Before 1313 numerous splendid festivities had celebrated knighings 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 poets—and perhaps Philip Augustus, whose son Louis (VIII) was splendidly knighted at Compiègne on Pentecost in 1209. Lavish display marked similar ceremonies for Louis IX’s brothers, Robert of Artois at Compiègne on the octaves of Pentecost in 1237 and Alfonse 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. This feste resembled in many ways the jubilee that accompanied the coronation of Marie de Brabant, second wife of Philip III, on the Feast of Saint John the Baptist in 1275. 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 feste grant et sollemnel.” 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 (hudos diversos) and jousts (bastiludia), 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. 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.

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. 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-
Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Nancy Freeman Regalado

dant than those available for the earlier celebrations. Most extraordinary
are two unusual eyewitness sources. Five illuminations and six informa-
tive 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 Dimma 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 in-
cluded 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, Bibliothéque 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 chronicler'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 con-
tributions 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 for-
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, decraved 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-
ine-year-old Edward II of England) and by Pope Clement V's emissary,
Cardinal Nicolas de Frelouville, 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 inaugu-
rated at the cathedral of Notre-Dame on Pentecost, 3 June, a feast day
traditionally considered particularly appropriate for knighting.17 The cel-
brations 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 Ed-
ward 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 ecclesi-
astics,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 grand 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 Sun-
day, before the ceremony, they would have heard mass and then a ser-
mon setting forth the twelve articles of faith, the ten commandments,
and the seven sacraments. Before being knighted they would have kneilt
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)

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

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; minstrel Bernard le Poil and 54 naked dancers perform on 19 June [PRO, fol. 30r]
Fire in the quarters of Edward and Isabelle at Pontoise, forcing the couple to flee in their nightclothes

Friday, 15 June
Possible tournament held at Compiègne [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 de Biziere, Dimna et Kalila [BN, Ms. lat. 8504, fols. 8v–9r]
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 Lulli. It also shows Philip the Fair giving his son the ceremonial slap that Lulli says followed a ritual kiss; the blow, according to Lulli, 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.37 The gifts traditionally bestowed by the lord who knighted 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 knighthoods.

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. 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. Yet a fifteenth-century chronicler recorded that in 1313 the king "held jousts and tournaments to make his feste more excellent." 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.

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." 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.

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. 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.

The lavish banquet that Edward offered was held at high noon at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, where he and Isabelle were lodged. It was a stunning occasion. Tents hung with rich cloths were open for all to view. Even in bright daylight, lights and torches burned in abundance, a grand display of regal wealth. 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. A castle of love [castrum amorosum], 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. 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.

On Wednesday morning Paris was struck by rains and wind; the prescient 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 Île-de-la-Cité and the Île-Notre-Dame, a marshy expanse that belonged to the cathedral chapter of Paris and that was under the bishop's jurisdiction. On Wednesday afternoon, royalty, new knights, nobles, and bourgeois thronged the bridge as they assembled on the Île-Notre-Dame.

Cardinal Nicolas of Fréauville and other prelates, mounted on a dais, met the multitude. 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 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. 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. 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. After the solemn rite, the noble entourage returned to the Île-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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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 proccessionaliter (which had imperial as well as ecclesiastical connotations) to describe the march of the Parisians.\textsuperscript{54} Proccessional 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.\textsuperscript{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 cortège 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 proccessional features: it marks a special occasion; it has a

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.\textsuperscript{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-
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christ Child laughing with his mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renart the Fox as a doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ Child eating apples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Virgin with the Magi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paradise with ninety angels and souls singing “inside”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hell with more than a hundred devils tormenting groaning souls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Last Judgment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Resurrection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A children’s tournament</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ and the Apostles praying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The slaughter of the Innocents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martyrdom and beheading of John the Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herod and Caiaphas in a miter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Fire, gold, silver flying up”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Renart the Fox singing an Epistle and the Gospels</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Crosses and feather plumes”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herasent the she-wolf spinning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam and Eve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilate washing his hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bean kings and wild men</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“All this was done by the weavers, the beltmakers also staged the life of Renart”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The whole life of Renart, eating chickens and hens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renart disguised as a bishop, pope, and archbishop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Renart was there in every possible disguise”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funeral procession of Renart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lads dancing in white shirts</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nightingales and parrots singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An enclosed wood with rabbits in the Halles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tame game animals “beaten on the back”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennants, flags, banners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castles and towers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies dancing and caroling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luminaire of wax candles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decorated fountain of wine, “a joyful gift of the bourgeois”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well-dressed bourgeois ladies dancing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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. 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. The Paradise held ninety angels and likewise had an inner space, within which souls sang. If these tableaux were staged on the fixed, raised platforms typical of later medieval French street theaters, they would have been impressively large 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. Some revelers may have been costumed, since the metrical chronicle makes a tantalizing reference to people strutting over the pontoon bridge and wearing “maîtres riches desguisées,” a term that can mean costumes or disguises as well as finery. 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.

