Music: Final a, range F–c. The sixth melody from the IV, 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 a (‘tua agitetur . . . parte’) adopts the pitch pattern of the previous version directly (‘nominis 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 e (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


20

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

NANCY FREEMAN REGALADO

Que lit sait sunt tiexe et close
Et li pur lai sunt parchemin.

Geffroy de Paris, Avisement

‘Mundus a mundicia l dicitus per contraria’ (World so called contrarily from cleanliness)—these verses inserted in the upper right corner of fo. 1 (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 1150 to 1316, sometimes attributed to Geffroy de Paris, fills the final quarter of fr. 146 (fos. 65v–88). 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 Jehanot de Lescurel, 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 Huici, Samuel Kunzer, Ruth Mellinkoff, Gabrielle M. Spiegel, and Pierre Zehrman. 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 1993 and 1994 and their July 1994 conference in Paris.

3 Stowe, Rochefoucault 29, vv. 787–8.
4 Duhike, p.mus. 4, vv. 2–3; translations throughout are mine, unless otherwise indicated.
5 On the attribution, see Diverses 11–13.
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 Geoffroy's political poems. 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 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 Chalouil'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 Chalouil arranges his musical insertions, miniatures, and narrative 'addictions' 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 Phéllipe qui regne ores / Ci mettez ce motet onques', which introduces the motet *Servant regem/O PhilippelRex regem*. The table of contents of fr. 146 first listed only the musical insertions in the *Fauvel* at a later point during the compilation process. Geoffroy's *dits* and Jehannot de Lescurel's lyrics were added, thereby linking all the musical and verse pieces in the manuscript. The *Fauvel* of fr. 146 thus displays an internal system of reciprocal reading supported by the table, proximity, 'faulvelizing' adjustments to some citations, and a web of common themes and motifs. This dynamic scheme is like the 'planetary puissance' of Fortune's wheel (Lamy, 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 signification, described by Geoffroy de Vinsauf in his *Poetria nova* (c.1120) where he speaks of the exemplum: 'The thought is larger 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. I believe that the system of reciprocal reading in Chalouil'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. They liked mixed, hybrid forms and were adept at what we call intertextualities: they manipulated the polyphonic structures of motet texts; they were familiar with the practice of lyric insertions into vernacular romance and allegory. 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 *clerici* 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. 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 Geoffroy's *dits*, and in *Fauvel*. The advice is addressed to three kings—Philip V, Louis X, and Philip V—but directed to the last, Philip the Tall, as he ascended the throne in January 1371. 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. This moral lesson can be extracted at any point in the manuscript: each

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1 Roemer et al. 19-21 and 48-88.
2 Fe. 107; Dadoth, vv. 316-45 and p.mus. 14; more than a dozen such passages introduce musical pieces (Roemer et al. 18-79).
3 Portions of the table corresponding to Chalouil, Geoffroy, and Jehannot de Lescurel are edited respectively by: Dukal d’-; Leofric: Holford-Strevens, above, Ch. 11; and Azanote de Moneguy, Chausse, lirol, and roseau de Jehannot de Lescurel (Paris, 1853), 67-9. The table was copied in at least two stages by the 'corrections/problemsolver' of fr. 146, who also copied the Lescurel lyrics (Joseph Charles Motin, *The Genesis of Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146*, with Particulière Emphase sur le Roman de Fauvel* (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1962), 77-42 and 81; Roemer et al. 6). It is unfinished and perhaps incomplete: it omits some of the musical insertions, and it does not mention Chalouil's narrative 'addictions' or the metrical chronicle. I am greatly indebted to Kathryn A. Days 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.
5 I am indebted to Bradley Becke and Pierre Zborowski 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 epididymic 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 W. Trask (Bollingen Series, 36, Princeton, 1953), 160).
piece reinforces all the others. Readers, therefore, read backwards and forwards through the manuscript, playing ‘le jeu de la cuyière’, 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 besoinge ver clochant,  
Ne je ne autre n’i voit goute;  
L’un tire avant, et l’autre boutte,  
Et ce devant si va derriere,  
Comme le jeu de la cuyiere.  

