

CHAPTER 3



La grant feste

Philip the Fair's Celebration of the Knighting of His Sons in Paris at Pentecost of 1313

Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Nancy Freeman Regalado

One of the most striking medieval urban celebrations was held in Paris at Pentecost 1313 to celebrate the knighting of Philip the Fair's three sons on 3 June 1313 and the assumption of the Cross three days later.¹ Never, the chroniclers proclaimed, had such a *feste* been seen in France; it rivaled the fabled feast of Ahasuerus.² Yet, although this *feste* is one of the most splendid, most fully developed, and best described of any held in the Middle Ages, it has not received the scrutiny it merits.

The *feste* was an extended spectacle where great crowds of spectators saw large-scale public performances in which participants staged grandly impressive acts: the crusading ceremonies and public processions of royalty, nobles, and city dwellers.³ Within this spectacle were festivities where participation was restricted and selective: the knighting ceremony, princely banquets, and craft feasts. It also contained musical performances and theatrical entertainments that everyone could see and hear in the streets of Paris; these included dramatic tableaux where actors represented scenes from the Bible and popular tales. Taken all together, the festivity, performances, and dramatic scenes constituted a celebration that engaged every level of the Parisian population, at times as actors, at others as spectators. Music, costumes, decorations, lights, feasting, processions, and ceremonial gestures and words exalted the participants and made them impressive to spectators. These elements dramatized the values that underlay the royal, aristocratic, or bourgeois ceremonies and festivities. Organized by the king, the celebration of knighting and crusading vows may be read as an elaborate spectacle whose purposes were political and personal and whose lavishness displayed kingly largesse and royal power. On the other hand, the costly grandeur of street decorations, costumes, and entertainments provided by the Parisians staged their independent role within the body politic. The display of urban wealth and splendor dramatized the aspirations and power of the bourgeois while the tableaux they sponsored offered counsel intended to maintain the political and spiritual health of Philip's reign. Spectacle thus joined king and city in a festive experience of *communitas*.

Before 1313 numerous splendid festivities had celebrated knightings and other solemn occasions. The knighting of Frederick Barbarossa's sons at Mainz on Pentecost in 1184 was a wondrous ceremony that inspired chroniclers and poets⁴—and perhaps Philip Augustus, whose son Louis (VIII) was splendidly knighted at Compiègne on Pentecost in 1209.⁵ Lavish display marked similar ceremonies for Louis IX's brothers, Robert of Artois at Compiègne on the octaves of Pentecost in 1237 and Alfonso of Poitiers at Saumur on the Feast of Saint John the Baptist in 1241. When Louis IX knighted his eldest son Philip (Philip the Fair's father), his nephew Robert of Artois, and sixty-seven other young men on Pentecost in 1267, prelates and barons from most of France gathered in Paris, which was marvelously decorated with multicolored hangings and precious ornaments. The celebration lasted for more than a week and was marked by a royal pilgrimage to Saint-Denis and the preaching of the Cross on the Ile-Notre-Dame.⁶ This *feste* resembled in many ways the jubilee that accompanied the coronation of Marie of Brabant, second wife of Philip III, on the Feast of Saint John the Baptist in 1275.⁷ Again the congregation of magnates, again the splendid display of garments and jewels, again week-long rejoicing in Paris, where, a chronicler says, the bourgeois "*firent feste grant et sollempnel*." In the spring of 1301, when Philip the Fair made a grand tour of Flanders, the people of Ghent marched forth to meet him, dressed in new clothes, the most important people in different costumes that reflected their hostile division; they presented the king with rich gifts and, most important, performed various entertainments (*ludos diversos*) and jousts (*hastiludia*), on which 27,000 *l.* were spent. Similar festivities greeted the king in the different places that he visited, and the Annals of Ghent report the dissension that arose in Bruges over payment for expenses.⁸ Just seven years before Philip the Fair's *feste*, Edward I of England held the fabulous Feast of the Swans at Westminster to honor the knighting of his son and namesake, Edward (II). At Pentecost of 1306 some three hundred men, including the mayor of London, were knighted with Edward and feasted at a great banquet attended by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. There oaths were taken on swans to conquer Scotland, and the king is said to have pledged never thereafter to bear arms against Christians, but to depart forever for the Holy Land.⁹

The *grant feste* of 1313 was thus hardly the first of its kind. Nor was this the first time an observer had termed such a celebration the greatest ever held in France or elsewhere; similar observations had been made of the festivities of 1184, 1267, and 1275—and indeed of a reception that Robert of Artois gave for Philip III at Arras in 1271.¹⁰ What distinguishes the Parisian *feste* of 1313 most sharply from earlier occasions is the richness and variety of the documentation that survives, particularly concerning the urban festivities.

In almost every case the records for 1313 are fuller and more abun-

dant than those available for the earlier celebrations. Most extraordinary are two unusual eyewitness sources. Five illuminations and six informative captions depict and comment on the week's events. These appear as the preamble to a Latin translation of a Spanish collection of animal fables called *Dimna et Kalila*, which the physician Raymond of Béziers began for Philip the Fair's wife Jeanne, completed on Pentecost in 1313, dedicated to Philip the Fair, and presented to the king later in the year.¹¹ These illuminations and captions represent the perspective of privileged insiders who witnessed the knighting and crusading ceremonies. Even more unusual is a long, detailed account of the festivities that was included in an anonymous metrical chronicle written by a Parisian clerk. The chronicle commences in 1300, although the author seems to have written it between 1313 and early 1317; the single copy that survives in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. fr. 146, stops abruptly in the autumn of 1316, and the manuscript that contains the work was created shortly thereafter, probably in 1317.¹² Those involved in the production of the manuscript knew the king and his court; its format bespeaks its origin in the royal chancery. This makes the chronicle's treatment of Philip the Fair's *feste* particularly valuable. The chronicler was a cleric linked to the royal chancery and sympathetic to the bourgeois of Paris. He had seen the events he reports; events he did not witness find no place in his account. His perspective is that of a spectator in the streets: he offers no descriptions of indoor ceremonies or banquets except a peek through the flaps of the tents sheltering Edward II's feast at Saint-Germain-des-Prés. What he relates is recorded in unprecedentedly rich detail in a passage of 429 lines, more than a third of which (166 lines) describe the festive contributions made by the Parisians. Beside this account those in other chronicles, contemporary and later, pale in importance, although they provide details that the metrical chronicle does not mention.¹³ Many years would pass before other chroniclers would record in equal detail the civic celebrations that accompanied solemn royal ceremonies.

The Pentecost *feste* of 1313 marked the brilliant zenith of Philip the Fair's reign (1285–1314). The rapid succession of unhappy events that preceded Philip's death a year and a half later, on 29 November 1314, stand out against the great celebration in somber relief: the execution of Jacques de Molay, Grand Master of the Templars, and the Templar Master of Normandy on the small island in the Seine near the royal palace on 18 March 1314; the revelation of the adultery scandal that led to the imprisonment of the king's three daughters-in-law in April 1314; the death of Pope Clement V on 20 April; the conclusion of inglorious truces with the Flemings in July 1313 and September 1314; the formation of noble alliances to protest royal policies in November 1314.¹⁴ Fortune's wheel turned as surely toward misfortune for the king of France as it did for his powerful minister, Enguerran de Marigny, who was widely credited with the construction of the king's great palace on the

Ile-de-la-Cité and who helped prepare the *feste* that glorified it, but who was disgraced and hanged, decried as a crafty Renart, on 30 April 1315, just five months after his master's death.¹⁵ These sad events lay in the future, however, when a host of people gathered in Paris in June 1313 to participate in Philip the Fair's festivities, presided over by a trio of kings (Philip himself; his son and twenty-three-year-old heir Louis, king of Navarre since his mother's death in 1305; and Philip's son-in-law, twenty-nine-year-old Edward II of England) and by Pope Clement V's emissary, Cardinal Nicolas de Fréauville, cousin of Enguerran de Marigny and Philip the Fair's former confessor.¹⁶

The *feste* lasted a full eight days (see Table 3.1). It was solemnly inaugurated at the cathedral of Notre-Dame on Pentecost, 3 June, a feast day traditionally considered particularly appropriate for knighting.¹⁷ The celebrations had begun the day before, however, when Philip the Fair's daughter Isabelle and her husband Edward II entered Paris. Philip the Fair had long pressed the couple to attend the festivities, offering Edward the prospect of grace and favor regarding the duchy of Guyenne, which the English king held of Philip.¹⁸ The couple had left Dover at sunrise on 23 May, accompanied by a host of English nobles and ecclesiastics,¹⁹ and leaving behind them a realm torn by strife between the nobles and the king and threatened by the Scots.²⁰

Doubtless progressing along the *grant rue de Paris* that led from Saint-Denis to Paris, Edward and Isabelle entered the city on 2 June, the vigil of Pentecost.²¹ There, as one chronicler reports, they were received with solemnity and joy as "the whole city rose up and went forth to meet them."²² Later in the day they surely dined at a banquet given by Philip the Fair.²³ Philip showered them with bounty—more (perhaps considerably more) than 2000 *l. par.* worth of supplies for their stay and for the feast that Edward was to provide the next week. The French king gave them 94 oxen, 189 pigs, 380 rams, 200 pike, 40 quarrels, 160 carp, and 80 barrels of wine; nothing was stinted.²⁴ And when Edward required money, he found it easily available. Enguerran de Marigny lent him 15,000 *l. st.* sometime during his stay in France, and Philip the Fair lent 33,000 *l.* more in June. This brought relief to a needy monarch, who had had to borrow heavily at home to cover the expenses of the trip.²⁵ Repayment would prove burdensome, but for the moment he was able to comport himself as befitted a king of England.

After Philip the Fair's banquet, the young men who were to be knighted doubtless gathered at Notre-Dame to confess and spend the night fasting and praying. The evidence that survives suggests that the ceremonies at the cathedral followed the traditional form outlined some forty years earlier in Ramon Llull's *Order of Knighthood*.²⁶ Thus on Sunday, before the ceremony, they would have heard mass and then a sermon setting forth the twelve articles of faith, the ten commandments, and the seven sacraments. Before being knighted they would have knelt

TABLE 3.1. *La grant feste* of 1313 (events and activities recorded in the metrical chronicle of BN, Ms. fr. 146, with additions, in italics, from other sources)

Saturday, 2 June	<i>Parisians march out to meet Edward II of England and Isabelle</i> (SCR) Banquet offered by Philip the Fair
Sunday, 3 June (Pentecost)	Ceremony of knighting Banquet given by Philip the Fair
Monday, 4 June	Banquet offered by Louis, king of Navarre Construction of bridge from the Ile-de-la-Cité to the Ile-Notre-Dame
Tuesday, 5 June	Midday banquet in tents given by Edward II at <i>Saint-Germain-des-Prés</i> (JSV) Feast offered to the ladies at the Louvre by Philip the Fair Construction of bridge completed
Wednesday, 6 June	Rain and wind in the morning Processions across the bridge to the Ile-Notre-Dame Assumption of the Cross after noon by nobles, religious, and others on the Ile-Notre-Dame (CGN, RB) Banquet offered by Louis of Evreux, half-brother of Philip the Fair
Thursday, 7 June	Edward II and Isabelle oversleep <i>Nobles ladies take the Cross</i> (JSV) <i>Edward II makes an offering in the Sainte-Chapelle</i> (PRO, fol. 3v) Crafts, bourgeois, and <i>all the people of Paris</i> (RB) <i>parade from the Ile-Notre-Dame through the cloister of Notre-Dame to the palace to be viewed by the three kings</i> (JSV, RB) Banquet offered by Charles of Valois, brother of Philip the Fair Crafts and bourgeois <i>parade in the evening</i> (JSV) after dinner to the <i>Pré-aux-Clercs</i> (GC) and Saint-Germain-des-Prés Crafts feast individually Street festivities through the night
Friday-Sunday, 8-10 June	Parisian "luminaire" begins on Friday and continues for three nights
Saturday, 9 June	<i>Queen Isabelle takes the Cross</i> (PRP)
Duration unspecified (includes Wednesday and Thursday)	"mainte faërie" (dramatic tableaux and entertainments)

