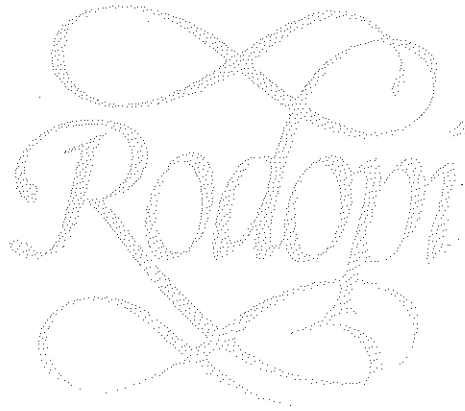


Offprint • Sonderdruck • Tiré à part • Separata



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Universitas et communitas:
The Parade of the Parisians at
the Pentecost Feast of 1313*

Elizabeth A. R. Brown & Nancy Freeman Regalado

Processional events, where individuals come together to represent themselves as a group, are public performances richly expressive of symbolic meanings. Such meanings are constructed by the movement of participants through space and time, in a special order, and on a particular occasion. Formal parades, moreover, are seldom unique events, for all the theatrical ordering of time, space, and roles which heighten their atmosphere. Their occasion, order, and itinerary signify important aspects of public culture, social identity, and common belief, and for that reason they tend to be reiterated.¹ When, therefore, a parade within a particular culture adopts a novel configuration or moves in an unfamiliar direction, it invites reflection on the meanings it may be expressing.²

Medieval France is ordinarily envisaged as a time and place where festive processional performances enact social hierarchy and trace the symbolic significance of enclosed urban spaces. What meanings, what expressive resonances might actors and spectators have attributed to one of the most singular processional events to occur in medieval Paris: a headless parade of citizens that marches first across the Cité, then out of town beyond the city's gates on the left bank?

This is the unusual order, composition, and direction of an immense municipal parade by the Parisians held on the Thursday after Pentecost, June 7, 1313, the earliest recorded grand civic

parade in medieval France. It marked a special culmination of a great celebration—a *grand'feste*—that began the preceding Saturday, June 2, the eve of Pentecost, and that continued until Saturday, June 9, the eve of Trinity Sunday.³ Decreed by Philip the Fair, king of France since 1285, it was planned by him, his ministers, and the citizens of Paris to honour the knighting of the king's three sons and the assumption of the cross by the king, his sons Louis, king of Navarre, Philip of Poitiers and Charles of La Marche, his daughter Isabelle, and his son-in-law Edward II, king of England, together with a host of nobles and commoners. Such festivities may not have been unique, but never before had any similar celebration been recorded in the detail with which the *feste* of 1313 was commemorated nor would any comparable record be set down for another half a century.

Two remarkable contemporary accounts permit reconstruction of the parade of the Parisians. The principal source is an eyewitness report in an anonymous metrical chronicle⁴ (Appendix I). It survives solely in Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 146 (c. 1317)⁵, where it is copied with a group of political *dits* by Geffroi de Paris⁶, love lyrics attributed to Jehannot de Lescurel⁷, and the famous version of the *Roman de Fauvel* that was lavishly illustrated and embellished with an immense program of musical insertions.⁸ The metrical chronicle recounts the events of the years 1300 to 1316 from the special perspective of a citizen of Paris who worked in the royal administration and who loved drama, declamation, and moralising. He was particularly impressed by the Pentecost feast, which he saw himself. He devoted four hundred and twenty-nine lines of his work to the *feste*, making it one of the great set-piece descriptions of the chronicle, some five percent of the whole, which fills just 7,924 lines. Never, he says, was there such a feast in Paris. He records its history so that it will always be remembered, so that 'the truth of this great *feste* may be known to all those who were not there, who are yet to be born, who will come after our time'.⁹ Most exceptional is the attention the metrical chronicler gives to the festive contributions of the Parisians:

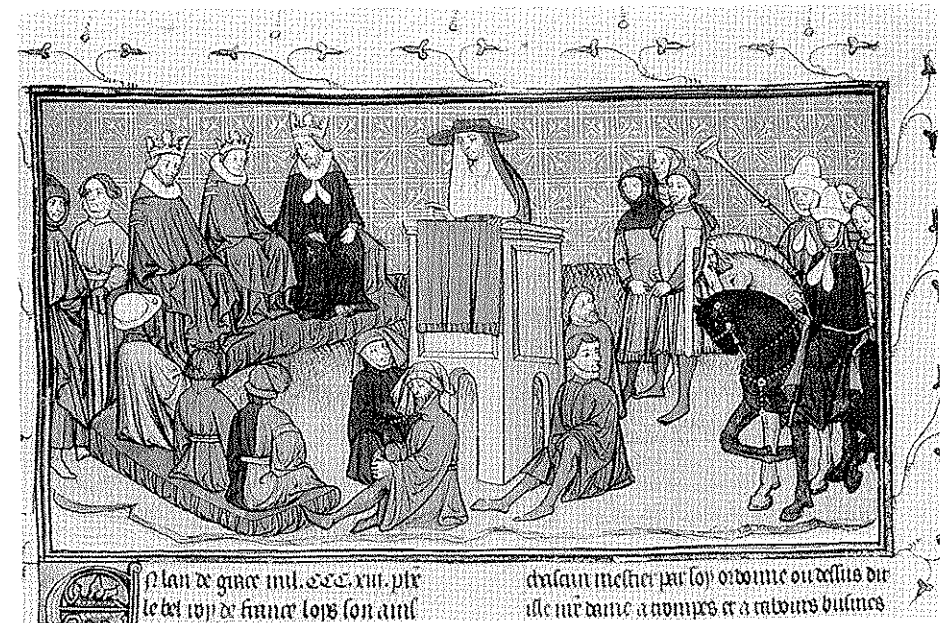


Figure 4
The Crusading Sermon and Parade of the Parisians in 1313
(*Grandes Chroniques*, London, BL, MS Royal 20 C VII, fol. 47).
By permission of the British Library.

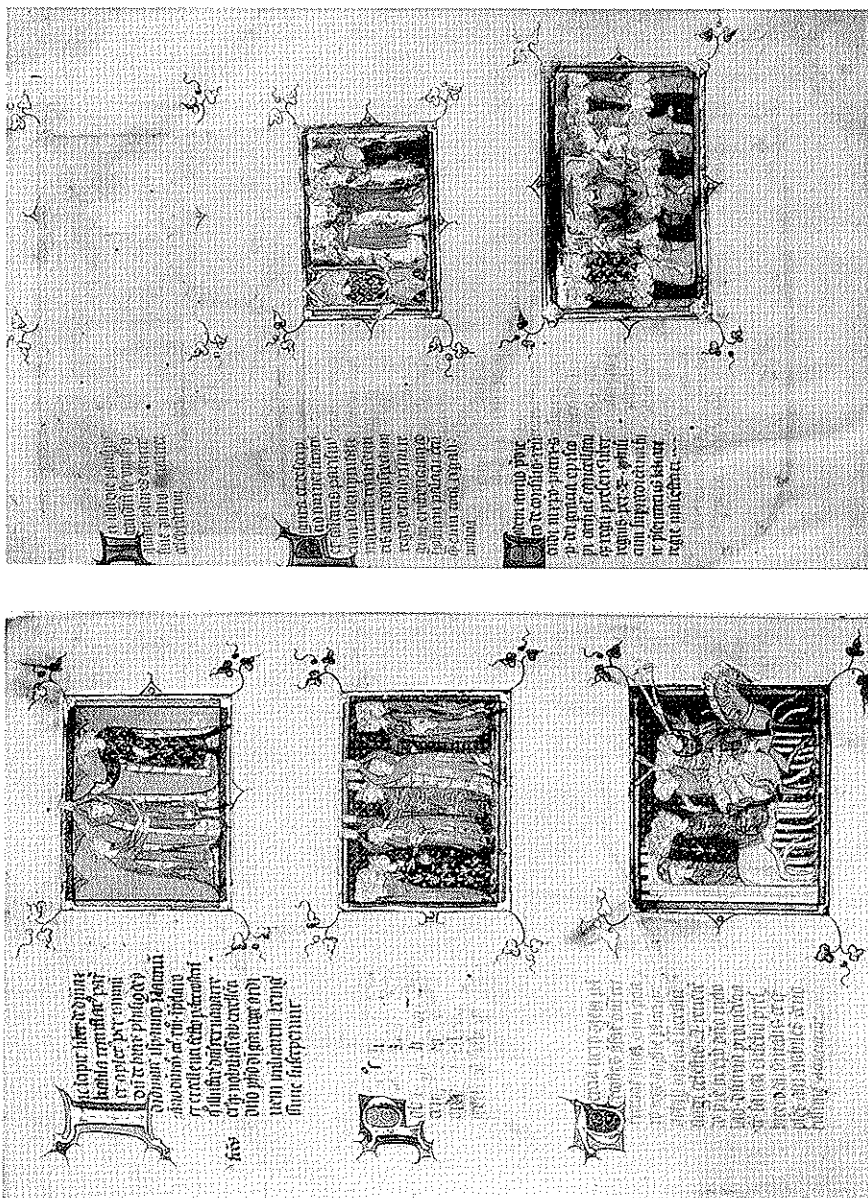


Figure 5

The Parisian Pentecost Feast of 1313 (Paris, BnF, Lat. 8504, fols. B^v-1^r).
Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

[Figure 5, opposite]

The miniatures on fols. B^v-1^r were glued in and errors were made in arranging them. The miniature showing the parade of the Parisians, described in caption 5 (Appendix II), was placed at the bottom of fol. B^v next to the third caption (which describes the crusading sermon). The miniature showing the presentation of Raymond de Béziers' book to Philip the Fair was placed beside caption 5. The miniature depicting the assumption of the cross was set next to caption 6, which describes presentation of the book. The miniature illustrating caption 4, which refers to the 'joy of the Parisians', has been lost.

third of this passage depicts their costumes, feasting, entertainments, and decoration of the route of the parade. It includes a remarkable enumeration of some two dozen street tableaux staged by the bourgeois and crafts of Paris, where images from the Bible are curiously intermingled with scenes from the stories of Reynard the fox.¹⁰ The parade of the Parisians is the remarkable 'noble fet' (noble deed) that provides the grand finale for the chronicler's account.¹¹

