A Contract for an Early Festival Book: Sarrasin's *Le Roman du Hem* (1278)

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The 25-line epilogue to Sarrasin's *Le Roman du Hem* contains a unique record of a medieval book contract.[1] Moreover, Sarrasin's *Roman* is of notable interest to historians of performance, for it is one of the first surviving French festival books, works composed to commemorate courtly celebrations in the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance. A poem of some 4600 lines, *Le Roman du Hem* is Sarrasin's eyewitness account of a three-day tournament held in 1278 at Le Hem, a village in Picardy. It is, with Jacques Bretel's *Tournoi de Chauvency* (Lorraine, 1285),[2] one of the earliest extended accounts of a historical chivalric festivity in France.[3] Sarrasin's chronicle is also a precious document for the history of medieval theatre, for in addition to recording more than one hundred jousts, the poet describes a half-dozen "aventures", dramatic scenes based on motifs from Arthurian romance. Although there are allusions to Arthurian themes in thirteenth-century chivalric festivities,[4] *Le Roman du Hem* offers the first detailed description of actual performances of Arthurian scenes. In a companion piece to this article, I have examined these "aventures", which were performed by the knights, ladies, and members of their household present at the tournament and which were staged as entertainments during the festive banquet and interspersed among the jousts.[5] For *Performance and Ritual*, however, I focus on the contract for Sarrasin's "petit livre" which is a document of remarkable significance for the history of the book and of medieval performance. It records the commission of this early festival book; and it illustrates the extension of medieval

performance into writing and into the vernacular book culture of the Middle Ages.

Let us begin with the fine print, that is, with the words of the book contract itself:

Sarrasins en un petit livre
Mist les joustes qu'il vit molt dures
Et si i mist les aventures
Dont vous avés oï de beles,
Des chevaliers et des puceles
Et du Chevalier au Lyon,
Qui bons est et de grant renon,
Et tout l'afaire qui i fu.
Et la roïne qui la fu
Li commanda et si li dit
Que, s'il en faisoit un bel dit,
Qu'ele le paieroit si bien
Qu'il ne s'en plainderoit de rien,
Et feroit a sa gent paiier.
'Tu ne t'en dois mie esmaiier,'
Dist li sires de Basentin.
'Je suis pleges, par Saint Martin,
S'ele m'en prie tant ne quant.'
—'Sire, je m'en tieng bien a tant.
Mais je ne vous refuse mie
Que vous arés et crouste et mie,
Je pens et croi, encore auwen.'
Ci fine li Remans du Hen,
Et Sarrasins, s'ill en est mieux,
Dist que boine part i ait Dix.[6]

[Sarrasin put in a little book the mighty jousts he saw, together with the fine adventures you have heard about knights and damsels and the Knight of the Lion who is good and famous, and about all that was done there. And the Queen who was there gave him a commission, saying that if he made a handsome poem of it she would have him paid so well he would have no cause for complaint, and would have her people pay him. 'Fear not,' said the Lord of Bazentin. 'I'll be her pledge, by Saint Martin, for

whatever she asks of me'. 'Sire, I count myself already well satisfied. But I certainly won't refuse your request: You'll have it complete, crust and crumb, this very year, I do believe'. Here ends *Le Roman du Hem.* And if Sarrasin comes out ahead, he says it is largely thanks to God.]

The contract shows that Sarrasin's *Roman* is conceived from first to last as a book describing performances of chivalric feats and the scenes inspired by romance played at the tournament. It records the names of the parties to the agreement and the book commission, including the content of the performances to be reported in a handsome style, the promise of payment, and the time set for completion. Examining each of these elements of record in turn, this article seeks to explain how Sarrasin conceives his festival book as a report of courtly performances, what models he adapts for his account, how he envisions his task, his ethical and social overview of the Le Hem tournament, and, finally, how the contract itself points to a new relation between poet and patron.