Date unspecified	March of the Great Watch, 800 men clad in livery
Date unspecified (three days)	Fountain with wine and "maintes fictions" (imaginary scenes and figures)
Continuously, by day and night	Music, food, and drink; streets crowded with richly clad nobles and bourgeois, and crafts in livery; streets hung with brightly colored drapery

Related Events

After Trinity Sunday, 10 June	Royal entertainment at Pontoise; <i>minstrel Bernard le Fol and 54 naked dancers perform on 19 June</i> (PRO, fol. 30r) Fire in the quarters of Edward and Isabelle at Pontoise, forcing the couple to flee in their nightclothes
Friday, 15 June	<i>Possible tournament held at Compiègne</i> (CR)

Key to Additional Sources

CGN: Continuation of the Universal Chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis, ed. Géraud 1:396
 CR: *Comptes royaux*, ed. Fawtier and Maillard, no. 27687
 GC: *Grandes Chroniques*, ed. Viard, 9:287-90
 JSV: Chronicle of Jean of Saint-Victor, in *Recueil des historiens* 21:656-57
 PRO: PRO, E 101/375/8
 PRP: PRO, E 30/1422
 RB: Raymond of Béziers, *Dimna et Kalila* (BN, Ms. lat. 8504, fols. Bv-1r)
 SCR: Chronicle of Saint-Catherine-du-Mont of Rouen, in *Recueil des historiens* 23:408-9

before the altar. A miniature in *Dimna et Kalila* shows Louis, the first to be knighted, with hands lifted to heaven, being belted by Edward of England in the rite described by Llull. It also shows Philip the Fair giving his son the ceremonial slap that Llull says followed a ritual kiss; the blow, according to Llull, ensured that the young knight would remember the signal honor he had received. After he had been belted, another illustration demonstrates, Louis of Navarre joined Edward II and Philip the Fair in belting other aspirants, who numbered almost two hundred. They included Louis's brothers Philip and Charles; their cousin Philip (the future Philip VI), son of Philip the Fair's brother Charles of Valois; Robert of Artois, whose lawful heritage, the county of Burgundy, had passed to France as the dowry of his sister Jeanne, married to Prince Philip; and the half-brother and son of Enguerran de Marigny.

All who were knighted received splendid testimony of Philip the Fair's largesse.²⁷ The gifts traditionally bestowed by the lord who knighted²⁸ were exceedingly lavish in 1313; the king spent more than 32,000 *l. par.* on horses for the new knights. Most were given a horse and a palfrey, some a single mount, a few money with which steeds could be purchased. Gilded reins went to fifty knights; white reins were distributed to others. Token stipends (*vadia*) were disbursed, 10 *l. par.* to the king's

sons and 5 *l. par.* to the others. Although full records of other special expenses have not survived, the king in all likelihood gave the new knights robes and perhaps ceremonial beds for their vigil, gifts that his forebears had bestowed at earlier royal knightings.

After the ceremony, Llull said, the new *chevaliers* should ride through the city and display themselves, to impress upon them the shame they would attract if they failed to keep their vows. So too Llull thought that the occasion should be celebrated with great feasts and dinners, and with jousting and sports.²⁹ Philip the Fair perhaps deemed tourneying, long decried by the church, incompatible with the ceremony he had ordained; on 28 December 1312 he had reiterated an earlier prohibition against jousts, tournaments, and other passages of arms, outlawed until the Feast of Saint Remi because of the rites that he intended for Pentecost.³⁰ Yet a fifteenth-century chronicler recorded that in 1313 the king "held jousts and tournaments to make his *feste* more excellent."³¹ The author probably invented this detail, for aside from the tournament of children depicted in one of the tableaux mounted by the Parisians for the *feste*, no feats of arms were celebrated in or near the city during Pentecost week, although a tournament was perhaps planned for Compiègne in mid-June.³²

There may have been no tournaments or jousting, but the new knights were royally feasted, and on many occasions during the week they displayed themselves, magnificently attired in garb that they often changed. A grand company of French magnates was present; their names form a litany in the metrical chronicle, which includes not only those who attended the ceremonies but also some of the most important young men who were knighted. Of the assemblage the chronicler wrote, "Even if one counted in French and in Latin, from night to day, one could not give the sum of all the nobles."³³ Robert of Béthune, count of Flanders, and his son Louis, count of Nevers and Rethel, were conspicuous by their absence, understandable in view of the conflict between Flanders and France that would shortly erupt; the metrical chronicle says that the count of Flanders did not dare to come because of the power of the king of France.³⁴

On Sunday after the ceremony at Notre-Dame, Philip the Fair entertained his guests, perhaps, as a late chronicler said, presiding at table wearing the royal diadem.³⁵ On Monday Louis of Navarre gave a banquet, thus assuming precedence over his brother-in-law Edward of England, whose feast took place the next day.³⁶

The lavish banquet that Edward offered was held at high noon at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, where he and Isabelle were lodged.³⁷ It was a stunning occasion. Tents hung with rich cloths were open for all to view. Even in broad daylight, lights and torches burned in abundance, a grand display of regal wealth.³⁸ The guests were served by attendants on horseback, and other amusement was provided. The reward of 20 *s.* that

William Craddock, crowder and singer, received on 6 June for making minstrelsy before Edward II was surely given to him for his performance the day before at Edward's feast.³⁹ A castle of love (*castrum amorum*), constructed by the armorer of Louis of Navarre for 100 *s.*, was a chief attraction, perhaps used to provide entertainment between the courses of the meal.⁴⁰ Philip the Fair gave a feast for his daughter Isabelle and his daughter-in-law Marguerite, queen of Navarre, both splendid in their crowns, and the other ladies at the Louvre.⁴¹

On Wednesday morning Paris was struck by rains and wind; the precise might have seen in this a sign of divine skepticism regarding the ceremony that was soon to occur, the second capstone of the week's festivities. But the storm moved on, and the ritual assumption of the Cross took place as planned. On Monday and Tuesday the Parisians had constructed a huge bridge of planks, balanced on boats, 160 feet long and 40 feet wide, to link the Ile-de-la-Cité and the Ile-Notre-Dame, a marshy expanse that belonged to the cathedral chapter of Paris and that was under the bishop's jurisdiction.⁴² On Wednesday afternoon, royalty, new knights, nobles, and bourgeois thronged the bridge as they assembled on the Ile-Notre-Dame.⁴³

Cardinal Nicolas of Fréauville and other prelates, mounted on a dais, met the multitude.⁴⁴ Sermons were preached, and then, beginning with the kings of France, Navarre, and England, a crowd of the faithful—commoners as well as nobles—received the crosses that bound them to free the Holy Land. Thus Philip the Fair fulfilled the solemn vow that he had made on 3 April 1312 at the Council of Vienne: that he, his children, his brothers, and "a copious multitude of nobles of his kingdom and other realms" would within the year assume the Cross and within six years set forth to succor the Holy Land, whether or not France was at war, and that if he were prevented by death or any other impediment his eldest son would act in his place.⁴⁵ At the ceremony in 1313 the cardinal doubtless announced the grand indulgence issued by Clement V on 10 February, which promised full remission of their sins to all who embarked for the Holy Land on crusade or, according to their rank and means, sent others to fight in their places.⁴⁶ The willingness of so many clerics and lay people to assume the Cross in Paris was doubtless promoted by guarantees that Philip the Fair issued on that Wednesday. The king, clearly anxious to see a spectacular number enlist with him, made pledges to all who took the Cross that if they were kept by death, illness, or any other personal impediment from fulfilling their vows, no one could require anything more of them or their heirs; it would be their decision whether to offer or leave anything to aid the Holy Land, and if anyone constrained them to do so, the king promised personally to see that they were protected from harm.⁴⁷ After the solemn rite, the noble entourage returned to the Ile-de-la-Cité, where the kings and their guests were feasted by Philip the Fair's half-brother Louis of Evreux,

who had long been close to Edward of England and had helped persuade him and Isabelle to come to France.⁴⁸

The wives of those who had taken the Cross on Wednesday, inspired by their husbands, made similar undertakings on Thursday, although their vows were contingent on their husbands' departing for the Holy Land.⁴⁹ Some of them felt pressed to follow their husbands' lead. Jeanne of Burgundy, wife of Philip of Poitiers, later said that Philip had "made her assume the Cross" and that she herself had taken no vow to make any compensation for failing to implement her pledge.⁵⁰ Queen Isabelle, more cautious than the other ladies, deferred until Saturday her assumption of the Cross, and she obtained from Cardinal Nicolas a formal certificate of his agreement that she would set forth only with her husband and that she would be bound to furnish only such support for the Holy Land as her devotion moved her to offer.⁵¹

Isabelle's failure to take the Cross with the other ladies may or may not have been deliberate. She and Edward had overslept on Thursday morning, to the amusement of the metrical chronicler.⁵² Thus Edward failed to attend a conference scheduled with Philip the Fair, and Isabelle may have missed the ladies' crusading ceremony. But Edward reached the palace later and made amends for his earlier absence by offering 24 florins for the mendicants of Paris and 20 s. at the shrine of the Crown of Thorns in the Sainte-Chapelle,⁵³ where the ladies may have taken the Cross, as Isabelle would do on Saturday. He, and perhaps Isabelle as well, then joined Philip the Fair and his sons to view the grand assemblage of all the people of Paris that trooped from the Ile-Notre-Dame through the cloister of Notre-Dame to Philip the Fair's new palace.

Jean of Paris, cleric and canon of Saint-Victor, used the term *processionaliter* (which had imperial as well as ecclesiastical connotations) to describe the march of the Parisians.⁵⁴ Processional movements are powerful representations of social structure: their movement, orientation, and composition reflect personal and institutional roles and relationships; their progress enables all to see and be seen within a dynamic ensemble that exhibits principles of ideological order and social structure.⁵⁵ Given the immense crowds and obstacles such as bridges, gates, and narrow streets that impeded forward motion through the city, it may well be asked in what sense Thursday's assembly may be compared to a procession in which a well-defined body of participants moves past spectators along a path in whose trajectory and fixed temporal and spatial limits symbolic meaning can be found. The vast, animated throng of Parisians does not resemble the elite cortege of dignitaries that paraded with their retinue in royal and ecclesiastical processions: its mass is greater; the focus falls on groups rather than individuals; the king gazes from a fixed position at his people, who view the splendor of three monarchs as they pass before the palace. Yet the gathering of the Parisians is defined by processional features: it marks a special occasion; it has a

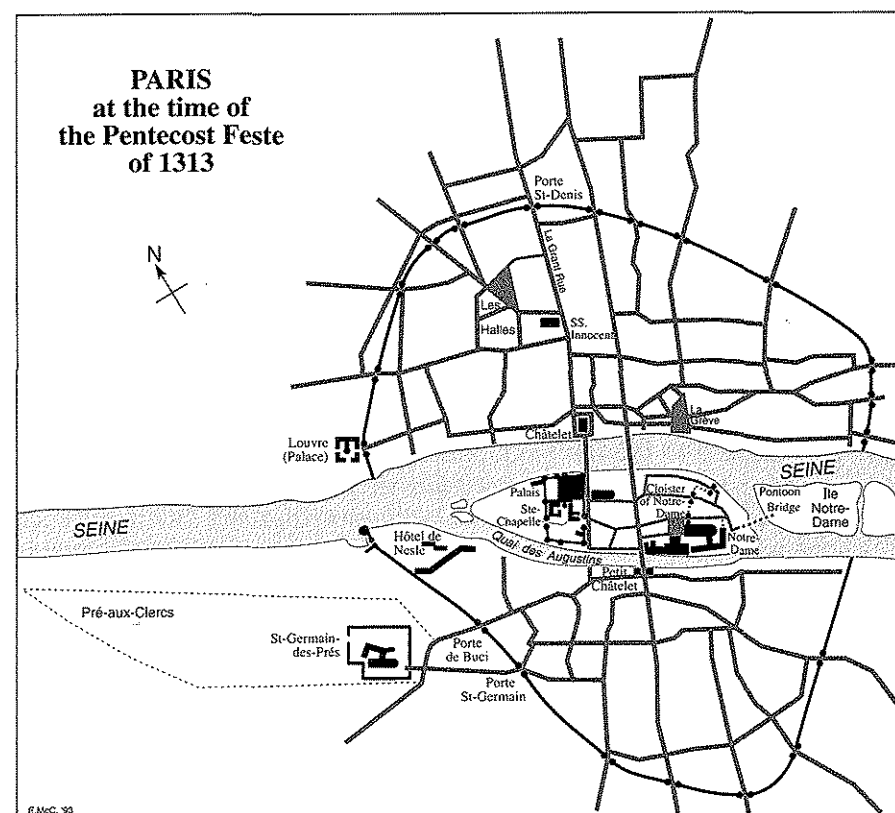


Figure 3.1. Paris at the time of the Pentecost *feste* of 1313. (Illustration by Eliza McClellenn.)

beginning and end in time; it moves through city spaces along a specific trajectory articulated by significant monuments and structures (the church of Notre-Dame, the royal palace, the city wall); its participants are identified by their costumes, movements, and order of march.

