the rebellion of 1675, the *parlement* of Bordeaux remained in existence throughout the reign of Louis XIV: the politics of erasure could not completely eradicate local rights from Bordeaux.¹¹⁷

Likewise, absence could not wholly erase the traces of local memory. Ironically, beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, the *intendant* M. de Tournay, began an urbanization project that required Louis XV's surrender of part of the Château Trompette's territory to the city. In 1773 Bordeaux acquired the "the concession...of a part of the territory of the glacis of the Château Trompette in order to build a new theatre..."¹¹⁸ The glacises that had been constructed over the site of the Piliers de Tutelle

¹¹⁶ Pierre Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1863) v. 1, 315: De Terron à Colbert "vous sçavez assz bien de quelle importance il est que ce chasteau soit achevé et au meilleur estat qu'il sera possible."

¹¹⁷ A.M. Bx. R.S. 11/13/1690 "le Parlement de Bordeaux fut rétabli en ladite ville le 13 novembre 1690"

¹¹⁸ Quoted in Christian Taillard, *Bordeaux à l'âge classique* (Bordeaux: Editions Mollat, 1997) 144: "concession à la ville [...] d'une partie des terrain ci-devant compris dans les

were now subject to demolition. In their place, the Rue du Chapeau Rouge was revitalized, and the architect Victor Louis constructed the sumptuous Grand-Théâtre (fig. 24).

The twelve Corinthian columns of the façade of Louis' theatre visually evoke those of the Roman temple which once stood in the same place, and the statues arranged above the entablature seem to be reincarnations of the caryatids of the Piliers de Tutelle. The material symbol of the city's indigenous identity reemerged onto the urban landscape as the Château Trompette retreated from Bordeaux.

By the end of the eighteenth century, after Revolution and Terror, the Château Trompette and monarchical authority disappeared from the city. The bastions, portes, columns, and decorative elements envisioned and realized by Nicolas Desjardins, the architect-engineer, fell victim to the same fate as the buildings which once occupied the space of the fortress's expanded glacis- demolition.

In a plan of a project to replace the Château Trompette, the architect Louis de Combes conceived of a garden area in the middle of which he would construct a hippodrome that he called the *Cirque National*.¹¹⁹ Ironically, the people of Bordeaux voluntarily accepted the design of an honorific *place* to the *Nation* to be constructed in the very location of the fortress that had threatened local privileges in favor of centralized power. More importantly, de Combes' design reveals that, even though physically absent, traces of the Château Trompette remained: its pentagonal silhouette shaped the form of

glacis du Château Trompette pour y bâtir une nouvelle salle de spectacle et vendre les emplacements excédents."

¹¹⁹ Christian Taillard, "De l'Ancien Régime à la Révolution: l'histoire exemplaire des projets d'aménagement du Château Trompette à Bordeaux," *Revue de l'Art* (1988) 77-85.

the architect's project. Like the inscriptions erased and hidden within a palimpsest, the Château Trompette left its imprint on Bordeaux.

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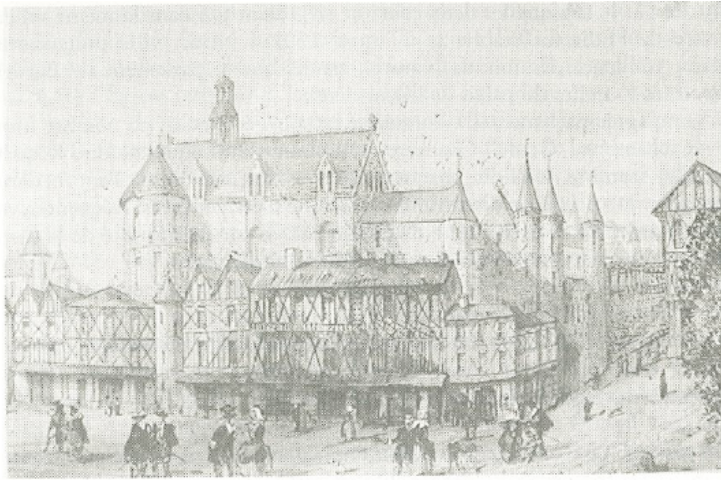


Fig. 1) *Palais de l'Ombrière*, Hermen van Der Hem, c. 1636, pen and ink, B.M.