(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 ‘cuyière’ is reiterated everywhere—in Chaillou’s musical insertions, in the charivari illustrations (see Fig. 20.1 and Pl. VII), and in Geoffroy’s *dix*. 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 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 counsels, 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 design. 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* (1359) and the *Branche des royaux langues* (1370), the rhymed chronicle which the man-at-arms Guillaume Guiart composed for Philip the Fair. It lacks, nonetheless, the juridical format 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. It is not 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

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Fig. 20.1. Fr. 146, fo. 34* (detail)
The Chronique métrique and Moral Design

he went to judgement at Vincennes in 1315. Such animal imagery, however, never leads the metrical chronicler to shift into the allegorical mode so common in satire and political poems such as Geoffroy's *De la comete* and *Un songe*. The scenes and speeches filled out by the chronicler's moral imagination are always presents as true events.

Although chronicles resist association with allegorical satires in compilation 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'Armes, MS 3442, 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 *Cromadis*, some three dozen moral and didactic pieces, and epics from the Charlemagne cycle, including Adenet's *Biete aux gras piers* and Jean Bodel's *Chanson des Saintes*. 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 (fols. 2v–7v), a devotional compilation of vernacular pieces made for a queen. Yves de Saint-Denis added illustrated tableaux of the lineage of the kings of France to 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 VI (BN lat. 1384, dated 1373). This history is part of Yves' famous *Vita et Miracula Sancti Dionysii* (BN fr. 20902–7); it 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 *exempela* 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 Geoffry's *dit*. If it is not—and as the case with the so-called political motets of the fr. 146 Fauvel—the poems become increasingly cryptic to new generations of
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 Faustel, there is little history in the Roman itself. Only a few allusions and examples illustrate its doleful catalogue of human vices: at the end of Book II, Gervès du Bus says that Faustel dotted ‘le jardin de douce France’ (Längfors, v. 3341); 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; other allusions to specific events and personages are veiled in the obscure allegories of the political motives. 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 Faustel) are said to be painted on the very walls of Faustel’s throne room, which are richly adorned with images of deities:

"Aussy y furent les cornièques
De Faustel la et en ça,
Puis que le monde commença,
Et de Renart toute l’histoire."

(Längfors, vv. 1354-7)

Working with similar images, the anonymous cleric of Troyes who in 1321-22 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, whereas upon the foison 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 foison stop rhyming to save words, 29 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 (fols. 156v-218b).

27 Book 1 bears the date 1350 (Längfors, v. 1240), original Book II, 1354 (v. 3373-4); there are references to Ferrars, court of Flanders (v. 3369), contemporary taxes (vv. 575-9 and 610-2), and the accusations against the Templars (vv. 951-1028); see Jean-Claude Mühlthaler, Faustel au prouoir: vie et savoir médiévale (Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 26; Paris, 1994), 273-371.

28 These include: one new stanza against the Templars (Längfors, 38, note to vv. 952-3); the most Socratie geniture (Längfors, 38, note to vv. 952-3). See also Scrofus geniture (Dahlah, p. mus. 1), interpreted as an example of ecclesiastical corruption; see prayings Philip the Fair, Philip III, and Louis IX before two monies that address Louis X and Philip V (Dahlah, v. 27-54, and p. mus. 33 and 34; see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, above, Ch. 3).

29 Dernaux est Qui sauverait Verme son iniquité (Dahlah, p. mus. 1), Amant tout-Vrai Fait Eire (p. mus. 17). "Tribun que non abbastraraptuQuia quia uisa lavanto/Merita (p. mus. 130), and Gerrit polla in sua festa/Noua (p. mus. 133); see Rose et al. 1970, and Bent, above, Ch. 2.


31 "Mais je ne charge pas d’epreuve/Que de rymer tu te deportes... Et qui en proues tu te m’apoure/Car y poras mereux entendre/Lay eues et leurs faits compter/Que en rymer tu ne fausoir/Car du langage y pretendoir," (bid. t. 2, vv. 2398-204).