Three locations where large crowds could gather—the Ile-Notre-Dame, the royal palace, and the Pré-aux-Clercs near Saint-Germain—marked out a route from east to west and punctuated a movement that began in the morning and lasted into the evening (see Figure 3.1). The parade of Parisians commenced with an assembly on the marshy meadows of the Ile-Notre-Dame, whose ecclesiastical connections had been underscored by Wednesday's crusading congregation. Mounted trumpeters preceded the line of march. They led twenty thousand on horseback and thirty thousand on foot, the metrical chronicle says, seeking to impress with numbers that, if accurate, would have been equivalent to a quarter of the city's population.⁵⁶ The Parisians passed over the grand bridge that now, thanks to their efforts, joined the Ile-Notre-Dame and

the Ile-de-la-Cité. Then they progressed through the cloister of Notre-Dame and the narrow streets of the Cité before marshaling before the king's splendid new palace. The three kings reviewed the host—from the windows of the king's apartments, according to one source, or at the entry to the palace, according to another.⁵⁷ Drums beat, horns and trumpets sounded, and the royal entourage watched as the Parisians passed, two by two, each craft garbed in special livery. The costumes, order, and music of the procession made visible the affluence and social organization of the city while its unified motion reflected an ideal of the community's solidarity.⁵⁸ Never since Paris was built, the metrical chronicle declares, had there been such a noble display, which signaled the true worth of the Parisians.⁵⁹

The massive parade continued on in the evening, after dinner. The Parisians crossed to the left bank and out beyond the city's walls to the great meadows that stretched between the Seine and Saint-Germain-des-Prés. There Edward and Isabelle were staying, and their presence transformed the space of the abbey of Saint-Germain into a site that was both royal and ecclesiastical. The Parisians must have squeezed over the Petit-Pont and moved west through the narrow Porte de Buci and Porte de Saint-Germain that breached Philip Augustus's wall; some may have crossed by ferry to the Left Bank.⁶⁰ At last they fanned out over the meadows of the Pré-aux-Clercs between Saint-Germain and the river. For the second time the throng assumed an impressive, orderly line of march as the Parisians showed themselves to Edward and Isabelle, who had returned to their lodging at Saint-Germain after attending the feast offered by Charles of Valois. From a little tower, surrounded by a host of ladies and damsels, the royal couple gazed in amazement, the chronicles report. Never would the English and their king have believed, the metrical chronicler proudly comments, "that so many wealthy and such noble persons could come forth from a single city."⁶¹

The *feste* of 1313 was both theatrical and political. Aristocratic responsibilities, wealth, and power (reiterated privately by the noble banquets and knightings ceremonies) were affirmed publicly when they were displayed to the people of Paris at the crusading ceremonies and through the magnates' ostentatious exhibition of splendor. In return, the power of the Parisians was confirmed when their wealth and numbers were shown to royal spectators. Spectacle thus gave weight to the importance of each group within the city.

The Parisian bourgeois and crafts, who had constructed the bridge between the Ile-de-la-Cité and the Ile-Notre-Dame and had organized and financed the preparation, had assessed the princely offering of 10,000 *l. par.* that Paris gave the king for his son's knightings.⁶² The bourgeois, many of whom had profited handsomely from preparations for the *feste*,⁶³ rivaled the kings, princes, and nobles in their expenditures. The metrical chronicler's verses introducing the bourgeois's celebration, con-

trast *borjois* and *borjoisie* with the nobility, while emphasizing the noble magnificence of the festivities that the bourgeois presented. As odious as comparisons might be, the chronicler says, this celebration was distinguished by five marks of lordliness: the illuminations that the bourgeois provided, beginning on Friday and continuing to Sunday; the sumptuous garb they wore; their well-furnished numbers night and day; the variety of musical instruments; and the richly adorned crafts.⁶⁴

The Parisians' wealth, which had been used prodigally to decorate and illumine the streets of Paris and to provide the liveries and costumes, transformed the city and joined its inhabitants in common rejoicing. All Paris was decked in hangings—white, black, yellow, red, blue, and green. For three days the bourgeois provided a fountain of wine, ornamented with "mermaids, civet-cats, lions, leopards, and many fabulous inventions."⁶⁵ "For the *feste* that the bourgeois mounted," the metrical chronicle says, "the royalty thanked them."⁶⁶

Throughout the week, for the nobles and themselves, the bourgeois staged theatrical *tableaux vivants* and entertainments in the city's streets—*faërie* or enchantments, as the metrical chronicle terms them (see Table 3.2).⁶⁷ The poet describes more than two dozen tableaux and entertainments, devoting eighty-three lines to them. His is the earliest record of street tableaux staged for a Parisian royal festival,⁶⁸ providing the first evidence of dramatic staging in Paris and its environs,⁶⁹ and the sponsorship of Parisian theater by the municipal crafts.⁷⁰ The tableaux presented episodes both secular and religious. In the curious order in which the metrical chronicle lists them, biblical tableaux appear next to scenes from popular tales. Jesus laughs with his mother and eats an apple, cheek by jowl with Renart the Fox costumed as a doctor. The Blessed Virgin and the Magi are listed next to a Paradise and a Hell scene; then comes the Last Judgment, then the Resurrection, then a children's tournament, Christ and the Apostles praying, the slaughter of the Innocents, the martyrdom of John the Baptist, and Herod and Caiaphas in a miter. Next the chronicle describes two scenes from the tales of Renart—the fox chanting an epistle and the Gospels, then Hersent the she-wolf spinning. Next Adam and Eve, and Pilate washing his hands; then merry "bean kings" and wild men. Then the whole life of Renart: eating chickens and hens; disguised as bishop, pope, and archbishop; and finally borne in his funeral cortege.

The author enumerates the scenes, pointing here and there and punctuating his account with "la," "la," "vit on la." His account suggests throngs of spectators successively viewing an ensemble of scenes staged simultaneously. Whether the strange order in which he enumerated them reflects their actual locations cannot be known. Only one site is named: les Halles, the covered market located just west of the Church of the Innocents, which housed an enclosed, rabbit-filled wood where tame animals were chased.⁷¹ By the early fifteenth century, various locations

TABLE 3.2. The *Faërie* of 1313: Street tableaux staged and entertainment presented during the *Feste* listed in the order given in BN, Ms. fr. 146 (*Chronique métrique*, lines 4953–5048)

Christ Child laughing with his mother

Renart the Fox as a doctor

Christ Child eating apples

The Virgin with the Magi

Paradise with ninety angels and souls singing "inside"

Hell with more than a hundred devils tormenting groaning souls

The Last Judgment

The Resurrection

A children's tournament

Christ and the Apostles praying

The slaughter of the Innocents

Martyrdom and beheading of John the Baptist

Herod and Caiaphas in a miter

"Fire, gold, silver flying up"

Renart the Fox singing an Epistle and the Gospels

"Crosses and feather plumes"

Hersent the she-wolf spinning

Adam and Eve

Pilate washing his hands

Bean kings and wild men

"All this was done by the weavers; the beltmakers also staged the life of Renart"

The whole life of Renart, eating chickens and hens

Renart disguised as a bishop, pope, and archbishop

"Renart was there in every possible disguise"

Funeral procession of Renart

Lads dancing in white shirts

Nightingales and parrots singing

An enclosed wood with rabbits in the Halles

Tame game animals "beaten on the back"

Pennants, flags, banners

Music

Castles and towers

Ladies dancing and caroling

Luminaire of wax candles

Decorated fountain of wine, "a joyful gift of the bourgeois"

Well-dressed bourgeois ladies dancing

Key: religious scenes, *Renart* material, festive entertainments, "descriptive comments"

along the royal entry route into Paris were associated with different crafts; some of the same scenes (such as the Magi and the slaughter of the Innocents) were represented in 1313.⁷² But les Halles was not a site of later entry pageantry, nor is there evidence that in 1313 the scenes were associated with the entry of Edward and Isabelle into Paris on the day before Pentecost.

As the chronicle's account shows, the tableaux depicting Hell and Paradise were staged within large-scale constructions intended to last for more than a single day and perhaps for the entire week of the *feste*. Framing the Hell were curtains that were blown down by Wednesday's storm but were quickly restored.⁷³ Black, reeking smoke poured from its inner area; into it souls were cast, and there they howled in torment; from it more than a hundred devils could emerge simultaneously.⁷⁴ The Paradise held ninety angels and likewise had an inner space, within which souls sang.⁷⁵ If these tableaux were staged on the fixed, raised platforms typical of later medieval French street theater,⁷⁶ they would have been impressively large⁷⁷ but easily constructed by the affluent and well-organized Parisians who had set up the pontoon bridge to the Ile-Notre-Dame in just two days.

Some *faërie* may have been mounted on wagons or wheels; the metrical chronicle mentions "castles and towers," which, like ships, were popular sets that could be mobile.⁷⁸ Some revelers may have been costumed, since the metrical chronicle makes a tantalizing reference to people strutting over the pontoon bridge and wearing "maintes riches disguiseüres," a term that can mean costumes or disguises as well as finery.⁷⁹ A later account in the *Grandes Chroniques*, which compresses the information in the metrical chronicle and contains no reference to the subjects of the tableaux, mentions *jeux* accompanying the Parisians' assemblage on the Ile-Notre-Dame.⁸⁰

Unlike the mute, immobile tableaux of some early-fifteenth-century entries,⁸¹ the tableaux of 1313 were lively and filled with movement; figures sang, spoke, groaned, spun, and jumped about. But the scenes do not seem to have been full dramas. For ten of them the chronicler uses a single verb suggesting a simple action without any dramatic development: the Christ Child laughs, Renart intones the Gospels. In the case of nine tableaux, only the subject is indicated, but three scenes involved sustained and repeated actions: the souls singing in Paradise;⁸² the devils "throwing and casting souls about," emerging "side by side to lure toward them souls, which they treated very harshly";⁸³ the wild men prancing about "with great merriment."⁸⁴ In every case the *faërie* of 1313 presented familiar scenes, not complex allegories, that could be understood without dialogue, extended dramatic action, or additional commentary.

