

Music: Final *a*, range *F–e*. The sixth melody from the IV₁ family (see p.mus. 82). In this case, the whole of the melodic model is fitted to the psalm quotation, ending with the typical closing cadence on a repeated *a*. The text phrase beginning ‘quoniam’ then takes up the idiom of the model to create a second closing phrase (thus breaking the rules of the Gregorian model, which can only finish once). Although the sequence of notes from the high *d* (‘tua agitur . . . parte’) adopts the pitch pattern of the previous version directly (‘nomini tuo . . . gloriam’), the way in which the notes are arranged breaks the stricter pattern of the chant and imitation melodies making up the rest of the group. For example, the closing cadence ligates *G* and *a* (on ‘in’) rather than *a* with *c* (as on ‘da’).

Voice: Author-narrator.

Placement: See p.mus. 126. This psalm text was the starting-point for a sermon preached by Jean Hanière at the trial of Enguerran de Marigny on 11 March 1315.³⁵

³⁵ Jules Viard (ed.), *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, viii (Paris, 1938), 307–8.

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The *Chronique métrique* and the Moral Design of BN fr. 146: Feasts of Good and Evil



NANCY FREEMAN REGALADO

Que li sage sunt tiexte et glose
Et li pur lai sont parchemin.

Geffroy de Paris, *Avisemenz*¹

‘Mundus a mundicia | dictus per contraria’ (World so called contrarily from cleanliness)²—these verses inserted in the upper right corner of fo. 1^r (see above, Fig. 8.14), set forth the matter and manner of the entire compilation of fr. 146. It is a book that looks everywhere at the world of historical experience, but always with a moralist’s eye. What is the role of historiography within this compilation composed in a chancery milieu and filled with rich commentary on contemporary politics?

A metrical chronicle of the kingdom of France from 1300 to 1316, sometimes attributed to Geffroy de Paris, fills the final quarter of fr. 146 (fos. 63^r–88^v).³ Its presence strengthens the hybrid design of the manuscript, which intermingles genres, themes, forms, and languages. Surrounding the two books of the greatly expanded *Roman de Fauvel*, which fills about half the manuscript, are an anonymous, non-musical French love *complainte*, eight *dits* of topical political advice by Geffroy de Paris, two in Latin and six in French, and thirty-four courtly lyrics by Jehannot de Lescürel, two of which (nos. 33 and 34) combine musical and non-musical verse (see above, p. 6–7, for a list of the contents). The metrical chronicle comes last in this complex tapestry, which interweaves French and Latin, musical and non-musical forms, initials and illustrations, politics and love, moral satire and history. The ominous

It is a pleasure to thank colleagues who have greatly extended my understanding of medieval historiography and the role of the *Chronique métrique* in fr. 146: Bradley Berke, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, Jean Dunbabin, Kathryn A. Duys, Anne D. Hedeman, Sylvia Huot, Samuel Kinser, Ruth Mellinkoff, Gabrielle M. Spiegel, and Pierre Zoberman. I am grateful for generous research support by the Guggenheim Foundation. I am particularly indebted to Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey for the

invaluable discussions I enjoyed with participants in their *Fauvel* seminars at Oxford in 1992 and 1994 and their July 1994 conference in Paris.

¹ Storer–Rochedieu 23, vv. 787–8.

² Dahnk, p.mus. 2, vv. 1–2; translations throughout are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

³ On the attribution, see Diverrès 11–15.

figure of the beast-man Fauvel looms over all these crossings of generic boundaries, shading them with moral significance.

The *Chronique métrique* has been used by modern readers of fr. 146 to understand the milieu in which the manuscript was produced and to clarify historical allusions scattered in the satire and in Geffroy's political poems.⁴ However, although it is one of the most voluminous elements in the compilation—second only to *Fauvel* in length—the form of the chronicle and its purpose in fr. 146 have not yet received full critical scrutiny. The metrical chronicle has a way of seeming a self-evident, transparent record of events, but like all historiography, it offers not just facts but narrative, a story that can easily bear the weight of a political programme. It is my aim to explore how the metrical chronicle fits into the grand moral design of fr. 146.

I have based my study on a reciprocal reading of the metrical chronicle and the *Roman de Fauvel* in fr. 146. In this, I have followed the order of Chaillou's interpolated satire, which I believe offers a key to reading all the works gathered in the manuscript as an interrelated whole, even the metrical chronicle, which dangles so loosely at the end of the compilation. In our study for the facsimile edition of fr. 146, we demonstrated how Chaillou arranges his musical insertions, miniatures, and narrative 'additions' within the original *Fauvel* so that each piece can be played off against the whole, each interpreted in the light of its new context. Closely related by theme, the musical pieces and satire are tightly interconnected by page layout: many of the musical insertions are designated in rubrics or transitional verses such as 'Pour Phelippes qui regne ores | Ci metreiz ce motet onquores', which introduces the motet *Servant regem/O Philippe/Rex regum*.⁵ The table of contents of fr. 146 first listed only the musical insertions in the *Fauvel*; at a later point during the compilation process, Geffroy's *dits* and Jehannot de Lescurel's lyrics were added, thereby linking all the musical and verse pieces in the manuscript.⁶ The *Fauvel* of fr. 146 thus displays an internal system of reciprocal reading supported by the table, proximity, 'fauvelizing' adjustments to some citations, and a web of common themes and motifs. This dynamic scheme is like the 'planetal puissance' of Fortune's wheel (Långfors, v. 2539): it is a powerful presence in fr. 146 that attracts the other works in the manuscript into its sphere of moral meanings through the practice of reciprocal reading.

Meanings that arise from such a reading do not, however, lie evident within each text; instead they emerge from each reader's observations. Meaning so formulated not on the page but in the mind of the reader is like that of the figure of *significatio*, described by Geffroi de Vinsauf in his *Poetria nova* (c.1210) where he speaks of the *exemplum*: 'The thought is larger

⁴ Roesner *et al.* 19–21 and 48–58.

⁵ Fo. 10^v; Dahnk, vv. 35–6 and p.mus. 33; more than a dozen such passages introduce musical pieces (Roesner *et al.* 18–19).

⁶ Portions of the table corresponding to Chaillou, Geffroy, and Jehannot de Lescurel are edited respectively by: Dahnk 1–5; Leofranc Holford-Strevens, above, Ch. 11; and Anatole de Montaiglon, *Chansons, ballades et rondeaux de Jehannot de Lescurel* (Paris, 1855), 67–8. The table was copied in at least two stages by the 'corrector/problem-solver' of fr. 146, who also copied the Lescurel lyrics (Joseph Charles Morin, 'The Genesis of

Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146, with Particular Emphasis on the *Roman de Fauvel* (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1992), 77 n. 42 and 81; Roesner *et al.* 6). It is unfinished and perhaps incomplete: it omits some of the *Fauvel* musical insertions, and it does not mention Chaillou's narrative 'additions' or the metrical chronicle. I am greatly indebted to Kathryn A. Duys for her observations on the *Fauvel* table, part of a study she has undertaken of vernacular literary tables of contents from the 13th and 14th cc.

in itself than the speech which pertains to it. . . . It does not come so as to be clearly detected, but instead reveals itself through signs', indirectly and through analogies to be discovered by the reader.⁷

I believe that the system of reciprocal reading in Chaillou's *Fauvel*—cued by signals in text and layout—offers a model that can be applied, by association, to all the works in fr. 146 in order to understand their meaning within the compilation. The order of the interpolated satire in fr. 146 suggests that its compilers and first readers were interested in complex juxtapositions of works in different genres.⁸ They liked mixed, hybrid forms and were adept at what we call intertextualities: they manipulated the polyphonic symmetries of motet texts; they were familiar with the practice of lyric insertions into vernacular romance and allegory.⁹ But they were also counsellors and servants of princes, schooled in rhetoric and deeply concerned with moral and political issues of good government. The well-trained *clercs* in the circles that produced fr. 146 would have recognized everywhere in this compilation the devices of an epideictic and a deliberative rhetoric offering counsel and advice to the ruler.¹⁰ They would have perceived and supported the common purpose uniting the heterogeneous works gathered in fr. 146. All contribute to *admonitio*, the discourse of good counsel to the king, which is expressed directly in the chronicler's commentary, in Geffroy's *dits*, and in *Fauvel*. The advice is addressed to three kings—Philip IV, Louis X, and Philip V—but directed to the last, Philip the Tall, as he ascended the throne in January 1317.

The meanings that emerge from reciprocal readings of the works in fr. 146 are overdetermined; the intricate patterns of fr. 146 draw a common lesson of noble simplicity from the myriad events of history. Chronicle, satire, and *dits* alike stress the importance of the moral strength of the monarch for the welfare of the kingdom: if the head is enfeebled, all the members suffer.¹¹ This moral lesson can be extracted at any point in the manuscript: each

⁷ '... Plus est in se quam sermo sit in re. . . . Non detecta venit, sed se per signa revelat. | Lucet ab obliquo, non vult procedere recte | In lucem . . .' (vv. 1537, 1581–3; ed. Edmond Faral, *Arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle* (Bibliothèque des Hautes Études, 238; Paris, 1962), 244–5, trans. Jane Baltzell Kopp, *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts*, ed. James J. Murphy (Berkeley, 1971), 87, 89).

⁸ Fr. 146 has not yet been compared with other complex, heterogeneous compilations of the 13th c. such as: BN fr. 24301 (last third of the 13th c.) in which the works of Robert de Blois (a trouvère educated as a *clerc*)—his *Enseignement des Princes* and all his didactic and religious poems—are inserted within his romance *Beaudous* (see Lori Walters, 'Manuscript Context of the *Beaudous* of Robert de Blois', *Manuscripta*, 37 (1993), 179–92); and Philippe de Novare's *Mémoires* (mid-13th c.), fragments of two 'livres', now lost, that combined songs, political animal allegories, and eyewitness reports of battles and sieges (see Michel Zink, *La Subjectivité littéraire* (Écriture; Paris, 1985), 212–18). For standard editions of medieval texts mentioned incidentally, see Geneviève Hasenohr and Michel Zink (eds.), *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le Moyen Âge* (Livre de Poche; Paris, 1992).

⁹ On intertextual play in motets, see Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play and Textual Polyphony in Thirteenth-Century French Motets*

(Stanford, 1997); on insertion practice at the time of fr. 146, see ead., *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, 1987), 211–32; Roesner *et al.* 15–19, and Maureen Boulton, *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200–1400* (Middle Ages Series; Philadelphia, 1993), 147–52, 282–3.

¹⁰ I am indebted to Bradley Berke and Pierre Zoberman for discussions that brought out the importance of rhetoric in the conception of fr. 146. See also Ernst Robert Curtius, who notes the great influence of classical epideictic oratory on medieval literature, saying that its stylistic elements 'can find application in all genres and to all kinds of subjects' (*European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Bollingen Series, 36; Princeton, 1953), 156).

¹¹ 'Que viengnent du tout en deffaut | Les membres, puis qu'eles n'ont chief' (Diverres, vv. 888–9); this theme, carried by the image of the body politic, is repeated in the chronicle (vv. 1634–6, 2247–8, 3040–8, 3085–8), in *Fauvel* (Långfors, vv. 441–64, 478–9), in Chaillou's musical insertions (Philip the Chancellor's great prose *Inter membra singula*, Dahnk, p.mus. 40), and seven times in Geffroy's *dits* (*Avise-men*, vv. 780–5, 925–6, 1274–308; *Hora rex est*, vv. 17–18; *Natus ego*, v. 76; *Des alliez*, vv. 73–4; *La disputaion*, vv. 89–90).

piece reinforces all the others. Readers, therefore, read backwards and forwards through the manuscript, playing 'le gieu de la cyviere', the stretcher or dung-barrow game where what goes forward also goes back, described by the chronicler in his advice to Philip IV:

Roy, la besoingne vet clochant,
Ne je ne autre n'i voit goute;
L'un tire avant, et l'autre boute,
Et ce devant si va derriere,
Comme le gieu de la cyviere.
(Diverrès, vv. 1498–502)

This image of the dismal way of the world is just one of many motifs that interrelate the works in fr. 146; the 'cyviere' is reiterated everywhere—in Chaillou's musical insertions, in the charivari illustrations (see Fig. 20.1 and Pl. VII), and in Geffroy's *dits*.¹² As we play with the patterns the compilers inscribed so abundantly in this manuscript, we discover with delight how evident meanings are repeated at every level, how signifying relations emerge out of the way each piece is placed into the whole. Reading fr. 146, we find not hidden meanings but hidden connections.