'...en un petit livre'

Le Roman du Hem is one of the first festival books, that is, a free-standing composition devoted solely to depiction of the events and ceremonies of a courtly celebration. While to date, most scholarship has focused on the later medieval entries and on printed festival books,[7] much remains to be learned about the early examples, which record chivalric performances rather than the liturgical, municipal, or royal ceremonies described and depicted in later festival books such as the Coronation Book of Charles V (London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B, VIII). I came upon *Le Roman du Hem* in my search for accounts of noble and urban festivities to which I might compare the extended descriptions of the royal Parisian *feste* of 1313 in the *Chronique métrique* of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 146, the famous *Fauvel* manuscript, and in other sources.[8] However, Sarrasin's poem, like Jacques Bretel's contemporary *Tournoi de Chauvency*, is not part of a chronicle. Instead, it is conceived as an inde-

pendent, book-length account of a chivalric tournament. It may be compared to Ulrich von Liechtenstein's *Frauendienst* (1255), but where Ulrich's autobiographical narrative recounts extended jousting tours he made the 1220s and in 1240,[9] Sarrasin reports a single, three-day event. Sarrasin's narrative is as picturesquely detailed as those of Ulrich and Jacques Bretel: these three thirteenth-century festival books stand in sharp contrast with the brief prose accounts of royal entries that begin to appear in fourteenth-century chronicles and archives.[10]

For all its apparent historical transparency, the existence of *Le Roman du Hem* as a composition written in the vernacular is not to be taken for granted. Although descriptions of tournaments abound in romance, it was most unusual to produce an extended written account in French of an actual chivalric festivity in the thirteenth century, although these become increasingly common in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century chronicles.[11] Three important cultural shifts may account for the commissioning of a festival book to commemorate the courtly performances at Le Hem: the vogue of writing down works performed in the vernacular; a new fashion for artistic commemoration of celebratory or ritual events; and a developing aristocratic taste for vernacular books as deluxe possessions.[12]

Le Roman du Hem can be placed first in the context of the great move towards writing down all sorts of oral, musical, or dramatic performances in the latter part of the thirteenth century. This is the period when vernacular songs are being written in the great *chansonniers* and scribes are seeking to lay out theatrical dialogues on their pages.[13] Moreover, *Le Roman du Hem* is what I call a monument of performance, that is, a commemoration of a contemporary, theatricalized performance or ritual ceremony that is fully realized as an artistic composition. Starting about the middle of the thirteenth century, we find artistic representations memorializing other contemporary ritual events. A stained glass window in the Sainte-Chapelle commemorates its consecration in 1248 by depicting the ritual ostention of the Crown of Thorns.

Montjoies or monumental crosses were built to mark the processional route where Saint Louis' relics were set down during their solemn translation from Paris to Saint Denis and similar crosses were erected to fix in memory the itinerary of the funeral procession of Queen Eleanor of Castille from Lincoln to London in 1290. *Le Roman du Hem* of 1278 does not commemorate any such royal ritual but a contemporary festivity of far less political weight. Yet *Le Roman du Hem*, like the *Tournoi de Chauvency*, and the *Frauendienst*, show that writing, and a written record commemorating notable festivities, are becoming features of a lavish courtly style. These deluxe souvenir books are a mark of social distinction, one of the luxury products of thirteenth-century courtly culture.[14]

'Et la roïne qui la fu / Li commanda...'

The epilogue to *Le Roman du Hem* stages one scene of that courtly culture in the charming dialogue between Sarrasin, 'la roïne' who commissions Sarrasin's festival book, and the Lord of Basentin. 'La roïne' is identified only by the fictional role of "Queen Guinevere", which she plays throughout the tournament, and by her family connection: she is the sister of Aubert, Lord of Longueval, who died with Philip III on the ill-starred Aragonese crusade in 1286. Aubert co-organized the Le Hem tournament with his neighbour Huart de Bazentin, whose taste for tournaments took him to Chauvency in 1285. If 'li sires de Basentin' gallantly guarantees payment of the commission, it is perhaps a gesture of courtship, for he apparently married the "Queen" sometime after 1278. Sarrasin's *Roman* points to gendered roles within the families that sponsored the tournament and its written record. It is noteworthy that a woman—the "Queen"—is represented as commissioning the festival book (with a male guarantor), for she plays no part in Sarrasin's detailed account of the planning of the tournament itself,[15] a role apparently reserved for men. These latter arrangements are represented as a conversation between Aubert de Longueval and Huart de Bazentin, during

which they decide to hold a tournament, discuss possible sources of funding such as mortgaging their lands, and—in consultation with the allegorical figure of Lady Courtesy—determine in what terms and places the festive program of jousts and entertainments was to be proclaimed (ll. 189-471).