The *faërie*'s varied themes playfully reiterated the central elements of the aristocratic *feste*: the articles of faith, youthful knights, kings, pro-

cessions. Taken together the biblical tableaux constitute an ensemble of scenes⁸⁵ presenting the central episodes of Christian belief and illustrating the lessons that the new knights had heard expounded at Notre-Dame. The scene of the Magi recalled the three kings of France, England, and Navarre, whose presence dignified the *feste*. The children's tournament, "where none was more than ten years old," evoked the knighting of Philip the Fair's sons while it underscored the absence of tourneying at the *feste*.⁸⁶ The fox in clerical garb caricatured the splendid ecclesiastical ceremonies, as Renart's funeral cortege echoed the *feste's* different ceremonial processions.⁸⁷

The scenes from the stories of Renart, the only known medieval staging of the tales, had political overtones that would not have been lost on spectators familiar with the popular satire. The tableau showing Renart as a doctor presented the episode in which the fox heals the ailing King Noble with a remedy concocted from the skins of his courtiers.⁸⁸ This scene, like the one showing the greedy fox eating chickens and hens (in Latin *galli*, which also signifies "the French"), would surely have recalled Philip the Fair's red-headed minister, Enguerran de Marigny, who was at the apogee of his power in 1313. As the metrical chronicle reports, when Enguerran was taken to trial in the spring of 1315, the Parisians taunted him with cries of "Begone, Renart! Your scheming and trickery have killed us. You've stolen the kingdom's wealth."⁸⁹ Other tableaux also had moral and political implications. Figuring the evil ruler who sheds the blood of the righteous, King Herod orders the slaying of the Innocents, and Herod Antipas receives the head of John the Baptist and appears with the chief priest Caiaphas, both guilty of Jesus' death. Their images contrasted starkly with that of the good kings, the Magi. Even the comic "bean kings" carried a moral message, representing as they did the ephemeral kings-for-a-day of Epiphany, and suggested the transitory nature of royal power.⁹⁰ Provocatively intermingled, the religious and satirical scenes constituted a discourse of festive counsel that celebrated knighting and crusading ceremonies while reminding the king of his duty to protect the kingdom from evil and from overmighty councillors. Celebration and admonition were complementary, for the king's subjects thought themselves bound not only to glorify but also to advise their ruler.⁹¹ The bourgeois thus presented diversions for themselves and lessons for their betters. Their festive participation asserted the worth of an educated urban elite as they gave their commentary on the issues of the day and the responsibilities of their king.

Who were the Parisians who planned, mounted, and participated in the celebration? Focusing on the bourgeois, the metrical chronicle points to Parisians of varied status, identified by occupation, dress, sex, and festive activity. The proud elite of the Parisian bourgeoisie with its "rights, customs, practices, and privileges" financed and dominated the festivities.⁹² At different points in the celebration, the individual Pa-

risian crafts were identified by their insignia, processional order, and separate banquets. In Thursday's parade they marched two by two, each craft wearing distinctive livery and feasting at subsequent banquets that were, extraordinarily, permitted them on this occasion, in addition to those held at their annual assemblies.⁹³ Members of the Great Watch (which included representatives of every craft except the richest, who were exempt) marched through the swirling throngs, eight hundred strong, identified by their special garb.⁹⁴ The chronicle specifically mentions just two crafts, the "tisseranz" and the "corroier" as sponsors of dramatic tableaux.⁹⁵ The "tisseranz" included many groups in the important Parisian cloth industry, from "le commun des menuz mestres tesseranz" to the women who wove fine silk, to the "drapiers que Dieu gart," the "mestier hautain," the "granz mestres tesseranz," who sold cloth made by the lesser masters.⁹⁶ The "corroier," men and women, belonged to a specialized craft that made belts of silk or leather studded with metal nails, luxury items for a Parisian clientele of nobles and rich bourgeois.⁹⁷ The bourgeois sponsors also paid the minstrels who played the instruments that the metrical chronicle mentions.⁹⁸ At the opposite end of the social scale were the merry *ribaues* or rabble, whose white shirts and dancing distinguished them from the crafts parading in livery.⁹⁹ Dancing is the only festive activity assigned to women, whether noble or bourgeois: "*dames* danced carols with lovely turns"; "*bourgeoises* dressed in finery danced and pranced for all to see."¹⁰⁰ Although the metrical chronicler singles out different groups of Parisians, for him they were most impressive as a mass, "an enormous throng, well decked out by night and day."¹⁰¹

The week-long celebration ended on Trinity Sunday. This brought to a close the rejoicing and expenses of the Parisian bourgeois, but the king's outlay continued after he, Edward, and Isabelle retired from Paris to Pontoise to deal with affairs of state.¹⁰² Philip left the city on 9 June, passing through Poissy on his way to Pontoise.¹⁰³ Edward and Isabelle remained in Paris on Trinity Sunday, when Edward awarded ten marks to a friar, John de Dunkhull, who was setting forth for the Holy Land in Christ's service.¹⁰⁴

The royal company remained at Pontoise for the rest of the month; their stay was dramatically interrupted by a fire that broke out in Edward's wardrobe, destroying many of the couple's belongings and causing the English king and his queen to flee in their nightdress into the street.¹⁰⁵ This incident apart, life seems to have continued at Pontoise much as it had at Paris. Alms were offered to mendicants and poor on 18 June, and the prior of the church of Saint-Pierre of Pontoise received 30 s. for the damage done to his meadows by Edward's oxen, pastured there for four days.¹⁰⁶ Feasting and celebration doubtless continued, but the pace was far less hectic than before. Nonetheless wine flowed, and on 11 June Edward offered 20 s. to a particularly outstanding minstrel; later

the minstrel Bernard Le Fol and fifty-four companions distracted Edward by dancing nude before him—on 19 June, the anniversary of the murder of Piers Gaveston, Edward's favorite—and received 40 s. from Edward for their show.¹⁰⁷

The week in Paris had not been devoted solely to festivity,¹⁰⁸ and it was probably before leaving Paris that, at Philip the Fair's request, Edward renewed for a year his truce with the Scots, which expired on Trinity Sunday, 10 June.¹⁰⁹ At Pontoise, business took precedence over pleasure. Edward received numerous deputations of his Gascon subjects,¹¹⁰ and he and his father-in-law treated matters of mutual concern. For his part, buoyed by the support he had received in Paris and doubtless on the counsel of the magnates who had gathered there, King Philip summoned the Flemings to answer for their failure to carry out the harsh treaty imposed on them in 1306. Sure that these negotiations would fail, and perhaps (as the metrical chronicle says) pressed by his sons and the other new knights, he summoned his subjects to appear at Arras on 5 August, ready to force the Flemings to obey.¹¹¹ Philip also seized the occasion to institute reform of the realm's coinage, thus following in the footsteps of his grandfather Saint Louis, whose coins remained the standard by which all others were judged.¹¹²

In gratitude for the attendance of Edward and Isabelle at the *feste*, Philip issued numerous privileges in Edward's favor.¹¹³ They were granted not at Pontoise but rather at Poissy, the site of Saint Louis's birth and baptism, where Philip had established a Dominican nunnery in his grandfather's honor and where the two kings passed the last days of Edward's visit, from 2 to 6 July.¹¹⁴ There the two kings received William of Villanova, the bishop whom the pope was sending to convert the Tartars; both kings gave him handsome presents.¹¹⁵ Before Edward and Isabelle left Poissy gifts were exchanged; the king of England received from Philip the Fair four horses and armor; Edward presented 40 s. to Hurell, Philip's minstrel.¹¹⁶ While Edward and Isabelle were en route to England, Philip issued additional privileges in their favor. These were granted at Paris on 12 and 13 July, just before Edward and Isabelle sailed for Dover.¹¹⁷

The departure of Edward and Isabelle brought to an end the great festivities and extraordinary largesse that, since the beginning of June, had reigned at Philip the Fair's court. For him and for the kingdom of France the Pentecost *feste* had served many purposes, fiscal, political, and emotional, which suggest why he held the extraordinary celebration.

Expensive as it was, the *feste* brought Philip promise of financial gain, since the knighting of Louis, his eldest son, enabled him to impose a customary aid on his lay subjects.¹¹⁸ Further, the assumption of the Cross gave the French king access to the clerical tenths destined for the Crusade that Clement V had awarded him on 6 June 1312.¹¹⁹ Equally

important was the tactical advantage that Philip gained, since all who opposed him could now be decried as enemies of the Holy Land.¹²⁰

The grand crusading ceremony on the Ile-Notre-Dame also demonstrated that Philip the Fair had replaced his cousin and rival, Edward I of England, as the hope of the Holy Land. While he lived, Edward was the premier crusader of Christendom; he remained dedicated to the Holy Land until he died. After Edward's death in 1307, and doubtless before, Philip the Fair was blamed for preventing Edward from embarking on the crusade he planned in 1287 by provoking war between England and France.¹²¹ In 1313 Philip assumed the position that Edward had held, and it was under his aegis that Edward's son and heir took the Cross. The pope himself called Philip "most eager champion of the Crucifix." He declared the warriors of France "best trained for combat" (*ad bella doctissimi*), saying they were considered more glorious in battle than others because of their tested virtue. Victory over Christ's enemies, the pope proclaimed, was promised to the king and "the lofty house of France."¹²²

Finally, the magnificence of the *feste* of 1313 witnessed Philip's grandeur and authority, eclipsing as it did earlier celebrations. It outshone the Feast of the Swans of 1306 at which Edward I had knighted his heir; it surpassed the festivities of 1267 that had accompanied the preaching of Louis IX's last crusade and the king's knighting of Philip the Fair's father, a man toward whom Philip harbored deep animosities.¹²³ Through the celebrations Philip also compensated for the bleakness of his own knighting at age sixteen on the Feast of the Assumption in 1284, held just before the French army departed on a so-called Crusade against Aragon, an expedition that the young Philip opposed and that brought shame and defeat to France.¹²⁴ In 1313 it was Philip who presided as a Louis *redivivus* over the splendid knighting of three sons, one of them a king, at a ceremony linked with genuine crusading in defense of the Holy Land.

The *grant feste* of 1313 manifested Philip the Fair's power and the glory and wealth of the royal family; it provided a fit setting for the assembled nobles and princes to display their finery and to take their solemn vows to aid the Holy Land; it elevated and ennobled Paris and all the city's inhabitants. The procession of the Parisians and the theatricalization of the streets in the spectacle of the *grant feste* conferred symbolic value upon the king and city. The celebrations of this Pentecost week realized the expressive word-play Parisius-Paradisus:¹²⁵ the elements of the *feste* suggest the transformation of Paris into Paradise. The *tableau vivant* of Paradise was echoed by the bourgeois's rich hangings, music, and illumination by day and night, which changed the urban space for eight full days into an emblem of the celestial. Getting was turned toward spending as festive largesse replaced the harsh economy of daily life with a heavenly state of outpouring riches. Throughout the

celebration, everyone could drink and eat, night and day, in every part of Paris, "with no restriction";¹²⁶ the lavish banquets and continuous feasting call to mind the eschatological parable of the wedding banquet. These symbolic overtones explain the hyperbole the metrical chronicler uses to describe the *feste* of 1313 and contrast markedly with his sober, cautious reporting of other events. "The joy, the pleasure, the *feste* ... These are marvels without equals," he wrote, communicating the state of rejoicing that can be seen as the essence of Paradise and of festive celebration.¹²⁷ The chivalric, religious, and urban celebrations in Paris thus witnessed the moral and political well-being of the realm of France, as they glorified its king.

NOTES

1. We should like to express our gratitude to Barbara Hanawalt, Kathryn Reyerson, and all those at the University of Minnesota who made possible the conference where this essay was first presented. The invitation to give the paper has led us to plan a book on the *feste* of 1313. In it we shall deal in greater detail with the material surveyed here and treat a number of themes that constraints of space do not permit us to consider in this essay. Here we focus on the celebration itself and the role of Paris in the festivities; in the book we shall consider the larger historical context and the political significance of the *feste*; we shall also publish illustrations and a selection of texts (with translations) that relate to the celebration, with full documentation for the statements that appear here. We profited greatly from suggestions that we received at the conference and would especially like to thank Lawrence M. Bryant and Edward R. Haymes. In revising the paper we have received generous help from Michael T. Davis, Richard C. Famiglietti, Samuel Kinser, Alan E. Knight, John C. Parsons, Dana L. Sample, and Kenneth Varty. Special thanks to Eliza McClennen, who prepared the map. We wish to express our gratitude to the staffs of the Archives nationales and the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, the Public Record Office in London, the Library of Congress, the libraries of Columbia University and New York University, and the New York Public Library. Elizabeth Brown's research was made possible by grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the PSC-CUNY Research Award Program. Nancy Regalado is grateful for the hospitality of the Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale at Poitiers, where she presented material concerning the *feste* in July 1990, and for a fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities (1992) that provided support during the period when this article was completed. The following abbreviations are used: AN—Paris, Archives nationales; BM—Bibliothèque municipale; BN—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale; d.—denier(s); l. (par.)/(t.)—livre(s) (parisis)/(tournois); Lst.—pound(s) sterling; MGH—Monumenta Germaniae Historica; PRO—London, Public Record Office; s.—sou(s)/shilling(s).