In this chapter, I trace out one of the many reciprocal readings possible in fr. 146, going back and forth between the metrical chronicle and *Fauvel* and setting these where possible in the context of contemporary historiographical and literary practice. How are significant links between the unique historical account of events in the metrical chronicle and Chaillou's version of the *Roman de Fauvel* cued or signalled by allusions, analogies, and contrasts? How do such links promote the discourse of good counsel, the common purpose of fr. 146?

Although the metrical chronicle is not joined to other works in fr. 146 by any intricate arrangements of insertion or page layout, four special features support a reciprocal reading that connects it to the whole: the unusual association of chronicle and allegorical satire in compilation; the shaping of the historical narrative as a mirror for the prince; images of feasting, the most prominent theme common to the chronicle and the satire; and finally, the adjustments Chaillou makes to his sources that bring the satire into alignment with the chronicle. I shall examine each in turn to discover how correspondences in theme and form weave a richly textured fabric of political and moral meanings between the chronicle and satire of fr. 146.

The ties of the metrical chronicle to the compilation have seemed tenuous to some: it begins on a new gathering; it is copied in *littera formata* by a new scribe; it is not listed in the table of contents. Others have noted, however, that the chronicle is firmly joined to the compilation by its historical setting, political and moral concerns, verse form, and physical

¹² The image of the 'cyviere' recurs in the metrical chronicle (Diverrès, vv. 7253–5) and in *Fauvel* (Långfors, vv. 1125–30; see Roesner *et al.* 13); it is featured in the motet *Fauvel nous a fait present l du mestier de la civiere* (Dahnk, p.mus. 29); it is suggested by illustrations of the charivari, representing two litters

carried by facing figures (fo. 34^r, Fig. 20.1) and a stretcher and two hand barrows (fo. 36^r, Pl. VII); it reappears twice in Geffroy's *dits* (*Un songe*, vv. 7–12 and *La disputaion de leglise de Romme*, vv. 44–5).



FIG. 20.1. Fr. 146, fo. 34^{vb} (detail)

design.¹³ The metrical chronicle is the only anonymous work in fr. 146, although it is founded in part on eyewitness testimony, as are such contemporary vernacular histories as Joinville's *Vie de saint Louis* (1309) and the *Branche des royaus lingnages* (1307), the rhymed chronicle which the man-at-arms Guillaume Guiart composed for Philip the Fair. It lacks, nonetheless, the juridical formula of attestation that comes into common usage in chronicles at the beginning of the fourteenth century, where authors state their name, their place of birth, rank or official function, and declare the truth of what they write: '... je, Jehan sire de Joyngville, seneschal de Champagne'; 'Je, Guillaume Guiart, l D'Orliens né'.¹⁴ It cannot be known whether the metrical chronicler chose to keep his identity in the shadows or whether his name was omitted when this work was copied into fr. 146.

It is not known either whether the metrical chronicle was composed expressly for fr. 146, the only manuscript where it survives. It may well be an independent work imported, like Books I and II of *Fauvel* and many of its musical insertions, into the network of intertextual relations of this compilation. It seems to have existed in at least one other copy, for Jean de Saint-Victor, who relies on the vernacular chronicler's account of the years 1312–16 in his

¹³ Diverrès, 9–10; the full foliate bar border that frames the initial page of the metrical chronicle (fo. 63^r) resembles those that ornament the beginning of *Fauvel* (fo. 1^r; see above, Fig. 8.14), Geffroy's *dits* (fos. 46^r and 52^r), and the lyrics of Jehannot de Lescurel (fo. 57^r). For codicological evidence, see Morin, 'The Genesis', 81–2, and above, Ch. 15; on the unity of fr. 146, see Roesner *et al.* 7, 49.

¹⁴ Joinville, ed. Jacques Monfrin (Classiques Garnier; Paris,

1995), 8, para. 19; Guillaume Guiart, *Branche des royaus lingnages*, Prologue and vv. 895–21510 of BN fr. 5698, ed. J. Natalis de Wailly and L. Delisle, RHF, 22, vv. 30–1. See Christiane Marchello-Nizia, 'L'Historien et son prologue: forme littéraire et stratégies discursives', in Daniel Poirion (ed.), *La Chronique et l'histoire au moyen âge: colloque des 24 et 25 mai 1982* (Cultures et Civilisations Médiévales, 2; Paris, 1984), 13–25.

Memoriale historiarum, includes a passage describing part of the itinerary of the parade of Parisians in the Pentecost celebration of 1313 that is missing from fr. 146.¹⁵ The metrical chronicler, who began his work around 1313, was still writing as Chaillou de Pesstain undertook his revisions of *Fauvel*, for his annals break off in 1316—apparently incomplete—shortly before the coronation of Philip V and just after the election of Pope John XXII.¹⁶ No epilogue closes the metrical chronicle, in contrast with that of Guillaume Guiart, who ends his *Branche des royaus lignages* with a brief prayer.

The very presence of the chronicle in fr. 146 is remarkable, for in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, fictional satire is seldom compiled with a chronicle, defined as a work of history articulated by dates.¹⁷ Although authors of allegorical satires often claim their works can *become* true,¹⁸ most chroniclers declare the truth of history to be incompatible with *favoles*, the frivolous lies of fiction. 'Many speak of the wolf, the ass, and Renart, of fairy tales and dreams, fantasies and lies', declares Guillaume Guiart;¹⁹ his chronicle, based on written records at Saint-Denis, will tell the truth of deeds, not lying fables, 'le voir des gestes . . . Non pas mençonges, ne favoles'.²⁰ Did the compilers of fr. 146 seek to bring truth out of the very mouth of false Fauvel? They do not explain why the metrical chronicle was included in fr. 146, nor do they articulate any one-to-one equivalency of the historical personages in the metrical chronicle and the allegorical figures in *Fauvel*.

The narrative themes of the chronicler and the satirists in fr. 146 are quite distinct, although they express a common moral perspective in their commentary. Like other chroniclers, the author of the metrical chronicle does summon a few figures from animal satire to bear the burden of moral commentary:²¹ he considers the famous prophecy that Boniface VIII would enter like a fox, reign like a lion, and die like a dog;²² he cites the crowd who denounced Enguerran de Marigny as a thieving 'Renart' who had despoiled the kingdom, as

¹⁵ Jean describes the itinerary from the Île Sainte-Marie through the cloister of Notre-Dame to the royal Palace (ed. J. D. Guiniaux and J. Natalis de Wailly, RHF, 21, p. 657). The metrical chronicle describes only the continuation of the parade to Saint-Germain-des-Prés 'après disner' (Diverres, vv. 5066-7); see Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'La grant feste: Philip the Fair's Celebration of the Knighting of his Sons in Paris at Pentecost of 1313', in Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (eds.), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Medieval Studies at Minnesota, 6; Minneapolis, 1994), 64-6, and ead., 'Universitas et communitas: The Parade of the Parisians at the Pentecost Feast of 1313', in Kathleen Ashley (ed.), *The Semiotics of Processional Performance* (in preparation).

¹⁶ On date of composition, see Diverres 10-11.

¹⁷ See Bernard Guenée, 'Histoire et chronique: nouvelles réflexions sur les genres historiques au moyen âge', in Poirion (ed.), *La Chronique et l'histoire*, 3-12.

¹⁸ 'Mes l'en puet tex songes songier | Qui ne sont mie mençongier, | Ainz sont après bien aparant' (Guillaume de Lorris, *Le Roman de la Rose* (c.1230), vv. 3-5); 'En songes doit fables avoir; | Se songes puet devenir voir' (Raoul de Houdenc, *Song d'enfer* (c.1210?), vv. 1-2).

¹⁹ 'Plusieurs reparlent de Guenart, | Dou Lou, de l'Asne,

de Renart, | De faeries et de songes, | De fantomes et de mençonges' (*Branche*, vv. 21-2).

²⁰ *Branche*, vv. 162-3. Guillaume's 'favoles' recall 'favellandi', the first word in Chaillou's *Fauvel* (Dahnk, p. mus. 1, v. 1), a pun on Fauvel, the Latin *fabella* (a diminutive of *fabula*, 'fable; lie'), and *fabulor* (to speak). Readers of fr. 146 must have enjoyed the rich irony of hearing the same word in the metrical chronicle, in the macaronic Italian attributed to Boniface, protesting his imprisonment in his palace at Agnani by Nogaret in 1303: 'E, filioli my, qui es to | Qui me faig tant de tempesto? | Favelle a my qui est ton sire' (Diverres, vv. 1997-9).

²¹ Motifs from the *Roman de Renart* appear in chronicles by Philippe de Novare (*Mémoires* 1218-1243, ed. Charles Kohler (CFMA 10; Paris, 1913), 29-33) and the Minstrel of Reims (*Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims au treizième siècle*, ed. J. Natalis de Wailly (Société de l'Histoire de France, 179; Paris, 1876), 204-15); see Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'Staging the *Roman de Renart*: Medieval Theater and the Diffusion of Political Concerns into Popular Culture', *Medievalia*, 18 (1995), 127.

²² '... il enterroit | Comme renart et regneroit | Comme lyon et comme chien | Mourroit' (Diverres, vv. 2161-4, see vv. 2159-75).

he went to judgement at Vincennes in 1315.²³ Such animal imagery, however, never leads the metrical chronicler to shift into the allegorical mode so common in satire and political poems such as Geffroy's *De la comete* and *Un songe*. The scenes and speeches filled out by the chronicler's moral imagination are always presented as true events.

Although chronicles resist association with allegorical satires in compilation in this period, historical materials are sometimes included in anthology manuscripts prepared for royal readers. Epics with a historical cast are copied with romances and didactic poetry in manuscripts such as BN, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3142, a late thirteenth-century collection commissioned by Marie de Brabant and Blanche de France and presented to Robert d'Artois, which contains Adenet le Roi's romance *Cleomadés*, some three dozen moral and didactic pieces, and epics from the Charlemagne cycle, including Adenet's *Berte aus grans pies* and Jean Bodel's *Chanson des Saisnes*.²⁴ Contemporary French manuscripts intended for royal patrons occasionally include a chronology or dynastic genealogical tree; these appear to link the works presented to the specific history of the patron. A chronological table running from the birth of Christ to 1338 fills the opening pages of BN fr. 24429 (fos. 2^r-17^v), a devotional compilation of vernacular pieces made for a queen.²⁵ Yves de Saint-Denis added illustrated tableaux of the lineage of the kings of France to his history of miracles accomplished through and for the kings of France by St Denis, which was commissioned by Philip the Fair and presented, with a translation added in the margin, to Philip V (BN lat. 13836, dated 1317). This history is part of Yves's famous *Vita et Miracula Sancti Dionysii* (BN fr. 2090-2); it emphasizes the Capetian dynasty and ends with the accession of Philip V.²⁶ The appearance of a chronicle in fr. 146, a manuscript contemporary with MS fr. 2090-2/lat. 13836, suggests possible association with these habits of compilations prepared for royal patrons.