The Le Hem tournament attracted participants from the highest courtly circles of Northern Europe:[16] Robert, Count of Artois and cousin of Philip III, was a notable presence as was Robert, Count of Clermont, the king's younger brother, and the Duke of Lorraine. Local interest, however, appears to define the circumstances in which Sarrasin's book itself was conceived and circulated: it highlights the role of the two families 'de la marce d'Artois' (from the border of Artois; l. 192) who organized the tournament and commissioned the book; many of the names of participants it records, came from nearby localities; and it survives only in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 1588 (about 1300), where it was copied in Arras after the collected works of Philippe de Remi, Sire de Beaumanoir († before 1265).[17]

'Sarrasins...'

Unlike Ulrich von Liechtenstein, who is the hero of the chivalric encounters he relates, the single name 'Sarrasin' suggests that the poet is a professional like his contemporary Rutebeuf or like the entertainers bearing names such as 'Trenchefer', 'Rungefoie', 'Portehote', 'Tuterel', cited in poems by two braggart minstrels.[18] However, *Le Roman du Hem* is based on a skill very different from that of these two minstrels, who boast of the large repertory of works they know by heart. Although Sarrasin too shapes his poem for oral performance by using traditional formulas to address his audience—'Vous qui cest romant escoutes' (You who are listening to this romance; l. 5)—the poet's achievement depends on his ability to write. Sarrasin, like Jacques Bretel (l. 2107), bases his account of the tournament on his written notes:

Jel truis lisant en mon escrit,
Et si l'ai oï tesmoignier,
En lla feste n'ot chevalier
Miex venant que li quens estoit.

[Reading over what I wrote, I find and I have heard witnesses say that no knight in this feast attacked more boldly than the Count of Clermont.]

'...les joustes qu'il vit molt dures'

What Sarrasin most urgently needed to write down was names! His festival book is intended to serve as a narrative roll of arms,[19] for in it he records the full name and/or title of some one hundred and eighty-nine knights joined in more than a hundred jousts. This is a considerable feat if we imagine the difficulty of writing in the turbulent circumstances of an outdoor tournament and of singling out individuals among the throngs of knights, horses, and grooms. Sarrasin himself notes how hard it was to follow the many jousts occurring near and far from the grandstand:

Mout durement en ont prisié
Monsigneur Pieron de Houdenc:
J'oï tesmoignier en un renc,
Qu'il estoit uns des bien joustans;
Mais on ne puet mie tous tans
Estre souvenans de cascun
Amonter ensi un et un
De nuef vins joutes qu'il i ot.

[Many greatly esteemed Monseigneur Pieron de Houdenc: somewhere in the lists, I heard tell that he was one of those who jousted well; but it isn't possible at every point to remember to praise each, one by one, in the nine score jousts held there.]

Sarrasin does not seem to have collaborated with a herald as does Jacques Bretel in the *Tournoi de Chauvency*, for unlike Jacques, he rarely blazons the coats of arms of the knights he names.[20] Instead of drawing on the technical vocabulary of heraldry, Sarrasin

celebrates the noble courtesy and prowess of every knight present by rapidly sketching one joust after another, enlivening each with notes of praise, touches of elegant banter, a shiver of danger, and quick action.

Aprés vint li sires de Chanle,
Bien acesmés de biaus adous.
'Certes, cis est et biaus et dous,'
Dist une dame qui fu haut.
Ses rens fu pres de l'escafaut,
Mout plus que le le jet d'une piere;
Et mesire Jehans de Piere
Part de son renc et mut a li.
Or se tenra bien pour fali
Jehans de Chanle, s'il ne brise.
Quant il ot que dame le prise,
De son rench se part tout huant,
'Amours! Amours!' va escriant;
Et ses compains plus n'i demeure.
Trois lances brise en petit d'eure
Jehans de Canle et puis s'en part.
Mesire Nicoles Donchart
Et Jehans de Fenieres muevent;
Nule si fort lance ne truevent

[Next came the Lord of Chanle well outfitted with fine armor. 'Certainly, this knight is fair and fine,' said a lady up on high. His side of the lists was near the grandstand, closer than a stone's throw. And Messire Jehan de Piere leaves his place and charges toward him. Now Jehan de Chanle will think he has failed if he doesn't break (a lance). When he hears a lady favours him, he sets off down his side of the lists shouting: 'Love! Love!' he cries out. And his partner doesn't dally. Jehan de Chanle breaks three lances in short order, and then leaves the field. Messire Nicoles Donchart and Jehan de Fenieres move forward. No stronger lances can be found.]