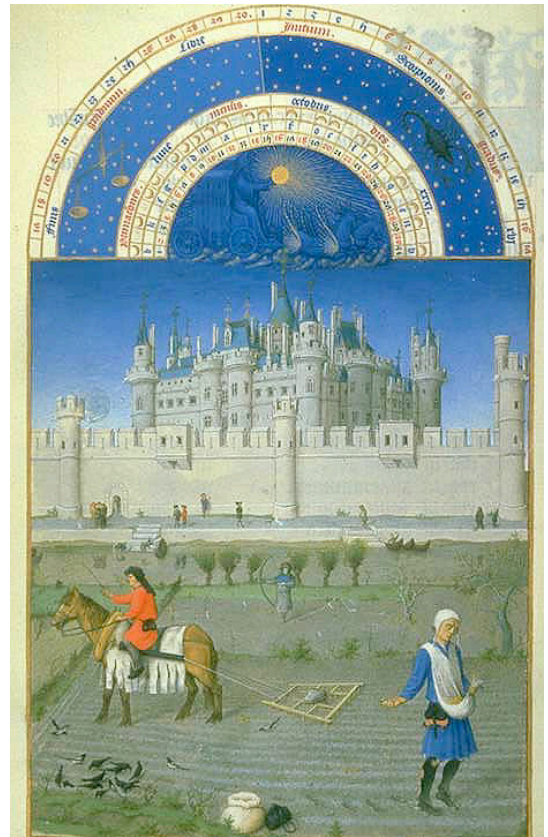


Fig. 2) *Très Riches Heures: October*, Limbourg Brothers, c. 1411, Musée Condé, Chantilly, France.



Fig. 3) *Le chateau Tropeite le 5e avril 1639*, Herman van Der Hem, c. 1639, ink drawing, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.



Fig.4) *Arch of Titus*, c. 81 CE, Rome, Italy, Photograph © ARTSTOR.org.



Fig. 5) *Spoils of Jerusalem*, Arch of Titus, c. 81 CE, Rome, Italy, Photograph © ARTSTOR.org.



Fig. 6) *Emperor Titus with Quadriga*, Arch of Titus, c. 81 CE, Rome, Italy, Photograph © ARTSTOR.org.