Although moral satires such as *Fauvel* are not often compiled with chronicles, they do maintain three very different kinds of relation to history. First, while satires tend to generalize, they may admit history directly in the form of illustrative examples. Such *exempla* are narratives that, like chronicles, present events as both historical and true; they are supplied by the author, who orders them, however, not by date but by their relation to moral considerations. Second, political satires often allude indirectly to particular persons or events through obscure allegorical figures. The historical reference of such figures may be explained within such poems as it is in Geffroy's *dits*. If it is not—as is the case with the so-called political motets of the fr. 146 *Fauvel*—the poems become increasingly cryptic to new generations of

²³ 'Et disoient: "Avant, Renart, | Honte te doint saint Lienart | Ton barat et ta tricherie | A touz nous a tolu la vie. | L'avoir du réaume as emble'" (Diverres, vv. 6987-91).

²⁴ Arsenal MS 3142 is described by Albert Henry (ed.), *Les Œuvres d'Adenet le Roi* (Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Faculteit der Letteren, 109; Bruges, 1951), i. 96-9, and by Huot, *From Song to Book*, 40-5.

²⁵ The last notable event recorded on the time line is the flood of 1296 that destroyed the bridges of Paris. I am grateful to Sylvia Huot for drawing my attention to this manuscript and to Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. Lat. 1682, where the same time-line appears; see Sylvia Huot, 'A Book Made for a

Queen: The Shaping of a Late Medieval Anthology Manuscript (B.N. fr. 24429)', in Stephen Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (eds.), *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Recentiores: Later Latin Texts and Contexts; Ann Arbor, 1996).

²⁶ Charlotte Lacaze notes that the history of the 'miraculous interventions of St. Denis in the history of France' was separated early from the *Vita* and copied independently at least three times, perhaps because of its political importance (*The Vie de St. Denis' Manuscript* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 2090-2092) (New York, 1979), 375).

readers as knowledge of the context is lost. Third, readers of satire are invited to apply its moral counsel to the particular circumstances of their day; in this case, it is the reader who furnishes a historical reference to which the general truths of satire can apply.

Despite the many historical interpretations of the fr. 146 *Fauvel*, there is little history in the *Roman* itself. Only a few allusions and *exempla* illustrate its doleful catalogue of human vices: at the end of Book II, Gervès du Bus says that Fauvel despoils 'le jardin de douce France' (Långfors, v. 3241); there are a handful of references to the dates, historical events, and personages described in the metrical chronicle.²⁷ Although he develops the Parisian setting, Chaillou adds few topical references;²⁸ other allusions to specific events and personages are veiled in the obscure allegories of the political motets.²⁹

Images in the satire, nonetheless, point to history: the chronicle of Falsity since the world began and the whole history of Renart (animal analogue to Fauvel) are said to be painted on the very walls of Fauvel's throne room, which are richly adorned with images of deceit:

Aussy y furent les croniques
De Fausseté la et en ça,
Puis que le monde commença,
Et de Renart toute l'istoire.

(Långfors, vv. 1354-7)

Working with similar images, the anonymous cleric of Troyes who in 1319-22 and 1328-42 composed *Renart le Contrefait*, a late version of the *Roman de Renart*, seizes the opportunity to insert historical materials of encyclopedic proportions. He first describes in some 700 verses the subjects of paintings that adorn the walls of Renart's tent, a dozen histories from classical antiquity, the Bible, and Arthurian romance.³⁰ Then the lion king asks Renart when his wickedness began, whereupon the fox launches into a universal history of his 'art' from Creation to the Roman empire, which fills more than 16,000 verses (vv. 5983-22210). When the impatient lion requests that the fox stop rhyming to save words,³¹ Renart continues in prose, ending with the accession of Philip VI in 1328. This is the only section of *Renart le Contrefait* in prose; it fills sixty-two folios—almost one-fourth of the entire work in Vienna MS 2562 (fos. 156d-218b).

²⁷ Book I bears the date 1310 (Långfors, v. 1226), original Book II, 1314 (vv. 3273-4); there are references to Ferrant, count of Flanders (v. 3269), contemporary taxes (vv. 573-5 and 650-2), and the accusations against the Templars (vv. 931-1028); see Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir: lire la satire médiévale* (Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 26; Paris, 1994), 275-371.

²⁸ These include: one new stanza against the Templars (Långfors 38, note to vv. 950-1); the motet *Scariotis geniturelure quodl'Superne matris* (Dahnk, p.mus. 5), interpolated as an example of ecclesiastical corruption; verses praising Philip the Fair, Philip III, and Louis IX before two motets that address Louis X and Philip V (Dahnk, vv. 15-34, and p.mus. 32 and 33; see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, above, Ch. 3).

²⁹ *Detractor est/Qui secuntur/Verbum iniquum* (Dahnk, p.mus. 12), *Aman novi/Heu Fortuna/Heu me* (p.mus. 71), *Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta latronum/Merito* (p.mus. 120), and *Garrit gallus/In nova fert/Neuma* (p.mus. 129); see Roesner *et al.* 20-1, and Bent, above, Ch. 2.

³⁰ Ed. Gaston Raynaud and Henri Lemaître, 2 vols. (Paris, 1914), Deuxième Branche, 1: 41-8, vv. 3785-4490.

³¹ 'Mais je te charge par exprez | Que de rymer tu te deportes, | Et qu'en prose tu le m'aportes, | Car y porras myeulx exprimer | Leurs vyes et leurs fais compter | Que en rymant tu ne feroyes, | Car du langage y perderoyes' (ibid. 1: 226, vv. 22198-204).

The location and scope of this universal history point to striking and significant differences between *Renart le Contrefait* and fr. 146, two of the very few contemporary French works to associate an allegorical satire and a chronicle. The historical materials in *Renart le Contrefait* are folded *inside* the satire, thereby transforming the whole history of the world into a monstrous exemplum of deceitful *renardie*.³² Fr. 146, by contrast, keeps the chronicle separate: the relation between chronicle and satire remains uneasy because it is not explicitly defined.

Readers, nonetheless, might perceive interconnections between the metrical chronicle and the *Fauvel* in fr. 146 because they are set within a common time-frame and verse form and because their commentary draws from a repertory of similar metaphors. The metrical chronicle is not a universal history but a remarkably limited account of the years 1300-16, the same period evoked by the dates, *exempla*, and royal motets in Chaillou's *Fauvel*. Because it is compiled with the satire, the chronicle seems to narrow the range of applicability of the general moral counsel of the satire to a particular period. Geffroy's *dits* squeeze this time-frame further, since they refer to occurrences of 1314-17 described in the last third of the metrical chronicle. The moralized descriptions of recent events in the metrical chronicle and Geffroy's political poems thus enhance what Mühlethaler has aptly called 'the referential illusion' of the *Fauvel* by offering a set of historical circumstances to which the satire seems to apply.³³

The chronicle appears to continue the moral discourse of *Fauvel* and Geffroy's *dits* because, like them, it is composed in verse. Although recent study has commented on medieval claims for the truth value and efficacy of vernacular history in prose,³⁴ medieval chroniclers had by no means abandoned verse. Historians writing in verse claim too that their words are true: 'Car je di voir' affirms the metrical chronicler.³⁵ By the early fourteenth century, however, the choice of verse is significant. It signals the metrical chronicler's desire to embellish his narrative: 'En l'ennor de la Trinité | . . . | Ai je ma pensee ordenee, | Par quoi je puisse rime fere'.³⁶ More importantly, verse shapes his chronicle as a vehicle of moral reflection and political cogitation by associating it with the traditional verse form of satire and *dit*.³⁷

The metrical chronicle, *Fauvel*, and Geffroy's *dits* all deplore the times with images of a world upside-down taken from a common stock of metaphors. The world is so disordered, the chronicler laments, that *clercs* must take up arms, no one thinks of his soul, and the flocks have no shepherd:

³² Would readers of this voluminous history retain this exemplary perspective? The narrator does not return to the frame tale of Renart at the end and there is only one passage of commentary for the period 1300-16, a ten-line encomium of Philip V at his accession (ibid. 1: 293-4, para. 155).

³³ *Fauvel au pouvoir*, 387.

³⁴ See Wlad Godzich and Jeffrey Kittay, 'Prose History', in *The Emergence of Prose: An Essay in Prosaics* (Minneapolis, 1987), 139-75 and bibliography cited by Peter F. Ainsworth, *Jean*

Froissart and the Fabric of History: Truth, Myth, and Fiction in the 'Chroniques' (Oxford, 1990), 35-47.

³⁵ Diverrès, v. 201; Guillaume Guiart too declares that his account '... sera dité | Selonc la pure vérité' (vv. 476-7).

³⁶ Diverrès, vv. 1, 4-5; cf. Guillaume Guiart, 'De cest roumanz bel agencier' (*Branche*, v. 313).

³⁷ See Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'Forging the Past: The Language of Historical Truth in the Middle Ages', *The History Teacher*, 17 (1984), 267-8.

Mes le monde si se bestorne
 Qu'il couvient que clergié se torne
 Du tout a faire le fet d'armes;
 Nul n'i a qui pense des armes:
 Les bestes si sont sanz pastor.

(Diverres, vv. 879-83)

Although expressions such as 'le monde si se bestorne' (the world upside-down) are commonplaces of moral satire,³⁸ their sheer density in fr. 146 creates an effect of reverberation from one text to another. The chronicler's words echo those of the satirists in fr. 146: 'Mes or est dou tout berstorné | Ce que Diex avoit atourné', cries *Fauvel*, in verses highlighted in fr. 146 by a two-part miniature representing the creation of Eve and two hybrid centaurs (fo. 3^v (Pl. I); Långfors, vv. 335-6); 'Tout environ ainsi se tourne, | Et plus encor qui se bestourne,' grumbles Geffroy in *Un songe* (vv. 7-8).

These commonalities of chronology, form, and imagery draw all the works in fr. 146 into a system of reciprocal reading. Within this dynamic frame, specific intertextual parallels between chronicle and satire are signalled by what Mühlethaler calls 'indices convergents', converging cues that create significant resonances between historical reference and moral judgement.³⁹ These cues emerge through the key theme of feasting, which is extraordinarily conspicuous in both chronicle and satire.

The metrical chronicle offers an unprecedented description 532 lines long of the great Parisian Pentecost feast of 1313,⁴⁰ while Chaillou's narrative 'additions' of 2877 verses are made up from first to last of an extended description of another royal celebration, the wedding festivities of Fauvel (Långfors App., vv. 1-1808; Dahnk, vv. 1-1069). When the splendid depictions of the Pentecost feast of 1313 and Fauvel's wedding are read together in fr. 146, thematic parallels cue relationships of likeness and difference. There are similarities of location, date, and festive activity and effects of significant contrast, when a common theme is represented by polar opposites, such as parading by day or by night. These parallels implicitly invite readers to compare the chronicle description of the great celebration of Philip the Fair, a 'noble fet' (Diverres, v. 5090) to the satirical feast of evil Fauvel, 'la beste de tout mal plaine' (Långfors App., v. 1583), and to draw moral lessons from the difference between them.

The Pentecost feast is one of the great set-piece descriptions of the metrical chronicle, almost 7 per cent of the whole. The chronicler tells how all the people of Paris joined their king in a week-long celebration of the knighting of his three sons on Pentecost Sunday and the ceremony on Wednesday where nobles and commoners took the Cross. He relates the

³⁸ The term *bestourné* appears notably in Rutebeuf's 'Renart le Bestourné' (1261), a political allegory concerning the court of Louis IX; see Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, 282, and Nancy Freeman Regalado, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf: A Study in Non-Courtly Poetic Modes of the Thirteenth Century* (New Haven, 1971), 133-4.

³⁹ *Fauvel au pouvoir*, 31.