'...s'il en faisoit un bel dit'

In what way does the poet's reporting satisfy the "Queen"'s

request for 'un bel dit'? Despite the historical cast of characters peopling *Le Roman du Hem*, Sarrasin's representation of the tournament is idealized throughout: there are no winners or losers in the jousts, but only glorious demonstrations of chivalric skill. Sarrasin's task, expressed by Fortrece, handmaiden to "Queen Guinevere", is to 'leave out the bad' and to 'speak well of each'.[21]

Sarrasin, et je te requier,
Si com tu m'aimes et as chier,
Que tu dies de cascun bien;
Et s'aucuns fait aucune rien
Qui face a taire et a celer,
Tant soit de povre baceler,
Di le bien et si lai le mal.

[Sarrasin, I ask you, since you love and esteem me, that you speak well of each; and if anyone does anything not worthy to be spoken of or revealed, even if it's a poor young knight, say what was good and leave out the bad.]

The chief value of Sarrasin's festival book for its patrons and readers lies in its reflection of glory for the male participants, so the poet threads the knights' names he has noted into a gleaming tapestry of prowess. Only a few strands mark individual effects: Nevelon de Molains jousts in an angel's costume (ll. 2630-33); Enguerran de Bailleul is disguised as a devil (ll. 2262, 2659). At one point, the shadowy presence of lower-class spectators is glimpsed. When Monseigneur Flamenc de Mons unhorses his partner, Bauduin de Saint-Nicolas, in front of the Queen's grandstand, the rabble—'li vilain de pute orine' (l. 2514)—pour into the lists to get a closer look, pull Flamenc from his horse, and injure his groom. But this incident gives Sarrasin a chance to affirm class distinctions in chivalric performance and to deliver a lesson about proper equipment:

Peu ont li vilain gaaignié
Qui l'ont abatu sans raison.
Pour çou vous di ge que nus hom

Ne doit emprendre tel mestier,
2524 S'il n'est montés sur bon destreier,
C'on est lués de feble abatu.

[The rabble profited little from dragging him down for no reason. This is why I say that no one should undertake to joust unless he's mounted on a good steed, for one can quickly be dragged off a weak one.]

'Et si i mist les aventures / Dont vous avés oï de beles / Des chevaliers et des puceles / Et du Chevalier au Lyon'
Sarrasin displays considerable literary proficiency in producing his *bel dit*. He does not adorn his narrative with snatches of courtly song as does Jacques Bretel in the *Tournoi de Chauvency*, or insert a collection of his own lyric compositions as does Ulrich in his *Frauendienst*. Sarrasin is adept, however, at varying his descriptions of more than one hundred jousts; he handles the resources of personification allegory easily, introducing the gracious figure of Lady Courtesy (ll. 274-454). Above all, Sarrasin exploits his knowledge of courtly romance, for he takes Chrétien de Troyes and the tales of the Round Table as the model for his festival book.

472 Sarrazins dist en sa parole
C'un rommant i vaurra estraire,
Selonc çou qu'il en savra faire.
Oï avés des Troïiens
478 Et du remant que Crestiiens
Trova si bel de Perceval,
Des aventures du Graal,
Ou il a maint mot delitable.
480 De chiaus de la Rëonde Table
Vous a on mainte fois conté
Qu'il furent de si grant bonté
Et de si grant chevalerie
484 Qu'en toutes cours doit estre oïe
La prouece et la vertu
Qui fu u vaillant roi Artu
Et es chevaliers de sa court.

488 Or vous pri que cascuns s'atourt
De biaus mos oïr et entendre
Et je dirai, sans plus atendre
De toute le plus bele emprise

[As he speaks, Sarrasin says that he will want to use his know-how to bring forth a romance (about this feast). You have heard of the Trojans and of the fine romance that Chrétien made about Perceval, about the Grail adventures where many words bring pleasure. You have often heard stories told about those of the Round Table, that they were very worthy and such great knights that every court must hear of the prowess and the courage of valiant King Arthur and of the knights of his court. Now I ask that each make ready to hear and listen to fair words and I will speak, without more delay about the most wonderful enterprise of all.]