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 renard. 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 Faustel in fr. 146 because they are set within a common time-frame and verse form and because their commentary draws from a repository of similar metaphors. The metrical chronicle is not a universal history but a remarkably limited account of the years 1500-16, the same period evoked by the dates, exempla, and royal motets in Chaillou’s Faustel. 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 dis 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 Mühlthaler has applied called ‘the referential illusion’ of the Faustel by offering a set of historical circumstances to which the satire seems to apply. 33

The chronicle appears to continue the moral discourse of Faustel and Geffroy’s dis 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... et je m’en pase orderné, Par quoi je puisse rime fier.’ 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 dis. 37

The metrical chronicle, Faustel, and Geffroy’s dis all deuple the times with images of a world upside-down taken from a common stock of metaphors. The world is so disorder, the chronicler laments, that clerics must take 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 1500-16, a ten-line encomium of Philip V at his accession (bid. t. 2, vv. 2393-4, para. 135).

33 Faustel en poësie, 357.


Mes le monde si se bestorne
Qu’il couvent que clegié se tourne
Du tout a faire le fet d’arnes;
Nul n’i a qui pense des armes;
Les bestes si sont sansz pastor.
(Diverrés, vv. 879–83)

Although expressions such as ‘le monde si se bestorne’ (the world upside-down) are commonplace 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 es dou tout bescorne! Ce que Diez aix est aounce’, cries Faavel, in verses highlighted in fr. 146 by a two-part miniature representing the creation of Eve and two hybrid centaurs (fo. 3v (Pl. 1); Längfors, vv. 335–6): ‘Tout environ cestie se tourne, I Est plus encor qui se bestourne,’ grumbles Geoffroy in Un songe (vv. 7–8).

These commonalities of chronicle, 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 Mühlthaler 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 chronicler offers an unprecedented description 532 lines long of the great Parisian Pentecost feast of 1313,40 while Chaillou’s narrative ‘addictions’ of 2877 verses are made up from first to last of an extended description of another royal celebration, the wedding festivities of Faavel (Längfors App., vv. 1–1808; Dähn, vv. 1–1069). When the splendid depictions of the Pentecost feast of 1313 and Faavel’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’ (Diverrés, v. 5909) to the satirical feasting of evil Faavel, ‘la beste de tout mal plaine’ (Längfors App., v. 183), 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 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’ (Diverrés, v. 4999), which recall the painting ‘de Renart toute l’histoire’ in Faavel’s throne room (Längfors, 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 Korrik (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 et mains’ haute personne’ (Diverrés, 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 ceulx de Melan sovent sa venie, si issirot tuz a pie et a cheval contre li, et a grant joie le menerent a la souveraine eglise, et le corronerent a roy

38 The term bestorne appears notably in Ruesbroc’s ‘Renart le Bensorot’ (256), a political allegory concerning the court of Louis IX; see Mühlthaler, Faavel au Moyen Age, 183, and Nancy Freeman Regalado, Poetics Patterns in Ruesbroc: A Study in Non-Counted Meter Mode of the Thirteenth Century (New Haven, 1970), 157–4.

39 Faavel au pouvoir, 31.

40 479 verses describe the festivities themselves from beginning to end (Diverrés, vv. 4670–5088); preliminary negotiations of Louis d’Evreux with the English fill 31 additional verses (vv. 4649–65); but more tell of the activities and negotiations of French and English royalty after the celebration (vv. 5399–810).

41 Boniface, vv. 8031–8144; Korrik, vv. 1131–147, followed by a lengthy remembrance to Philip IV about the defeat (194 verses; vv. 8947–961).

42 Charles de Valois, vv. 62–406 and 469–545; Templars, vv. 547–668 and 469–770; Marigny, vv. 7141–69, 687–332, 897–7440, and 7709–752: Other extensive reports include: the election and coronation of Pope Clement V in Lyon, followed by the tumult caused by his return to Aquasco (474 verses; vv. 1351–754); the election and triple coronation of Emperor Henry VII (426 verses in two passages, vv. 3687–4604 and 4397–4402). By contrast, the death of Philip the Fair is recounted in just 190 verses (vv. 6331–402 and 6701–6754), augmented by the noble’s harangue on Philip’s fiscal policies (322 verses: vv. 6491–7441); the adultery scandal known just 177 verses, if the edifying death of a priest Maguerine is included (vv. 6808–6930 and 7417–7491); the death and funeral of Louis X is dispensed in just 62 verses (vv. 7669–730).