Unlike the mute, immobile tableaux of some early-fifteenth-century entries, 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; the devils “throwing and casting souls about,” emerging “side by side to lure toward them souls, which they treated very harshly”; the wild men prancing about “with great merriment.” 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 scenes 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. The fox in clerical garb caricatured the splendid ecclesiastical ceremonies, as Renart’s funeral cortège echoed the feste’s different ceremonial processions.

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. 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, Enguerrand de Marigny, who was at the apogee of his power in 1313. As the metrical chronicle reports, when Enguerrand 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.” 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. 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. 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. At different points in the celebration, the individual Parisian 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. 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. The chronicler specifically mentions just two crafts, the “tisseran” and the “corroier” as sponsors of dramatic tableaux. The “tisseran” included many groups in the important Parisian cloth industry, from “le commun des menuz mestres tisseran” to the women who wove fine silk, to the “drapieres que Dieu gart,” the “mestre hautain,” the “granz mestres tisseran,” who sold cloth made by the lesser masters. 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. The bourgeois sponsors also paid the minstrels who played the instruments that the metrical chronicle mentions. At the opposite end of the social scale were the merry ribaus or rabble, whose white shirts and dancing distinguished them from the crafts parading in livery. Dancing is the only festive activity assigned to women, whether noble or bourgeois: “dames danced carols with lovely turns”; “bourgeois dressed in finery danced and pranced for all to see.” 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.”

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. Philip left the city on 9 June, passing through Poissy on his way to Pontoise, 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.

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. 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. 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.109 The week in Paris had not been devoted solely to festivity,110 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.110 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 doc
tissimi), 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 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 feste conferred symbolic value upon the king and city. The celebrations of this Pentecost week realized the expressive word-play Parisius-Paradisi;125 the elements of the feste suggest the transformation of Paris into Paradise. The tableau vivant of Paradise was echoed by the bourgeoisie'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”; the lavish banquets and continuous feasting call to mind the eschatological parable of the wedding banquet. These symbolic overtones explain the hyperbole the metrical chroniclers use 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. 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 Hansawalt, Kathryn Reysorson, 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. Haynes. 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 FSC-CUNY Research Award Program. Nancy Regalado is grateful for the hospitality of the Centre d'Études 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; Bn—Bibliothèque municipale; BN—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale; BR—derriere(s) 1. (pfx.)/fe(n.)—livres (parisiens)/tournois; L.—point(s) stellaris; MGH—Monumenta Germaniae Historica; PRO—London, Public Record Office; s.—sou(s)/shilling(s).


9. See Constance Bullock-Davies, Monastellorum multitud: Minstrels at a Royal Feast [Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978], pp. xxi-xxxii. We should like to thank Douglas Jansen, first called our attention to the parallels between the Feasts of the Swan and the grand feste of 1313.

10. See Recueil des historiens 20:488-89 [Nangis, Gestis Philippī Tertīi], and Grandes Chroniques 8:40.


13. See esp. the Memorialis historiarum de Jean de Paris, canon of Saint-Victor, in Recueil des historiens 21:6390-89, 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 work’s metrical chronicle and Jean’s work, see Diverses, in Chronique métrique, p. 16, and n. 61 below. Independent testimony is given by the chronicle of Sainte-Catherine-du-Mont de Rouen: Recueil des historiens 21:397-410, at 406-9. 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 23:387).


Le grant festo

Qui chierement fu achaté, / Mes c'esoit fet par noisélet, / Grans torches andre en plain myl/ / Por ce que le vi, Je le di / (Chronique métrique, lines 4855-56). 39. PRO, E 101/375/8, fol. 30. The poet and Constable of Mauleux, Register of Royal and Baroni, 1272-1287 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986), p. 34.