⁴⁰ 429 verses describe the festivities themselves from beginning to end (Diverres, vv. 4670-5098); preliminary negotiations of Louis d'Évreux with the English fill 21 additional verses (vv. 4649-69); 82 more tell of the activities and negotiations of French and English royalty after the celebration (vv. 5099-180).

names of the magnates in attendance, their sumptuous display of garments and gifts, their magnificent banquets. Finally, he describes the revels of the Parisians at extraordinary length. The Parisians produced a bridge, decorations, entertainments, and street tableaux, including half-a-dozen tableaux staging 'La vie de Renart sanz faille' (Diverres, v. 4999), which recall the painting 'de Renart toute l'histoire' in Fauvel's throne room (Långfors, v. 1357). On Thursday a municipal parade marched across the Cité, passed in review before the king at the Palace, and then moved on to Saint-Germain-des-Prés where the guests of honour, Edward II and Isabella, were lodged.

The description of the Pentecost feast in the metrical chronicle is made significant by its length, its position, and its style. At 532 verses, it is the longest continuous narrative of a single event in the entire chronicle. It surpasses the dramatic account of the French attack on Boniface at Anagni (412 verses) and the story of the horrifying defeat of French knights slaughtered like boars by Flemish pikemen in the muddy swamps of Kortrijk (345 verses).⁴¹ It rivals in length the chronicler's account of events that lasted over several months or years and which were often recorded in two or more different passages, such as Charles de Valois's campaign in Italy (534 verses in two passages), the judgement of the Templars (404 verses in two passages), and the rise and fall of Enguerran de Marigny (670 verses in four passages).⁴² The chronicler thus gives the Pentecost feast of 1313 a weight equal to the most notable dynastic and political matters in his narrative.⁴³

Although it may not seem surprising to find an ample recounting of this memorable celebration in a history of the affairs of France from 1300 to 1316, this is one of the earliest extended descriptions in a chronicle of such a royal and urban feast. It is all the more remarkable because the chronicler makes only terse references to other celebrations; in two verses, he hastens through the festivities marking the coronation of Emperor Henry VII at Milan: 'La prist il de fer la couronne, | Si i ot maint' haute personne' (Diverres, vv. 3809-10). His reports of a dozen ritual celebrations range from two to twenty-six verses, but their average length is only ten.⁴⁴

Such laconic descriptions of festive celebrations are typical of other contemporary vernacular chronicles. Reports of ceremonies in the *Grandes Chroniques* for 1300-16 are equally brief, averaging thirteen lines in length in Viard's printed edition. One account of the coronation of Henry VII at Milan says only, 'Quant ceulz de Melan sorent sa venue, si issirent touz à pié et à cheval contre li, et a grant joie le menerent à la souveraine eglise, et le coronnerent à roy

⁴¹ Boniface, vv. 1803-2214; Kortrijk, vv. 1111-457, followed by a lengthy remonstrance to Philip IV about the defeat (194 verses; vv. 1458-651).

⁴² Charles de Valois, vv. 62-406 and 463-652; Templars, vv. 3417-668 and 5619-770; Marigny, vv. 5541-618, 6185-332, 6855-7140, and 7195-352. Other extensive reports include: the election and coronation of Pope Clement V in Lyon, followed by the tumult caused by his retinue of Gascons (474 verses; vv. 2321-794); the election and triple coronation of Emperor Henry VII (426 verses in two passages; vv. 3683-4064 and 4399-442).

⁴³ By contrast, the death of Philip the Fair is recounted in just 190 verses (vv. 6333-402 and 6715-834), augmented by the

nobles' harangue on Philip's fiscal policies (312 verses; vv. 6403-714); the adultery scandal earns just 257 verses, if the edifying death of a penitent Marguerite is included (vv. 5868-6070 and 7141-94); the death and funeral of Louis X is dispatched in just 62 verses (vv. 7669-730).

⁴⁴ Other festivities include: Charles d'Anjou's entries into Florence, Siena, and Rome (vv. 77-8, 97-108, 131-56, 165-78); the coronation of Clement V (vv. 2356-76); the marriage of Edward II and Isabella (vv. 3251-9); Henry VII's successive coronations at Cologne and Rome (vv. 3763-5 and vv. 4406-8); the coronation of Frederick of Habsburg (vv. 5781-4); funeral ceremonies for Philip IV (vv. 6819-26).

de Lombardie, et l'appellerent Auguste'.⁴⁵ The Pentecost feast of 1313, however, stands out as an exception in the *Grandes Chroniques*, which swells the twenty-line description in its source, Guillaume de Nangis's *Chronicon*, to fifty-two (almost 2 per cent of the total 2,723 lines for 1300–16) by adding a colourful account of the festivities of the bourgeois.⁴⁶

The accounts of the Pentecost feast of 1313 in the chronicle of fr. 146 and the *Grandes Chroniques* reveal a growing taste for circumstantial description of historical celebrations, reflected also in the picturesque tableau of the court held by Louis IX at Saumur in 1241 painted by the old seneschal Joinville in 1309 (*Vie*, paras. 94–7). Descriptions of urban festivities accompanying royal celebrations gradually begin to appear in a few thirteenth-century French chronicles. In his *Mémoires*, the Lombard diplomat Philippe de Novare relates how the 'comuntes et borgès et autres' of Acre wore 'robes envesses' (joyful garments) to escort Isabella, heiress to the throne of the kingdom of Jerusalem, as she set off to Tyre for her marriage by proxy to Frederick II in 1224 (para. ix). The *Grandes Chroniques* tell how city-dwellers draped their streets with cloth of colour and ladies and damsels danced and sang 'diverses chansons et divers motets' to celebrate the entry of Philip III in Arras (1271) and the coronation of Marie de Brabant in Paris (1275).⁴⁷ In 1319 the Parisian Geoffroi des Nés adds to his rhymed translation of the *Vita* of St Magloire a step-by-step recital of a ceremony celebrating a new silver reliquary in 1318.⁴⁸ The way is opening for the lavish descriptions of celebrations characteristic of later fourteenth-century chronicles, some famous for their sumptuous illustrations of feasts—the banquet of the Order of the Star, the coronation of Charles V, and his reception of the Emperor Charles IV depicted in Charles V's *Grandes Chroniques* (BN fr. 2813)⁴⁹—and some lively and personal, such as Froissart's account of the processions, banquets, plays, gifts, and jousts of the 'tres noble feste' celebrating the entry of Isabeau de Bavière in Paris, 20 August 1389 (*Chroniques*, Livre IV, ch. 1).

In spite of its length, however, the account of the Pentecost feast in the *Grandes Chroniques* seems just one of a string of events laid out in simple chronological succession. In the metrical chronicle, on the other hand, the feast fits into a design that rises over and above the progression of the years and that is not so much narrative as instructive. The chronicler's reflective commentary (sometimes attributed to other personages) sets out moral counsel around events; his arrangement and amplification of selected events create patterns that

⁴⁵ Ed. Jules Viard (Société de l'Histoire de France, 435; Paris, 1934), viii. 268. The *Grandes Chroniques* for 1300–16 (pp. 189–335) describe the coronation of Clement V (12 lines; p. 244), the marriage of Edward and Isabella (9 lines; p. 259), the triple coronation of Henry VII (63 lines total; pp. 260, 266–8, 279, 283, 286), the funerals of Philip IV (9 lines; pp. 302–3) and of Louis X (6 lines; p. 328). The *Chronique métrique* has no descriptions corresponding to those the *Grandes Chroniques* give of the translation of the relics of St Louis (12 lines; p. 249), the funeral of Katherine, wife of Charles de Valois (8 lines; pp. 258–9), the seating protocol and ritual ceremonies at the Council of Vienne (39 lines; pp. 285–6) or the coronation of Louis X (11 lines; p. 319). The *Grandes Chroniques* do not describe Charles de Valois's entries into Florence, Siena, and Rome.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 287–90.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 40, 52–3; 12 of 15 lines for the Arras entry are devoted to festivities sponsored by the bourgeois, but only 5 of 28 for the celebration in Paris.

⁴⁸ In his 306-verse record of the celebration (6% of the *Vie*), Geoffroy describes the processional itinerary, the colours of the bourgeois' new raiment, and the crowds kept in order by men-at-arms; he lists the names of ecclesiastical and royal personages present and gifts offered by Queens Jeanne and Clémence and other noble ladies ('An Old French Poetic Version of the Life and Miracles of Saint Magloire', ed. Alexander J. Denomy and J. Brückmann, *Mediaeval Studies* 21 (1959), 119–27, vv. 5223–528).

⁴⁹ Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274–1422* (California Studies in the History of Art, 28; Berkeley, 1991), respectively: 107–9 and fig. 76; 110–14 and pl. 4; 128–32 and figs. 90–1.

oppose victory to defeat, regal triumph to moral dilemma.⁵⁰ 'Or avons pais, or avons guerre', he declares in the final lines of his chronicle (Diverres, v. 7914). Overall, he presses historical moments towards a typology of good counsel, shaping his chronicle into a mirror for the prince: tableaux of great battles lost and won—Furnes, Kortrijk, Mons-en-Pévèle—demonstrate the importance of princely prowess and largesse; the rise and fall of Marigny warns against evil counsellors. The inconclusive tales the chronicler tells—the ambitious campaign of Charles de Valois in Italy, the ongoing struggles of French against Flemings, the accession of John XXII and Philip V in 1316—are movements whose outcome is still in the balance.⁵¹ Will John XXII be a worthy pope? 'Briement son œuvre mousterra | Se preudome ou mauvés sera; | Encor n'en puet on riens savoir' (Diverres, vv. 7883–5). History, in the metrical chronicle, is the domain where actions reveal moral truths. The turning wheel of Fortune grinds out harsh lessons, spelt out by the chronicler in his advice to the king.

Positioned within this overall pattern of changing fortune, the Pentecost feast marks a moment of great glory for Philip the Fair in the metrical chronicle. It portrays the king as an ideal ruler: noble in his lineage, his chivalry, and his liberality, faithful in his service to the Church, and beloved of his people. The prodigious expenditures of the Pentecost feast are presented as admirable and necessary; unstinting largesse rules every day of the celebration of 1313: 'De noblesce et de largeté | Cel jor fu sanz chetiveté' (Diverres, vv. 4873–4). The account of these costly festivities on fo. 78^r seems to illustrate the principle of royal liberality, laid out by the chronicler in an admonition to Philip the Fair that appears on the page facing the description of the feast (fo. 77^v). The king's power is founded on liberality, he says, citing Alexander, Darius, Charles d'Anjou, and Robert d'Anjou as examples; the king can win no friends unless he spends of his own.⁵² Readers might find lessons too in the chronicler's reports of griefs that befell the kingdom in 1314 and 1315 after the glorious celebration of 1313: the execution of the Grand Master of the Templars; the accusations against the king's daughters-in-law; the deaths of a pope and two kings; the disgrace and hanging of Marigny, who had overseen construction of the new Palace that was inaugurated at the feast of 1313 and where he once stood so proudly at the king's right hand wearing a fair white cap.⁵³ The chronicler himself draws a moral conclusion: 'Ainsint, seingnors, va de ce monde; | Li un lieve, l'autre afonde' (Diverres, vv. 5801–2).

Finally, the style of the description of the Pentecost feast sets it apart within the metrical chronicle, for in this passage the author shifts away from his usual straightforward narration

⁵⁰ I am deeply grateful to Jean Dunbabin for sending me her study of the metrical chronicle (above, Ch. 10), in which she stresses how the chronicler uses direct speech and authorial commentary to build up drama around the moral and political problems facing the king and his counsellors.

⁵¹ On interpretative emplotment of history, see Suzanne Fleischman, 'On the Representation of History and Fiction in the Middle Ages', *History and Theory*, 22 (1983), 293–4.