43 Other festivities include: Charles d’Anjou’s entry into Florence, Siena, and Rome (vv. 77–8, 97–218, 133–96, 161–78); the coronation of Clement V (vv. 2049–7); the marriage of Edward II and Isabella (vv. 2357–9); Henry VII’s successive coronations at Cologne and Rome (vv. 3767–5 and vv. 4406–8); the coronation of Frederick of Habsburg (vv. 5782–4); funeral ceremonies for Philip IV (vv. 6897–9).
de Lombardie, et l’appellent Auguste’. 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 bourgeoisie. 

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 1224 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 ‘comunes et borgs et autres’ of Acre wore ‘robes envesées’ (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 ‘divers chansons et divers motes’ to celebrate the entry of Philip III in Arras (1271) and the coronation of Marie de Brabant in Paris (1279). In 1319 the Parisian Geoffroi de Néls adds to his hymned translation of the *Vita of St Magloire* a step-by-step recital of a ceremony celebrating a new silver reliquary in 1318. 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. 283) 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 Isabélab Davige 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 fest 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 our moral counsel around events; his arrangement and amplification of selected events create patterns that oppose victory to defeat, regal triumph to moral dilemma. Or avons paix, or avons guerre’, he declares in the final lines of his chronicle (Diverres, vv. 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, Kontrijk, Mons-en-Pévèle—demonstrate the importance of princely prowess and largesse; and fall of Marigny warns against evil counsellors. The inconclusive tale the chronicler tells—the ambitious campaign of Charles de Valois in Italy, the ongoing struggles of France against Flemings, the accession of John XXII and Philip V in 1316—are movements whose outcome is still in the balance. Will John XXII be a worthy pope? ‘Briérent son oreu mousterra! Se prenude ou mauvès sera; l’Encor n’en puet sur riens savoir’ (Diverres, vv. 7885–9). 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, chivalrous, 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 noblesse et de larges ! Cel jor fu san chetivet’ (Diverres, vv. 4873–4). The account of these costly festivities on fo. 78 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). 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. 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. The chronicler himself draws a moral conclusion: ‘Ainsit, seignors, va de ce monde; l 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...
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 pensait ne ne dest;
Si n’est homme qui le créet.
N’aussi nus hom ne le seiast
S’a Paris present ne feigis,
Car je vous di, de rue en rue
Ne veoit on ne cieel ne rue,
Car Paris estoit tout couvert,
Blanc, noir, jaune, rougé ou vert.
Des nobles la grant compagnie,
Ne puett nul priser, que qu’en die,
La joie ne le rigolage,
La noblesse ne le parage,
Qui toute autre feste sormonte.

(Divertis, vv. 4805–9)

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

Profluse 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. 54 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 On romances in romance and history, see: Lacy D. Benson, ‘The Tournament in the Romances of Chrétien de Troyes and L’Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal’, in Lacy D. Benson and John Leyell (eds.), Chivalric Literature: Essays on Relations between Literature and Life in the Later Middle Ages (Stag: Studies in Medieval Culture, 14; Kalamazoo, 1980), 17–74; Walter, Mémorie, 704–9; Michel Stansac, Jeux d’armure du chevalier médiéval: aspects ludiques de la fonction guerrière dans la littérature du moyen âge flamboyant (Bruxelles: Stichting Inhoudelijk Historisch, 9, Leiden, 1980), 95. Elaborate literary descriptions of triumphal entries such as those in Béroul’s Trion (c.1170; vv. 499–709) and Jean Renaut’s Éneids (1180–90, vv. 867–868) have not yet been fully compared with those recorded in chronicles; see Walter, Mémorie, 749–9 and 767–69.


56 La Chronique, ed. Maurice Deboullée (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Letters de l’Université de Liège, 49; Liège and Paris, 1913).

57 La Chronique métrique and Moral Design, 481 thirteenth century onwards; these early fictions of festive ceremonies deserve to be thoroughly compared with later historical records.

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 Sarsassin 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.