The metrical chronicle of MS Fr. 146 must have been available in other copies, which may have been fuller. Jean de Saint-Victor, a contemporary historian who wrote at the Parisian abbey and who relied on the metrical chronicle as his sole source for the celebration, included details lacking in the version in MS Fr. 146, notably the first part of the parade from the Ile-Notre-Dame to the Palace (Appendix III).¹² Additional information—colourfully picturesque and precise—is found in the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, whose account is based on Jean de Saint-Victor and perhaps on the metrical chronicle as well (Appendix IV).¹³ This description must be treated with some caution, since it was probably composed sometime later and its details may have been invented to impress. The Pentecost Feast of 1313 was illustrated in the *Grandes Chroniques* of London, British Library MS Royal 20 C VII, fol. 47, in a large-scale image representing the three kings and their elegantly dressed courtiers listening to the crusading sermon. Two groups of townsmen figure to the right, one on foot,

one mounted, their presence announced by a single trumpeter (Figure 4).¹⁴

Fully as extraordinary as the account of the *feste* in the metrical chronicle are contemporary pictorial and verbal depictions of the celebration preserved in Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 8504, fols. B^v-1^r (1313). Six narrative captions, copied in brilliant coloured and gold inks, accompany miniatures that commemorate the ritual events of the feast: two of the legends and one miniature portray the rejoicing and procession of the Parisians (Figure 5 and Appendix II). These illustrated captions and miniatures were a last-minute addition to the dedication of Raymond de Béziers' Latin translation of *Kalila et Dimna*, a collection of instructive Oriental fables.¹⁵ They glorify the feast of 1313 as the occasion when Raymond completed his labours and presented his book to the king. The manuscript is best known for the iconic depiction of Philip the Fair and his family that crowns Raymond's dedication to the king.¹⁶ This group portrait is unusual, and the illustrations of the festivities of Pentecost 1313 are equally singular. They form one of the earliest illustrated sequential accounts of a current event in medieval France, and in it the reveling and parading of the Parisians are prominent.

Processional movements accompanied and shaped each of the splendid events of the week-long festivities. The celebration began when King Edward II of England and his queen, Isabelle, Philip the Fair's beloved daughter, entered Paris on the eve of Pentecost. Philip himself had returned to the city the day before, and Edward and Isabelle had spent the night at Saint-Denis. From the abbey they progressed along the Grand rue Saint-Denis that linked Saint-Denis to the city (Figure 6). For centuries the route that they followed had been used for special corteges such as royal entries into Paris and royal funerals.¹⁷ There is, however, no evidence that Edward and Isabelle were accorded a formal reception like those that later graced the arrival of visiting royalty, although one contemporary chronicle reports that the whole city rose up and went forth to meet them with great reverence and

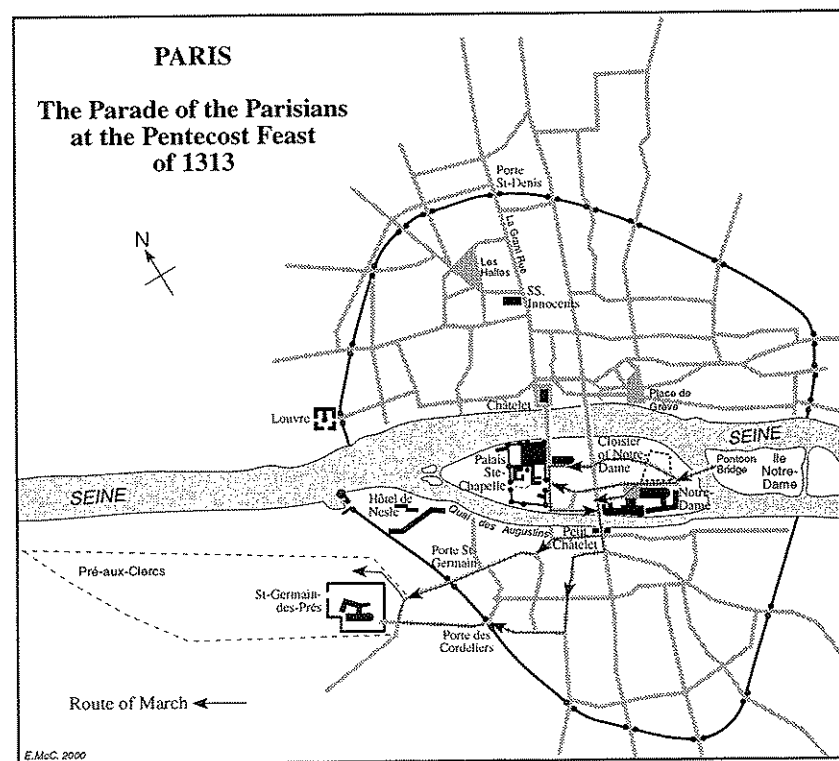


Figure 6
Route of the Parade of the Parisians in 1313
(Illustration by Eliza McClennen)

honour.¹⁸ Received by Philip the Fair for a festive meal, they were lodged at the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, which then governed an independent town or *bourg* west of the city's walls on the left bank of the Seine.¹⁹ Their presence infused its ecclesiastical space with royal aura.

Every day of the celebration witnessed processional moments of impressive corteges and spectacular displays of lavishness. Although there is no mention of it in the chronicles, each of the new knights undoubtedly rode forth in splendour after the knighting ceremony at Notre-Dame the next day, Pentecost Sunday, to show himself to the people, as recommended by Ramón Llull in his *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* (c. 1275-76).²⁰ Throughout the week there was informal parading to exhibit festive garb. Some nobles changed their sumptuous raiment three times a day in a show of magnificence.²¹ The Parisians too displayed 'unspeakable richness in their garments' while 'the townswomen went about dressed in finery, dancing and prancing on parade', exhibiting their wealth and largesse.²² Splendid retinues undoubtedly accompanied the arrival and departure of nobles partaking of the princely feasts, whose rhythm was carefully regulated according to the precedence of those who offered the banquets: Philip IV on Saturday and Sunday, Louis of Navarre on Monday, and Philip's half-brother and brother, Louis of Evreux and Charles of Anjou, on Wednesday and Thursday.²³ The metrical chronicler, however, describes in detail only the banquet he saw, the feast hosted by Edward II at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, where mounted attendants served the guests, who were assembled in richly draped tents extravagantly lit with torches at high noon.²⁴

The most striking element in both formal corteges and informal parading during the Pentecost Feast was undoubtedly the pontoon bridge made of planks balanced on boats, newly refurbished, which connected the Ile-de-la-Cité with what was then known as the Ile-Notre-Dame (now part of the Ile-Saint-Louis), a site under the jurisdiction of the cathedral church. The bridge was

one hundred and sixty feet long and forty feet wide; the Parisians had set it up in just two days, on Monday and Tuesday of the celebration, June 5-6.²⁵ The considerable labour and materials that this enterprise entailed were apparently contributed as a freewill offering of the citizens, augmenting the customary gift of 10,000 *livres* they made to the king on the occasion of his eldest son's knighting.²⁶ On Wednesday, June 7, those taking the cross used this bridge to cross the Seine in order to be present at the ceremony, held on the marshy expanse of the Ile-Notre-Dame. There, mounted on an imposing dais and surrounded by a host of prelates and ecclesiastical dignitaries, the papal legate Cardinal Nicolas de Fréauville, once Philip the Fair's confessor, dispensed crosses to the king, his sons and son-in-law, and nobles and commoners as well.²⁷ The metrical chronicler marveled at the garb of the crowds parading across the bridge: 'There came from all the kingdom and empire the flower of the elite; there came the Great Watch to be seen, eight hundred all dressed in the same uniform. There could be seen many sorts of armour, many elegant costumes worn by those who went to the Ile-Notre-Dame, and on Thursday half again as many'.²⁸

All of these showy processional movements, however, were incidental to the rituals, banquets, and lavish pageantry of the ceremonies of knighting and the assumption of the cross. Only in the parade of Parisians did processional performance itself become a central event. This occurred on Thursday, June 8, when it was the Parisians' turn to show their festive munificence to the princely assemblage whose activities had dominated the preceding days. The metrical chronicler was astounded at the display. According to him, there were twenty thousand on horseback and thirty thousand on foot—if so, a quarter of the city's inhabitants. Never since Paris was built, he declared, had there been such a noble display, which signaled the *vaillance*, the great worth, of the citizens.²⁹ The parade of the Parisians was a significant performance in the celebration: large in scale, impressive to observers, it was not merely a festive background to royal ritual but an

event that figured prominently in two contemporary accounts. The hyperbole of the metrical chronicler cannot and should not be discounted. The parade of 1313 is unique among contemporary ceremonial processional performances in at least two ways. It was an orderly parade without a head or centre of royal, ecclesiastical, or municipal dignitaries; and it ended by following an eccentric path out of the city.

The parade commenced in the marshy meadows of the Ile-Notre-Dame, whose connection with the cause of God and his church had been underscored by the assumption of the cross there on Wednesday. First the citizens processed across the pontoon bridge they had erected to gather on the island. After they had massed, the formal parade began. Mounted trumpeters preceded the line of march as the paraders streamed back over the bridge and through the cloister of Notre-Dame and the narrow streets of the Cité, whose houses were decorated with hangings of many colours. There was no street in Paris, the metrical chronicler says, where blue or green was not seen.³⁰ If Jean de Saint-Victor and the *Grandes Chroniques* are to be believed, some of the extravagant tableaux that the Parisians mounted in the streets of Paris during the days of the festival week accompanied Thursday's parade: the Hell, the Paradise, and the Procession of the Fox.³¹ It is hard to imagine how the parade could have accommodated the large curtained sets described by the metrical chronicler: the impressive Paradise was populated by ninety singing angels; from the smoky, stinking Hell devils sprang out side by side to grab unwary souls.³² On the other hand, actors representing the animals escorting the funeral procession of Reynard the fox, borne in feigned death upon his bier³³, could easily have pranced alongside the solemn parade, layering a procession into the parade, and adding religious and satirical themes to its civic symbols.