The romance paradigm Sarrasin selects for his own poem complements the design of the Le Hem tournament itself, for the knights and ladies assembled at Le Hem are depicted throughout as if they were performers in an Arthurian tale. "Queen Guinevere" presides over the tournament and knights are said to joust in order to enter her court (ll. 369-408). Romance motifs and characters are highlighted too in the interludes which punctuate the feast (and Sarrasin's narrative) and which feature roles for women in scenes where damsels in distress appeal to "Guinevere" and her knights or are rescued by 'The Knight of the Lion' (played by the guest of honour, Robert d'Artois). When, in turn, Sarrasin invokes Chrétien and Arthur, he appeals to his readers' familiarity with chivalric literature to cast the glamour of romance over his idealized representation of the jousts and the interludes that enlivened these chivalric performances. The romance roles played by participants, the theatricalized Arthurian interludes, and Sarrasin's desire to outdo Chrétien—all speak to the grip of fictional models on the chivalric imagination and on the very practice of tournaments.[22]

'Qu'ele li paieroit si bien / Qu'il ne s'en plainderoit de rien / Et feroit a sa gent paiier'

Although Sarrasin's book is replete with chivalric glories and courtly festivities, in his book contract, the poet pulls back the edges of the frame of his festival book to reveal the kind of economic realities that are rarely mentioned in romance. He devotes half of the lines of his epilogue to the issue of payment for his festival book. The epilogue of *Le Roman du Hem* thus complements the overview of tournaments in Sarrasin's prologue where, in similar fashion, he mingles an ethical concern for chivalric virtues with practical economic concerns. The poet opens his *Roman* with a vision of the prowess, largesse, and courtesy inspired by Charles d'Anjou and of the decline of chivalry in France resulting from royal edicts against tournaments that were maintained by Philip III (ll. 1-116). Sarrasin then turns his gaze in an unexpected direction, speaking of the economic impact of that prohibition on all those who earn their living by tournaments. He points to the poor knights who, lacking tournaments, have no occasion to win booty nor to test their strength as future crusaders: 'On n'est pas par parole preu' (Mere words don't make one brave; l. 163). But Sarrasin speaks also of the craftspeople whose business depends on such festivities: the minstrels, the makers of equipment, and even the vendors who sell food at tournaments.

Premierement li glougleour
I gaaignoient cascun jour,
Et li hiraut et li lormier,
120 Li marissal et li selier;
...
124 'Tout n'en soient il desfendu!'
Font cil qui vendent les bons vins
Et cil qui vendent les commins
Et les pertris et les plouviers
128 Toutes gens qui sont de mestiers
Dient: 'Amen, que Dix l'octroit!'

[First the minstrels used to profit from each occasion and the

heralds, and makers of spurs; and blacksmiths and saddle makers ... 'Let them not be prohibited!' say those who sell good wines and those who sell rabbits and partridges and plovers; all those who practice crafts say: 'Amen! May God grant it!']

In his prologue, Sarrasin sets out the ideal relation of noble patrons to craftspeople in a tournament setting: it is an encounter where rewards are based on products, profits and sales rather than on prowess and love. His epilogue supplies a scene that exemplifies that relation. The work of making a book is presented as a commercial transaction in which the "Queen" will get 'a handsome poem' and Sarrasin will 'come out ahead'.

The notion of payment highlighted in the book contract points to a new relation between patron and poet, which no longer appears governed by the ethical principle of largesse or the personal obligations of salaried service in a patron's household. In the "begging" poems of Sarrasin's contemporary Rutebeuf, patrons are invited to display the courtly virtue of liberality towards a poet who exhibits his poverty.[23] In *Cleomadés* (1285), Adenet le Roi expresses gratitude for protection, hallmark of this minstrel's service in the courts of Brabant, Flanders, and France and the patronage of Robert d'Artois.[24] But in the book contract of *Le Roman du Hem,* Sarrasin enters into a very different contractual relationship, defined by the material values attributed to product and payment.[25] Largesse, service, and payment all involve expenditure for a patron, but Sarrasin's book contract marks a shift in the basis of cultural value earned by expenditure and in the grounds for the patron's sense of self-worth—from magnanimity towards magnificence. The spectacle of lavish spending is reinforced by a display of costly products purchased; and the social prestige the sponsors earned by staging the tournament is prolonged by their commissioning and ownership of the festival book.