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 Rol’s Cleomadès (1285) and Girart d’Amiens’ Meliace (1285–8), popular adventure romances with lyric insertions and protracted scenes of festive protocol. 60 Pierre Gencien, bourgeois and
courtier of Philip IV, thymed a ceremonial Tournoiement as dames de Paris showcasing the coats of arms and names of women from Parisian families. Louis X had in his library a copy of Huon de Méry's chivalric allegory Le Tournoiement Antecriston in which Chaillou modelled the banquets and jousts of his 'addictions'. For his 'addictions', 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.

Although it cannot be known if the mitraille chronicler was altered for inclusion in fr. 146, there is evidence that Chaillou modified the places and dates of his literary sources—the original Faufel, Huon’s Tournoiement, and Jehan Maillart’s Conte 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 Faufel 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 Faufel’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 'addictions', Huon de Méry’s Tournoiement Antecriston, 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 at the end, where the narrator converts and is conducted by Religion ‘Des c’a l’Eglise Saint-Germain l’Des-Pres, lés les murs de Paris’ (Tournoiement, vv. 3520–7). Chaillou utilizes Huon’s allegorical place names but links ‘Esperance’ to Paris and ‘Desesperance’ to the Palace, dwelling-place of Faufel. 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 Visu Sancti Dionysii celebrate Paris in silent images, Chaillou praises the city in words, paintings, and songs on fos. 36v–37r, where his narrative ‘addictions’ begin (see Pl. V). Honouring the learning, commerce, religious devotion, ladies, and wealth 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. Chaillou represents the political dangers that threaten France allegorically, by Faufel’s shocking desecration of the Palace and the Sainte-Chapelle, solemn monuments of the French crown: ‘. . . de la ou la fe le chef l’Dieu manoir Faufel fait demeurere’. Moreover, whereas Huon had located his tournament at an unspecified 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 (L’Angers App., vv. 314v–16). Saint-Germain-des-Prés is also the very spot where the mitraille chronicler says the Parisians perished in 1313 before Edward II and the English, who were ‘amazed to see so many rich and noble folk sally forth from one city’. Chaillou exploits his Parisian locale to attribute a curious reality to the Faufel narrator, enhancing the referential illusion of the satire when it is read in the context of the mitraille 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’ (Divêres, v. 488), Chaillou makes the Faufel narrator into an eyewitness of his fictional feast, transporting him from the story’s frame into the world of the allegory in his ‘addictions’. A miniature shows the narrator meeting up with the fearsome Vices (see Fig. 2.2); 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 (L’Angers App., vv. 799–849, 893–965). Relocation of Huon’s feast in Paris and of the Faufel narrator within the story thus connects the feast of Faufel to the monuments and spaces of the Pentecost celebration described in the mitraille 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 Tournoiement (which ends on the feast of Ascension) forward to Pentecost, the date of the celebration in 1313. Faufel’s invitation fixes the day after Pentecost for the first of five days’ tourneying:

Que qui voudra cele journelle
Et les enivans quatre jours
Jouter, viengne sanz nul sejours . . .
Que l’endemain de Penchecoute

186 Ha, Parisius, civité Regis magni et sito locus des nobis gaudens (Darbou, p. xxv; 71 and 74; see also Michel Hugues, above, Ch. 12). For the political meaning of contemporary encomia of Paris, especially Jean de Jaudine’s Traitez des lanyeus Parisius (1323), see Locat, The ‘Vie’ 116–17, Mühlehner, Faufel au moyen âge, 574–80, and Colette Beaune, Naissance de la nation Française (Paris, 1986), 107–12.

L’Angers App., vv. 157v–x. Mühlehner notes how spatialization augments the referential effect of the Faufel, saying that the representation of the new Palais on fo. 30 (see Pl. V) is the only specific cue linking the figure of Faufel with Mansigny (Faufel au moyen âge, 177–82, 380–2).

187 Doenoudas i grandemes ! Fuent Anglés, plus conqueren men, i Car il ne cuidoient jand i Que tant gout de gent riches et nobile ! Poulette salu de une ville! (Divêres, vv. 5070–4; see vv. 5066–70).
Sera, et avront cil sa grace
Qui pour joustre venront en place.