41. "Et cel lor nostre roy de France / Mous au Louvre sa vaillance, / Car aus dames / fia dis sim / / Double repre voi et coulour / (Chronique métrique, lines 4859-62). Se ibid., line 5057, for the chronicle's description of the Parisians' march "apres disoir" 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 de Saint-Victor says only that Edward offered "grandum solenissimus / et quod Philip "omnes domini habuit illa die in Lupara" (Recueil des historiens 21:657).


43. Chronique métrique, lines 4885-4891.

44. BN, lat. 8504, fol. 8v-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 "ecclsiis angeli celestis a regnendo patri in civilibus boni nomine bonus" (1309-10). "Sylvia Schein, Fideles Cruci: The Popacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274-1314 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 255, dates the ceremony 5 June.


46. Registram Clementis V 8:401-2, which gives other details of the indulgence. See also the supplementary bull concerning the indulgence that the pope dispached to Cardi—

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royaux (1285-1314). Note, however, that on 17 and 18 June, royal messengers were dispatched to forbid jousting [ibid., nos. 27668, 27690, 27705]. Exasperated by the prohibitions, the chancellor belatedly writing to the king that Cardinal Nicolas de Fréauville would proclaim in Paris on October 9, 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 (Lizarran, Clément V, pp. 363-64).

33. "Si di qu'en francais n'es latín / Ne del vespre ne dou marin / De la noblesse n'es il tout / (Chronique métrique, lines 4875-78). For the names of magnates, see ibid., lines 4879-76.

34. Ibid., lines 4793-4796; and see Funck-Brentano, Philippe le Bel en Flandres, 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 chronicler states that the duke of Brittany (whom the metrical chronicle mentions twice as present at the festa) and the count of Flanders did not attend the festa because "they said they did not want to take the Cross until they saw that preparations had been made for the expedition" ("qui dite ab eis nelles cruciisignis / donne viderent pararam dispositionem pro viaggio transmanione"); Chronographia regnum Francorum. ed. Henri Moraville, 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: 309) gives a similar account, adding that Clement V suspected that the count did not want to attend the festa 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 thus use his influence to promote his interests. On these chronicles, see Auguste Mollinier and Louis Polain, Les sources de l'histoire de France des origines aux guerres d'Italie (1904), 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 XVE siècle, ed. Auguste and Emile Mollinier, Publications de la Société de l'Histoire de France, no. 205 (Paris: Renouard, 1882), 29. This chronicler 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 dielematium coronatus" (Chronographia 1:211; Anciennes chroniques de Flandre, in Recueil des historiens 23:399, 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 de Fresne, sieur du Cané, 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 infimum latinitatis, ed. Léopold Favre, 7 vols. (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1846-92), 7:210-23. On Pentecost of 1180, before his baptism on that occasion (Chronique métrique, lines 4867-72, 4869).

36. For the different noble banquets given during the week, see Chronique métrique, lines 4839-92.

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'avoit n'amont n'aval / Oui il n'est parroit / Et luminaire grandement /


49. Jean of Saint-Victor in Recueil des historiens 21:656-57. In her will of 27 August 1319 Jeanne left the Hospitallers 500 l. for crusading, “la scit ce que nous ny aions point de voue. Mes pour la volente que nous y esmes quant nostresires li Roys qui estoit les Quens de poeitiers 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 commibent que nous nacion mi us voue / au Passage doucconcert / pour tant seulement que nostre host beynon / que dieux absoile / nous fist prendre la croiz”), there ordering 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 1430/122.

52. Chronique métrique, lines 5075-67.

53. PRO, E 101/375/8, fol. 3v (“in oblatione Regis ad coronam Spicam Christi in Capella Regis Francico Parisiis, et manibus Johannis Melchior liberatis denarius edem Regi qui demani allocatam edem Johanni inter alias particulars suas ad compostum factum apud Pontisam” on 23 June following).


56. For the population of Paris, see Cazelles, Nouvelle histoire, pp. 110, 118, 395.

57. Chronique métrique, lines 4811-4, 5081-82 [street decorations]; 5039-43 [fountain].

58. “Baroqois tel feste demenerent / Que les royaus les mericerent” (Chronique métrique, lines 4939-40).

59. “Et d’autre mainte faèrie / Est il bien droigt que je vous die” (Chronique métrique, lines 4938-54).

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

61. Davis, Parades and Power, p. 159.


63. Despite some landed at the quyat that Philip IV ordered built at the Port Saint-Germain next to the Hôtel de Nesle and that was completed in 1317 [Cazelles, Nouvelle histoire, p. 212].