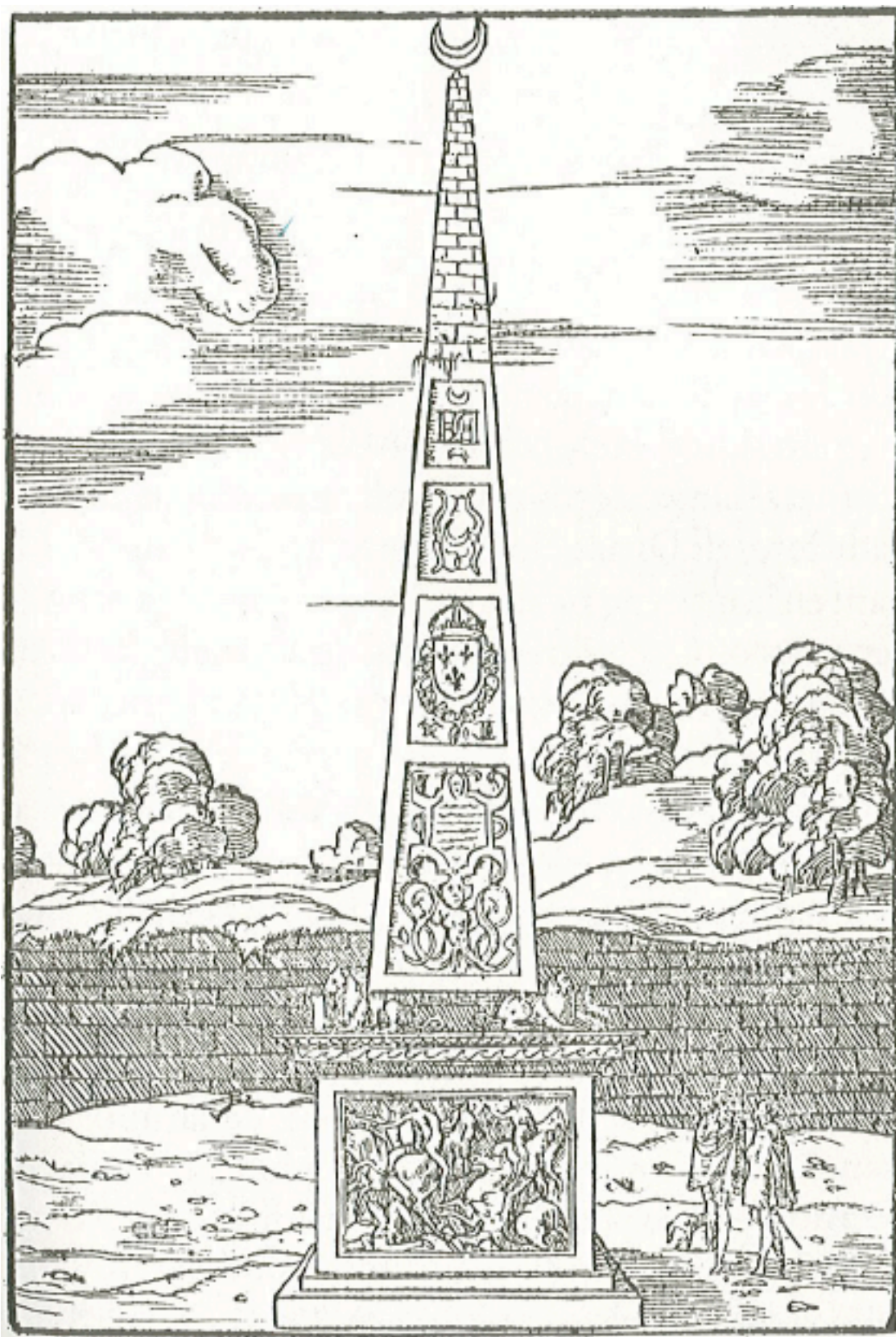


Fig. 7) Obelisk with *Victories and Furies*, Anon., from Maurice Scève's "*Magnificence de la superbe et triumpante entrée de la noble et antique cite de Lyon faicte au treschrestien roy de France Henry deuxiesme*," c. 1548, wood print, Bibliothèque Natioanle, Paris, France.