(Längfors App., vv. 182-90)

On fo. 107v, the important page that ends Book I of \textit{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. 107v and translated, illustrated, and attributed to the narrator as a fervent prayer in the adjoining col. b (Dahm, 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. 107v-111 (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 \textit{Fauvel} to the metrical chronicle, which also lays special emphasis on Pentecost, the date of Louis’s knighting with Philip, Charles, and ‘innumerable dukes, princes, and counts’ (Diverres, vv. 4725-7):

Droit au dimanche, la journée
Qu’en terre le Saint Esprit
Des apôtres les cieux espirent
— Ce fu le jor de Pantheocoustre,
Qui fu en joignant ce n’est pas doute,

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, intoxicated by his wife Vaine Gloire, that deceitful damsel who makes men forget salvation (see Pl. VI). 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. 38r, Pl. VIII):

\begin{quote}
\textit{Dum ortus fuerit sol de celo,}
\textit{videbit regem regum procedenter a patre}
\textit{sanctum sponsus de thalamo suo.}
\end{quote}

[Miniature]

Li solaus, qui terre enlumine,
Droitetus sus tierce chemin... Fauvel fu en sa mestre chambre,
Ou pilers ot de marbe et d’ambre

\textit{A qui qu’il en deisit desible, ! Semblant n’en fut ouques}
\textit{Fauvelant ! Plus mee li fu des aviso ! Qu’il or eit avec sa femme !}
\textit{Qu’il honnors comme sa dame!” (Längfors App., vv. 766-70).}

\textit{Que la Vaine Gloire, la belle ! La decevant damestilde, !}
\textit{Qui les gens sou dataTable enyue ! ... ! Donne si douceant a}
\textit{boise! Que l’en en pese toute meuris ! de la joie qui nous jours}
\textit{dure!” (Längfors, vv. 317-9, 318-7).}
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. 103). There is perhaps even a second sly dig at Edward in the accompanying image of Fauvel pecking 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 Geoffroy's poem of advice to Philip V, Hora rex est et de tempore surgere (It is time, O King, to rise from slumber). 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 Gervais's Book II with a festive call for drink, embellished by the motet Bon vin dois et a refrain Ci me faut un tour de vin. 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 teule noblesse' (Langois 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 metric chronicle, which ends on a suspense note before the coronaton 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'.

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—special the 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 admonition, 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 pretenders at celebrations (in

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72 Fo. 97v, ed. Holford-Strevens, above, Ch. 11. Readers of the chronicles from Rom. 13: 11 and in v. 1 might well have recalled and applied the verses that follow to political issues of 1256. Let us then cast off the worries 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 impurity' (Rom. 13: 11–13).
74 Fo. 97v, ed. Holford-Strevens, above, Ch. 11. Readers of the chronicles from Rom. 13: 11 and in v. 1 might well have recalled and applied the verses that follow to political issues of 1256. Let us then cast off the worries 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 impurity' (Rom. 13: 11–13).
75 Chaillou, p.mus. 130 and ref. 13, Gervais du Bus: 'Le Plus que cest second luy / Qui fut parfaut l'an mil et cioty. l'unc et x. Same rimes rabbure.' (Langois, vv. 327–34).
77 Divertès, vv. 4734–4, 4775; 4776; see vv. 4738–59. On metrical enumerations of guests in romance, see Walter, Mönche, 350–39.
78 Langois App., vv. 56–7, 59; see vv. 56–84, 161–100.
79 Ibid., vv. 107–8, 137–138; see vv. 137–138.

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

La vout Fauvel faire ses noces. 
Evesques n'abbez portanz croces 
N'a fait pas venir ne mandez. 
(Langois App., vv. 53–5)

Noting each of the seven banquets offered by Philip IV and his sons and brothers (Divertès, vv. 4838–71), the chronicler shows us the feast of Edward II served in richly draped tents by servants riding on horseback (Divertès, 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
fried sins against nature. Chaillou exploits intertextual allusions to enhance moral oppositions at Fauvel’s feast: in his page layout on fos. 32r–33r (see Figs. 20.3 and 20.4), he sets out contrasting citations and illustrations to exhibit Fauvel’s depravity. The banquet scene is framed by two passages borrowed from the *Comte d’Angoule*; the first, a tasteful menu of dishes, is placed in fo. 32r, col. a to the left; the second, a list of decorous musical entertainments, is placed in facing fo. 33r, col. a to the right. In between, the description of the carousing Vices is sprinkled with nine citations from the infernal repast of the Antichrist in Huon’s *Tournoiment*; their table drips with wine spilt by Fauvel, who overturns everything.