'Que vous arés et crouste et mie / Je pens et croi encore auwen'

The poet's status too is altered in Sarrasin's contract. The poet does not represent himself receiving any largesse nor does he appear to be bound by longstanding personal ties of service to his patrons. Moreover, he does not show himself as a familiar companion of many noble guests and other poets at the tournament as does Jacques Bretel.[26] Sarrasin depicts only two personal interactions with tournament participants, and both concern his book: Fortrece's injunction to speak well of all (cited above) and Sarrasin's response to the "Queen" in the epilogue. The poet presents himself as a hired craftsman, a journeyman, who is paid not according to his need or as a retainer in a sumptuous court, but for a commodity, the book completed, "crust and crumb". Sarrasin's contract may be seen as one of the signs of increasing awareness of the professional status of poets and minstrels who were incorporated in 1321 into a guild in Paris that regulated conditions of employment.[27]

Sarrasin's engagement as poet and writer appears limited to a specific job: he contracts to finish his book 'encore auwen' (this very year). This term is dictated by the nature of his book, for, unlike the timeless tales of romance, the festival book is of necessity a time-bound, occasional piece, created to report real performances and intended for particular readers and hearers. Sarrasin must record the names of those present at the Le Hem tournament soon enough so that participants may read about themselves, finding glorious reminiscences of their fine performances.

The book contract in the epilogue thus frames Sarrasin's *Roman* as an artistic achievement and also as a material product reflecting a new set of values in a courtly economy. It reveals the continuing chivalric aspirations and imagination of the courtly world, but it also represents a poet well satisfied with payment for a new kind of artifact, a festival book in which courtly performances could be represented, preserved, and relived in writing.

Notes

1 See Sarrasin, *Le Roman du Hem*, (ed.) Albert Henry, Paris, 1939 [*Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Bruxelles*, 9]. Susan Muterspaugh's survey of French romance prologues and epilogues shows that although many speak of a poet's desire to please a patron, the presence of an explicit contract is exceptional; at most, one may compare Wace's expression of gratitude for support by Henry II, who gave him 'une provende / E meinte autre dun' [a prebend and many other gifts]. See *Le Roman de Rou*, ll. 174-755, cited in Susan D. Muterspaugh, "The Prologue in Medieval French Epic and Romance", Diss. New York University, 1994, p. 118.

2 See Jacques Bretel, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, (ed.) Maurice Delbouille, Liège, 1932 [*Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège*, 49]. See also Juliet Vale, 'The Late Thirteenth-Century Precedent: Chauvency, Le Hem, and Edward I', in: Idem, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context 1270-1350*, Woodbridge, 1982, pp. 4-24 and Appendices 1-9, and Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'Picturing the Story of Chivalry in Jacques Bretel's *Tournoi de Chauvency* (Oxford, Bodleian MS Douce 308)', in: Susan L'Engle & Gerald B. Guest (eds.), *Tributes to Jonathan J. G. Alexander: Making and Meaning in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, London, 2006.

3 At least three knights attending the Le Hem tournament—Huart de Bazentin, Pierre de Bauffremont, and Waleran de Luxembourg—are also named among the knights present at Chauvency. In his edition of the *Roman*, Albert Henry offers historical information on all known participants at Le Hem. Vale, 'The Late Thirteenth-Century Precedent', adds information about the genealogy and provenance of participants, and the role of the English at Le Hem.

4 See Roger Sherman Loomis, 'Chivalric and Dramatic Imitations of Arthurian Romance', in: William R. W. Koehler (ed.), *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, pp. 79-97.

5 See Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'Performing Romance: Arthurian Interludes in Sarrasin's *Le Roman du Hem* (1278)', in: Evelyn Birge Vitz, Nancy Freeman Regalado & Marilyn Lawrence (eds.), *Performing Medieval Narrative*, Woodbridge, 2005, pp. 103-19.

6 Translations of Sarrasin's *Roman* are mine.

7 See Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph*, Oxford, 1998; and Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly & Anne Simon, *Festivals and Ceremonies: A Bibliography of Works Relating to Court, Civic, and Religious Festivals in Europe 1500-1800*, London, 2000. I thank Samuel Kinser, Gordon Kipling, and Margaret Pappano for personal e-mail communications concerning bibliography on

manuscript festival books.

8 See Elizabeth A. R. Brown & Nancy Freeman Regalado, '*La Grant Feste*: The Account of the 1313 Celebration of the Knighting of the Three Sons of Philip the Fair in the *Chronique métrique* in BN Ms Fr. 146', in: Barbara Hanawalt & Kay Reyerson (eds.), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, Minneapolis, 1994, pp. 56-86 [*Medieval Studies at Minnesota*, 6]; and Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'The *Chronique métrique* and the Moral Design of Paris, BNF, MS Fr. 146: Feasts of Good and Evil', in: Margaret Bent & Andrew Wathey (eds.), *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146*, Oxford, 1998, pp. 467-94.