2. *La chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris: texte publié avec introduction et glossaire*, ed. Arnel Diverès, Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, no. 129 (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1956), line 4921; see Esther 1.5–9. The only surviving copy of the chronicle is reproduced in facsimile in *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146. Introduction by Edward H. Roesner, François Avril, and Nancy Freeman Regalado* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1990), fols. 63r–88r.

3. John J. MacAloon states that spectacle is an "irreducibly visual" performative genre that gives "primacy to visual sensory and symbolic codes" ("Olympic Games and

the Theory of Spectacle in Modern Societies," in *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance*, ed. John J. MacAloon [Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984], pp. 245, 243).

4. Josef Fleckenstein, "Friedrich Barbarossa und das Rittertum: Zur Bedeutung der grossen Mainzer Hoftage von 1184 und 1188," orig. pub. 1971, reprinted in *Das Rittertum im Mittelalter*, ed. Arno Borst, *Wege der Forschung* 349 (1976): 392–418, esp. 392–96; and Heinz Weber, "Der Mainzer Hoftag von 1184 als politisches Fest," in *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter: Paderborner Symposion des Mediävistenverbandes*, ed. Detlef Altenburg, Jörg Jarnut, and Hans-Hugo Steinhoff (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1991), pp. 181–92.

5. Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Etude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII (1187–1226)*, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Études, Sciences philologiques et historiques, no. 101 (Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1894), pp. 10–11; and *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. H.-François Delaborde, 2 vols., Publications de la Société de l'Histoire de France, nos. 210, 224 (Paris: Renouard, H. Loones, 1882–85), 1:226 (Guillaume le Breton).

6. See Louis Le Nain de Tillemont, *La vie de saint Louis*, ed. Jules de Gaulle, 6 vols., Publications de la Société de l'Histoire de France, nos. 47, 50, 53, 55, 57, 66 (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1847–51), 2:300–302, 424, 428; 5:13–14, 34–37.

7. See Guillaume de Nangis, *Gesta Philippi Tertii Francorum Regis*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet et al., 24 vols. (Paris: Palmé et al., 1738–1904), 20:496–97; and *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. Jules Viard, 10 vols., Publications de la Société de l'Histoire de France, nos. 395, 401, 404, 415, 418, 423, 425, 429, 438, 457 (Paris: Champion and C. Klincksieck, 1920–53), 8:52–53. On this celebration and on the festivities at Arras in 1271 [for which see below], see Noël Coulet, "Les entrées solennelles en Provence au XIV^e siècle: aperçus nouveaux sur les entrées royales françaises au bas Moyen Age," *Ethnologie française* 7 (1977): 63–82, at 69. Coulet suggests that the two festivals were connected with entries, but the surviving sources do not specifically discuss any such ceremonies.

8. *Annales Gandenses, Annals of Ghent*, trans. Hilda Johnstone (London: Nelson, 1951), pp. 12–13. See n. 92 below.

9. See Constance Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum multitudo: Minstrels at a Royal Feast* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978), pp. xxi–xxxi. We should like to thank Douglas Jansen, who first called our attention to the parallels between the Feast of the Swans and the *grant feste* of 1313.

10. See *Recueil des historiens* 20:488–89 (Nangis, *Gesta Philippi Tertii*); and *Grandes Chroniques* 8:40.

11. BN, lat. 8504, fols. Bv–lr. On the work, see Silvestre de Sacy, "Notice de l'ouvrage intitulé Liber de Dina et Kalila, Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque du Roi, nos. 8504 et 8505," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi, et autres bibliothèques* 10, no. 2 (1818): 3–65; Auguste-Léopold Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Age*, 2nd ed., 5 vols. (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1893–99), 5:39–79, 380–85 (*Jean de Capoue et ses dérivés*); and the review of Hervieux's study by Charles-Victor Langlois, in *Journal des savants* (March 1898): 158–73.

12. Diverès, in *Chronique métrique*, pp. 9–21. On the manuscript, see Roesner, Avril, and Regalado, "Introduction," in *Le Roman de Fauvel*, pp. 4–7; and Elizabeth A. R. Brown, *Adultery, Charivari, and Political Criticism in Early-Fourteenth-Century France: Les Livres de Fauvel*, forthcoming.

13. See esp. the *Memoriale historiarum* of Jean of Paris, canon of Saint-Victor, in *Recueil des historiens* 21:630–89, at 656–57, whose account is based on the metrical chronicle but who presents details absent from the single surviving manuscript of this chronicle; on the relationship between the metrical chronicle and Jean's work, see Diverès, in *Chronique métrique*, p. 16; and n. 61 below. Independent testimony is given by the chronicle of Sainte-Catherine-du-Mont of Rouen: *Recueil des historiens* 21:397–410, at 408–9. The chronicle may well have been written contemporaneously; it was begun in the

early thirteenth century and was extended by different writers to 1345 (*Recueil des historiens* 23:397).

14. *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300 avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368*, ed. Hercule Géraud, 2 vols., Publications de la Société de l'Histoire de France, nos. 33, 35 (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1843), 1:400–405. For the truces, see Frantz Funck-Brentano, *Les origines de la guerre de Cent ans: Philippe le Bel en Flandre* (Paris: Champion, 1897), pp. 639–40, 660–64; for the leagues, see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Reform and Resistance to Royal Authority in Fourteenth-Century France: The Leagues of 1314–1315" (1981), in her *Politics and Institutions in Capetian France* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1991), no. 5.

15. Jean Favier, *Un conseiller de Philippe le Bel: Enguerran de Marigny*, Mémoires et documents publiés par l'Ecole des Chartes, no. 15 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1963), pp. 215–17; Raymond Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris, de la fin du règne de Philippe Auguste à la mort de Charles V, 1223–1380* (Paris: Association pour la publication d'une Histoire de Paris, 1972), p. 165; and André Du Chesne, *Les Antiquitez et Recherches des villes, chasteaux, et places plus remarquables de toute la France. Divisees en huit Livres. Selon l'ordre et ressort des huit Parlemens ...* (Paris: Jean Petit-Pas, 1609), pp. 181–82. For Enguerran as Renart, see Favier, *Un conseiller*, p. 215; *Chronique métrique*, lines 6987–88; and p. 70 and n. 89, this volume. On Philip's palace, see Jean Guerout, "Le Palais de la Cité à Paris des origines à 1417: essai topographique et archéologique," *Paris et Ile-de-France: Mémoires de la Fédération des Sociétés Historiques et Archéologiques de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 1 (1949): 57–212; 2 (1950): 21–204; 3 (1951): 7–101; and esp. 2:44, for the Pentecost celebration.

16. Georges Lizerand, *Clément V et Philippe IV le Bel* (Paris: Hachette, 1910), p. 53; Favier, *Un conseiller*, p. 14. Clement V named Nicolas a cardinal on 12 December 1305. The pope dispatched him to France in March 1313 to further plans for the Crusade (*Reges-tum Clementis Papae V ...*, ed. L. Tosti et al., 10 vols. [Rome and Paris: Typographia Vaticana and E. de Bocard, 1885–97], 8:287, nos. 9649–50; see also 399–403, no. 9941; and 403–4, nos. 9942–63).

17. Edmond Faral, *Les jongleurs en France au Moyen Age*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Champion, 1964), pp. 97–98; and Michel Stanesco, *Jeux d'errance du chevalier médiéval: aspects ludiques de la fonction guerrière dans la littérature du moyen âge flamboyant*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, no. 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1988), p. 64.

18. Louis of Evreux was in England in the fall of 1312, helping Edward negotiate with his barons and the Scots, and it seems clear that he extended Philip's invitation to Edward and Isabelle; *Chronique métrique*, lines 4654–88, exaggerates his accomplishments in England. Louis was accompanied by Enguerran de Marigny and the marshal of France, as well as by French lawyers (Favier, *Un conseiller*, pp. 121, 123–24, esp. p. 124 n. 1; and *Annales Londonienses*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I. and Edward II.*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols., Rolls Series, no. 76 [London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1882–83], 1:210–11, 215, 225–29).

19. For Edward's itinerary between his departure from Dover on 23 May and his return there on 15 July, see Elizabeth M. Hallam, *The Itinerary of Edward II and his Household, 1307–1328*, Publications of the List and Index Society, no. 211 (London: Swift, 1984), pp. 98–102.

20. For background, see May McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307–1399*, vol. 5 of *The Oxford History of England*, ed. George Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 21–31; particularly useful is Jeffrey S. Hamilton, *Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, 1307–1312: Politics and Patronage in the Reign of Edward II* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1988), pp. 98–107.

21. PRO, E 101/375/8, fol. 19r–v.

22. "Chronicle of Sainte-Catherine-du-Mont of Rouen," in *Recueil des historiens* 23: 408–9.

23. *Chronique métrique*, lines 4839–40.

24. *Comptes royaux (1285–1314)*, ed. Robert Fawtier and François Maillard, 3 vols., *Recueil des historiens de la France, Documents financiers*, no. 3 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1953–56), nos. 27701, 27760–64, corrected from Rouen, BM, MS 3401 (Leber 5870, Menant 4), fols. 61r, 65r–v. On 14 June Edward paid the Parisian citizen Falu 60 s. for the grass eaten by the oxen that Philip the Fair had given to him (PRO, E/101/375/8, fol. 32r). Compare the 400 oxen, 800 sheep, 400 pigs, and 40 boars requisitioned for Edward I's Pentecost celebration in 1305 (Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum multitudo*, p. xvii).

25. Favier, *Un conseiller*, pp. 46, 125–26; and Natalie Fryde, "Antonio Pessagno of Genoa, King's Merchant of Edward II of England," in *Studi in memoria di Federigo Melis*, vol. 2 (Naples: Giannini, 1978), pp. 157–78, at 168–70. On 1 May 1313 Pope Clement V granted Edward 74,000 fl., but the English king did not actually receive the money for some time (Lizerand, *Clément V*, p. 367). On 4 May Edward ordered Antonio Pessagno, his chief financial agent, to contract loans up to 20,000 l. st. (*Foedera ...*, ed. Thomas Rymer et al., 4 vols. in 7 [London: Record Commission, 1816–69], 2, no. 1: 214). Pessagno was in France with Edward, as the account for payments that he made at Pontoise between 1 and 7 July 1313 demonstrates (PRO, E 101/375/7). On 16 May the king received a loan of 2000 marks (1,333 l. 6 s. 6 d. st.) from William Testa, Cardinal Priest of Saint Ciriaco, which was to be repaid in Paris on 10 June (*Calendar of Close Rolls, 1307–1313*, pp. 572–73, and see also pp. 586–88). This loan had not been repaid on 13 October 1313 (*Foedera* 2, no. 1: 229–30).

26. For the Catalan text and a discussion of the text's transmission, see Ramon Llull, *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria*, ed. Albert Soler i Nopart, *Els nostres clàssics, Textes en llengua catalana dels orígens al 1800, Col·lecció A, Volums en octau*, no. 127 (Barcelona: Barcino, 1988), pp. 9–12, 61–68; for the French version, Llull's *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*, ed. Vincenzo Minervini, *Biblioteca di Filologia Romanza*, no. 21 (Bari: Adriatica, 1972), pp. 11–69. See Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, *Ramon Llull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 154 n. 21, 339 n. 56. Particularly relevant to the knightng ceremony is Llull, *Llibre*, pp. 197–200, 219 (*Livre*, pp. 136–43, 174). The *Ordene de chevalerie*, written in the first half of the thirteenth century and conceived in a crusading spirit, also contains a detailed description of the knightng ceremony with moral allegorical interpretations of each act; it circulated widely in France and England (Raoul de Hodenc, *Le Roman des eles*; the anonymous *Ordene de chevalerie*, ed. Keith Busby, Utrecht Publications in General and Comparative Literature, no. 17 [Amsterdam-Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1983], pp. 71–119; discussion in Stanesco, "Le Rituel symbolique de l'adoubement," in *Jeux d'errance*, pp. 45–70, at 52–56).