Having made their way through the Cité, the Parisians paraded before the splendidly rebuilt Palais of Philip the Fair, which was inaugurated during the Pentecost feast of 1313.³⁴ There the three kings reviewed the vast train. According to Jean de Saint-

Victor they watched from the windows of the king's apartments with many nobles³⁵, but the artist who illustrated Raymond de Béziers' captions placed them on horseback at the entry to the palace, 'surrounded by all the royal host of knights'.³⁶ The miniature in Raymond's book (Figure 7) emphasises the royal spectators, clothed in heraldic garb and backed by their entourage. It places Philip in the hierarchical centre of the three kings grouped before a schematic tower and door; Philip towers over his son, Louis de Navarre, but Edward of England occupies the pictorial foreground where he gestures towards the spectacle of the parade of the Parisians. The passing parade is suggested by the figures of three mounted musicians who represent 'the horns, drums, trumpets, timbrels, and kettle-drums, making the most joyful and festive sounds' that are described in the *Grandes Chroniques*.³⁷ The chronicles describe attentively the impressive parading order of the Parisians as they passed before the king. Bourgeois and crafts marched in a special formation two by two (or in two lines of march), one craft after the other³⁸, the bourgeois in rich garments, and each craft garbed in special livery.³⁹

The ceremonial solemnity of the parade of Parisians in 1313 contrasts with accounts of disorderly, headless, municipal "processions", most notably the violent popular riot in 1306 described in the *Grandes Chroniques*⁴⁰, which was directed against the powerful bourgeois, Etienne Barbette, the former Provost of Paris, in whose house the knightly aid of 1313 was planned. The metrical chronicler, who generally shows the Parisians in a favourable light, makes no mention of the Parisian riot of 1306 although he does record the *Matines* of Bruges where the French were massacred in their beds by a mob of urban artisans and workers.⁴¹ Always interested in urban life, he also reports at length the success of civil militia defending other towns. Mobilised by their archbishop Louis de Villars, the bourgeois of Lyons stoutly defended their city against the tumult caused by Gascons in the train of Clement V, who was crowned there in 1305.⁴² The *dames* of Besançon sang bravely at home while the bourgeois

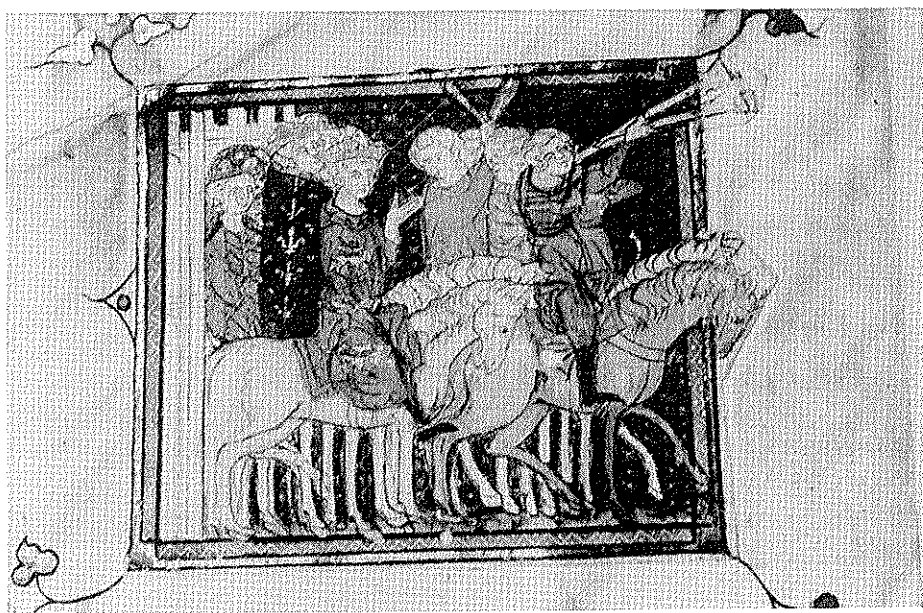


Figure 7

The Parade of the Parisians in 1313 (Paris, BnF, Lat. 8504, fol. b^v).
Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

marched out into the fields to seize the fortress of Jean de Chalon in 1307.⁴³ The metrical chronicler describes with high praise the bravery of the bourgeois of Paris who stood by their king on the battlefield of Mons-en-Pévèle in 1304 when the nobles hung back.⁴⁴ The role of the Parisians and the contrast between order and disorder is particularly marked in MS Fr. 146, the manuscript containing the metrical chronicle, where the account of the festive parade of Parisians in 1313 is juxtaposed to the description and portrayal of a fictional charivari in the *Roman de Fauvel*.⁴⁵ This charivari is a noisy nocturnal march of masked Parisians banging on pots and doors, ringing bells, flinging chaff and dung, and shouting rude songs to protest the marriage of the evil horse Fauvel, epitome of vice and tyranny. Within the manuscript, the rowdy charivari functions as a symbolic moral counterpoint to the ceremonial parade of Parisians in 1313.⁴⁶ In neither, however, are leaders represented or mentioned. On both occasions, it was the entire body of citizens that was important.

King Philip the Fair, who was the head of the social community of Parisians, was of course not missing in any sense. He was, however, separated from the rank and file of citizens in the parading body, for he was positioned as a spectator rather than as a marcher. Such separation of “head” and “body” points to another symbolic meaning which the special processional order of 1313 may express: the ancient idea of the state as an organic whole, the body politic. Fully developed by medieval political thinkers such as John of Salisbury, the image of the members and the head celebrates the contribution of each part to the total well-being of the body.⁴⁷ The figure of the members and the head is prominently and repeatedly displayed in the metrical chronicle⁴⁸ and in the manuscript where the chronicle was copied⁴⁹, for it is mentioned in the *Roman de Fauvel*⁵⁰, narrated as a fable in a lengthy musical insertion⁵¹, and cited in the political verses attributed to Geffroi de Paris in the same manuscript.⁵² It is exemplified in the account of the Pentecost feast in the metrical chronicle and in the miniatures and captions in Raymond de Bézières’ work,

a third of which focus on the festivities of the Parisians. Finally the image is reflected in the special order of the 1313 parade itself.

The accounts of the civic parade of 1313 have a double focus that gives symbolic weight and importance to both the members and the head. Community and king each occupies centre stage, but each is located in a different space and defined by different roles, different movements, and different domains. The elite cortege of noble dignitaries that usually moved in the centre of medieval processional performances here occupies a privileged position as spectator. The head, King Philip, is stationed at a key point, a fixed position of honour at the palace gate, while the members, his people, cross the Cité, pay homage to their king and his royal companions, Louis of Navarre and Edward II of England and gaze at the splendour of three monarchs. Philip is also at the temporal centre of the parade day. He stands at the midpoint of the movement of a column that advances towards him in the morning and then moves away from him in the afternoon, 'après disner' (after dinner).⁵³ Standing outside the line of march, poised against the walls that suggest the stability of royal authority, the king can view the Parisians as a social body whose wealth and numbers are evident as they move together, massed in grand display.

In its unique order, the parade of 1313 differs strikingly from religious processions. The parade itinerary was punctuated by sanctified spots and ecclesiastical monuments: the cathedral where the knighting rituals were performed on Pentecost Sunday, June 3; the palace which housed the most precious relics of France in the Sainte-Chapelle (where Edward made an offering on the day of the parade of the Parisians and where Isabelle took the cross on Saturday, June 9, of the Pentecost feast)⁵⁴; the powerful abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. The parade of 1313, however, did not pause at or enter any of these religious sites. Indeed, although Jean de Saint-Victor says the crafts marched *processionaliter* (processionally), the composition and order of the parade has a

municipal rather than an ecclesiastical cast. Although the word procession is now often used to mean 'performance in motion through space'⁵⁵, the term had a specific meaning for the author of the metrical chronicle and his contemporaries. For them, it signified a sacred cortege in which ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries progressed in hierarchical order, accompanied by litanies involving participants in common prayers of petition, thanksgiving, and veneration.⁵⁶ The metrical chronicler describes intercessory processions that were performed during the harsh Summer of 1315, when canons, monks, and prelates barefoot and clad as penitents led the king and magnates to beg God for good weather.⁵⁷ The metrical chronicler mentions such processions at the funeral of Louis X.⁵⁸ Inspired by joy rather than by misfortune, the parade of Parisians is very different from such intercessory processions in its festive clothing, expansive ranks, and the homage it offered to the king.⁵⁹ Moreover, in contrast with processions featuring relics, ceremonial objects, or sacred statues, the Parisians marching in 1313 displayed only themselves.

This is the earliest known report of an orderly civic processional event that symbolically presents a community by including great numbers in its ranks rather than relying on delegated representatives to stand for the whole. In contrast to the entry that celebrates a monarch or a bishop, whose importance is emphasised by the numbers who precede and follow him in the parade, no single individual has special importance in this parade. The reports pay no special attention to municipal officers, who were surely present. Music, order, and movement draw individuals together, transforming a huge throng into an ensemble whose members ride or walk, as Raymond de Béziers says, 'cum solempnitati maxima' (with greatest solemnity).⁶⁰

All accounts of the celebration emphasise the effect on those who watched of the vast number of marchers massed in a single body. The metrical chronicle uses a singular noun, 'Tant de gent riche et nobile' (So many wealthy and noble folk).⁶¹ Raymond de Béziers' descriptive caption uses the formulaic expression that in

contemporary documents specifically designated the inhabitants of Paris when they were considered as a whole: 'universitas et communitas parisius' (the entirety and community of Paris).⁶² The huge round numbers—20,000 on horseback and 30,000 on foot⁶³—suggest that all Parisians joined the celebration. In caption 4, Raymond de Béziers stresses the numbers of Parisians rejoicing over the crusading vows: 'In illa die parisius gaudium si vmquam per quamplures extitit sine dubio, finaliter celebratum' (On that day at Paris joy was finally celebrated, never before by so many).⁶⁴ The multitude of Parisians distinguishes the parade of 1313 from the small delegations of municipal dignitaries who represented the city in royal entries, at which all others were part of an undifferentiated crowd, the *presse* evoked by Froissart in his report of the entry of Queen Isabelle into Paris on August 20, 1389.⁶⁵

The identities of the various groups making up the *universitas et communitas* are not effaced by participation in this impressive mass.⁶⁶ On the contrary, the Parisians affirm their social identity both within particular groups and as part of the encompassing community, which the metrical chronicler calls 'celz de Paris, la noble ville' (those of Paris, the noble city).⁶⁷ Clothing, banners⁶⁸, and marching order heighten the affiliation of each smaller unit of social solidarity within the larger whole.⁶⁹ The effect of a vast and complex social tapestry is created by such visible signs as the luxurious garments, distinctive livery, and patterned movements that distinguish the bourgeois and each craft. The metrical chronicler points elsewhere to the impression made by such special bodies as the Great Watch⁷⁰, but he also describes the festive participation of women, children, and labourers—groups generally excluded from official ceremonies. He shows *dames* performing *caroles*⁷¹ as well as bourgeois dancing and displaying their rich finery, children 'none older than ten' enacting a mock tournament⁷², and the *ribaues* or day labourers clad in white shirts and dancing in many ways with joyful gaiety.⁷³ Although such groups did not join in the knighting and crusading rituals, their rejoicing

nonetheless derives its meaning from these ceremonies. Elements of difference—an intensified awareness of social groups and hierarchy—are thus maintained within the common experience of festive joy in the parade, which highlights both identity and inclusiveness.⁷⁴

The metrical chronicler presents the parade, not so much as a gathering that shows solidarity among the participants as a demonstration to the royal spectators that legitimates the Parisians' *vaiillance*, their worth, which is expressed by their numbers, their wealth, and their capacity to organise and carry out such large-scale projects as the pontoon bridge, the festive entertainments, and the day-long parade. Centering the Parisians' efforts carefully within the social hierarchy, the metrical chronicler weighs the *feste* of the Parisians against the largesse that flowed from the nobles and the king. 'Comparisons are odious', he says, 'but in the participation of the bourgeoisie, there were five marks of lordliness': their great waxen illumination, their rich apparel and livery, their huge numbers night and day, and the music and theatrical entertainments they funded.⁷⁵ The liberality of the Parisians, expressed in the varied modes of festive celebration, manifested their importance within the kingdom. The grandeur and splendour of their expenditures for the celebration won them the chronicler's approval and attention.