64. Chronique métrique, lines 4868-70 [Charles’s feast], and 5070-80, esp. lines 5070-74 (“Dont estabil si gransment / Furent Anglos, plus c’ouenques mes, / Car il ne coudissent jamés / Que tant de gent riche et noble / Pouit 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 portuerit extra multitudinem des huiustius” [Recueil des historiens 21:657].

65. Le Roman de la Rose, in Recueil des historiens 21:657.

52. The Livres des sentences du pardis aux bourgeois [1268-1325] records the names of the assessors chosen in the in December 1313. The men represented the drapers, the goldsmiths, the second-hand-clothes dealers (friegers), the merchants, the mercers, the spice merchants, the furriers (pellettiers), the sea-fishmongers, the weavers, the middlemen (corzatiers), the bakers (alamilliers), and the butchers, the Chronique métrique mentions [lines 4996-97] the weavers (tissazens) and bell-makers (corroisins). See Antoine-Jean-Victor Le Roman de la Rose, in Recueil des historiens 21:657. 66. In Antoine-Jean-Victor Le Roman de la Rose, in Recueil des historiens 21:657.


59. 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 Besiers states that the three kings viewed the parade from the entry to the palace [ad hostium] [BN, Ms. lat. 8504, fol. 1r].

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64. Chronique métrique, lines 4868-70 [Charles’s feast], and 5070-80, esp. lines 5070-74 (“Dont estabil si gransment / Furent Anglos, plus c’ouenques mes, / Car il ne
Le grant feste
tre Dame... a grant joie et a grant noise demenant et de tres biais 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 rigolage[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, / Don chasen n’oie plus de dis az" [Chronique métrique, lines 4979–80].
88. This story is found in the late-twelfth-century Branch X of the Roman de Renart.
91. Roessen, Avril, and Regalado, "Introduction," in Roman de Feauvel, p. 8; and Brown, Adaltray, Chaivieri.
92. "... leur franchises, leur coutumes, 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 rédigé au XIIIe siècle, et conçu sous le nom du Livre des métiers d’Étienne Bolleau, ed. G.-B. Deppe, Collection de documents inédits sur l’histoire de France, 1st. ser., Histoire politique [Paris: Crapelet, 1857], 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].

95. "Tout ce firent les tisserans. / Corroire aisi contrefirent / ... La vie de Renart" [Chronique métrique, lines 4996–99].

96. Franklin, Dictionnaire historique, pp. 270–74, 693–95, and his Les corporations ouées de Paris du XIIe au XVIIe 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 Barbu, bishop of Paris, and the ordinances from 1269 to 1273, and reissued on 24 December 1285 by Ouard de la Neuville, prévôt from 1285 to 1287 [Règlements, ed. Doping, pp. 392–96]. Franklin (Corporations ouées, 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.


98. "Estrumenz de maintes manières" [Chronique métrique, line 5016].


100. "Dames caroler de biais tournz"; "Par Paris toute la semaine, / La furent borgoises parées, / Balans et dansans regardées, / En ceut avoit toute richece / Et fete aussi toute larghece" [Chronique métrique, lines 5018, 5044–48]. The meritoriçal charter expiates on the beauty of Queen Isabelle [ibid., lines 4754–55], 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, Margarette of Navarre, and other dames in recompense of the festivals that were offered during the week [ibid., lines 4754–55, 4889–92, 5059–65, 5117–28].

101. ["T]rte grant compaigne / Par nutie et par jor bien garnir" [Chronique métrique, lines 4940–50].

102. Franklin, Dictionnaire historique, 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.


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


108. Franklin, Dictionnaire historique, lines 5051–52. On the politics of Philip the fair, see in "The General Assembly of Philip the Fair: Their Character Reconsidered" [1912], in his Medieval France and Her Pyrenean Neighbours: Studies in Early Institutional History, Studies Presented to the International Commission for the History of Repre-
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, Geste Philippi Tertii]; Nangis, Chronique 1:262, and Grandes Chroniques 8:101, esp. n. 2).


126. "Et de jour et de nuit, sen mi, / La poit on boivre et mangier / Par tout Paris, sans nul dangier" [Chronique métrique, lines 5032–24].

127. "La joie, le deduit, la feste, / ... / Ce sont merveilles sans pareilles" [Chronique métrique, lines 4805 and 4825]. MacAloney 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
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