27. Partial copies of the list of knights and the horses they received are found in Rouen, BM, MS 3401 (Leber 5870, Menant IV), fols. 584–59r (ed. with some errors in *Comptes royaux (1285–1314)*, nos. 27622–646); BN, Clairambault 832, pp. 269–92; BN, fr. 7855, pp. 104–13; and *Reliquiae manuscriptorum ...*, ed. Johannes Petrus von Ludewig, 12 vols. (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Halae salicae impensis Orphanotropei, 1720–41), 12:48–60. The copies were made from the original royal household account, which was destroyed in 1737; they contain a total of 197 names of new knights. In collaboration with Richard C. Famiglietti, we shall publish a composite list in our book.

28. See Llull, *Llibre*, p. 200 (*Livre*, p. 143).

29. *Ibid.*

30. For Philip's ordonnance, *Ordonnances des roys de France de la troisième race ...*, ed. Eusèbe-Jacob de Laurière et al., 22 vols. and *Supplément* (Paris: Imprimerie royale et al., 1723–1849), 1:509–10.

31. BN, fr. 23018 (*Chronique des Cordeliers*), fol. 207v ("fist Joustes et tournoyes pour plus sa feste exauchier").

32. An entry in the king's household account shows that the furrier of Philip of Poitiers received 5 l. par., warranted by the chamberlain Pierre de Chambly, for going from Maubuisson to Compiègne on 15 June 1313 "to arrange lodgings for Philip for tournaments" ("ad capiendum hospicia pro dicto domino Philippo pro torneamentis"; *Comptes*

royaux (1285–1314), no. 27687). Note, however, that on 17 and 18 June, royal messengers were dispatched to forbid jousting (*ibid.*, nos. 27688, 27690, 27705). Frustrated by the prohibition against tourneying that Pope Clement V would issue on 14 September 1313 and that Cardinal Nicolas de Fréauville would proclaim in France ca. 9 October, the king's sons and other young knights successfully petitioned the pope to moderate his stance, and Clement consequently authorized tournaments for three days before Lent (20 February) in 1314 (Lizerand, *Clément V*, pp. 363–64).

33. "Si di qu'en François n'en latin, / Ne del vespre ne dou matin, / De la noblesce n'est il somme" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 4875–78). For the names of magnates, see *ibid.*, lines 4773–92.

34. *Ibid.*, lines 4793–4796; and see Funck-Brentano, *Philippe le Bel en Flandre*, pp. 621–54. The *Chronographia*, written between 1415 and 1422 at Saint-Denis and probably relying on the metrical chronicle or on a source influenced by it, is confused on this point. Without mentioning Louis of Nevers, the chronicle states that the duke of Brittany (whom the metrical chronicle mentions twice as present at the *feste*) and the count of Flanders did not attend the *feste* because "they said they did not want to take the Cross until they saw that preparations had been made for the expedition" ("qui dicebant se nolle cruce signari donec viderent paratam dispositionem pro viagio transmarino"; *Chronographia regum Francorum*, ed. Henri Moranvillé, 3 vols., Publications de la Société de l'Histoire de France, nos. 252, 262, 284 [Paris: Renouard, 1891–97], 1:211). The closely related *Anciennes chroniques de Flandre* (*Recueil des historiens* 22: 399) gives a similar account, adding that Clement V suspected that the count did not want to attend the *feste* because he was angry over the French seizure of Flemish lands; according to the chronicle, the pope feared that the count would make trouble while the king was on crusade and thus used his influence to press for peace. On these chronicles, see Auguste Molinier and Louis Polain, *Les sources de l'histoire de France des origines aux guerres d'Italie (1494)*, 6 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1901–6), no. 3103. The *Chronique normande* [written between 1369 and 1372] mentions only the absence of the count of Flanders (*Chronique normande du XIVe siècle*, ed. Auguste and Emile Molinier, Publications de la Société de l'Histoire de France, no. 205 [Paris: Renouard, 1882], 29). This chronicle says that Charles, the second son of Charles of Valois, as well as the count's first son Philip, born in 1293, was knighted in 1313.

35. "Rex autem illa die resedit in mensa, regio diademate coronatus" (*Chronographia* 1:211; *Anciennes chroniques de Flandre*, in *Recueil des historiens* 22:399; and see note 41). On the wearing of crowns at royal festivities (and particularly the crown that Philip VI wore for the knighting of his eldest son), see Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange, *Histoire de S. Lovys* ... (Paris: Mabre-Cramoisy, 1668), part 2, "Dissertation V. Des Cours et des festes solennelles des Roys de France," pp. 159–63; also published at the end of vol. 7 of Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, ed. Léopold Favre, 7 vols. (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1840–50), 7:19–23. On Pentecost of 1184, before his son's knighting festivities, Frederick Barbarossa and his wife wore "imperiales coronas," their son King Henry "regalem coronam" (MGH SS 21:538 [Gislebert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*]). Introducing his tally of the "mainte haute personne" who attended the *feste*, the metrical chronicle lists first "Roy et royné en couronne"; he also says that when Philip the Fair entertained the ladies at the Louvre on Tuesday, "Double royne i ot couronnée," which indicates that Isabelle of England and Marguerite of Burgundy, wife of Louis of Navarre, wore crowns on this occasion (*Chronique métrique*, lines 4771–72, 4862).

36. For the different noble banquets given during the week, see *Chronique métrique*, lines 4839–72.

37. *Ibid.*, lines 4845–58; Jean of Saint-Victor, in *Recueil des historiens* 21:657; and PRO, E 101/375/8, fols. 3v, 32r. The author of the *Chronique métrique* seems clearly to have been an eyewitness to this banquet, the only one that he describes in detail.

38. "Si n'i avoit n'amont n'aval / Ou il n'i eüst parement / Et luminaire grandement /

Qui chierement fu achaté, / Mes c'estoit fet par nobleté, / Grans torches ardre en plain mydi, / Por ce que le vi, je le di" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 4852–57).

39. PRO, E 101/375/8, fol. 30v; and Constance Bullock-Davies, *Register of Royal and Baronial Domestic Minstrels, 1272–1327* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), p. 34.

40. PRO, E/101/375/8, fol. 30. For a *castello* filled with cooked animals that looked alive, brought in between courses at a banquet given for Pope Clement V in 1308, see Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry and the Revels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), p. 45 n. 1.

41. "Et cel jor nostre roy de France / Moustra au Louvre sa vaillance, / Car aus dames fist la disnee. / Double royne i ot couronnée" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 4859–62). See *ibid.*, line 5067, for the chronicle's description of the Parisians' march "après disner" to Saint-Germain-des-Prés on Thursday. The chronicle does not make clear whether this banquet was held at the same time as Edward's feast at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, although it would have been curious for Philip the Fair to miss his son-in-law's entertainment. In his account, Jean of Saint-Victor says only that Edward offered "prandium solempnissimum" and that Philip "omnes dominas habuit illa die in Lupara" (*Recueil des historiens* 21:657).

42. *Chronique métrique*, lines 4913–15. See Louis Halphen, *Paris sous les premiers Capétiens (987–1223): étude de topographie historique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Leroux, 1909), 1:51–54, 98; and Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire*, p. 229.

43. *Chronique métrique*, lines 4885–4918.

44. BN, lat. 8504, fols. Bv–1r. The miniature showing the taking of the Cross is now mounted beside the fifth caption, which describes the parade of Parisians; it was intended for the third caption, which describes the reception of the "uexillum angeli celestis .a. reuerendo patri in christo domino nicholao .diuina prouidencia .tituli .sancti eusebii presbitero cardinalis [sic]." Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 255, dates the ceremony 5 June.

45. Nangis, *Chronique* 1:391–92. The bull of 10 February 1313 empowering Nicolas de Fréauville to preach the Crusade mentions the French and also "ad illud venient[es] undecunque signum recipere volent[es] supradictum" (*Regestum Clementis V* 8:401, no. 9941, 10 February 1313). The bull that Philip the Fair obtained from Clement V on 29 December 1305, which absolved him in advance from crusading vows that he judged it impossible to keep, mentioned as legitimate excuses not only physical illness but also wars (Lizerand, *Clément V*, pp. 424–25). On 21 December 1312 Clement V had given Philip permission to defer the ceremony until Pentecost because of his intention to knight his sons and "[alia] adhibere solempnia, que circa festum pentecostes proximo futurum poterunt comodius ordinari" (*Registum Clementis V* 8:25–26, no. 8964). On 30 December 1312 Philip the Fair summoned a council of prelates and barons of France to discuss crusading plans (*Lettres de Philippe le Bel relatives au pays de Gévaudan*, ed. Jean Roucaute and Marc Saché [Mende: Privat, 1896], p. 141, no. 74; and Constantin Fasolt, *Council and Hierarchy: The Political Thought of William Durant the Younger*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th ser., no. 16 [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991], pp. 305–6). See also Ewald Müller, *Das Konzil von Vienne, 1311–1312: Seine Quellen und seine Geschichte*, Vorreformationsgeschichtliche Forschungen, no. 12 (Münster in Westfalen, 1934), pp. 107–74. The comment of the continuator of Nangis's chronicle, "sed nihil fecit," tersely characterizes the outcome of these proceedings (Christopher J. Tyerman, "Sed Nihil Fecit? The Last Capetians and the Recovery of the Holy Land," in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*, ed. John Gillingham and J. C. Holt [Cambridge, Eng.: Boydell Press, 1984], pp. 170–81).

46. *Registum Clementis V* 8:401–2, which gives other details of the indulgence. See also the supplementary bull concerning the indulgence that the pope dispatched to Cardi-

nal Nicolas on 21 May 1313, in BN, Doat 16, fols. 127r–29v, included in a letter of Nicolas dated 17 January 1314 at Paris, itself contained in an act of 4 April 1314.

47. Arthur Bertrand de Broussillon and Eugène Vallée, *La maison de Craon, 1050–1480: étude historique accompagnée du Cartulaire de Craon*, 2 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1893), 1:329–30, no. 411.

48. See n. 18 above. On Edward's relations with Louis, see Hilda Johnstone, *Letters of Edward, Prince of Wales, 1304–1305*, Publications of the Roxburghe Club, no. 194 (Cambridge, Eng.: Roxburghe Club, 1931), pp. xix, xxxvii, 4, 11, 78; and Roland Delachenal, "Trois lettres d'Edouard premier prince de Galles, fils d'Edouard Ier, roi d'Angleterre," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* 59 (1922): 175–80, at 177–78.

49. Jean of Saint-Victor, in *Recueil des historiens* 21:656–57.

50. In her will of 27 August 1319 Jeanne left the Hospitalers 500 l. for crusading, "ia soit ce que nous ny aions point de veu. Mes pour la volonte que nous y eumes quant nos-tresires li Roys qui estoit lors Quens de poitiers nous fist prendre la Croiz" (AN, J 404A, no. 23). The testament stated that Philip V had given her 30,000 l. par. for her bequests, and her legacies were probably understood to be specified in this currency. In the codicil that she drew up in May 1325 Jeanne reiterated this statement ("Item combien que nous naiens mie veu / au Passage doutremer / pour tant seulement que nostre bon seigneur / que dieux absoile / nous fist prandre la croiz"), there ordaining that when the common passage was undertaken by those of royal blood (*Royaux*), her executors should spend 500 l. on a fitting knight to make the passage for her (*ibid.*, no. 30); in this act the first bequest was made in l. t.

51. PRO, E 30/1422.

52. *Chronique métrique*, lines 5057–65.

53. PRO, E 101/375/8, fol. 3v ("in oblatione Regis ad coronam Spineam Christi in Capella Regis ffrancie Parisius per manus Johannis Merlyn liberatis denariis eidem Regi qui denarii allocantur eidem Johanni inter alias particulas suas ad compotum factum apud Pontisare" on 23 June following).