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‘la ou converse l Fauvel, qui tout cerche et reverse’ (Lingfors 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.60 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 Faulav’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 chœst-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 Faulav is represented as a model of liberal princely feasting; Chaillo’s narrator cries out to Fortune in protest at such a moral contradiction: ‘Fortune, comment sueffez tu! Que ce larron soit reveste! De tel bien et de tel noblesse!’ (Lângfors App., vv. 1643–5).

Finally, both the metrical chronicle and Chaillo describe festivities of the Parisians at great length. The chronicler’s report of the illuminations, raiments, 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 doy de la borjoisie,
Qui beie i vant et renvoie....
Borjois tel feste demeneret
Que les royaux les mercieret.
Ne fet pas bon parler d’oizeuses,
Comparaison sont hayeuses;...
Mais ou fut de la borjoisie
Ot cinq choses de seinongerie.

(Devers, vv. 4927–30, 4939–40, 4945–6)

Similarly, despite the importance of aristocratic ceremonies in Chaillo’s ‘addictions’, the charivari and the final jubilation of the Parisians take up one-fourth of the folios given over to Faulav’s feast (fos. 34–36 and fos. 41–41v). Long indeed, but extraordinary too: depiction of urban revels is still rare in chronicles; the detailed recital of the charivari in Chaillo’s Faulav 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 people of Paris, the chronicle and satire portray popular support for the good king Philip the Fair and condemnation of the evil tyrant Faulav. 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.61 The extensive chronicle account of this parade contrasts at every point with Chaillo’s detailed recital of the raucous charivari, which is augmented by immense miniatures, scènes changeants, and the voluminous lai, En ce deus temps.62 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.63 Unheeded by Faulav who is lost in lechery, Chaillo says, the Parisians riot by night, wearing burpaul and animal skins or prancing stark naked, clanging pots, cowbells, and rattles, and shouting rude songs to denounce the marriage of the usurper Faulav (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.

Chaillo 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 Faulav (p.mus. 115; Lângfors App., vv. 1478–92). Additional intertextual allusions in this passage produce topical as well as moral resonances, for Chaillo embellishes the Virtues’ victorious return to Paris with citations from the triumphant urban entries that mark the end of Jehan Maillart’s Compte d’Anjou: these depict the Count of Bourges and his wife, now vindicated, who lives—significantly—sans appetit de vaire loire.64 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, Geoffroy’s dits, and Jehannot de Lescurel’s allegorical semi-lyric piece, Gracieux temps est.65 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, 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 Illot et le sie habandonne: Il se tint pour roy couronne’ (Lângfors App., vv. 1486–8). The metrical chronicle in turn states twice that Philip conducted himself as king when he came

60 Devers, vv. 1666–92; see Brown and Regaldo, ‘Universalist’.
62 ..., par les quatre fereurs! De la ville parmi les rues’ (Lângfors App., vv. 681–4).
63 Anjou. 8, 186. To the citations from Anjou recognized by Roques (‘Interpolaition’, 150), add fragments cited in this triumphant scene (Anjou vv. 6537–62 and 6537–92 interpreted in Lângfors App., vv. 1509–24 and 1528–53). There are additional entry verses in Anjou, vv. 2768–98.
64 Devers, vv. 587–98, 602–16; Geoffroy de Paris, Du Roy philippe, vv. 7–15, and Un sange, vv. 287–906. Wilkins, Lescurel, no. 34 cite the political interpretation proposed by Brown, above, Ch. 3.
to Paris after the death of Louis X: ‘Que comme roy il se tenist’ (Divèrres, v. 7776; see v. 7792). The term hoste, moreover, takes on overtones of messianic expectancy in the final prayer of Cheillou’s Fauvel (borrowed from the first part of Jehan Maillart’s Compte d’Aigoult), where Christ is described in the Harrowing of Hell as the hoste or guest of the devils. ‘...leur hoste / Qui tenebres efface et reste’.86 Intertextual allusions and topical reference thus build a moral and political stage for the Parisian festivities in Chailou’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 ceremony as a token of well-being in the kingdom and of divine favour: the Pentecost celebration of 1315 is said to be prefigured by the biblical feast of Ahasuerus (Divèrres, 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’ coronation but does point out that no celebration marked the second marriage of this unfortunate king: ‘no feasting, no curtailment, no dancing, nothing’.89 Wedding festivities are represented instead in Chailou’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’ (Divèrres, v. 3355), by Chailou in ‘Pour Philippe qui regne ores’ (Dahin, v. 35) and the motet Servant regem (O Philippo Rex regum), and by Gefroy de Paris in Du Roy philippe qui ore Rogne 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, anticipating that to come for Philip V: ‘...le sairement! Que ai voir un Rains donné! Quant est crée roy coronné!’ (Divèrres, vv. 6456–8). The image of Fauvel as a crowned beast acclaimed by the Vices seems to parody—in a cautionary