9 I am grateful to Carola Dwyer for summarizing and translating stanzas from the section of the *Frauendienst* where Ulrich undertakes a jousting journey in 1240 in the character of King Arthur. See Ulrich von Liechtenstein, *Frauendienst*, (ed.) Franz Viktor Spechtler, Göppingen, 1987 [*Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik*, 485], pp. 300-35, stanzas 1401-1604. For a translation of that portion of Ulrich's journey where he jousted costumed as Lady Venus, see Ulrich von Liechtenstein, *Service of Ladies*, (trans.) J. W. Thomas, Chapel Hill, 1969 [*Studies in Germanic Languages and Literatures*, 64].

10 Thirteenth-century records of royal entries in Paris run between 2 and 111 lines in Bernard Guenée & Françoise Lehoux (eds.), *Les Entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515*, Paris, 1968 [*Sources d'Histoire Médiévale*, 5], pp. 47-58. The 532-verse description of the royal Parisian celebration in the *Chronique métrique* is exceptional. See Brown and Regalado, '*La Grant Feste*'; and Regalado, 'The *Chronique métrique* and the Moral Design of Paris', pp. 476-78. Not until the fifteenth century do chronicle and archival accounts of royal entries begin to include extended descriptions of processional order, theatrical tableaux, costumes, speeches, and ritual ceremonies and to appear as independent compositions (and in printed souvenir books) such as Pinel's versified account of Charles VIII's entry into Rouen in 1485. See Guenée and Lehoux (eds.), *Les Entrées royales françaises*, pp. 241-65; and Kipling, *Enter the King*, pp. 226-34.

11 See Michelle-Noelle Magallanez, "Mirrors of Glory: Spectacles of Chivalry and Aristocratic Identity in Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Romance, Chronicle, and Chivalric Biography", Diss. New York University, 2001.

12 Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380*, Oxford, 2001, pp. 278-79.

13 Carol Symes, 'The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays: Forms, Functions, and the Future of Medieval Theater', *Speculum* 77 (2002), pp. 778-831, and Idem, 'The Boy and the Blind Man: A Medieval Play Script and its Editors', in: Siân Echard & Stephen B. Partridge (eds.), *The Book Unbound: Editing and Reading Medieval Books and Texts*, Toronto, 2004, pp. 105-43.

14 See Georges Duby, 'The Culture of the Knightly Class: Audience and Patronage', in: Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable & Carol D. Lanham (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, Mass., 1982, pp. 248-62; and "Luxury, Display, and the Arts" (in Chapter 5, "Court Life and Court Culture"), Vale, *The Princely Court*, pp. 165-70.

15 D. H. Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature, 800-300*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 296, comments on 'the appeal of court literature to the interests of women'.

16 Vale, 'The Late Thirteenth-Century Precedent'.

17 On Philippe de Beaumanoir *père* and *fils* as readers of romance, see Elspeth Kennedy, 'The Knight as Reader of Arthurian Romance', in: Martin B. Shichtman & James P. Carley (eds.), *Culture and the King: The Social Implications of the Arthurian Legend. Essays in Honor of Valerie M. Lagorio*, Albany, 1994 [*SUNY Series in Medieval Studies*], pp. 70-90, esp. pp. 70-83. In his 'History of BNF fr. 1588' (pp. 42-68), Roger Middleton traces connections between Philippe de Beaumanoir and possible owners of the exemplar of *Le Roman du Hem*. See Philippe de Remi, *Le Roman de la manekine*; edited from Paris BNF fr. 1588, (trans.) Barbara N. Sargent-Baur with contributions by Alison Stones & Roger Middleton, Amsterdam, 1999 [*Faux Titre*, 159]. On the milieu in which BNF Fr. 1588 was produced and its subsequent history, see also Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, 2 vols., Amsterdam, 2002 [*Faux Titre*, 221-222], vol. II, pp. 518-23 and 798-804.

18 See 'Les deux bourdeurs ribauds', in: Edmond Faral (ed.), *Mimes français du XIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1910, pp. 93-105, esp. the names listed on p. 98, ll. 138-47, and p. 103, ll. 92-106.