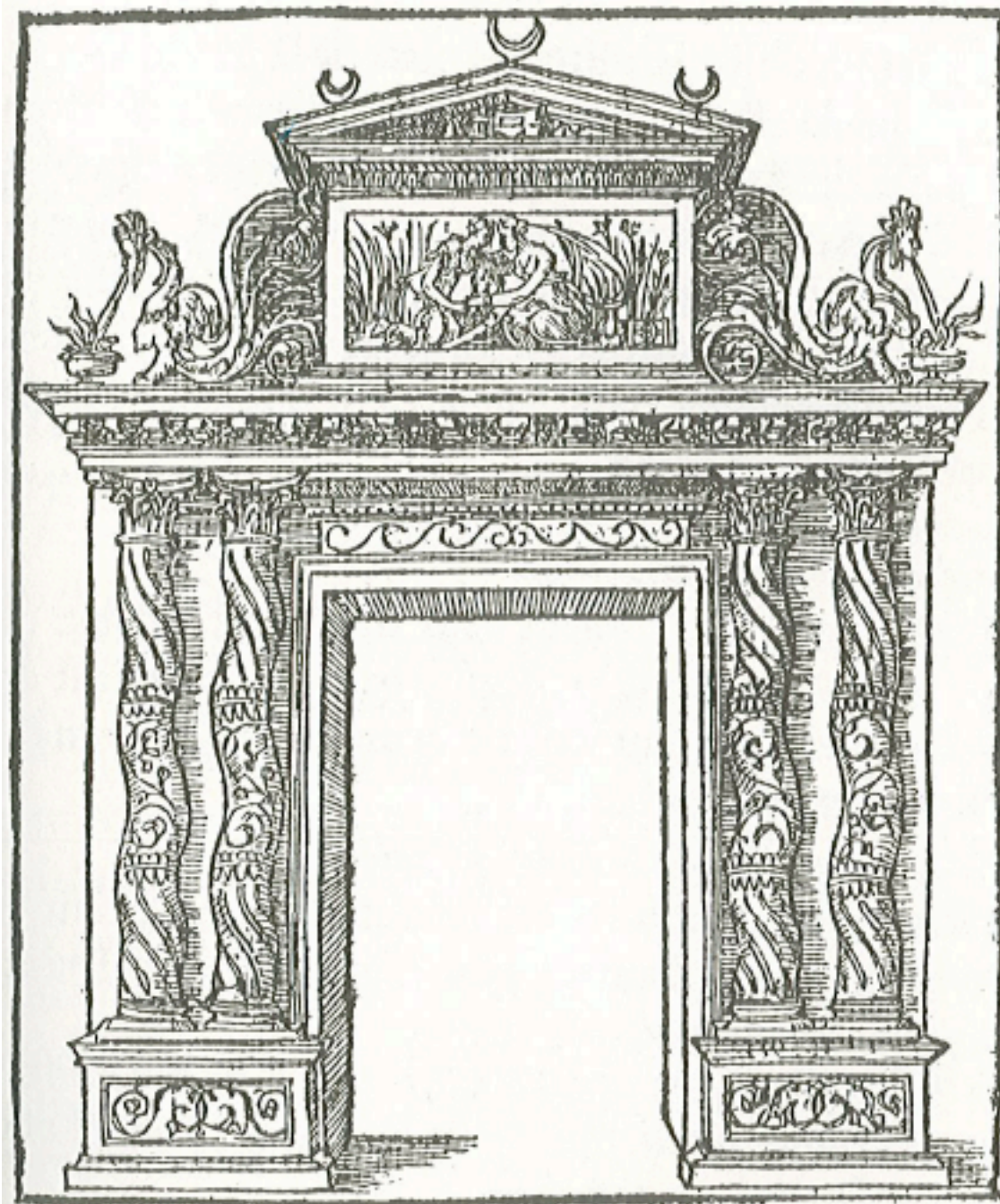


Fig. 8) Arch at Pierre-Scize, Anon., from Maurice Scève's "*Magnificence de la superbe et triumpante entrée de la noble et antique cite de Lyon faicte au treschrestien roy de France Henry deuxiesme*," c. 1548, wood print, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France.

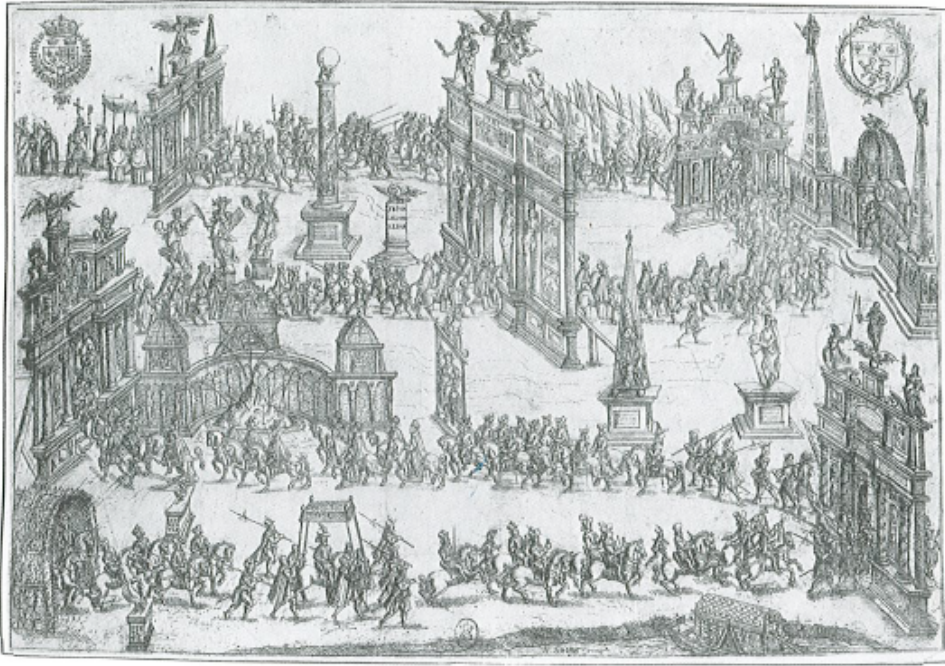


Fig. 9) *Plan for Henri IV's Royal Entrance into Lyon*, from Pierre Matthieu's *L'Entrée de très grand et victorieux prince Henry III, en sa bonne ville de Lyon, le IIII sept 1595*, c. 1595, engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France.