86 Längfor, App., v. 1745–6; a six-branch anamnesis figure explains the key term hoste (Längfor, App., v. 1744–57). ‘...si forte grace / Nesci fiist Diez contre la faillace / Fauvel’ (Längfor, App., v. 1498–91).
87 ‘Mal a point li encontre fiere. / Qui de tel mort fi estreme’ (Divèrres, vv. 1770–3).
88 ‘Feoste n’est, n’eston רו / Nule chose, meus molest briement / Fu parfait aie espouvement. / Car Lofts, le roy, hare avert / Qui en Flanders aest devent. / De genz por ce ce voe habendence, / Ne si n’est forte se danse’ (Divèrres, vv. 7406–12).
89 No similar images of Fortune holding out crowns are recorded in the repertory of some twelve iconographic types compiled by Tamonou Kurose (ed.), Miniatures of Goddess Fortune in Medieval Manuscripts (Tokyo, 1977), which does not, however, include any images from fr. 146.

Fig. 20.5. Fr. 146, fo. 16 (detail)
(Phot: BN)

The coronation of Philip V may also be anticipated in the remarkable depiction of Fortune in Chailou’s Fauvel: she is painted twice holding out twin crowns (fos. 16v and 21v; see Fig. 20.3). Emphasized by repetition, this iconographic image of Fortune is highly unusual—perhaps even unique.90 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,91 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 Judgment Day. The decision to illustrate the twin crowns in fr. 146 is especially significant, since Gervès’s satire gives

90 Fo. 20v: such coronation scenes were painted by the Fauvel Master himself in a manuscript of the Gronde Chroniques, BN fr. 1265 (illustrations reproduced in Holman, The Royal Image, 37–58, figs. 48–201; see Rosenau 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 Tamonou 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 conceit of Poverty’s moral victory over Fortune, which is commonly represented as an unadulterated wrestling match between two women (Howard R. Pacht, The Goddess Fortune in Medieval Literature (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), 72–4 and pl. 3). Although I have not found other literary examples of twin crowns, Fortune is often portrayed 'beholding kingship, empire, and crown, and taking them back at will’ (Pacht, 59), a theme developed in Fauvel. ‘Aucuns baile sa coronne! Puis la touz et puis la redonne! Puis la bonne, puis la mauvaise’ (Längfor, vv. 1946–7); in fr. 146 Fortune is portrayed conducting Fauvel from stable to palace on fo. 1 (see above, Fig. 8.r).
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 antiphon 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 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 patrum, 5 vols. (Saint-Blaise, 1784; repr. Milan, 1931), ii. 527-530; and printed 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 Pozzo is forthcoming.

2 See the discussion of these issues in my article "Which Vire? The Witness of the Trinity Mass from the Roman de Fauvel", in Dolores Pozzo (ed.), Hearing the Mass: Essays on the Mass of the Middle Ages and Renaissance (New York, 1996), 52-84, as well as in earlier studies cited in n. 16 of that work.

3 For example, the study of alleluia lips and litanies; see the discussion of these and other ways of discovering the usage of manuscripts in Victor LeRouvroy, Les Sacrements et les mélodie manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, 4 vols. (Paris, 1912), i, pp. xiv-xviii; and id., Les Beaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, 6 vols. (Paris, 1934), i, pp. lxxvi-lxxix.
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Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146

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