54. "Omnes artifices processionaliter incedebant"; "Quinta feria omnes artifices et burgenses se in equis et pedites ostenderunt processionaliter" (*Recueil des historiens* 21:656–57). See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v. "processio."

55. Alan E. Knight discusses the processional context of medieval drama in *Aspects of Genre in Late Medieval French Drama* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), pp. 117–40; Louis Marin, "Notes on a Semiotic Approach to *Parade*, *Cortege*, and *Procession*," in *Time Out of Time: Essays on the Festival*, ed. Alessandro Falassi (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), pp. 220–28; Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett and Brooks McNamara, "Processional Performance," *Drama Review* 29:3 (Fall 1985): 2–3; and Susan Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theater in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), p. 159–66.

56. For the population of Paris, see Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire*, pp. 131–40. One manuscript of the chronicle of Jean of Saint-Victor changes "equites viginti millia" to "equites quindecim millia" (*Recueil des historiens* 21:657).

57. Jean of Saint-Victor, in *Recueil des historiens* 21:657 ("ita quod rex cum multis nobilibus eos vidit per fenestras"); a caption in Raymond of Béliers states that the three kings viewed the parade from the entry to the palace (*ad hostium*) (BN, Ms. lat. 8504, fol. 1r).

58. Davis, *Parades and Power*, p. 159.

59. *Chronique métrique*, lines 5089–92.

60. Perhaps some landed at the quay that Philip IV ordered built at the Port Saint-Germain next to the Hôtel de Nesle and that was completed in 1313 (Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire*, p. 212).

61. *Chronique métrique*, lines 4868–70 (Charles's feast), and 5070–80, esp. lines 5070–74 ("Dont esbahi si grandement / Furent Anglois, plus c'onques mes, / Car il ne

cuidassent jamés / Que tant de gent riche et nobile / Pouist saillir de une ville"). Jean of Saint-Victor renders this, "Quos videns rex Angliae obstupuit, et omnes sui. Vix enim credere valeret quod de una sola civitate tanta et tam nobiliter parata potuerit exire multitudo" (*Recueil des historiens* 21:657).

62. The *Livre des sentences du parloir aux bourgeois* (1268–1325) records the names of the assessors chosen in December 1313. The men represented the drapers, the changers, the goldsmiths, the second-hand-clothes dealers (*frepriers*), the merchants, the mercers, the spice merchants, the furriers (*peletiers*), the sea-fishmongers, the weavers, the middlemen (*corratiers*), the bakers (*talmeliers*), and the butchers; the *Chronique métrique* mentions (lines 4996–97) the weavers (*tisseranz*) and belt-makers (*corroier*). See Antoine-Jean-Victor Le Roux de Lincy, *Histoire de l'Hôtel de Ville de Paris* . . . (Paris: Dumoulin, 1846), pt. 2, Appendix 2, p. 173; and Alfred-Louis-Auguste Franklin, *Dictionnaire historique des arts et métiers et professions exercés dans Paris depuis le treizième siècle* . . . (Paris: Welter, 1906). For the variety of crafts in Paris in the mid-thirteenth century, see *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris, XIIIe siècle: Le livre des métiers d'Etienne Boileau*, ed. René de Lespinasse and François Bonnardot, *Histoire générale de Paris*, no. 5 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879). For the record of collection of the *taille* for the knighting aid, see Karl Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille de Paris l'an de grace 1313*, *Acta Universitatis Gotoburgensis, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift*, no. 57(3) (Gothenburg: Wettergren & Kerbers, 1951), pp. ix–xxvi, 1–2. The imposition and levy of the knighting aid was accomplished with dispatch in Paris but opposed in other parts of the realm (Elizabeth A. R. Brown, *Customary Aids and Royal Finance in Capetian France: The Marriage Aid of Philip the Fair* [Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1992] pp. 188–207).

63. *Chronique métrique*, lines 4704–5.

64. *Ibid.*, lines 4942–52. On the Parisians' admiration for knightly and noble ideals and practices, see Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire*, pp. 110, 118, 395.

65. *Chronique métrique*, lines 4811–14, 5081–82 [street decorations]; 5039–43 [fountain].

66. "Borjois tel feste demenerent / Que les royaus les mercierent" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 4939–40).

67. "Et d'autre mainte faërie / Est il bien droit que je vous die" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 4953–54).

68. The next such reference to street tableaux is Jean Juvenal des Ursins's report of the entry of Charles VI to Paris in 1380, in which he wrote that the streets were "tendues et parées bien et notablement, et divers personnages, et plusieurs hystoires, et cryoit on Nouel" (Bernard Guenée and Françoise Lehoux, *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515*, Sources d'histoire médiévale publiées par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, no. 5 [Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1968], p. 58 (*Histoire de Charles VI*)).

69. In a letter of remission of 1380 issued in Paris, Charles V refers to "jeux qui furent faiz et ordenez en l'onneur et remembrance de la Passion nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crit [*sic*] en nostre bonne ville de Paris par aucuns des bourgeois et autres bonnes genz d'icelle" (Antoine Thomas, "Le théâtre à Paris et aux environs à la fin du quatorzième siècle," *Romania* 21 [1892]: 606–11, at 610. For a mystery play staged for Charles V in Rouen in 1367, see Victor Le Clerc, "XIVe siècle: Discours sur l'état des lettres, lère partie," in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 24 [Paris: Welter, 1896], pp. 3–334, at 187.

70. For the next evidence known to us—forty plays produced by the Parisian goldsmiths between 1339 and 1382—see *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*, ed. Gaston Paris and Ulysse Robert, 8 vols., Publications de la Société des Anciens Textes Français, no. 4 [Paris: Firmin Didot, 1876–93]. See also Dorothy Penn, *The Staging of the "Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages" of Ms. Cangé*, Publications of the Institute of French Studies (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933); and Graham A. Runnalls, "Medieval Trade Guilds and the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*. Part I:

Guilds, *Confréries*, and the theater in Mediæval France, Part II: The Parisian Goldsmiths and the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*," *Medium Aevum* 39 (1970): 157-76, 277-87.

71. *Chronique métrique*, lines 5011-14.

72. Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual, and Art in the Renaissance*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, no. 216 (Geneva: Droz, 1986), pp. 169-70. See also Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées*, pp. 25-26, who suggest that the development of the religious and allegorical *tableaux vivants* staged along the route is a fifteenth-century phenomenon; see, however, Jean Froissart's account of the Parisian entry of Isabeau de Bavière in 1389, in idem, *Œuvres*, ed. Joseph-Marie Bruno-Constantin, baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, 25 vols. (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1867-77), 14:10-11; Bryant, *King and City*, pp. 28-29; and Bernard Ribemont, "L'entrée d'Isabeau de Bavière à Paris: une fête textuelle pour Froissart," in *Feste und Feiern* [see n. 4], pp. 515-24.

73. "Le mescredi un vent venta, / Qui les cortines adenta / Et derompi, mes redreciees / Furent tost et apareillees" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 4973-76).

74. "[E]nfer i fu noir et puant: / Les ames getant et ruant, / Dyables i ot plus de cent, / Qui tuit sailloient adjectent / Por les ames a elz atrere, / A cui faisoient maint contraire. / La les creüt on tormenter / Et les veoit on dementer" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 4965-72). For sets constructed of scaffolding covered with painted cloths and tapestry, see Gustave Cohen, *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du Moyen Age*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Champion, 1951), p. 90. For the use of smoke, Cohen, *Mise en scène*, pp. 54, 92-99; and esp., in the earliest vernacular mystery, *Le mystère d'Adam* (*Ordo representationis Ade*), ed. Paul Aebischer, Textes littéraires français (Geneva and Paris: Droz and Minard, 1964), p. 70.

75. "... Et les anges en paradis / Bien encor quatre vints et dis, / Et les ames dedenz chanter" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 4961-63).

76. See Cohen, *Mise en scène*, pp. 53, 67-71, 87-90.

77. Elie Konigson describes a platform for a Paradise measuring eight by twelve feet and accommodating thirty-two persons, which was built at Bourges in 1536 (*L'espace théâtral médiéval* [Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975], p. 243). These dimensions suggest that the Paradise of 1313 would have had to measure eight by thirty-five feet simply to hold ninety angels. A platform nearly two hundred feet long was constructed for a mystery in 1431 (Bryant, *King and City*, p. 151).

78. "Vit on la, et chastiax et tours" (*Chronique métrique*, line 5017). *Annales Londonienses* 1:220 gives a contemporary description of the procession of the fishmongers of London in 1312, "coram quibus praebat quaedam navis, quodam mirabili ingenio operata, cum malo et velo erectis, et depictis de [armis regum Angliae et Franciae] et varietate plurima." See also Robert Withington, *English Pageantry: An Historical Outline*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1918-26; reprint, New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1963), 1:126.

79. "La vit on maintes armeüres, / Maintes riches desguiseüres, / Qui Nostre Dame en l'isle aloient" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 5053-55). Cf. the line, "Desguisez sont de grant maniere," which accompanies the miniatures in the *Roman de Fauvel* of BN, fr. 146, fols. 34r, 34v, 36v that represent Parisians clad in costumes and masks, holding a charivari (*Le Roman de Fauvel par Gervais du Bus* ..., ed. Arthur Långfors, Publications de la Société des Anciens Textes Français, no. 64 [Paris: Firmin Didot, 1914-19], p. 165, line 697). See Nancy Freeman Regalado, "Masques réels dans le monde de l'imaginaire: le rite et l'écrit dans le charivari du *Roman de Fauvel*, MS BN fr. 146," in *Masques et déguisements dans la littérature médiévale*, ed. Marie-Louise Ollier (Montreal and Paris: Presses de l'Université de Montréal and Vrin, 1988), pp. 111-26; and Roesner, Avril, and Regalado, "Introduction," in *Roman de Fauvel*, pp. 10-12.

80. "[T]ouz les bourgeois et maistres de Paris ... vindrent ... ou dessus dit ille de Nos-

tre Dame, ... a grant joie et a grant noise demenant et de tres biaux jeux jouant" (*Grandes Chroniques* 8:288-89).

81. See, for example, Guenée and Lehoux, *Entrées*, p. 69 (1431).

82. See n. 75 above.

83. See n. 74 above.

84. "... homes sauvages / Qui menoient granz rigola[ge]s" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 4993-94).

85. See Frank's discussion of the development of the Passion Play, in *Drama*, pp. 125-35.

86. "La fu le tornai des enfanz, / Dont chascun n'ot plus de dis anz" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 4979-80).

87. This story, found in Branch XVII of the *Roman de Renart* (ca. 1205), was often represented in miniatures; it also appeared on a sculptured frieze of 1298 in the Cathedral of Strasbourg. See Robert Bossuat, *Le Roman de Renard*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Hatier, 1967), pp. 58-62, 169, 191; and Kenneth Varty, "The Death and Resurrection of Reynard in Mediæval Literature and Art," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 8 (1964): 70-93.

88. This story is found in the late-twelfth-century Branch X of the *Roman de Renart*.

89. "Touz celz qui après lui venoient / Que plus que mains le maudioient / Et disoient: 'Avant, Renart, / Honte te doint saint Lienart! / Ton barat et ta tricherie / A touz nous a tolu la vie. / L'avoir du rëaume as emblé'" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 6985-91; see n. 16 above. For Enguerran's red hair, see Jean Favier, "Les portraits d'Enguerran de Marigny," *Annales de Normandie* 15 (1965): 517-24, at 520. Because the metrical chronicle calls Boniface VIII a "renart" (line 2162) and presents Renart dressed as a pope, John Flinn concludes that the scenes of Renart shown in 1313 expressed Gallican hostility to the temporal authority of the papacy (*Le Roman de Renart dans la littérature française et dans les littératures étrangères au Moyen Age* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963], pp. 147-55). See Nancy Freeman Regalado, "Medieval Drama and the Construction of Popular Political Culture: Stagings of the *Roman de Renart* at the Parisian Pentecost Feast of 1313," *Medievalia*, special number, ed. Millia C. Riggio and Martin Stevens (forthcoming).