Fig. 11) *Capitulation of Bordeaux*, Anon., c. 1653, © Mairie de Bordeaux, photo D R, Bordeaux France.

Fig. 10) *Obelisk with the Labors of Hercules for Henri IV's Royal Entrance into Rouen (Right)*, Anon. from Pierre Matthieu's "*Discours de la ioyeuse et triomphante entrée...*", c. 1596, engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France.





Fig.12) Map of Bordeaux showing the enlargement of the Château Trompette 1653-1680, De Ferry, c. 1680, ink, A.M. Bx.



Fig. 13) Detail of De Ferry's Map of Bordeaux, c. 1680, ink, A.M. Bx.



Fig. 14) Hôtel Pichon, Bordeaux, France, Photograph © Jacob Rodriguez



Fig. 15) Detail of Mascron, Hôtel Pichon, Bordeaux, France, Photograph © Jacob Rodriguez

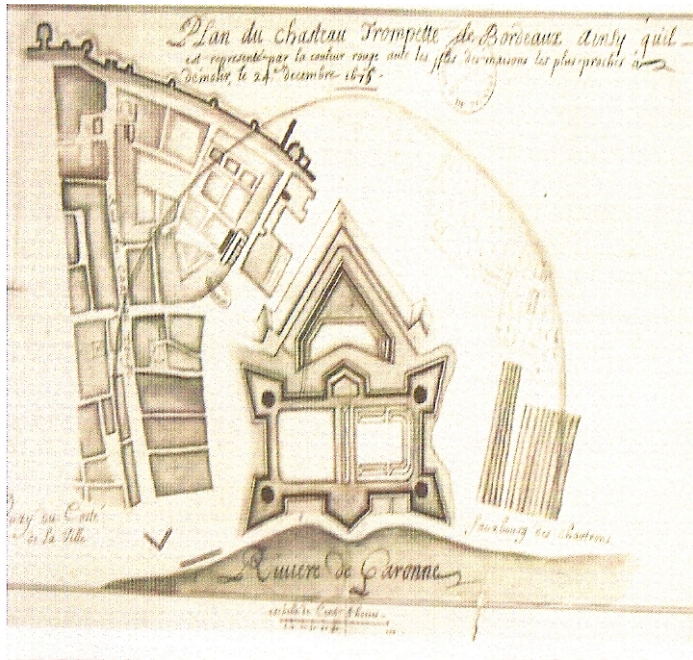


Fig. 16) *Expansion of the Château Trompette*, Nicolas Desjardins, c. 1675, ink drawing, A.M. Bx.



Fig. 17) *Piliers de Tutelle*, from Elie Vinet's *L'Antiquité de Bordeaux*, c. 1574, engraving, A.M. Bx.

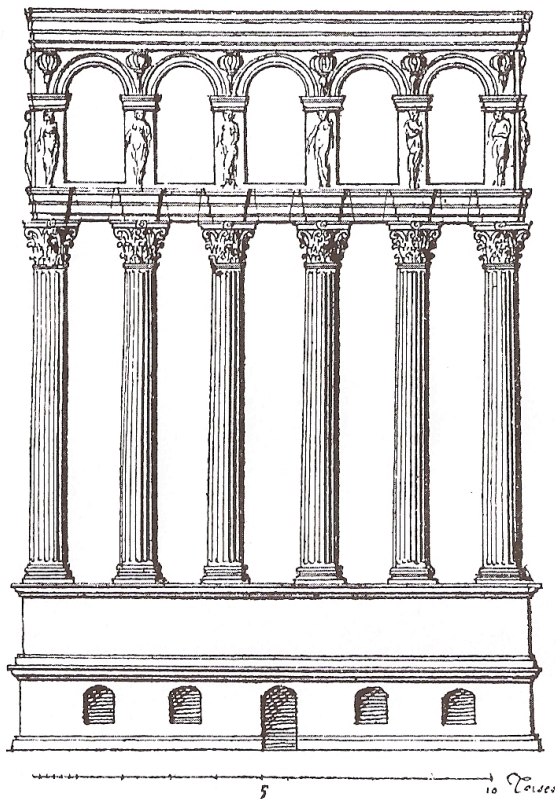


Fig. 18) *Piliers de Tutelle*, from Claude Perrault's *Voyage à Bordeaux*, c. 1669, engraving after drawing, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France.