Having shown their worthiness as a body to honour the three kings, why did the Parisians then march out of town? Why did the parade not end—as so many did—at the Palais? This was a markedly eccentric movement, for most medieval civic processions progressed around the centre of the city or its boundaries, or moved along a highly symbolic processional axis from periphery to centre.⁷⁶ The parade of 1313 took a strikingly unusual route. After passing before the king, the Parisians moved after dinner beyond the royal palace to the left bank and thence out beyond the city walls. Their goal was the meadows of the Pré-aux-Clercs that stretched between the Seine and the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, which had struggled for years with the Uni-

versity for dominion over these few acres of turf. The Pré was an open terrain used for recreation by Parisians and University students, and—on occasion in the fourteenth century—for settling disputes or fighting duels before noble spectators.⁷⁷

Assembling in the great meadow as they had before the royal palace, the Parisians again assumed an impressive line of march to show themselves two by two to the English king and his wife Isabelle, who had returned to the abbey after dining with the king's brother, Charles of Valois. There, the *Grandes Chroniques* tells us, King Edward and his wife were stationed in a place of eminence in a little tower, surrounded by a host of ladies and damsels.⁷⁸ According to the *Grandes Chroniques*, the display delighted Isabelle. The metrical chronicler gave a different appraisal, commenting on the reaction of the English, rather than that of Philip the Fair's daughter. The English gazed in amazement at the spectacle, the metrical chronicler proudly reported. Never would the English and their king have believed 'that so many wealthy and such noble persons could come forth from a single city'.⁷⁹ After this all dispersed, and great banquets were held by the different crafts. That night no one died of thirst, the metrical chronicler assures its readers.⁸⁰

The language of the metrical chronicler suggests that this exceptional path may have expressed political rivalry between France and England within the joyous feast. He says the Parisians sally forth from the city, *saillir*, as if with martial vigour. They assemble at Saint-Germain-des-Prés in order to show themselves (*se moustrassent*) to the English king.⁸¹ They proceed towards the abbey because King Edward of England is there. His presence makes this, for the moment, English space. It was there that he was lodged and there that he gave a banquet on Tuesday. The parade of Parisians before King Edward at Saint-Germain may therefore have had a different meaning from the significance it embodied when it passed before King Philip, King Louis, and King Edward at the Palace. The *Grandes Chroniques* views the parade before the Palace as an honour for the king, his children,

and the people of Paris.⁸² On the other hand, whereas the author of the *Grandes Chroniques* says the parade at the Pré-aux-Clercs pleased Isabelle and reflected 'great and praiseworthy honour on the king of France and those who were his and also on the people of Paris'⁸³, the metrical chronicler and Jean de Saint-Victor say that the English were *esbahi*, *obstupuit*—amazed, terrified, astounded—at the wealth and number of the Parisians.

The movement from inside to outside the walls manifested confidence and strength. It proclaimed that the fortified walls of Paris constructed by Philip Augustus were not needed to protect the city and a guest welcomed by Philip the Fair and the Parisians. It honoured the English visitors but it also served to intimidate them with a display of demographic and economic might. The exceptional one-way direction of the parade of Parisians to Saint-Germain-des-Prés thus staged a symbolic triumph over the English.⁸⁴ Such political rivalry as the parade may have represented could be reflected in the allegorical tournament of Vices and Virtues in the *Roman de Fauvel* of MS Fr. 146, which, like the parade, was held at the Pré-aux-Clercs.⁸⁵ Moreover, the parade celebrated the knighting and crusading vow ceremonies, and thus the processional movement outside the city walls may also have recalled other processions that followed a similar route. The *Grandes Chroniques* describes the brilliant convoys that accompanied bands of pilgrims, knights and soldiers departing for war or the Crusade.⁸⁶ But the parade of 1313 does not celebrate departure for distant parts or signify farewell, for its endpoint is nearby, at the Pré-aux-Clercs.

This site offered the possibility of constructing symbolic meanings because of its associations and because, like the Ile-Notre-Dame where the parade began, the Pré was an assembly ground large enough for the social body of the community, *universitas et communitas*, to be grasped as a visual whole, which would not have been possible when the marchers crowded through the narrow streets of the city.⁸⁷ Moreover, marching to Saint-Germain prolonged the Parisians' self-display in space and time.⁸⁸ They

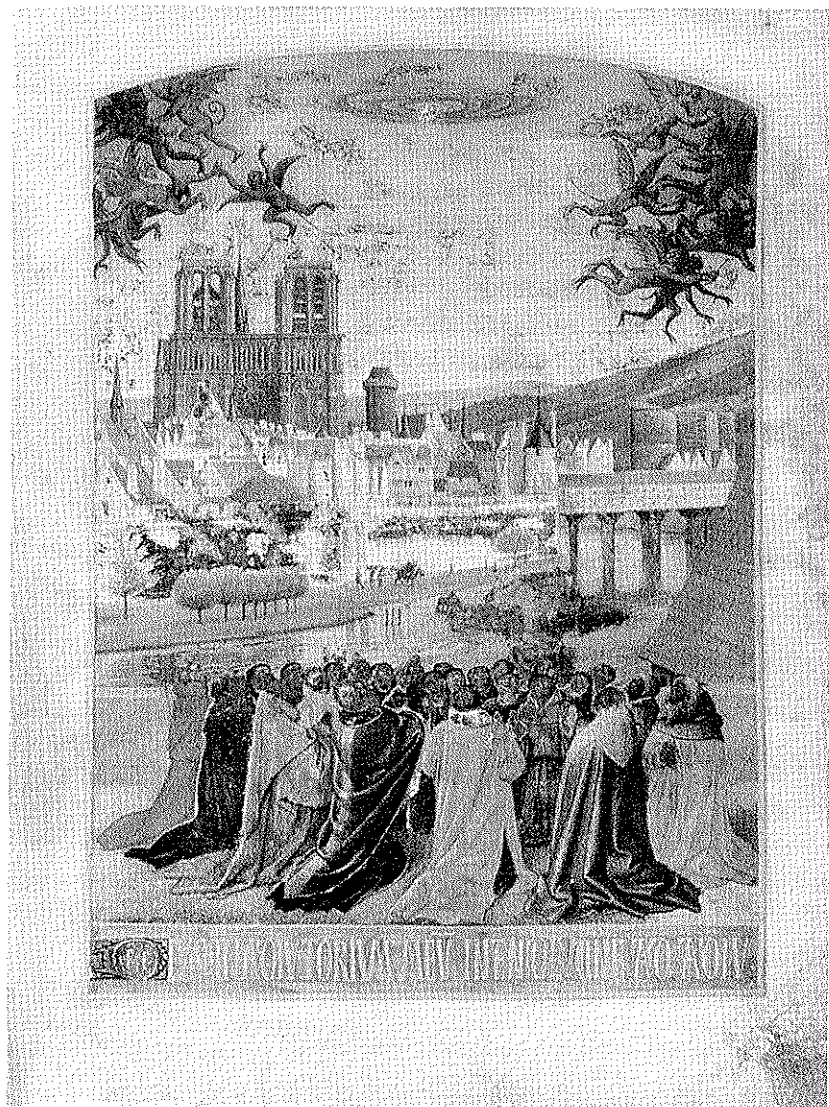


Figure 8

Jean Fouquet, The Right Hand of God Protecting the Faithful Against Demons, Leaf from the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975. (1975.1.2490).

must have squeezed slowly over the Petit-Pont—the single bridge to the left bank—although some may have been ferried across in boats like those painted and described in the *Fauvel* of MS Fr. 146.⁸⁹ They would have passed slowly, too, through the narrow Porte de Saint-Germain and Porte des Cordeliers, the gates that breached the walls of Philip Augustus to the west.⁹⁰ There at last, on the meadows between Saint-Germain and the river, the Parisians would have been seen together, in all the force that so impressed the English. Indeed, the metrical chronicler emphasises the visual aspect of the parade by mentioning eyewitnesses who marvel at the sight and who attempt to estimate the numbers of those on horseback and on foot.⁹¹

From the Pré-aux-Clercs, Paris itself could be seen as a whole. Artists of later generations chose this perspective to depict Paris as a radiant city.⁹² On one leaf of the mid-fifteenth-century *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*, Jean Fouquet painted Pentecost as a vision of Paris. We see the apostles, clustered kneeling in the foreground, and behind them a view of the Ile-de-la-Cité and left bank as they appear from the vantage point of the Pré-aux-Clercs, with the royal, ecclesiastical, and municipal monuments of Paris brilliantly lit by the fire of the Holy Spirit, which dispels demons from the city (Figure 8).⁹³ In such a painting, Paris can be seen as it was so often portrayed in medieval *encomia*, as the city which divine favour had transformed into the New Jerusalem, Paris into Paradise.⁹⁴ Paradoxically it was outside the city, on the meadows of Saint-Germain, that Paris and its inhabitants could best be viewed as a whole, an ideal *communitas*, prospering under its king. Assembled at this vantage point, the parade thus gave meaning to the city itself as well as to the body of its participants, showing the glory of both crown and town, the king and his city.