90. In *Un songe*, a poem included in BN, fr. 146, Geffroi de Paris uses the image of the bean king to represent the baby king Jean I, who was born in November 1315 and lived for only a few days (*Six Historical Poems of Geffroi de Paris* ..., ed. Walter H. Storer and Charles A. Rochedieu, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, no. 16 [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950], pp. 64 [lines 109-19], 68 [lines 247-60]). See Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X" (1978), in her *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1991), no. 7, pp. 227-71, at 264-66.

91. Roesner, Avril, and Regalado, "Introduction," in *Roman de Fauvel*, p. 8; and Brown, *Adultery, Charivari*.

92. "... leur franchises, leur coustumes, leur usages, leur privilèges": a petition presented by the bourgeois of Paris to Philip the Fair in 1298, in *Règlements sur les arts et métiers de Paris rédigés au XIIIe siècle, et connus sous le nom du Livre des métiers d'Etienne Boileau*, ed. G.-B. Depping, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, 1st. ser., Histoire politique (Paris: Crapelet, 1837), pp. 452-53; on the source, *ibid.*, p. xvi. For the privileges, ambitions, and status of the bourgeois of Paris, see Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire*, pp. 42-43, 96-97, 109-11, 424-25. Dissension over payment for the gifts presented to Philip the Fair and the garments that were worn for the royal entry to Bruges in 1301 led to the arrest of a weaver and his associates, who protested against the plans of the municipal magistrates to use common funds for these expenses (*Annales Gandenses*, p. 13).

93. Runnalls, "Mediæval Trade Guilds," 268.

94. "La fu le grant gait, l'en le vit: / Huit cens touz vestuz d'un abit" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 5051–52). On the *guet*, see *Métiers et corporations*, ed. Lespinasse and Bonnardot, pp. cxli–liv; Franklin, *Dictionnaire historique*, pp. 375–76; and Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire*, pp. 186–91.

95. "Tout ce firent les tisseranz. / Corroier aussi contrefirent / ... La vie de Renart" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 4996–99).

96. Franklin, *Dictionnaire historique*, pp. 270–74, 693–95, and his *Les corporations ouvrières de Paris du XIIe au XVIIIe siècle: Histoire, statuts, armoiries d'après les documents originaux ou inédits* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1884), "Drapiers: tisseurs et marchands," pp. 1–5, esp. p. 2; cf. the terminology of the regulations issued in April 1270 by Renaut Barbou, *prévôt des marchands* from 1269 to 1275, and reissued on 24 December 1285 by Oudart de la Neuville, *prévôt* from 1285 to 1287 (*Règlements*, ed. Depping, pp. 392–96). Franklin (*Corporations ouvrières*, p. 3) notes that the merchants who made the largest contributions to the *taille* of 1313 were three drapers who paid, respectively, 150, 135, and 127 l.

97. Franklin, *Dictionnaire historique*, pp. 294–95.

98. "Estrumenz de maintes manieres" (*Chronique métrique*, line 5016).

99. "Et en maintes guises dancier / En blanches chemises ribaus / I vit on, liez et gais et baus" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 5006–9). The *ribaut* or roustabout of the Place de Grève was a stock figure for the urban poor of Paris (Rutebeuf, "Dit des ribauds de Grève," in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Edmond Faral and Julia Bastin, 2 vols. [Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1959–60], 1:531). In Jean de Meun's *Roman de la Rose*, Lady Reason describes the carefree life of the *ribaut*, who spends the meager sums earned by carrying sacks of coal in the Place de Grève on drinking and dancing before a company of thieves (Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Félix Lecoy, 3 vols., *Classiques français du Moyen Âge*, nos. 92, 95, 98 [Paris: Champion, 1965–70], lines 5015–36, 5250–54, 5267–70).

100. "Dames caroler de biax tours"; "Par Paris toute la semaine, / La furent borgoises parees, / Balans et dansans regardees, / En cui avoit toute richece / Et fete aussi toute largece" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 5018, 5044–48). The metrical chronicler expatiates on the beauty of Queen Isabelle (*ibid.*, lines 4745–54), but he does not report her assumption of the Cross nor that of the ladies who made their vows on Thursday. He mentions the banquet that Philip the Fair gave for Isabelle, Marguerite of Navarre, and other *dames* in recounting the various royal feasts that were offered during the week (*ibid.*, lines 4745–54, 4859–62, 5059–65, 5117–28).

101. "[T]res grant compaignie / Par nuit et par jor bien garnie" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 4949–50).

102. *Chronique métrique*, lines 5099–5132.

103. *Comptes royaux* (1285–1314), nos. 27773, 27775, entries showing that Philip the Fair left Paris on the vigil of Trinity Sunday and spent the next day in or near Poissy.

104. PRO, E 101/375/8, fol. 32r.

105. *Chronique métrique*, lines 5105–28.

106. PRO, E 101/375/8, fols. 4r, 31v.

107. PRO, E 101/375/8, fol. 32r. See Bullock-Davies, *Register*, pp. xii, 9, 120. The prudish Henry VI of England was said to have fled when naked dancers appeared at a Christmas celebration (John W. McKenna, "Piety and Propaganda: The Cult of Henry VI," in *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honour of Rossell Hope Robbins*, ed. Beryl Rowland [London: Allen and Unwin, 1974], pp. 72–88, at 78; and John Blacman, *Henry the Sixth: Collectarium mansuetudinum et bonorum morum Regis Henrici VI*, ed. Montague Rhodes James [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1919], p. 8).

108. Thomas N. Bisson mentions but does not explore the political purposes served by the *feste*, in "The General Assemblies of Philip the Fair: Their Character Reconsidered" (1972), in his *Medieval France and Her Pyrenean Neighbours: Studies in Early Institutional History*, Studies Presented to the International Commission for the History of Repre-

sentative and Parliamentary Institutions, no. 70 (London: Hambledon Press, 1989), pp. 97–122, at 100.

109. PRO, C47/29/8/2, a protest, badly damaged, drafted by the Commons in Parliament later in the summer of 1313.

110. *Rôles gascons*, vol. 4: 1307–1317, ed. Yves Renouard (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1962), pp. 268–93, esp. 268 n. 1.

111. Funck-Brentano, Philippe le Bel en Flandre, pp. 632–33; *Chronique métrique*, lines 5133–48; Claude de Vic and Jean-Joseph Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* . . . , ed. Auguste Molinier, 15 vols. (Toulouse: Privat, 1873–93), 9:339–40; and Léon Ménard, *Histoire civile, ecclésiastique et littéraire de la Ville de Nîmes* . . . , 7 vols. (Paris: Chaubert, 1750–58), 2:11 n. 3.

112. *Ordonnances* 1:519–31, for the ordinance of 15 June and later modifications.

113. For the privileges, see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Diplomacy, Adultery, and Domestic Politics at the Court of Philip the Fair: Queen Isabelle's Mission to France in 1314," in *Documenting the Past: Essays in Medieval History Presented to George Peddy Cuttino*, ed. J. S. Hamilton and Patricia J. Bradley (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), pp. 53–83, at 56–62. For Philip's explanation of his beneficence, repeated in a number of the *graces*, see *The Register of Walter de Stapeldon, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1302–1326)*, ed. Francis Charles Hingeston-Randolph (London: Bell, 1892), p. 161; see also Brown, "Diplomacy, Adultery," 37–38 n. 36.

114. Hallam, *Itinerary*, p. 100.

115. PRO, E 101/375/8, fol. 30r (Edward's gift of 10 l. 2 s. 1 d. ob. st., made on 4 July at Poissy); and *Comptes royaux* (1285–1314), no. 27745 (Philip the Fair's gift of 40 l., undated, but presumably made at the same time as Edward's).

116. PRO, E 101/375/8, fol. 30r; Bullock-Davies, *Register*, p. 72.

117. Brown, "Diplomacy, Adultery," pp. 61–62.

118. Brown, *Customary Aids*, pp. 188–207.

119. Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Royal Salvation and Needs of State in Early-Fourteenth-Century France," in her *Monarchy of Capetian France*, no. 4, pp. 1–56, at 19–20.

120. See the letter of Clement V of 20 June 1313, in Etienne Baluze, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, ed. Guillaume Mollat, 4 vols. (Paris: Letouzet et Ané, 1914–27), 3:122–23; and Bernard Barbiche, *Les actes pontificaux originaux des Archives nationales de Paris*, 3 vols., *Index actorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III ad Martinum V electum*, C.I.S.H. Commission internationale de diplomatique (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), vol. 3, no. 2466.

121. See esp. Simon D. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216–1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 30, 34, 113–53, 231–39; and Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 557; cf. Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, p. 86. A contemporary lament on Edward's death declared, "Le rei de Fraunce grant pecché fist, / Le passage à desturber / Qe rei Edward pur Dieu emprist, / Sur Sarazins l'ewe passer" (*The Political Songs of England, From the Reign of John to That of Edward II*, ed. Thomas Wright, Publications of the Camden Society, o.s., no. 6 [London: Camden Society, 1839], p. 241, cf. p. 247).

122. *Regestum Clementis V* 8:400–401 ("carissimus in Christo filius noster Philippus rex Francorum illustris christianissimus princeps," "viri ad bella doctissimi predicti regni Francie bellatores et regem ipsum preliatorem promptissimum Crucifixi," "dicti regni viri fortes et strenui . . . qui solent gloriosiores in preliis probate virtutis exercitio reputari," "[e]idem quoque regi et inclite domui Francie, cui Dominus benedixit, huiusmodi felix victoria belli promittitur, hec illis paratur ad gloriam et eis, sicut speratur, ad meritum reservatur").

123. For Philip and his father, see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The Prince Is Father of the King: The Character and Childhood of Philip the Fair of France" (1987), in her *Monarchy of Capetian France*, no. 2, pp. 299–300, 320–26, 331–32; for Philip's attitude to Saint Louis, *ibid.*, pp. 310–12, 326–28, 332–34.

124. For the Aragonese enterprise, and for Philip's feelings about Aragon and his ties to Aragon through his mother, see Brown, "Prince Is Father," pp. 293–94, 312, 314, 323–24, 330, 331. The chronicles give at best passing notice to Philip's knighting in 1284 (*Recueil des historiens*, 20:528–29 [Nangis, *Gesta Philippi Tertii*]; Nangis, *Chronique* 1:262; and *Grandes Chroniques* 8:101, esp. n. 2).

125. Charlotte Lacaze, "Parisius-Paradisus, an Aspect of the Vie de St. Denis Manuscript of 1317," *Marsyas: Studies in the History of Art* 16 (1972–73): 60–66. See also Konigson, *L'espace théâtral*, pp. 77–94; and Coulet, "Entrées solennelles," p. 77.

126. "Et de jor et de nuit, sen ni, / La pooit on boivre et mangier / Par tout Paris, sanz nul dangier" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 5032–34).

127. "La joie, le deduit, la feste, / ... / Ce sont merveilles sanz pareilles" (*Chronique métrique*, lines 4805 and 4825). MacAloon sees joy as a mood that distinguishes the genre of festive celebration, ("Olympic Games," pp. 246–50).

PART II



Public and Private Religious Expression in the Urban Context

Medieval Studies at Minnesota

Published in cooperation with the Center for Medieval
Studies, University of Minnesota

Volume 6. Edited by Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson
City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe

Volume 5. Edited by Calvin B. Kendall and Peter S. Wells
Voyage to the Other World: The Legacy of Sutton Hoo

Volume 4. Edited by Barbara A. Hanawalt
Chaucer's England: Literature in Historical Context

Volume 3. Edited by Marilyn J. Chiat and Kathryn L. Reyerson
The Medieval Mediterranean: Cross-Cultural Contacts

Volume 2. Edited by Andrew MacLeish
The Medieval Monastery

Volume 1. Edited by Kathryn Reyerson and Faye Powe
The Medieval Castle

City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe



Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson, editors

Medieval Studies at Minnesota, Volume 6



University of Minnesota Press
Minneapolis
London

1994