Fig. 19) Map of Bordeaux, from Nicolas de Fer's *Les Forces de l'Europe*, c. 1690, engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France.

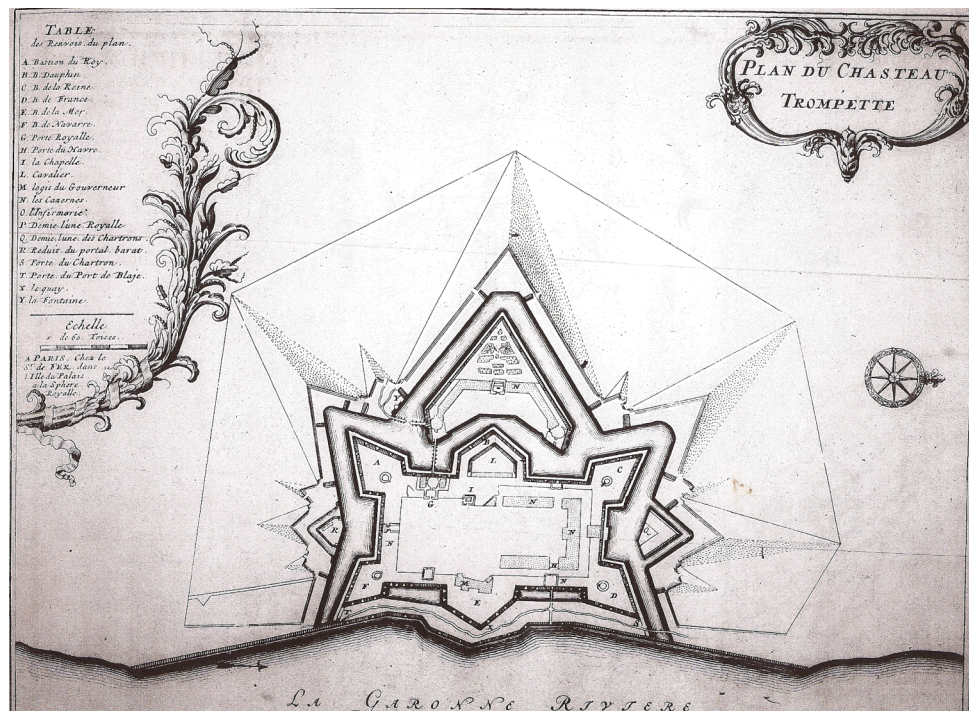


Fig. 20) *Château Trompette*, from Nicolas de Fer's *Les Forces de l'Europe*, c. 1690, engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France.

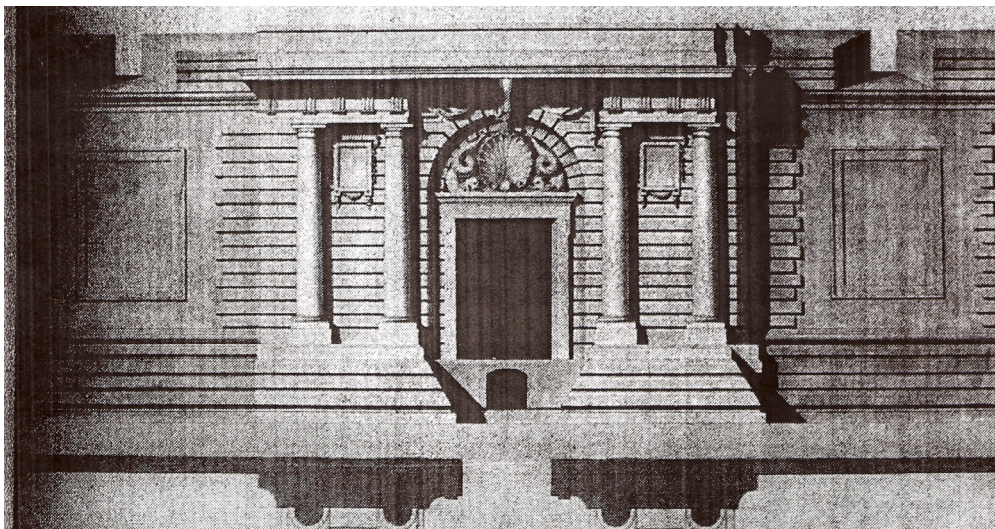


Fig. 21) *Porte de La Mer*, Louis de Combes, c. 1770, ink, B.M.