Whatever fissures, divisions, or exclusions threatened the social fabric of Paris in 1313, the eyewitness testimony preserved in the metrical chronicle and the illustrations and captions in Raymond de Béziers' book present the great parade of the Parisians in

1313 as a spectacle of unity. They showed it as a self-conscious performance of the whole of the city that valorised the political role of the Parisians within the realm of France. The processional order and direction of the parade before the king and his court legitimated and amplified the role of the Parisians as a municipal body with powers that are explicitly distinguished in these accounts from those of the nobility and monarch. The costly celebration of the Parisians demonstrated the value of their alliance with the sovereign they honoured by their festive parade. Marching before their king, then out through the city walls, the Parisians who paraded in 1313 presented a performance of social harmony that celebrated their vision of the place they occupied in the kingdom of France.

Appendix I

Armel Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris* (Paris, BnF MS Fr. 146), Paris, 1956, p. 187:

Dont il covint qu'a Saint Germain Des Prez après disner tornassent, Ou au roy anglois se moustrassent; Et il si firent voirement.	
Dont esbahi si grandement Furent Anglois, plus c'onques mes, Car il ne cuidassent jamés Que tant de gent riche et nobile Pouïst saillir de une ville.	5070
Ausi en furent merveillex Tous celz qui les virent aus ex. Et deuz et deuz ensemble aloient, Et trestouz les mestiers mangoient, Si comme estoit chascun par soi; Si n'i mouroit on pas de soi.	5075
Si n'i avoit chemin ne voie	5080

Qui ne feüst ou vert ou bloie, Et toute nuit feste estoit fete De celz de Paris sanz retraite. A cheval bien furent vint mile Et a pié furent trente mile, Tant ou plus ainsi les trouverent Celz qui de la les extimerent. Onques puis que Paris fu fet, Ne fu il pas si noble fet. La fu bien veü en presance De celz de Paris la vaillance.	5085 5090
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[Then it was fitting that all go after dinner to Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and parade for the English king; and thus truly it was done and the English, more than ever, were greatly amazed, for they never would have believed that so many wealthy and noble persons could come out of a single city. Thus all those marveled who saw it with their own eyes. And two by two they paraded past, and all the crafts feasted as if each were alone, and nobody died of thirst. There was no avenue or byway that was not [hung with] green or blue, and all that night the Parisians stayed out celebrating. There were fully twenty thousand on horseback and thirty thousand on foot. They were estimated to be that many or more by those who saw them there. Never since Paris was built was there such a noble undertaking. There was seen by those present the true worth of the Parisians.]

Appendix II

Raymond de Bézières, *Kalila et Dimna* (Paris, BnF MS Lat. 8504, fol. 1), in L. Hervieux [ed.], *Les Fabulistes latins*, vol. V: *Jean de Capoue et ses dérivés*, New York, 1898; rpt. 1965, [Burt Franklin Research & Source Works Series, 99], p. 383.

Caption 4:

In illa die parisius gaudium, si vmquam per quamplures extitit sine dubio, finaliter celebratum.

[On that day at Paris joy was finally celebrated, without doubt never before by so many.]

Caption 5:

Figura et descriptio uniuersitatis et communitatis parisius cum solemnitate maxima transeuntis ante conspectum regis et aliorum regum existencium ad (h)ostium palacii circumque cum tota regali militia.

[The depiction and description of the whole community of Paris, with greatest solemnity passing before the sight of the king and the other kings stationed at the entry of the palace and surrounded by all the royal host of knights.]

Appendix III

Jean de Paris, canon regular of Saint-Victor, *Memoriale historiarum*, in Martin Bouquet et al. [eds.], *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols., Paris, 1738-1904; vol. XXI, J. D. Guiniat & J. N. de Wailly [eds.], Paris, 1855, pp. 630-89, quoted at pp. 656-67:

Omnes artifices processionaliter incedebant, et illi de singulis artificiis habebant distincta ornamenta ab aliis. Quidam cum hoc infernum effingebant, alii paradisum, alii processionem vulpis, in qua singula animalia effigiata singula officia exercebant. ... Quinta feria omnes artifices et burgenses se in equis et pedites ostenderunt processionaliter, ab insula Sanctæ Mariæ per clastrum usque ad regis palatium incedentes, ita quod rex cum multis nobilibus eos vidit per fenestras; et æstimati sunt equites viginti [quindecim in one MS] millia, et pedites xxx. millia. Et sic hora vespertina versus Sanctum Germanum de Pratis perrexerunt. Quos videns rex Angliæ obstupuit, et omnes sui. Vix enim credere valeret quod de una sola civitate tanta et tam nobiliter parata potuerit exire multitudo.

[All the crafts went in procession, and members of each craft had raiment distinguishing them from the others. Some with this portrayed Hell, others Paradise, others the procession of the fox, in which the different animals [that were] portrayed played different roles. ... On the fifth day, all the crafts and

bourgeois went processionally on horse and foot, marching from the Ile-Notre-Dame through the cloister to the royal palace, where the king with many nobles saw them through the windows; and there were some fifteen or twenty thousand on horseback and thirty thousand on foot. And thus in the evening they continued on toward Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Seeing them, the king of England and all his people were thunderstruck. For he could scarcely believe that from one single city such a great multitude, so nobly decked out, could emerge.]

Appendix IV

Jules Viard [ed.], *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, 10 vols., Paris, 1920-53, vol. VIII [*Publications de la Société de France*, 435], Paris, 1934, pp. 288-90:

Et lors, à ycelle feste de la Penthecouste, pour l'onneur de la dicte chevalerie, fu Paris encourtiné sollempnelment et noblement, et fu faite la plus sollempnel feste et belle qui grant temps devant fu veue. Car adecertes le jeudi ensivant d'icelle sepmaine de la Penthecouste, touz les bourgeois et maistres de Paris firent très belle feste, et vindrent les uns en paremens riches et de noble euvre fais, les autres en robes neuves, à pié et à cheval, chacun mestier par soy ordené, ou dessus dit ille de Nostre Dame, a trompes, tabours, buisines, timbres et nacaires, a grant joie et a grant noise demenant et de tres biaux jeux jouant. Et lors, dudit ille, par dessus un pont de fust fait sus nefes nouvellement ordenez, deus et deus, l'un mestier après l'autre, et les bourgeois en telle guise ordenez, vindrent en la court le roy par devant son palais qu'il avoit fait faire nouvellement de très belle et noble euvre par Engorran de Marigni, son coadjutor et gouverneur du royaume de France principal. Ou quel palais, les trois roys, c'est assavoir: Phelippe le Biaux roy de France, Edouart son gendre roy d'Angleterre, et Loys son ainsné filz roy de Navarre, avec contes, dux, barons et princes des dessus diz royaumes estoient assablés pour veoir la dicte feste des bourgeois et mestiers qui aussi ordeneement et gentement venoient, et tout pour le roy et ses enfans honorer. Et ensemment, après disner, en la maniere dessus dite

ordenez, revindrent a Saint Germain des Prés, ou Pré aus Clercs, là où estoit Ysabel, royne d'Angleterre, fille le roy de France, montée en une tournelle avec son seigneur le roy d'Angleterre Edouart et pluseurs dames et demoiselles, pour veoir la dicte feste desdiz bourgeois dessus diz et des mestiers, et les vit et regarda et moult li plurent. Laquelle feste tourna envers le roy de France et aus siens en très grans honneurs louables, et as gens de Paris aussi.

[And at this Pentecost celebration in honour of the knighting Paris was solemnly and richly curtailed, and the most impressive and beautiful celebration was held that had been seen for many a day: for indeed on the following Thursday of this Pentecost week, all the bourgeois and crafts of the city of Paris made a most beautiful parade and came, some in sumptuous and richly made finery, others in new garments, on foot and on horseback, each craft ordered in rank, to the aforementioned Isle of Notre Dame, with horns, drums, trumpets, timbrels, and kettle-drums, making the most joyful and festive sounds and playing beautiful scenes. And then from that said isle, over a bridge erected upon newly-refurbished boats, two by two, one craft after another and the bourgeois grouped in the same way came to the king's court before his palace, which he had recently had built in fine and noble fashion by Enguerran de Marigny, his coadjutor and principal governor of the kingdom of France. At which palace the three kings, namely Philip the Fair, king of France, Edward his son-in-law, king of England, and Louis his eldest son, king of Navarre, with counts, dukes, barons and princes of the above-mentioned kingdoms, were assembled to see the festive parade of the bourgeois and crafts who came thus in such noble and well-ordered array, and all to honour the king and his children. And after dinner, moreover, ordered in the manner described above, they came to Saint-Germain-des-Prés, to the Pré-aux-Clercs, where Isabelle, queen of England, daughter of the king of France, ascended into a little tower with her lord the king of England and several ladies and damsels in order to see the said parade of the aforementioned bourgeois and crafts and she saw them and looked at them and they pleased her greatly. This celebration cast great and praiseworthy honour on the king of France and his people and also on the people of Paris.]

Notes

* Preliminary versions of this material were presented in papers at four conferences: Elizabeth A. R. Brown & Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'Mean-

ings in Motion: the Parisian Parade of 1313', at "Public Structures: Shaping the World in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance", Thirteenth Barnard Medieval and Renaissance Conference, December 5, 1992; Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'Performance and the Construction of Common Political Culture or What's on the Mind of the Body Politic?', at "Interrogating Medieval Theatricality", University of Pennsylvania, December 11-13, 1992; 'From Procession to Presentation: The Parisian Pentecost Feast of 1313', at "Modalities of Performance in the Middle Ages", New York University, March 26, 1993, and at the 28th International Congress on Medieval Studies, May 6-9, 1993, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan. We have benefited greatly from discussions with colleagues at these conferences and with Mark Cruse, Samuel Kinser, Alan Knight, and E. B. Vitz. Nancy Freeman Regalado is grateful to the National Endowment of the Humanities and the Guggenheim Foundation for their support of her research on the Parisian Pentecost Feast of 1313.