⁵² 'Et le roy deüst bien savoir, | Car en trop tenir son avoir | Ne puet on nus amis conquerre' (Diverres, vv. 4605–7; see vv. 4597–648). In the harangue that the metrical chronicler at-

tributes to the 'barons de France', he returns at length to the motif of royal liberality, urging Philip IV to give back the taxes he collected: 'rendre ou pendre!' (Diverres, v. 6589; see vv. 6405–714). On the social and economic meaning of the theme of largesse in courtly romance and vernacular didactic and philosophical literature, see Erich Köhler, *L'Aventure chevaleresque: idéal et réalité dans le roman courtois*, trans. Eliane Kaufholz (Paris, 1974), 26–42.

⁵³ '... a la destre | Du roy, en coiffe blanche et bele' (Diverres, vv. 5578–9).

and sober moral reflection to a unique mode of breathless hyperbole evoking unspeakable rejoicing, Paris transformed by colourful drapery, crowds of countless nobles, and a feast surpassing all others:

La joie, le deduit, la feste,
Il n'est homme qui de sa teste
Ne le pensast ne ne deïst;
Si n'est homme qui le creïst
N'aussi nus hons ne le seüst
S'a Paris present ne feüst,
Car je vous di, de rue en rue
Ne veoit on ne ciel ne rue,
Car Paris estoit tout couvert,
Blanc, noir, jaune, rouge ou vert.
Des nobles la grant compaignie
Ne puet nul prisier, que qu'en die,
La joie ne le rigolage,
La noblesce ne le parage,
Qui toute autre feste sormonte.

(Diverres, vv. 4805-19)

In the metrical chronicle, as in other contemporary chronicles, such descriptive displays are usually expended on battle scenes, often narrated with picturesque effects of torches and sparks in the night, shouts of 'Monjoie!' as the oriflamme swirls out over the battleaxes of knights, and grim panoramas of fields full of 'bodies heaped head to heel like sheaves of wheat in August'.⁵⁴

Profuse descriptions of feasts such as this in the metrical chronicle are not commonly found in chronicles at this date but rather in romances and allegorical satires. In his encyclopedic study of feasts in romances of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Philippe Walter shows that from the first, French romance punctuates its adventures with hyperbolic evocations of festive celebrations; these articulate the narrative and provide the teller with a space for a bravura performance of his art and a locus for praise of largesse—the foundation of ethical and political supremacy in romance as it is in the commentary of the metrical chronicler of fr. 146.⁵⁵ Romances set forth detailed representations of fictional weddings, coronations, knightings, triumphal entries, and royal courts long before their historical counterparts are described in any similar detail in vernacular chronicles from the mid-

⁵⁴ 'L'un sus l'autre, envers et adenz, l'un le pié haut, l'autre la teste. l Sus les François fu la tempeste; l A tas, a monciaus assemblez, l Aussi com l'en assemble blez l Et comme gerbes en aoust, l Gesoient il de bout en bout, l Ci vint, deuz cens, ci quatre vins' (Diverres, vv. 1316-23). See the description of the battles of Furnes, Kortrijk, and Mons-en-Pévèle in the metrical chronicle (vv. 921-1010, 1111-338, and 2795-940), in Guillaume Guiart's

myopically detailed *Branche* (vv. 13984-4570, 14987-5216, and 19917-21479), and in the *Grandes Chroniques* (viii. 175-7, 204-8, and 239-42).

⁵⁵ Philippe Walter, *La Mémoire du temps: fêtes et calendriers de Chrétien de Troyes à La Mort Artu* (Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 13; Paris, 1989), 164 ff., 328 and 424-8.

thirteenth century onwards; these early fictions of festive ceremonies deserve to be thoroughly compared with later historical records.⁵⁶

Indeed, two of the earliest extended reports of historical celebrations look very much like romances; these are free-standing, eyewitness accounts of real tournaments. The poet Sarasin relates a tournament held in 1278 at Le Hem in Picardy as an Arthurian story where Robert II d'Artois plays the Knight of the Lion.⁵⁷ And in 1285 the minstrel Jacques Bretel enlivened his delightful record of a tournament at Chauvency with some three dozen musical and poetic insertions.⁵⁸ These tournament narratives filled with literary effects are not part of a larger chronicle; instead, they constitute complete narratives, as do the extended depictions of feasts in many satires.

In no satire is feasting more prominent than in Chaillou's narrative 'additions' to the *Roman de Fauvel*, for he built them entirely around the festive motifs of guests, banquet, and tournament. Feasts, together with journeys and battles, are among the commonest allegorical themes of narrative satire; they offer the satirist a framework to organize proliferating descriptions easily invested with symbolic meanings.⁵⁹ Allegorical satires tend to be static and descriptive, but the heightened atmosphere and sheer lavishness of satirical representations of feasting compensate for their lack of plot and adventure, as do the dynamic combats of *psychomachia* such as the grand tournament of Vices and Virtues that concludes Chaillou's feast.⁶⁰

Chaillou and the metrical chronicler were writing for an audience that delighted in copious descriptions of feasts. Members of the French court and wealthy Parisians are associated with an array of contemporary works that feature elaborate tableaux of celebration. Queen Marie, wife of Philip III, and her sister-in-law Blanche commissioned Adenet le Roi's *Cleomadés* (1285) and Girart d'Amiens's *Meliacin* (1285-8), popular adventure romances with lyric insertions and protracted scenes of festive protocol.⁶¹ Pierre Gencien, bourgeois and

⁵⁶ On tournaments in romance and history, see: Larry D. Benson, 'The Tournament in the Romances of Chrétien de Troyes and *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*', in Larry D. Benson and John Leyerle (eds.), *Chivalric Literature: Essays on Relations between Literature and Life in the Later Middle Ages* (Studies in Medieval Culture, 14; Kalamazoo, 1980), 1-24; Walter, *Mémoire*, 704-9; Michel Stanesco, *Jeux d'errance du chevalier médiéval: aspects ludiques de la fonction guerrière dans la littérature du moyen âge flamboyant* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 9; Leiden, 1988), 95. Elaborate literary descriptions of triumphal entries such as those in Bérout's *Tristan* (c.1180?; vv. 2957-3009) and Jean Renart's *Escoufle* (1200-2; vv. 8768-864) have not yet been fully compared with those recorded in chronicles; see Walter, *Mémoire*, 374-9 and 705-6.

⁵⁷ *Le Roman du Hem*, ed. Albert Henry (Travaux de la Faculté de Philologie et Lettres de l'Université de Bruxelles, 9; Paris, 1939).

⁵⁸ *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, ed. Maurice Delbouille (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 49; Liège and Paris, 1932).

⁵⁹ Chaillou's *Fauvel* continues a well-established tradition, borrowing allegorical banquet dishes and heraldry from the *Torneiment Antichrist* (c.1235) of Huon de Méry (ed. Margaret O. Bender (Romance Monographs, 17; University, Miss., 1976)); Huon, in turn, cites Raoul de Houdenc's *Armeure du chevalier* and *Songe d'enfer*; see Marc-René Jung, *Études sur le poème allégorique en France au moyen âge* (Romanica Helvetica, 82; Berne, 1971), 245-56 (Raoul) and 268-89 (Huon).

⁶⁰ Långfors App., vv. 989-1408; see Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'Allegories of Power: The Tournament of Vices and Virtues in the *Roman de Fauvel*', *Gesta*, 32 (1993), 135-46.

⁶¹ The final fifth of *Cleomadés* represents the marriages of its many protagonists with exhaustive depictions of messengers, gifts, clothing, decorations, etiquette of greeting and leave-taking, courteous speeches, musical instruments, heraldry, and the staging of feasting, entertainments and jousting, weddings, and coronations (ed. Albert Henry, *Les Œuvres d'Adenet le Roi*, v (Université Libre de Bruxelles, Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 56; Brussels, 1971), vv. 15199-18528. Intimate portraits of the royal family adorn the contemporary fron-

courtier of Philip IV, rhymed a ceremonial *Tournoiement as dames de Paris* showcasing the coats of arms and names of women from Parisian families.⁶² Louis X had in his library a copy of Huon de Méry's chivalric allegory *Le Torneiment Anticrist* on which Chaillou modelled the banquets and jousts of his 'addicions'.⁶³ For his 'addicions', moreover, Chaillou borrowed several festive scenes from the *Roman du comte d'Anjou* (1316), a romance commissioned by the king's counsellor Pierre de Chambli and composed by the royal notary Jehan Maillart.⁶⁴

Although it cannot be known if the metrical chronicle was altered for inclusion in fr. 146, there is evidence that Chaillou modified the places and dates of his literary sources—the original *Fauvel*, Huon's *Torneiment*, and Jehan Maillart's *Comte d'Anjou*—in ways that bring his feast into alignment with the historical feast reported in the chronicle. At the same time, by his revisions, he turned *Fauvel* towards the political present of 1316, where the chronicle ends and Philip V mounts the throne. While we do not know Chaillou's intentions, these adjustments create a network of cues that link *Fauvel*'s wedding celebration to the description of the feast of 1313 in the chronicle while they invite readers to apply the moral lessons that derive from these parallelisms to the political circumstances in which fr. 146 was compiled.

Contemporary readers might well have been sensitive to the significant ways Chaillou recast the place and date of the principal source of his 'addicions', Huon de Méry's *Torneiment Anticrist*, a popular work that survives in a dozen manuscripts. Huon's main setting is allegorical, the twin cities of 'Desesperance' and 'Esperance'; Paris is mentioned only once at the end, where the narrator converts and is conducted by Religion 'Dés c'a l'Eglise Saint-Germain l Des-Prés, lés les murs de Paris' (*Torneiment*, vv. 3520–1). Chaillou utilizes Huon's allegorical place names but links 'Esperance' to Paris and 'Desesperance' to the Palace, dwelling-place of *Fauvel*.⁶⁵ Chaillou thus emphatically relocates Huon's feast in Paris, the historical setting of the Pentecost feast of 1313. While the famous bridge scenes of Paris in Yves's contemporary *Vita Sancti Dionysii* celebrate Paris in silent images, Chaillou praises the city in words, paintings, and songs on fos. 30^v–31^r, where his narrative 'addicions' begin (see Pl. V).⁶⁶ Honouring the learning, commerce, religious devotion, ladies, and wealth

tispiece illustrations of *Cleomadés* in Arsenal 3142 and of *Meliacin* in BN fr. 1633 and fr. 1589 (ibid. i. 95–9 and Girart d'Amiens, *Meliacin ou le Cheval de Fust*, ed. Antoinette Saly (Seneffiance, 27; Aix-en-Provence, 1990), pp. viii–ix).

⁶² Andrea Pulega (ed.), *Ludi e spettacoli nel medioevo: I Tornei di Dame* (Cattedra di Filologia Romanza dell'Università degli studi di Milano; Milan, 1970), 21–63; see Regalado, 'Allegories of Power', 141–2. The metrical chronicler lauds Pierre's relative, the bourgeois Jacques Gencien, who died bravely at Philip IV's side at Mons-en-Pévèle (Diverres, vv. 2835–41).

⁶³ Chaillou's borrowings are described in Långfors 143–4, and Roesner *et al.* 9–10. Louis's personal library was inventoried after his death: 'C'est l'inventoire des livres qui furent trouvez es coffres de la dite chambre. Deux livres de chroniques qui commencent: "Les anciennes histoires dient, etc."—Le livre du jeu des eschez.—Le roman du Reclus, de petite value.—Le livre du Tournoiement de l'Antechrist' (RHF 22, p. 270).