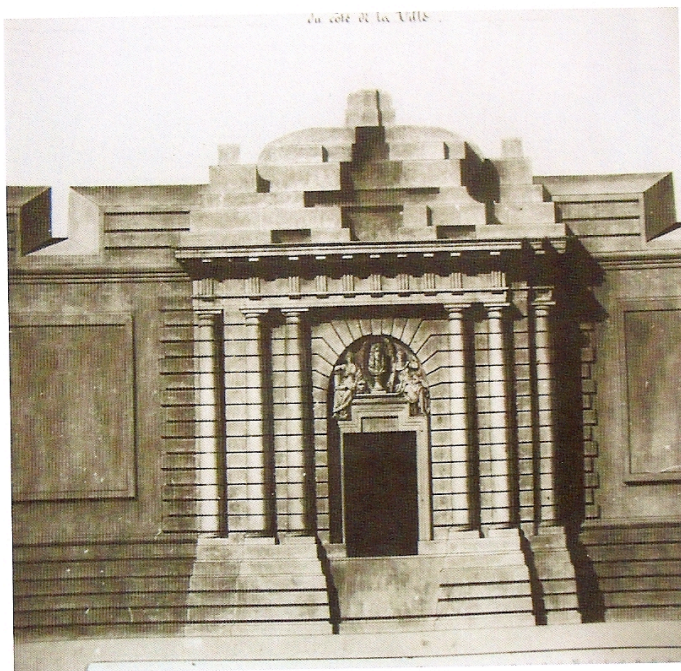


Fig. 22) *Porte Royale*, Louis de Combes, c. 1770, ink, A.M. Bx.

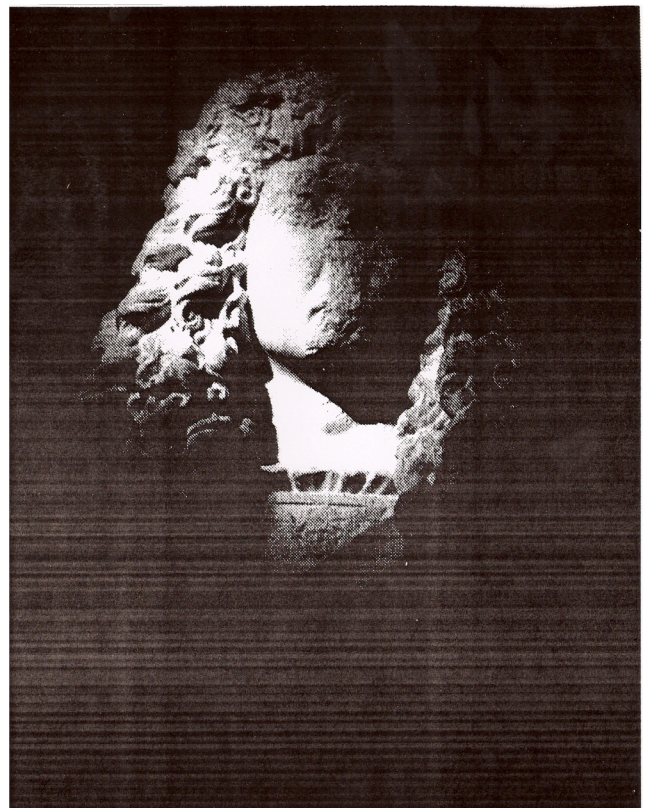


Fig. 23) *Bust of Louis XIV*, Anon., c. 1670, © Mairie de Bordeaux, photo D R, Bordeaux, France.



Fig. 24) *Grand Théâtre*, Bordeaux, France,
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