- 1 Louis Marin, 'Notes on a Semiotic Approach to *Parade, Cortège, and Procession*', in Alessandro Falassi [ed.], *Time Out of Time: Essays on the Festival*, Albuquerque, 1987, pp. 220-8, speaks of parades as 'ritual systems' (p. 223).
- 2 Susan Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theater in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1986, p. 5, describes parades as 'the usual, repetitive events of urban public culture, as well as the startling and unusual ones ... as kinds of communication that are part of the social forces that shape our lives.'
- 3 See the detailed description of the *feste* itself in Elizabeth A. R. Brown and 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 [*Medieval Studies at Minnesota*, 6], pp. 56-86.
- 4 Arnel Diverres [ed.], *La Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, Paris, 1956 [*Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg*, 129].
- 5 Edward Roesner [ed.], *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, 146; intr. François Avril, Nancy Freeman Regalado & Edward Roesner, New York, 1990.
- 6 Walter H. Storer & Charles A. Rochedieu [eds.], *Six Historical Poems of Geffroi de Paris, Written in 1314-1318*, Chapel Hill, 1950 [*University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures*, 16], and Leofranc Holford-Strevens, 'The Latin *Dits* of Geffroy de

- Paris: An Edition Princeps', 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. 247-75.
- 7 Nigel E. Wilkins [ed.], *The Works of Jehan de Lescurel, Edited from the Manuscript Paris, B. N., f. fr. 146*, [n. p.], 1966 [*Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, 30].
 - 8 Arthur Långfors [ed.], *Le Roman de Fauvel par Gervais du Bus*, Paris, 1914-19 [*Société des anciens textes français*]; the poetic and musical interpolations in MS Fr. 146 were edited by Emilie Dahnk in *L'Hérésie de Fauvel*, Leipzig, 1935 [*Leipziger romanische Studien, Literaturwissenschaftliche Reihe*, 4].
 - 9 'De ceste feste ai dist l'istoire / Si qu'a touzjors en soit memoire / Et que touz celz puissent savoir / De ceste grant feste le voir / Qui n'i furent et qui nestront, / Qui après nostre temps vendront' (Diverrière [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, II. 5093-8). All translations are by the authors.
 - 10 Ibidem, II. 4955-5005. This is the earliest report of theatrical staging in Paris and the only account known of medieval theatrical representations of the *Roman de Renart*; see Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'Staging the *Roman de Renart*: Medieval Theater and the Diffusion of Political Concerns into Popular Culture', *Medievalia* 18 (1995), pp. 111-42.
 - 11 Diverrière [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, II. 5089-90, cited below, n. 29.
 - 12 *Memoriale historiarum* in Martin Bouquet et al. [eds.], *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XXI, J. D. Guiniaut & J. N. de Wailly [eds.], Paris, 1855, pp. 630-89, esp. pp. 656-67.
 - 13 Jules Viard [ed.], *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, 10 vols., Paris, 1920-53 [*Publications de la Société de France*, 395, 401, 404, 415, 418, 423, 438, 457], vol. VIII, Paris, 1934, pp. 288-90.
 - 14 See Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes chroniques de France, 1274-1422*, Berkeley, 1991 [*California Studies in the History of Art*], p. 223.
 - 15 Raymond de Bézières, *Kalila et Dimna*, in Léopold Hervieux [ed.], *Les Fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge*, vol. V: *Jean de Capoue et ses dérivés*, New York, 1898 [rpt. 1965], [*Burt Franklin Research & Source Works Series*, 99], pp. 383-4. See Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'Kalila et Dimna, liber regius: The Tutorial Book of Raymond de Bézières (Paris, BNF MS Lat. 8504)', in *Satura: Essays on Medieval Satire and Religion in Honor of Robert Raymo*, Stamford, forthcoming.
 - 16 Paris, BnF MS Lat. 8504, fol. 1', reproduced in colour in Marie-Hélène Tesnière & Prosser Gifford [eds.], *Creating French Culture: Treasures from the Bibliothèque nationale de France*, New Haven, 1995, pp. 73-4

- and Plate 22.
- 17 See Bernard Guenée & Françoise Lehoux, *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515*, Paris, 1968 [*Sources d'histoire médiévale publiées par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes*, 5]; Elie Konigson, *L'espace théâtral médiéval*, Paris, 1975, pp. 110-1; Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual, and Art in the Renaissance*, Genève, 1986 [*Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 216], p. 239, Figure 1.
 - 18 'Qui prædictus rex Anglorum Parisius intravit cum magna multitudine nobilium regni sui; ad quos omnis civitas alacriter recipiendos, cum omni reverentia et honore exivit et surrexit' (The said king of the English entered Paris with a great multitude of the nobles of his kingdom, to welcome whom all the city eagerly went forth and and rose up with all reverence and honour), *Chronicon monasterii Sanctæ Catharinæ Rotomagensis*, in Bouquet et al. [eds.], *Recueil des historiens*, vol. XXIII, J. N. de Wailly, L. V. Delisle & C. M. G. B. Jourdain [eds.], Paris, 1876, pp. 397-415, quoted at p. 409. The chronicle may well have been written contemporaneously; it was begun in the early thirteenth century and was extended by different writers to 1345 (ibidem, p. 397). Writing of the adultery affair of 1314, the chronicle reports the release of the wife of Philip of Poitiers (which occurred in December 1314) but says the wives of his two brothers were still kept in prison, apart, at this time ('interim adhuc in carcere separatim demorantibus'; ibidem, p. 409). This indicates that the author wrote before the death of Marguerite of Burgundy, which occurred in April 1315.
 - 19 Françoise Lehoux, *Le Bourg Saint-Germain-des-Prés depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin de la Guerre de Cent Ans*, Paris, 1951, p. 41.
 - 20 'Lo cavaller novell deu cavalcar e deu-se mostrar a la gent, per ço que tuit sàpien que ell és cavaller e que s'és obligat a mantenir e a defendre la honor de cavalleria' (The new knight ought to ride through the town and show himself to the people so that all men know that he is a knight and that he is bound to maintain and defend the honour of chivalry), Ramon Llull, *Llibre del Orde de Cavalleria*, Marina Gustà [ed.], Barcelona, 1980, p. 68. Llull's book was translated and circulated in Europe throughout the Middle Ages in manuscripts and incunabula; see Ramon Llull, *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*, Vincenzo Minervini [ed.], Bari, 1972 [*Biblioteca di Filologia Romanza*, 21].
 - 21 'Chascun jor orent ator treble / Qui n'estoient pas a la feble' (Diverrière [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, II. 4803-4; see II. 4832-7 and Jean de Saint-Victor, *Memoriale historiarum*).
 - 22 'Richece en atours plus que dire / ... / La furent borgoises parees, / Balans

- et dansans regardees, / En cui avoit toute richece / Et fete aussi toute largece' (Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, ll. 4948, 5045-8).
- 23 Ibidem, ll. 4839-74.
- 24 Ibidem, ll. 4845-58.
- 25 'Seingnor, por entrer en celle isle, / Celz de Paris, la noble ville, / Firent li pont par desus Sainne / En deuz jors de cele semaine, / Ce fu par devers Nostre Dame /—Einsinques fu, je n'en dout ame— / Ou fu fait et drecié cel pont; / De ce mains merveillez ce sont. / Le lundi et mardi fu fait / Cel pont; huit vints piés ot de trait / Et de large en ot il quarante' (ibidem, ll. 4905-15); Viard [ed.], *Grandes Chroniques*, vol. VIII, p. 289.
- 26 Elizabeth A. R. Brown, *Customary Aids and Royal Finances in Capetian France: The Marriage Aid of Philip the Fair*, Cambridge, Mass., 1992 [*Medieval Academy Books*, 100], pp. 187-207.
- 27 Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, ll. 4885-901; Hervieux [ed.], *Les Fabulistes*, vol. V, p. 383. See Figure 2, caption 3 and the miniature pasted in next to caption 6.
- 28 'La fu et de roiaume et d'empire / La flor, tout ce qu'en pot eslire; / La fu le grant gait, l'en le vit: / Huit cens touz vestuz d'un abit. / La vit on maintes armeüres, / Maintes riches desguiseüres, / Qui Nostre Dame en l'Isle aloient, / Et au jeudi se moitoioient' (Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, ll. 5049-56).
- 29 'Onques puis que Paris fu fet, / Ne fu il pas si noble fet. / La fui bien veü en presance / De celz de Paris la vaillance' (ibidem, ll. 5089-92); see the numbers cited in n. 91.
- 30 'Si n'i avoit chemin ne voie / Qui ne feüst ou vert ou bloie' (ibidem, ll. 5081-2). On curtaining at the Pentecost Feast of 1313, he says also, 'Car je vous di, de rue en rue / Ne veoit on ne ciel ne rue, / Car Paris estoit tout couvert, / Blanc, noir, jaune, rougë ou vert' (For I tell you that from street to street neither sky nor street could be seen, for Paris was all covered, white, black, yellow, red or green; ibidem, ll. 4811-4). The *Grandes Chroniques* note similarly: 'Et lors, à ycelle feste de la Penthecouste, pour l'onneur de la dicte chevalerie, fu Paris encourtiné sollempnelment et noblement, et fu faite la plus sollempnel feste et belle qui grant temps devant fu veue' (And at this Pentecost celebration in honour of this knighting Paris was solemnly and richly curtained and the most impressive and beautiful celebration was held that had been seen for many a day), Viard [ed.], *Grandes Chroniques*, vol. VIII, p. 288.
- 31 'Quidam cum hoc infernum effingebant, alii paradisum, alii processionem vulpis, in qua singula animalia effigiata singula officia exercebant' (Some with this portrayed Hell, others Paradise, others the procession of the fox, in which the different animals [that were] portrayed played different roles),