⁶⁴ Ed. Mario Roques (CFMA 67; Paris, 1964). In an addition made in the margin of the metrical chronicle to fill a blank in the

chronicler's remonstrance denouncing the 'mauveses herbes' around the king, Pierre de Chambly is singled out with Hugues de Bouville for faithful service to the king: 'Cil ont esté et sont com pierre l Vers vous entiers et vrais et fermes' (fo. 68^r; Diverres, vv. 1596–7). Chaillou's borrowings are listed in Mario Roques, 'L'Interpolation de *Fauvel* et le *Comte d'Anjou*', *Romania* 55 (1929), 548–51 and below, n. 78; see also Roesner *et al.* 9–10 and, on the exemplary function of the historical setting of the *Comte d'Anjou*, Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, 266–70.

⁶⁵ 'Desespoir' in *Fauvel* (Långfors App., v. 117); Mühlethaler relates Chaillou's substitution of palace for city to the condemnation of tyranny in *Fauvel* (*Fauvel au pouvoir*, 116–17 and 382); see also Michael Davis, above, Ch. 8.

⁶⁶ Långfors App., vv. 18–52, 89–115, 137–46. Lacaze believes the bridge scenes in BN fr. 2090–2 are 'the earliest surviving images of *buon governo* represented by means of an extensive description of peaceful town life' (*The 'Vie de St. Denis' Manuscript*, 131).

of Paris, he adds another paean to the traditional encomia of Paris, augmenting it with riverscape views of the Palace and commerce on the Seine and musical insertions that exalt the precious relics in this city of a great king.⁶⁷ Chaillou represents the political dangers that threaten France allegorically, by Fauvel's shocking desecration of the Palace and the Sainte-Chapelle, solemn monuments of the French crown: '... de la ou la foi le chief l Doit manoir Fauvel fait demeure'.⁶⁸ Moreover, whereas Huon had located his tournament at an unspecific place somewhere outside 'Desesperance', Chaillou places his tournament of Vices and Virtues at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, the site of the narrator's final conversion in Huon's *Tournoiement* (Långfors App., vv. 814–16). Saint-Germain-des-Prés is also the very spot where the metrical chronicle says the Parisians paraded in 1313 before Edward II and the English, who were 'amazed to see so many rich and noble folk sally forth from one city'.⁶⁹ Chaillou exploits his Parisian locale to attribute a curious reality to the *Fauvel* narrator, enhancing the referential illusion of the satire when it is read in the context of the metrical chronicle. Where the chronicler presents himself as an eyewitness to the marvels of the historical Pentecost feast, saying, 'Por ce que le vi, je le di' (Diverres, v. 4858), Chaillou makes the *Fauvel* narrator into an eyewitness of his fictional feast, transporting him from the story's frame into the world of the allegory in his 'addicions'. A miniature shows the narrator meeting up with the fearsome Vices (see Fig. 20.2); the text reports that he inspects the well-built lists at Saint-Germain-des-Prés and that he takes a ferry over the Seine to the right bank, where he sees the ladder of angels over the dwelling of the Virtues, hears the voices of the heavenly host, and gazes in wonder at the miraculous communion (Långfors App., vv. 799–849, 893–965). Relocation of Huon's feast in Paris and of the *Fauvel* narrator within the story thus connects the feast of *Fauvel* to the monuments and spaces of the Pentecost celebration described in the metrical chronicle, as it lends immediacy and political significance to the satire.

Additional links between the satire, the chronicle, and the political present of 1316 are forged by Chaillou's recasting of the chronology of his sources. Chaillou shifts the date of Huon's *Torneiment* (which ends on the feast of Ascension) forward to Pentecost, the date of the celebration in 1313. *Fauvel*'s invitation fixes the day after Pentecost for the first of five days' tourneying:

Que qui voudra cele journee
Et les ensivans quatre jours
Jouster, viengne sanz nul sejours; . . .
Que l'endemain de Penthecouste

⁶⁷ *Ha, Parisius, civitas Regis magni!* and *Iste locus dat nobis gaudium* (Dahnk, p.mus. 73 and 74; see also Michel Huglo, above, Ch. 12). For the political meaning of contemporary encomia of Paris, especially Jean de Jandun's *Tractatus de laudibus Parisius* (1323), see Lacaze, *The 'Vie'*, 126–37, Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, 374–80, and Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris, 1985), 110–11.

⁶⁸ Långfors App., vv. 130–1. Mühlethaler notes how

spatialization augments the referential effect of the *Fauvel*, stating that the representation of the new Palace on fo. 30^v (see Pl. V) is the only specific cue linking the figure of Fauvel with Marigny (*Fauvel au pouvoir*, 371–4, 380–2).

⁶⁹ 'Dont esbahi si grandement l Furent Anglois, plus c'onques mes, l Car il ne cuidassent jamés l Que tant de gent riche et nobile l Pouist saillir de une ville' (Diverres, vv. 5070–4; see vv. 5066–76).

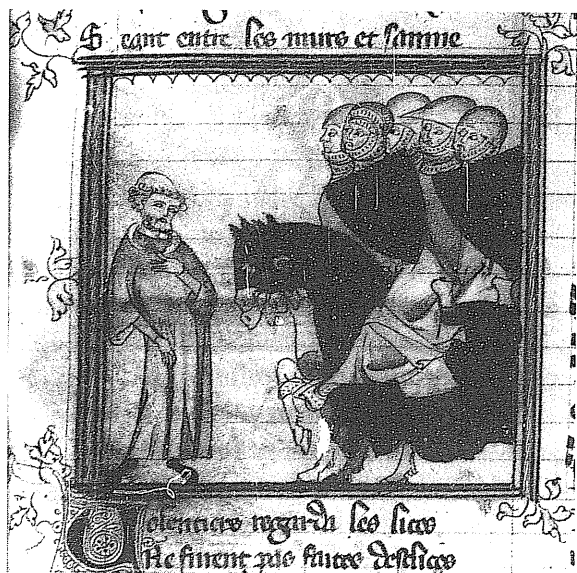


FIG. 20.2. Fr. 146, fo. 37^r (detail)
(Photo: BN)

Sera, et avront cil sa grace
Qui pour jouter venront en place.
(Långfors App., vv. 182-4, 188-90)

On fo. 10^r, the important page that ends Book I of *Fauvel* in fr. 146 (see Pl. II), Chaillou adds musical, textual, and pictorial reinforcements that highlight this date: the Alleluia for Pentecost Sunday, 'Veni Sancte Spiritus, etc.', copied in a key position in the upper right corner of fo. 10^r and translated, illustrated, and attributed to the narrator as a fervent prayer in the adjoining col. b (Dahnk, vv. 7-14, p.mus. 31). The theme of Pentecost on this page prepares the admonitory motets addressed to Louis X and Philip V on fos. 10^v-11^r (see Pl. III-IV), perhaps by recalling in the reader's mind the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, which are also attributes of the good king: wisdom, fortitude, counsel, understanding, knowledge, piety, and fear of the Lord. Thus spotlighted, the Pentecost motif cues Chaillou's *Fauvel* to the metrical chronicle, which also lays special emphasis on Pentecost, the date of Louis's knight-ing with Philip, Charles, and 'innumerable dukes, princes, and counts' (Diverres, vv. 4725-7):

Droit au dimanche, la jornee
Qu'en terre le Saint Esperit
Des apostres les cuers esprist
—Ce fu le jor de Panthecouste,
Qui fu en juing, ce n'est pas doute,

Le tiers jor au commencement—
Chevalier fu nouvelement.
(Diverres, vv. 4718-24)

Chaillou may even have put one specific allusion to the Pentecost feast in his 'additions' (whether he saw, heard of, or read about it). The metrical chronicler tells us that in 1313, on Thursday, the day of the parade of Parisians to Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Edward II dallied with his fair queen and overslept:

Mes ce matin li roy anglois
N'a peü veïr le françois,
Car trop dormi grant matinee
Avec la royne espousee.
Assez lors pouoit on viser
Que il li plaisoit le ruser
Aveques lui. N'est pas merveille,
Car c'est des beles la plus bele;
Por ce ne leva pas si main.
(Diverres, vv. 5057-65)

The metrical chronicler may have painted this scene of conjugal bliss in a spirit of political counsel, for its irony would not have escaped contemporaries; all in the French court knew of Edward's flagrant disregard of Isabella. The discrepancy, however, affirms one political message the metrical chronicle has in common with every text in fr. 146: in the wake of the adultery scandal, all proclaim that conjugal fidelity is essential to legitimacy, to dynastic continuity, and to the well-being of the kingdom.

Now Fauvel too oversleeps on the day of his great tournament at Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Untroubled by the nocturnal charivari, the beast is absorbed in his pleasure,⁷⁰ intoxicated by his wife Vaine Gloire, that deceitful damsel who makes men forget salvation (see Pl. VI).⁷¹ Chaillou tells us that the abominable bridegroom arises at last at 9.00 in the morning and views the preparations for jousting from his window (fo. 38^r, Pl. VIII):

*Dum ortus fuerit sol de celo,
videbitis regem regum procedentem a patre
tanquam sponsus de thalamo suo.*
[Miniature]
Li solaus, qui terre enlumine,
Droitemment sus tierce chemine. . . .
Fauvel fu en sa mestre chambre,
Ou pilers ot de marbe et d'ambre

⁷⁰ 'A qui qu'il en deüst desplaire, l Semblant n'en fist onques Fauveaus l Plus assez li fu des aviaus l Qu'il ot eü avec sa feme l Qu'il honnora comme sa dame' (Långfors App., vv. 766-70).

⁷¹ 'Vez la Vaine Gloire, la belle, l La decevante damoisele, l

Qui les gens soutilment enyvre l . . . l Donne si doucement a boire l Que l'en en pert toute memoire l de la joie qui tous jours dure' (Långfors, vv. 3157-9, 3169-71).

Et grans fenestres qui regardent
Le lieu ou les joustes retardent,
Vint et sa fame avec lui.

(Långfors App., vv. 989–90, 1009–13)

There is wry humour in the biblical imagery of the antiphon: 'When the sun has risen in the sky, you will see the king of kings proceeding from the Father like the bridegroom from his marriage bed' (Dahnk, p.mus. 101). There is perhaps even a second sly dig at Edward in the accompanying image of Fauvel peeking out from a little tower (see Pl. VIII)—a humble affair, compared with the great hall with pillars of marble and amber described in the text—for the *Grandes Chroniques* tell us that Edward and Isabella mounted up into a little tower to view the parade of the Parisians at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, just as Fauvel gazes at the Virtues marshalled before him.

Readers of fr. 146 may find intertextual echoes between these reports of late-sleepers and the clarion call of Geffroy's poem of advice to Philip V, *Hora rex est de sompno surgere* (It is time, O King, to rise from slumber).⁷² Indeed, Chaillou makes a key alteration in the original *Fauvel* to signal topical reference to the political situation of 1316. He replaces the date 6 December 1314 at the end of Gervès's Book II with a festive call for drink, embellished by the motet *Bon vin doit* and a refrain *Ci me faut un tour de vin*.⁷³ He highlights the year 1316 elsewhere, in his praise of the Virtues parading mounted and armed at Fauvel's feast: 'En mil .ccc. dis et sis ans | Ne fu veue tele noblesce' (Långfors App., vv. 1064–5). These gorgeous Virtues, advancing under the date 1316, move towards the reign of Philip V as surely as does the sequence of events in the metrical chronicle, which ends on a suspensive note before the coronation of Philip V (9 January 1316 [1317 modern style]), recording agreement by the peers that if no male heir to Louis was born, 'Le quens de Poitiers roy seroit'.⁷⁴

Readers might spell additional moral lessons about good and evil out of significant contrasts in five festive activities common to the Pentecost celebration and Fauvel's wedding. Four are typical romance motifs: guests, ritual ceremonies, banqueting, and chivalric display. One theme, however, is unique to the chronicle and satire of fr. 146—the special role of the Parisians. If they are read together in fr. 146, analogies between the feasts of chronicle and satire might easily be moralized by readers and assimilated to the overarching purpose of *admonitio*, by applying the moral counsel of *Fauvel* to events in recent history and finding examples in the chronicle to illustrate the eternal verities of satire.