19 See Vale, 'The Late Thirteenth-Century Precedent', pp. 22-23. A specifically heraldic genre which begins to appear in the thirteenth century, rolls of arms are lists of blazons or rows of painted coats of arms of knights; some list those present at a particular event, and may take a narrative form, such as the *Siege of Caerlaverock*, a rhymed account in French of Edward I's expedition to Scotland in July 1300. See T. Wright (ed. and trans.), *The Roll of Arms of the Princes, Barons and Knights who Attended King Edward I to the Siege of Caerlaverock*, London, 1864.

20 The only real coats of arms mentioned are those of Huart de Bazentin (ll. 4043 and 4083) and Wautier de Hardecourt (ll. 3090-93). The arms of the

Lord of the Castel du Bois (l. 1124) are perhaps imaginary; those which the Knight of the Lion blazons for a squire—'unes armes d'or ai, / A coquefabues vermeilles' (ll. 1072-73)—seem to be a comic disguise. See Sarrasin, *Le Roman du Hem*, (ed.) Henry, p. xxxv.

21 Jacques Bretel declares the same intention in his *Tournoi de Chauvency*: 'Donc doit on bien des bons bien dire / Que miex en valent, et li pire / Aucunne fois i prenent garde' (One must speak well of the good to increase their worth and so that the worst can learn from their example); Jacques Bretel, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, (ed.) Delbouille, ll. 743-45.

22 See Larry D. Benson, 'The Tournament in the Romances of Chrétien de Troyes & *L'Histoire de Guillaume Le Maréchal*', in: Larry D. Benson & John Leyerle (eds.), *Chivalric Literature: Essays on Relations between Literature and Life in the Later Middle Ages*, Toronto, 1980, pp. 1-24; Richard Kaeuper, 'The Societal Role of Chivalry in Romance', in: Roberta L. Krueger (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 97-114; and Kennedy, 'The Knight as Reader'.

23 "La pauvreté de Rutebuef" (1277), in: Rutebeuf, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2 vols., (ed. and trans.) Michel Zink, Paris, 1989-90, vol. II, pp. 969-73. In "Le dit d'Aristote" Rutebeuf says that gracious giving is worth more than any gift ('Au doneir done en teil meniere / Que miex vaille la bele chiere / Que feras, au doneir le don, / Que li dons, car ce fait preudom' (*ibid.*, pp. 956-61, ll. 63-66). But in "De Brichemer", the poet complains he has not received a promised payment (*ibid.*, pp. 950-53). On begging and payment to poets, see Nancy Freeman Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf: A Study in Non-Courtly Poetic Modes of the Thirteenth Century*, New Haven, 1970, pp. 284-85.

24 See Albert Henry (ed.), *Les Oeuvres d'Adenet le Roi*, tome V: *Cleomadés*, Bruxelles, 1971 [*Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres*, 46], ll. 18587-698.

25 Compare the contract between Mahaut d'Artois and the painter Pierre de Brossielles for a wall painting depicting the deeds of her father, Robert d'Artois (cited by Vale, *The Princely Court*, pp. 280-81). A contract for payment for a product is different from the contracts stipulating an annual compensation for service by knights in the households of the great lords of Northern Europe, which could include repayment of the considerable expenses incurred in service at tournaments (Vale, *The Princely Court*, pp. 186-92).

26 Regalado, 'Picturing the Story of Chivalry'.

27 Edmond Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1911 [2nd ed. 1964], pp. 128-42, Carol Symes, "The Makings of a Medieval Stage:

Theatre and Culture of Performance in Thirteenth-Century Arras", Diss. Harvard University, p. 364, and Christopher Page, 'Minstrels in Paris c. 1300: Rules and Repertoire', in: Idem, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France, 1100-1300*, London, 1989, pp. 61-80. Other signs of professional status include Guiraut Riquier's appeal in the 1270s to Alfonso the Wise to establish a hierarchy of value privileging singers of courtly lyric over mere buffoons. See Joseph Lindskill (ed.), *Les Epîtres de Guiraut Riquier*, Liège, 1985, pp. 167-245; see also Kathryn A. Duys, '*Captenh:* Jongleurs et hiérarchie professionnelle', *Cahiers de littérature orale* 36 (1994), pp. 65-90, and the careful recording of cash payments of largesse to the minstrels of the royal and aristocratic households who performed at the Feast of the Swans in 1306. See Constance Bullock-Davies, *Menestrellorum multitudo: Minstrels at a Royal Feast*, Cardiff, 1978.

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8

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