- Jean de Saint-Victor, *Memoriale historiarum* in Bouquet *et al.* [eds.], *Recueil des historiens*, vol. XXI, p. 657. 'Car adecertes le jeudi ensivant d'icelle sepmaine de la Penthecouste, touz les bourgeois et maistres de Paris firent très belle feste, et vindrent ... de tres biaux jeux jouant' (For indeed on the following Thursday of this Pentecost week, all the bourgeois and crafts of the city of Paris made a most beautiful parade and came, ... playing beautiful scenes), Viard [ed.], *Grandes Chroniques*, vol. VIII, pp. 288-9. See Regalado, 'Staging the *Roman de Renart*', pp. 122-5.
- 32 Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, ll. 4961-76.
- 33 Ibidem, l. 5005.
- 34 '... les bourgeois en telle guise ordenez, vindrent en la court le roy par devant son palais qu'il avoit fait faire nouvellement de très belle et noble euvre par Engorran de Marigni, son coadjutor et gouverneur du royaume de France principal' (Grouped in the same way, the bourgeois came to the king's court before his palace which he had recently had built in fine and noble fashion by Enguerrand de Marigny, his coadjutor and principal governor of the kingdom of France), Viard [ed.], *Grandes Chroniques*, vol. VIII, p. 289. On the architecture and symbolic values of the Palais rebuilt by Philip IV, see Michael Davis, 'Desespoir, Esperance, and Douce France', in Bent & Wathey [eds.], *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 187-213.
- 35 'Ita quod rex cum multis nobilibus eos vidit per fenestras' (Jean de Saint-Victor, *Memoriale historiarum* in Bouquet *et al.* [eds.], *Recueil des historiens*, vol. XXI, p. 657).
- 36 '... transeuntis ante conspectum regis et aliorum regum existencium ad (h)ostium palacii circumque cum tota regali milicia' (Hervieux [ed.], *Les Fabulistes*, vol. V, p. 383 [caption 5]). Michael Davis, 'Desespoir', believes the marchers entered the palace courtyard and 'saw the three kings arrayed before them on the marble apron at the head of the Great Steps' (p. 208 and Figure 8.13, which shows a conjectural route of the parade).
- 37 '... a trompes, tabours, buisines, timbres et nacaires, a grant joie et a grant noise demenant' (Viard [ed.], *Grandes Chroniques*, vol. VIII, p. 289).
- 38 'Et deuz et deuz ensemble aloient' (Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, l. 5077); 'deus et deus, l'un mestier après l'autre, et les bourgeois en telle guise ordenez' (Viard [ed.], *Grandes Chroniques*, vol. VIII, p. 289). Susan Davis, *Parades and Power*, notes that unity of motion implies unanimity; it is heightened by uniforms and tokens of identity which may be an 'elaborate display of collective resources' (pp. 159-60).
- 39 'Tous les mestiers en garnemenz' (Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, l. 4952); 'Omnes artifices processionaliter incedebant, et illi de singulis ar-

tificiis habebant distincta ornamenta ab aliis' (All crafts marched in procession, and members of each craft had raiment distinguishing them from the others), Jean de Saint-Victor, *Memoriale historiarum* in Bouquet *et al.* [eds.], *Recueil des historiens*, vol. XXI, pp. 656-7; the *Grandes Chroniques*, vol. VIII, pp. 288-9, however, does not speak of liveries in its report of festive clothing: '... et vindrent les uns en paremens riches et de noble euvre fais, les autres en robes neuves, à pié et à cheval, chacun mestier par soy ordené, ou dessus dit ille de Nostre Dame' (... some came in sumptuous and richly made finery, others in new garments, on foot and on horseback, each craft gathered in rank, to the aforementioned Isle of Notre Dame).

- 40 Viard [ed.], *Grandes Chroniques*, vol. VIII, pp. 250-2; the event is illustrated in London, BL, Royal 20 C VII, fol. 41, in a large miniature that immediately precedes the representation of the Pentecost Feast of 1313 (see above, n. 14, and Figure 4). Raymond Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris de la fin du règne de Philippe Auguste à la mort de Charles V, 1223-1380*, Paris, 1972, pp. 271-3, emphasises that this riot signaled a break between the people of Paris and the wealthy bourgeois.
- 41 Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, ll. 445-9. See Joseph Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, Princeton, 1980, p. 333.
- 42 Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, ll. 2378-636
- 43 Ibidem, ll. 3341-62.
- 44 'Borjois avec le roy se tinrent, / Mes miex celz qui de Paris vinrent. / Au derrenier, a lor grant honte, / Y vindrent li duc et li conte. / La fu moustré qui ami fu' (ibidem, ll. 2883-7).
- 45 Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 146, fol. 34^v; Långfors [ed.], *Le Roman de Fauvel*, pp. 164-7 (MS. E, ll. 693-765); see Roesner, Avril, & Regalado in Roesner [ed.], *Roman de Fauvel*, pp. 9-15, and Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'Masques réels dans le monde de l'imaginaire: le rite et l'écrit dans le charivari du *Roman de Fauvel*, ms. B.N. fr. 146', in Marie-Louise Ollier [ed.], *Masques et déguisements au moyen âge*, Montreal, 1988, pp. 111-26.
- 46 On the symbolic significance of the description of the Pentecost Feast of 1313 in the *Chronique métrique* and in BnF MS Fr. 146, see Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'The *Chronique métrique* and the Moral Design of BN fr. 146: Feasts of Good and Evil', in Bent and Wathey [eds.], *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 467-94.
- 47 See the miniature representing the metaphor of the body politic in the *Avis au roys* (Pierpont Morgan 456, fol. 5), reproduced and discussed by Claire Richter Sherman in *Imaging Aristotle: Verbal and Visual Representation in Fourteenth-Century France*, Berkeley, 1995, pp. 216-7 and Figure 63.
- 48 Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, ll. 889, 1634-6, 2247-8, 3040-8, 3085-8.
- 49 See Regalado, 'The *Chronique métrique*', p. 469 and note 11.
- 50 Långfors [ed.], *Le Roman de Fauvel*, p. 19, ll. 441-79.
- 51 Dahnk [ed.], *L'Hérésie de Fauvel*, p. mus. 40, 'Inter membra singula', pp. 81-6.
- 52 Storer & Rochedieu [eds.], *Six Historical Poems*, 'Les Avisemens', ll. 776-85, 925-6, 1274-308; 'La desputoison de l'Eglise de Romme', l. 90.
- 53 Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, l. 5067, cited in n. 81
- 54 Brown & Regalado, 'La grant feste', pp. 60 and 64.
- 55 Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett & Brooks McNamara, 'Introduction', *The Drama Review 29/3 (Processional Performance)* (1985), p. 2.
- 56 See Marin, 'Notes on a Semiotic Approach', p. 222. Elias Canetti, *Crowds and Power*; Carol Stewart [transl.], New York, 1981, contends that church processions 'prevent the spectators from approaching anything like a crowd state' because their slow movements and ecclesiastical emblems emphasise hierarchy and promote veneration but inhibit a 'leveling ... surge toward unity' (p. 157).
- 57 Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, ll. 7359-69
- 58 Ibidem, l. 7717. The power commonly attributed to intercessory processions is revealed in an anecdote in Joinville's *Vie de saint Louis*, Jacques Monfrin [ed. and transl.], Paris, 1995 [*Classiques Garnier*], pp. 62-4, ¶ 128-9, which was presented to Philip the Fair's son Louis in 1309. Joinville recalls that when in 1248 his boat was unable to make headway past the coast of Barbary, it was saved by the advice of a wise priest who recalled that those in his parish had unfailingly been delivered by God and the Virgin from every trial—be it drought or flood—by processions on three successive Saturdays. Inspired by this, the Crusaders marched in procession around the two masts of their ship, with Joinville being carried because he was too ill to walk, and they were able to land on Cyprus on the third Saturday.
- 59 In Marseilles, clerical processions and parades of municipal crafts were distinguished by order and banners in the first part of the fourteenth century. Over the course of the century, municipal officers gradually replaced the clergy and popular participation increased. See Noël Coulet, 'Processions, espace urbain, communauté civique', in *Cahiers de Fanjeaux 17* (1982), pp. 381-97, at pp. 393-4.
- 60 Hervieux [ed.], *Les Fabulistes*, vol. V, p. 383 (caption 5).
- 61 Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, l. 5073. The chronicle of Sainte-Catherine-du-Mont of Rouen (see n. 18) is the only source to mention participation by the University of Paris: 'quia universitas magistrorum ejus-

- dem civitatis et clericorum cum omni reverentia et honore alacriter se præparavit, et eodem modo consequenter omnes qui in civitate permanebant se præparaverunt, quisque secundum opus suum' (the university [or body] of the masters of the same city and of clerks eagerly prepared themselves, with all reverence and honour, and in the same way all who resided in the city prepared themselves, each according to his [or her] work), Bouquet *et al.* [eds.], *Recueil des historiens*, vol. XXIII, pp. 408-9.
- 62 Hervieux [ed.], *Les Fabulistes*, vol. V, p. 383 (caption 5). We are indebted to Françoise Gasparri for this information.
- 63 Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, II. 5085-6, cited in n. 91.
- 64 Hervieux [ed.], *Les Fabulistes*, vol. V, p. 383 (caption 4).
- 65 Froissart reports that in the Rue Saint-Denis, 'sergens d'armes et officiers du roi étoient tous embesognés à faire voie et rompre la presse et les gens. Tant y avoit grand peuple sur les rues que il sembloit que tout le monde fût là mandé' (sergeants-at-arms and the king's officers all undertook to open the way through the crowd and the people. And there were so many in the streets that it seemed that everyone had been bidden to come), Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, book 4, chapter 1, in Alfred Pauphilet & Edmond Pognon [eds.], *Historiens et chroniqueurs du Moyen Age: Robert de Clari, Villehardouin, Joinville, Froissart, Commines*, Paris, 1958² [*Bibliothèque de la Pléiade*, 48], p. 609.
- 66 In her recent study, Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 266-7, questions the relevance to Corpus Christi processions of Victor Turner's concept of *communitas*, which she defines as a 'state of pre-political, undifferentiated human affinity, which dissolved tensions and bound people together.' She notes that the Corpus Christi processions did not include all members of the community; nor did those participating in such performances necessarily achieve consensus or dissolution of social identity, since they experienced tension and rivalry during processional performances. Alan Knight, 'The Sponsorship of Drama in Lille', in Rupert T. Pickens [ed.], *Studies in Honor of Hans Erich Keller*, Kalamazoo, 1993, pp. 275-85, shows that theatrical productions which expressed neighbourhood rivalries in Lille were controlled through their absorption into the annual municipal procession.
- 67 Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, I. 4906.
- 68 'Panunciaus, gonfanons, banieres' are listed among the festive accouterments of the bourgeois and crafts (ibidem, I. 5015).
- 69 John J. MacAloon, 'Olympic Games and the Theory of Spectacle in Modern Societies', in Ibidem [ed.], *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Towards a Theory of Cultural Performance*, Philadelphia, 1987, pp. 241-80, discusses 'rites of intensification' in which 'ordered