In the metrical chronicle of 1313, as in Chaillou's *Fauvel*, a great king invites a host of noble guests. Chronicles usually mention few names of princes or prelates at celebrations (in

⁷² Fo. 50^v, ed. Holford-Strevens, above, Ch. 11. Readers of the citation from Rom. 13: 11 in v. 1 might well have recalled and applied the verses that follow to political issues of 1316: 'Let us then cast off the works of darkness and put on the armour of light; let us walk honestly, as in the day: not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and impurities' (Rom. 13: 12–13).

⁷³ Dahnk, p.mus. 130 and ref. 15. Gervès du Bus: 'Ici fine cest second livre | Qui fu parfait l'an mil et .iiij. | .ccc. et .x., sans riens

rabatre' (Långfors, vv. 3272–4); Chaillou: '... Ci faut mon livre | Secont, Dieu en gré le reçoive. | J'ai sef, il est temps que je boive' (fo. 45^r, Långfors App., vv. 1806–8).

⁷⁴ Diverres, v. 7864; see vv. 7811–70 and Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X', in *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial* (Aldershot, 1991), no. VII, 257–8.

contrast with battle scenes, where many individuals are often named). The metrical chronicler, however, enumerates twenty-nine barons present, in best romance style: 'Le roy de France et de Navarre, | Et le riche roy d'Angleterre | ... | La fu Charle et Loys de France, | ... | Duc de Bourgoingne, duc de Bretaingne'.⁷⁵ A total of ninety-nine verses in the chronicle are devoted to royal invitations delivered in England by Louis d'Évreux and announced throughout the kingdom, and to hyperbolic enumeration of the throng of noble guests, whose names outline the political stakes of the Pentecost Feast of 1313. In like manner, some 115 verses in the satire portray the bidding of Fauvel's guests: two images of a messenger carrying a sealed letter on fos. 30^v (see Pl. V) and 31^r highlight the formal invitation to thirty-three Vices: 'Il veult que sanz contremander | Vieigne Charnalite s'amie | ... | Fornicacion, Advoutire, | ... | Yvresce, Outrage et Ribaudie'.⁷⁶ But forty-three Virtues also respond to criers announcing Fauvel's tournament: '... Virginité, | Qui est de si grant dignité | ... | Chasteé et Religion, | Repentance et Confession'.⁷⁷ These names prepare the climactic confrontation between good and evil in the *Fauvel* tournament. The onomastic colour of such lists paints vivid presences into both these feasts; more importantly, they align the chronicle with the satire so that readers may compare them.

The contrast continues in the rites and banquets of each feast. The chronicler shows a flock of archbishops, abbots, priors, and other religious around the papal legate as he gives out crosses in the crusading ceremonies of 1313:

La fu le cardonnal Nichole
Qui de crois lor bailla l'estole;
Et si rot encor avec oelz
Plusors arcevesques oisex,
Clers et lais, abbez et priex,
Et maint autres religieus.

(Diverres, vv. 4891–6)

In Chaillou's *Fauvel*, by contrast, no bishops or abbots carrying crosiers are summoned to sanctify Fauvel's diabolical union with Vaine Gloire:

La vult Fauvel faire ses noces.
Evesques n'abbez portanz croces
N'a fait pas venir ne mander.

(Långfors App., vv. 53–5)

Noting each of the seven banquets offered by Philip IV and his sons and brothers (Diverres, vv. 4838–71), the chronicler shows us the feast of Edward II served in richly draped tents by servants riding on horseback (Diverres, vv. 4845–58). Chaillou, by contrast, shows the horse Fauvel seated at the table of honour with the Vices, who gobble allegorical delicacies such as

⁷⁵ Diverres, vv. 4743–4, 4773, 4776; see vv. 4729–99. On stereotypical enumerations of guests in romance, see Walter, *Mémoire*, 328–33.

⁷⁶ Långfors App., vv. 56–7, 59, 65; see vv. 56–84, 161–200.

⁷⁷ Ibid., vv. 207–8, 217–18; see vv. 201–46.



FIG. 20.3. Fr. 146, fo. 32^v
(Photo: BN)

fried sins against nature. Chaillou exploits intertextual allusions to enhance moral oppositions at Fauvel's feast: in his page layout on fos. 32^v–33^r (see Figs. 20.3 and 20.4), he sets out contrasting citations and illustrations to exhibit Fauvel's depravity. The banquet scene is framed out by two passages borrowed from the *Comte d'Anjou*: the first, a tasteful menu of dishes, is placed in fo. 32^v, col. a to the left; the second, a list of decorous musical entertainments, is placed in facing fo. 33^r, col. a to the right.⁷⁸ In between, the description of the carousing Vices is sprinkled with nine citations from the infernal repast of the Antichrist in Huon's *Torneiment*;⁷⁹ their table drips with wine spilt by Fauvel, who overturns everything:

⁷⁸ Ibid., vv. 390–446 and 547–50, 555–60; to the citations from *Anjou* recognized by Roques ('Interpolation', 550), add fragments cited in the description of courtly etiquette (*Anjou* vv. 2353–70 interspersed in Långfors App., vv. 369–89, 445–6).

⁷⁹ Långfors App., vv. 448–502. To the citations from *Torneiment* noted by Långfors, add fragments cited in banquet and charivari scenes (*Torneiment*, vv. 461–2, 686, and 972–4, cited respectively in Långfors App., vv. 501–2, 750–1, and 753–5).



FIG. 20.4. Fr. 146, fo. 33^r
(Photo: BN)

'la ou converse | Fauvel, qui tout cerche et reverse' (Långfors App., vv. 471–2). Three mirror images of feasting rise from left to right across these same pages: two miniatures where Fauvel lords it over the Vices at his table bracket a picture of the abstemious Virtues who signal their independence from Fauvel by gesturing towards the empty centre at theirs (see Figs. 20.3 and 20.4).

Knightly splendour is the order of the day at both celebrations. In the chronicle account, solemn ritual consecrates the vows pronounced by young males. In the upside-down world of *Fauvel*, however, an agonistic struggle tests the prowess of female Virtues armed as knights in Chaillou's tournament of Vices and Virtues. Carnality, Fornication, Pride, and Gluttony clash with their opposites in pages adorned with chivalric imagery calculated to delight a royal audience often forbidden such pleasures in real life while its themes counsel them about

vices that point to recent adversities: the lust that ensnared the wives of Louis and Charles; the pride that preceded Marigny's fall.⁸⁰ In the representations of fr. 146, the spirit of social concord that reigns at the knighting celebration in 1313 (where only the Virtues are present, as it were) thus contrasts significantly with the spirit of antagonism at Fauvel's feast, where Good grapples with Evil.

The contrast between good and evil that emerges from the reciprocal reading of chronicle and satire in fr. 146 is not simple, however, but arranged in a richly ambivalent *chassé-croisé* that warns readers against appearances and the reversals of Fortune. The recital of the Pentecost feast in the chronicle, where every image seems to have positive value, acquires ironic overtones when read with the report of the adultery affair that besmirched the chivalric glory of the princes celebrated with such pomp in 1313. Paradoxically too, the celebration of wicked Fauvel is represented as a model of liberal princely feasting; Chaillou's narrator cries out to Fortune in protest at such a moral contradiction: 'Fortune, comment sueffre tu l Que ce larron soit revestu l De tel bien et de tel noblesce?' (Långfors App., vv. 1643-5).

Finally, both the metrical chronicler and Chaillou describe festivities of the Parisians at great length. The chronicler's report of the illuminations, raiment, numbers, livery, and entertainments of the Parisians fills more than one-third of his account of the Pentecost feast; he insists that the bourgeois festivities are worthy to be compared with those of the nobles.

Et puis que j'ai fait remembrance
Des nobles, ci en audience
Parler doi de la borjoisie,
Qui bele i vint et renvoisie. . . .
Borjois tel feste demenerent
Que les royaus les mercierent.
Ne fet pas bon parler d'oizeuses,
Comparaisons sont hayneuses; . . .
Mais ou fet de la borjoisie
Ot cinq choses de seingnorie.

(Diverres, vv. 4927-30,
4939-42, 4945-6)

Similarly, despite the importance of aristocratic ceremonies in Chaillou's 'additions', the charivari and the final jubilation of the Parisians take up one-fourth of the folios given over to Fauvel's feast (fos. 34^{rb}-36^v and fos. 41^{rc}-41^{va}). Long indeed, but extraordinary too: depiction of urban revels is still rare in chronicles; the detailed recital of the charivari in Chaillou's *Fauvel* is unique in the Middle Ages.

Conspicuously joined in fr. 146, these two singular descriptions of the Parisians have a special effect: they set all the themes of moralized ceremony into a broad social context, turning them into images of good and bad government. By representing festive acts of the

⁸⁰ Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, 85-9; Regalado, 'Allegories', 144; on prohibitions of tournaments in 1312-13, see Brown and Regalado, 'La grant feste', 62.

people of Paris, the chronicle and satire portray popular support for the good king Philip the Fair and condemnation of the evil tyrant Fauvel. The chronicler's description of the great municipal parade of 1313 confirms the glory of the legitimate king, honoured by his people as they pass before him in broad daylight and in good order, two by two, on horseback and on foot, all dressed in finery or new livery.⁸¹ The extensive chronicle account of this parade contrasts at every point with Chaillou's detailed recital of the raucous *chalivali*, which is augmented by immense miniatures, *sotes chansons*, and the voluminous lai, *En ce dous temps*.⁸² The charivari is said to be staged by masked figures whom we identify as Parisians because they are said to come out in the squares and streets of the city.⁸³ Unheeded by Fauvel who is lost in lechery, Chaillou says, the Parisians riot by night, wearing burlap and animal skins or prancing stark naked, clanging pots, cowbells, and rattles, and shouting rude songs to denounce the marriage of the usurper Fauvel (see Pl. VI). Apposed in fr. 146, these descriptions of the Parisians in the chronicle and satire—marching in well-regulated order or rampaging in contrived disorder—serve the discourse of good counsel by displaying positive and negative images of the ideal relation of the people to their ruler.

Chaillou brings on the loyal Parisians once again to sing the hymn *Plebs fidelis Francie* (the faithful people of France) that accompanies the description of the joyful cortège conducting the Virtues to their host in *Fauvel* (p.mus. 115; Långfors App., vv. 1478-92). Additional intertextual allusions in this passage produce topical as well as moral resonances, for Chaillou embellishes the Virtues' victorious return to Paris with citations from the triumphal urban entries that mark the end of Jehan Maillart's *Comte d'Anjou*; these depict the Count of Bourges and his wife, now vindicated, who lives—significantly—'sanz appetit de vaine gloire'.⁸⁴ These citations might well remind readers of fr. 146 of the wife of Philip V, Jeanne de Bourgogne, whose rehabilitation is celebrated in the metrical chronicle, Geffroy's *dits*, and Jehannot de Lescurel's allegorical semi-lyric piece, *Gracieus temps est*.⁸⁵ Reciprocal reading of all these works reveals yet another lesson in kingship founded on continence and constancy.

Readers of fr. 146 might also read topical reference to the accession of Philip V in the verses juxtaposed to *Plebs fidelis* on fo. 41^r, col. c. These say that the host of the Virtues lavished his wealth on them, conducting himself like a crowned king: 'Leur hoste, qui sanz faire somme l Leur ot le sien habandonné: l Il se tint pour roy couronné' (Långfors App., vv. 1486-8). The metrical chronicle in turn states twice that Philip conducted himself as king when he came

⁸¹ Diverres, vv. 5066-92; see Brown and Regalado, 'Universitas'.