- segmentation' expresses 'cooperative unity' (pp. 252-3).
- 70 See above, note 28. At this time a royal officer, the *chevalier du guet*, commanded both the *guet des métiers*, the watch maintained by members of the crafts, and the *guet royal*, whose officers were appointed by the king (Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris*, pp. 186-91).
- 71 'Dames caroler de biax tours' (Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, I. 5018).
- 72 'La fu le tornai des enanz, / Dont chascun n'ot plus de dis anz' (ibidem, II. 4979-80).
- 73 'Et en maintes guises dancier / En blanches chemises ribaus / I vit on, liez et gais et baus' (ibidem, II. 5006-8).
- 74 Discussing the dual process of recognition by spectators and actors in the royal entry, Marin, 'Notes on a Semiotic Approach', speaks of 'the unity and harmony of the city, shown by the diversity of its group' [sic] (p. 228).
- 75 'Comparaisons sont haïneuses; / ... / Mes ou fet de la borjoisie / Ot cinq choses de seingnorie: / Ce fu luminaire de cire, / Richece en atours plus que dire / Ne puis, et tres grant compaignie / Par nuit et par jor bien garnie, / Toutes manieres d'instrumens, / Touz les mestiers en garnementz. / Et d'autre mainte faërie' (Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, II. 4942, 4945-53).
- 76 See Konigson, *L'espace théâtral*, pp. 90-102, and Bryant, *The King and the City* (see above, n. 17). Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, distinguishes two types of itinerary, 'those demarcating territories, and those linking them' (p. 267).
- 77 Lehoux, *Le Bourg Saint-Germain-des Prés*, pp. 136-8. In an early translation of Ovid's *De Arte* (c. 1175-77), Maître Elie says young gallants may find girls dancing *caroles* at Saint-Germain-des-Prés 'qui volentiers d'amors parolent' (who speak willingly of love; I. 138), A. M. Finoli [ed.], *Artes amandi da Maître Elie ad Andrea Cappellano*, Milano, 1969 [*Cattedra di filologia Romanza dell'Università degli Studi di Milano*], p. 6, II. 127-38.
- 78 'Et ensemment, après disner, en la maniere dessus ditte ordenez, revindrent a Saint Germain des Prés, ou Pré aus Clers, là où estoit Ysabel, royne d'Angleterre, fille le roy de France, montee en une tournelle avec son seigneur le roy d'Angleterre Edouart et pluseurs dames et demoiselles, pour veoir la dicte feste desdiz bourgeois dessus diz et des mestiers' (And after dinner, moreover, ordered in the manner described above, they came to Saint-Germain-des-Prés, to the Pré-aux-Clercs, where Isabelle, queen of England, daughter of the king of France, ascended into a little tower with her lord the king of England and several ladies and damsels in order to see

- the said parade of the aforementioned bourgeois and crafts), Viard [ed.], *Grandes Chroniques*, vol. VIII, p. 289).
- 79 'Dont esbahi si grandement / Furent Anglois, plus c'onques mes, / Car il ne cuidassent jamés / Que tant de gent riche et nobile / Pouïst saillir de une ville', Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, ll. 5070-4.
- 80 'Et trestouz les mestiers mangeoient, / Si comme estoit chascun par soi; / Si n'i mouroit on pas de soi', *ibidem*, ll. 5078-80. The Parisians rejoiced all through the night ('Et toute nuit feste estoit fete / De celz de Paris sans retraite), *ibidem*, ll. 5083-4. The extravagant three-day waxen *luminaire* paid for by the Parisians may have begun after Thursday's parade and burned until the morning of Trinity Sunday. The metrical chronicle said it started 'between two moments on Friday', perhaps after sundown on Thursday: 'Et par tout Paris sanz estaindre / Trois nuiz dura toutes entieres. / Si commancierent ces lumieres / D'entre deus pas le vendredi', *ibidem*, ll. 5022-5.
- 81 'Dont il couvint qu'a Saint Germain / Des Prez après disner tournassent, / Ou au roy anglois se moustrassent' (Then it was fitting that all go after dinner to Saint-Germain-des-Prés, where they showed themselves to the English king), *ibidem*, ll. 5066-8; 'Et sic hora vespertina versus Sanctum Germanum de Pratis perrexerunt. Quos videns rex Angliæ obstupuit, et omnes sui. Vix enim credere valeret quod de una sola civitate tanta et tam nobiliter parata potuerit exire multitudo' (And thus in the evening they continued on toward Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Seeing them, the king of England and all his people were thunderstruck. For he could scarcely believe that from one single city such a great multitude, so nobly decked out, could emerge), Jean de Saint-Victor, *Memoriale historiarum* in Bouquet *et al.* [eds.], *Recueil des historiens*, vol. XXI, p. 657.
- 82 'Ou quel palais, les trois roys, c'est assavoir: Phelippe le Biaux roy de France, Edouart son gendre roy d'Angleterre, et Loys son ainsné filz roy de Navarre, avec contes, dux, barons et princes des dessus diz royaumes estoient assablés pour veoir la dicte feste des bourgeois et mestiers qui aussi ordeneement et gentement venoient, et tout pour le roy et ses enfans honorer' (At which palace the three kings, namely Philip the Fair, king of France, Edward his son-in-law, king of England, and Louis his eldest son, king of Navarre, with counts, dukes, barons and princes of the above-mentioned kingdoms, were assembled to see the festive parade of the bourgeois and crafts who came thus in such noble and well-ordered array, and all to honor the king and his children), Viard [ed.], *Grandes Chroniques*, vol. VIII, p. 289.
- 83 'Ysabel ... les vit et regarda et moult li plurent. Laquelle feste tourna envers le roy de France et aus siens en très grans honneurs louables, et as gens de Paris aussi', *ibidem*, pp. 289-90.
- 84 Marin, 'Notes on a Semiotic Approach', p. 224.
- 85 Långfors [ed.], *Le Roman de Fauvel*, p. 168, MS. E [Fr. 146], ll. 814-6; Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'Allegories of Power: The Tournament of Vices and Virtues in the *Roman de Fauvel* of MS BN Fr. 146', *Gesta* 32 (1993), pp. 135-46.
- 86 'Mil CCXLVIII, l'an de grâce, le bon roy de France se mist au chemin pour aler outre mer, et issi de Paris a grant procession qui le convoierent jusques à Saint Antoine le vendredi après la Penthecouste' (In the year of grace 1248, the good king of France [Louis IX] set off overseas and departed from Paris with a great procession that accompanied him until the Feast of St. Anthony, the Friday after Pentecost), Viard [ed.], *Grandes Chroniques*, vol. VII, pp. 117-8). The *Grandes Chroniques* describes a processional departure from Paris in 1228, when knights and townsfolk went to Monthéry armed in a cortege with banners waving to accompany the young Louis IX and his mother, Blanche of Castille, into the city in a protective military formation. ('Quant il furent tuit assablé, il s'armerent et issirent de Paris a banieres desployées et se mistrent au chemin droit a Montleheri ... Là trouverent le jeune roy; si l'en amenerent à Paris tuit rengié et serré, et apareillié de combatre s'il en feust mestier', *ibidem*, p. 40; see Joinville, p. 36, ¶ 73).
- 87 Other large assemblies of Parisians gathered at the Pré-aux-Clercs for occasions such as crusading sermons in 1163 and 1333; 10,000 came to applaud a diatribe by Charles II the Bad, king of Navarre, against King John II the Good on 30 November 1357 (Lehoux, *Le Bourg Saint-Germain-des Prés*, pp. 138-9). During eighteen days every spring, merchants at the Foire Saint-Germain exhibited their wares on the Pré (*ibidem*, pp. 363-6).
- 88 Compare Froissart's description of the slow progress of the entry procession of Queen Isabelle in 1389: 'les chevaux et ceux qui les dames mennoient en les litières n'alloient ni avoient allé, depuis qu'ils départirent de Saint-Denis, que le petit pas' (the horses and those who conducted the ladies in their litters were not going nor had they gone any faster than at a slow pace since they left Saint-Denis), Froissart, *Chroniques*, Pauphilet & Pognon [eds.], p. 612.
- 89 Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 146, fol. 30^v, col. c and Långfors [ed.], *Le Roman de Fauvel*, p. 168, ll. 821-2. On the route followed and transportation from the Cité to Saint-Germain, see Davis, 'Desespoir', p. 208. See also the famous miniatures of the bridges, boats, and river life of Paris in the *Life and Miracles* by Yves, monk of Saint-Denis, reproduced by Virginia Wylie Egbert, *On the Bridges of Mediæval Paris: A Record of Early Fourteenth-Century Life*, Princeton, 1974. Charlotte Lacaze, *The "Vie*

- de Saint Denis*" Manuscript (Paris BN MS Fr. 2090-92), New York, 1979 [Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts], pp. 126-38 and 179, relates Parisian townscapes to the iconography of good government.
- 90 In the second half of the fourteenth century, the former Porte de Saint-Germain was renamed the Porte de Buci and the Porte des Cordeliers took the name Porte de Saint-Germain-des-Prés (Lehoux, *Le Bourg Saint-Germain-des Prés*, p. 51).
- 91 'Ausi en furent merveillex / Tous celz qui les virent aus ex. / ... / A cheval bien furent vint mile / Et a pié furent trente mile, / Tant ou plus ainsi les trouverent / Celz qui de la les extimerent' (Diverrès [ed.], *Chronique métrique*, ll. 5075-6, 5085-8).
- 92 In the *Très Riches Heures* of Jean, Duke of Berry (1413-16), the Limbourg brothers illustrated the month of June with a view of Paris seen from the Pré-aux-Clercs; it depicts a scene of peasants mowing in the foreground and the Palais in the background (Chantilly, Musée Condé, fol. 6^v; reproduced in colour in Jean Longnon & Raymond Cazelles [eds.], *The Très Riches Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry: Musée Condé, Chantilly*, [trans. Victoria Benedict], New York, 1969.
- 93 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection. Reproduced in colour in Germain Bazin, *Jean Fouquet, Le Livre d'Heures d'Etienne Chevalier*, Paris, 1990, pp. 68-9; see also François Avril & Nicole Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440-1520*, Paris, 1993, pp. 133-6.
- 94 'A Paradiso parum in nomine, et si non re, declinationem dictam Parisius', *Recommentatio civitatis parisiensis*, in A. J. V. Leroux de Lincy & L. M. Tisserand [ed. and transl.], *Paris et ses historiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles* [*Histoire générale de Paris*], Paris, 1867, p. 26; see Charlotte Lacaze, 'Parisius-Paradisius: An Aspect of the Vie de St. Denis Manuscript of 1317', *Marsyas: Studies in the History of Art* 16 (1972-73), pp. 60-6.