⁸² Långfors App., vv. 693-770 and Dahnk, SC 1-12, vv. 1058-61, p.mus. 90 and rubrics +10, +11. On the charivari, see: Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'Masques réels dans le monde de l'imaginaire: le rite et l'écrit dans le charivari du *Roman de Fauvel*, ms. B.N. fr. 146', in Marie-Louise Ollier (ed.), *Masques et déguisements au moyen âge* (Montreal and Paris, 1988), 111-26; Roesner et al. 10-15; Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, 131-8; Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Les Revenants: les vivants et les morts dans la société médiévale* (Paris, 1994), 190-6.

⁸³ '... par les quarrefours l De la ville par mi les rues' (Långfors App., vv. 684-5).

⁸⁴ *Anjou*, v. 8016. To the citations from *Anjou* recognized by Roques ('Interpolation', 550), add fragments cited in this triumphal scene (*Anjou* vv. 6507-20 and 6397-402 interspersed in Långfors App., vv. 1509-24 and 1528-1532). There are additional entry scenes in *Anjou*, vv. 7869-985.

⁸⁵ Diverres, vv. 5887-98, 6012-56; Geffroy de Paris, *Du Roy phellippe*, vv. 7-15, and *Un songe*, vv. 287-306; Wilkins, *Lescurel*, no. 34 (see the political interpretation proposed by Brown, above, Ch. 3).

to Paris after the death of Louis X: 'Que comme roy il se tenist' (Diverres, v. 7776; see v. 7792). The term *hoste*, moreover, takes on overtones of messianic expectancy in the final prayer of Chaillou's *Fauvel* (borrowed from the first part of Jehan Maillart's *Comte d'Anjou*), where Christ is described in the Harrowing of Hell as the *hoste* or guest of the devils, '... leur *hoste* | Qui tenebres efface et *oste*'.⁸⁶ Intertextual allusions and topical reference thus build a moral and political stage for the Parisian festivities in Chaillou's *Fauvel*.

The unusual prominence of these representations of Parisians in chronicle and satire is a sign of the growing political self-consciousness of the city. Even more significantly, it points to ways the theme of feasting brings together moral and political considerations within the discourse of good counsel in fr. 146. Feasts are occasions where all the members of a social body join in a public performance that expresses and celebrates fundamental common beliefs. The feasts of chronicle and satire in fr. 146 depict a social body made up of two groups, nobles and Parisians, who together form a social whole, the people over whom the king reigns, for good or ill. Joyful feasting is presented in the compilation as a token of well-being in the kingdom and of divine favour: the Pentecost celebration of 1313 is said to be prefigured by the biblical feast of Ahasuerus (Diverres, vv. 4919–21); Fortune declares the Virtues' victory at the tournament a sign of God's grace.⁸⁷ Contrarily, accidents, bad weather, or lack of celebration are presented as ominous signs by the chronicler. He comments on the consecration of Pope Clement V, troubled by the death of the Duke of Brittany, who was killed by a crumbling wall.⁸⁸ He makes no mention of Louis's coronation but does point out that no celebration marked the second marriage of this unfortunate king: 'no feasting, no curtaining, no dancing, nothing'.⁸⁹ Wedding festivities are represented instead in Chaillou's *Fauvel*, whose verses form a festive cortège bearing a rich array of moral symbols.

Finally, great moral weight in fr. 146 is carried by the feast that is not described, that is yet to come: the celebration of the coronation of Philip V. The metrical chronicle breaks off on the eve of Philip's consecration, although he is designated king by the chronicler, who calls him 'nostre roy de France' (Diverres, v. 3255), by Chaillou in 'Pour Phelippes qui regne ores' (Dahnk, v. 35) and the motet *Servant regem / O Philippe / Rex regum*, and by Geffroy de Paris in *Du Roy phellippe qui ore Regne* and *Un songe*. Expectation of festive resolution creates a powerful effect of suspense that projects all the lessons of *admonitio* in fr. 146 towards the king-to-be. Proliferating images of coronation in fr. 146 support this effect and offer symbolic counsel. In the final remonstrance addressed to Philip IV, the metrical chronicler makes the nobles recall his coronation oath, anticipating that to come for Philip V, '... le sairement | Que il avoit a Rains donné | Quant ot esté roy couronné' (Diverres, vv. 6456–8). The image of Fauvel as a crowned beast acclaimed by the Vices seems to parody—in a cautionary

⁸⁶ Långfors App., vv. 1745–6; a six-branch *annominatio* figure ornaments the key term *hoste* (Långfors App., vv. 1744–52).

⁸⁷ '... si faite grace | Leur fist Diex contre la fallace | Fauvel' (Långfors App., vv. 1489–91).

⁸⁸ 'Mal a point li vint ceste feste. | Toute la feste en fu troublee, | Qui de tel mort fu estrenee' (Diverres, vv. 2370–2).

⁸⁹ 'Feste n'i ot, n'encortiné | Nule chose, mes molt briement | Fu parfait cest espousement, | Car Loys, le roy, haste avoit, | Qui en Flandres aler devoit. | De gent por ce n'ot habondance, | Ne si n'i ot feste ne dance' (Diverres, vv. 7406–12).



FIG. 20.5. Fr. 146, fo. 16r (detail)
(Photo: BN)

spirit—the often-painted ritual gestures of the peers crowning kings at Reims (see Pl. IV and above Fig. 13.9).⁹⁰

The coronation of Philip V may also be anticipated in the remarkable depiction of Fortune in Chaillou's *Fauvel*: she is painted twice holding out twin crowns (fos. 16r and 21r; see Fig. 20.5). Emphasized by repetition, this iconographic image of Fortune is highly unusual—perhaps even unique.⁹¹ It is a literal illustration of Gervès du Bus's allegory of Fortune's two crowns, which is also a singular figure in the abundant literary tradition,⁹² and which promotes the theme of moral choice in the satire. In her hands Fortune holds a glittering crown that signifies the deceitful allure of temporal wealth that leads to perdition and a mean crown of poverty whose base metal promises eternal reward on Judgement Day. The decision to illustrate the twin crowns in fr. 146 is especially significant, since Gervès's satire gives

⁹⁰ Fo. 26r; such coronation scenes were painted by the Fauvel Master himself in a manuscript of the *Grandes Chroniques*, BN fr. 2615 (illustrations reproduced in Hedeman, *The Royal Image*, 33–4, figs. 18–20; see Roesner et al. 46).

⁹¹ No similar images of Fortune holding out crowns are recorded in the repertory of some two dozen iconographic types compiled by Tamotsu Kurose (ed.), *Miniatures of Goddess Fortune in Medieval Manuscripts* (Tokyo, 1977), which does not, however, include any images from fr. 146.

⁹² The twin crowns are a noble conception of Poverty's moral victory over Fortune, which is commonly represented as an

unladylike wrestling match between two women (Howard R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), 72–4 and pl. 3). Although I have not found other literary examples of twin crowns, Fortune is often portrayed 'bestowing kingship, empire, and crown, and taking them back at will' (Patch, 59), a theme developed in *Fauvel*: 'A aucuns baille sa couronne | Puis la toulte et puis la redonne | Puis la bonne, puis la mauvaïse' (Långfors, vv. 1945–7); in fr. 146 Fortune is portrayed conducting Fauvel from stable to palace on fo. 1r (see above, Fig. 8.14).

approximately as many verses to description of Fortune's wheel as to her crowns;⁹³ her wheel, moreover, predominates in medieval iconography and was selected in 1361 to illustrate a full-page frontispiece for the second book of *Fauvel* in BN fr. 2195 (see above, Fig. 2.1). Viewed in the context of fr. 146, Fortune proffers her crowns as a lesson in kingship that takes on urgency in relation to the political moment at which the metrical chronicle breaks off. Will Philip V wear the tinsel crown of worldly riches or the humble crown of poverty that hides emeralds of spiritual wealth? The satire beseeches God to maintain the power of the fleur-de-lis against Fauvel, whose followers have renewed their strength in the Fountain of Youth at the satire's end.⁹⁴ The chronicler's prayer offers earnest hope for the new king: 'Et Diex doint qu'il en viengne bien' (Diverres, v. 7860).

Reciprocal reading of the metrical chronicle and the *Fauvel* in fr. 146 thus shows how the theme of feasting displays both contemporary political issues and timeless moral principles. Represented together in the manuscript, the exemplary glory of the Pentecost celebration attributes political resonance to the celebration in Chaillou's satire while *Fauvel* reveals the deep symbolic meanings of feasting in the metrical chronicle. Each frames the other: taken together, they form a mirror for the prince, illustrated by the examples of recent history. The great celebration of 1313 becomes part of a moral lesson book for the king. Chronicle and satire were drawn together in fr. 146 in the sober hope that Philip V might prevent Fauvel from trampling the lily and fair garden of France and that men and women in the court and city might learn to conduct their affairs in this world from the signifying figures of allegory projected against the brilliant screen of history.

⁹³ 129 verses describe and explain Fortune's wheels (Långfors, vv. 1931–62, 2379–80, 2437–40, 2579–82, 2689–774); 148 verses depict the moral significance of Fortune's two crowns (vv. 1877–904 and 2569–688).

⁹⁴ 'Sauve la fleur de lis de France' (Långfors, v. 3263); '... et tiengne en puissance l Le lis et le jardin de France' (Långfors App., vv. 1793–4).

21

Local Chant Readings and the *Roman de Fauvel*

ANNE WALTERS ROBERTSON

In his *Epistola de ignoto cantu*,¹ Guido of Arezzo recalls that it used to take choirboys a long time to learn to sing their music at sight. His purpose in writing is to announce a method for doing this, and musicians down to the present day are indebted to him for showing how to perform a melody through the use of syllables. But the solution to one problem often raises others, for when we sight-read multiple versions of a particular chant, we may end up drowning in readings of a melody that are similar, but not quite the same. Unless we know the origin of the gradual or antiphoner that contains the chant, the question is not how the melody goes, but whence it comes.

For a medieval singer, this could hardly ever have been an issue, because the typical church musician was entrenched in the music of one or perhaps a few practices he had grown familiar with over the course of his career. As students of this music, by contrast, our interest in a full range of readings can be frustrating, because we do not have a store of local readings in our memories. The answer for us will not be as straightforward as the brilliant one that Guido devised for singing more than 900 years ago. Lacking a comprehensive catalogue of all known versions of a chant, or a computer program that could capture local variants and through them determine the place of origin of a tune, we shall continue to wonder for some time about the beginnings of specific chant melodies.²

The chant in the fr. 146 version of the *Roman de Fauvel* is a case in point, for we know little about the origins of the sacred songs in this manuscript. The reason is simple: fr. 146 is a secular, rather than sacred, source, and hence does not lend itself to the kinds of tests for origin that can be applied to ecclesiastical books.³ Whereas the editors of the facsimile edition have traced the beginnings of the book to Paris on artistic, linguistic, music-repertorial, and

¹ Published in Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, 3 vols. (Saint-Blaise, 1784; repr. Milan, 1931), ii. 43–50; and presented in part in English translation in Oliver Strunk (ed.), *Source Readings in Music History from Classical Antiquity through the Romantic Era* (New York, 1950), 121–5. A new edition and translation by Dolores Pesce is forthcoming.

² See the discussion of these issues in my article 'Which Vitry? The Witness of the Trinity Motet from the *Roman de Fauvel*', in Dolores Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the*

Middle Ages and Renaissance (New York, 1996), 52–81; as well as in earlier studies cited in n. 18 of that work.

³ For example, the study of alleluia lists and litanies; see the discussion of these and other ways of discovering the usage of manuscripts in Victor Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1924), i, pp. xix–xxxii; and id., *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1934), i, pp. lxxvii–lxxxii.

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